SACRED PROLUSIONS:

OR,

SELECT PIECES

FROM

Bishop TAYLOR and Mr. HERBERT.

By the Rev. JOHN WHEELDON, A.M.
Teacher of a private Grammar School at St. Ives, Huntingdonshire.

WITH A

PREFACE

AND A

DISCOURSE ON REV. xviii. 21.

By the EDITOR.

VOLO SOLIDUM PERENNE.

LONDON,
Printed for J. BEECROFT, in Paster-noster-Row, and T. CADELL, in the Strand, London; J. WOODYER, at Cambridge; and H. BIGGS, at St. Ives.
M.DCC.LXVIII.

TO THE

CLERGY

OF THE

County of Huntingdon.

Reverend SIRS,

IMPERTINENCE and Pesurmption, though not absolutely defensible, yet when they bring Jewels or Gold, are capable of Apology and Pardon — For, as a real Diamond will always sparkle even from an indelicate Hand, the value of the Present will charm down all Disdain against the Bearer, who may be said to come not so much with a *Petition,* as a *Claim* to Acceptance — Honour and Applause, in the best Meaning of the Maxim, are Shadows that always attend upon great Bodies — Worth and Esteem, Ability and Admiration are inseparable and eternal; — and my deep Veneration for the

Names of Taylor and Herbert, make me confident in aſſerting that no Friend to Religion or Genius can refuſe them a Share in their Affection —It was the ſingular Felicity of theſe eminent Divines to poſſeſs the rare Union of the Head and Heart— "*Like Eagles to have their Neſt on a Rock, and to bear their Young on their Wings*,"— *viz.* to have the Power and the Will of being a univerſal Bleſſing.

Before I mention the Reaſons of my publiſhing theſe ſelect Pieces, perhaps ſome of my Readers may like to know that

Jeremy Taylor biſhop of Downe and Conner in Ireland was born in Cambridge, and there had his Education. Upon entering into Orders, he was ſome time Divinity Lecturer of St. Paul's in London, and was afterwards by the Intereſt of Archbiſhop Laud, elected fellow of All-ſouls College in 1636. Two Years after he became one of the Chaplains of the Archbiſhop, who beſtowed on him the Rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandſhire. In 1642 he was, with others, by virtue of his Majeſty's Letters ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, created D. D. he being then Chaplain to the King, and a frequent Preacher before his Majeſty and the Court at Oxford. He afterwards attended in the King's Army in the Condition of a Chaplain. Upon the declining of his Majeſty's Cauſe, he retired into Wales, where, under the Protection of the Earl of Carbury, of the Golden Grove in Carmarthenſhire, he was permitted to officiate

ciate as Miniſter and to keep School, in Order to maintain himſelf and his Children. In this Retirement he wrote ſeveral of his Works, and having ſpent ſeveral Years there, his Family was viſited with Sickneſs, and he loſt three Sons of great Hopes within the Space of two or three Months. This Affliction touched him ſo ſenſibly, that it made him deſirous to leave the Country, and going to London he there for a Time officiated in a private Congregation of Loyaliſts to his great Hazard. At Length meeting with Edward Lord Conway, that Nobleman carried him with him into Ireland, and ſettled him at Portmore, where he wrote his *Ductor Dubitantium*. Upon the Reſtoration he returned to England, and ſoon after, being advanced to the Biſhopric of Downe and Conner in Ireland, was conſecrated to that ſee at Dublin, Jan. 27. 1660—61, and on the 21ſt of June following, had the Adminiſtration of the See of Dromore granted to him by his Majeſty. He was likewiſe made a Privy-Counſellor, and Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin, which Place he held to his Death. He died of a Fever at Liſnigarvy, Auguſt 13, 1667, and was interred in a Chapel of his own erecting on the Ruins of the old Cathedral of Dromore, his funeral Sermon being preached by his excellent Friend Dr. George Ruſt, who has drawn his Character to great Advantage. He tells us that our "Author was none of God's ordinary works, but that his Endowments

were ſo many and ſo great, as really made him a Miracle. Nature had befriended him much in his Conſtitution, for he was a Perſon of a moſt ſweet and obliging Humour, of great Candour and Ingenuity: and there was ſo much Salt, Fineneſs of Wit, and Prettineſs of Addreſs in his familiar Diſcourſes, as made his Converſation have all the Pleaſantneſs of a Comedy, and all the Uſefulneſs of a Sermon. He was one of thoſe Philoſophers Laertius ſpeaks of, that did not addict themſelves to any particular Sect, but ingenuouſly ſought for Truth among all the wrangling Schools. To theſe Advantages of Nature, he added an indefatigable Induſtry, and God gave a plentiful Benediction, for there were very few Kinds of Learning, but he was a Myſtes and a great Maſter in them. His ſkill was great both in the civil and canon Law, and caſuiſtical Divinity; he was a rare Conductor of Souls, and knew how to counſel and to adviſe, to ſolve Difficulties, determine Caſes, and quiet Conſciences. In his younger Years he met with ſome Aſſaults from Popery, and the high Pretenſions of their religious Orders were very accommodate to his devotional Temper. But he was always ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that he would never be governed by any thing but Reaſon and the Evidence of Truth, which engaged him in the Studies of theſe Controverſies; and to how good Purpoſe, the World is by this Time a ſufficient Witneſs. But the longer and more he con-

ſidered

ſidered, the worſe he liked the Roman Cauſe. Then he expatiates on his Meekneſs and Humility, *&c.* and ſums up his Character in the following Terms.

This great Prelate had the good Humour of a Gentleman, the Eloquence of an Orator, the fancy of a Poet, the Acuteneſs of a School-Man, the Profoundneſs of a Philoſopher, the Wiſdom of a Chancellor, the Sagacityof a Prophet, the Reaſon of an Angel, and the Piety of a Saint. He had Devotion enough for a Cloyſter, Learning enough for an Univerſity, and Wit enough for a College of Virtuoſi.—And had his Parts and Endowments been parcelled out among the Clergy that he left behind him, it perhaps would have made one of the beſt Dioceſes in the world."

And would it not be waſteful and ridiculous Exceſs to write a Panegyric on the divine Herbert? It would be gilding refined Gold, and throwing a Perfume on the Violet. His Memory like the Phænix, ſurvives his Aſhes, immortal as his Poems, and as his Laurels green — let it be ſaid of him as of Dr. South, " That he made all his Faculties bear to the great End of his hallowed Profeſſion: His charming Compoſitions have all that Wit and Wiſdom can put together: Happy Genius! He was the better Man for being a Wit, and the beſt Way to praiſe him, is to quote him."

Take his Poem called DOTAGE as a Specimen—

False glozing pleasures, casks of happiness,
Foolish night-fires, womens and childrens wishes,
Chases in Arras, gilded emptiness,
Shadows well mounted, dreams in a career,
Embroider'd lies, nothing between two dishes;
These are the pleasures here.

True earnest sorrows, rooted miseries,
Anguish in grain, vexations ripe and blown,
Sure-footed griefs, solid calamities,
Plain demonstrations, evident and clear,
Fetching their proof even from the very bone;
These are the sorrows here.

But oh! the folly of distracted men,
Who griefs in earnest, joys in jest pursue;
Prefering, like brute beasts, a loathsome den
Before a court, ev'n that above so clear,
Where are no sorrows, but delights more true,
Then miseries are here—

The Flashes of Genius in many Writers, whether polemical or poetical resemble a painted Flame, which amuses the Eye without warming the Heart— But whoever reads Bishop Taylor or Herbert, however dissimilar in their Talents, must have a very depraved or disingenuous Mind, that is not much the better for their Acquaintance.

This

This was my Motive, and was it not a pleaſing one? for giving theſe fine pieces in Miniature to the World: not having dared to alter or retouch one original Feature, but purely to revive and perpetuate their faded Graces by the Poliſh of a new Edition.

It were extravagant and almoſt impoſſible in a general Encomium to give the common reader an adequate Idea of Taylor's amazing Capacity. They who would fathom his mighty Mind muſt read all his Works which many cannot, which many will not, and which moſt are unable either to purchaſe or underſtand.

Theſe little Pearls indeed which I have drawn from his boundleſs Store for common Uſage, will ſhine and gliſter, and be admired in a diſtinct Poſition: but ſet in the full Blaze of his other Beauties, would be totally extinguiſhed and abſorbed in general Excellence.

The following Sheets contain Nothing of Jove or Helicon, nothing of Machiavel or Cervantes: — *Nec faſtidientes ſtomachos ad hac invito pulpamenta* — for to uſe an admirable Maxim of Profeſſor Duport, *Quid Scientia ſine Conſcientia?— quid valet eſſe peritum et periturum?*

If Religion is worth any Thing, it is worth every Thing. A few ſolid practical Principles, the Pillars of rational Piety, like Bread and Manna, are adapted to general Taſte, and a Perſon muſt have a vitiated Appetite, or a bad

Digeſtion

Digeſtion if they turn upon his Stomach, or degenerate into Bile.

" A right Judgement is to the Soul what a ſtrong and a healthy Conſtitution is to the Body: It will by its own Force work off all leſſer Inconveniencies and Diſtempers. Though a man be ſeduced by his Paſſions, yet ſo long as his Mind and Underſtanding have an habitually true Apprehenſion of Things they will recover the man, and prevent the Error from being infinite. And therefore, according to that Advice given to the Soldier, τὴν Κεφαλὴν περφυλαζο, ſecure your Head — ſo every one ſhould preſerve his judging Faculties entire, that he may not be abuſed by falſe Concluſions: For a Flaw in theſe, leaves the Soul like an Army without Conduct, expoſed to all the miſeries of Flight and Confuſion."

The Food here ſerved up to the ſerious Chriſtian is ſimple, ſtrong and nutritive; containing arguments of civil Life, Reaſons of Faith and Incentives to Piety; collected by Men that were learned without Vanity, polite without Pride, great without Tyranny, and pious without Spleen.

The two Letters diſſuaſive of Popery are peculiarly ſeaſonable at a Time when the *wild Boar* would root up the Britiſh *Vine, and they that go by pluck off her Grapes.* — Modern Diſunion and Enthuſiaſm have received a powerful Rebuke and Confutation from the Pen of a modern Prelate * : and what an un-

* See too letters ſigned, Academicus.

anſwerable

anſwerable Blow the Papacy received from Taylor's polemical Diſcourſes, eſpecially his *Liberty of Prophesying*, her Champions know, and feel to this hour,— *Quantus in Clypeum aſſurgat quo Turbine torqueat Haſtam.*

Let me then be indulged the Vanity of adopting a Quotation from an eminent Writer in Honour of Characters, to which my two Favourites are no Ways inferior.

" To live in the Voice and Memory of " Men is the flattering Dream of every Ad- " venturer in Letters : and for me who boaſt a " Veneration for two Names, whoſe Virtues " would attone for a bad Age, and their " Abilities make a bad Age a good one : for " me not to aſpire to the beſt Mode of this " ideal Exiſtence, the being carried down " to remote Ages along with them who will " never die, would argue a ſtrange Inſenſi- " bility to human Glory."

TWO

LETTERS

TO

Persons changed in their RELIGION.

LETTER I.

THE FIRST TO A GENTLEWOMAN SEDUCED TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

I Was desirous of an opportunity in London to have discoursed with you about something of nearest concernment to you, but the multitude of my little affairs hindered me, and have brought upon you this trouble to read a long letter; which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, because it comes from one who has a great respect for your person, and a very great charity to your soul. I must confess, I was troubled on your behalf when I heard you were fallen from the communion of the Church of England, and entered into a voluntary, unnecessary schism, departing from the laws of the king, and the communion of those with whom you have always lived in charity: going against those laws, in the defence and profession of which your husband died, going from the religion in which you were baptized, in which for so many years you lived piously

ouſly, and hoped for heaven—and all this without any ſufficient reaſon, without neceſſity or juſt ſcandal miniſtered to you. And to aggravate all this, you did it in a time, when the church of England was perſecuted and marked with the croſs of her maſter, that is, when ſhe ſuffered for a holy cauſe, and an holy conſcience, and was more glorious than at any time before: when ſhe could ſhew more martyrs and confeſſors than any church in Chriſtendom—when a king died in the profeſſion, and thouſands of prieſts learned and pious, ſuffered the ſpoiling of their goods rather than forſake one article of ſo excellent a religion. So that ſeriouſly it is not eaſily to be imagined that any thing ſhould move you, unleſs it be that which troubled the perverſe Jews, and the heathen Greek, *Scandalum crucis*, the ſcandal of the croſs. You ſtumbled at that rock of offence, you left us becauſe we were afflicted, leſſened in open circumſtances, and wrapped in a cloud: but give me leave only to remind you of that ſaying of the ſcripture, that you may avoid the conſequence of it; *they that fall on this ſtone, ſhall be broken in pieces; but they on whom it ſhall fall, it will grind them to powder.* And if we ſhould conſider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the ſons of our church are very conſcientious and juſt in their perſuaſions, when it is evident, that we have no temporal end to ſerve, nothing but the great end of our ſouls; all our hopes of preferment are gone, all ſecular regards; only we ſtill have truth on our ſides, and we are not willing with the loſs of truth, to change from a perſecuted to a proſperous church, from a reformed to a church that will not be reformed; leſt we give ſcandal to good people that ſuffer for a holy conſcience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted; of which, if you had been more careful, you would have remained

mained much more innocent. But, I pray, give me leave to consider for you, because you, in your change, considered so little for yourself; what fault, what false doctrine, what wicked and dangerous proposition, what defect, what amiss did you find in the doctrine and liturgy, and Church of England? fot it is doctrine, it is certain it professes the belief of all that is written in the old and new Testament, all that which is in the three creeds, the apostolical, the nicene, and that of Athanasius, and whatsoever was decreed in the four general councils, or any other truly such; and whatsoever was condemned in these, our Church hath legally declared to be heresy. And upon these accounts, above four whole ages of the Church went to heaven; they baptized all their catechumens into this faith, their hopes of heaven was upon this and a good life, their saints and martyrs lived and died in this alone, they denied communion to none that professed their faith. This is the catholick faith, so said the creed of Athanasius; and unless a company of men have power to alter the faith of God, whosoever live and die in this faith, are entirely catholick and christian: so that the Church of England hath the same faith, without dispute, that the Church had four hundred or five hundred years ago; and therefore their could be nothing wanting here to saving faith, if we live according to our belief.

2. For the liturgy of the Church of England, I shall not need to say much, because the case wlil be very evident; first, because the disputers of the Church of Rome have not been very forward to object any thing against it, they cannot charge it with any evil: 2. Because for all the time of King Edward the sixth, and till the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, your people came to our churches, and prayed with us, till the

the bull of Pius Quintus came out upon temporal regards, and made a ſchiſm by forbidding the queen'sſubjects to pray as by law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy as themſelves believe. That bull enjoined recuſancy, and made that which was an act of rebellion, and diſobedience, and ſchiſm, to be the character of your Roman Catholicks. And after this, what can be ſuppoſed wanting to ſalvation! we have the word of God, the faith of the apoſtles, the creeds of the primitive church, the articles of the four firſt general councils, a holy liturgy, excellent prayers, perfect ſacraments, faith, and repentance, the ten commandments, and the ſermons of Chriſt, and all the precepts and councils of the goſpel. We teach the neceſſity of good works, and require and ſtrictly exact the ſeverity of a holy life, we live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for him, and do ſo when he requires us ſo to do; we ſpeak honorably of his moſt holy name; we worſhip him at the mention of his name; we confeſs his attributes, we love his ſervants, we pray for all men; we love all chriſtians, even our moſt erring brethren: we confeſs our ſins to God and to our brethren whom we have offended, and to God's miniſters in caſes of ſcandal or of a troubled conſcience: we communicate often, we are enjoined to receive the holy ſacrament thrice every year at leaſt: our prieſts abſolve the penitent; our biſhops ordain prieſts, and confirm baptized perſons; and bleſs their people and intercede for them, and what could be here wanting to ſalvation; what neceſſity forced you from us; I dare not ſuſpect it was a temporal regard that drew you away, but I am ſure it could be no ſpiritual?

But now that I have told you, and made you to conſider from whence you went; give me leave

to

to repreſent to you, and tell you whether you are gone, that you may underſtand the nature and conditions of your change. For do not think yourſelf ſafe, becauſe they tell you that you are come to the church; you are indeed gone from one church to another, from a better to a worſe, as will appear in the induction, the particulars of which before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice: if you mean in this affair to underſtand what you do, it were better you enquired what your religion is, than what your church is, for that which is a true religion to day, will be ſo to *morrow* and for *ever*; but that which is a holy church to day may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her truſt, or obtrude new articles in contradiction to the old, or by new interpretations may elude antient truths, or may change your creed, or may pretend to be the ſpouſe of Chriſt when ſhe is idolatrous, that is, adulterous to God: your religion is that which you muſt, and therefore may competently underſtand; you muſt live in it, and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it, and in all queſtions concerning the church, you are to chuſe your church by the religion, and therefore this ought firſt and laſt to be enquired after

Whether the Roman church be the catholic church, muſt depend upon ſo many uncertain enquiries, is offered to be proved by ſo long, ſo tedious a method; hath in it ſo many intrigues and labyrinths of queſtions, and is (like a long line) ſo impoſſible to be perfectly ſtreight, and to have no declination in it when it is held by ſuch a hand as yours, that unleſs it be by material enquiries into the articles of the religion, you can never hope to have juſt grounds of confidence. — In the mean time you can conſider this, if the Roman church were the catholic, that is, ſo as to

 exclude

exclude all that are not of her communion, then the Greek churches had as good turn Turks as remain damned christians, and all that are in the communion of all the other patriarchal churches in Christendom, must also perish like heathens; which thing before any man can believe, he must have put off all reason, and all modesty, and all charity. And who can with any probability think that the communion of saints in the creed is nothing but the communion of Roman subjects, and the article of the catholic church was made up to dispark the inclosures of Jerusalem, but to turn them into the pale of Rome, and the church is as limited as ever it was, save only that the synagogue is translated to Rome, which I think you will easily believe was a proposition the apostles understood not. But though it be hard to trust to it, it is also so hard to prove it, that you shall never be able to understand the measures of that question, and therefore your salvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wise person can believe that God hath tied our salvation to impossible measures, or bound us to an article that is not by us cognoscible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot understand.

And when you shall know that learned men, even of the Roman party, are not agreed concerning the catholic church that is infallibly to guide you, some saying that it is the virtual church, that is, the pope; some, that it is the representative church, that is, a council; some, that it is the pope and the council, the virtual church and the representative church together; some, that neither of these, nor both together are infallible, but only, the essential church, or the diffusive church is the catholic, from whom we must at no hand dissent; you will quickly find yourself in a wood, and uncertain whether you have more than

a word in exchange for your ſoul, when you are told you are in the catholic church.

But I will tell you what you may underſtand, and ſee, and feel, ſomething that yourſelf can tell whether I ſay true or no concerning it. You are now gone to a church that protects itſelf by arts of ſubtilty and arms, by violence and perſecuting all that are not of their minds, to a church in which you are to be a ſubject of the king ſo long as it pleaſes the pope: in which you may be abſolved from your vows made to God, your oaths to the king, your promiſes to men, your duty to your parents in ſome caſes: a church in which men pray to God, and to ſaints in the ſame form of words in which they pray to God, as you may ſee in the offices of ſaints, and particularly of our lady: a church in which men are taught by moſt of the principal leaders to worſhip images with the ſame worſhip with which they worſhip God and Chriſt, or him or her whoſe image it is, and in which they uſually picture God, the Father, and the Holy Trinity, to the great diſhonour of that ſacred myſtery, againſt the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, againſt the expreſs doctrine of ſcripture, againſt the honour of a divine attribute. I mean, the immenſity and ſpirituality of the divine nature; you are gone to a church that pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived in many particulars, and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children ſhould enquire into any thing her prieſts obtrude: you are gone from receiving the whole ſacrament to receive it but half; from Chriſt's inſtitution to a human invention, from ſcripture to uncertain traditions, and from ancient traditions to new pretences, from prayers which ye underſtood, to prayers which ye underſtand not, from confidence in God to rely upon creatures, from entire de-

pendence upon inward acts to a dangerous temptation of resting too much in outward ministries, in the external work of sacraments and of sacramentals: you are gone from a church whose worshiping is simple, christian and apostolical, to a church where men's consciences are loaden with a burden of ceremonies, greater than that in the days of the Jewish religion (for the ceremonial of the church of Rome is a great book in folio) greater I say, than all the ceremonies contained in Leviticus, *&c.* you are gone from a church where you are exhorted to read the word of God, the holy scriptures from whence you found instruction, comfort, reproof, a treasure of all excellencies, to a church that seals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of such cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out: and if it be told you that some men abuse scripture, it is true; for if your priests had not abused scripture, they could not thus have abused you. But there is no necessity they should, and you need not, unless you list; any more than you need to abuse the sacrament or decrees of the church, or the messages of your friend, or the letters you receive, or the laws of the land; all which are liable to be abused by evil persons, but not by good people and modest understandings. It is now become a part of your religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the man that hears your confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him, as he please, without remedy. You are gone from us, where you were only taught to worship God through Jesus Christ, and now you are taught to worship saints and angels with a worship at least dangerous, and in some things proper to God; for your church worships the vir-

gin

gin Mary with burning incenſe and candles to her, and you give her preſents, which by the conſent of all nations uſed to be eſteemed a worſhip peculiar to God, and it is the ſame thing which was condemned for hereſy in the Collyridians, who offered a cake to the virgin Mary; a candle and a cake make no difference in the worſhip, and your joining God and the ſaints in your worſhip and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for king and parliament, the latter deſtroys the former. I will trouble you with no more particulars, becauſe if theſe move you not to conſider better, nothing can. But yet, I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at leaſt may prevail upon you, whom I ſuppoſe to have a tender and a religious conſcience.

