

Farewell vain World! As thou hast been to me
Dust & a Shadow; those I leave with thee:
The unseen Vitall Substance I committ
To him that's Substance, Light & Life to it.
The Leaves & Fruit here dropt are holy seed,
Heaven's heirs to generate; to heale & feed:
Them also thou wilt flatter & molest
But shalt not keep from Everlasting Rest.

THE REASONS OF THE Christian Religion.

The First Part, OF GODLINESS:

Proving by *NATURAL EVIDENCE* the Being of *GOD*, the Necessity of *HOLINESS*, and a *future Life* of *Retribution*; the Sinfulness of the World; the Desert of Hell; and what hope of Recovery Mercies intimate.

The Second Part, OF CHRISTIANITY:

Proving by *Evidence Supernatural* and *Natural*, the certain Truth of the *CHRISTIAN Belief*: and answering the *Objections* of *Unbelievers*.

First meditated for the well-setling of his own Belief, and now published for the benefit of others, By *RICHARD BAXTER.*

It openeth also the true Resolution of the Christian Faith.

Also an APPENDIX, defending the *Soul's Immortality* against the *Somatists* or *Epicureans*, and other *Pseudo-philosophers*.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. White*, for *Fran. Titon*, at the *three Daggers* in *Fleet-street*. 1667.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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TO THE
CHRISTIAN READER.

BEcauſe there are ſome, who judging of others by themſelves, will ſay what need this labour among Chriſtians, to prove a God, a Life to come, and the Truth of the Goſpel? Or at leaſt what need is there of it, after ſo much already written? I take my ſelf obliged to give you an account of this attempt: For my own Reaſon is much againſt over-doing, *and waſting our little time in things* ſuperfluous; *which is but enough for neceſſary things: But it hath recorded this among the* indubitata; Boni rarò nimis; optimi nunquam; indifferentes ſæpiſſimè; mali ſemper.

The true Reaſons of this work, are no fewer than theſe following. 1. Quod cogitamus, loquimur: *That which is* moſt *and* deepeſt *in my* thoughts, *is apteſt to break forth to others. Man is a communicative Creature. Though it be to my ſhame, I muſt confeſſe, that* neceſſity, *through perplexed thoughts, hath made this Subject much of my Meditations: It is the Subject which I have found moſt* neceſſary *and moſt* uſefull *to my ſelf. And I have reaſon enough to think, that many others may be as weak as I. And I would*

would fain have those partake of my satisfaction, who have partaked of my difficulties.

2. I perceive, that because it is taken for a shame, to doubt of our Christianity and the Life to come, this hindereth many from uttering their doubts, who never get them well resolved, but remain half Infidels within, whilest the Ensigns of Christ are hanged without; and need much help, though they are ashamed to tell their needs: And prudent Charity will relieve those who are ashamed to beg.

3. As the true knowledge of God, is the beginning and maintainer of all holinesse and honesty of Heart and Life; so latent Atheisme and Infidelity in the mindes of Hypocrites in the Church, is the root of their prophaneneſſe, dishonesty and wickedneſſe. Did they seriously Believe as Christians, they would not live as the Enemies of Christianity! I take it therefore to be the sureſt and most expeditious Cure of the security, presumption, pride, perfidiousneſſe, sensuality, and wickedneſſe of these Hypocrites, to convince them that there is a God, and a Life to come, and that the Gospel is true.

4. And this prophaneneſs and sensuality tendeth to greater Infidelity. They that will not live as they profeſs to Believe, may most easily be drawn to Believe and profeſs, as they are willing to live. And therefore this Prognostick commandeth me to endeavour, to prevent mens open profession of Infidelity, lest the present torrent of ungodlineſſe, selfishneſſe, malice, uncharitableneſſe, perjury, treachery, faction, whoredom, and other sensualities, should fall into this gulf, or one that is not much unlike it.

5. The best complain of the imperfection of their Faith: And too many good Christians, especially if Melancholy

Melancholy surprise them, are haunted with such temptations, to Atheisme, blaſphemy and unbelief, as make their lives a burden to them! And one that hath heard so many of their complaints as I have done, is excusable for desiring to relieve them. It hath many a time been matter of wonder to me to observe, that there is scarce one deep melancholy person among ten (religious or not religious before) but is followed with violent suggestions to doubt of the God-head, and of the truth of the Gospel, or to utter some word of Blaſphemy against God. And he that must pray, [Lord increaſe my Faith, and help my Unbelief,] must use other means as well as pray.

6. The imperfection of our Faith (even about the Gospel, and the Life to come) is the secret root of all our faults; of the weakneſſe of every other grace, of our yielding to temptations; and of the careleſneſſe, badneſſe, and barrenneſe of our Lives. So Transcendent are the Concernments of the Life to come, that a certain, clear, and firm belief of them, would even deride temptations, and bear down all the trifles of this World, by what names or titles soever dignified, as things not worthy of a look or thought! What manner of person will that man be, in all holy Converſation and Godlineſs, who believing that all these things must be dissolved, doth look for the coming of Christ, and for the Bleſſed Consequents! 2 Pet. 3. 11, 12, 14. 2 Theſſ. 1. 10. O what a life would that man live! what Prayers, what Prayses! what holy discourse would employ his tongue! with what abhorrence would he reject the baits of sin! who did but see, but once see, those unseen and future things, which every Christian profeſseth to believe? How contemptibly would he think and speak both of the pleaſures

sures *and the sufferings of this dreaming life, in comparison of the everlasting things? What serious desires, and labours, and joyes, and patience, would such a sight procure? How much more holy and* Heavenly *would it make even those that by the purblind World are thought to exceed herein already? And if we took our* Belief *to be as certain as* our sight, *Believing would do greater matters than it doth. I oft think what one told me, that an Infidel answered him, when he asked him,* How he could quiet his Conscience in such a desperate state? *saith he,* [I rather wonder how you can quiet your Conscience in such a common careless course of life, believing as you do? If I believed such things as you do, I should think no care, and diligence, and holiness could be enough.]

7. The Soul in flesh *is so much desirous of a* sensitive way *of apprehension, and* sensible *things being still before us, do so increase this Malady, and divert the minde from spiritual things, that we have all great need of the* cleerest evidence, *and the most suitable, and frequent, and taking explication of them, that possibly can be given us, not only to make us* Believe *things unseen, but to make us* serious, *and* practical, *and* affectionate *about the things which in a sort we do believe; to keep drowsie hearts awaken.*

8. *The way of taking Religion upon trust, without rising up to make it our own, hath filled the Church so full of Hypocrites who have no better than an* humane *Faith, that thereby the* complexion *of it is much changed, from its primitive beauty: And thousands do perish by self-deceit: And though some of their Gifts be serviceable to the Gospel, others of them*

them do more effectually serve the Devil, against the Cause and Servants of Christ, than they could have done if they were professed Infidels.

9. *It makes me blush, and stirrs my Indignation, to read and hear abundance of hot and vehement Disputes, and tedious or Critical discourses about many small lesse needfull things, by those men that never studyed the Foundation, nor can with Sense and Reason defend their Christianity against an Infidel. Such prepostorous methods are perverse and nauseous.*

10. *I am much afraid lest many of those ignorant zealous Christians, who now turn to that Sectary whom they cannot answer, would turn to the Infidel at last, when they finde themselves unable to confute them, through their own insufficiency and ungroundednesse in the Truth.*

11. *But if they do not Apostatize, what a shame will it be to the Church of God, to have our Religion thus betrayed, by such as are not able to defend it? And how many others may it tempt to Infidelity, to hear an Ignorant Christian baffled.*

12. *I am too sure, that too many Teachers, that should be Champions for the Truth, are lamentably unfurnished for such a Conflict, by neglecting the study of the Foundation, and bestowing all their thoughts on the Superstructure.*

13. *I know that it is Gods method, to cause the growth of* Faith *at the root, in proportion to its growth in tallnesse and in fruit: It is his mercifull Providence, to keep those whose Faith hath weaker roots, from the strong temptations which others undergoe. As the Plant that is* little, *doth*

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bear but little of the ſtroke of the windes; which elſe would quickly overturn it: but the root growing downward, as the top groweth upward, the radication and the aſſaults are ſtill proportioned: So Faith muſt grow equally in its Roots and Branches *while we live. Had I felt as ſtrong aſſaults againſt my Faith while I was young, as I have done ſince, I am not ſure it would have ſcap'd an overthrow.*

14. *I have in the anatomizing of the Controverſies which moſt hazard the Church of Chriſt, found ſo much latent Atheiſme and Infidelity, that I think among many (that do not obſerve it) the true root of all the difference is, Whether there be a God, and a Life to come? And whether the Scriptures be true. And I think that* A ſound agreement in theſe, *would do more to the ending of ſuch Controverſies, and to the healing of our Wounds, than any diſputing of the Controverted points.*

15. *We have had hot and ſcandalous Diſputes among Chriſtians,* de Reſolutione Fidei; *each Party invalidating the others Foundations, as if it had been our work to perſwade the Infidel World, that* they *are in the right. And I thought it the only way to end that Controverſie, to open all the Cauſes of our Faith.* The Roman *Party may here perceive our Grounds, and better know into what we reſolve our Faith, than if we named only one ſort of Cauſe, and ſaid, I reſolve it into this: As if all the Frame had but one Wheel? Faith hath variety of Cauſes and Objects, into which reſpectively it may be ſaid to be reſolved: (by thoſe that will not uſe an inſignificant Word, to make People believe*

believe there is a difference, where there is none; and to keep men from underſtanding the matter *it ſelf.)* Auguſtine *ſaith of his Friend* Nebudius (*Ep.* 23. *Bonif.*) That he exceedingly hated a ſhort Anſwer to a great Queſtion, and took it ill where he might be free, of any that did expect it from him: [Anſwer me in a word] *is the Command of an* ignorant *or a* ſlothfull *perſon, or of a* Deceiver, *when a Word is not capable of the neceſſary Anſwer.*

16. *There is no more deſireable work in the World, than the converting of Idolaters and Infidels to God and to the Chriſtian Faith. And it is a work which requireth the greateſt judgement and zeal in them that muſt perform it. It is a dolefull thought, that five parts of the World are ſtill Heathens and Mahometans; And that Chriſtian Princes and Preachers do no more to their Recovery; but are taken up with ſad Contentions among themſelves: And that the few that have attempted it, have hitherto had ſo ſmall ſucceſſe. The opening of the true method for ſuch a Work, is the higheſt part of my deſign: In which though many others have excellently laboured,* [*eſpecially* Savonarola, Campanella, Ficinus, Vives, Micræ-lius, Dupleſis, Grotius, *and our* Stillingfleet,] *my Zeal for the ſaving of Mens Souls hath provoked me to try, whether I might adde any thing to their more worthy Labours, in point of* Method *and perſpicuity of Proof.*

17. *Laſtly, I have long agoe written much on this Subject, which is diſperſed and buryed in the midſt of other Subjects, (except my Book of the* Unreaſonableneſs of Infidelity*): And I thought*

it more Edifying to set it in order together by it self. If these Reasons justifie not my undertaking, I have no better. The Lord have mercy on this dark, distracted, sensual World. Christians, watch, pray, love, live, hope, rejoyce, and patiently suffer, *according to this* Holy Faith *which you professe, and you shall be blessed in despight of Earth and Hell.*

Octob. 31.
1666.

Your Brother in this Life of Faith,

Richard Baxter.

Virtus Fidei in Periculis secura est; securitate periclitatur.
Chrysost. in Mat. 20.

TO

To the Doubting and the Unbelieving READERS.

THE natural love to knowledge and to my self, which belong to me as I am a Man, have commanded me to look beyond *this life*, and diligently to enquire, whether there be any certainty of a *better?* and which is the *way* to it, and to whom it doth of right belong. And what I have certainly discovered in this search, the love of Mankind, and of Truth, and of God, oblige me to communicate. But it was not a cursory glance at Truth, nor a look towards it afar off, in my state of ignorance and diversion, which brought the satisfying light into my mind: nor can you reasonably expect it should do so by you. I saw *that* in one *Savonarola, Campanella, Ficinus, Vives, Mornay, Grotius, Cameron, Micrælius*, which I now see might satisfie all the world, if it were duly received. But it was not a bare reading of one or all of these and others, which was a due reception: I found that truth must be so long retained, and faithfully elaborated by a diligent and willing mind, till it be concocted into a clear methodical understanding, and the Scheme or Analysis of it have left upon the soul its proper

 image,

image, by an orderly and deep impreſſion; yea, till the *Goodneſs* of the matter become as nutriment, bloud and ſpirits to the Will, before it is truly made our own. It expecteth (I ſay not greater courtſhip, but) more cordial friendſhip, than a tranſient ſalute, before it will unveil its glory, and illuſtrate, beautifie and bleſs the ſoul. It is food and Phyſick: it will nouriſh and heal: but not by a bare look or hear-ſay, nor by the reading of the preſcript. Could I procure the Reader to do *his part*, I doubt not but this Treatiſe will ſuffice on *its part*, to bring in that light, which the *Sagæ*, the *Lemures* and *Dæmones* of *Atheiſm*, *Infidelity* and *Ungodlineſs* will not be able to endure.

But I am far from expecting univerſal ſucceſs; no not if I brought a Book from Heaven. The far greateſt part have unprepared minds, and will not come up to the price of truth. And nothing is more ſure than that *recipitur ad modum recipientis*; *& Pro captu lectoris habent ſua fata libelli.* Theſe drones imagine, that they are fit to judge of a Scripture-difficulty, or of an argument concerning the myſteries of Religion, before they know what it is to be a Man, or underſtand the Alphabet of Nature, even thoſe points which ſupernatural Revelations preſuppoſe: ſuch uncapableneſs in the Reader is as a great hinderance, as the want of ſolid proof and evidence in the Writer. Moſt men are drowned in filthy ſenſuality, or worldly cares; and their reliſh is vitiated by luſcious vanities; their reaſon is debaſed by ſubjection to the fleſh, and darkned and debilitated by long alienation from its proper work: and yet they are ſo conſtituted of *ignorance* and *pride*, that they can neither underſtand

erſtand plain truth, nor perceive that it is long f *themſelves* that they underſtand it not. And othfulneſs and ſenſuality have ſo far conquered *manity* it ſelf, even the *natural love* of *truth* and f *themſelves*, that they will take up with what heir play-fellows have taught them, and venture heir ſouls and their everlaſting concernments, nleſs they can ſecure them by an idle, gameſome, eſhly life, or grow wiſe by the ſhort ſuperficial udies of an alienated, unwilling, tired mind. Unleſs the great things of God and Immortality, will e ſavingly known by a few diſtracted thoughts of diſcompoſed mind, or the rambling talk of their ompanions, whoſe heads are as unfurniſhed and iddy as their own; or by the curſory peruſal of few Books, which croſs not their carnal intereſt nd humour in the midſt of their more beloved emloyments and delights, they will neither be ſolid Chriſtians, nor wiſe and honeſt men. If God will be converſed with in the midſt of their feaſting, cups nd oaths, in their pride, and revelling, and with their whores; if he will be found of them that hate his olineſs, and all that love it, and ſeriouſly obey him, then God ſhall be their God, and Chriſt ſhall be their Saviour, and if this be the way, they may become good Chriſtians: But if retired ſerious thoughts be neceſſary, and an honeſt faithfulneſs o what they know, they muſt be excuſed: They hat know that it is not an hours peruſal of a book of Aſtronomy, Geometry, Muſick, Phyſick, &c. which will ſerve to make them skilful in theſe Arts, lo expect to attain far higher wiſdom, by inconſiderable induſtry and ſearch; and will not be wiſe nleſs they can be taught by viſion in their dreams,

or

or in the crowd and noiſe of worldly buſineſs, and of fleſhly luſts.

I find that it is a difficult task which I have undertaken, to be the inſtructer of ſuch men: if I be large and copious, their lazineſs will not ſuffer them to read it: if I be conciſe, I cannot ſatisfie their expectations; for they think nothing well proved, if every objection be not anſwered, which idle cavilling brains can bring: Neither have they ſufficient *attentiveneſs* for *brevity*, nor will their ignorance allow them to underſtand it. The contradicting vices of their minds, do call for impoſſibilities for the cure. Their *Incapacity* ſaith, It muſt be a full explication, or I cannot apprehend the ſenſe or truth. Their averſeneſs and ſlothfulneſs ſaith, It muſt be ſhort, or I ſhall be tired with it, or cannot have while to read it. I cannot anſwer both theſe expectations to the full: but though the greatneſs of the matter have made the Book bigger than I intended, the nauſeating ſtomack of moſt Readers hath perſwaded me to avoid unneceſſary words: and as big as the Book is, I muſt tell the Reader, that the ſtyle is ſo far from redundancies (though ſome things be oft repeated) that if he will not chew the *particular words*, but ſwallow them whole, and beſtow his labour only on the Sentences, I ſhall ſuppoſe that he hath not read the Book.

Ficinus very truly noteth, that while children and youth are ſufficiently conſcious of their ignorance, to keep in a learning courſe, they may do well; but when they firſt grow to a confidence of their own underſtandings, and at ripeneſs of age imagine, that their wits are ripe, and think that their unfurniſhed minds

minds (becauſe they have a natural quickneſs) are competent judges of all that they read; then they are moſt in danger of infidelity, and of being undone for ever; (from 18 to 28 being the moſt perilous age.) But if God keep them as humble diligent learners, till they have orderly gone through their courſe of ſtudies, and ſanctifie their greener youthful knowledge; they then grow up to be confirmed Chriſtians. *Ficin. de Verit. Rel. cap.* 3. It is therefore the *diligence* and *patience* of the Reader which I ſtill intreat, and not his belief: for I will beg nothing of his *underſtanding*, but *juſtice* to the *truth*; but (ſuppoſing God's help) do truſt to the cogencie of evidence.

Yet I muſt tell you, that I expect the Reader, by the truths which he learneth, ſhould be able himſelf to anſwer an hundred trivial objections, which are here paſſed by: and that in particular *textual difficulties*, he have recourſe to Commentaries and Tractates on thoſe ſubjects: for this Book is long enough already. He that will diligently conſider the connection of the conſequent Propoſitions to the Antecedent, and will underſtand what he readeth as he goeth along, will ſee that I give him ſufficient proof of all which I deſire him to aſſent to. But I make no doubt but a haſty and half-witted Reader can find objections and words enough againſt the plaineſt truth here written; and ſuch as he thinks do need a particular anſwer. When an underſtanding Reader would be offended with me, if I ſhould recite them. I had more compaſſion on the ſober Reader, than for the humouring of every brainſick Sceptick, to ſtand proving that two and two are four. I write for ſuch as are *willing* to

be *wiſe* and *happy*, and that at dearer rates than jeſting: For others, I muſt leave them, whether I will or no, to be wiſe too late.

And for thoſe capricious brains who deride our ordinary preaching, as begging and ſuppoſing that which we do not prove, when they have here, and in other ſuch writings, found our *fundamentals proved*, let them hereafter excuſe our ſuperſtructure, and not think that every Sermon muſt be ſpent in proving our Chriſtianity and Creed.

In the firſt part of this Book, I give you no teſtimonies from the Chriſtian writings or authorities, becauſe I ſuppoſe the Reader to be one that doth not believe them; and my buſineſs is only to prove Natural Verities by their proper evidence: But leſt any ſhould think that there is not ſo much legible in *Nature*, becauſe the wiſeſt Heathens ſaw it not, I have cited in the margin their atteſtations to moſt particulars, to ſhew that indeed they did confeſs the ſame, though leſs diſtinctly and clearly than they might have done, (as I have plainly proved.) But, being many years ſeparated from my Books, I was forced to do this part leſs exactly than I would have done, had I been near my own or any other Library. Again, I ſeriouſly profeſs, that I am ſo confident of the juſt proofs and evidences of truth here given, that I fear nothing as to fruſtrate the ſucceſs, but the Reader's *Incapacity*, (through *half-wittedneſs* or *wickedneſs*) or his *Lazineſs* in a curſory and negligent peruſal of what is conciſely but evidently propoſed. It's true that *Seneca* ſaith, [*Magna debet eſſe eloquentia, quæ invitis placet.*] I may adde, *Et Veritatis evidentia quæ cæcis, malignis vel ignavis prodeſt.* And who feeleth not the truth

truth of *Hierom's* words, (*ad Paul.*) *Nunquam benefit, quod fit præoccupato animo.* Be true and faithful to your ſelves, and to the Truth, and you ſhall ſee its Glory, and feel its Power, and be directed by it to everlaſting Bleſſedneſs. This is his End, who is

Octob. 31. 1666.