The firſt is, that all the points of difference between us and your church are ſuch as do evidently ſerve the ends of covetouſneſs and ambition, of power and riches; and ſo ſtand vehemently ſuſpected of deſign, and art, rather than truth of the article, and deſigns upon heaven. I inſtance in the pope's power over princes and all the world, his power of diſpenſation, the exemption of the clergy from juriſdiction of princes, the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences which was once made means to raiſe a portion for a lady, the niece of Pope Leo the tenth; the prieſts power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from ſcripture, a doctrine apt to bring abſolute obedience to the papacy: but becauſe this is poſſibly too nice for you to ſuſpect or conſider, that which I am ſure ought to move you is this.

That you are gone to a religion, in which, (though through God's grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are, I hope and charitably ſuppoſe, many pious men that love God, and live good lives, yet) there are very many doctrines

taught by your men, which are very ill friends to a good life. I inſtance in your indulgences and pardons, in which vicious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of purgatory which gives countenance to a ſort of chriſtians, who live half to God and half to the world, and for them this doctrine hath found out a way that they may go to hell and to heaven too. The doctrine that the prieſts abſolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that ſuddenly too, and at any time, even on our death-bed or the minute before our death, is a dangerous heap of falſhoods, and gives licence to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life, with the hopes of heaven. And then for penances and temporal ſatisfaction, which might ſeem to be as a plank after the ſhipwreck of the duty of repentance, to keep men in awe, and to preſerve thee from ſinking in an ocean of impiety, it comes to juſt nothing by your doctrine; for there are ſo many eaſy ways of indulgences and getting pardons, ſo many confraternities, ſtations, privileged altars, little offices, agnus Dei's, amulets, hallowed devices, ſwords, roſes, hats, church-yards, and the fountain of theſe annexed indulgences, the pope himſelf, and his power of granting what, and when, and to whom he liſt; that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to ſmart with penances; and after all he may chuſe to ſuffer any at all, for he may pay them in purgatory if he pleaſe, and he may come out of purgatory upon reaſonable terms, in caſe he ſhould think it fit to go thither; ſo that all the whole duty of repentance ſeems to be deſtroyed with devices of men that ſeek power and gain, and find error and folly; inſomuch that if I had a mind to live an evil life, and yet hope for heaven at laſt, I would be of your religion above any in the world.

But

But I forget I am writing a letter; I ſhall therefore deſire you to conſider upon the premiſes which is the ſafer way. For ſurely it is lawful for a man to ſerve God without images; but that to worſhip images is lawful is not ſo ſure. It is lawful to pray to God alone, to confeſs him to be true, and every man a liar, to call no man maſter upon earth, but to rely upon God teaching us; but it is at leaſt hugely diſputable, and not at all certain, that any man, or ſociety of men, can be infallible; that we may put our truſt in ſaints, in certain extraordinary images, or burn incenſe and offer conſumptive oblations to the virgin Mary, to make vows to perſons, of whoſe ſtate, or place, or capacities, or condition we have no certain revelation, we are ſure we do well, when in the holy communion we worſhip God and Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour; but they who alſo worſhip what ſeems to be bread, are put to ſtrange ſhifts to make themſelves believe it to be lawful. It is certainly lawful to believe what we ſee and feel; but it is an unnatural thing upon pretence of faith to diſbelieve our eyes, when our ſenſe and our faith can better be reconciled, as it is in the queſtion of the real preſence, as it is taught by the church of England.

So that unleſs you mean to prefer a danger before ſafety, temptation to unholineſs before a ſevere and holy religion: unleſs you mean to loſe the benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the benefit of the ſacrament, in great degrees, by falling from Chriſt's inſtitution, and taking half inſtead of all; unleſs you deſire to provoke God to jealouſy by images, and man to jealouſy in profeſſing a religion, in which you may, in many caſes, have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful truſt; unleſs you will ſtill continue to give ſcandal to thoſe good people, with whom you have lived in a

common religion, and weaken the hearts of God's afflicted ones; unleſs you will chuſe a catechiſm without the ſecond commandment, and a faith that grows bigger or leſs as men pleaſe, and a hope that, in many degrees, relies on men and vain confidencies, and a charity that damns all the world but yourſelves; unleſs you will do all this, that is, ſuffer an abuſe in your prayers, in the ſacrament, in the commandments, in faith, in hope, in charity, in the communion of ſaints, in your duty to your ſupreme, you muſt return to the boſom of your mother the church of England, from whence you have fallen, rather weakly than maliciouſly; and I doubt not but you will find the comfort of it all your life, and in the day of your death, and in the day of judgment. If you will not, yet I have freed mine own ſoul, and done an act of duty and charity, which at leaſt you are bound to take kindly, if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now let me add this, that although moſt of theſe objections are ſuch things, which are the open and avowed doctrines or practices of your church, and need not to be proved as being either notorious or confeſſed; yet if any of your guides ſhall ſeem to queſtion any thing of it, I will bind myſelf to verify it to a tittle, and in that too which I intend them, that is, ſo as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly, or hereſy, or diſobedience; according to the ſubject matter, and though I have propounded theſe things now to your conſideration, yet, if it be deſired, I ſhall repreſent them to your eye, ſo that even yourſelf ſhall be able to give ſentence in the behalf of truth. In the mean time give me leave to tell you of how much folly you are guilty in being moved by ſuch mock arguments

as

as your men uſe when they meet with women and tender conſciences and weaker underſtandings.

The firſt is, where was your church before Luther? now if you had called upon them to ſpeak ſomething againſt your religion from ſcripture, or right reaſon, or univerſal tradition, you had been ſecure as a tortoiſe in her ſhell; a cart preſſed with ſheaves could not have oppreſſed your cauſe or perſon, though you had confeſſed you underſtood nothing of the miſteries of ſucceſſion, doctrinal or perſonal. For if we can make it appear that our religion was that which Chriſt and his apoſtles taught, let the truth ſuffer what eclipſes or prejudices can be ſuppoſed, let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity; yet what Chriſt and his apoſtles taught us, is eternally true, and ſhall by ſome means or other be conveyed to us; even the enemies of truth have been conſervators of that truth by which we can confute their errors. But if you ſtill aſk where it was before Luther? I anſwer, it was there where it was after; even in the ſcriptures of the old and new teſtament; and I know no warrant for any other religion: and if you will expect I ſhould ſhew any ſociety of men who profeſſed all the doctrines which are now expreſſed in the confeſſion of the church of England: I ſhall tell you it is unreaſonable, becauſe ſome of our truths are now brought into our public confeſſions that they might be oppoſed againſt your errors, before the occaſion of which there was no need of any ſuch confeſſions, till you made many things neceſſary to be profeſſed, which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your ſuperinduced follies, we ſhall do unreaſonably, unconſcionably, and wickedly; but the queſtions themſelves are ſo uſeleſs, abſtracting from the accidental neceſſity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been hap-

py

py if we had never heard of them more than the ſaints and martyrs did in the firſt ages of the church. But becauſe your clergy have invaded the liberty of the church, and multiplied the dangers of damnation, and pretend new neceſſities, and have introduced new articles, and affright the ſimple upon new pretenſions, and ſlight the very inſtitution and the commands of Chriſt and of the apoſtles, and invent new ſacramentals, conſtituting ceremonies of their own head, and promiſe grace along with the uſe of them, as if they were not miniſters but Lords of the ſpirit, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and make void the commandment of God by their tradition, and have made a ſtrange body of divinity: therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould immure our faith by the refuſal of ſuch vain and ſuperſtitious dreams; but our faith was completed at firſt, it is no other than that which was delivered to the ſaints, and can be no more for ever.

So that it is a fooliſh demand to require that we ſhould ſhow before Luther a ſyſtem of articles declaring our ſenſe in theſe queſtions: it was long before they were queſtions at all, and when they were made queſtions, they remained ſo a long time; and when by their ſeveral pieces they were determined, this part of the church was oppreſſed with a violent power; and when God gave opportunity, then the yoke was broken; and this is the whole progreſs of this affair. But if you will ſtill inſiſt upon it, then let the matter be put into equal balances, and let them ſhew any church whoſe confeſſion of faith was ſuch as was obtruded upon you at Trent; and if your religion be Pius Quartus his creed at Trent, then we alſo have a queſtion to aſk, and that is, where was your religion before Trent?

The

The council of Trent determined, that the ſouls departed before the day of judgment enjoy the beatifical viſion. It is certain this article could not be ſhown in the confeſſion of any of the ancient churches; for moſt of the fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greateſt offence of Chriſtendom, is not only that theſe doctrines which we ſay are falſe were yet affirmed, but that thoſe things which the church of God did always reject, or held as uncertain, ſhould be made articles of faith, and ſo become parts of your religion; and of theſe it is that I again aſk the queſtion which none of your ſide ſhall ever be able to anſwer for you: where was your religion before Trent?

I could inſtance in many particulars, but I ſhall name one to you, which becauſe the thing of itſelf is of no great conſequence, it will appear the more unreaſonable and intolerable that your church ſhould adopt it into the things of neceſſary belief, eſpecially ſince it was only a matter of fact and they took the falſe part too. For in the 21 ſeſſ. chap. 4. it is affirmed that although the holy fathers did give the ſacrament of the euchariſt to infants, yet they did it without any neceſſity of ſalvation, that is, they did not believe it neceſſary to their ſalvation: which is notoriouſly falſe, and the contrary is marked out with the black lead of every man almoſt that reads their works; and yet your council ſays this is *ſine controverſiâ credendum*, to be believed without all controverſy; and all chriſtians forbidden to believe or teach otherwiſe: ſo that here it is made an article of faith amougſt you, that a man ſhall neither believe his reaſon nor his eyes: and who can ſhew any confeſſion of faith in which all the Trent doctrine was profeſſed and enjoined under pain of damnation?

And

And before the council of Conſtance, the doctrine touching the pope's power was ſo new, ſo deſcried, that as Gerſon ſays, he hardly ſhould have eſcaped the note of hereſy, that would have ſaid ſo much as was there defined: ſo that in that article which now makes a great part of your belief, where was your religion before the council of Conſtance? and it is notorious that your council of Conſtance determined the doctrine of the half communion with a *non obſtante* to Chriſt's inſtitution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, obſerved neglect of it, and with a profeſſion it was otherwiſe in the primitive church. Where then was your religion before John Hus and Hierom of Prague's time, againſt whom that council was convened? but by this inſtance it appears moſt certainly that your church cannot ſhow her confeſſions immediately after Chriſt, and therefore if we could not ſhow ours immediately before Luther, it were not half ſo much; for ſince you receded from Chriſt's doctrine, we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who or how many or how long they profeſſed your doctrine, if neither Chriſt nor his apoſtles did teach it: ſo that if theſe articles conſtitute your church, your church was inviſible at the firſt; and if ours was inviſible afterwards, it matters not; for yours was inviſible in the days of light, and ours was inviſible in the days of darkneſs. For our church was alway viſible in the reflections of ſcripture, and he that had his eyes of faith and reaſon might eaſily have ſeen theſe truths all the way which conſtitutes our church. But I add yet farther, that our church before Luther was there where your church was, in the ſame place and in the ſame perſons: for divers of the errors which have been amongſt us reformed, were not the conſtituent articles of your church before Luther's time

time, for before the laſt councils of your church a man might have been of your communion upon eaſier terms; and indulgences were indeed a practice, but no article of faith before your men made it ſo, and that very lately, and ſo were many other things beſides. So that although your men cozin the credulous and the ſimple by calling yours the old religion, yet the difference is vaſt between truth and their affirmative, even as much as between old errors and new articles. For although ignorance and ſuperſtition had prepared the ore, yet the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, and Trent eſpecially, were the forges and the mint.

Laſtly, if your men had not by all the vile and violent arts of the world ſtopped the mouths of diſſenters, the queſtion would quickly have been anſwered, or our articles would have been ſo confeſſed, ſo owned, and ſo public that the queſtion could never have been aſked, but in deſpite of all oppoſition, there were great numbers of profeſſors who did proteſt and profeſs and practice our doctrines contrary to your articles; as it is demonſtrated by the divines of Germany in Illyricus his *catalogus teſtium veritatis*, and in biſhop Morton's appeal.

But with your next objection you are better pleaſed, and your men make moſt noiſe with it. For you pretend that by our confeſſion ſalvation may be had in your church, but your men deny it to us; and therefore by the confeſſion of both ſides you may be ſafe, and there is no queſtion concerning you, but of us there is great queſtion, for none but ourſelves ſay that we can be ſaved.

I anſwer, 1ſt, That ſalvation may be had in your church, is it ever the truer becauſe we ſay it? if it be not, it can have no confidence to you, for

for the propoſition gets no ſtrength by our affirmative. But if it be, then our authority is good or elſe our reaſon; and if either be, then we have more reaſon to be believed ſpeaking of ourſelves; becauſe we are concerned to ſee that ourſelves may be in a ſtate of hope; and therefore we would not venture on this ſide if we had not greater reaſon to believe well of ourſelves than of you. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reaſon, becauſe we have greater concernments, and therefore greater conſiderations.

2d, As much charity as your men pretend us to ſpeak of you, yet it is a clear caſe, our hope of your ſalvation is ſo little, that we dare not venture ourſelves on your ſide. The burger of *Oldwater* being to paſs a river in his journey to *Daventry*, bad his man try the ford, telling him he hoped he ſhould not be drowned, for though he was afraid the river was too deep, yet he thought his horſe would carry him out, or at leaſt the boats would fetch him off. Such a confidence we may have of you, but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how great an intereſt it is that you venture.

3d, It would be remembered that though the beſt ground of your hope is not the goodneſs of your own faith, but the greatneſs of our charity; yet we that charitably hope well of you, have a fulneſs of aſſurance of the truth and certainty of our own way; and however you can pleaſe yourſelves with images of things, as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks outface us of juſt and firm adherences; and if you were not empty of ſupports, and greedy of bulruſhes, ſnatching at any thing to ſupport your ſinking cauſe, you would with fear and trembling conſider the direct dan-

gers

gers which we demonſtrate to you to be in your religion, rather than flatter yourſelves with collateral, weak, and deceitful hopes of accidental poſſibilities, that ſome of you may eſcape.

4th, If we be more charitable to you than you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and eſſential form of chriſtian religion, be ſure you love as well as make uſe of your charity. But if you make our charity an argument againſt us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good; and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the *Donatiſts* were condemned for heretics and ſchiſmatics, becauſe they damned all the world, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their communion.

5th, But that our charity may be ſuch indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into wormwood and coloquintida, I pray take notice in what ſenſe it is that we allow ſalvation may poſſibly be had in your church. We warrant it not to any, we only hope it for ſome: we allow it to them as to the *Sadduces* in the law, and not to the Corinthians in the goſpel who denied the reſurrection; that is, till they were ſufficiently inſtructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to outwear their prejudices and impreſſes of their education and long perſuaſion. But to them amongſt you who can and do conſider and yet determine for error and intereſt, we have a greater charity, even ſo much as to labour and pray for their converſion, but not ſo much fondneſs as to flatter them into boldneſs and pertinacious adherences to matters of ſo great danger.

6th, But in all this affair, though your men are very bold with God and leap into his judgment ſeat before him, and give wild ſentences concerning the ſalvation of your own party, and the damnation of all that diſagree; yet that which

is

is our charity to you is indeed the fear of God and the reverence of his judgments. We do not ſay that all papiſts are certainly damned, we wiſh and deſire vehemently that none of you may periſh. But then this charity of judgment relates not to you; nor is deſired from any probability which we ſee in your doctrines that differ from ours. But becauſe we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article, it concerns neither us nor you to ſay, this or that man ſhall be damned for his opinion. For beſides that this is a bold intruſion into that ſecret of God which ſhall not be opened till the day of judgment; and beſides that we know not what allays and abatements are to be made by the good meaning and the ignorance of the man; all that can concern us is to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from ſcripture, that you exerciſe tyranny over ſouls, that you leave the divine inſtitution, prevaricate God's commandment, that you divide the church without truth and without neceſſity, that you tie men to believe things under pain of damnation which cannot be made very probable, much leſs certain; and therefore that you ſin againſt God and are in danger of his eternal diſpleaſure. But in giving the final ſentence as we have no more to do than your men have, yet ſo we refuſe to follow your evil example; and we follow the glorious precedent of our bleſſed Lord, who decreed and declared againſt the crime, but not againſt the criminal before the day. He that does this or that, is in danger of the council, or in danger of judgment, or liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell fire. So we ſay of your greateſt errors, they put you in the danger of periſhing; but that you ſhall or ſhall not periſh, we leave it to your judge; and if you call this

charity,

charity, it is well, I am ſure it is piety and the fear of God.

7th, Whether you may be ſaved, or whether you ſhall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the rate and value which God ſets upon things. Whatever we talk, things are as they are, not as we diſpute, or grant, or hope; and therefore it will be well if your men would leave abuſing you and themſelves with theſe little arts of indirect ſupport. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally periſh; and you in your church damn millions who I doubt not ſhall reign with *Jeſus* eternally in the heavens.

8th, I wiſh you would conſider, that if any of our men ſay ſalvation may be had in your church, it is not for the goodneſs of your new propoſitions, but only becauſe you do keep ſo much of that which is our religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope any thing at all that is good of you or your religion, as it diſtinguiſhes from us and ours. We hope that the good which you have common with us may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be an antidote of the venom, and an amulet againſt the danger of your very great errors: ſo that if you can derive any confidence from our conceſſion, you muſt remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours. You are not at all ſafe, or warranted for being *papiſts*; but we hope well of ſome of you, for having ſo much of the *proteſtant*: and if that will do you any good, proceed in it, and follow it whitherſoever it leads.

9th, The ſafety that you dream of, which we ſay to be on your ſide, is nothing of allowance or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect

 and

and relative. We do not ſay any thing whereby you can conclude yours to be ſafer than ours; for it is not ſafe at all but extremely dangerous. We affirm thoſe errors in themſelves to be damnable, ſome to contain in them impiety, ſome to have ſacrilege, ſome idolatry, ſome ſuperſtition, ſome practices to be conjuring and charming and very little like to witchcraft, as in your hallowing of water, baptizing bells, and exorciſing demoniacs; and what ſafety there can be in theſe, or what you can fancy we ſhould allow to you, I ſuppoſe you need not boaſt of. Now becauſe we hope ſome are ſaved amongſt you, you muſt not conclude yours to be ſafe; for our hope relies on this: there are many of your propoſitions in which we differ from you, that thouſands amongſt you underſtand and know nothing of; it is to them as if they were not; it is to them now as it was before the council, they hear not of it. And though your prieſts have taken a courſe that the moſt ignorant do practiſe ſome of your abominations moſt groſsly, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who (as St. Auſtin's expreſſion is) *cauta ſollicitudine quærunt veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint*; do according as they are able warily and diligently ſeek for truth, and are ready to follow it when they find it; men who live good lives and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, theſe men ſhall rejoice in the eternal goodneſs of God, which prevails over the malice of them that miſguide you. But if we be deceived in our hopes of you, your guides have abuſed you, and the blind leaders of the blind will fall together. For,

10th, If you will have the ſecret of this whole affair, this it is. The hopes we have of any of you, (as it is known) principally relies upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we ſay that a man may repent

repent of an error which he knows not of; as he that prays heartily for the pardon of all his ſins and errors known and unknown; by his general repentance may obtain many degrees and inſtances of mercy. Now thus much alſo your men allow to us; theſe who live well, and die in a true, though but general, repentance of their ſins and errors even amongſt us, your beſt and wiſeſt men pronounce to be in a ſavable condition. Here then we are equal, and we are as ſafe by your confeſſion as you are by ours. But becauſe there are ſome bigots of your faction, fierce and fiery, who ſay that a general repentance will not ſerve our turns, but it muſt be a particular renunciation of proteſtancy; theſe men deny not only to us but to themſelves too, all that comfort which they derive from our conceſſion, and indeed which they can hope for from the mercy of God. For be you ſure we think as ill of your errors as you can ſuppoſe of our articles; and therefore if for errors (be they on which ſide it chances) a general repentance will not ſerve the turn without an actual dereliction, then flatter not yourſelves by any thing of our kindneſs to your party; for you muſt have a particular, if a general be not ſufficient. But if it be ſufficient for you, it is ſo for us, in caſe we be in error as your men ſuppoſe us; but if it will not ſuffice us for remedy to thoſe errors you charge us with, neither will it ſuffice you; for the caſe muſt needs be equal as to the value of repentance and malignity of the error: and therefore theſe men condemn themſelves and will not allow us to hope well of them: but if they will allow us to hope, it muſt be by affirming the value of a general repentance: and if they allow that, they muſt hope as well of ours as we of theirs: but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themſelves; and then they can no more brag of

any thing of our conceſſion. This only I add to this conſideration, that your men do not, cannot charge upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious; there is nothing poſitive in our doctrine but is either true or innocent; but we are accuſed for denying your ſuperſtructures, ours therefore (if we be deceived) is but like a ſin of omiſſion; yours are ſins of commiſſion in caſe you are in the wrong (as we believe you to be) and therefore you muſt needs be in the greater danger than we can be ſuppoſed, by how much ſins of omiſſion are leſs than ſins of commiſſion.

11th, Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy, and a trick that muſt needs deceive you if you rely on it. For whereas your men argue thus; the proteſtants ſay, we papiſts may be ſaved, and ſo ſay we too; but we papiſts ſay that you proteſtants cannot, therefore it is ſafeſt to be a papiſt. Conſider that of this argument, if it ſhall be accepted, any bold heretic can make uſe, againſt any modeſt chriſtian of a true perſuaſion. For, if he can but outface the modeſty of the good man, and tell him he ſhall be damned, unleſs that modeſt man ſay as much of him, you ſee impudence ſhall get the better of the day. But it is thus in every error. Fifteen biſhops of *Jeruſalem* in immediate ſucceſſion were circumciſed, believing it to be neceſſary ſo to be: with theſe other chriſtian churches who were of the uncircumciſion did communicate. Suppoſe now that theſe biſhops had not only thought it neceſſary for themſelves, but for others too; this argument you ſee was ready: you of the uncircumciſion who do communicate with us, think that we may be ſaved though we are circumciſed; but we do not think that you who are not circumciſed can be ſaved, therefore it is the

ſafeſt

ſafeſt way to be circumciſed. I ſuppoſe you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had your children circumciſed. But this argument may ſerve the preſbyterians as well as the papiſts. We are indeed very kind to them in our ſentences concerning their ſalvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us. If they ſhould argue ſo as you do, and ſay, you epiſcopal men think we preſbyterians, though in errors can be ſaved, and we ſay ſo too; but we think you epiſcopal men are enemies of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and therefore we think you in a damnable condition; therefore it is ſafer to be a preſbyterian: I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands, I am ſure we had reaſon to complain that we are very ill uſed on both hands for no other cauſe but becauſe we are charitable. But it is not our caſe alone; but the old catholics were uſed juſt ſo by the *Donatiſts* in this very argument, as we are uſed by your men. The *Donatiſts* were ſo fierce againſt the catholics, that they would rebaptize all them who came to their churches from the other: but the catholics, as knowing the *Donatiſts* did give right baptiſm, admitted their converts to repentance, but did not rebaptize them. Upon this ſcore the *Donatiſts* triumphed, ſaying, you catholics confeſs our baptiſm to be good, and ſo ſay we, but we *Donatiſts* deny your baptiſm to be good; therefore it is ſafer to be of our ſide than yours. Now what ſhould the catholics ſay or do? ſhould they lie for God and for religion, and to ſerve the ends of truth, ſay the *Donatiſts* baptiſm was not good? that they ought not. Should they damn all the *Donatiſts* and make the rent wider? it was too great already. What then? they were quiet, and knew that the *Donatiſts* ſought advantages by

their own fierceneſs, and trampled upon the others charity; but ſo they hardned themſelves in error, and became evil becauſe the others were good.

I ſhall trouble you no further now, but deſire you to conſider of theſe things with as much caution, as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you, I ſhall pray to God to open your heart and your underſtanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and repent, and do your firſt works. Which that you may do, is the hearty deſire of

Yours, *&c.*

LETTER II.

TO A PERSON NEWLY CONVERTED TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Madam,

I Bleſs God I am ſafely arrived where I deſired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger: and now becauſe I can have no other expreſſion of my tenderneſs, I account that I have a treble obligation to ſignify it by my care of your biggeſt and eternal intereſt, and becauſe it hath pleaſed God to make me an inſtrument of making you to underſtand in ſome fair meaſure the excellencies of a true and holy religion, and that I have pointed out ſuch follies and errors in the *Roman* church, at which your underſtanding being forward and pregnant, did of itſelf ſtart as at imperfect ill-looking propoſitions, give me leave to do that now which is the purpoſe of my charity, that is,

teach

teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the church of *England* whither you are now come is not in condition to boaſt herſelf in the reputation of changing the opinion of a ſingle perſon, though never ſo excellent; ſhe hath no temporal ends to ſerve which muſt ſtand upon fame and noiſes; all that ſhe can deſign, is to ſerve God, to advance the honour of the Lord, and the good of ſouls, and to rejoice in the croſs of Chriſt.

1. Therefore I deſire you to remember that as now you are taught to pray both publicly and privately, in a language underſtood, ſo it is intended your affections ſhould be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer hath in the underſtanding part. For though you have been often told and have heard, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; you will find that the propoſition is unnatural and againſt common ſenſe and experience, becauſe it is impoſſible to deſire that of which we know nothing, unleſs the deſire itſelf be fantaſtical and illuſive: it is neceſſary that in the ſame proportion in which we underſtand any good thing, in the ſame we ſhall alſo deſire it; and the more particular and minute your notices are, the more paſſionate and material alſo your affections will be towards it: and if they be good things for which we are taught to pray, the more you know them, the more reaſon you have to love them. It is monſtrous to think that devotion, that is, paſſionate deſires of religious things, and the earneſt proſecutions of them, ſhould be produced by any thing of ignorance or leſs perfect notices in any ſenſe. Since therefore you are taught to pray, ſo that your underſtanding is the precentor or maſter of the

quire, and you know what you ſay; your deſires are made humane, religious, expreſs, material, (for theſe are the advantages of prayers and liturgies well underſtood) be pleaſed alſo to remember, that now if you be not alſo paſſionate and devout for the things you mention, you will want the ſpirit of prayer, and be more inexcuſable than before. In many of your prayers before (eſpecially the public) you heard a voice, but ſaw and perceived nothing of the ſenſe, and what you underſtood of it was like the man in the goſpel that was half blind, he ſaw men walking like trees, and ſo you poſſibly might perceive the meaning of it in general. You knew when they came to the epiſtle, when to the goſpel, when the *introit*, when the *pax*, when any other of the more general periods were; but you could have nothing of the ſpirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellencies which could or ought there to have been repreſented: but now you are taught how you may be really devout, it is made facile and eaſy, and there can want nothing but your conſent and obſervation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all human confidences, from relying wholly and almoſt ultimately upon the prieſt's power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and outſides; you are not to think that the prieſt's power is leſs, that the ſacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently: but you are to remember that all outward things and ceremonies, all ſacraments and inſtitutions work their effect in the vertue of Chriſt by ſome moral inſtrument. The prieſts in the church of England can abſolve you as much as the Roman prieſts could fairly pretend, but then we teach that you muſt firſt be

be a penitent and a returning perſon, and our abſolution does but manifeſt the work of God, and comfort and inſtruct your conſcience, direct and manage it. You ſhall be abſolved here, but not unleſs you live an holy life; ſo that in this you will find no change but to the advantage of a ſtrict life; we will not flatter you and cozen your dear ſoul by pretended miniſteries, but we ſo order our diſcourſes and directions, that all our miniſtrations may be really effective. And when you receive the holy ſacrament of the euchariſt, or the Lord's ſupper, it does more good here then they do there; becauſe if they conſecrate rightly, yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole repreſentative ſacrifice, yet they do not give you the whole ſacrament; only we enjoin that you come with ſo much holineſs, that the grace of God in your heart may be the principle, and the ſacrament in our hands may be the miniſtring and aſſiſting part. We do not promiſe great effects to eaſy triffling diſpoſitions, becauſe we would not deceive but really procure to you great effects; and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the ſame expectations as before, of pardon of grace, of ſanctification; but you muſt do ſomething more of the work yourſelf, that we may not do leſs in effect than you have in your expectation; we will not, to advance the reputation of our power, deceive you into a leſs bleſſing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter yourſelf, that in our communion you may have more eaſe and liberty of life: for though I know your pious ſoul deſires paſſionately to pleaſe God and to live religiouſly, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, leaſt it at any time ſhould diſcom-

poſe

poſe your ſeverity: therefore as to confeſſion to a prieſt (which how it is uſually practiſed among the Roman party, yourſelf can very well account, and you have complained ſadly, that it is made an ordinary act, eaſy and tranſient, ſometime matter of temptation, oftentimes impertinent, but) ſuppoſe it free from ſuch ſcandal to which ſome men's folly did betray it, yet the ſame ſeverity you'll find among us, for though we will not tell a lye to help a ſinner, and ſay that is neceſſary which is only appointed to make men do themſelves good; yet we adviſe and commend it, and do all the work of ſouls to all thoſe people that will be ſaved by all means, to devout perſons, that make religion the buſineſs of their lives; and they that do not ſo in the churches of the Roman communion, as they find but little advantage, by periodical confeſſions, ſo they feel but little awfulneſs and ſeverity by the injunction. You muſt confeſs to God all your ſecret actions, you muſt adviſe with a holy man in all the affairs of your ſoul, you will be but an ill friend to yourſelf if you conceal from him the ſtate of your ſpiritual affairs. We deſire not to hear the circumſtance of every ſin, but when matter of juſtice is concerned, or the nature of the ſin is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a queſtion; and you will find that though the church of England gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable ceremonies and human devices, yet in the matter of holineſs you will be tyed to very great ſervice, but ſuch a ſervice as is perfect freedom, that is, the ſervice of God and the love of the holy Jeſus, and a very ſtrict religious life: for we do not promiſe heaven, but upon the ſame terms it is promiſed us, that is, *repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* and as in faith we make no more

to

to be neceſſary than what is made ſo in holy ſcripture, ſo in the matter of repentance we give you no eaſy devices, and ſuffer no leſſening definitions of it, but oblige you to that ſtrictneſs which is the condition of being ſaved, and ſo expreſſed to be by the infallible word of God; but ſuch as in the church of Rome they do not ſo much ſtand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my journey, and although I did propoſe to have ſpoken many things more, yet I deſire that my not doing it may be laid upon the account of my wearineſs; all that I ſhall add to the main buſineſs is this.

4. Read the ſcripture diligently, and with an humble ſpirit, and in it obſerve what is plain, and believe and live accordingly. Trouble not yourſelf with what is difficult, for in that your duty is not deſcribed.

5. Pray frequently and effectually; I had rather your prayers ſhould be often than long. It was well ſaid of *Petrarch*, *Magno verborum fræno uti decet cum ſuperiore colloquentem.* When you ſpeak to your ſuperior, you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue, much more when you ſpeak to God. I ſpeak of what is decent in reſpect of ourſelves and our infinite diſtances from God: but if love makes you ſpeak, ſpeak on, ſo ſhall your prayers be full of charity and devotion, *Nullus eſt amore ſuperior, ille te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium*; love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may ſay to God, the ſame love which made me ſpeak, will alſo move thee to hear and pardon: love and devotion may enlarge your litanies, but nothing elſe can, unleſs authority does interpoſe.

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true ſons of the church of England, leſt if you

follow

follow them that were amongſt us, but are gone out from us (becauſe they were not of us) you be offended and tempted to impute their follies to the church of England.

7. Trouble yourſelf with no controverſies willingly, but how you may beſt pleaſe God by a ſtrict and ſevere converſation.

8. If any proteſtant live looſely, remember that he diſhonours an excellent religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the charge of our church, than the ill lives of moſt chriſtians may upon the whole religion.

9. Let no man or woman affright you with declamations and ſcaring words of heretic, and damnation, and changeable; for theſe words may be ſpoken againſt them that return to light, as well as to thoſe that go to darkneſs; and that which men of all ſides can ſay, it can be of effect to no ſide upon its own ſtrength or pretenſion.

A DISCOURSE

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

NATURE, OFFICES AND MEASURES

OF

FRIENDSHIP,

WITH

RULES OF CONDUCTING IT.

In a Letter to the moſt Ingenuous and Excellent Mrs. CATHERINE PHILIPS.

Madam,

THE wiſe *Ben Sirach* adviſed that we ſhould not conſult with a woman concerning her of whom ſhe is jealous, neither with a coward in matters of war, nor with a merchant concerning exchange; and ſome other inſtances he gives of intereſted perſons, to whom he would not have us hearken in any matter of counſel. For wherever the intereſt is *ſeculer* or *vicious*, there the biaſs is not on the ſide of *truth* or *reaſon*, becauſe *theſe* are ſeldom ſerved by profit and low regards. But to conſult with a friend in the matters of friendſhip, is like conſulting with a ſpiritual perſon in religion; they who underſtand the ſecrets of

of religion, or the interior beauties of friendſhip, are the fitteſt to give anſwers in all inquiries concerning the reſpective ſubjects; becauſe *reaſon* and *experience* are on the ſide of *intereſt*; and that which in friendſhip is moſt *pleaſing* and moſt *uſeful*, is alſo moſt *reaſonable* and moſt *true*: and a friend's faireſt intereſt is the beſt meaſure of the conducting friendſhips: and therefore you who are ſo eminent in friendſhips could alſo have given the beſt anſwer to your own inquiries, and you could have truſted your own reaſon, becauſe it is not only greatly inſtructed by the direct notices of things, but alſo by great experience in the matter of which you now inquire.

But becauſe I will not uſe any thing that ſhall look like an excuſe, I will rather give you ſuch an account which you can eaſily reprove, than by declining your commands, ſeem more ſafe in my prudence, than open and communicative in my friendſhip to you.

You firſt enquire, *how far a dear and perfect friendſhip is authorized by the principles of chriſtianity?*

To this I anſwer, that the word [*friendſhip*] in the ſenſe we commonly mean by it, is not ſo much as named in the New Teſtament; and our religion takes no notice of it. You think it ſtrange; but read on before you ſpend ſo much as the beginning of a paſſion or a wonder upon it. There is mention of [*friendſhip with the world*], and it is ſaid to be *enmity with God*; but the word is no where elſe named, or to any other purpoſe in all the New Teſtament. It ſpeaks of friends often; but by *friends* are meant our acquaintance, or our kindred, the relatives of our family or our fortune, or our ſect; ſomething of ſociety, or ſomething of kindneſs there is in it; a tenderneſs of appellation and civility, a relation made by gifts,

or

or by duty, by ſervices and ſubjection; and I think, I have reaſon to be confident, that the word *friend* (ſpeaking of human intercourſe) is no otherwiſe uſed in the goſpels or epiſtles, or acts of the apoſtles: and the reaſon of it is, the word *friend* is of a large ſignification, and means all relations and ſocieties, and whatſoever is not *enemy*. But by *friendſhips*, I ſuppoſe you mean *the greateſt love, and the greateſt uſefulneſs, and the moſt open communication, and the nobleſt ſufferings, and the moſt exemplar faithfulneſs, and the ſevereſt truth, and the heartieſt counſel, and the greateſt union of minds, of which brave men and women are capable.* But then I muſt tell you that chriſtianity hath new chriſtened it, and calls this *charity*. The chriſtian knows no enemy he hath; that is, though perſons may be injurious to him, and unworthy in themſelves, yet he knows none whom he is not firſt bound to forgive, which is indeed to make them on his part to be no enemies, that is, to make that the word *enemy* ſhall not be perfectly contrary to *friend*, it ſhall not be a relative term and ſignify ſomething on each hand a *relative* and a *correlative*; and then he knows none whom he is not bound to love and pray for, to treat kindly and juſtly, liberally and obligingly. *Chriſtian charity is friendſhip to all the world*; and when friendſhips were the nobleſt things in the world, charity was little, like the ſun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn into the center of a burning glaſs; but chriſtian charity is friendſhip expanded like the face of the ſun when it mounts above the eaſtern hills: and I was ſtrangly pleaſed when I ſaw ſomething of this in *Cicero*; for I have been ſo puſhed at by herds and flocks of people that follow any body that whiſtles to them, or drives them to paſture, that I am grown afraid of any truth that ſeems chargeable with ſingularity:

ſingularity: but therefore I ſay, glad I was when I ſaw *Lælius* in *Cicero* diſcourſe thue: *Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam conciliavit ipſa natura, contracta res eſt, et adducta in anguſtum; ut omnis charitas, aut inter duos, aut inter paucos jungeretur.* Nature hath made friendſhips and ſocieties, relations and endearments; and by ſomething or other we relate to all the world; there is enough in every man that is willing to make him become our friend: but when men contract friendſhips, they incloſe the commons; and what nature intended ſhould be every man's, we make proper to two or three. Friendſhip is like rivers and the ſtrand of ſeas, and the air, common to all the world; but tyrants and evil cuſtoms, wars, and want of love have made them proper and peculiar. But when chriſtianity came to renew our nature, and to reſtore our laws, and to increaſe her privileges, and to make her aptneſs to become religion, then it was declared that our friendſhips were to be as univerſal as our converſation; that is, *actual* to all with whom we converſe, and *potentially extended* unto thoſe with whom we did not. For he who was to treat his enemies with forgiveneſs and prayers, and love and beneficence, was indeed to have no enemies, and to have all friends.

So that to your queſtion, *how far a dear and perfect friendſhip is authorized by the principles of chriſtianity?* the anſwer is ready and eaſy. It is warranted to extend to all mankind; and the more we love, the better we are; and the greater our friendſhips are, the dearer we are to God. Let them be as dear, and let them be as perfect, and let them be as many as you can, there is no danger in it; only where the reſtraint begins, there begins our imperfection. It is not ill that you entertain brave friendſhips and worthy ſocieties;

it

you could benefit all mankind: for I conceive that is the ſum of all friendſhip.

I confeſs this is not to be expected of us in this world; but as all our graces here are but imperfect, that is, at the beſt they are but tendencies to glory: ſo our friendſhips are imperfect too, and but beginnings of a celeſtial friendſhip, by which we ſhall love every one as much as they can be loved. But then ſo we muſt be here *in our proportion*; and indeed that is it that can make the difference; we muſt be friends to all, that is, apt to do good, loving them really, and doing to them all the benefits that we can, and which they are capable of. The friendſhip is equal to all the world, and of itſelf hath no difference; but is differenced only by accidents, and by the capacity or incapacity of them that receive it. *Nature* and *religion* are the *bands* of friendſhips; *excellency* and *uſefulneſs* are its greateſt *indearments*; *ſociety* and *neighbourhood*, that is, the poſſibilities and the circumſtances of converſe are the *determinations* and *actualities* of it. Now when men are either unnatural or irreligious, they *will not* be friends; when they are neither excellent nor uſeful, *they are not worthy* to be friends; when they are ſtrangers or unknown, they *cannot be friends* actually and practically; but yet, as any man hath any thing of the good, contrary to thoſe evils, ſo he can have and muſt have his ſhare of friendſhip. For thus the ſun is the eye of the world; and he is indifferent to the *negro* or the cold *Ruſſian*, to them that dwell under the line, and them that ſtand near the tropics, the ſcalded *Indian*, or the poor boy that ſhakes at the foot of the *Riphean* hills. But the fluxures of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the aproaches to

the north or ſouth reſpectively change the emanations of his beams; not that they do not always paſs from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can. And ſome have only a dark day and a long night from him, ſnows and white cattle; a miſerable life, and a perpetual harveſt of catatarrhs and conſumptions; apoplexies and dead palſies. But ſome have ſplended fires and aromatic ſpices, rich wines and well digeſted fruits, great wit and great courage; becauſe they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the ſun, and wait upon him in his chambers of the eaſt. Juſt ſo it is in friendſhips: ſome are worthy, and ſome are neceſſary; ſome dwell hard by and are fitted for converſe; nature joins ſome to us; and religion combines us with others; ſociety and accidents, parity of fortune, and equal diſpoſitions do actuate our friendſhips: which of themſelves and in their prime diſpoſition are prepared for all mankind according as any one can receive them. We ſee this beſt exemplified by two inſtances and expreſſions of friendſhips and charity, viz. alms and prayer: every one that needs relief is equally the object of our charity; but though to all mankind in equal needs we ought to be alike in charity: yet we ſignify this ſeverally and by limits, and by diſtinct meaſures: the poor man that is near me, he whom I meet, he whom I love, he whom I fancy, he who did me benefit, he who relates to my family, he rather than another; becauſe my expreſſions, being finite and narrow, and cannot extend to all in equal ſignifications, muſt be appropriate to thoſe whoſe circumſtances beſt fit me: and yet even to all I give alms; to all the world that needs them:

I pray

I pray for all mankind, I am grieved at every ſad ſtory I hear; I am troubled when I hear of a pretty bride murdered in her bride-chamber by an ambitious and enraged rival: I ſhed a tear when I am told that a brave king was miſunderſtood, then ſlandered, then impriſoned, and then put to death by evil men: and I can never read the ſtory of the *Pariſian* maſſacre, or the *Sicilian* veſpers, but my blood curdles, and I am diſordered by two or three affections. A good man is a friend to all the world; and he is not truly charitable that does not wiſh well, and do good to all mankind in what he can. But though we muſt pray for all men, yet we ſay ſpecial litanies for brave kings and holy prelates, and the wiſe guides of ſouls, for our brethren and relations, our wives and children.