An earneſt deſirer of Mankind's Felicity,

RICHARD BAXTER.

TO THE

HYPOCRITE READERS;

Who have the Name of *Christians*, and the Hearts and Lives of *Atheists* and *Unbelievers*.

IT is the great Mercy of God to you, that you were born of Christian Parents, and in a Land where Christianity is the professed Religion, and under Governours and Laws which countenance it: But this which should have helped you to the intelligent and serious entertainment of Religion, hath been abused by you to detain you from it: You have contented your selves to have Religion in your Princes, and your Parents Precepts, in Libraries and Laws, and to say over some of these by note; whilest you banished it from your Hearts and Lives, if not also from your sober thoughts and understanding! And having indeed no Religion of your own (because the labour of understanding *and* obeying *it, seemed too dear a price to purchase it) you have thought it most serviceable to your* quietness

and your reputation to seem to be of the Religion of your Parents or your King, be it what it will. This is indeed the common course of the rude and irreligious Rabble, in all Nations of the World. O that I might be your effectual Monitor, to awaken you to consider what you have been doing? and yet if you are Men, to suffer your Reason to look behinde you, within you, and before you, and seriously think what it is to be in Heaven or Hell for ever, and prudently to manage your own Concernments! Can you think that that man hath any Religion who hath no God? Or hath he indeed a God, who preferreth his lust, or wealth, or honour, or any thing in the World before him? Or that is not devoted to his Obedience and his Love? Is he a God that is not better than the Pleasures of the Flesh and World? Or that is not greater than a mortal man? or is not fully sufficient for you? Did you know what you did when you owned your Baptismal Vow and Covenant? which is when you usurp the name of Christians, and joyn in visible communion in the Church? Do you know what it is to believe that there is a God, and a Life to come, and to renounce the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, and give up your selves to a Saviour and a Sanctifyer? Or can you think while you are awake and sober, that Perfidiousness will save you, and be taken by God instead of Christianity? will God accept you for a perjured Profession? to be that and do that which never came into your hearts? Is Hypocrisie a Virtue? And will Lying bring a man to Heaven? Christianity is such a Believing in Christ, to bring us unto God and everlasting Glory, as maketh the Love of God the very Nature of the Soul, and

and thankefull obedience its Employment, and a Heavenly Minde and Life to be its Constitution and its Trade; and the Mercies of this Life to be but our Travelling-helps and Provisions for a better; and the Interest of fleshly lust to be esteemed but as dross and dung. Is this the Life which you live, or which you hate? I beseech you Sirs, as you regard the reputation of your Reason, tell us why you will professe a Religion, which you abhorre? or why will you abhorre a Religion which you professe? why will you Glory in the part of a Parrot, or an Ape, to say over a few words, or move your Bodies, while you detest the humane part, to know and love and live to God? Do you live only to treasure up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgement of God, who will render to every one according to his deeds? Rom. 2. 5, 6. Do you professe your selves Christians only for self-condemnation; to be Witnesses against your selves in Judgement, that you wilfully lived unchristian lives? What is there in the World that you are so averse to, as to be seriously that which you professe your selves to be? Who hate you more than those that are that in heart and life, which you call your selves in customary words? or that are serious in the Religion which you say your selves you hope to be saved by? Read Matth. 23. 29, 30, 31. why do you honour the dead Saints, and abhorre the living? and would make more Martyrs, while you keep Festivals of Commemoration of those that others made? Quæ est illa Justitia sanctos colere, & sanctitatem contemnere? Primus gradus Pietatis est Sanctitatem diligere. Chrysost. in Matth. 24. Christ hath not more bitter Enemies in the World, than some

some of you who wear his Livery: Turks *and Heathens are more gentle to true Christians, and have shed lesse of their blood than Hypocrite Christians have done. The Zeal of the* Pharisees *consumed many, whom the Clemency of the* Romans *would else have spared. Be it known to all the Infidel World, who detest Christianity because of your wickedness, that* you are none of us; *Christ renounceth you,* Matth. 7. 22, 23. *and we renounce you. They may as well hate Philosophy because some vagrant Sots have called themselves Philosophers, or have sailed with* Aristotle *or* Plato *in the same Ship: They may as well hate Physick, because many ignorant Women and Mountebanks have profess'd it? They may as well reproach us for Loyalty to our King, because there are secret Traytors, that call themselves his Subjects? What are* you to Christians, *that we should be reproached for your Villanies? O you Turks and Heathens, rather reproach us because there are wicked persons of* your selves; *for* you *are not so cruel Enemies to Christians, as many of these Hypocrites are.* Nullus enim Christianus malus est, nisi hanc professionem simulaverit. *Athenagor. Leg. pro Christ. pag.* 3. Nemo illic (in Carcere) Christianus, nisi plane tantùm Christianus: aut si aliud, jam non Christianus. *Tertull. Apol. c.* 43. sed dicet aliquis etiam de nostris excedere quosdam à regulâ disciplinæ. Desunt tum Christiani haberi apud nos: *Id. ib. c.* 46. *Leg. Twiss. Vind. Grat. l.* 3 *E.* 8. 6. 6. *p.* 75. *and my* 5*th Disp. of Sacraments.* If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, *Rom.* 8. 9. *Luk.* 14. 26, 33. *They are Spies in his Army: They are* Absaloms, Chams *and* Judas's *in his Family. Try them by the character*

racter that Christ hath given of his true Disciples: and if they be such, then tell us of their Lives and spare not. They are not of us, *while they are among us.* 1 John 2. 19. *They are more of* your party *than of* ours, *If the* Minde, Heart, *and* Life, *be more of the* Man, *than the tongue and knee. What if a* Celsus, *or* Porphiry, *or* Epicurus *had called himself a Christian? Must Christ be answerable for him? Is it not enough that they abuse him by their hypocrisie, and living contrary to his Laws, but he must be accused for their Crimes, which he so strictly forbiddeth, and for which he will cast them into Hell for ever? would you have him do more than this is to disclaim them? Were they indeed Christian Princes, Barons, Priests and People, of whom* Abbas Urspergensis *speaketh,* Chron. *pag.* 32. Ut omnis homo jam sit perjurus & prædictis facinoribus implicatus; ut vix excusari possit, quin sit in his sicut populus, sic & Sacerdos— *Et p.* 321. Principes terrarum & Barones, arte Diabolicâ edocti, nec curabant Juramenta infringere, nec Fidem violare, & jus omne confundere? *were they Christian Knights that Erasmus speaketh of,* Colloqui Pap. 485. Ni sis bonus aleator, probus Chartarius, Scortator improbus, potator strenuus, profusor audax, decoctor & conflator æris alieni, deinde scabie ornatus Gallicâ, vix quisquam te credet equitem. *It was* Cotta's *proof, that there are Atheists, in* Cicer. de natur. Deor. li. 1. [What shall we say of the Sacrilegious, Perjured, and Ungodly? *If* Carbo, &c. *had thought, that* there are Gods, he had not been so *PERJURED and UNGODLY.*] *What more necessary to* ungodly men (whatever they call themselves)

than to convince them that there is a God, *and* Life *to come? Christ will not care for their* Image *of Religion, or deceitfull Promises and Professions: All wise men are of* Solon's *minde* [Probitatem jurejurando certiorem habe] *Laert. in Sol.*

Believe it, Hypocrites, your fornications, gluttony, drunkennesse, idlenesse, covetousnesse, selfishnesse, or pride, will finde no Cloak in the day of Judgement, from the Christian name. You might better cheq have been sensual and wicked at a further distance, than in the Family or Church of God. Nihil prodeſt æſtimari, quod non ſis: Et duplicis peccati reus es; non habere quod crederis; & quod non habueris ſimulare: *Hieron. Ep. ad fil. Maur. Or suppose your Lives are more civilly and smoothly carnall?* To do no harm, *is too little to prove you Christians: Much more to do evil with some bounds.* Nullum eſt aliud latronum beneficium, niſi ut commemorare poſsint, iis ſe vitam dediſſe quibus non ademerint. *Cicer. Phil.* 2. Non eſt bonitas peſſimis eſſe meliorem. *Senec. My reasonable demand is, that you will* be *what* you call *your selves, or* call your ſelves *as you* are. *I am not inviting you to a new Religion, nor to a Sect; but to be* really *and* ſeriouſly *what you are nominally, and what you have* vowed *and* profeſſe *to* be: *Jest not with* God, *and* Heaven *and* Hell. *You may mock your selves, but God will not be mocked. At last turn back, and study what that Religion is which you professe: Review your Baptismal Covenant; and be* true *to that, and I have done. And cast out of your way the common block of hating those whom you should imitate.* Ita comparatum eſt, ut virtutem non ſuſpiciamus, neq; ejus imitandæ ſtudio corripimur,

corripimur, niſi eum in quo ea conſpicitur, ſummo honore & amore proſequamur. *Plutar. in Cat. Utic. It was one of the Roman Lawes of the* 12 *Tables,* [Impius ne audeto placare donis iram Deorum.] Repent and pray, *was Peters Counsel to one of your Predecessors, Act.* 8. 22. Judas *hath a* Kiſs *for Christ; but it is* hearty love, *and a* ſober, righteous, godly life, *which must be your evidence. I have faithfully warned you; The Lord have mercy on you, and convert you.*

Octob. 31. 1666.

R. B.

Cujus aures clausæ Veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est. Cic. Rhet. 1.

Prov. 28. 9. He that turneth away his ear from hearing the Law, even his Prayer ſhall be abomination.

Antisthenes civitates tunc interire aiebat, cum bonos discernere nequeunt à malis. Laert. in Antiſth.

1 *John* 3. 8. He that committeth ſin, is of the Devil: For the Devil ſinneth from the beginning: For this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil.

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Take notice also, that many of the marginal Citations, are not put just over against the words which they referr to.

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PART I.

Of Natural Religion, or GODLINESS.

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Of the Neareſt Truths, viz. of Humane Nature.

RESOLVING on a faithful search into the Nature and certainty of Religion, as being the business which my own and all mens happiness is most concerned in, being conscious of my weakness, and knowing that truths have their certain order, in which they give much light to one another; I found it meet to begin at the most evident, from whence I ascended in the order following.

Non tam authoritatis in disputando, quàm Rationis momenta quærenda sunt. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* 1. p. 6.

Animo ipso animus videtur, & nimirum, hanc habet vim præceptum Apollinis, quo monet UT SE quisque NOSCAT: Non enim credo id præcipit ut membra nostra, aut staturam figuramve noscamus: Neque nos corpora sumus, neque ego tibi dicens hoc CORPORI tuo dico. Cum igitur NOSCE TE, dicit, hoc dicit, NOSCE ANIMUM TUUM. Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est, aut aliquod animi receptaculum: ab ANIMO tuo quicquid agitur id agitur à te. Hunc igitur nosce nisi Divinum esset, non esset hoc acrioris cujusdam animi præceptum, sic ut tributum Deo sit, hoc est, SE IPSUM posse cognoscere, sed si qualis sit animus, ipse animus nesciat, dic quæso, ne esse quidem se sciet? *Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. l. 1. pag. (mihi) 226, 227.*

Paret æternum id esse quod seipsum movet: & quis est qui hanc naturam animis tributam neget. Inanimum est enim omne quod pulsu agitatur externo.—— Sentit igitur animus se moveri: Quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi suâ, non alienâ moveri; nec accidere posse ut ipse unquam à se deseratur, ex quo efficitur æternitas. *Id. ibid.*

Obi. Age oſtende mihi Deum tuum. *Reſp.* Age oſtende mihi hominem tuum: fac te hominem eſſe cognoſcam, & quis meus ſit Deus demonſtrare non morabor. *Theoph. l. Antioch. ad Autolycum. lib. 1. initio.*

Cum deſpicere cœperimus & ſentire, quid ſimus, & quid ab animantibus cæteris differamus, tum ea inſequi incipiemus, ad quæ nati ſumus. *Cicer. 5. de fin.*

Qui ſeipſum cognoverit cognoſcet in ſe omnia: Deum, ad cujus imaginem factus eſt: Mundum, cujus ſimulachrum gerit. Creaturas omnes cum quibus ſymbolum habet. *Paulus Dom. de Scala Theſſ. pag. 722.*

Ut Deum noris, & ſi ignores & locum & faciem; ſic animum tibi tuum notum eſſe oportet, etiamſi ignores & locum & formam. *Cicer. 1. Tuſcul.*

§. 1. *I am paſt all doubt that I have ſenſe, cogitation, underſtanding and will, with executive operation.*

Though I could not exactly define what theſe are, yet I am ſatisfied that I have them: and I diſcern, that a ſimple term doth better expreſs one of theſe to me, than a definition doth: becauſe they are known ſo immediately in and of themſelves, partly by internal ſenſation, and partly by intuition. And *words* are but to *make known* my mind about them to *another*, and *anothers* to *me*; but the things themſelves are otherwiſe to be known. What it is to ſee, to hear, to ſmell, to taſte, I know better by ſeeing, hearing, ſmelling, taſting, than by any definitions of them: and the bare denomination, when I underſtand the term, is my beſt expreſſion. And if I could not anſwer a Sceptick, who denied the certainty of my judgment by ſenſation and reflexive intuition, yet nature would not ſuffer me to doubt. Or if any ſuch ſhould really make me doubt, whether I may not poſſibly live in a continual deluſory dream, and all my ſenſes and underſtanding be deceived; yet would it ſatisfie me in the main, that I muſt judge by ſuch powers as I have, and can do no better, and therefore ſhould be no further ſollicitous. If any would perſwade me that I *feel not* when I am ſick or wounded, or *ſee not* when I ſee, or *taſte not* when or what I taſte; yet muſt I be perſuaded, that fallible or infallible, this ſenſe muſt be uſed, and ſerve for the ends to which it is given me. And that I have no better faculties to uſe.

§. 2. *By my actions I know that I am; and that I am a ſentient, intelligent, thinking, willing, and operative being; or a wight that hath theſe powers.*

For *ab operari ad poſſe & eſſe*, the conſequence is undoubted. Nothing is no agent; and none doth that which he cannot do.

§. 3. *This* mind, *or foreſaid power, is found in, or conjunct with an organized body.*

He that doubteth not of his *ſenſe* and *intellection*, need not doubt of his *body*, which is the object of both.

§. 4. *This body is a quantitative or extenſive, nutrite, changeable, corruptible matter.*

Of which my ſenſes and experience will not ſuffer me to doubt.

§. 5. *This mind is fitted to the uſe of KNOWING, and is deſirous*

deſirous of it, delighted in it, and the more it knoweth, the more it is able and diſpoſed to know.

All this our actions and experience teſtifie. *Knowing* is to the *mind* as *ſeeing* is to the *eye*. One act of knowledge promoteth and facilitateth another.

§. 6. *Being and verity are its direct objects.*

As *light* and *colours* are the objects of our ſight. To theſe it hath *power* and *inclination*.

§. 7. *When I know the effects, I have an inclination to know the cauſe; not onely the lower, but the very firſt.*

Though it be poſſible that ſome ſenſual ſluggiſh perſon, may be ſo taken up with preſent earthly things, as to drown theſe deſires, and ſcarce to think of any firſt cauſe, or take any pleaſure in the exerciſe of his higher faculties; yet, as I feel it otherwiſe in my ſelf, ſo I find it otherwiſe in multitudes of others, and in all that have free minds, and in the worſt at certain times; ſo that I perceive it is natural to man, to deſire to know even the *firſt Cauſe*, and higheſt excellencie.

Non ii ſumus quibus nihil verum eſſe videatur, ſed ii qui omnibus veris falſa quædam adjuncta eſſe dicamus, tanta ſimilitudine, ut, &c. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. 1. p. 7.*

Lege Piſonis dicta de mente & corpore, *in Cicer. de finib. l. 5. p. 189.*

§. 8. *Yet do I find that my mind is not ſatisfied in knowing, nor is* Entity *and* Verity *the ultimate object which my mind looketh after; but* Goodneſs.

Omnes ad id quod Bonum videtur, omnes ſuas actiones referunt. *Ariſtot. de Republ. 1. c. 1.*

Entity and Verity may be unwelcome loathed things, if againſt my good. The thief could wiſh, that neither Law, nor Judge, nor Gallows had a being, and that his ſentence were not true. Knowledge is but a mediate motion of the Soul, directive to the following volitions and proſecution.

In homine optimum quidem Ratio, Hæc antecedit animalia, Deos ſequitur. *Sen. ep. 77.*

§. 9. *If I find I have a Will, inclined to apprehended Good; that is, both to that which hath a ſimple excellency in it ſelf, and which maketh for the happineſs of the world, or for my own.*

This maketh it ſelf as well known to me, as my natural appetite. For my apprehenſions do but ſubſerve it, and my life is moved or ruled by it.

Malitia præmiis exercetur: ubi ea dempſeris, nemo omnium gratuito malus eſt. *Saluſt.*

§. 10. *It is alſo averſe to apprehended evil as ſuch, as contrary to the foreſaid good.*

Though real evil may poſſibly be choſen, when it is a ſeeming good, & alſo that which appeareth proximately evil, for a higher good to which it ſeemeth a means, yet ultimately and for it ſelf, no rational will deſireth or chooſeth *Evil*.

§. 11. *While ſenſitive pleaſure is apprehended as good by the ſenſes, Reaſon may diſcern a further good, which may croſs at leaſt the preſent ſenſe.*

To take bitter Phyſick, to corrode or cut off ulcerated parts, to uſe hard dyet and Exerciſe, &c. may be ungrateſull in themſelves to ſenſe, and yet commended by Reaſon, and commanded by the will (I yet forbear all higher inſtances.)

Animi imperio, corporis ſervitio magis utimur: Alterum nobis cum Diis, alterum cum belluis commune eſt. *Saluſt. Cat.*

§. 12. *My ſenſe and bodily faculties, are naturally to be ſubjected to the guidance of my Reaſon, and the command of my Will, as the ſuperiour faculties.*

For one is common to Bruits, and the other proper to Rational creatures: And rational Agents are more excellent than Bruits: and the moſt excellent ſhould rule. Reaſon can ſee further than Senſe: And the wiſeſt is moſt fit to govern. They that deny this, ſhould claim no government or power over their beaſts, their dogs, or ſheep. If Reaſon ruled not Senſuality, moſt perſons would preſently deſtroy their lives: Even as ſwine would kill themſelves with eating, if the reaſon of man did not reſtrain them.

Iſt homini cum Deo Rationis ſocietas, *Cic. 2. de leg.*

§. 13. *The ſumm is, that Man is* A living Wight, *having an active and executive* POWER, *with an* UNDERSTANDING *to guide it, and a* WILL *to command it: And that there is a certain difference between* Truth *and* Falſhood, Natural Good, *and* Evil.

Deus animal unum ſpectabile hominem, in quo omnia animalia continerentur effecit. *Cic. de univerſ.*

All this is quite beyond diſpute.

CHAP. II.

Of Man as Related to the things below him.

Aliorum cauſâ omnia generata ſunt, ut efruges atq; fructus quos terra gignit animantium cauſâ; animantes autem hominum; ut equum vehendi cauſâ, *&c.* Ipſe autem homo ortus eſt ad mundum contemplandum, &c. *Cicer. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

§. 1. *There are other things, called Inanimates and Bruits, in being, beſides Man.*

My underſtanding by the help of all my ſenſes, telleth me, that there are Beaſts and Birds, Trees and Herbs, and that I live among a multitude of Beings, inferiour to Man. Though I may be ignorant of their Principles, and many things in their Natures, yet can I no more doubt of their *being* than of mine own, nor of the *inferiority* of their natures, when I ſee their inferiour operations.

§. 2. *Man hath a certain* ſub-propriety *in them for his uſe.* They

Beſtiis homines uti ad utilitatem ſuam poſſint ſine injuriâ.