The effect of this conſideration is that the univerſal friendſhip of which I ſpeak, muſt be *limited* becauſe *we are ſo:* in thoſe things wherein we ſtand next to *immenſity* and *infinity*, as in good wiſhes and prayers, and a readineſs to benefit all mankind, in theſe our friendſhips muſt not be limited: but in other things which paſs under our hand and eye, our voices and our material exchanges; our hands can reach no further but to our arms end, and our voices can but ſound till the next air be quiet, and therefore they can have intercourſe but within the ſphere of their own activity; our needs and our converſations are ſerved by a few, and they cannot reach to all: where they can they muſt; but *where it is impoſſible, it cannot be neceſſary*. It muſt therefore follow, that our friendſhips to mankind may admit variety as does our converſation; and as by nature we are made *ſociable* to all, ſo we are *friendly*; but as all cannot actually be of our ſociety, ſo neither can all be admitted to a ſpecial

actual friendſhip. Of *ſome intercourſes* all men are capable, but *not of all*; men can pray for one another, and abſtain from doing injuries to all the world, and be deſirous to do all mankind good, and love all men; now this friendſhip we muſt pay to all becauſe we can; but if we can do no more to all, we muſt ſhew our readineſs to do more good to all by actually doing more good to all them to whom we can.

To ſome we can, and therefore there are nearer friendſhips to ſome than to others, according as there are natural or civil nearneſſes, relations and ſocieties; and as I cannot expreſs my friendſhips to all in equal meaſures and ſignifications, that is, as I cannot do benefits to all alike, ſo neither am I tied to love all alike: for although there is much reaſon to love every man, yet there are more reaſons to love ſome than others; if I muſt love becauſe there is reaſon I ſhould, then I muſt *love more*, where there is *more reaſon*: and where there is a ſpecial affection and a great readineſs to do good and to delight in certain perſons towards each other, there is that ſpecial charity and endearment which philoſophy calls *friendſhip*; but our religion calls *love* or *charity*. Now if the inquiry be concerning this ſpecial friendſhip, 1. *How it can be appropriate*, that is, who to be choſen to it: 2. *How far it may extend*, that is, with what expreſſion ſignified: 3. *How conducted*, the anſwers will depend upon ſuch conſiderations which will be neither uſeleſs nor unpleaſant.

1. There may be a ſpecial friendſhip contracted for any ſpecial excellency whatſoever; becauſe *friendſhips are nothing but love and ſociety mixed together*, that is, *a converſing with them whom we love*; now for whatſoever we can love any one, for that we can be his friend; and ſince every excellency is a degree of amability, every ſuch worthineſs

worthineſs is a juſt and proper motive of friendſhip or living converſation. But yet in theſe things there is an order and proportion. Therefore,

2. *A good man* is the beſt friend, and therefore ſooneſt to be choſen, longer to be retained; and indeed never to be parted with, unleſs he ceaſe to be that for which he was choſen.

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρετὴ ποιεῖ φίλον ὁστὶς ἄριστος,
Μήποτε τὴν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἐλαῖρον.

Where virtue dwells, there friendſhips make,
But evil neighbourhoods forſake.

But although *virtue* alone is the worthieſt cauſe of amability, and can weigh down any one conſideration; and therefore to a man that is virtuous every man ought to be a friend: yet I do not mean the ſevere and philoſophical excellencies of ſome moroſe perſons who are indeed wiſe unto themſelves, and exemplar to others. By *virtue* here I do not mean *juſtice* and *temperance*, *charity* and *devotion*; for theſe I am to love the man, but friendſhip is ſomething more than that: *friendſhip is the neareſt love and the neareſt ſociety of which the perſons are capable*; now *juſtice* is a good intercourſe for merchants, as all men are that buy and ſell; and *temperance* makes a man good company, and helps to make a wiſe man: but a perfect friendſhip requires ſomething elſe, theſe muſt be in him that is choſen to be my friend, but for theſe I do not make him my *privado*, that is, my ſpecial and peculiar friend: but if he be *a good man*, then he is properly fitted to be my correlative in the nobleſt combination. And for this we have the beſt warrant in the world *for a juſt man ſcarcely will a man die:* the *Syriac*

 interpteter

interpreter reads it, ὑπὲρ ἀδίκου *for an unjust man scarcely will a man die*, that is, a wicked man is at no hand fit to receive the expression of the greatest friendship: but all the greek copies that ever I saw, or read of, read it as we do; *for a righteous man, or a just man*, that is, justice and righteousness, is not the nearest indearment of friendship; but for *a good man* some will even dare to die, that is, for a man that is sweetly disposed, ready to do acts of goodness and to oblige others, to do things useful and profitable; for a loving man, a beneficent, bountiful man, one who delights in doing good to his friend, such a man may have the highest friendship, he may have a friend that will die for him. And this is the meaning of *Lælius*, virtue may be despised, so may learning and nobility; *at una est amicitia in rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes consentiunt*: only friendship is that thing which because all know to be useful and profitable, no man can despise; that is, χρηστότης or ἀγαθότης, goodness or beneficence makes friendships. For if he be a good man, he will love where he is beloved; and that is the first tie of friendship.

Ἀλλήλους ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ.

That was the commendation of the bravest friendship in Theocritus.

They loved each other with a love,
That did in all things equal prove.

Ἦ ῥα τοτ' ἦσαν
Χρυσεῖοι πάλαι ἄνδρες ὃκ' ἀντιφίλησ' ὁ φιλήθεις.

The world was under Saturn's reign,
When he that lov'd was lov'd again.

For

For it is impoſſible this nearneſs of friendſhip can be where there is not mutual love; but this is ſecured if I chooſe a good man; for he that is apt enough to begin alone, will never be behind in the relation and correſpondency; and therefore I like the Gentiles litany well,

> Ζεύς μοι των τε φίλων δοίη τισίν οἵ με φιλεῦσι·
> Ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεραῶνται.

> *Let God give friends to me for my reward,*
> *Who ſhall my love with equal love regard;*
> *Happy are they, who when they give their heart,*
> *Find ſuch as in exchange their own impart.*

But there is more in it than this felicity amounts to; for χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ, *the good man*, is a profitable, uſeful perſon, and that is the band of an effective friendſhip: for I do not think that friendſhips are metaphyſical nothings, created for contemplation, or that men or women ſhould ſtare upon each other's faces, and make dialogues of news and prettineſſes, and look babies in one another's eyes. Friendſhip is the allay of our ſorrows, the eaſe of our paſſions, the diſcharge of our oppreſſions, the ſanctuary of our calamities, the counſellor of our doubts, the charity of our minds, the emiſſion of our thoughts, the exerciſe and improvement of what we meditate. And, although I love my friend becauſe he is worthy, yet he is not worthy if he can do no good: I do not ſpeak of accidental hindrances and misfortunes, by which the braveſt man may become unable to help his child; but of the natural and artificial capacities of the man. He only is fit to be choſen for a friend, who can do thoſe offices for which friendſhip is excellent: for (miſtake not) no man can be loved for himſelf; our perfec-

tions in this world cannot reach ſo high; it is well if we would love God at that rate; and I very much fear, that if God did us no good, we might admire his beauties, but we ſhould have but a ſmall proportion of love towards him; and therefore it is, that God, to endear *the obedience*, that is, *the love* of his ſervants, ſignifies what benefits he gives us, what great good things he does for us. *I am the Lord God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt*, and *does Job ſerve God for nought?* and *he that comes to God muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder:* all his other greatneſſes are objects of fear and wonder; it is his goodneſs that makes him lovely, and ſo it is in friendſhips. He only is fit to be choſen for a friend who can give counſel, or defend my cauſe, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good: only this I add: into the heaps of doing good, I will reckon *(loving me)*; it is a pleaſure to be beloved: but when his love ſignifies nothing, but kiſſing my cheek, or talking kindly, and can go no further, it is a proſtitution of the bravery of friendſhip to ſpend it upon impertinent people, who are (it may be) loads to their families, but can never eaſe my loads; but my friend is a worthy perſon when he can become to me inſtead of God, a guide or ſupport, an eye or a hand, a ſtaff or a rule.

There muſt be in friendſhip ſomething to diſtinguiſh it from a companion, and a countryman, from a ſchool-fellow or a goſſip, from a ſweet-heart or a fellow-traveller: friendſhip may look in at any one of theſe doors, but it ſtays not any where till it come to the beſt thing in the world; and, when we conſider that one man is not better than another, neither towards God nor towards man, but by doing better and braver things:

things: we ſhall alſo ſee, that that which is moſt beneficent is alſo moſt excellent; and therefore thoſe friendſhips muſt needs be moſt perfect, where the friends can be moſt uſeful. For men cannot be uſeful but by worthineſſes in the ſeveral inſtances: a fool cannot be relied upon for council; nor a vicious perſon for the advantages of virtue, nor a beggar for relief, nor a ſtranger for conduct, nor a tatler to keep a ſecret, nor a pitileſs perſon truſted with my complaint, nor a covetous man with my child's fortune, nor a falſe perſon without a witneſs, nor a ſuſpicious perſon with a private deſign; nor him that I fear with the treaſures of my love: but he that is wiſe and virtuous, rich and at hand, cloſe and merciful, free of his money and tenacious of ſecrets, open and ingenuous, true and honeſt, is of himſelf an excellent man, and therefore fit to be loved; and he can do good to me in all capacities where I can need him, and therefore is fit to be a friend. I confeſs we are forced in our friendſhips to abate ſome of theſe ingredients: but full meaſures of friendſhip would have full meaſures of worthineſs; and according as any defect is in the foundation, in the relation alſo there may be imperfection: and indeed I ſhall not blame the friendſhip ſo it be worthy, though it be not perfect; not only becauſe friendſhip is charity, which cannot be perfect here, but becauſe there is not in the world a perfect cauſe of perfect friendſhip.

If you can ſuſpect that this diſcourſe can ſuppoſe friendſhip to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greateſt worthineſs of it, which is to love our friend for our friend's ſake. I ſhall eaſily be able to defend myſelf; becauſe I ſpeak of the election and reaſons of chooſing friends:

after

after he is chosen do as nobly as you talk, and love as purely as you dream, and let your conversation be as metaphysical as your discourse, and proceed in this method, till you be confuted by experience; yet till then, the case is otherwise when we speak of choosing one to be my friend: he is not my friend till I have chosen him or loved him: and if any man enquires whom he shall choose or whom he shall love, I suppose it ought not to be answered, that we should love him who hath least amability, that we should choose him who hath least reason to be chosen. But if it be answered, he is to be chosen to be my friend who is most worthy in himself, not he that can do most good to me: I say here is a distinction but no difference; for he is most worthy in himself who can do most good, and if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, or that I need, then he is my friend and he deserves it. And it is impossible from a friend to separate a will to do me good: and therefore I do not choose well, if I choose one that hath not power: for if it may consist with the nobleness of friendship to desire that my friend be ready to do me benefit or support, it is not sense to say, it is ignoble to desire he should really do it when I need; and if it were not for pleasure or profit, we might as well be without a friend as have him.

Among all the pleasures and profits, the *sensual pleasure*, and the *matter of money* are the lowest and the least; and therefore although they may sometimes be used in friendship, and so not wholly excluded from the consideration of him that is to choose, yet of all things they are to be the least regarded,

Ἐν τοῖς δὲ δεινοῖς, χρημάτων κρείττων φίλος.

When fortune frowns upon a man
A friend does more than money can.

For there are besides these, many profits and many pleasures; and because these only are sordid, all the other are noble and fair, and the expectations of them no disparagements to the best friendship. For can any wise or good man be angry if I say, I choose this man to be my friend, because he is able to give me council, to restrain my wanderings, to comfort me in my sorrows; he is pleasant to me in private, and useful in public; he will make my joys double, and divide my grief betwixt himself and me? for what else should I choose? for being a fool and useless? for a pretty face or a smooth chin? I confess it is possible to be a friend to one that is ignorant, and pitiable, handsome and good for nothing, that eats well and drinks deep, but he cannot be a friend to me; and I love him with a fondness or a pity, but it cannot be a noble friendship.

ἐκ ἐᾶ πότων καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν τρυφῆς
Ζητοῦμεν ᾧ πιστεύσωμεν τὰ τοῦ βίου
Γάτερ; ὃ περιττὸν οἶσι τ' ἐξευρηκέναι
Ἀγαθὸν ἕκαστος ἐὰν ἔχῃ φίλου σκίαν, said *Menander*.

By wine and mirth and every days delight
We choose our friends, to whom we think we might
Our souls entrust; but fools are they that lend
Their bosom to the shadow of a friend.

Εἴδωλα καὶ μιμήματα φιλίας, *Plutarch* calls such friendships, *the idols and images of friendship.*

ſhip. True and brave friendſhips are between worthy perſons; and there is in mankind no degree of worthineſs, but is alſo a degree of uſefulneſs, and by every thing by which a man is excellent, I may be profited: and becauſe thoſe are the braveſt friends which can beſt ſerve the ends of friendſhips, either we muſt ſuppoſe that friendſhips are not the greateſt comforts in the world, or elſe we muſt ſay, he chooſes his friend beſt, that chooſes ſuch an one by whom he can receive the greateſt comforts and aſſiſtances.

3. This being the meaſure of all friendſhips, they all partake of excellency, according as they are fitted to this meaſure: a friend may be counſelled well enough, though his friend be not the wiſeſt man in the world; and he may be pleaſed in his ſociety, though he be not the beſt natured man in the world; but ſtill it muſt be that ſomething excellent is, or is apprehended, or elſe it can be no worthy friendſhip; becauſe the choice is imprudent and fooliſh. Chooſe for your friend him that is wiſe and good, ſecret and juſt, ingenuous and honeſt; and in thoſe things which have a latitude, uſe your own liberty; but in ſuch things which conſiſt in an indeviſable point, make no abatements; that is, you muſt not chooſe him to be your friend that is not honeſt and ſecret, juſt and true to a title; but if he be wiſe at all, and uſeful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be aſhamed to own your friendſhips, though ſometimes you may be aſhamed of ſome imperfections of your friend.

4. But if you yet enquire further, whether *fancy* may be an ingredient in your choice? I anſwer that fancy may miniſter to this as to all other actions in which there is a liberty and variety; and we ſhall find that there may be peculiarities and little partialities, *a friendſhip improperly*

properly ſo called, entering upon accounts of an innocent paſſion and a pleaſed fancy; even our bleſſed Saviour himſelf loved St. John and Lazarus by a ſpecial love, which was ſignified by ſpecial treatments; and of the young man that ſpake well and wiſely to Chriſt; it is affirmed, *Jeſus loved him*, that is, he fancied the man, and his ſoul had a certain cognation and ſimilitude of temper and inclination. For in all things where there is a latitude, every faculty will endeavour to be pleaſed, and ſometimes the meaneſt perſons in an houſe have a feſtival: even ſympathies and natural inclinations to ſome perſons, and a conformity of humours, and proportionable loves and the beauty of the face, and a witty anſwer may firſt ſtrike the flint and kindle a ſpark, which if it falls upon tender and compliant natures may grow into a flame; but this will never be maintained at the rate of friendſhip, unleſs it be fed by pure materials, by *worthineſſes* which are *the food of friendſhip*; where theſe are not, men and women may be pleaſed with one another's company, and lye under the ſame roof, and make themſelves companions of equal proſperities, and humour their friend; but if you call this friendſhip, you give a ſacred name to humour or fancy; for there is a *platonic* friendſhip as well as a *platonic* love; but they being but the images of more noble bodies are but like tinſel dreſſings, which will ſhew bravely by candle light, and do excellently in a maſk, but are not fit for converſation and the material intercourſes of our life. Theſe are the prettineſſes of proſperity and good natured wit; but when we ſpeak of friendſhip, which is the beſt thing in the world (for it is love and beneficence, it is charity that is fitted for ſociety) we cannot ſuppoſe a brave pile ſhould be built up with nothing; and they that build caſtles in the air, and look upon friendſhip, as

upon

upon a fine romance, a thing that pleases the fancy, but is good for nothing else, will do well when they are asleep, or when they are come to *Elysium*: and for ought I know in the mean time may be as much in love with *Mandana* in the *Grand Cyrus*, as with the *Infanta of Spain*, or any of the most perfect beauties and real excellencies of the world: and by dreaming of perfect and abstracted friendships, make them so immaterial that they perish in the handling and become good for nothing.

But I know not whether I was going; I only meant to say that because friendship is that by which the world is most blessed and receives most good, it ought to be chosen amongst the worthiest persons, that is, amongst those that can do greatest benefit to each other; and though in equal worthiness I may choose by my eye, or ear, that is, into the consideration of the essential I may take in also the accidental and extrinsic worthinesses; yet I ought to give every one their just value, when the internal beauties are equal, these shall help to weigh down the scale, and I will love a worthy friend that can delight me as well as profit me, rather than him who cannot delight me at all, and profit me *no more*; but yet I will not weigh the gayest flowers, or the wings of butterflies against wheat; but when I am to choose wheat, I may take that which looks the brightest. I had rather see thyme and roses, marjoram and july-flowers, that are fair and sweet and medicinal, then the prettiest tulips that are good for nothing: and my sheep and kine are better servants than race horses and gray hounds: and I shall rather furnish my study with *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, with *Livy* and *Polybius*, than with *Cassandra* and *Ibrahim Bassa*: and if I do give an hour to these for divertisement or pleasure, yet I will

will dwell with them that can inſtruct me, and make me wiſe and eloquent, ſevere and uſeful to myſelf and others. I end this with the ſaying of *Lælius* in *Cicero: amicitia non debet conſequi utilitatem, ſed amicitiam utilitas.* When I chooſe my friend I will not ſtay till I have received a kindneſs; but I will chooſe ſuch an one that can do me many if I need them: but I mean ſuch kindneſſes which make me wiſer and better; that is, when I chooſe my friend, I will chooſe him that is the braveſt, the worthieſt and the moſt excellent perſon: and then your firſt queſtion is ſoon anſwered; to love ſuch a perſon and to contract ſuch friendſhips is juſt ſo authorized by the principles of chriſtianity, as it is warranted to love wiſdom and virtue, goodneſs and beneficence, and all the impreſſes of God upon the ſpirits of brave men.

2. The next enquiry is, *how far it may extend?* that is, by what expreſſions it may be ſignified? I find that *David* and *Jonathan* loved at a ſtrange rate; they were both good men; though it happened that *Jonathan* was on the obliging ſide; but here the expreſſions were *Jonathan* watched for *David*'s good; told him of his danger, and helped him to eſcape; took part with *David*'s innocence againſt his father's malice and injuſtice: and beyond all this did it to his own prejudice; and they two ſtood like two feet ſupporting one body; though *Jonathan* knew that *David* would prove like the foot of a wreſtler, and would ſupplant him, not by any unworthy or unfriendly action, but it was from God; and he gave him his hand to ſet him upon his own throne.