They that deny this, will not ſay their Lands, their Fruits, their Money, their Goods, and Cattle are *their own*: nor queſtion any one for ſtealing them, or depriving them of the *Propriety*: Nor may they poſſeſs and uſe them as their own.

§. 3. *Man hath the Right of governing the Bruits, ſo far as they are capable of government.*

Which is not by *proper moral Government*, by *Laws* and *Judgement*; but ſuch an Image of it, as is ſuitable to their ſeveral kinds. This is in order to their own preſervation; but eſpecially for our uſe and ends: He that denyeth this, muſt not Rule his Dog, his Horſe, or Oxe, or Sheep; but leave them every one to themſelves.

§. 4. *Man is alſo (ſubordinately) their* Benefactor, *and* their End: *and they are more for Him than for themſelves.*

He is their *End* as he is *better* than they, and hath the foreſaid Propriety in them; The cauſe will further appear anon. The beauty and ſweetneſs of my Flowers, is more for me than for themſelves: and I do more enjoy them. My trees and herbs, and fruits, and mettals; my Horſe and Oxe that labour for me; and all the creatures on whom I feed, I finde are for my uſe; even their life and labour: Mankinde acuſeth not himſelf as wronging them, when for his own advantage he maketh uſe of both. And his care is neceſſary to their preſervation; planting, dreſſing, watering, feeding, defending, providing for them: without which the uſefulleſt would periſh.

§. 5. *The ſumm is, that MAN is the OWNER, the GOVERNOUR, and the END and BENEFACTOR of the Inferiour beings; and ſo is LORD among them in the World.*

CHAP. III.

Of Men as mutually Related to each other.

Nullum eſt unum uni tam ſimile, tam par, quàm omnes inter noſipſos ſumus. Quod ſi depravatio conſuetudinum, ſi opinionum varietas, non imbecilliorem animorum torqueret, & flecteret, quocunque cœpiſſet, ſui nemo ipſe tam ſimilis eſſet, quàm omnes eſſent omnium. *Cic. 1. de leg*

§. 1. *See that there are more men beſides me upon earth.*

§. 2. *The natural dignity of man, and their likeneſs to each other, maketh them all confeſs that it is their duty to love one another.*

He that denyeth this, will not expect to be loved himſelf by others; nor will he pretend to any virtue, nor to merit the benefit of humane converſe.

§. 3. *Individual perſons are commonly conſcious of ſelf-inſufficiency, and of their need of others, and inclined to a ſociable life.*

If Birds and Beaſts will go together in flights and heards, with thoſe of their own kinde, no wonder if man alſo have a naturall inclination to ſociety, beſides the knowledge of the neceſſity and benefits of it.

Homines hominum cauſâ ſunt generati, ut ipſi inter ſe, alii aliis prodeſſe poſſint. *Cic 1. Offic.*

§. 4. *Each Individual in theſe ſocieties muſt contribute his endeavours to the common good.*

For this is the *end* of the Aſſociation: He that will be for none but himſelf, cannot juſtly expect that any ſhould be for him: And he that would have all the ſociety be helpfull to him, muſt to his power be helpfull to all.

Sic nos nati videmur, ut inter omnes eſſet ſocietas quædam. *Cic. de Amicit.*

§. 5. *The diſtinction of perſons, and their intereſts and actions, foundeth a diſtinction of Propriety and Rights.*

For natural Individuation maketh it neceſſary that every man have his *own food*, and his *own cloathing*, at leaſt for the time: and therefore it is uſually needfull to the good of the *whole* and the *parts*, that each one have alſo their *proviſional Proprieties:* And the difference of men in wit and folly, induſtry and ſloth, virtue and vice, good or ill deſerts, will alſo cauſe a difference of Propriety and Rights: Though theſe may be in part ſubjected to the common good.

Homo naturaliter eſt animal politicum & civile. *Ariſt t.1. Polit.*

§. 6. *Parents alſo may upon the merits of Children (if not arbitrarily) make an inequality in propriety: And ſo may other Donors and Benefactors.*

As all Children *need* not the ſame proportion, ſo all *deſerve* not the ſame: And thoſe Parents that have great Eſtates, may leave more to their own children than to others: ſo that many

many wayes both Propriety and diſproportion may certainly come to paſs, and be allowed in the World.

§. 7. *Therefore there is ſuch a thing as* Juſtice *due from man to man, for the preſervation of theſe Rights and Order: and it's* injuſtice *to violate them.*

This is confeſſed by all the World, that look for Juſtice from others: And if it be not maintained, the world will be as in a continual Warre or Robbery: But better grounds and proofs of it, will be mentioned anon.

§. 8. *Therefore there is a difference between* good *and* evil, *as reſpecting the benefit or hurt of others, beſide that which reſpecteth men as to themſelves.*

Thoſe that think they are bound to avoid hurting no man but themſelves or for themſelves, nor to do good to any but themſelves or for themſelves, have ſo far obliterated the Laws of Humanity, and ſo openly renounce the benefits of Society, and bid defiance to Mankinde, that I ſuppoſe them ſo few that I need not diſpute againſt them: Nor have I ever met with any defender of ſo inhumane a Cauſe, whatever may be in their hearts and practice.

Inter nos naturâ ad civilem communitatem conjuncti & conſociati ſumus. Quod ni ita ſe haberet, nec juſtitiæ ullus eſſet, nec bonitati locus; & quomodo hominum inter homines juris eſſe vincula putant, ſic homini nihil juris eſſe cum beſtiis: *Chryſippus* ait cætera nata eſſe hominum cauſâ & Deorum; eos autem ſocietatis ſuæ, &c. *Cato in Cicer. de finib. l. 3. p.* 149.

§. 9. *Nature teacheth Parents to educate their children in* ſobriety, obedience, juſtice *and* charity; *and to reſtrain their contraries.*

Did Parents make no difference between their Childrens temperance and gluttony, drunkenneſs and unchaſtity, between their obedience and diſobedience, and contempt of their own authority; between actions of Juſtice and Charity, and actions of falſhood, robbery, cruelty, and inhumanity, what a degenerate thing would Mankinde prove? even Canibals exerciſe ſome government over their Children.

§. 10. *The means which Nature teacheth all the World, to ſuppreſs iniquity, and promote well-doing, is by Puniſhments and Benefits, that it may turn to the hurt of the evil-doer himſelf, and to the benefit of the Well-doer.*

Thus Parents do by Children, yea Men by Beaſts, on the account of Prudence, though not of Juſtice. Without Puniſhments and Rewards or Benefits, Laws are ridiculous or deceits, and Government is nothing.

§. 11. *For the juſt and effectual performance of this, nature teacheth the World to ſet up Governments, that by ſetled Laws and righteous Judgement, it may be rightly done.*

Though

Salus Civitatis in legibus eſt. *Ariſt. 2. Rhet. c. 4.*

Though better principles ſhould acquaint men with the nature and neceſſity of Government, yet *theſe* are ſo obvious to all the world, that for their own preſervation, together with ſome natural ſenſe of juſtice, the moſt barbarous Nations, that are nearſt unto bruits, are for ſome Civil Government, (beſides Oeconomical Government, which none but mad-men ever queſtion'd).

Quoniam ea natura eſſet hominis, ut ei cum genere humano quaſi civile jus intercederet, qui id conſervaret, cum juſtum, qui migraret injuſtum fore. *Chryſip. in Cato. in Cicer. ubi ſupra.*

§. 12. *By this Government, the Liberty, Eſtates and Lives of offenders are deſtroyed, for the ends of the Government, viz. for Juſtice and the common good.*

That this is ſo, *de facto*, is ſo undeniable, that even thoſe Heathens (the ſuppoſed relicts of the *Pythagoreans*) who will not kill a harmleſs beaſt, will yet kill thoſe men who deſerve to die. And if Government had not the power over the Liberties, Eſtates and Lives of offenders, it could not preſerve the Liberties, Eſtates and Lives of the innocent.

Eſt unum jus quo devincta eſt hominum ſocietas, & quod lex conſtituit una: Quæ lex recta ratio eſt imperandi atque prohibendi. *Cicer. de leg. 1. p. 225.*

§. 13. *The combination of the* Power, Wiſdom *and* Goodneſs *of the Individuals, and the* Eminency *of theſe in the* Governours, *is the cauſe of the order, ſtrength and ſafety of theſe humane ſocieties.*

All the parts are in the combination to contribute to the good of the whole, and that according to the nature of the parts: it is not a heap of ſtones, nor a foreſt of trees, nor a heard of cattle, which we are ſpeaking of, but an aſſociation of men; which muſt be promoted and bleſſed by the *worth* and *duty* of the individuals: and this conſiſteth in the perfections and right exerciſe of their Power, Intellects and Wills. But as the place of the *Governour* requireth more of the *exerciſe* of theſe, than is requiſite in any individual elſe, ſo doth it therefore require, that theſe be in him in *greater eminency* and *excellency* than in others; *viz.* that in himſelf he excel in *wiſdom* and *goodneſs*; and by his intereſt in the people that he excel in *power* or ſtrength. Take away *power*, and Societies are indefenſible, expoſed to the will of enemies, and unable to execute their Laws upon their own offenders, and ſo to attain the ends of their aſſociation and government. Take away *wiſdom*, and they are a rout of Ideots or mad-men, and government can be none at all. Take away *goodneſs*, and they are as a company of Devils, or confederacy of Robbers or pernicious enemies, who can neither truſt one another, nor promote the common good, but are fit to deſtroy and be deſtroyed.

§. 14. *By*

§ 14. *By all this it is manifeſt, that MAN is not only a* living Wight, *having* Power, Intellect, *and* Will, *and* Dominion *over inferiour things, as their* Owner, Ruler *and* End, *but alſo is a* ſociable Wight, *or fitted for ſociety where* Government *is exerciſed, by Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs, which are his perfections.*

I have looked thus long at the things that are ſeen, as neareſt me, and moſt diſcernable, before I proceed to the Cauſe, which is unſeen.

Si veritatem de anima cognoverimus, valde magnum nobis erit introductorium ad omnem veritatem, & ad omnes partes Philoſophiæ inſignes dat occaſiones. *Themiſt. ſup. 1. de Anim.*

CHAP. IV.

Of Man, and other things, as produced by their firſt Cauſe.

§ 1. *I was not always what I am.*

It is not yet ſixty years ſince I was no man: I had a late beginning, and though I now enquire not of what duration my ſoul is, my preſent compoſition is not from eternity: the ſame I ſee of others, that are born men, who were lately none: and ſo of all things that are here generated.

Read Galen's *adminiſtrations of the Creator, l. de uſu part. præcipue l. 3. cap. 10.*

§ 2. *I did not make my ſelf, at leaſt as an independent uncauſed being.*

I could not as I am, make my ſelf what I am: for ſo my ſelf as the cauſe ſhould be before my ſelf as the effect, which is a contradiction, unleſs the word [*ſelf*] be uſed equivocally. When I was not I acted not. If it be ſaid by any, that the Soul did fabricate a Body to it ſelf, and ſo one part of me made the other, I anſwer, 1. My Soul did not make the *matter* of that Body: for if it did, it made it of ſomething or of nothing; if of *ſomething*, either it made that *ſomething* or not; if not, then it made not the *firſt matter* of the Body. If it made it of *nothing*, it muſt be Omnipotent; but it is conſcious of impotency. 2. My ſoul did not make it ſelf, for then it muſt be before it ſelf, which is impoſſible. And if I made neither *form* nor *matter*, I did not make my ſelf. If it be ſaid, that my Soul is an eternal uncauſed being, and ſo did fabricate this Body as a dwelling for it ſelf: I anſwer, 1. As to the ſuppoſed

Animorum nulla in terris origo eſt. Nil enim eſt in animis noſtris miſtum & concretum, aut quod ex terra natum, humidum, igneum, &c. His enim naturis nihil ineſt quod vim memoriæ, mentis, cogitationis habeat, &c. Nec invenietur unquam unde ad hominem venire poſſint, niſi à Deo. *Cicero.*

Quis eſt tam vecors, qui cum ſuſpexerit in cœlum, Deos eſſe non ſentiat? & ea quæ tantâ mente fiunt, ut vix quiſquam arte ullâ, ordinem rerum, atque vicilitudinem perſequi poſſit, caſu fieri putet. *Cicer. de Reſp. Aruſp.*

Placet Stoicis corruptibilem eſſe Mundum, quippe genitum eorum ratione quæ per ſenſus intelliguntur. Cujus & partes ſunt corruptibiles & totum, partes autem mundi corruptibles ſunt, in ſe invicem mutantur. Eſt igitur corruptibilis Mundus. Ac quicquid mutari in deterius poteſt, corruptibile eſt. Mundus autem huic mutationi & corruptioni obnoxius eſt. *Laert. in Zenone.*

Mundum autem fieri (dicunt Stoici) cum ex igne ſubſtantia per aërem verſa in humorem fuerit; deinde craſſior ipſius pars effecta fuerit terra: porro ſubtilior in aërem ceſſerit, eademq; magis ac magis extenuata in ignem evaſerit. *Id. ibid.*

fabrication, it is conſcious it ſelf of no ſuch thing. And if my Soul made my body, either it was as a *cauſa ſubminiſtra vel inſtrumentalis*, by the direction and power of a ſuperiour cauſe, or elſe of and by it ſelf as the prime cauſe. If the firſt, then it is a cauſed and dependent being it ſelf, and ſo leadeth us to a higher cauſe. If the ſecond be affirmed, and ſo my Soul an eternal, uncauſed, independent being; then, 1. That which is without beginning, cauſe and dependency, muſt needs be ſelf-ſufficient, and be the higheſt excellency; it muſt have an infiniteneſs, and need no help from any other: But my Soul is conſcious of imperfection in *knowledge*, its ignorance is its burden and diſhonour, it knoweth not ſo much as is here aſſerted of it ſelf, it knoweth no ſuch perfections or operations, it knoweth little comparatively of the Univerſe, or of any particular thing in it. If it were an eternal, uncauſed, independent Being, it need not all the helps of evidence and argument in this diſpute. Moreover it is conſcious of imperfection in Goodneſs, and defilement of Evil: it is defective in governing this fleſh, which could never be able to make me a ſinner or culpable, if it were animated with an uncauſed independent being. Moreover I am conſcious of impotency in every thing that I go about: a thouſand difficulties poſe and ſtall me! a thouſand things I would *do* and cannot, and as many I would *have* and cannot: whereas an uncauſed independent mind, ſhould neceſſarily have an uncauſed independent power, and wiſdom, and goodneſs, and ſo ſhould at leaſt partake of infiniteneſs in all.

And if my Soul did thus fabricate my Body, then what needed it pre-exiſtent *Matter* to make it of? And why did it not make it ſooner, ſeeing it hath ſuch an inclination to it? Can an independent Mind be ignorant what it was, and what it did it ſelf from all eternity, before it entred into this fleſh? And why doth it not amend the infirmities of this Body? or why did it not make it ſelf a Body more excellent, more comely, more ſound, more clean, and more durable? Could it chooſe no better? can it not heal and perfect this? can it not prevent the diſſolution of it? Seeing I find it ſo much in love with it, and ſo unwilling to be ſeparated from it, if it were an independent mind, and cauſed it at the firſt, it would not be unwillingly taken from it, and leave it to rottenneſs and duſt?

And

And if *my* Soul did thus independently make my Body, did *all other* Souls do ſo by their Bodies, or not? If they did not, then they had a ſuperiour Cauſe; if they did, then it ſeems that every Worm, and Fly, and Toad hath a Soul, that is an eternal, uncauſed, independent being. But why then have they no knowledge, no reaſon, no ſpeech? why did they not chooſe a more honourable dwelling? why do they all ſtoop to the ſervice of man, if they are equally excellent? And then it would follow that there are *as many eternal independent beings*, as there are Souls or living Wights in all the world. And ſo inſtead of one true perfect God, there would be innumerable demi-gods, which all had the perfection of *independencies*, and none of them had a perfection of being and ſufficiency: which would put us upon the further enquiries, whether they *do all their buſineſs independently*, or by a *general council* and *conſent*, and how they all do to agree, and not fall into perpetual wars; how the ſoul of an ideot, or a wicked man, or of a Toad or Serpent, came to be ſo ſelf-denying as to be contented with that part, when the Soul of *Ariſtotle*, and *Seneca*, and *Paul* were ſo much better provided for.

And if all this were ſo, who made the things *inanimate*, that have no ſouls of their own to make them? For my part I made them not. And my Soul is conſcious that it is a dependent being, that cannot illuminate it ſelf, nor know what it would know, nor be what it would be, nor do what it would do, nor can ſupport its body or it ſelf an hour. It looketh dependently to ſomething higher for help, and protection, and ſupply, and mercy, and is paſt all doubt that it is *no God*.

If it be ſaid that all Souls are *but one*, even parts of the univerſal Soul of the World, and that individuation is by *Matter* only, and that ſo though my Soul be not the whole *firſt cauſe* and *being*, it is a part of it: I anſwer, 1. I note by the way, that this hypotheſis acknowledgeth that which I am ſearching after, *viz.* that there is a God: and it aſſerteth higher things of man than I am proving, *viz.* That he hath not only an immortal Soul, but a Soul that is part of God himſelf. 2. And according to this, the Soul of every *Heliogabalus*, *Sardanapalus*, Ideot or Toad, ſhould be part of God. 3. And then all ſouls ſhould be alike, if all be God; the Soul of a mur-

Chryſippus & Poſſidonius aiunt Mundum regi & adminiſtrari ſecundum mentem & providentiam, Mente per omnes illius partes pertingente; ſicut & in noſtra anima contingit, ſed per has magis, per illas minus. *Laert. in Zen.*

Anaxegoras docuit Mentem, confuſis primo rebus acceſſiſſe, omniaque compegiſſe ſimul & ordinaſſe. *Laert. in vit. ex Timone.*

Ovid's *deſcription of the Creation of the world, is almoſt as if he had taken it out of* Moſes, Metaph. l. 1.

a murderer, and of him that is murdered, of a *Nero* and a Saint, yea, of *Cæſar* and of his Dog. And how then cometh there ſo much enmity between them, and ſo great diſparity? why is one wiſe, and another fooliſh or brutiſh, and one the Ruler of the other? The Soul of a Bird or Horſe ſeemeth to be lodged in as good a kind of *matter* as Mans; or at leaſt, the Soul of a *Nero* in as good a *matter* as the Soul of *Paul*; or at leaſt, the Soul of one that turneth to villany from virtue, hath the ſame *matter* which it had before. And certainly it is not *matter* that principally individuateth, but *forms*. Nor is the difference between good men and bad, and between Men, and Serpents or Beaſts, ſo much in *Matter* as in the *Soul*.

Moreover Nature teacheth all men to ſeek felicity, and fear infelicity and calamity: which they need not do, nor could not do, if they were all *parts of God*: God cannot be miſerable, but *Man* can, as to his *Soul* as well as his Body, and the miſery of his Body is little to that of the Soul even in this life. God cannot be *evil*, but the Soul may be vitiated and evil, as experience teacheth. God may not be puniſhed or afflicted, but a wicked man may be puniſhed and afflicted, even in his *mind* or *Soul*; and a Magiſtrate will not think, when he hangeth a thief, that he either puniſhed bare fleſh, or that he puniſhed God.

* *The* Pythagoreans *and* Plato.

So Balbus *in* Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. *and many more.*

But Cicero *in other places ſpeaketh of God, not as the Soul of the world formally and conſtitutively, but only efficiently, calling him, The Parent of the Univerſe, the Maker of all things, &c. So that it ſeems that he took not God, pro anima mundi, but as we do, for More than the Soul of it, even the firſt Efficient. And* lib. de Univerſ. *he ſuppoſeth the Eternal God to have created that God who is the Soul of the world.*

Moreover God can wrong no man, but one man may wrong another. God need not fear doing any thing amiſs, but the Soul of man muſt fear it. No part of God can be ſo unhappy as to chooſe to be a Toad, or a wicked or miſerable man. God hath no Body, but ſo have theſe Souls; elſe when men eat a plant, or bird, or any fleſh, they eat part of the Body of God.

Moreover I find, that it is Bodies only that are Quantitative or Extenſive, and ſo diviſible into parts: many parts of *one Body* may be animated by *one Soul*, but not by *many parts* of that one Soul, (except the Soul be material it ſelf.)

But why (may ſome object) *may I not hold, that all the Orbs being one world, or one Body of one informing Soul, which is God; and ſo that really thoſe which you call individuals, are but parts of this one animated world. Anſw.* This is confuted by what is ſaid. Whether the world be animated by one *univerſal Soul, we are not now enquiring. But that God is not this *informing Soul*

Soul is before diſproved. In point of efficiency we grant that he is *as* the *Soul* of *Souls*, effecting more than Souls do for their Bodies, but not in point of *Conſtitution*. He is *much more* than the *Soul of the world*, but is not *formally its Soul*. But, 2. Thoſe men that will think ſo, muſt acknowledge, that as they take the Horſe and the Rider to be both parts of God, and the Child and the Father, and the Subject and the Prince, and the Malefactor and the Judge, and the flagitious wretch and the beſt of men; ſo it is no other membership than what conſiſteth with the difference of moral good and evil, of wiſe and fooliſh, of Governours and Subjects, of Rewards and Puniſhments, of Happineſs and Miſery, which are the things that I am ſeeking after. But ſo few lay this claim to Deity, that I need no further mind them.

§. 3. *My Parents were not the firſt cauſe of my being what I am.*

As each Individual cannot be the firſt Cauſe of it ſelf, ſo neither can their Parents; for they do not ſo much as *know* my frame and nature, nor the order and temperature of my parts; nor how or when they were ſet together; nor their uſe, or the reaſon of their location. And certainly he that made me, knew what he did, and why he did it in each particular. My Parents could not chooſe my ſex, nor ſhape, nor ſtrength, nor qualifications.

§. 4. *The world which I ſee, and live in, did not make it ſelf.*

As Men, and Beaſts, and Trees, and Stones did not make themſelves, ſo neither did they joyn as concauſes or aſſiſtants in the making of the whole; nor did any one of them make the reſt: nor did any of the more ſimple ſubſtances, called Elements, make themſelves; neither the paſſive Elements, or the active; the Earth, the Water, the Air or the Fire: For we know, paſt doubt, that *nothing* hath *no power* or *action*; and before they *were*, they *were not*, and therefore could not make themſelves. Nor can they be the *firſt cauſe* of *mixt bodies*, becauſe there is that exceeding *wiſdom* moſt apparent in the generation, production, nature and operations of theſe Bodies, which theſe *Elements* have not.

God never wrought Miracle to convince Atheiſm, becauſe his ordinary works convince it. Lord Bacon Eſſay 16. p. 87.

§. 5. *The viſible world is not an uncauſed independent Being.*

For all the *generated parts* we ſee, do *oriri & interire*; they have a beginning, progreſs, decay and end. And the *inanimate*

parts having *leſs* of natural excellency than the *living*, cannot *infinitely exceed* them, in the excellency of *Deity* as uncauſed and independent. And we ſee that they are *all dependent* in their *operations*. They ſhew in the order of their beings and action, that incomprehenſible wiſdom, which is not in themſelves: the Earth, the Sea, the Air and Winds, are all ordered exactly by a Wiſdom and a Will, which they themſelves are void of. Beſides, they are *many* and *various*; but their order and agreement ſheweth, that it is ſome *One* univerſal Wiſdom and Will which ruleth them all: and if they are dependent in *operation*, they are certainly dependent in *being*. And had they that excellency to be *uncauſed* and *independent*, they would have had therewith all other perfections, which we ſee they want; and they would not have been *many* but *one* in that perfection.

§. 6. *The firſt univerſal* Matter *is not an uncauſed independent being.*

If ſuch there be, its inactivity and paſſiveneſs ſheweth it to want the excellency of independency: and the ordination of it into its ſeveral beings, and the diſpoſals of it there, is done by a principle of infinite power, activity and wiſdom: on which having this dependence in its ordination and uſe, it muſt be dependent alſo in its being.

The Platoniſts *ſimile is, As the ſubſtance and ſhadow may be at one time, though one be the cauſe of the other; ſo here.*

§. 7. *If it were doubtful whether the world were eternal, and whether it were the Body of God as the informing Soul, yet it would be paſt doubt that it is not uncauſed or independent, but cauſed by God.*

That the world is *not eternal* we want not natural evidence: for, ſaith *Lullius*, then there would be *two Eternals*, the Cauſe and its Effects; and then all things would be cauſed by natural neceſſity, and not by free will, and conſequently always alike: and then there hath been *Evil* eternally, and both the *cauſed Good* and the *Evil* would in all other aggravations be anſwerable to *Eternity*, and the Evil would be as ſoon, as great, as durable as the good. The ſame world which is finite in good and evil, and other reſpects, would be infinite in Eternity; and the evil would have an infiniteneſs in point of Eternity, and this neceſſitated by the eternity of the world: And ſeeing no *individuals* are eternal, the ſuppoſed eternity of the world muſt be but of ſome common matter, or

(*Vid.*) Raymond. Lullium Arte magna de tabul. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5. ad fin. 23. *And* Alex. Gill *on the Creed*, pag. 88, 89, &c. *&* pag. 96, &c. Lege etiam Diſputationem *Zachariæ* Scholaſt. Epiſc. Mitilen. cum *Ammonio* contra mundi æternitatem, in Bib. Pa. Græcolat. *To.* 1. *pag.* 350, &c.

or only intentional and not real. The corporeal part having quantity, is finite as to extenſion, and therefore cannot be infinite in duration. In Eternity then there is no *time*, no *prius & poſterius*; but in the world there is. Much more is ſaid by many; but this is not my preſent task, I ſhall ſay more of it afterward.

But if it *were* doubtful whether the world were not eternally the Body of God, yet would it be undoubted ſtill that *he cauſed* it. And that there were the difference of a *cauſe* and an *effect*, in order of nature, though not in duration. As if a Tree or a mans body were ſuppoſed eternal, yet the root and ſpirits of the Tree, and the principal parts and ſpirits in mans body would be the cauſal parts on which the reſt depend.

§. 8. *It remaineth therefore moſt certain, that ſomething is a* firſt Cauſe *to all things elſe, and that he is the* Creator *of all things.*

For if the world be not *uncauſed* and *independent*, it hath a Cauſe; and if it have a Cauſe it hath a Creator: For when there was nothing but himſelf, he muſt make all things of *Himſelf*, or of *Nothing*: not of *Himſelf*, for *He* is not *Material*, and they are not parts of God (who is indiviſible:) He that thinks otherwiſe, ſhould not kill a Flea or a Toad, nor blame any man that beateth, or robbeth, or wrongeth him, nor eat any creature; becauſe he doth kill, and blame, and eat a part of God, who is unblameable, and can injure none, and is to be more reverenced.

§. 9. *If there were any doubt whether the Sun, or Fire, or paſſive matter had a firſt Cauſe, there can be no doubt at all concerning MAN, which is the thing which I am enquiring into at the preſent.*

For every one ſeeth that *Man* hath his beginning, and confeſſeth that it is but as yeſterday ſince he was not; and therefore hath a Cauſe which muſt be *uncauſed*, or have a *Cauſe* it ſelf: if the latter, then that Cauſe again is *uncauſed*, or hath a *Cauſe* it ſelf. And ſo we muſt needs come at laſt to ſome *uncauſed cauſe.*

Quid enim poteſt eſſe tam apertum, tamque perſpicuum, cum cœlum ſuſpeximus, cœleſtiaque contemplati ſumus, quàm eſſe aliquod numen, præſtantiſſimæ mentis, quo hæc regantur. *Cicer. l. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

§. 10. *If any ſecond Cauſe had made Man or the World, yet if it did it but as a* cauſed Cauſe, *it ſelf would lead us up to an* uncauſed Cauſe, *which is the firſt Cauſe of all, which we are ſeeking after.*

For

Esse igitur Deos perspicuum est: ut id qui neget, vix cum sanæ mentis existimem. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. 2.*

For what any Cause doth by a power received from a higher Cause, and consequently ordered by it, that is done principally by that first or highest Cause. And if God had made the world by an Angel or Intelligence, it would have been nevertheless his Creature, nor any thing the less to his honour than if he had made it by himself alone.

§. 11. *The summ of all is, that* There is certainly a first uncaused independent Cause of Man, and all things else, besides that Cause.

CHAP. V.

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

Agnoscimus Deum ex operibus ejus. *Cic. 1. Tusc.*

§. 1. *The first Cause is known to us imperfectly, and by the effects.*

Man is so conscious of his ignorance herein, and of the perplexities and diversities of opinions which follow thereupon, and of the necessity of beginning downward at the effects, and rising upward in his enquiry, that I need not prove this Proposition to any man.

Commoda quibus utimur, lucem qua fruimur, Spiritum quem ducimus, à Deo nobis dari & impertiri videmus. *Cic. pro Rosc.*

§. 2. *Though God (or the first Cause) is to be searched after in all his works, yet chiefly in the chiefest of them within our reach; which is Man himself.*

If any shall say, that the *Sun* and other creatures are more excellent than Man, and therefore God (or the first Cause) is to be searched after rather in them, and his Attributes denominated from them: I answer, There is no doubt but *secundum quid*, the Sun is a nobler Creature than Man. But what it is *simpliciter* we cannot tell, unless we knew it better. The highest excellencies known to man in the Sun, is the *Potentia Motiva, Illuminativa & Calefactiva*, *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, with their effects, do tell us, what we know of it. That which we are conscious of in *Man* is, *Posse*, *Scire*, *Velle*; *Power*, *Intellection* and *Will*, with their *Perfections*, which are an higher excellency than Motion, Light and Heat.

Jovem dominatorem rerum & omnia nutu regentem, & præsentem & præpotentem, qui dubitat, haud sanè intelligo cur non idem Sol sit, an nullus sit dubitare possit. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. pag. (mihi) 48.*

§. 3. *He that giveth Being to all else that is, must needs be the first Being formally or eminently Himself.*

Entity

Entity must needs be in the noblest sense or sort, in the *Primum Ens*, the original of Being, rather than in any derived Being whatsoever. For it cannot give better than it hath: so that *Ens*, or [*I am*] is his first Name.

§. 4. *He that hath made* Substances *more noble than* Accidents, *is Himself a* Substance *either formally or eminently; and a* Living Substance, *yea* Life it self.

Once for all, by [*Eminently*] I mean somewhat more excellent, or transcendent, which yet Man hath no better Name for, or fitter Notion of. God is thus a *Substance*, Life transcendently, if not formally.

§. 5. *He that hath made Intelligences, or Spirits, or Minds, more noble and excellent than Bodies, is himself a Mind, Intelligence or Spirit, either formally, or transcendently and eminently.*

We find that corporeal, gross and dense Beings are most dull and passive, and have least of excellency: The Body of it self in comparison of the Mind, is a dull and dirty clod. Though we have no adequate conception of a Spirit, we know not onely Negatively, that it containeth a freedom from the baseness and inconveniences of corporeity, but also we know by its *essential acts*, that *positively* it is a *pure active Life*, *Intelligence and Will*, and therefore a more excellent sort of Being, than things meerly *corporeal* which have no such action. So that we have found, as to his Being, that the first Cause is *Ens*, *Substantia*, *Vita*, *Spiritus*.

§. 6. *There must needs be in the* first Cause *an* Esse, Posse, & Operari.

If there were no *Operation*, there were no *Causation*: If there were no *Power*, there could be no *Operation*: and if there were no *Being*, there could be no *Power*. Not that these are things so various as to make a composition in the *first Cause*; but they are transcendently in it without division and imperfection, by a formal or virtual distinction.

§. 7. *Seeing the noblest Creatures known to us are* Minds *that have a* Posse, Scire, Velle, *active, executive Power, with an Understanding to guide it, and a Will to command it, God hath eith.r formally, or emigently and transcendently such a* Power, Intellect *and* Will, *which is his Essence.*

For nothing is more certain, than that no Cause can give more than it had to give: If the first Cause had not Power,

Tria sunt invisibilia Dei: *b. e.* Potentia, Sapientia, Benignitas; à quibus omnia procedunt, in quibus omnia subsistunt, per quæ omnia reguntur: Pater est Potentia, Filius Sapientia, Spiritus sanctus Benignitas: Potentia creat, Sapientia Gubernat, Benignitas conservat (*& perficit.*) Potentia per benignitatem sapienter creat: Sapientia per potentiam benigne Gubernat: Benignitas per sapientiam potenter conservat: sicut imago in speculo cernitur, sic in natura animæ, &c. Huic similitudini Dei approximat homo: Cui Potentia Dei dat bonum posse; sapientia tribuit scire, benignitas præstat velle: hæc triplex animæ rationalis vis est; *scil.* Posse, Scire, Velle: quæ supra dictis tribus fidei, spei & charitati cooperantur, &c. *Potho Prumensis de statu Domus Dei, lib. 1. in Biblioth. Pat. V. 9.*

Deo nihil præſtantius, ab eo igitur neceſſe eſt maximum regi. Nihil igitur eſt natura præcellens aut ſublimius Deus: Omne igitur quod regit ipſe natura eſt. Etenim ſi concedimus intelligentes eſſe Deos concedimus etiam providentes, & rerum quidem maximarum. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.*

Dicitis nihil eſſe quod Deus efficere non poſſit, & quidem ſine ullo labore: ut enim hominum membra ſine ulla contentione mente ipſa ut moveantur, ſic numine Deorum omnia fingi, moveri mutarique poſſe. Neque id dicitis ſuperſtitioſe atque aniliter, ſed Phyſicâ conſtantique ratione: inquit *Cotta de Stoicis in Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* 3. p 110.

Underſtanding and Will, either formally or eminently in a higher and nobler kind, he could not have endowed all mankind with what he had not.

1. That the firſt Cauſe is *moſt powerful* is evident by his works: he that gave Man his meaſure of power, and much more to many other creatures, hath himſelf much more than any of them: He that made this marvellous frame of all the Orbs, and cauſeth and continueth their being, and their conſtant rapid motion, is incomprehenſibly potent. Whatſoever Power there is in all the Creatures viſible and inviſible ſet together, there muſt be more or as much in their firſt Cauſe alone, becauſe nothing can give more Power than it hath.

2. His works alſo prove that the *firſt Cauſe* is an *Underſtanding*: for the admirable compoſure, order, nature, motions, variety and uſefulneſs of all his Creatures, do declare it. He that hath given *Underſtanding* to *Man*, hath formally or eminently more himſelf, than all men and all his creatures have. If Intellection were not an excellency above meer natural or bruitiſh motion, Man were not better than the inanimates or bruites; but if it be, the Giver of it cannot want it. Not that his Intellection is univocally the ſame thing with ours. But it is ſomething incomparably more noble, which expreſſeth it ſelf in humane Intellection as its Image, and is ſeen by us in this Glaſs, and can be expreſſed by us no better than by this name.

3. And as it is a nobler nature which acteth by *Volition*, or *Free-will*, than that which hath *no Will* at all, and ſo no voluntary choice and complacency; ſo the *firſt Cauſe* which hath given this noble faculty to Man, hath certainly himſelf, though not a Will univocally the ſame with ours, yet a *Will* of a tranſcendent excellency, which expreſſeth it ſelf in ours as its Image, and muſt be ſomething better and greater, but cannot be lower or leſs. And though ſuch Indetermination as proceedeth from imperfection, and conſequently ſuch Liberty belongeth not to the *firſt Cauſe*, which hath no defects, yet all that Liberty which belongeth to *perfection* muſt undoubtedly belong to Him. He that did what we ſee, hath done it *willingly* and freely.

§. 8. *What ever the firſt Cauſe is, it muſt needs be in abſolute Perfection.* It

It muſt needs have in it more than the whole world beſides, becauſe it giveth all that to the whole Creation, which it hath received, and is. An imperfect cauſe could never have made ſuch a world as we behold, and partly know. And were the firſt Cauſe imperfect, there would be no perfection in being.

§. 9. *The perfection of the firſt Cauſe in Being requireth that it be* Eternal, *without Beginning or End of duration.*

Nothing in the world can be more evident to reaſon, than that *ſomething* muſt be *Eternal*, without beginning; nothing being more evident, than that Nothing hath no power, no action, no effects, and ſo can make nothing. And therefore if ever there had been a time, when Nothing was, Nothing could ever have been: imagine that there were Nothing now, and it is certain there never would be any thing.

Obj. *Something may* oriri de novo *without any Cauſe, as well as God be eternally without any Cauſe.*

Anſw. Its impoſſible: For he that is eternally, hath all perfection eternally in himſelf, and *needeth* no Cauſe, being ſtill in being, and being the Cauſe of Cauſes. But *Nothing* hath no perfection or being, and therefore needeth an Omnipotent Cauſe to give it a being.

Obj. *If the world may be created of nothing materially, it may be what it is without any thing efficiently.*

Anſw. Impoſſible: Pre-exiſtent matter is not neceſſary to the firſt created matter: for Matter may be cauſed of Nothing by an Omnipotent Efficient, as well as the wonderful frame of all things be made out of Matter. But without an Efficient, no Being can ariſe *de novo.*

So that it is moſt evident, ſeeing *any thing* now *is*, there hath been *ſomething eternally.* And if *ſomething*, it muſt needs be the *firſt Cauſe*, which is chief in excellency, and firſt in order of production, and therefore of exiſtence.

§. 10. *The firſt Cauſe muſt needs be independent, in being, perfections, and operations; and ſo be abſolutely ſelf-ſufficient.*

For it were not the *firſt*, if there were any before it: and being cauſed by nothing elſe, it was eternally ſufficient in and for it ſelf: otherwiſe that which it were beholden to, would have the place of a Cauſe to it. And if it cauſed not all, or

Deus eſt Mens, ſoluta, libera & ſegregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia ſentiens, movens, &c. *Cicer. 1. Tuſcul.*

Velleius in Cicer de Nat. Deor. 1. *Reciteth the Opinions of many of the Philosophers, of God*, p. 10. Sed Deo (si Deus est) longum nihil omnino est, cui punctum terra est, & sub nutu omnia constituta. *Arnob. l. 7. p. 63.*

needed the help of any other, it is not absolutely the first Cause to all others, nor perfect in it self. That which could be eternally without a cause, and it self cause all things, is self-sufficient and independent.

§. 11. *The first Cause must needs be free from all imperfection of Corporeity (or Materiality) Composition, Passibility, corruptibility, Mutability and Mortality, and all other imperfections of dependent beings.*

There is such a thing as a *Living Principle*, and a pure spiritual Nature in the created world: and the Maker of it must be life and Spirit in a higher purer sense than it, and therefore must be free from all its imperfections: and having no cause, hath no defect; and having no beginning, can have no end. All this Reason doth certainly apprehend.

§. 12. *This perfect first Cause must be Immense or Infinite in Being.*

Not by *corporeal extension*; as if God, as a Body, were in a place, and being more extensive than all place, were called Immense: But in the perfect Essence of an eternall Life, and Spirit, and Mind, he is every where without Locality, and all things live, and move, and be in him. The thought of space is but a Metaphorical help to our conception of his Immensity.

Plato in lib. leg. Quid sit omnino Deus, inquiri oportere non censet. *Cicer. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

§. 13. *Therefore he must needs be Omnipresent.*

Not by extension quantitative, but in a sort transcendent and more excellent, according to the transcendent way of his Existence: For if we must have conceived of him as no better than a *Body*, and of Magnitude as an Excellency, we might well have concluded, that he hath made nothing greater than himself. *Nemo dat quod non habet*; and therefore he must be more extensive than all the world, and consequently absent from no part of it. Much more when his Being, which surpasseth corporeity, directeth us to acknowledge a more noble kind of Omnipresence than Extensive.

§. 14. *Therefore is he* Incomprehensible *as to humane understanding, or any other created intellect.*

Of our own incomprehension experience sufficiently convinceth us here, and Reason evinceth the same of all created Intellects: for the less cannot comprehend the greater; and between finite and infinite there is no proportion. We *know*

know nothing purely-intelligible so easily and certainly as that God is: But there is nothing that we are so far from *comprehending*: As we see nothing more easily and certainly than the Sun, which yet we see not with a comprehensive, but a partial and defective sight.