We find his parallels in the Gentile ſtories: young *Athenodorus* having divided the eſtate with his brother *Xenon*, divided it again when *Xenon* had ſpent his own ſhare; and *Lucullus* would

not

not take the consulship till his younger brother had first enjoyed it for a year, but *Pollux* divided with *Castor* his immortality; and you know who offered himself to death being a pledge for his friend, and his friend by performing his word rescued him as bravely. And when we find in scripture that *for a good man some will even* dare *to die*; and that *Aquila* and *Priscilla* laid their necks down for St. *Paul*; and the *Galatians* would have given him their very eyes, that is, every thing that was most dear to them, and some others were near unto death for his sake, and that it is a precept of christian charity to lay down our lives for our brethren, that is, those who were combined in a cause of religion, who were united with the same hopes, and imparted to each other ready assistances, and grew dear by common sufferings, we need enquire no further for the expressions of friendship: *greater love than this hath no man, than that he lay down his life for his friends*; and this we are obliged to do in some cases for all christians, and therefore we may do it for those who are to us in this present and imperfect state of things, that which all the good men and women in the world shall be in heaven, that is, in the state of perfect friendships. This is the biggest, but then it includes and can suppose all the rest; and if this may be done for all, and in some cases must for any one of the multitude, we need not scruple whether we may do it for those who are better than a multitude. But as for the thing itself, it is not easily and lightly to be done; and a man must not die for humour, nor expend so great a jewel for a triffle: μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν εἰδότες ἐπ' ὐδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ πτρανάλωμα γενησόμενοι, said *Philo*; we will hardly die when it is for nothing, when no good, no worthy end is served, and become a sacrifice to redeem a footboy.

boy. But we may not give our life to redeem another: unless, 1. The person for whom we die be a worthy and an useful person; better for the public, or better for religion, and more useful to others than myself. Thus *Ribischius* the *German* died bravely when he became a sacrifice for his master, *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*; covering his master's body with his own, that he might escape the fury of the Turkish soldiers. *Saccurram perituro, sed ut ipse non peream, nisi si futurus æro magni hominis, aut magnæ rei merces*, said *Seneca*. I will help a dying person if I can: but I will not die myself for him, unless by my death I save a brave man, or become the price of a great thing; that is, I will die for a prince, for the republic, or to save an army, as *David* exposed himself to combat with the *Philistine* for the redemption of the host of *Israel*; and in this sense, that is true, *præstat ut pereat unus quàm unitas*, better that one perish than a multitude. 2. A man dies bravely when he gives his temporal life to save the soul of any single person in the christian world. It is a worthy exchange, and the glorification of that love by which Christ gave his life for every soul. Thus he that reproves an erring prince wisely and necessarily, he that affirms a fundamental truth, or stands up for the glory of the divine attributes, though he die for it, becomes a worthy sacrifice. 3. These are duty, but it may be heroic and full of christian bravery, to give my life to rescue a noble and brave friend, though I myself be as worthy a man as he; because the preference of him is an act of humility in me, and of friendship towards him; *humility* and *charity* making a pious difference, where *art* and *nature* have made all equal.

Some have fancied other measures of treating our friends. One sort of men say that we are to

 expect

expect that our friends ſhould value us as we value ourſelves: which if it were to be admitted, will require that we make no friendſhips with a proud man; and ſo far indeed were well; but then this proportion does exclude ſome humble men who are moſt to be valued, and the rather becauſe they undervalue themſelves.

Others ſay that a friend is to value his friend as much as his friend values him; but neither is this well or ſafe, wiſe or ſufficient; for it makes friendſhip a mere bargain, and is ſomething like the country weddings in ſome places where I have been; where the bridegroom and the bride muſt meet in the half way, and if they fail a ſtep, they retire and break the match: it is not good to make a reckoning in friendſhip; that is, merchandiſe, or it may be gratitude, but not noble friendſhip; in which each part ſtrives to out-do each other in ſignifications of an excellent love; *and amongſt true friends there is no fear of loſing any thing.*

But that which among the old philoſophers comes neareſt to the right, is that we love our friends as we love ourſelves. If they had meant it as our bleſſed Saviour did, of that general friendſhip by which we are to love all mankind, it had been perfect and well; or if they had meant it of the inward affection, or of outward juſtice; but becauſe they meant it of the moſt excellent friendſhips, and of the outward ſignification of it, it cannot be ſufficient; for a friend may and muſt ſometimes do more for his friend than he would do for himſelf. Some men will periſh before they will beg or petition for themſelves to ſome certain perſons; but they account it noble to do it for their friend, and they will want rather than their friend ſhall want, and they will be more earneſt in praiſe or

diſpraiſe

dispraise respectively for their friend than for themselves. And indeed I account that one of the greatest demonstrations of real friendship is, that a friend can really endeavour to have his friend advanced in honour, in reputation, in the opinion of wit or learning before himself.

Aurum et opes et rura frequens donabit amicus:
Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit.
Sed tibi tantus inest veteris respectus amici,
Carior ut mea sit quam tua fama tibi.

Lands, gold and triffles many give or lend,
But he that stoops in fame, is a rare friend;
In friendship's orb thou art the brightest star,
Before thy fame mine thou prefereſt far.
Martial l. 8. ep. 18.

But then be pleased to think that therefore I so highly value this signification of friendship, because I so highly value humility; *humility* and *charity* are the two greatest graces in the world; and these are the greatest ingredients which constitute friendship and express it.

But there needs no other measures of friendship, but that it may be as great as you can express it; beyond death it cannot go, to death it may when the cause is reasonable and just, charitable and religious; and yet if there be any thing greater than to suffer death (and pain and shame to some are more insufferable) a true and noble friendship shrinks not at the greatest trials.

And yet there is a limit even to friendship, it must be as great as our friend fairly needs in all things where we are not tied up by a former duty, to God, to ourselves, or some pre-obli-

ging relative. When *Pollux* heard ſomebody whiſper a reproach againſt his brother *Caſtor*, he killed the ſlanderer with his fiſt: that was a zeal which his friendſhip could not warrant. *Nulla eſt excuſatio ſi amici cauſâ peccaveris*, ſaid *Cicero*. No friendſhip can excuſe a ſin: and this the braver *Romans* inſtanced in the matter of duty to their country. It is not lawful to fight on our friends part againſt our prince or country; and therefore when *Caius Bloſius* of *Cuma* in the ſedition of *Gracchus* appeared againſt his country; when he was taken he anſwered; that he loved *Tiberius Gracchus* ſo dearly, that he thought fit to follow him whetherſoever he led; and begged pardon upon that account: they who were his judges were ſo noble, that though they knew it no fair excuſe; yet for the honour of friendſhip they did not directly reject his motion; but put him to death becauſe he did not follow, but led on *Gracchus*, and brought his friend into the ſnare: for ſo they preſerved the honours of friendſhip on either hand, by neither ſuffering it to be ſullied by a foul excuſe, nor yet rejected in any fair pretence. A man may not be perjured for his friend. I remember to have read in the hiſtory of the low countries, that *Grimſton* and *Redhead*, when *Bergenopzoon* was beſieged by the duke of *Parma*, acted for the intereſt of the queen of *England*'s forces a notable deſign; but being ſuſpected and put for their acquittance to take the ſacrament of the altar, they diſſembled their perſons, and their intereſt, their deſign, and their religion, and did for the queen's ſervice (as one wittily wrote to her) give not only their bodies but their ſouls, and ſo deſerved a reward greater than ſhe could pay them: I cannot ſay this is a thing greater than a friendſhip can require, for it is not great at all, but a great villany which hath no name, and no order in worthy intercourſes; and no obligation

to a friend can reach ſo high as our duty to God: and he that does a baſe thing in zeal for his friend, burns the golden thread that ties their hearts together; it is a *conſpiracy* but no longer *friendſhip*. And when *Cato* lent his wife to *Hortenſius*, and *Socrates* his to a merry Greek, they could not amongſt wiſe perſons obtain ſo much as the fame of being worthy friends, neither could thoſe great names legitimate an unworthy action under the moſt plauſible title.

It is certain that amongſt friends their eſtates are common, that is by whatſoever I can reſcue my friend from calamity, I am to ſerve him, or not to call him friend; there is a great latitude in this, and it is to be reſtrained by no prudence, but when there is on the other ſide a great neceſſity neither vicious nor avoidable: a man may chooſe whether he will or no; and he does not ſin in not doing it, unleſs he have bound himſelf to it: *but certainly friendſhip is the greateſt bond in the world*, and if he have profeſſed a great friendſhip, he hath a very great obligation to do that and more; and he can no ways be diſobliged but by the care of his natural relations.

I ſaid, *friendſhip is the greateſt bond in the world*, and I had reaſon for it, for it is all the bands that this world hath; and there is no ſociety, and there is no relation that is worthy, but it is made ſo by the communications of friendſhip, and by partaking ſome of its excellencies. For friendſhip is a tranſcendent, and ſignifies as much as *unity* can mean; and every conſent and every pleaſure and every benefit, and every ſociety is the mother or daughter of friendſhip. Some friendſhips are made by *nature*, ſome by *contract*, ſome by *intereſt*, and ſome by *ſouls*. And in proportion to theſe ways of uniting, ſo the friendſhips are greater or leſs, virtuous or natural, pro-

fitable or holy, or all this together. Nature makes excellent friendſhips, of which we obſerve ſomething in ſocial plants; growing better in each others neighbourhood than where they ſtand ſingly: and in animals it is more notorious, whoſe friendſhips extend ſo far as to herd and dwell together, to play and feed, to defend and fight for one another, and to cry in abſence, and to rejoice in one another's preſence. But theſe friendſhips have other names leſs noble, they are *ſympathy*, or they are *inſtinct*. But if to this natural friendſhip there be reaſon ſuperadded, ſomething will come in upon the ſtock of reaſon which will ennoble it. But becauſe no rivers can riſe higher than fountains, reaſon ſhall draw out all the diſpoſitions which are in nature and eſtabliſh them into friendſhips, but they cannot ſurmount the communications of nature: nature can make no friendſhips greater than her own excellencies. Nature is the way of contracting neceſſary friendſhips, that is, by nature ſuch friendſhips are contracted without which we cannot live, and be educated, or be well, or be at all.

In this ſcene, that of *parents* and *children* is the greateſt, which indeed is begun in nature, but is actuated by ſociety and mutual endearments. For parents love their children becauſe they love themſelves, children being but like emiſſions of water, ſymbolical or indeed the ſame with the fountain; and they in their poſterity ſee the images and inſtruments of a civil immortality. But if parents and children do not live together, we ſee their friendſhips and their loves are much abated, and ſupported only by fame and duty, by cuſtoms and religion, which to nature are but artificial pillars, and make this friendſhip to be complicated, and to paſs from its own kind to another, that of children to their parents is not properly friendſhip, but

but gratitude and interest, and religion, and whatever can supervene of the nature of friendship comes in upon another account; upon society, worthiness and choice.

This relation on either hand makes great dearnesses: but it hath special and proper significations of it, and there is a special duty incumbent on each other respectively. This friendship and social relation is not equal, and there is too much authority on one side, and too much fear on the other to make equal friendships: and therefore although this is one of the kinds of friendship, that is of a social relative love and conversation; yet in the more proper use of the word, *friendship* does do somethings which father and son do not; I instance in the free and open communicating counsels, and the evenness and pleasantness of conversation; and consequently the significations of the paternal and filial love as they are divers in themselves and unequal, and therefore another kind of friendship then we mean in our enquiry; so they are such a duty which no other friendship can annul: because their mutual duty is bound upon them by religion long before any other friendship can be contracted: and therefore having first possession must abide for ever. The duty and love to parents must not yield to religion, much less to any new friendships: and our parents are to be preferred before the *corban*, and are at no hand to be laid aside but when they engage against God; that is, in the rights which this relation and kind of friendship challenges as its propriety, it is supreme and cannot give place to any other friendships: till the father gives his right away, and God or the laws consent to it; as in the case of marriage, emancipation, and adoption to another family: in which cases though love and gratitude are still obliging, yet the so-

cieties and duties of relation are very much altered; which in the proper and beſt friendſhips can never be at all. But then this alſo is true; that the ſocial relations of parents and children not having in them all the capacities of a proper friendſhip, cannot challenge all the ſignifications of it: that is, it is no prejudice to the duty I owe there, to pay all the dearneſſes which are due here, and to friends there are ſomethings due which the other cannot challenge, I mean *my ſecret*, and *my equal converſation*, and the pleaſures and intereſts of theſe, and the conſequents of all.

Next to this the ſociety and dearneſs of *brothers* and *ſiſters*: which uſually is very great amongſt worthy perſons; but if it be conſidered what it is in itſelf, it is but very little; there is very often a likeneſs of natural temper, and there is a ſocial life under the ſame roof, and they are commanded to love one another, and they are equals in many inſtances, and are endeared by converſation when it is merry and pleaſant, innocent and ſimple, without art and deſign. But brothers paſs not into noble friendſhips upon the ſtock of that relation: they have fair diſpoſitions and advantages, and are more eaſy and ready to ferment into the greateſt dearneſſes, if all things be anſwerable. Nature diſpoſes them well towards it, but in this enquiry if we aſk what duty is paſſed upon a brother to a brother even for being ſo? I anſwer, that religion and our parents, and God and the laws appoint what meaſures they pleaſe; but nature paſſes but very little, and friendſhip leſs; and this we ſee apparently in thoſe brothers who live aſunder, and contract new relations, dwell in other ſocieties. There is no love, no friendſhip without the intercourſe of converſation: friendſhips indeed may laſt longer than our abode together,

together, but they were firſt contracted by it, and eſtabliſhed by pleaſure and benefit; and unleſs it be the beſt kind of friendſhip (which that of *brothers* in that mere capacity is not) it dies when it wants the proper nutriment and ſupport: and to this purpoſe is that which was ſpoken by *Solomon: better is a neighbour that is near, than a brother which is far off:* that is, although ordinarily brothers are firſt poſſeſſed of the entries and fancies of friendſhip, becauſe they are of the firſt ſocieties and converſations; yet when that ceaſes and the brother goes away, ſo that he does no advantage, no benefit of intercourſe; the neighbour that dwells by me, with whom I converſe at all, either he is my enemy and does and receives evil: or if we converſe in worthineſs and benefit and pleaſant converſation, he is better in the laws and meaſures of friendſhip than my diſtant brother. And it is obſervable that *brother* is indeed a word of friendſhip and charity, and of mutual endearment, and ſo is a title of the braveſt ſociety; yet in all the ſcripture there are no precepts given of any duty and comfort, which brothers, that is, the deſcendants of the ſame parents are to have one towards another in that capacity; and it is not becauſe their nearneſs is ſuch that they need none: for parents and children are nearer, and yet need tables of duty to be deſcribed; and for brothers, certainly they need it infinitely if there be any peculiar duty; *Cain* and *Abel* are the great probation of that, and you know who ſaid,

Fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt.

It is not often you ſhall ſee
Two brothers live in amity.

But

But the ſcripture which often deſcribes the duty of parents and children, never deſcribes the duty of brothers; except where by *brethren* are meant all that part of mankind who are tied to us by any vicinity and indearment of religion or country, of profeſſion and family, of contract and ſociety, of love and the nobleſt friendſhip; the meaning is, that though fraternity alone be the endearment of ſome degrees of friendſhip, without choice and excellency, yet the relation itſelf is not friendſhip, and does not naturally infer it, and that which is procured by it, is but limited and little; and though it may paſs into it, as other converſations may, yet the friendſhip is accidental to it, and enters upon other accounts, as it does between ſtrangers; with this only difference that brotherhood does oftentimes aſſiſt the valuation of thoſe excellencies for which we entertain our friendſhips. Fraternity is the opportunity and preliminary diſpoſition to friendſhip and no more. For if my brother be a fool or a vicious perſon, the love to which nature and our firſt converſation diſpoſes me, does not end in friendſhip, but in pity, fair proviſions and aſſiſtances: which is a demonſtration that brotherhood is but the inclination and addreſs to friendſhip. And though I will love a worthy brother more than a worthy ſtranger, if the worthineſs be equal, becauſe the relation is ſomething, and being put into the ſcales againſt an equal worthineſs muſt needs turn the ballance, as every grain will do in an even weight; yet when the relation is all the worthineſs that is pretended, it cannot ſtand in competition with a friend: but though a *friend brother* is better than a *friend ſtranger*, where the friend is equal, but the brother is not; yet a brother is not better than a friend; but as *Solomon*'s expreſſion is,

there

there is a friend that is better than a brother: and to be born of the ſame parents is accidental and extrinſic to a man's pleaſure or worthineſs, or ſpiritual advantages, that though it be very pleaſing and uſeful that a brother ſhould be a friend, yet it is no great addition to a friend that he alſo is a brother: there is ſomething in it but not much. But in ſhort, the caſe is thus, the firſt beginnings of friendſhip ſerve the neceſſities; but choice and worthineſs are the excellencies of its indearment and bravery; and between a brother that is no friend, and a friend that is no brother, there is the ſame difference as between the diſpoſition and the act or habit: a brother if he be worthy is the readieſt and the neareſt to be a friend, but till he be ſo, he is but the twilight of the day, and but the bloſſom to the faireſt fruit of *Paradiſe*. A brother does not always make a friend, but a friend ever makes a brother and more: and although nature ſometimes finds the tree, yet friendſhip engraves the image; the firſt relation places him in the garden, but friendſhip ſets it in the temple, and then only it is venerable and ſacred, and ſo is brotherhood when it hath the ſoul of friendſhip.

So that if it be aſked which are moſt to be valued, *brothers* or *friends*; the anſwer is very eaſy, brotherhood is or may be one of the kinds of friendſhip, and from thence only hath its value, and therefore if it be compared with a greater friendſhip muſt give place: but then it is not to be aſked which is to be preferred, a *brother* or a *friend*, but which is the better friend, *Memnon* or my *brother*? For if my brother ſays I ought to love him beſt, then he ought to love me beſt; if he does, then there is a great friendſhip, and he poſſibly is to be preferred; if he can be that friend which he pretends to be, that is, if he be equally

equally worthy: but if he ſays, I muſt love him only becauſe he is my brother, whether he loves me or no, he is rediculous; and it will be a ſtrange relation which hath no correſpondent: but ſuppoſe it, and add this alſo, that I am equally his brother as he is mine, and then he alſo muſt love me whether I love him or no; and if he does not, he ſays, I muſt love him though he be mine enemy; and ſo I muſt: but I muſt not love my enemy though he be my brother more than my friend; and at laſt if he does love me for being his brother, I confeſs that his love deſerves love again; but then I conſider that he loves me upon an incompetent reaſon: for he that loves me only becauſe I am his brother, loves me for that which is no worthineſs, and I muſt love him as much as that comes to, and for as little reaſon; unleſs this be added, that he loves me firſt: but whether choice and union of ſouls, and worthineſs of manners, and greatneſs of underſtanding, and uſefulneſs of converſation, and the benefits of counſel, and all thoſe endearments which make our lives pleaſant and our perſons dear, are not better and greater reaſons of love and dearneſs than to be born of the ſame fleſh, I think amongſt wiſe perſons needs no great inquiry. For fraternity is but a cognation of bodies, but friendſhip is an union of ſouls which are confedetated by more noble ligatures. My brother, if he be no more, ſhall have my hand to help him; but unleſs he be my friend too, he cannot challenge my heart, and if his being my friend be the greater nearneſs, then *friend* is more than *brother*, and I ſuppoſe no man doubts but that *David* loved *Jonathan* far more than he loved his brother *Eliab*.

One enquiry more there may be in this affair, and that is, whether a *friend* may be more than

than a *husband* or *wife*. To which I answer, that it can never be reasonable or just, prudent or lawful: but the reason is, because marriage is the queen of friendships, in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendship: and it being made sacred by vows and love, by bodies and souls, by interest and custom, by religion and laws, by common counsels and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendship, and the measure of all the rest. And there is no abatement to this consideration, but that there may be some allay in this as in other lesser friendships by the incapacity of the persons: if I have not chosen my friend wisely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the best union: but then the friend lives as the soul does after death, it is in the state of separation, in which the soul strangely loves the body and longs to be re-united, but the body is an useless trunk, and can do no ministries to the soul; which therefore prays to have the body reformed, and restored, and made a brave and fit companion: so must these best friends when one is useless or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendship, they must love ever and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit: in this case there wants only the body, but the soul is still a relative and must be so for ever.

An *husband* and a *wife* are the best friends, but they cannot always signify all that to each other which their friendships would; as the sun shines not upon a valley which sends up a thick vapour to cover his face: and though his beams are eternal, yet the emission is intercepted by the intervening cloud. But however all friendships are but parts of this; a man must leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, that is, *the dearest things*

thing in nature is not comparable to the dearest thing in friendship: and I think this is argument sufficient to prove friendship to be the greatest band in the world: add to this, that other friendships are part of this, they are marriages too, less indeed than the other, because they cannot, must not be all that endearment which the other is; yet that being the principle, is the measure of the rest, and are all to be honoured by like dignities, and measured by the same rules, and conducted by their portion of the same laws. But as friendships are *marriages* of the soul, and of fortunes, interests and counsels; so they are brotherhoods too; and I often think of the excellencies of friendships in the words of *David*, who certainly was the best friend in the world, *ecce quàm bonum et quàm jucundum fratres habitare in unum.* It is good and it is pleasant that bretheren should live like friends, that is, they who are any ways relative, and who are any ways social and confederate, should also dwell in unity and loving society, for that is the meaning of the word *brother* in scripture. It was my brother *Jonathan* said *David*; such brothers contracting such friendships are the beauties of society, the pleasure of life, and the festivity of minds: and whatsoever can be spoken of love, which is God's eldest daughter, can be said of virtuous friendships; and tho' *Carneades* made an eloquent oration at *Rome* against justice, yet never saw a panegyric of malice, or ever read that any man was witty against friendship. Indeed it is probable that some men; finding themselves by the peculiarities of friendship excluded from the participation of those beauties of society which enamel and adorn the wise and the virtuous, might suppose themselves to have reason to speak the evil words of envy and detraction; I wonder not for all those unhappy souls which shall find heaven gates

gates ſhut againſt them, will think they have reaſon to murmur and blaſpheme. The ſimilitude is apt enough for that is the region of friendſhip, and love is the light of that glorious country, but ſo bright that it needs no ſun. Here we have fine and bright rays of that celeſtial flame, and though to all mankind the light of it is in ſome meaſure to be extended like the treaſures of light dwelling in the ſouth, yet a little do illuſtrate and beautify the north, yet ſome live under the line, and the beams of friendſhip in that poſition are eminent and perpendicular.

I know but one thing more in which the communications of friendſhip can be reſtrained, and that is, in friends and enemies: *amicus amici, amicus meus non eſt:* my friend's friend is not always my friend: nor his enemy mine; for if my friend quarrel with a third perſon with whom he hath had no friendſhips, upon the account of intereſt; if that third perſon be my friend, the nobleneſs of our friendſhips deſpiſes ſuch a quarrel; and what may be reaſonable in him, would be ignoble in me; ſometimes it may be otherways, and friends may marry one anothers loves and hatreds, but it is by chance if it can be juſt and therefore *becauſe it is not always right, it cannot be ever neceſſary.*

In all things elſe let friendſhips be as high and expreſſive till they become an union, or that friends like the *Molionidæ* be ſo the ſame that the flames of their dead bodies make but one *pyramis* no charity can be reproved, and ſuch friendſhips which are more than ſhadows, are nothing elſe but the rays of that glorious grace drawn into one center, and made more active by the union; and the proper ſignifications are well repreſented in the old hieroglyphic, by which the antients depicted friendſhip; in the beauties and ſtrength

of

of a young man, bare-headed, rudely clothed, to ſignify its activity and laſtingneſs, readineſs of action, and aptneſs to do ſervice; upon the fringes of his garment was written, *mors et vita*, as ſignifying that *in life and death* the friendſhip was the ſame; on the forehead was written *ſummer* and *winter*, that is, proſperous and adverſe accidents and ſtates of life; the left arm and ſhoulder was bare and naked down to the heart to which the finger pointed, and there was written *longè et propè*: by all which we know that friendſhip does good far and near, in ſummer and winter, in life and death, and knows no difference of ſtate or accident but by the variety of her ſervices: and therefore aſk no more to what we can be obliged by friendſhip; for it is every thing that can be *honeſt* and *prudent*, *uſeful* and *neceſſary*.

For this is all the allay of this univerſality, we may do or ſuffer any thing that is *wiſe* or *neceſſary*, or *greatly beneficial* to my friend, and that *in any thing*, in which I am *perfect maſter* of my *perſon* and *fortunes*. But I would not in bravery viſit my friend when he is ſick of the plague, unleſs I can do him good equal at leaſt to my danger; but I will procure him phyſicians and prayers, all the aſſiſtances that he can receive and deſire, if they be in my power: and when he is dead, I will not run into his grave and be ſtifled with his earth; but I will mourn for him, and perform his will, and take care of his relatives, and do for him as if he were alive; and I think that is the meaning of that hard ſaying of a *Greek* poet.

Ἄνθρωπ ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπόπροθεν ὦμεν ἑταῖροι,
Γλην τέτε παντὸς χρήματός ἐςι κόρος.

To

To me though diſtant let thy friendſhip fly,
Though men be mortal, friendſhips muſt not die:
Of all things elſe there's great ſatiety.

Of ſuch immortal abſtracted pure friendſhips indeed there is no great plenty, and to ſee brothers hate each other is not ſo rare as to ſee them love at this rate. *The dead and the abſent have but few friends*, ſay the *Spaniards*; but they who are the ſame to their friends ἀπόπροθεν, when he is in another country, or in another world, theſe are they who are fit to preſerve the ſacred fire for eternal ſacrifices, and to perpetuate the memory of thoſe exemplar friendſhips of the beſt men which have filled the world with hiſtory and wonder: for in no other ſenſe but this can it be true that friendſhips are pure loves, regarding to do good more than to receive it. He that is a friend after death hopes not for a recompenſe from his friend, and makes no bargain either for fame or love; but is rewarded with the conſcience and ſatisfaction of doing bravely, but then this is demonſtration that they chooſe friends beſt who take perſons ſo worthy that can and will do ſo. This is the profit and uſefulneſs of friendſhip; and he that contracts ſuch a noble union, muſt take care that his friend be ſuch who can and will; but hopes that himſelf ſhall be firſt uſed, and put to act it. I will not have ſuch a friendſhip that is good for nothing, but I hope that I ſhall be on the giving and aſſiſting part; and yet if both the friends be ſo noble and hope and ſtrive to do the benefit, I cannot well ſay which ought to yield, and whether that friendſhip were braver that could be content to be unproſperous ſo his friend might have the glory of aſſiſting him; or that which deſires to give aſſiſtances in the greateſt meaſures of friendſhips: but he that

chuſes a worthy friend that himſelf, in the days of ſorrow and need, might receive the advantage, hath no excuſe, no pardon, unleſs himſelf be as certain to do aſſiſtances when evil fortune ſhall require them. The ſum of this anſwer to this enquiry I give you in a pair of *Greek* verſes.

Ἴσον θεῷ σᾷ τὰς φίλας τιμᾶν θέλε.
Ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς δὲ τὰς φίλας εὐεργέτει.

Friends are to friends as leſſer gods, while they
Honour and ſervice to each other pay.
But when a dark cloud comes, grudge not to lend
Thy head, thy heart, thy fortune to thy friend.

3. The laſt inquiry is, *how far friendſhips are to be conducted?* that is, *what are the duties in preſence and abſence; whether the friend may not deſire to enjoy his friend as well as his friendſhip?* The anſwer to which, in a great meaſure, depends upon what I have ſaid already: and if friendſhip be a charity in ſociety, and is not for contemplation and noiſe, but for material comforts, noble treatments and uſages, this is no peradventure, but that if I buy land, I may eat the fruits; and if I take a houſe, I may dwell in it; and if love a worthy perſon, I may pleaſe myſelf in his ſociety: and in this there is no exception, unleſs the friendſhip be between perſons of a different ſex: for then not only the intereſt of their religion, and the care of their honor, but the worthineſs of their friendſhip requires that their intercourſe be prudent and free from ſuſpicion and reproach. And if a friend is obliged to bear a calamity, ſo he ſecure the honor of his friend; it will concern him to conduct his intercourſe in the lines of a virtuous prudence, ſo that he ſhall rather loſe much of

of *his own comfort*, than ſhe any thing of *her honor*; and in this caſe the noiſes of people are ſo to be regarded, that next to innocence they are the principal. But when by caution, prudence, and ſevere conduct, a friend hath done all that he or ſhe can to ſecure fame and honorable reports; after this, their noiſes are to be deſpiſed; they muſt not fright us from our friendſhips, nor from her faireſt intercourſes; *I may lawfully pluck the cluſters from my own vine, though he that walk by calls me thief.*

But by the way (Madam) you may ſee how much I differ from the moroſity of thoſe *Cynics* who would not admit your ſex into the communities of a noble friendſhip. I believe ſome wives have been the beſt friends in the world; and few ſtories can out-do the nobleneſs and piety of that lady that ſucked the poiſonous, purulent matter from the wound of our brave prince in the holy land, when an aſſaſſin had pierced him with a venomed arrow. And if it be told that women cannot retain counſel, and therefore can be no brave friends; I can beſt confute them by the ſtory of *Porcia*, who being fearful of the weakneſs of her ſex, ſtabbed herſelf into the thigh, to try how ſhe could bear pain: and finding herſelf conſtant enough to that ſufferance, gently chid her *Brutus* for not daring to truſt her, ſince now ſhe perceived that no torment could wreſt that ſecret from her, which ſhe hoped might be intruſted to her. If there were not more things to be ſaid for your ſatisfaction, I could have made it diſputable whether have been more illuſtrious in their friendſhips, men or women? I cannot ſay that women are capable of all thoſe excellencies by which men can oblige the world; and therefore a female friend, in ſome caſes, is not ſo good a counſel-

lor as a wiſe man, and cannot ſo well defend my honor; nor diſpoſe of reliefs and aſſiſtances if ſhe be under the power of another: but a woman can loye as paſſionately, and converſe as pleaſantly, and retain a ſecret as faithfully, and be uſeful in her proper miniſtries; and ſhe can die for friend as well as the braveſt *Roman* knight; and we find that ſome perſons have engaged themſelves as far as death, upon a leſs intereſt than all this amounts to: ſuch were the ευχωλιμαίοι, as the *Greeks* call them, the *Devoti* of a prince or general, the aſſaſſin amongſt the *Saracens*, Ζολιδάνοι amongſt the old *Galatians:* they did as much as a friend could do. And if the greateſt ſervices of a friend can be paid for by an ignoble price, we cannot grudge to virtuous and brave women that they be partners in a noble friendſhip; ſince their converſations and returns can add ſo many moments to the felicity of our lives: and therefore though a knife cannot enter as far as a ſword, yet a knife may be more uſeful to ſome purpoſes, and in every thing, except it be againſt an enemy. A man is the beſt friend in trouble; but a woman may be equal to him in the days of joy: a woman can as well increaſe our comforts, but cannot ſo well leſſen our ſorrows: and therefore we do not carry women with us when we go to fight; but in peaceful cities and times virtuous women are the beauties of ſociety, and the prettineſſes of friendſhip. And when we conſider that few perſons in the world have all thoſe excellencies by which friendſhip can be uſeful and illuſtrious, we may as well allow women as men to be friends; ſince *they* can have all that which can be neceſſary and eſſential to friendſhips, and *theſe* cannot have all by which friendſhips can be accidentally improved: in all ſome abate-

ments

ments will be made; and we ſhall do too much honor to women if we reject them from friendſhips, becauſe they are not perfect: for if to friendſhips we admit imperfect men, becauſe no man is perfect; he that rejects women finds fault with them becauſe they are not more perfect than men; which either does ſecretly affirm that they ought and can be perfect, or elſe it openly accuſes men of injuſtice and partiality.

I hope you will pardon me that I am a little gone from my undertaking; I went aſide to wait upon the women, and to do countenance to their tender virtues: I am now returned, and, if I was to do the office of a guide to uninſtructed friends, would add the particulars following: Madam, you need not read them now, but when any friends come to be taught by your precept and example how to converſe in the nobleſt conjurations, you may put theſe into better words and tell them.

1. That the firſt law of friendſhip is, they muſt neither aſk of their friend what is indecent; nor grant it if themſelves be aſked. For it is no good office to make my friend more vicious or more a fool; I will reſtrain his folly but not nurſe it; I will not make my groom the officer of my luſt and vanity. There are villains who ſell their ſouls for bread; that offer ſin and vanity at a price: I ſhould be unwilling my friend ſhould know I am vicious; but if he could be brought to miniſter to it, he is not worthy to be my friend: and if I could offer it to him, I do not deſerve to claſp hands with a virtuous perſon.

2. Let no man chooſe him for a friend whom it ſhall be poſſible for him ever after to hate; for though the *ſociety* may juſtly be interrupted, yet love is an immortal thing, and I will never

despise him whom I could once think worthy of my love. A friend that proves not good, is rather to be suffered than any enmities entertained: and there are some outer offices of friendship and little drudgeries, in which the less worthy to be employed; and it is better that he be below stairs than quite thrown out of doors.

3. There are two things which a friend can never pardon, a treacherous blow and the revealing of a secret; because these are against the nature of friendship; they are the adulteries of it, and dissolve the union; and in the matters of friendship, which is the marriage of souls, these are the proper causes of divorce; and therefore I shall add this only, that *secresy* is the *chastity of friendship*, and the publication of it is a prostitution and direct debauchery, but a secret treacherous wound is a perfect and unpardonable apostacy. I remember a pretty apologue that *Bromiard* tells: a fowler in a sharp frosty morning having taken many little birds for which he had long watched, began to take up his nets; and nipping the birds on the head laid them down. A young thrush espying the tears trickling down his cheeks by reason of the extreme cold; said to his mother, that certainly the man was very merciful and compassionate that wept so bitterly over the calamity of the poor birds: but her mother told her more wisely, that she might better judge of the man's disposition by his hand than by his eye; and if the hand strikes treacherously, he can never be admitted to friendship, who speaks fairly and weeps pitifully. Friendship is the greatest honesty and ingenuity in the world.

4. Never accuse thy friend, nor believe him that does; if thou dost thou hast broken the skin:

ſkin: but he that is angry with every little fault, breaks the bones of friendſhip. And when we conſider that in ſociety, and the accidents of every day, in which no man is conſtantly pleaſed or diſpleaſed with the ſame things, we ſhall find reaſon to impute the change unto ourſelves; and the emanations of the ſun are ſtill glorious when our eyes are ſore: and we have no reaſon to be angry with an eternal light, becauſe we have a changable and mortal faculty. But however, do not think thou didſt contract alliance with an angel, when thou didſt take thy friend into thy boſom; he may be weak as well as thou art; and thou mayeſt need pardon as well as he; and *that man loves flattery more than friendſhip, who would not only have his friend, but all the contingencies of his friend to humour him.*

5. Give thy friend counſel wiſely and charitably, but leave him to his liberty whether he will follow thee or no: and be not angry if thy counſel be rejected: for *advice is no empire*, and he is not my friend that will be my judge whether I will or no. *Neoptolemus* had never been honored with the victory and ſpoils of *Troy* if he had attended to the tears and counſel of *Lycomedes*, who being afraid to venture the young man, fain would have him ſleep at home ſafe in his little iſland. He that gives advice to his friend, and *exacts obedience* to it, does not the kindneſs and ingenuity of a friend, but the office and pertneſs of a ſchool-maſter.

6. Never be a judge between thy friends in any matter where both ſet their hearts upon the victory: if ſtrangers or enemies be litigants, whatever ſide thou favoureſt, thou getteſt a friend, but when friends are the parties thou loſeſt one.

7. Never comport thyſelf ſo, as that thy friend can be afraid of thee: for then the ſtate of the relation alters when a new and troubleſome paſſion ſupervenes. *ODERUNT quos METUUNT. Perfect love caſteth out fear*; and no man is a friend to a tyrant; but that friendſhip is tyranny where the love is changed into fear; equality, into empire, ſociety into obedience; for then all my kindneſs to him alſo will be no better than flattery.

8. When you admoniſh your friend, let it be without bitterneſs; when you chide him, let it be without reproach; when you praiſe him, let it be with worthy purpoſes, and for juſt cauſes; and in friendly meaſures; too much of that is flattery, too little is envy: if you do it juſtly, you teach him true meaſures; but when others praiſe him, rejoice, though they praiſe not thee; and remember, that if thou eſteemeſt his praiſe to be thy diſparagement, thou art envious, but neither juſt nor kind.

9. When all things elſe are equal, prefer an old friend before a new. If thou meaneſt to ſpend thy friend, and make a gain of him till he be weary, thou wilt eſteem him as a beaſt of burden, the worſe for his age: but if thou eſteemeſt him by noble meaſures, he will be better to thee by thy being uſed to him, by trial and experience, by reciprocation of endearments, and an habitual worthineſs. An old friend is like old wine, which when a man hath drank, he doth not deſire new, becauſe he ſaith the old is better. But every old friend was new once; and if he be worthy, keep the new one till he become old.

10. After all this, treat thy friend nobly; love to be with him, do to him all the worthineſſes of love and fair endearment according to thy

thy capacity, and his: bear with his infirmities till they approach towards being criminal; but never diſſemble with him, never deſpiſe him, never leave him. Give him gifts and upbraid him not, and refuſe not his kindneſſes, and be ſure never to deſpiſe the ſmallneſs or the impropriety of them. *Confirmatur amor beneficio accepto:* a gift (ſaith *Solomon)* faſteneth friendſhips: for as an eye that dwells long upon a ſtar, muſt be refreſhed with leſſer beauties, and ſtrengthened with greens and looking-glaſſes, leſt the ſight become amazed with too great a ſplendor; ſo muſt the love of friends ſometimes be refreſhed with material and low careſſes; leſt by ſtriving to be *too divine* it becomes *leſs human.* It muſt be allowed its ſhare of both: it is *human* in giving pardon and fair conſtruction, and openneſs and ingenuity, and keeping ſecrets: it hath *ſomething* that is *divine*, becauſe it is *beneficent*; but *much* becauſe it is *eternal.*

The

THE

CHURCH-PORCH.

THou, whoſe ſweet youth and early hopes inhance
Thy rate and price, and mark thee for a treaſure;
Hearken unto a verſer, who may chance
Rhyme thee to good, and make a bait of pleaſure.
A verſe may find him, who a ſermon flies,
And turn delight into a ſacrifice.

Beware of luſt: it doth pollute and foul
Whom God in baptiſm waſh'd with his own blood.
It blots thy leſſon written in thy ſoul;
The holy lines cannot be underſtood.
How dare thoſe eyes upon a bible look,
Much leſs tow'rds God, whoſe luſt is all their book.

Wholly abſtain, or wed. Thy bounteous Lord
Allows thee choice of paths: take no by-ways;
But gladly welcome what he doth afford;
Not grudging, that thy luſt hath bounds and ſtays.
Continence hath his joy: weigh both; and ſo
If rottenneſs have more, let heaven go.

If God had laid all common, certainly
Man would have been th'incloſer: but ſince now
God hath impal'd us, on the contrary
Man breaks the fence, and every ground will plough.
O what were man, might he himſelf miſplace!
Sure to be croſs he would ſhift feet and face.

Drink

Drink not the third glaſs, which thou canſt not tame,
When once it is within thee; but before
May'ſt rule it as thou liſt: and pour the ſhame,
Which it would pour on thee, upon the floor.
It is moſt juſt to throw that on the ground,
Which would throw me there, if I keep the round.

He that is drunken, may his mother kill
Big with his ſiſter: he hath loſt the reins,
Is outlaw'd by himſelf: all kind of ill
Did with his liquor ſlide into his veins.
The drunkard forfeits man, and doth diveſt
All worldly right, ſave what he hath by beaſt.

Shall I, to pleaſe another's wine-ſprung mind,
Loſe all mine own? God hath giv'n me a meaſure
Short of his cann and body: muſt I find
A pain in that wherein he finds a pleaſure?
Stay at thy third glaſs: if thou loſe thy hold,
Then thou art modeſt, and the wine grows bold.

If reaſon move not gallants, quit the room,
(All in a ſhipwreck ſhift their ſeveral way)
Let not a common ruin thee intomb:
Be not a beaſt in courteſy; but ſtay,
Stay at the third cup, or forgo the place,
Wine above all things doth God's ſtamp deface.

Yet, if thou ſin in wine or wantonneſs,
Boaſt not thereof; nor make thy ſhame thy glory.
Frailty gets pardon by ſubmiſſiveneſs;
But he that boaſts, ſhuts that out of his ſtory.
He makes flat war with God, and doth defy,
With his poor clod of earth, the ſpacious ſky.

Take not his name, who made thy mouth, in vain:
It gets thee nothing, and hath no excuſe.
Luſt and wine plead a pleaſure, av'rice gain:
But the cheap ſwearer, thro' his open ſluice,
Lets his ſoul run for naught, as little fearing.
Were I an *Epicure*, I could bate ſwearing.

When

When thou doſt tell another's jeſt, therein
Omit the oaths, which true wit cannot need:
Pick out of tales the mirth, but not the ſin.
He pares his apple, that will cleanly feed.
Play not away the virtue of that name,
Which is thy beſt ſtake, when griefs make thee tame.