§. 15. *This Infinite Being can be but One.*

For if there were *many*, they could not be Infinite, and so indeed there would be none: nor would there be any one first Cause of all things: For if one caused one part of the World, and another another part, no one were the first Cause of all: And if they joyned in causing all together, they would all conjunctly make but one first cause, and each one several be but part of the Cause. If there be no one that is sufficient to make and govern all the World, there is no perfect Being, nor no God: but the effect sheweth the sufficiency and the unity of the World (the *Orbs* being one frame) the unity of the first cause. Perfection consisteth more in the unity of one allsufficient Being, than in a voluntary concurrence of many Beings. The most learned Heathens, who thought there were many to be named Gods, did mean but subordinate particular Gods, that were under the one universal God, whom the Stoicks and Academicks took to be the universal Soul, and the subordinate Gods the Souls of the particular Orbs and Planets.

The wiser sort of the Heathens believed one only Parent of the universe, but durst not speak out what they knew, of his unity or perfections. Cicero *saith*, Illum quasi Parentem hujus Universitatis invenire difficile; & cum inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas. *de Universit. pag. 2. And the same he saith*, lib. 2. de nat. Deor. Stoici dicunt unum Deum esse: Ipsumq; & mentem, & fatum, & Jovem dicunt: Principio illum cum effet apud se, substantiam omnem per aërem in aquam convertisse. Et quemadmodum in fœtu semen continetur, ita & hanc serendi rationem in *humore* talem residisse, materia ad operandum aptissimè parata, ex quâ cætera post hæc gignerentur. Tum genuisse primum elementa quatuor, ignem, aquam, aërem, terram. Videntur autem illis duo esse rerum omnia principia, faciens videl. & patiens: Quod patitur sine qualitate esse substantiam materiam: Quod autem faciat VERBUM DEUM esse quod in ipsa sit. Hunc enim quippe sempiternum per ipsum omnem singula creare. *Laert. in Zenone*, p. (mihi) 359, 360.

§. 16. *The* Power *of this God must needs be Omnipotency.*

He that hath given so great Power to the creatures, as is exercised by them, especially the Sun and fixed Stars in their several Vortices or Orbs; and he that could make such a World of nothing, and uphold the being, and maintain the order, and cause, and continue the rapid motions of all the Vortices or Orbs, (which are to us innumerable, and each of incomprehensible excellency and magnitude) is certainly to be accounted no less than Omnipotent. By his Omnipotency I mean that, by which *in it self* considered *in primo instanti* he can do all things possible, that is, which belong not to Impotency, but to Power: And by which *in secundo instanti* he can do all things, which his Infinite *Wisdom* judgeth *congruous* and meet to be done: And *in tertio instanti*, can do all that he *will do*, and are pleasing to him.

§. 17. *The underſtanding of the firſt Cauſe muſt needs be Omniſcient, and infinite Wiſdom.*

1. He that hath given ſo much wiſdom to ſuch a Worm as Man, muſt have more than all the men in the World! Whatever knowledge is in the whole Creation, being given by Him, doth prove that formally or eminently he hath more. Were it all contracted into one Intelligence, it muſt be leſs than His that cauſed it. He hath not given more wiſdom than he had to give: nor ſo much as he had (or is) himſelf. For if he ſhould make any thing equal to Himſelf, there would be two Infinites, and there would be a perfect ſelf-ſufficient being, which yet had lately no ſufficiency or being, and there would be a being independent *in facio eſſe*, which was dependent *in fieri:* which are Contradictions.

2. The effects in the admirable frame and nature, and motions of the Creation, declare that the Creator is *infinitely wiſe*. The ſmalleſt inſect is ſo curiouſly made, and ſo admirably fitted and inſtructed to its proper end and uſes; The ſmalleſt Plants in wonderfull variety of ſhapes and colours, and ſmells and qualities, uſes and operations, and beautifull flowers, ſo marvellouſly conſtituted and animated, by an unſeen form, and propagated by unſearchable ſeminal vertues; The ſmalleſt Birds and Beaſts and creeping things ſo adorned in their kinds, and ſo admirably furniſhed for their proper ends, eſpecially the propagation of their *ſpecies*, in love, and ſagacity, and diligence to their young, by inſtinct equaling in thoſe particulars the reaſonable creature; The admirable compoſure of all the parts of the body of Man, and of the vileſt Beaſt and Vermine; The quality and operation of all the Organs, humours and ſpirits: The operations of the Minde of man; and the conſtitution of Societies, and overruling all the matters of the World; with innumerable inſtances in the creature; do all concurr to proclaim that man as mad as madneſs can poſſibly make him (in that particular) who thinketh that any lower cauſe than *incomprehenſible wiſdom* did principally produce all this; And that by any bruitiſh or natural motion, or confluence of Atomes, or any other matter, it could be thus ordered, continued and maintained, without the infinite wiſdome and power of a *firſt Cauſe*,

Cauſe, ſuperiour to meer natural matter and motion. What then ſhould we ſay, if we had a ſight into the inwards of all the Earth, of the nature and cauſe of Minerals, and of the forms of all things; If we ſaw the reaſon of the motions of the Seas, and all other appearances of Nature which are now beyond our reach: Yea, if we had a ſight of all the Orbs, both fixed Starrs and Planets, and of their matter, and form, and order, and relation to each other, and their communications and influences on each other, and the cauſe of all their wonderous motions: If we ſaw not only the nature of the Elements, eſpecially the active Element, Fire; but alſo the conſtitution, magnitude, and uſe, of all thoſe thouſand Suns, and leſſer Worlds, which conſtitute the univerſal World: And, if they be inhabited, if we knew the Inhabitants of each: Did we know all the Intelligences, bleſſed Angels, and holy Spirits, which poſſeſs the nobler parts of Nature; and the unhappy degenerate Spirits, that have departed from light and joy, into darkneſs and horrour, by departing from God; yea, if we could ſee all theſe comprehenſively, at one view; what thoughts ſhould we have of the *wiſdom* of the Creator? And what ſhould we think of the Atheiſt that denyeth it? We ſhould think *Bedlam* too honourable a place for that man, that could believe, or durſt ſay, that any accidental motion of ſubtile matter, or fortuitous concourſe of Atomes, or any thing below a Wiſdom and Power infinitely tranſcending all that with Man is called by that name, was the *firſt Cauſe*, and is the chief continuer of ſuch an incomprehenſible frame.

Nec enim ignorare poteſt Deus qua mente quiſq; ſit. *Cicer. de Div.*

At ignoratio rerum aliena eſt naturæ Deorum; & ſuſtinendi muneris propter imbecillitatem difficultas, minime cadit in majeſtatem Deorum: ex quo efficitur id quod volumus, Deorum providentia mundum adminiſtrari. *Cicero ibid.*

§. 18. *The firſt Cauſe muſt needs be infinitely Good.*

By *Goodneſs* I mean all eſſential Excellency, which is known to us by its fruits and appearances in the Creature: which as it hath a *Goodneſs natural* and *moral*, ſo is it the Index of that tranſcendent Goodneſs, which is the firſt cauſe of both: This *goodneſs* is incomparably beyond that which conſiſteth in a uſefulneſs to the *creatures good*; or Goodneſs of Benignity as relative to Man. And it is known better by the meer *name*, as expreſsing that which Nature hath an intrinſick ſenſe and notion of, than by definitions. As ſenſible qualities, light, colour, ſound, odour, ſweet, bitter, *&c.* are known by the *name*, beſt, which lead to the ſenſitive memory, which

Quod ſi ineſt in hominum genere, mens, fides, virtus, concordia, unde hæc in terras niſi à ſuperis diffluere potuerunt? Cumq; ſit in nobis conſilium, ratio, prudentia, neceſſe eſt Deos hæc ipſa habere majora: Nec habere ſolum, ſed etiam his uti, in optimis & maximis rebus. *Cicero de natur. Deorum. lib.* 2. *pag.* 76.

which informeth the Intellect what they are: As the mention of *things ſenſible* entereth the definition of *ſenſe*, and the mention of *ſenſe* doth enter the definition of *things ſenſible*; and yet the object is in order of nature before the act. And as Truth muſt enter the definition of Intellection, and Intellection the definition of Truth; and yet Truth is in order before Intellection, and contemporary with the Intellect: ſo is it between *Goodneſs* and the *Will*. But if we ſpeak of *uncreated Good*, and of a *created Will*, then *Good* is infinitely antecedent to that *Will*. But the *Will* which is created hath a nature ſuited to it; and ſo the *notion* of *Excellency* and *Goodneſs* is naturally in our *eſtimative faculty*, and the reliſh of it, or *complacency* in it, is naturally in the *Will*, ſo far as it is not corrupted and depraved. As if I knew a man that had the wiſdom and virtue of an Angel, my *eſtimation* calleth him *Excellent* and *Good*, and my *Will* doth *complacentially* cleave to him, though I ſhould never look to be the better for him my ſelf: or if I onely heard of him, and never ſaw him, or were perſonally beholden to him.

That *God* is thus *infinitely Excellent and Good*, the *Goodneſs* of his *Creatures* proveth: for all the goodneſs that is in Men and Angels, Earth and Heaven, proceedeth from him. If there be any *Natural Goodneſs* in the whole *Creation*, there muſt be more in the *Creator:* If there be any *Moral Goodneſs* in Men and Angels, there muſt be more in eminency in him: For he can make nothing better than himſelf, nor give to creatures what he hath not.

Deus eſt ſummum Bonum, ſupra omnem ſubſtantiam, omnemque naturam, quod cuncta expetunt, cum ipſe ſit plenæ perfectionis, nullius ſocietatis indigus. *Plato in Tim.*

Amor Divinus fuit cauſa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum. *Id. ib*

Bonus quidem Deus, & quidem Deus cauſa bonorum: Malorum autem omnium non cauſa. *Idem de Leg.*

Deus ſi Vim ſpectes, valentiſſimus, ſi decorem formoſiſſimus, ſi vitam immortalis, denique ſi virtutem præſtantiſſimus eſt. *Ariſtot de Mun. c. 6.*

§. 19. *The Goodneſs of the firſt Being conſiſting in this infinite Perfection or Excellency, containeth his* Happineſs, *his* Holineſs, *and his* Love *or Benignity.*

§. 20. *The* HAPPINESS *of the firſt Being conſiſteth,* 1. *In his* BEING HIMSELF. 2. *In his* KNOWING HIMSELF. 3. *In his* LOVING *and* ENJOYING HIMSELF.

The moſt perfect Being muſt needs be the moſt *Happy*, and that in *Being what he is*; *his own Perfection* being his *Happineſs*. And as *Knowledge* in the Creature is both his *Perfection* and *Delight*, ſo the tranſcendent Omniſcience of the Creator muſt needs be both part of his Perfection, (as diſtinguiſhed by our narrow minds) and ſuch felicity as may be called *Eminently*

nently his *Delight*, though what *God's Delight* is we know not formally. And as *Love* or *Complacency* is the perfective operation of the *Will*, and ſo of the *Humane Nature* in Man, and is his higheſt, final, and enjoying acts, of which all *Goodneſs* is the object; ſo there muſt be ſomething in the Perfection of the firſt Cauſe, though not *formally* the ſame with *Love* in Man, yet *eminently* ſo called, as knowable to us by no other name. And this *complacency* muſt needs be principally in *Himſelf*, becauſe *He himſelf* is the Infinite and onely Primitive Good; and as there was primitively no Good but Himſelf to Love, ſo now there is no Good but derived from Him, and dependent on Him. And as his Creature (of which anon) is obliged to love *Him* moſt, ſo he muſt needs be moſt *amiable* to Himſelf. *Self-love* and *ſelf-eſteem* in the Creature may be inordinate, and therefore called *Pride*: but it is impoſſible that infinite Goodneſs it ſelf can be over-valued or over-loved by Himſelf or by any creature.

§. 21. *The* HOLINESS *of the firſt Being conſiſteth,* 1. *In his ſeparation from all creatures, by that Tranſcendency, which maketh him their end.* 2. *In the* ſpecial Perfection of his WILL, *which* willeth *and hath complacency in that alone* ad extra, *which is agreeable to his perfect Nature, and infinite Wiſdom.* 3. *And ſo being the* Fountain *and* Rule *of Moral Goodneſs to the Rational Creature.*

The *Holineſs* of Man conſiſteth, 1. In his ſeparation from common uſes unto God. 2. In the Rectitude of his *Will*, as habitually thus inclined and bent to Moral Good, and hating evil. 3. Whereby it is *conform* to the *governing Will of God.* And hence we may learn what Holineſs is in God, though not formally the ſame with that in Man.

§. 22. *The Benignity and Love of the firſt Being is his Eſſence or Nature, as inclined to* complacency *in all* created Good; *and to* benevolence *or* doing good *to creatures, freely and agreeably to his infinite Wiſdom.*

The Love of complacency to all created Good, is *neceſſary* in God, ſuppoſing the continued exiſtence of that created Good, which is the object. But it is not neceſſary that ſuch created Good do continually exiſt. The *Love of Benevolence* is alſo natural to God in this ſenſe, that it is his natural perfection as reſpecting the Creature to be uſed agreeably to his

Deus eſt Actus illis porro actus qui per ſe eſt, & optimus & æternus. Atque Deum animal eſſe & æternum & præſtantiſſimum dicimus. Vita igitur & ævum continuum & perpetuum Deo ſuppetit: eſt enim hoc Deus. *Ariſt. Metaph.*

perfect wisdom; but the exercise of it is not necessary, because the being or felicity of the Creature is not necessary; but it is acted freely, according as the infinite wisdom seeth it fit, as to those Ends to which all Creatures are but the Means.

§. 23. *The first Being must needs be the onely ultimate end to himself, so far as he may be said to intend an End.*

God doth not *intendere finem* in defectiveness and imperfection as the Creature doth: He *wanteth* nothing, nor is he *in via* as to his felicity. But *eminently* he may be said to intend an End, as he maketh one thing a means to produce or attain another, and doth nothing disorderly nor in vain, but ordereth all things in infinite wisdom. He is not *wanting*, but enjoying his end at all times, even in the midst of his use of means. To his essential Goodness and Blessedness, there is no means, nothing is capable of the honour of contributing to it. But his *Will* is the Beginning of all derived Beings, and his *Will* is the ultimate End of all. He is *pleased* to make and order all by his power and wisdom, and he is *pleased* in all things as so made and ordered. The complacency of his Will then is the ultimate end of all his works, as the Glory of his own Power, Wisdom and Goodness shineth in them. And though *Complacency*, or *Pleasedness*, or *Will*, be not formally the same in God, as in us, yet something eminently there is in him, which under this Notion we must conceive of, and express.

§. 24. *The* Posse, Scire, Velle, *the operative Power, Understanding and Will of God, according to their* Perfection, *called, his Omnipotency, Omniscience and Goodness, by which he is* Maximus, Sapientissimus, Optimus, *is a wonderful, yet an intelligible and certain Trinity in Unity,* viz. *In the Unity of Essence there is this Trinity of Principles or Faculties, as they may be called from the manner of imperfect man, but deserve a higher name in God.*

§. 25. *The Essence of God is not the* Genus, *and these three the* Species, *nor is it the* Totum, *and these three the* Parts; *nor is it a* Substance, *of which these three are* Accidents: *but they are like the Essential faculties in Man, which are one with the Soul in Essence, but are not one and the same* Faculties, *but truly distinct (whether it be Really, Formally, or Relatively and Denominatively*

Creatas autem Potentias, creatrix utiq; Potentia jure supereminet eo ipso vel maxime quo creavit. Nam & animam animâ præstantiorem sæpe & experimur & dicimus. *Claudian. Mammert. de Anime Statu. l. 1. cap. 15.*

When I consider, that taking any one sound, if you joyn thereto another, a Third above it, and then place another a third above that also; these three thus conjoyned and sounding together, do constitute one entire Harmony, which governs and comprises all the sounds, which by art or imagination can at once be joyned together in Musical ordinance: This I cannot but think a significant Emblem of that supreme and incomprehensible Three in One, *governing, comprising and disposing the whole Mich ne of the World, with all its included parts in a perfect Harmony.* Christoph. Simpson's The Division Violist. pag. 47.

minatively onely): Gods Power or Omnipotency is not formally the same (quoad conceptum objectivum) with his Understanding *and* Wisdom, *nor this the same with his* Will *and* Goodness; *they are as three essential Principles, and yet but one Essence, and so one God. Nor is it part of God that is Omnipotent, and part that is Omniscient, and part that is* Good; or quæ potest intelligit & vult: *but the whole Godhead is* Omnipotent, *the whole* Omniscient, *and the whole is* Good, *or Power, Wisdom and Goodness it self: Yet each of these Notions by it self alone is not a total or full expression of the whole perfection of the Deity.*

Therefore we must neither confound the essential Principles in God, nor divide the Essence. The Omnipotency is as one faculty, the Understanding another, and the Will another; but the Godhead and Essence of them all is one, the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal. Such as the Power is, such is the Understanding, and such is the Will. The *Power* uncreated, the *Understanding* uncreated, and the *Will* uncreated. The *Power* incomprehensible, the *Understanding* incomprehensible, and the *Will* incomprehensible. The *Power* eternal, the *Understanding* eternal, and the *Will* eternal. And yet there are not three eternal Gods or Essences, but one Eternal; nor three Incomprehensibles, nor three Uncreated, but One. The *Power* is God, the *Understanding* is God, and the *Will* is God: and yet there are not three Gods, but one God. So then, there is One Power, not Three Powers; One Understanding, not Three Understandings; One Will, not Three Wills. And in this Trinity, none is in duration before or after other, none is greater or less than other; but the whole three Principles be co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things as aforesaid this Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity is to be acknowledged as undeniable in the light of Nature, and to be adored and worshipped by all.

And because of the Unity of the Essence, these *Three* may be predicated in the *Concrete* of each other, but not in the *Abstracti*, because of their formal diversity. And so it may be said, that the Power is an Understanding or wise Power, and the Understanding is an Omnipotent Understanding, and the Will a most Wise and Omnipotent Will, and the Power a Good and Willing Power: but not that the Power is the

The Reason why the Heathens made Gods of several Virtues, was, because those Virtues were most eminent in God, and by adoring them, men would learn to love and imitate them. Bene Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides consecratur manu: quarum omnium *Rome* dedicata publice templ. sunt, ut illa qui habeant (habent autem omnes boni) Deos ipsos in animis suis collocatos putent. *Cicer. de Leg. 2. p. 240.*

Underſtanding, and the Underſtanding the Will, or the Will is the Power or Underſtanding.

So as to their *Order*, the *Power*, as in it ſelf conſider'd, as an Active Vital Power, is firſt in our conception, and doth as it were act by the Underſtanding, and the *Underſtanding* by the *Will*, and in execution ſo go forth with the *Will*, that the effect is immediately to be aſcribed to it.

§. 26. *Though all the Divine Faculties or Principles are adumbrate (or made manifeſt) in the Creation or Frame of the world, yet the* Omnipotency *is therein to us moſt eminently apparent.*

It is infinite *Wiſdom* and infinite *Goodneſs* which ſhineth to us in this wonderful Frame. But we firſt and with greateſt admiration take notice of the *Omnipotency*. To conſider the innumerable number of the Orbs, the multitude of the Fixed Stars, which may be called ſo many Suns, and to think of their diſtances, magnitude, powers, orders, influences, communications, effects, &c. and how many millions of theſe, for ought we know, there may be, beſides thoſe which are within our ſight, even though helped by the moſt perfect Teleſcopes; it ſtriketh the Soul with unſpeakable admiration at the Power that created and maintaineth all this. When we think of the unconceivable rapid, orderly, perfect, conſtant motions of all theſe Orbs, or at leaſt of the Planets and circumjacent bodies in every Vortex :. All theſe thoughts do make the Deity, or firſt Being, to be juſt to the mind as the Sun is to the eye, the moſt Intelligible of Beings, but ſo Incomprehenſible, that we cannot endure to gaze too much or near upon his glory.