The cheapeſt ſins moſt dearly puniſh'd are;
Becauſe to ſhun them alſo is ſo cheap:
For we have wit to mark them, and to ſpare.
O crumble not away thy ſoul's fair heap.
If thou wilt die, the gates of hell are broad:
Pride and full ſins have made the way a road.

Lie not: but let thy heart be true to God,
Thy mouth to it, thy actions to them both:
Cowards tell lies, and thoſe that fear the rod;
The ſtormy working ſoul ſpits lies and froth,
Dare to be true. Nothing can need a lie:
A fault, which needs it moſt, grows two thereby.

Fly idleneſs: which yet thou canſt not fly
By dreſſing, miſtreſſing, and complement.
If thoſe take up thy day, the ſun will cry
Againſt thee: for his light was only lent.
God gave thy ſoul brave wings; put not thoſe feathers
Into a bed, to ſleep out all ill weathers.

Art thou a magiſtrate? then be ſevere:
If ſtudious, copy fair, what time has blurr'd;
Redeem truth from his jaws: if ſoldier,
Chaſe brave employments with a naked ſword
Throughout the world. Fool not: for all may have,
If they dare try, a glorious life, or grave.

O England

O England, full of ſin, but moſt of ſloth!
Spit out thy phlegm, and fill thy breaſt with glory.
Thy gentry bleats, as if thy native cloth
Transfus'd a ſheepiſhneſs into thy ſtory:
Not that they all are ſo; but that the moſt
Are gone to graſs, and in the paſture loſt.

This loſs ſprings chiefly from our education.
Some till their ground, but let weeds choak their ſon:
Some mark a partridge, never their child's faſhion.
Some ſhip them over, and the thing is done.
Study this art, make it thy great deſign;
And if God's image move thee not, let thine.

Some great eſtates provide, but do not breed
A maſt'ring mind; ſo both are loſt thereby:
Or elſe they breed them tender, make them need
All that they leave: this is flat poverty.
For he that needs five thouſand pound to live,
Is full as poor as he that needs but five.

The way to make thy ſon rich, is to fill
His mind with reſt, before his trunk with riches:
For wealth without contentment, climbs a hill
To feel thoſe tempeſts, which fly over ditches.
But if thy ſon can make ten pound his meaſure
Then all thou addeſt may be called his treaſure.

When thou doſt purpoſe aught, (within thy pow'r)
Be ſure to do it, though it be but ſmall.
Conſtancy knits the bones, and make us ſtowre,
When wanton pleaſures beckon us to thrall.
Who breaks his own bond, forfeiteth himſelf:
What nature made a ſhip, he makes a ſhelf.

Do

Do all things like a man, not ſneakingly:
Think the king ſees thee ſtill; for his king does.
Simp'ring is but a lay-hypocriſy:
Give it a corner, and the clue undoes.
Who fears to do ill, ſets himſelf to taſk:
Who fears to do well, ſure ſhould wear a maſk.

Look to thy mouth; diſeaſes enter there.
Thou haſt two ſconces, if thy ſtomach call;
Carve, or diſcourſe; do not a famine fear.
Who carves, is kind to two; who talks, to all.
Look on meat, think it dirt, then eat a bit;
And ſay withal, *Earth to earth I commit.*

Slight thoſe who ſay, amidſt their ſickly healths,
Thou liv'ſt by rule. What doth not ſo, but man?
Houſes are built by rule, and common wealths.
Entice the truſty ſun, if that you can,
From his ecliptic line: beckon the ſky.
Who lives by rule then, keeps good company.

Who keeps no guard upon himſelf, is ſlack,
And rots to nothing at the next great thaw.
Man is a ſhop of rules, a well-truſs'd pack,
Whoſe every parcel underwrites a law.
Loſe not thyſelf, nor give thy humours way:
God gave them to thee under lock and key.

By all means uſe ſometimes to be alone.
Salute thyſelf: ſee what thy ſoul doth wear.
Dare to look in thy cheſt; for 'tis thine own:
And tumble up and down what thou find'ſt there.
Who cannot reſt till he good fellows find,
He breaks up houſe, turns out of doors his mind.

Be thrifty, but not covetous: therefore give
Thy need, thine honour, and thy friend his due.
Never was ſcraper brave man. Get to live;
Then live, and uſe it: elſe, it is not true
That thou haſt gotten. Surely uſe alone
Makes money not a contemptible ſtone.

Never

Never exceed thy income. Youth may make
Ev'n with the year: but age, if it will hit,
Shoots a bow ſhort, and leſſens ſtill his ſtake,
As the day leſſens, and his life with it.
  Thy children, kindred, friends upon thee call;
  Before thy journey fairly part with all.

Yet in thy thriving ſtill miſdoubt ſome evil;
Leſt gaining gain on thee, and make thee dim
To all things elſe. Wealth is the conjurer's devil;
Whom when he thinks he hath, the devil hath him.
  Gold thou may'ſt ſafely touch; but if it ſtick
  Unto thy hands, it woundeth to the quick.

What ſkills it, if a bag of ſtones or gold
About thy neck do drown thee? raiſe thy head;
Take ſtars for money; ſtars not to be told
By any art, yet to be purchaſed.
  None is ſo waſteful as the ſcraping dame:
  She loſeth three for one; her ſoul, reſt, fame.

By no means run in debt: take thine own meaſure.
Who cannot live on twenty pound a year,
Cannot on forty: he's a man of pleaſure,
A kind of thing that's for itſelf too dear.
  The curious unthrift makes his cloth too wide,
  And ſpares himſelf, but would his taylor chide.

Spend not on hopes. They that by pleading cloths
Do fortunes ſeek, when worth and ſervice fail,
Would have their tale believed for their oaths,
And are like empty veſſels under ſail.
  Old courtiers know this: therefore ſet out ſo,
  As all the day thou may'ſt hold out to go.

In clothes, cheap handſomneſs doth bear the bell.
Wiſdom's a trimmer thing than ſhop e'er gave.
Say not then, This with that lace will do well;
But, This with my diſcretion will be brave.
  Much curiouſneſs is a perpetual wooing
  Nothing with labour, folly long a-doing.

Play

Play not for gain, but ſport: Who plays for more
Than he can loſe with pleaſure, ſtakes his heart;
Perhaps his wife's too, and whom ſhe hath bore:
Servants and churches alſo play their part.
Only a herald, who that way doth paſs,
Finds his crack'd name at length in the church-glaſs.

If yet thou love game at ſo dear a rate,
Learn this, that hath old gameſters dearly coſt:
Doſt loſe? riſe up: doſt win? riſe in that ſtate;
Who ſtrive to ſit out loſing hands, are loſt.
Game is a civil gunpowder, in peace
Blowing up houſes with their whole increaſe.

In converſation boldneſs now bears ſway:
But know, that nothing can ſo fooliſh be
As empty boldneſs: therefore firſt eſſay
To ſtuff thy mind with ſolid bravery;
Then march on gallant: get ſubſtantial worth:
Boldneſs gilds finely, and will ſet it forth.

Be ſweet to all. Is thy complexion ſour?
Then keep ſuch company; make them thy allay:
Get a ſharp wife, a ſervant that will lour:
A ſtumbler ſtumbles leaſt in rugged way.
Command thyſelf in chief. He life's war knows,
Whom all his paſſions follow, as he goes.

Catch not at quarrels. He that dares not ſpeak
Plainly and home, is coward of the two.
Think not thy fame at ev'ry twitch will break:
By great deeds ſhew, that thou canſt little do:
And do them not: that ſhall thy wiſdom be;
And change thy temp'rance into bravery.

If that thy fame with ev'ry toy be pos'd,
'Tis a thin web, which pois'nous fancies make:
But the great ſoldier's honour was compos'd
Of thicker ſtuff, which would endure a ſhake.
Wiſdom picks friends; civility plays the reſt:
A toy ſhun'd cleanly paſſeth with the beſt.

Laugh

Laugh not too much; the witty man laughs leaſt:
For wit is news only to ignorance.
Leſs at thy own things laugh; leſt in the jeſt
Thy perſon ſhare, and the conceit advance.
Make not thy ſport abuſes: for the fly
That feeds on dung, is colour'd thereby.

Pick out of mirth, like ſtones out of thy ground,
Profaneneſs, filthineſs, abuſiveneſs.
Theſe are the ſcum, with which coarſe wits abound:
The fine may ſpare theſe well, yet not go leſs.
All things are big with jeſt: nothing that's plain
But may be witty, if thou haſt the vein.

Wit's an unruly engine, wildly ſtriking
Sometimes a friend, ſometimes the engineer:
Haſt thou the knack? pamper it not with liking:
But if thou want it, buy it not too dear.
Many affecting wit beyond their pow'r,
Have got to be a dear fool for an hour.

A ſad wiſe valour is the brave complexion,
That leads the van, and ſwallows up the cities.
The gigler is a milkmaid, whom infection
Or a fu'd beacon frighteth from his ditties.
Then he's the ſport; the mirth then in him reſts,
And the ſad man is cock of all his jeſts.

Towards great perſons uſe reſpective boldneſs:
That temper gives them theirs, and yet doth take
Nothing from thine: in ſervice, care, or coldneſs
Doth ratably thy fortune's mar or make.
Feed no man in his ſins: for adulation
Doth make thee parcel-devil in damnation.

Envy not greatneſs: for thou mak'ſt thereby
Thyſelf the worſe, and ſo the diſtance greater.
Be not thine own worm: yet ſuch jealouſy,
As hurts not others, but may make thee better,
Is a good ſpur. Correct thy paſſions ſpite;
Then may the beaſts draw thee to happy light.

When baſeneſs is exalted, do not bate
The place its honour, for the perſon's ſake.
The ſhrine is that which thou doſt venerate;
And not the beaſt, that bears it on his back.
I care not though the cloth of ſtate ſhould be
Not of rich arras, but mean tapeſtry.

Thy friend put in thy boſom: wear his eyes
Still in thy heart, that he may ſee what's there.
If cauſe require, thou art his ſacrifice;
Thy drops of blood muſt pay down all his fear:
But love is loſt; the way of friendſhip's gone,
Though David had his Jonathan, Chriſt his John.

Yet be not ſurety, if thou be a father.
Love is a pers'nal debt. I cannot give
My childrens right, nor ought he take it: rather
Both friends ſhould die, than hinder them to live.
Fathers firſt enter bonds to nature's ends;
And are her ſureties, ere they are a-friends.

If thou be ſingle, all thy goods and ground
Submit to love; but yet not more then all.
Give one eſtate, as one life. None is bound
To work for two, who brought himſelf to thrall.
God made me one man; love makes me no more,
Till labour come, and make my weakneſs ſcore.

In thy diſcourſe, if thou deſire to pleaſe:
All ſuch is courteous, uſeful, new, or witty.
Uſefulneſs comes by labour, wit by eaſe;
Courteſy grows in court; news in the city.
Get a good ſtock of theſe, then draw the card
That ſuits him beſt, of whom thy ſpeech is heard.

Entice all neatly to what they know beſt;
For ſo thou doſt thyſelf and him a pleaſure:
(But a proud ign'rance will loſe his reſt,
Rather than ſhew his cards) ſteal from his treaſure:
What to aſk further. Doubts well rais'd do lock
The ſpeaker to thee, and preſerve thy ſtock.

If

If thou be maſter-gunner, ſpend not all
That thou canſt ſpeak at once; but huſband it,
And give men turns of ſpeech: do not foreſtal
By laviſhneſs thine own, and others wit,
As if thou mad'ſt thy will. A civil gueſt
Will no more talk all, then eat all the feaſt.

Be calm in arguing: for fierceneſs makes
Error a fault, and truth diſcourteſy.
Why ſhould I feel another man's miſtakes
More than his ſickneſſes or poverty?
In love I ſhould: but anger is not love,
Nor wiſdom neither: therefore gently move.

Calmneſs is great advantage: he that lets
Another chafe, may warm him at his fire,
Mark all his wand'rings, and enjoy his frets;
As cunning fencers ſuffer heat to tire.
Truth dwells not in the clouds: the bow that's there,
Doth often aim at, never hit the ſphere.

Mark what another ſays: for many are
Full of themſelves, and anſwer their own notion.
Take all into thee; then with equal care
Balance each drachm of reaſon, like a potion.
If truth be with thy friend, be with them both:
Share in the conqueſt, and confeſs a troth.

Be uſeful where thou liveſt, that they may
Both want and wiſh thy pleaſing preſence ſtill:
Kindneſs, good parts, great places are the way
To compaſs this. Find out mens wants and will,
And meet them there. All worldly joys go leſs
To the one joy of doing kindneſſes.

Pitch thy behaviour low, thy projects high;
So ſhalt thou humble and magnanimous be:
Sink not in ſpirit. Who aimeth at the ſky,
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.
A grain of glory mixt with humbleneſs
Cures both a fever and lethargicneſs.

Let thy mind ſtill be bent, ſtill plotting where,
And when, and how the bus'neſs may be done.
Slackneſs breeds worms; but the ſure traveller,
Though he alight ſometimes, ſtill goeth on.
Active and ſtirring ſpirits live alone.
Write on the other, *Here lies ſuch a one.*

Slight not the ſmalleſt loſs, whether it be
In love or honour: take account of all:
Shine like the ſun in every corner: ſee
Whether thy ſtock of credit ſwell or fall.
Who ſay, I care not, thoſe I give for loſt;
And to inſtruct them, 'twill not quit the coſt.

Scorn no man's love, though of a mean degree;
(Love is a preſent for a mighty king)
Much leſs make any one thine enemy:
As guns deſtroy, ſo may a little ſling.
The cunning workman never doth refuſe
The meaneſt tool that he may chance to uſe.

All foreign wiſdom doth amount to this,
To take all that is given; whether wealth,
Or love, or language; nothing comes amiſs;
A good digeſtion turneth to all health:
And then as far as fair behaviour may,
Strike off all ſcores; none are ſo clear as they.

Keep all thy native good, and naturalize
All foreign of that name; but ſcorn their ill:
Embrace their activeneſs, not vanities.
Who follows all things, forfeiteth his will.
If thou obſerveſt ſtrangers in each fit,
In time they'll run thee out of all thy wit.

Affect in things about thee cleanlineſs,
That all may gladly board thee, as a flow'r.
Slovens take up their ſtock of noiſomneſs
Beforehand, and anticipate their laſt hour.
Let thy mind's ſweetneſs have his operation
Upon thy body, cloths, and habitation.

In

In alms regard thy means, and others merit:
Think heav'n a better bargain, than to give
Only thy ſingle market-money for it.
Join hands with God to make a man to live.
Give to all ſomething; to a good poor man,
Till thou change names, and be where he began.

Man is God's image; but a poor man is
Chriſt's ſtamp to boot: both images regard.
God reckons for him, counts the favour his:
Write, *So much giv'n to God*, thou ſhalt be heard.
Let thy alms go before, and keep heav'ns gate
Open for thee; or both may come too late.

Reſtore to God his due in tithe and time:
A tithe purloin'd cankers the whole eſtate.
Sundays obſerve: think when the bells do chime,
'Tis angel's muſic; therefore come not late.
God then deals bleſſings: If a king did ſo,
Who would not haſte, nay give, to ſee the ſhow?

Twice on the day his due is underſtood;
For all the week thy food ſo oft he gave thee:
Thy chear is mended; bate not of the food
Becauſe 'tis better, and perhaps may ſave thee.
Thwart not th'Almighty God: O be not croſs:
Faſt when thou wilt; but then 'tis gain, not loſs.

Though private prayer be a brave deſign,
Yet public hath more promiſes, more love:
And love's a weight to hearts, to eyes a ſign.
We all are but cold ſuitors: let us move
Where it is warmeſt. Leave thy ſix and ſeven;
Pray with the moſt: for where moſt pray, is heaven.

When once thy foot enters the church be bare:
God is more there than thou; for thou art there
Only by his permiſſion. Then beware,
And make thyſelf all reverence and fear.

Kneeling ne'er ſpoil'd ſilk ſtockings: quit thy
ſtate:
All equal are within the church's gate.

Reſort to ſermons, but to prayers moſt:
Praying's the end of preaching. O be dreſt:
Stay not for th'other pin; why, thou haſt loſt
A joy for it worth worlds. Thus hell doth jeſt
Away thy bleſſings, and extreamly flout thee,
Thy cloths being faſt, but thy ſoul looſe about
thee.

In time of ſervice ſeal up both thy eyes,
And ſend them to thine heart; that ſpying ſin,
They may weep out the ſtains by them did riſe:
Thoſe doors being ſhut, all by the ears comes in.
Who marks in church-time others ſymmetry,
Makes all their beauty his deformity.

Let vain or buſy thoughts have there no part:
Bring not thy plough, thy plots, thy pleaſures
thither.
Chriſt purg'd his temple; ſo muſt thou thy heart.
All worldly thoughts are but thieves met together
To cozen thee. Look to thy actions well:
For churches are either our heav'n or hell.

Judge not the preacher; for he is thy judge:
If thou miſlike him, thou conceiv'ſt him not.
God calleth preaching folly. Do not grudge
To pick out treaſures from an earthen pot.
The worſt ſpeak ſomething good: if all want ſenſe,
God takes a text and preacheth patience.

He that gets patience, and the bleſſings which
Preachers conclude with, hath not loſt his pains.
He that by being at church eſcapes the ditch
Which he might fall in by companions, gains.
He that loves God's abode, and to combine
With ſaints on earth, ſhall one day with them
ſhine.

Jeſt

Jeſt not at preachers language, or expreſſion:
How know'ſt thou, but thy ſins made him miſcarry?
Then turn thy faults and his into confeſſion:
God ſent him, whatſoe'er he be: O tarry,
And love him for his maſter: his condition,
Tho' it be ill, makes him no ill phyſician.

None ſhall in hell ſuch bitter pangs endure,
As thoſe, who mock at God's way of ſalvation.
Whom oil and balſams kill, what ſalve can cure?
They drink with greedineſs a full damnation.
The Jews refuſed thunder; and we, folly.
Though God do hedge us in, yet who is holy?

Sum up at night what thou haſt done by day;
And in the morning, what thou haſt to do:
Dreſs and undreſs thy ſoul; mark the decay
And growth of it: if with thy watch, that too
Be down, then wind up both: ſince we ſhall be
Moſt ſurely judg'd, make thy accounts agree.

In brief, acquit thee bravely; play the man:
Look not on pleaſures as they come, but go.
Defer not the leaſt virtue: life's poor ſpan
Make not an ell, by trifling in thy woe.
If thou do ill, the joy fades, not the pains:
If well, the pain doth fade, the joy remains.

THE SACRIFICE.

OH *all ye, who paſs by*, whoſe eyes and mind
To worldly things are ſharp, but to me blind:
To me, who took eyes that I might you find:
Was ever grief like mine?

The princes of my people make a head
Againſt their maker: they do wiſh me dead,
Who cannot wiſh, except I give them bread:
Was ever grief like mine?

Without me, each one who doth me brave,
Had to this day been an Ægyptian ſlave.
They uſe that pow'r againſt me, which I *gave.*
Was ever grief like mine?

Mine own apoſtle, who the bag did bear,
Though he had all I had, did not forbear
To ſell me alſo, and to put me there:
Was ever grief, &c.

For thirty pence he did my death deviſe,
Who at three hundred did the ointment prize,
Not half ſo ſweet as my ſweet ſacrifice:
Was ever grief, &c.

Therefore my ſoul melts, and my heart's dear treaſure
Drops blood (the only beads) my words to meaſure;
Oh let this cup paſs, if it be thy pleaſure:
Was ever grief, &c.

Theſe drops being temper'd with a ſinner's tears,
A balſam are for both the hemiſpheres;
Curing all wounds, but mine; all, but my fears:
Was ever grief, &c.

Yet

Yet my diſciples ſleep: I cannot gain
One hour of watching; but their drowſy brain
Comforts not me, and doth my doctrine ſtain:
Was ever grief, &c.

Ariſe, ariſe, they come. Look how they run:
Alas! what haſte they make to be undone!
How with their lanterns do they ſeek the ſun!
Was ever grief, &c.

With clubs and ſtaves they ſeek me, as a thief,
Who am the way of truth, the true relief;
Moſt true to thoſe, who are my greateſt grief:
Was ever grief, &c.

Judas, doſt thou betray me with a kiſs?
Canſt thou find hell about my lips? and miſs
Of life, juſt at the gates of life and bliſs?
Was ever grief, &c.

See, they lay hold on me, not with the hands
Of faith, but fury; yet at their commands
I ſuffer binding, who have loos'd their bands:
Was ever grief, &c.

All my diſciples fly; fear puts a bar
Betwixt my friends and me. They leave the ſtar
That brought the wiſe men of the eaſt from far.
Was ever grief, &c.