§. 27. *Whether the whole world be animated, or inanimate: Whether the whole have one conſtitutive Soul or not: Whether each Orb have its particular Soul or not, are things unrevealed, and beyond the Certain knowledge of the natural mind. But it is certain that the firſt Being is not the proper conſtitutive Form or Soul of the world, but yet that he is much more to it than ſuch a Form or Soul, even the total, perfect firſt Cauſe of all that it is, and hath, and doth.*

He is not the *conſtitutive Form* or Soul of the Univerſe, (as it ſeems *Cicero* with the *Academicks* and *Stoicks* thought) becauſe then the Creator and the Creature ſhould be the ſame: or

or elſe the Creature ſhould be nothing but dead, paſſive matter: and then Man himſelf, who knoweth that he hath a Soul, would either be *God*, (which his experience and the conſcience of his frailty forbiddeth him to imagin) or elſe he ſhould be a Creature more noble than the Univerſe, of which he is ſo ſmall a part, (which his reaſon forbiddeth him alſo to believe.)

But yet that God is *much more* to the world than a *conſtitutive Soul*, is undeniable; becauſe he is the *creating Cauſe*, which is more than a *conſtitutive Cauſe*: and his continued cauſation in its preſervation, is as a continued creation: As in Man, the Soul is a dependent cauſe, which can give nothing to the Body but what it hath received, nor act but as it is acted or impowered by the firſt efficient. And therefore though we call not God the Soul of Man, becauſe we would not ſo diſhonour him, nor confound the Creator and the creature; yet we all know that he is to us much more than the Soul of Souls, for in him we live, and move, and have our being. So alſo it is as to God's cauſation of the Being, Motion and Order of all the world. God is incomparably *more* to it than its Form, as being the total firſt Cauſe of Form and Matter. To be the Creator is more than to be the Soul.

Fas autem nec eſt, nec unquam fuit, quicquam niſi pulcherrimum facere eum qui eſſet optimus. *Cicer. de Univerſ. p. 269.*

§. 28. *The glory of all being, action and order in the creatures, is no leſs due to God when he worketh by means, than when he worketh by none at all.*

For when no Means is a Means, nor hath being, aptitude, force or efficacy, but from himſelf, he onely communicateth praiſe to his creatures, when he thus uſeth them, but giveth not away the leaſt degree of his own intereſt and honour: for the creature is nothing, hath nothing, and can do nothing but by him: It uſeth no ſtrength, or skill, or bounty, but what it firſt received from him; therefore to uſe ſuch means can be no diſhonour to him, unleſs it be a diſhonour to be a communicative Good. As it is no diſhonour to a Watch-maker to make that Engine, which ſheweth his skill, inſtead of performing all the motions without that little frame of means: But yet no ſimilitude will reach the caſe, becauſe all creatures themſelves are but the continued productions of the Creator's will; and the virtue which they put forth, is

See Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol. l. 1. p. in B. p. 128. *ſhewing that by Gods Voice ſpeaking to* Adam *is meant his Son.*

nothing but what God putteth into them. And he is as nett to the effect, when he worketh by means, as when without.

Sic *Plato*, cum de Deo loqui esset animatus, dicere Quid sis, non est ausus: hoc solum de Deo scienti, quod sciri Qualis sit, ab homine non potest; solem vero ei similli-mum de visibilibus solum reperit & per ejus similitudinem via-m sermoni suo attollendo se ad comprehensibilia patefecit. Nam Deus qui prima Causa est, unus omnium princeps & origo est. Hic superabundanti fœcunditate majestatis de se Mentem creavit. Hæc mens quæ rite vocatur, qua patrem inspicit, plenam similitudinem servat authoris. *Macrob.*

Nulla gens est tam immansueta neq; tam ferrea, quæ non etiamsi ignoret qualem Deum habere deceat, tamen habendum sciat. *Cicero 1 de leg.*

Omnibus innatum & quasi insculptum est, esse Deos. *Idem de Nat. Deor.*

§. 29. Those that call these three faculties, *or Principles in the Divine* Essence, *by the name of three Hypostases, or Persons, do seem to me to speak less unaptly than the Schools, who call* [Deum seipsum intelligentem] *the Father, and* [Deum ut a se intellectum] *the Son, and* [Deum a se amatum] *the Holy Ghost. For that in God which is to be conceived of us, by Analogy to our essential faculties, is with less impropriety called* [*an Hypostasis or Person*] *than that which is to be conceived by us, in Analogy to our* actus secundi, *or receptions.*

§. 30. *And those that say the first faculty,* Omnipotency, *as eminently appearing in the frame of Nature, may therefore be said to be specially therein personated, or denominated, the Creating Person, speak nothing which derogateth from the honour of the Deity.*

§. 31. *Though we cannot trace the* vestigia, *the adumbration, or appearances of this Trinity in Unity, through the whole Body of Nature and Morality; because of the great debilnty and narrowness of our Minds; Yet is it so apparent on the first and most notable parts of both, as may make it exceeding probable that it runneth in perfect method through them all; if our understandings were but able to follow and comprehend that wonderfull method in the numerous, minute and less discernable particulars.*

I shall now give no other instance, than in two of the most noble Creatures. The Soul of Man, which is made after Gods Image; from whence we fetch our first knowledge of him, hath in the *unity* of a *living Spirit*, the three foresaid faculties, of vital and executive *Power*, *Understanding* and *Will*, which are neither three species, nor three parts, nor three accidents of the Soul: But three faculties certainly so far distinct, as that the Acts from whence they are denominated *realy* differ, and therefore the faculties differ at least in their *Virtual Relation* to those acts, and so in a well-grounded denomination. To understand is not to *will*: for I understand that which I have no will to, even against my will (for the Intellect may be forced): Therefore the same Soul

Soul hath in it the *virtue* or *power* both of *understanding* and *willing*, and so of executing: which are denominated from the different acts which they relate to. There is some Reason in the powers, virtues, or faculties of the real difference in the acts.

So in the Sun, and all the superior Luminaries, there is in the unity of their Essence, a Trinity of Faculties or Powers, 1. *Motiva*, 2 *Illuminativa*, 3. *Calefactiva*; cauling *motion*, *light* and *heat*. The doctrine of *Motion* is much improved by our late Philosophers: when the doctrine of *Light* and *Heat* are so also, and vindicated from the rank of common accidents and qualities, the nature of the Luminaries and of Fire will be also better cleared. The Sun is not to these Powers or Acts, either a *Genus*, a *Totum*, or a *Subjectum*. It is not one *part* of the Sun that *moveth*, and another which *illuminateth*, and another which *heateth*: But the *whole Sun* (if it be wholly Fire or æthereal matter) doth *move*, the *whole illuminateth*, and the *whole* doth *heat*: And *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, are not Qualities inherent in it; But Motion, Illumination, and Calefaction, are Acts flowing immediately from its Essence as containing the faculties or powers of such acts.

He that could write a perfect method of Physicks and Morality, would shew us Trinity in Unity through all its parts from first to last. But as the Veins, Arteries, and Nerves, the Vessels of the Natural, Vital, and Animal, humours and spirits, are eatily discernable in their trunks and greater branches, but not so, when they are minute and multiplied into thousands, so is it in this Method.

But I must desire the Reader to observe, that though I here explain this Trinity of Active Principles in the Divine Essence, which is so evident to Natural Reason it self, as to be past all controversie; Yet whether indeed the Trinity of Hypostases or Persons, which is part of the Christian Faith, be not somewhat distinct from this, is a question which here I am not to meddle with, till I come to the second part of the Treatise: Nor is it my purpose to deny it, but only to

Nulla gens tam fera cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio, *Idem 1. Tusc.*

Dicunt Stoici DEUM esse animal immortale, rationale, perfectum & beatum; à malo omni remotissimum, providentiâ suâ mundum & quæ sunt in mundo administrans omnia: Non tamen inesse illi humanæ formæ lineamenta: Cæterùm esse opificem immensi hujus operis, sicut & patrem omnium. *Laert. in Zenone, pag. (mihi)* 364.

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, Talmud, Alcoran, than that this universal Frame is without a minde. Lord Verulam, Essay 16.

Multi de Diis prava sentiunt: id enim vitioso more effici solet: Omnes tamen esse vim & naturam divinam arbitrantur. Nec verò id colloquio hominum aut consensus efficit; non institutis opinio est confirmata; non legibus: Omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium Lex naturæ putanda est. *Cicer. Tusculan. Quæs. l. 1. p. 220.*

Cesarius, *and some other of the Ancients, make the* Image *of God on Man to be his Naturall perfections, and his* similitude, *to be his moral perfections.*

pre-

prepare for the better understanding of it. Of which more shall there afterward be said.

§. 32. *And thus all Creatures, and especially our selves, declare that there is a first Being and Cause of them all, who is a Substance, Life, a Spirit, or Minde, an Active Power, Understanding and Will, perfect, eternall, independent and self-sufficient, not compounded, not passible, not mutable, corruptible or mortall, Immense, Omnipresent, Incomprehensible, only One, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and most Good, most Happy in Being Himself, in Knowing himself, and enjoying him; most Holy, transcending all the Creatures, of a Perfect Will, the Fountain of all Morall Good, Love or Benigne: having a Trinity of essential Transcendent Principles, in unity of Essence, which have made their adumbration or appearance on the World, whereof though he be not the constitutive form or Soul, He is to it much more; the first Efficient, Dirigent, and ultimate final Cause of all: That is, THERE IS A GOD.*

CHAP. VI.

Of GOD as RELATED to his Creatures: especially to Man. And I. *as his OWNER.*

PAssing by all that is doubtfull, and controverted among men truly Rational, and taking before me only that which is certain, undenyable, and clear, and wherein my own Soul is past all doubt, I shall proceed in the same method *secundum ordinem cognoscendi, non essendi.* The word [GOD] doth not only signifie all that I have been proving, *viz.* The perfect nature of the first Cause, but also his *Relations* to us his Creatures: And therefore till I have opened and proved those *Relations*, I have done but *part* of my work, to prove that THERE IS A GOD.

Read the proofs of the Deity, and of Providence at large in Cicer. de nat. Deor. lib. 2. *by* Balbus.

§. 1. *GOD having produced Man (and all the World) by his Power, Understanding and Will, is by immediate resultancy Related to him as his CREATOR.*

Though he made his Body of pre-existent Matter, yet was that Matter made of nothing; and therefore God is properly

properly Mans CREATOR, and not his Fabricator only. And a CREATURE is a Relation, which inferreth the Correlate, a CREATOR, as a *Son* doth a Father. This therefore is Gods first grand Relation unto Man, which hath no cause to produce it, but his actual *Creation*, which is its *fundamentum.*

§. 2. *This Grand prime Relation, inferreth a Trinity of Grand Relations,* viz. *That God is our OWNER, our RULER, and our BENEFACTOR, of which we are now to speak in order.*

That these Three are justly distinguished from each other, is past doubt to all that understand what is meant by the terms. An *Owner* as such is not a *Ruler* or *Benefactor*, a *Ruler* as such is not an *Owner* or a *Benefactor.* A *Benefactor* as such is neither an *Owner* nor a *Ruler.* And the enumeration is sufficient: All humane affairs, or actions of converse and society, belong to Man in one of these three Relations, or such as are subordinate to them, and meer dependents on them, or compounded of them. They are in some respect the *Genera*, and in some as it were the *Elements* of all other Relations. And from the manner of men, they are applyed to God, with as much propriety of speech, as any terms that man can use concerning him. And he that could draw a true scheme or method of the Body of Morality (or Theology, for all is one with me) would reduce all the dealings of God with Man, which are subsequent to the fundamental Act of Creation, to these *three Relations*; and accordingly distinguish of them all: Yet in the *Mixt actis*, (as most are such) distinguishing only of the compounding Elements (I mean, the interest of these three Relations, as making up the several acts.)

§. 3. *A full* Owner *or Proprietor, is called* Dominus *in the strictest sense, and is one that hath a* Jus possidendi, disponendi, & utendi; *a right of* having *or possessing*, disposing *and* using, *without any copartner, or superior Proprietor, to restrain him.*

The meaning is better known by the bare terms of denomination, through common use, than by definition. We know what it meaneth, when a man saith of any thing, *It is mine own:* There are defective half-proprieties, of Co-

partners, and subordinate Proprietors, which belong not to our present case. The word *Dominus, & Dominium*, is sometime taken laxely, as comprehending both Propriety and Rule; and sometime *improperly*, for Government or Command it self: But among Lawyers it is most commonly taken properly and strictly for an *OWNER* as such: But lest any be contentious about the use of the word, I here put instead of it, the word *Owner* and *Proprietor*, as being more free from ambiguity.

Those writers who confound Propriety and Government under the word Dominion, and then bestow long and sharp disputes on the question, what is the Fundamentum of Gods dominion, do but delude the ignorant, and exercise the patience or contempt of the intelligent.

§. 4. *GOD is* jure Creationis & Conservationis, *the most absolute Owner or Proprietor of Man, and the whole Creation.*

It is not possible that there should be a more full and certain *title* to *propriety*, than *Creation*, and *total conservation* is. He that giveth the World all *its Being*, and that of *nothing*, and *continueth* that being, and was beholden to no pre-existent matter, nor to any co-ordinate concause, nor dependent on any superiour cause in his causation, but is himself the first independent, efficient, total cause of being and well-being, and all the means thereto, must needs be the absolute Owner of all, without the least limitation or exception.

It is not the supereminency of Gods nature, excelling all created beings, that is the foundation of this his *Propriety* in the creature. For *Excellency* is no title to Propriety. And yet he that is *unicus in capacitate possidendi*, that is so transcendently excellent as to have no Copartner in a claim, might by Occupation be sole Proprietor, in that kinde of Propriety *secundum quid*, which Man is capable of: Because there is no other whom he can be said to wrong. But GOD hath a more plenary title by Creation, to *Absolute Propriety.*

§. 5. *Therefore it belongeth to GOD to be the* Absolute Disposer *of all things: To do with them what he please: and to* use *them to the pleasure of his will.*

Every one may do with his own what he list, except the propriety be but limited, and dependent on another, or but *secundum quid*. Who should interpose and any way hinder God, from the *free disposall* of his *own?* Not any Copartner, for there is none. Nor the Creature it self, because it is absolutely His.

§. 6. *Therefore also* (in hoc instanti, *antecedently to any further*

further Relation or Covenant) it is not possible for God to do wrong to his Creature, howsoever he shall use it: Because it is absolutely his own, and he oweth it nothing: And where there is no Debitum, *there is no* Jus, *and can be no* Injuria.

It is to be remembred that I speak not here of God as now related to the Rational creature as a *Rector* and a *Benefactor*, and as having declared his *own will* in his Laws or Promises, to the contrary. But I speak of God only in the Relation of a Proprietor simply in it self considered, and so of his Absolute right, and not his *Ordinate will* (as it is commonly called). No man need to fear lest God should deal unequally with him, or contrary to that which true Reason calleth Justice. For God having made himself *Rector* of the World, hath, as it were, obliged himself, that is, declared his will, to deal equally with all men, and judge them according to their works: And so hath created a *Debitum, & Jus* to man, which inferreth a certain *Justice* on Gods part. But considering him *only in this first Relation, meerly ut Dominus absolutus*, or *Proprietor*, it is not possible for any thing that he can do, to be *an injury*: A meer corporal pain (including no contradiction or error, as *consciences accusation of the innocent*, doth) could be no wrong: There being less appearance of reason to call it wrong, than for my burning my Wood, or plucking a Rose to be a wrong: For it is not the *Pain* of one that can make it an injury, any more than the destruction of the other: where there is no *Jus*, there can be no *Injuria*: And where there is no *Debitum* there is no *Jus*. My Rose hath possession of its life, but no *Right* to it: Therefore it is no wrong to destroy it. And yet in this, and in the killing of Birds, and Beasts and Fishes, and labouring my Horse and Oxe in continual weariness and pain, my borrowed half-propriety *secundum quid*, excuseth me from doing them any wrong: Which *Gods Absolute Propriety* will do much more unquestionably by him.

§. 7. *Though all Gods Three Essential Principles or Faculties, Power, Wisdom and Goodness, appear in each of his Three grand Relations, Owner, Ruler, and Benefactor; yet each one of these hath most eminently some one of Gods Essential principles or faculties appearing in it:* viz. *His Power most appeareth*

in his Propriety, his Wisdom in his Rule, and his Goodness or Love in his benefits given us.

Therefore Propriety resulteth immediately from *Creation*, as producing the Creature as a Creature; but so doth not Government, as we shall see anon. And as Omnipotency is the most eminent Attribute in the Creation, so is it in that *Absolute Propriety* of the Creator, acquired by it.

CHAP. VII.

I. *Of Man's Relation to God his* OWNER.

Prima pietas maxima natura est. *Cic.*

§. 1. GOD *being our undoubted, absolute* OWNER, *it followeth undeniably that we are His own.*

Omnis est Deorum vita beata, hominum autem quatenus in ea lucet quoddam ejus actionis exemplar. *Aristot. Eth.* 10. c. 8.

The Relations are mutual, and the thing needeth no proof.

§. 2. *Therefore Man being an intelligent Creature, that can know this his Relation to his Maker, is bound by Nature to consent to it, and absolutely resign himself to the will, dispose and use of his Creator.*

For there is nothing more reasonable, than that every one should have his own: And the *Understanding* of man should conceive of things as they are, and the *Will* of man should consent to his Makers Interest and right, or else it were most crooked, irregular and unjust. Therefore it must needs be the duty of every reasonable Creature to bethink him, that GOD is his absolute Owner, and thereupon to make a deliberate resolved RESIGNATION of himself to GOD, without any exceptions or reserves.

Agri ne consecrentur *Platoni* assentior: qui his fere verbis utitur: Terra igitur, ut focus, domicilium sacrum omnium Deorum est: Quocirca nequis iterum idem consecrato. Aurum autem & argentum in urbibus & privatim & in fanis, invidiosa res est. *Cicer. de leg. l. 2 p.* 245.

§. 3. *Therefore man should labour to know wherein he may be most useful to his Maker's Interest, (which is his Pleasure in our perfection) and therein he should willingly and joyfully lay out himself.*

For it is undeniable that God should be served with his Own, and that entirely without dividing: for we are not *in part*, but *wholly his.*

§. 4. *Therefore no man can have any propriety in himself, but what is derived from his Absolute Lord, and standeth in full subordination to his propriety.*

For

For there can be but one full and absolute Proprietor. I can have no other propriety in my self, but by derivation and trust from my Creator.

§. 5. *Therefore also no creature can have any Propriety in another creature, but onely derivatively, subordinate,* & secundum quid.

No Parent hath any propriety in his Children, nor the most absolute and potent Prince in his People, but as God's Stewards under him; no not in *themselves*, and therefore not in others. And a Steward hath no propriety in his Master's goods, but derivative, dependent, subordinate and improper, and onely the *usum, fructuum*, and such possession as is necessary thereto, and such an imperfect propriety as will justifie that possession.

§. 6. *And as I am not my Own, so nothing is properly my own which I possess, but all that I have is God's as well as I.*

For no man can have more title to any thing else than to himself. He that is not Owner of himself, is Owner of Nothing. And we have not any thing, nor can have, which is not as much from God as we, and therefore is not as much his.

§. 7. *Therefore no man should repine at God's disposal of him, but all men should acquiesce in the disposing-will of God.*

For it is unreasonable and unjust to murmur at God, for doing as he list with his own, and using any thing to his ends.

§. 8. *And therefore all men should avoid all* selfish *affections, and partiality, and be more affected with God's interest than their own.*

For we are not so much our *Own* as his, and our interest is not considerable in comparison of his.

§. 9. *Therefore no man should do any thing* for selfish ends, *which is injurious to the will and interest of God, our absolute Owner.*

§. 10. *And therefore no man should dispose of his Estate, or any thing he hath, in any way, but for the interest of his absolute Lord.*

§. 11. *And therefore all men should make it the very care and labour of their lives, to serve the will and interest of this their absolute Owner.*

§. 12. *And therefore no man should prefer the will or interest*

of the greatest mortal man, or the dearest friend, before the will and interest of God.

§. 13. *Nor should the publick interest of States or Kingdoms be pleaded against his will and interest.*

But yet we must take heed how we oppose or neglect this last especially, because the will of God doth take most pleasure in the publick or common benefit of his creatures; and therefore these two are very seldom separated: nor ever at all as to their real good, though as to carnal, lower good, it may so fall out.

All these are so plain, that to stand to prove or illustrate them, were but to be unnecessarily and unprofitably tedious.

§. 14. *It being a God of infinite Wisdom and Goodness, as well as power, who is our Owner, his Title to us is a great consolation to the upright.*

For as he hath taught men (and bruits too) to love their *Own*, it intimateth that he will not despise his *Own*: and therefore his interest in us is our comfort.

§. 15. *No man is capable of giving any thing properly to God, but onely by obediential reddition of his own: no nor to man, but as God's Steward, and according to our propriety*, secundum quid, *in respect to other Claimers.*

CHAP. VIII.

II. *Of GOD's Relation to Man as his Governour.*

Stoici dicunt Mundum regi & administrari secundum mentem & providentiam. Laert. in Zenone.

§. 1. *GOD having made Man a rational free Agent, and sociable, among sensible Objects, and out of sight of his invisible Creator, and so infirm and defectible, it followeth necessarily, that he is a creature which must be governed by moral means, and not only moved by natural necessitation as inanimates and bruits.*

Note, that all Cicero's unanswerable reasons for the Law of Nature, lib. de Leg. prove, that God governeth us by Laws: For the Law of Nature is God's Law, who is the Maker of Nature.

The thing that I am first to prove, is, That Man's Creator hath made him *such a creature*, whose nature requireth a Government; that he hath a *necessity* of Government, and an *aptitude* to it.

By *Government* I mean, the exercise of the moral means of Laws

Laws and Execution, by a Ruler, for the right ordering of the Subjects actions, to the good of the Society, and the honour of the Governour.

Omnium quæ in hominum doctorum disputatione versantur, nihil est profecto præstabilius, quàm plane intelligi nos ad justitiam esse natos; neque opinione sed naturâ, constitutum esse jus. Id jam patebit, si hominum inter ipsos societatem conjunctionemque prospexeris, &c. Cicer. de Leg. 1. pag. 221.

I distinguish Laws from all meer natural motions and necessitation: for though analogically the *Shepherd* is said to *rule* his Sheep, and the *Rider* his Horse, yea, and the *Pilot* his Ship, and the *Plow-man* his Plow, and the *Archer* his Arrow: yet this is but equivocally called *Government*, and is not that which we here mean, which is the proposal of duty, seconded with rewards or punishment for the neglects, by those in authority, for the right governing of those that are committed to their care and trust. So that it is not *all moral* means neither which is called Government, for the instruction or perswasion of an Equal is not such. Laws, and Judgment, and Execution are the constitutive parts of Government. But by *Laws* I mean the whole kind, and not only *written Laws*, nor those only which are made by Sovereign Rulers of Common-wealths, which by excellency are called Laws: but I mean, *The signification of the will of a Governour, making the subjects duty, and determining of Rewards to the obedient, and punishments to the disobedient.* Or, [*An authoritative constitution de debito officii, præmii & pœnæ, for the ends of Government.*] So that as Parents, and Tutors, and Masters, do truly govern as well as Kings; so they have truly *Laws*, though not in such eminency as the Laws of Republicks. The will of a Parent, a Tutor, or Master, manifested concerning duty, is truly a Law to a Child, a Scholar, or a Servant. If any dislike the use of the word [*Law*] in so large a sense, it sufficeth now for me to tell them in what sense I use it, and so it will serve to the understanding of my mind. I take it for such an Instrument of Government. The parts of it are, 1. The constituting of the *debitum officii*, or what shall be due *from the Subject*. 2. The constituting the *debitum præmii vel pœnæ*, or what shall be due *to the Subject*, which is in order to the promoting of obedience, though as to the *performances* obedience may be in order to the *reward*. Now that man is a creature made to be *governed*, by such a proper moral Government, I prove.

1. The *several parts* of Government are necessary, therefore Government is necessary. From *all the parts* of Government

Si leges abroganturs & cuivis licentia faciendi quicquid voluerit data sit, non solum Respub. perfluxerit, sed nec quicquam interierit inter nostram & ferarum vitam. *Domest. Or. 2. cont. Aristog.*

Bonis legibus, honestorum studiorum amulatione pia, temperans, justa, & re bellica praestans civitas redditur. *Dion. Hal. l. 4.*

Modestiam quandam cognitio rerum coelestium affert iis, qui videant quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo, & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta comitabas. Justitiam etiam, cum cognitam habeas, quid est summi RECTORIS & DOMINI numen, quod consilium, quae voluntas, cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & summa Lex à Philosophis dicitur. *Cicer. de Finib. l. 4. f. 156.*

ment to *the whole*, is an unquestionable consequence. It is necessary that man have *Duty* prescribed and imposed; else man shall have nothing which he ought to do: Take away *Duty*, and we are good for nothing, nor have any employment fit for reason: And take away all *Reward* and *Punishment*, and you take away Duty in effect; experience teacheth us that it will not be done, for a rational agent will have ends and motives for what he doth.

2. From the imbecility of our younger state: so weak is our infant understanding, and so strong our sensitive inclination, that if Parents should leave all their Children ungoverned, abused Reason would make man worse than beasts.

3. From the common infirmity and badness of all the world. The wise are so few, and the ignorant so many, that if all the ignorant were left ungoverned to do what they list, they would be like an Army of blind men in a fight, or like a world of men bewildred in the dark. What a confused loathsome spectacle would the world be? and the rather because men are *bad* as well as *foolish*. Would all the sensual vitious persons in the world be ordered like men, without any Government, by such as are wiser than themselves?

4. From the power of sensitive objects: The baits of sense are so numerous, so near and so powerful, that they would bear down reason in the most, without the help of Laws: nay, Laws themselves, even of God and Man, do so little with the most, as tell us what they would be without them.

5. The *variety* of mens minds and interests and dispositions is such, as that the world ungoverned would be utterly in confusion: as many minds and ways as men. No two men are in all things of the same apprehensions.

6. From the *nature* of mans powers: He is a noble creature, and therefore hath answerable ends to be attain'd, and therefore must have the conduct of answerable means. He is a rational free Agent, and therefore must have his End and Means proposed to his *Reason*, and is not to be moved by Sense alone; his chiefest End as well as his chief Governour, being out of his sight.

7. The experience of all mankind constraineth them to consent to this, that Man is a creature made for Government.

ment. Therefore even among Cannibals, Parents govern their Children, and Husbands govern their Wives; and in all the rational world, there are Rulers and Subjects, Masters and Servants, Tutors and Scholars, which all are Governours or Governed. Few men are to be found alive on earth, who would have all men, or any men save themselves ungoverned. Otherwise Men would be worse to Men, I say not, than Serpents, and Toads, and Tygers are to one another, but than any of them are to men. Every man that had strength and opportunity, would make a prey of the life or welfare of his brother. Mens own necessity forceth them every where to set up Governments, that they may not live as in a continual war, in danger and fear of one another; nay, a war that is managed by Armies, is also ordered by Government, because many must agree for mutual defence: but else, every man would be against another, and they would be as so many fighting Cocks or Dogs, every one would fight or flie for himself; for fighting or flying, injuring and being injured would be all their lives.

He that denieth Man to be a Creature made for Government, and consequently denieth God's Government of the world, by Moral proper Government, doth own all these absurdities, (which else-where I have heretofore enumerated.)

1. He denieth that there is a God: for to be GOD includeeth to be *Governour* of the Rational world.

2. He denieth that Man Oweth any *Duty* to God or Man: for where there is no Government, there is no proper Duty.

3. He denieth the *Justice* of God: for *Justice* is the attribute of a Governour, that is, *distributive Justice*, which we speak of: for *commutative Justice* God cannot exercise towards Man, because of our great inferiority to him.

4. He denieth all the Laws of Nature: for where there is no Government, there are no Laws.

5. He denieth the Virtue of Obedience, and all other Virtues concatenated with it: for where there is no Government, there is no Obedience.

6. He denieth that there is any such a thing as sin, or any fault against God or Man: for where there is no Government, there is no transgression. Both the vicious Habits and the

Fundamentum libertatis, fons æquitatis, mens & animus & consilium, sententia civitatis posita in legibus. *Cic.*

Acts, will have no more crime than the poiſon of a Toad.

7. And then no man ſhould forbear any act as ſinful or criminal.

8. Nor ſhould any perſons reprove ſin in others, nor exhort them from it.

9. Nor ſhould any one confeſs any ſin, or repent of it, (becauſe it is not.)

10. Nor ſhould any man ask forgiveneſs of any crime of God or Man.

11. Nor ſhould any man thank God for the pardon of his ſin.

12. It will follow that there is no moral difference between men or actions, as Good and bad, but all are alike, what ever they be or do.

13. He denieth all God's Judgments, and all his Rewards and Puniſhments; for theſe are all of them acts of Government.

14. It will follow, that every man ſhould do what his liſt.

15. And that all Parents may forbear the government of their Children, and all Maſters of their Servants, and Governours of their Families.

16. It treaſonably ſubverteth all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, and denieth that there ſhould be any Kings or Subjects.

17. It denieth all humane Juſtice, becauſe it denieth humane Government.

18. It maketh Man a Beaſt, who is uncapable of Moral Government.

19. It maketh him far worſe than a Beaſt, as *corruptio optimi eſt peſſima:* for a Beaſt hath an analogical improper government by Man, but Man muſt have ſuch as moveth him rationally, according to his nature, or he muſt have none at all. And it would baniſh all Order, Duty and Virtue out of the world, and make Earth ſomewhat worſe than Hell, which is not wholly deſtitute of Government.

20. But the beſt of it is, while it nullifieth Right and Wrong, it inferreth, that whoſoever ſhall beat or hang the owners of this Doctrine do them no wrong, nor offend any Laws of God or Man: For if there be no Government, there is no Tranſgreſſion; and if they are Bruits, they may be

Sequi ſi natura confirmatum jus non erit, virtutes omnes tollantur: ubi enim liberalitas? ubi patriæ caritas? ubi pietas? ubi aut bene merendi de alterio, aut referendæ gratiæ voluntas, poterit exiſtere? Nam hæc naſcuntur ex eo quod naturâ propenſi ſumus ad diligendos homines, quod fundamentum juris eſt. Neque ſolum in hominibus obſequia, ſed etiam in Deos Cæremoniæ Religioneſq; tollantur, quas non metu, ſed eâ conjunctione, quæ eſt homini cum Deo, conſervandas puto. *Cic. de leg.* 1. *p.* 225.

be uſed as Bruits, who are incapable of Titles, Rights, Inheritances, or of any plea as againſt an injury.

§. 2. *Man being made a Creature to be governed, it thence followeth, that his Creator muſt needs be his Soveraign Governour, as being only fit, and having in his Propriety, the only Right.*

1. A *Governour* he muſt have; for there is no *Government* nor *governed*, without a *Governour*. 2. If there be never ſo many Inferiour Governours, there muſt be ſome *Supream*: Or elſe each one would be abſolutely Supream, and none Inferiour. But I will firſt prove that God is Mans Soveraign, and then ſhew the foundation of his right, and of this Relation.

Mundus Numine regitur, eſtque quaſi communis urbs & civitas hominum. *Cicero 2 de finib.*

The only objection made againſt it, conſiſteth of theſe two parts: 1. That God moveth man effectually *per modum naturæ* as an Engineer; and that this is more excellent than Moral Government. 2. And that Moral Government being a leſs effectual way, is committed to Angels and to Men, *viz.* Kings, and States, and Magiſtrates, who are ſufficient to perform it.

Nec ſolum jus à natura dijudicatur, ſed omnino omnia honeſta & turpia: Nam & communis intelligentia nobis notas res edidit; eaſq; in animis noſtris inchoavit, ut honeſta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Hæc autem in opinione exiſtimare, non in natura ponere, dementis eſt. Nam & nec arboris, nec equi virtus, quæ dicitur in quo abutimur nomine, in opinione ſita eſt ſed in natura. *Cicero de leg.* 1. *p.* 225.

This Objection confeſſeth the Government of one man over others, but denyeth the Government of God over Man, and inſtead of it ſubſtituteth his meer Phyſical motion, or natural Government, ſuch as a Pilot uſeth to his Ship. I ſhall therefore againſt it prove, that not only Man but God, doth exerciſe this proper Moral Government, by Laws, and Executions, and not a Phyſical motion only.

§. 3. I. *GOD hath* de facto *made Laws for Mankinde: Therefore he is their Governour by Laws.*

The conſequence is undenyable: The antecedent I further prove.

§. 4. *He that doth by* authoritative conſtitution of Duty, oblige Man to obedience, *doth make Laws for him, and Govern him by Laws: But God doth by authoritative Conſtitution of duty, oblige man to obedience: Therefore he maketh Laws for him, and ruleth him thereby.*

Rerum natura malè adminiſtrari non vult: & multorum dominatus & principatus non eſt utilis: unus ergo ſit Princeps. *Ariſtot. lib.* Λ 11. *Metaph. c.* 10.

The Major is not to be denyed; for it only aſſerteth the *Name* from the Definition: The authoritative appointment of the *Delitum Officii*, obliging to obedience, is the definition of Legiſlation, as to its firſt and principal act; which the

the appointment of the *debitum præmii vel pœnæ* followeth. And I think that the interest of Mankinde will not suffer him to be so erroneous as to deny the Minor: I think few will believe that there is no such thing as a Law of Nature made by the God of Nature; or that there is no such thing as Duty incumbent on Man from God; and so no such thing as an accusing or excusing Conscience: Few persons will believe, that it is no duty of Parents to nourish their Children, or no crime to murder them: Or that it is no duty for Children to be thankfull to their Parents, and to love them, or no sin to hate, or scorn, or kill them: Few Kings will believe, that it is no duty towards God, for their Subjects to obey them, and no crime to rebell or murder them; and that Conscience hath nothing to say against him for such things, that can but scape the judgement and revenge of man: And few Subjects will believe, that it is no crime for a Prince to oppress them, in their liberties, estates and lives: And few neighbours will think that he is innocent before God, who beateth them, or setteth fire on their Houses, or murdereth their children or other Relations. If man be under no duty to God, and if nothing that he can do is a sin against God, what a thing will Man be, and what a Hell will Earth be? Deny the Law of Nature, and you turn men loose to every villany; and engage the World to destroy it self, and set all as on fire about their ears.

Quod in navi Gubernator, quod in curru agitator, quod in Choro præcentor, quod denique lex in Civitate, & dux in exercitu, hoc Deus est in Mundo. *Aristot. de Mund. c. 6.*

For if God only move us Physically, there is neither virtue nor vice, good nor evil, in a moral sense: But what God moveth a man to, that he will do, and what he doth not move him to, he will not do; and so there being only motion and no motion, action and no action, there will be no *Duty* and no obligation, and so no Moral good or evil.

§. 5. II. *If God should Rule us only by Physical motion, and not by Laws, he should not rule man as man, according to his Nature: But God doth rule man according to his Nature: Therefore not only by Physical motion.*

Otherwise Man should not differ from Inanimates and Bruits. A stone is to be moved Physically, and a Bruit by the necessitating objects of sense: But Man hath *Reason*, which they have not, and he is a free Agent: And therefore though God concurr to his Physical motion as such; yet

Est enim virtus perfecta ratio, quod certè in natura est. *Cicero de leg. 1. p. 226.*

yet he must move him as *Rational*, by such objects, and such propositions, and arguments, and means, as are suited to *Reason*. By presenting things *absent* to his *understanding*, to prevail against the *sense* of things *present*; and by teaching him to preferre greater things before lesser; and by shewing him the commodity and discommodity, which should move him; God would not have made him Rational, if he would not have Governed him accordingly.

§. 6. III. *If the way of physical motion alone, is not so excellent and suitable as the way of Moral Government by Laws also, then God doth not only move man physically, and leave it to Magistrates to Rule as Morally: But the antecedent is true: Therefore so is the Consequent.*

God doth not omit the more excellent, and choose a lower way of Government, and leave the more excellent way to man. And that the Minor is true appeareth thus. The way which is most suitable to the object or subject of Government is the most excellent way: But such is the Moral way by Laws: The other Beasts are as capable subjects of as men, and Trees as either. *Wisdom* and *Justice* are eminently glorified in the Moral way: And Omnipotency it self also appeareth in Gods making of so noble a Creature, as is governable by Reason without Force.

§. 7. IV. *If God were not the Soveraign Ruler of the World, there could be no Government of mens hearts: But there is a government of hearts: Therefore God is the Ruler of the World.*

Man knoweth not the Hearts of those whom he governeth: And therefore he can take no cognisance of heart-sins or duties, unless as they appear in words or deeds: And therefore he maketh no Law for the government of hearts. But the *Heart* is the *Man*: and a bad heart is the fountain of bad words or acts, and is it self polluted, before it endeavoureth the injury of others. He that thinks all indifferent that is *within* him, is himself so bad, that it is the less wonder if being so indifferent, yea so vitiated within, he think nothing evil which he hath a minde to do. He that thinketh that the heart is as good and innocent which hateth his God, his King, his Friend, his Parents, as that which *loveth* them, and that it is no duty to have any good thought or affection,

but only for the outward actions sake; nor any sin to be malicious, covetous, proud, deceitfull, lustfull, impious, and unjust, in his cogitations, contrivances, and desires, unless as they appear in the acts, doth shew that he hath himself a heart, which is too suitable to such a Doctrine. But Nature hath taught all the World, to judge of men by their *Hearts*, as far as they can know them, and not to take the *Will*, which is the first seat of Moral Good or Evil, to be capable of neither Good nor Evil. Therefore seeing *Hearts* must be under Government, it must not be *man*, but the *heart-searching God*, that must be their Governour.

§. 8. V. *If God were not the Governour of the World, all earthly Soveraigns would be themselves ungoverned: But they are not ungoverned: Therefore God is their Governour, and so the Governour of the World.*

What Cicero de leg. 3. saith, that He must first learn to Obey who will learn to Govern, is true in respect of Obedience to God.

The Kings and States that have Soveraign power through all the World, are under no humane Government at all. Though some of them are limited by Contracts with their people. But none have so much need to have the benefit of Heart-government; none have so strong Temptations as they; And no mens actions are of so great importance, to the welfare or misery of the World. If the Monarchs of the Earth do take themselves to be left free by God to do what they list; what work will be made among the people? If they think it no duty to be just, or mercifull, or chaste, or temperate, what wonder if they be unjust and cruel, and filthy, and luxurious, and use the People for their own ends and lusts, and esteem them as men do their Dogs or Horses, that are to be used for their own pleasure or commodity. What is the present calamity of the World, but that the Heathen and Infidel Rulers of the World are so ignorant, and sensual, and have cast off the fear of God, and the sense of his Government, in a great degree; when yet most of them have some conviction that there is a God, who Ruleth all, and to whom they must be accountable: What then would they be, if they once believed that they are under *no Government* of God at all. If they should oppress their Subjects, and murder the innocent, it would be no fault: For where there is no Government and Law there is no transgression: No one forbiddeth it to them, and none commandeth

mandeth them the contrary if God do not: For the people are not the Rulers of their Rulers, nor give them Laws: And Neighbour Princes and States are but Neighbours: Therefore if they should sacrifice peace and honesty, liberties, lives and Kingdoms to their lusts, no man could say, They do amiss, or violate any sort of Law.

Quæ Lex est recta ratio imperandi atq; prohibendi: Quam qui ignorat, is est injustus, sive est illa scripta uspiam, sive nuspiam. Quod si justitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus, institutisq; populorum, etsi, ut iidem dicunt, utilitate omnia metienda sunt, negliget leges, easq; perrumpet, si poterit, is qui sibi eam rem fructuosam putabit fore. *Cicero de leg.* 1. p. 225.

Obj. *But the fear of Rebellions, and the peoples vindicating their liberties would restrain them.*

Answ. Only so far as they feel themselves unable to do hurt: As a man is restrained from killing Adders left they sting him: And the advantage of their place doth usually empower them, to make desolations, if they have a minde to it. And great mindes will not easily bear a popular restraint: And indeed the honester and better any people are, the more undispos'd are they to rebell: And therefore Tyrants may with smallest danger and fear destroy them.