Then from one ruler to another bound
They lead me; urging, that it was not ſound
What I taught: comments would the text confound:
Was ever grief, &c.

The prieſt and rulers all falſe witneſs ſeek
'Gainſt him, who ſeeks not life, but is the meek
And ready paſchal lamb of this great week:
Was ever grief, &c.

Then

Then they accuſe me of great blaſphemy,
That I did thruſt into the Deity,
Who never thought that any robbery:
Was ever grief, &c.

Some ſaid, that I the temple to the floor
In three days rais'd, and raiſed as before.
Why, he that built the world can do much more:
Was ever grief, &c.

Then they condemn me all with that ſame breath,
Which I do give them daily unto death.
Thus *Adam* my firſt breathing rendereth:
Was ever grief, &c.

They bind, and lead me unto *Herod:* he
Sends me to *Pilate.* This makes them agree;
But yet their friendſhip is my enmity:
Was ever grief, &c.

Herod, and all his bands do ſet me light,
Who teach all hands to war, fingers to fight,
And only am the Lord of hoſts and might:
Was ever grief, &c.

Herod in judgments ſits, while I do ſtand;
Examines me with a cenſorious hand:
I him obey, who all things elſe command:
Was ever grief, &c.

The *Jews* accuſe me with deſpitefulneſs;
And vying malice with my gentleneſs,
Pick quarrels with their only happineſs:
Was ever grief, &c.

I anſwer nothing, but with patience prove
If ſtony hearts wilt melt with gentle love.
But who does hawk at eagles with a dove?
Was ever grief, &c.

My

My ſilence rather doth augment their cry,
My dove back into my boſom fly,
Becauſe the raging waters ſtill are high:
Was ever grief, &c.

Hark how they cry aloud ſtill, *Crucify:*
It is not fit he live a day, they cry,
Who cannot live leſs than eternally:
Was ever grief, &c.

Pilate, a ſtranger, holdeth off; but they,
Mine own dear people, cry, *Away*, *away*,
With noiſes confuſed frighting the day:
Was ever grief, &c.

Yet ſtill they ſhout, and cry, and ſtop their ears,
Putting my life among their ſins and fears,
And therefore wiſh *my blood on them and theirs.*
Was ever grief, &c.

See how ſpite cankers things. Theſe words aright
Uſed, and wiſhed, are the whole worlds light:
But honey is their gall, brightneſs their night:
Was ever grief, &c.

They chooſe a murderer, and all agree
In him to do themſelves a courteſy;
For it was their own cauſe who killed me:
Was ever grief, &c.

And a ſeditious murd'rer he was:
But I the prince of peace; peace that doth paſs
All underſtanding, more than heav'n doth glaſs.
Was ever grief, &c.

Why, Cæſar is their only king not I:
He clave the ſtony rock, when they were dry;
But ſurely not their hearts, as I well try:
Was ever grief, &c.

Ah!

Ah! how they ſcourge me! yet my tenderneſs
Doubles each laſh: and yet their bitterneſs
Winds up my grief to a myſterioufneſs:
Was ever grief, &c.

They buffet me, and box me as they liſt,
Who graſp earth and heaven with my fiſt,
And never yet, whom I would puniſh, miſs'd.
Was ever grief, &c.

Behold they ſpit on me in ſcornful wiſe,
Who by my ſpittle gave the blind man eyes;
Leaving his blindneſs to mine enemies:
Was ever grief, &c.

My face they cover, though it be divine;
As *Moſes'* face was vailed, ſo is mine,
Leſt on their double-dark ſouls either ſhine:
Was ever grief, &c.

Servants and abjects flout me; they are witty:
Now prophesy who ſtrikes thee, is their ditty;
So they in me deny themſelves all pity:
Was ever grief, &c.

And now I am deliver'd unto death,
Which each one calls for ſo with utmoſt breath,
That he before me well nigh ſuffereth:
Was ever grief, &c.

Weep not, dear friends, ſince I for both have wept,
When all my tears were blood, the while you ſlept:
Your tears for your own fortunes ſhould be kept:
Was ever grief, &c.

The ſoldiers lead me to the common hall;
There they deride me, they abuſe me all:
Yet for twelve heav'nly legions I could call:
Was ever grief, &c.

Then

Then with a ſcarlet robe they me array;
Which ſhews my blood to be the only way,
And cordial left to repair man's decay:
Was ever grief, &c.

Then on my head a crown of thorns I wear.
For theſe are all the grapes *Sion* doth bear,
Though I my vine planted and watered there:
Was ever grief, &c.

So ſits the earth's great curſe in Adam's fall
Upon my head: ſo I remove it all
From th'earth unto my brows, and bear the thrall:
Was ever grief, &c.

Then with the reed they gave to me before,
They ſtrike my head, the rock from whence all ſtore
Of heav'nly bleſſings iſſue evermore:
Was ever grief, &c.

They bow their knees to me, and cry, *Hail king*,
Whatever ſcoffs or ſcornfulneſs can bring,
I am the floor, the ſink, where they it fling:
Was ever grief, &c.

Yet ſince man's ſceptres are as frail as reeds,
And thorny all their crowns, bloody their weeds,
I who am truth, turn into truth their deeds:
Was ever grief, &c.

The ſoldiers alſo ſpit upon that face,
Which angels did deſire to have the grace,
And prophets once to ſee, but found no place:
Was ever grief, &c.

Thus trimmed forth they bring me to the rout,
Who *Crucify him*, cry with one ſtrong ſhout.
God holds his peace at man, and man cries out:
Was ever grief, &c.

They

They lead me in once more, and putting then
Mine own clothes on, they lead me out again,
Whom devils fly, thus is he toſs'd of men:
Was ever grief, &c.

And now weary of ſport, glad to ingroſs
All ſpite in one, counting my life their loſs,
They carry me to my moſt bitter croſs:
Was ever grief, &c.

My croſs I bear myſelf, until I faint;
Then Simon bears it for me by conſtraint,
The decreed burden of each mortal ſaint:
Was ever grief, &c.

O all ye who paſs by, behold and ſee:
Man ſtole the fruit, but I muſt climb the tree;
The tree of life to all, but only me:
Was ever grief, &c.

Lo, here I hang, charg'd with a world of ſin,
The greater world o' th' two: for that came in
By words, but this by ſorrow I muſt win:
Was ever grief, &c.

Such ſorrow, as if ſinful man could feel,
Or feel his part, he would not ceaſe to kneel,
Till all were melted, though he were all ſteel:
Was ever grief, &c.

But, *O my God, my God!* why leav'ſt thou me,
The ſon, in whom thou doſt delight to be?
My God, my God——
Never was grief, &c.

Shame tears my ſoul, my body many a wound;
Sharp nails pierce this, but ſharper that confound;
Reproaches, which are free, while I am bound:
Was ever grief, &c.

Now

Now heal thyſelf, phyſician; now come down.
Alas! I did ſo, when I left my crown
And fathers ſmile for you, to feel his frown:
Was ever grief, &c.

In healing not myſelf, there doth conſiſt
All that ſalvation, which ye now reſiſt;
Your ſafety in my ſickneſs doth ſubſiſt:
Was ever grief, &c.

Betwixt two thieves I ſpend my utmoſt breath,
As he that for ſome robbery ſuffereth.
Alas! what have I ſtolen from you? death:
Was ever grief, &c.

A king my title is, prefixt on high;
Yet by my ſubjects am condemn'd to die
A ſervile death in ſervile company:
Was ever grief, &c.

They gave me vinegar mingled with gall,
But more with malice: yet, when they did call,
With manna, angels food, I fed them all:
Was ever grief, &c.

They part my garments, and by lot diſpoſe
My coat, the type of love, which once cur'd thoſe
Who ſought for help, never malicious foes:
Was ever grief, &c.

Nay, after death their ſpite ſhall further go:
For they will pierce my ſide, I full well know;
That as ſin came, ſo ſacraments might flow:
Was ever grief, &c.

But now I die; now all is finiſhed:
My woe, man's weal: and now I bow my head:
Only let others ſay, when I am dead,
Never was grief like mine?

F I N I S.

A

DISCOURSE

ON

REVELATION

XVIII. 21.

And a mighty Angel, took up a Stone, like a great Milſtone, and caſt it into the Sea, ſaying, Thus with Violence ſhall that great City Babylon be thrown down, and ſhall be found no more at all.

THIS Verſe concludes the Deſcription of divine Vengeance, that was to befal a People that had filled up the Meaſure of their Iniquity. And if St. *John* had not wrote this Book of Revelation, we had wanted one of the moſt alarming Prophecies, that are to be fulfilled perhaps in our own Days. We are all naturally curious to inquire into the Secrets of Hea-

ven, and read, if poſſible, the Events which will happen in the World: here then our curioſity may be innocently indulged. In this Chapter God hath condeſcended to lay open the *Book of Futurity*, and reveal to us the Doom of a City and People with which this Nation and many others are particularly concerned. And to ſhew, that I am not beſpeaking your Attention to a Paſſage of Scripture, with which we have nothing to do; I hope to lay before you ſuch Conſiderations and Arguments upon the preſent Subject, as to convince you, that it may be made very uſeful and very plain, though it is taken out of the *Book of Revelations*.

In order then to clear the Way as we go, and to lay a ſolid Foundation to build our Argument upon, it will be neceſſary in the firſt place, to conſider and be ſatisfied, what the word *Babylon* in this place means. That it does not mean the *ancient City Babylon, the Capital of Chaldæa* mentioned in *Iſaiah*, *Daniel*, and the Prophets of the Old Teſtament, is very evident from this Conſideration, that when St. *John* wrote the Book of Revelations, in which he

he makes Uſe of the word *Babylon*, there was not one Stone left upon another of old *Babylon*, and it was ſo totally demoliſhed, that no one could diſcover the Place where it had ſtood: beſides *Iſaiah*, who lived ſeven hundred Years before our Saviour, and who delivered Prophecies concerning the Deſtruction of *Old Babylon*, ſpeaks in this remarkable Manner of its approaching Ruin. [1] "I will make a "Man more precious than fine Gold: "even a Man, than the Golden Wedge of "*Ophir:* their Children ſhall be daſhed "to pieces before their eyes: their Houſes "ſhall be ſpoiled, and their Wives raviſh-"ed! I will ſtir up the *Medes* againſt "them, which ſhall not regard Silver: "and as for Gold, they ſhall not delight "in it: their Bows ſhall daſh the young "Men to pieces: and they ſhall have no "pity on the fruit of the Womb: their "eye ſhall not ſpare Children. And *Ba-*"*bylon*, the Glory of Kingdoms, the "Beauty of the *Chaldees* excellency, ſhall "be, as when God overthrew *Sodom* and "*Gomorrah*. It ſhall never be inhabited: "nei-

[1] *Iſaiah* xiii. 12——22.

" neither ſhall it be dwelt in from Gene-
" ration to Generation: neither ſhall the
" *Arabian* pitch his tent there: neither
" ſhall the Shepherds make their folds
" there. But wild Beaſts of the deſert
" ſhall be there: and their Houſes ſhall be
" full of doleful Creatures: and Owls ſhall
" dwell there, and Satyrs ſhall dance there.
" And the wild Beaſts of the Iſland ſhall
" cry in their deſolate Houſes, and Dra-
" gons in their pleaſant places: and her
" time is near to come: and her days"
meaning the day of deſtruction, " ſhall not
" be prolonged."

This is *Iſaiah*'s grand and dreadful Deſcription of the Fall of ancient *Babylon* in *Chaldæa:* a neighbouring Country to the *Jews*, and from which they ſuffered many Miſeries and Calamities. This Prophecy then we may obſerve, has in it a very beautiful Propriety, as it gives the *Jews* a fine Proſpect of comfort in the coming Vengeance upon their haughty Oppreſſor. And therefore to carry your Admiration of God's Power, and the full performance of his Decrees ſtill farther, this Prophecy againſt *ancient Babylon* has been literally ful-

fulfilled; for, more than four hundred Years ago, Hiſtory and Travellers inform us, that not a Stone, nor a ſingle Trace of its Grandeur remains, to make it look great in Death and ſplendid in its Ruins.

Having thus far ſeen from ſcriptural Authority that St. *John* does not mean the *Babylon of the Old Teſtament:* let us now come to his own Deſcription, and ſee if we can trace out his Meaning from his own Words.

And here, that we might not be left to Conjectures and uncertain Gueſſes, he has given us in the 17th Chapter an Expreſſion that will diſtinguiſh *his* from *any other Babylon*, and tell us plainly what he means. Obſerve his Words—*Upon her forehead was a Name written, Myſtery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth—and I ſaw the Woman drunken with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Jeſus: and when I ſaw her, I wondered with great Admiration. And the Angel ſaid unto me, Wherefore didſt thou marvel? I will tell thee the Myſtery of the Woman, and of the Beaſt that carrieth her, which hath the ſeven Heads—the ſeven Heads*

are

are ſeven Mountains on which the Woman ſitteth.

It is univerſally allowed by all proteſtant Divines, and indeed from the expreſs Meaning of the Words, it is apparent, that this *Babylon* is nothing elſe but *Rome:* which in this Point is remarkable, for ſtanding upon *ſeven Hills*—And I think you cannot avoid being of the ſame Opinion, when we apply the Remainder of the Character to *Rome* and her Friends.—*Upon her forehead, Myſtery*—Myſtery indeed! The Scriptures are locked up from the people; and they muſt buy even Superſtition and Ignorance at a Price: but how juſtly the next Words belong to her? *I ſaw the Woman drunken with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Jeſus.* Now it is impoſſible this can ever be applied with any Propriety to *ancient Babylon*; for in its Days of Glory, there was no *Jeſus* upon Earth, nor any Saints or Martyrs for his Name: but ſuppoſe St. *John* to have his prophetic Eye upon *Rome*; and nothing is more juſt and applicable to its Character: for I may ſay what Oceans, Fields, and Towns of Blood has

ſhe

ſhe not ſhed to propagate her gainful Myſteries, and blaſt all true Piety from the World? Racks and Tortures, Fires and Agonies of a Zeal implacable and mercileſs, are the dreadful Furniture of her Inquiſition — there we may ſay, *the tender Mercies of the Wicked are Cruel*—and to carry the Picture to the higheſt pitch of Aggravation, St. *John* ſays, *ſhe is drunk with the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jeſus*—like the Savages of ancient *Scythia*, who drank revengeful draughts from the ſculls of their Enemies; whoſe blood they ſhed with wantonneſs, and quaffed with Joy. I know of no Compariſon, no Parallel to the Barbarity of the Inquiſition, except where a *Roman* General cut the throats of two Brothers, ground their Sculls to powder, rolled them into a Paſte; and then bid their Mother, like the Earth, ſwallow her own Offspring — How juſtly may we apply to theſe religious Monſters, *Jacob*'s ſpeech to *Simon* and *Levi*,—*Inſtruments of Cruely are in their habitations.* — *O my Soul come not thou into their Secret: unto their aſſembly mine honour be not thou united.*

Curſed

Curſed be their Anger, for it was fierce, and their Wrath, for it was Cruel.

All theſe Arguments and Authorities of holy Writ, I preſume, are ſufficient to perſuade that the *Babylon* mentioned in the Text, means the Church of *Rome*, and all its Abominations, and the plain reaſon why St. *John* made Uſe of the ſame Name, and deſcribes her almoſt in the ſame Language, as *Iſaiah* does *ancient Babylon*, is, becauſe, as *Old Babylon*, was great and proud; was full of Idolatry and Superſtition; had ſet itſelf up above every thing that was called *God*; had made the neighbouring Nations drunken with the Cup of her Fornication and Impiety; had been uncommonly cruel and oppreſſive to the *Iſraelites*, the then worſhippers of the true God;—ſo that he could not have made choice of a City, or a Name, that ſo well reſembled *Babylon* in every Crime, as he foreſaw in the Spirit of Prophecy, *Rome* would arrive to in her ſpiritual Impurity.

I come now in the ſecond place, to ſhew you how far *Rome* has anſwered St. *John*'s Prophecy, and how much Reaſon we have

to believe the reſt will be completed in its Time.—The 18th Chapter opens with an Angel's deſcending from Heaven, and crying, *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, the great City, and is become the Habitation of Devils, and the hold of foul Spirits, and a Cage of every unclean and hateful Bird: for all Nations have drunk of the Wine of the wrath of her Fornication; and the kings of the Earth have committed Fornication with her, and the merchants of the Earth are waxed rich of the abundance of her Pleaſures.*—And indeed, nothing ever was more fitted for a Compariſon: have not almoſt all the neighbouring Kingdoms in Europe been under the Tyranny and Impoſture of the *Romiſh* See? have not the Kings of this conſiderable and flouriſhing Nation, in former times, been *drunk* with the Wine of her Fornication? have they not been terrified and threatened with all the horrid Thunder of Church-Artillery, if they did not acknowledge ſubmiſſion and allegiance to his Holineſs? What a long time was it, before God, as it were by a Miracle, eaſed our Necks from the Yoke, and brought

on the glorious Reformation? when Faith and Reaſon, Scripture and Learning went hand in hand: while the Sons of *Briton* cordially renounced and proteſted againſt a Religion, that was planted in Ignorance and watered in Blood. And to ſee what we did reform from, may add to our deteſtation of Popery:—we reformed from the Perſecutions and Tortures of the Inquiſition: from the moſt corrupted Worſhip, that ever diſhonoured God: from Beads and Images: from Pardons and Indulgencies: from midnight Cells and melancholy Convents, where Youth and Beauty bloom in Vain, and are cut off all from the ſweet Civilities of Life. Their Doctrine of Pardon is an *Inſult to God*; their Pretence to give it an *Inſult to Man:* and you will not wonder at the ſeverity of the Character St. *John* gives them, when he ſtyles them *Devils, foul Spirits, and hateful Birds*; for the Agents of the Inquiſition are little better than *Devils Incarnate:* and as to the Bulk of the people in *Italy*, if Report ſays true, they are divided betwixt *Sodomites and Atheiſts*. Thus far then, they have ad-

vanced to the Prophecy, and have absolutely *outsinned the Description*; and therefore, as I mentioned before, we have good reason to believe the rest will come upon them in its Time.

Known unto God are all his Works, from the beginning to the End: and he has not left us without some Intimations, that her Time is not far of from being completely destroyed. We may easily observe, that she has tryed all her Arts, and Impostures in every part of the World: yet notwithstanding, the Lamb shall overcome her at the last: perhaps the Kingdoms that now adopt her Impurities may be the first that turn upon her with vengeance and work her Destruction: it is hinted so in the 16th Verse; *the ten Horns are they that shall hate the Whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her Flesh, and burn it with Fire.* The Reverence now paid to the Pope, even by *Catholic* Kings, is more *Form* than *Reality*, more *Policy* than *Reverence*. His Power diminishes in all the Courts of Europe, and by comparing what it has been, to what it is at

present, we may venture to imagine its Glory is sinking into *Shame*.

Thus you have seen the just and wonderful hand of God, in delivering us this Prophecy of the *Romish* Impiety, and in performing so much of it to our present Observation, as to make us suppose the rest is not far behind. In this we are all concerned: and I cannot make a better application of what has been said, than in the Angel's words; *Go out of her my people, and be ye not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not her plagues, for her Sins are are come up to Heaven, and God hath remembered her Iniquities: reward her, as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her Works: in the Cup that she hath filled to you, fill her double.*

This Advice we as Protestants are commanded to follow, in renouncing all Communion with her: in flying from and detesting the Idolatries of her Religion: in abjuring all her Impurities, and praying against the secret diabolical Plots and Contrivances of her Councils from debauching our Morals, or demolishing our State.

Thus

Thus may we ſay with the Angel exulting over her Ruins: *Rejoice, O Heavens, and ye holy Apoſtles and Prophets, for the Lord hath avenged her for your Sakes.*

Now to the King, immortal, inviſible, eternal, the one undivided Trinity, be Praiſe, Majeſty and Dominion, throughout all Ages. Amen.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Pag. 3. For *Peſurmption*, read *Preſumption*.
9. For *hac*, read *hæc*.
10. For πεφυλάζο, read πεφυλάξο.
17. For *whether*, read *whither*.
29. For *cozin*, read *cozen*.
55. For *aproaches*, read *approaches*.
59. For την, read τον.
61. For ὅο, read ὅι.
Ibid. For Χδηςος, read Χρηςος.
65. For Γατερ, read Πατερ.
Ibid. For Ειδωλα, read Ειδωλα.
66. For *indeviſable*, read *indiviſible*.
68. For *gray*, read *grey*.
71. For *Saccurram*, read *Succurram*.
86. For Αυθρωπ', read Ανθρωπ'.
Ibid. For Γλην, read Πλην.
98. For *Complement*, read *Compliment*.