Obj. *But their own interest lieth in the peoples welfare; and therefore there is no danger of such miseries.*

Ans. Did *Nero* think so, that wished *Rome* had but one neck; that set the City on fire, that he might sing over it *Homers* Poem of the flames of *Troy*? that ript up his own Mother, that he might see the place where once he lay? Did *Caligula* think so? Did *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, think so? Did the *Spaniards* think so by the *Indians*, who are said by their own Writers, to have murdered in forty two years space, no less than fifty millions of them? Did King *Philip* think so, who put his own Son and Heir to death, by the Inquisition? besides so many thousands more in *Spain* and the *Low Countreys*, by that and other wayes? How full of such bloody instances is the World. If it were a Tyrants interest that kept him under some moderation to the people of his own Dominions, it might yet possibly leave him a bloody destroyer of other Nations, in his Conquests. The World hath not wanted men that think the lives of many thousands, a little sacrifice to a proud design, or furious passion; and are no more troubled at it, than a *Pythagorean* would be to kill a Bird. It hath had such as *Sylla*, *Messala*, *Catiline*, and the Conquerours of *Jerusalem*, who as *Josephus* saith, crucified so many thousands, till they wanted Crosses for men, and place for Crosses, besides the greater numbers famished.

Obj.

Obj. *But if Chief Governours be under no Law, they are under Covenants, by which they are obliged.*

Answ. What shall make their Covenants obligatory to their consciences, if they be under no government of God? The reason why mens Covenants bind them, is, because they are under the government of God, who requireth all men to keep their Covenants, and condemneth Covenant-breakers. But if God had never commanded Covenant-keeping, nor forbad Covenant-breaking, they could never be matter of duty or sin. So that this Doctrin, that God hath made no Laws for man, and is not his Governour, doth leave all Soveraigns from under the least conscientious restraint from any acts of cruelty or injustice, and tendeth to deliver up the world to be a sacrifice to their lusts: when it is the government of the universal Soveraign that is their restraint.

The e is scarce any thing that the world needeth so much as good Governours, nor that is a greater blessing to them: which Diogenes *intimated when he was to be sold, and bid the Crier cry, Who will buy him a Master: and when they ask'd him what he could do, he said, He could tell how to command or rule men.* Laert. in Diog.

Dicebatque cum interiretur in vita gubernatores, medicos, & philosophos, animalium omnium sapientissimum, hominem esse: cum autem inspiceret somniorum interpretes, conjectores, vates, vel qui gloriæ aut divitiis addicti essent, tunc demum nihil se stultius existimare homine. *Id. ib. d.*

§. 9. VI. *If God have not the Soveraignty over all the world, then no man on earth can have any Governing Power: But Princes and Rulers have a Governing Power: Therefore the Soveraignty is in God.*

The reason of the *major* is, because Kings can have no power but what they receive from some or other: there is no effect without a cause. And if they receive it, it is either from God or Man as the Original. Not from *Man*, for the people themselves have no governing power to *use* or *give*, as to the government of Commonwealths: for their personal power over themselves is of another species, and cometh short of this in many respects, (as else-where I have proved): And if it were otherwise, yet they have nothing themselves but derivatively from God, as is proved before: and therefore they themselves must have their power from him, from whom they are, and have all that they possess: But God cannot give that which he hath not himself, either formally or eminently: Therefore he hath governing power formally or eminently, or else no Prince, or Man, or Angel can have any, no more than they can have being or reason without him. And though his power be transcendent, his exercise of it must be according to the capacity of the subject: and therefore morally by Laws and Executions. So that as all things else in the creature are derived, so is power. And as in beings, *aut Deus aut nihil* is an undeniable truth, so as to

to *governing power*, or Soveraignty, either it is, Primitively, Supremely and Transcendently in God, or there is none in any Prince or Parents: for if they have it not from Him, they can have none at all.

Obj. *Governing by Laws is caused by humane impotency, because man is not every where present, nor of power to effect himself in and by others, all the things which he commandeth: But were man Omnipresent and Omnipotent as God is, he would make all men do well, and not command them to do it: Therefore it is so in the Government of God.*

Answ. It is granted that man is impotent, and God Omnipotent, and Omnipresent, and therefore that God could indeed do as is here intimated, even *make* all men do well, and not command it: But, 1. it is apparent, that *de facto* he *doth not* so. 2. And his *wisdom* being more eminently to be manifested in the work of Government than his Omnipotency, doth shew us partly, *why* he doth not so, even because the *sapiential way* is more suitable to his ends and to the subject. Creation did most eminently glorifie (or manifest) *Omnipotency*; *Government* doth most eminently glorifie God's *Omniscience* or *Wisdom*, as our Perfection or Glorification will most eminently manifest, and glorifie his *Love* and *Goodness*. Each Attribute shineth most eminently in its proper work: and mans conceits must not confound this perfect order.

Yet let it be here noted, that all this while I meddle not with the controversie of the Liberty of man's will; and so, whether God's sapiential government by Laws, do operate also by necessitation, and Physical causation, as the natural motions of the Orbs, or the artificial motions of an Engine. I only argue, that whether God thus operate by his Government by secret necessitation or not, yet it is most certain, that he *governeth Morally*, and useth the Means of Doctrin, Laws and Judgments: which might consist with Physical necessitating efficacy in all that do obey indeed, if God's wisdom, and man's freedom of will did inferr nothing to the contrary. But if it had been granted, that all God's government is by Physical efficacy, it would stand good nevertheless, that Laws and Judgment are part of the means which he maketh so effectual. But yet I shall go further in the next Argument.

Cicero, de Leg. 1. *proveth, That Right is founded in the Law of Nature, more than in Man's Laws; because, else (saith he) men may make evil good, and good evil; and make Adultery, Perjury, &c. just, by making a Law for them.] A cursed consequence, which the Atheist cannot deny upon his Principles.*

Quod si populorum jussis, si Principum decretis, si sententiis judicum jura constituerentur, jus esset latrocinari, jus adulterare, jus testamenta falsa supponere, si hæc suffragiis, aut scitis multitudinis probarentur. Quæ si tanta potentia stultorum sententiis atque jussis, ut eorum suffragiis rerum natura vertatur, cur non fanciunt, at quæ mala perniciosaque sunt habeantur pro bonis & salutaribus. Aut cur cum jus ex injuria facere Lex possit, bonum eadem facere non potest ex malo. Atqui nos Legem bonam à malâ, nulla alia nisi naturali norma dividere possumus. *Cicer. de Leg. 1. p. 223.*

§. 10. VII. *Experience satisfieth all the rational world, that there is*, de facto, *a course of Duty appointed by God for men, which they do not eventually fulfil. Therefore there is not only a Moral Government, which is effectual, but also which is separated from necessitating efficacy.*

They that deny this, and plead for *Physical Government only*, must affirm, that nothing is any man's Duty, but what he *actually performeth*: and that nothing is any man's sin which he *doth*, or *omitteth to do*; that is, that there is no sin or moral evil in the world: For all that God *Physically effecteth* is good; and they suppose him to have no Law which commandeth any thing but what he *Physically effecteth*, and he will not *Physically effect* that which he forbiddeth. And if there be no such thing as moral evil or sin in the world, then no man should fear any, or avoid any! Let but a man leave any thing undone, (if it be nourishing his children, defending his King, loving God or man) and he may thence conclude that it never was his duty: Let him but *do any thing* that he hath a mind to, (if it be killing Father or Mother, or his Prince or Friend) and he may be sure that it is no sin, because he hath done it; for if God forbid it not, it is no sin: nay, he may make it an effect of God's government. But this consequence is so false and horrid, that no Nation on earth receiveth it, and Cannibals themselves abhor it, who eat not their friends, but strangers and enemies.

Stoici dicunt, sinceros esse sapientes, observareque & cavere solicitè, ne quid de se melius quàm sit commendare putemur, fuco seu arte aliqua mala occultante, & bona quæ insunt apparere faciente, ac circumcidere vocis omnem fictionem. *Laert. in Zenone.*

§. 11. VIII. *If God be not the Governour of the world by Laws, then no man need to fear or avoid any thing forbidden by the Laws of Man, who can either keep it secret by Wit, or keep himself from humane revenge by Power. But the consequent is false: therefore so is the Antecedent.*

The reason of the consequence is evident; because, where no humane revenge is to be feared, there no punishment at all is to be feared, if God be no Governour of the world: but those that can hide their actions by craft, or make them good by power, need not fear any humane revenge; therefore they need to fear *none at all*, upon the Atheists grounds. And if that be so, 1. How easie is it for cunning malice to burn a * Town, to kill a King, to poison wife or children, and to defraud a neighbour, and never be discovered? If this be so, then Thieves, Adulterers, Traitors, when they are detected, have

* *As* London *now is.*

have failed only in point of wit, (that they concealed it not) and not in point of honesty and duty. 2. And then any Rebel that can get enow to follow him, hath as good a cause as the King that he rebelleth against; and if he conquer, he need not accuse himself of doing any wrong: And then there will be nothing for conscience to blame any man for, nor for one man to accuse another of, but witlesness or impotency. And then the Thief must suffer only for want of strength or cunning, and not because he did any wrong.

§. 12. IX. *If there be no Government by God, there can be no true Propriety but Strength: and he that is strongest hath right to all that he can lay hold on. But the Consequent is false: therefore so is the Antecedent.*

The consequence is undeniable: for if there be no Divine Government, there is no Law but Humane: and no man can have any Right besides *Strength* to make Laws for any other whomsoever. For if God have no Government and Law, he constituteth no *Debitum vel Jus*, no Dueness or Right. And man can have no Right to govern others, if he have no Governour to give any. If God do give *Right to Govern*, he thereby maketh obedience to that Governour a duty: and he that constituteth or instituteth Right and Duty, governeth. And if God give men No Right to Govern, they can have none. And then, if *Strength* be all their Title, any man that can get as much *Strength*, doth get as good a Title; and may seize upon the Lives, the Lands and Estates of Prince or People, and give Laws to the weaker, as others before gave Laws to him. And so there will utter confusion and misery be let in upon the world. As in the Poet's description of the degenerate Age, *Vivitur ex raptu, non hospes ab hospite tutus*, &c. Reason would have nothing to say against strength: the great Dog would have the best title to the bone. *Melior mihi dextera lingua est.*

Dummodo pugnando superem, tu vince loquendo, Ovid. Met.

The honest, poor and peaceable would have such a peace with thieves and strong ones, *Cum pecore infirmo quæ solet esse lupis.* Ovid.

§. 13. *If God govern not the world, then* meer Communities *are uncapable of Right or Wrong, and no man is bound in duty to spare his brother's life or state. But*

Tutum aliqua res in mala conscientia præstat, nulla securum. Putat enim etiamsi non deprehenditur posse se deprehendi: & inter somnos moveatur, & quoties alicujus scelus loquitur, de suo cogitat. *Sen. ep.* 106.

Prima & maxima peccantium pœna est peccasse: Hæc & secundæ pœnæ premunt & sequuntur, timere semper & expavescere & securitati diffidere. *Id. ep.* 47.

Mihi laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sine venditatione & sine populo teste fiunt. Nullum theatrum virtuti conscientiâ majus est. *Licer. in Tusc. l. 2. p.* 268.

Par & æquum Legibus acceptum ferre debetis. *Demosth.*

the Consequent is false: therefore so is the Antecedent.

By a *Community* I mean a company of men that have yet set up no Government among them: If God be not their Governour, such have none at all, and so are under no moral obligation: for Covenants themselves cannot bind, if there be no superiour obligation, requiring man to stand to his Covenants.

Obj. *Then God's Covenants to man do not bind him.*

Answ. Not at all, by proper obligation, as if it were his *Duty* to keep them, and his *Sin* to break them; for God is not capable of *duty* or *sin*. But yet improperly they may be called Obligations, because they are the demonstrations of his Will, which the perfection of his Nature will not let him violate. It would be an imperfection, if God should break promise, though not a sin or crime: And therefore it is impossible for God to lie.

Obj. *But suppose we say, that Man is under no other obligations than a Beast; and that among men there is no proper right or wrong, duty or fault: yet men by confederacies, without any other Government, would settle Rules for the safety of cohabitation and converse, and for love of themselves would forbear wronging others. And this is all the Law of Nature that Man hath above Bruits.*

Answ. Those *Confederacies* would no further oblige them, than their *Interest* required them to observe them. Still by this rule a man is left free to kill wife and children, if he be weary of them, which no neighbour, being wronged by none, will seem obliged to revenge: still he that is the stronger is left to do his worst, without fault, to seize upon other mens estates, and to depose Kings and destroy them, and all the world would be in a state of war. Or if self-interest keep some quiet for a time, it would be but till they had strength and opportunity to do otherwise. He is not fit for humane society, who would tell all about him [I take my self free to defraud and murder any of you, as soon as my own safety and interest will allow it me.] And no man that thus taketh a man for a beast, can expect any better usage than a beast himself, any further than self-love shall restrain others from abusing him: nor can he plead any better title to his estate, nor exemption from the violence of the stronger. And it will also

Animal hoc providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, memor, plenum Rationis & consilii quem vocamus hominem, præclarâ quâdam conditione generatum esse à supremo Deo: solum est enim ex tot animantium generibus & naturis particeps Rationis & cogitationis, cum cætera sint omnia expertia. Quid est autem non dicam in homine, sed in omni cœlo, atque terra ratione divinius, quæ cum adolevit atque perfecta est, nominatur rite sapientia. Est igitur quoniam nihil est ratione melius, eaque & in homine & in Deo, prima homini cum Deo Rationis societas, Inter quos autem Ratio, inter eosdem recta ratio est communis: Quæ cum sit Lex, lege quoque consociati homines cum Diis putandi sumus; Quibus autem hæc sunt inter eos communia & civitatis ejusdem habendi sunt unde universus hic Mundus una civitas communis Deorum atque hominum existimanda. *Cic. de Leg.* 1. p. 219.

also follow, that *honesty* is nothing but *self-preserving* policy; and that blasphemy and impiety against God need not be feared or avoided; nor any thing as a *fault*, but only as a *folly*, exposing the person himself to danger. Incest, Perjury, Lying, might be impudencies, but not any crimes.

Obj. *If you supposed them in God, they would be but imperfections, and not crimes, and why should you judge otherwise of them in Man.*

Answ. Because the *absolute perfection of his Nature* is instead of a Law to God, who hath no Superiour. But man hath a *Superiour*, and hath an *imperfect nature*, which is therefore to be regulated by the wisdom and will of that perfect Superiour.

And moreover, if Man have reason and wisdom above a Beast, which maketh him capable of knowing Right and Wrong, and of being moved by the things that are evident to reason, though not to sense; and if he be made to be governed by Laws, (as was proved before) then he is certainly governed accordingly; or else his nature and reason were given him in vain, which could not be by the most wise Creator.

Obj. *God governeth the world as the Soul governeth the Body, which is rationally* ex parte animæ; *but not by giving reason or laws to the Body: but despotically by the natural power of the Will.*

Answ. The flesh is not capable of Laws, as having no Reason, and therefore no proper Laws can be given to it in it self by the Soul: But the Soul is capable of Reason, and made to be moved by proposed Reasons in a Law, and not only by natural force as the flesh. The Government must be agreeable to the capacity of the Subject. Though the Rider rule the Horse by a bridle and spur, and not by a Law, it followeth not that the King must not rule the Rider so. The Soul and Body constitute one *Suppositum* or Man; and therefore the Body is governed by a Law, because the Soul is so, which despotically moveth it: Laws are for distinct individuals, and not for one part of an individual to give to another part.

Obj. *If God be the constitutive Soul of the world, then he need not give it Laws.*

Answ. Because it is most certain, *de facto*, that he doth give us *Laws*, therefore it is certain that he is not the constitutive

constitutive Soul of the world, as is also further proved before: though he be *much more* to it than a Soul.

§. 14. XI. *If man act*, per media propter finem, *and both discerned by reason, then he must be ruled by a Law.* But *the Antecedent is sure:* Ergo, *&c.*

For the *End* is ever something apprehended *sub ratione boni*, (and the ultimate end, *sub ratione optimi possibilis:*) and the *Means* are chosen and used, *sub ratione conducibilis*, as apt to attain the End. This Means and End are not to be discerned onely by sense and imagination, as in bruits every object is apprehended, but by reason; this Reason is defectible and liable to error, and therefore the rational evidences must be proposed to it, and that conveniently: For he that knoweth not Reason, why he should *chuse*, *refuse*, or *act*, cannot do it Rationally. And the Will being as apt to be seduced by the sense, hath need of due motives to determine it. Therefore there is need of the Regulation of a Law, containing the direction of a superiour wisdom, with authority and motives of consequential Good or Evil, proposed by one that can accomplish it.

Non potest consistere Respublica, ubi non est honos virtuti, nec pœna scelerosis. *Demosth.*

But the whole world doth so universally consent, that there is a difference between Right and Wrong, Duty and Crimes, Good and Evil, and so a necessity of some Government (humane at least) and that man is not like the beasts, where strength is the only title, and good and evil is but natural, called *jucundum & utile*, with their contraries, that I need not plead that part of the cause any further, universal consent not only making it unnecessary, but also being a valid argument against it, as proving that it is against the common reason of Mankind, and light of Nature.

§. 15. XII. *If God be not the universal Governour of the world, then error, malice, and tyranny, and selfishness will make injustice finally prosperous, and oppressed innocency remediless. But that cannot be, as shall hereafter be fuller made appear.*

There must be some *infallible Judge* to pass the final sentence, and hear all Causes, as it were, over again; and some perfect righteous Judge to set straight, all that mens unrighteousness made crooked; or else unrighteousness will finally prevail. And this must be God, who being the fountain of all Government, is also the end of all.

§. 16.

§. 16. XIII. *If God be not the Supreme Universal Governour, there can be no unity and harmony in the moral Order and Government of the World.*

As all the Corporations in the Kingdom would be in continual discord with one another, if they were not all united in one King; so would all the Kingdoms of the World (much worse than they are) if they were not under the Government of one God.

§. 17. XIV. *The last argument shall be* à Jure & aptitudine: *If Man be made a Creature to be morally Governed, and the undoubted Right and Aptitude, for supream Government be in God alone, then God is* actually *the supream Governour of the the World: But the antecedent is true, therefore the consequent.*

1. That God only is *Able*, is undenyable: Men can govern but their particular Provinces or Empires: and none of them is capable of Governing all the World, for want of Omnipresence, Omnipotency, and Omniscience: And therefore the Pope that claimeth the Government of all the World, if all turn Christians, doth thereby pretend to a kinde of Deity. And if Angels were proved able to govern the Earth, it can be but as Officers, and not in absolute supremacy: For who then shall be the Governour of *them*: Their *being* is meerly derivative and dependent; and therefore so must be their *power*. *God* only is allsufficient, omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, and most good: Sufficient to give perfect Laws to all; to execute righteous Judgement upon all; and to protect the World as his Dominion: when Princes cannot protect one Kingdom, nor themselves.

Atticus in Cicer. de leg. 1. p. 213. saith, That he cannot but believe that Jus est ortum ex natura, *because of these Principles.*
1. Quasi muneribus Deorum nos esse instructos & ornatos.
2. Unam esse hominum inter ipsos vivendi parem communemq; rationem.
3. Omnes inter se naturali quâdam indulgentiâ & benevolentiâ, tum etiam societate juris contineri.

And *Gods title* and *right* is as undoubted as his *Power*: For he is *Absolute Owner* of the World. And who should claim Soveraignty over him or without him, where he is sole Proprietor. He hath undoubted right to rule his own.

Obj. *Propriety among men is no title to Government.*

Answ. Absolute Propriety in a Governable creature, is a plenary title. But no man hath absolute Propriety in another. Yet *Parents*, and the Masters of *Slaves*, who come neerest it, have an answerable Power of Governing them. But mans fullest Propriety is in Bruits and Inanimates, which are not Creatures capable of Government.

§. 18. *The*

§. 18. The Relation then of Soveraign King or Rector in God to man, *is* founded in the forenamed Relation of a *Proprietor*; *supposing the Aptitude of the Subject and the Owner.*

Having proved that God is the *Universal King*, I come to shew his *title* to his *Kingdom*. *Titulus est fundamentum juris.* Soveraignty or *summa potestas*, is *Jus supremi Regiminis.* Where this Right is founded, great ignorance hath made a great controversie, the thing to men that are of competent understandings in such subjects, being most easie and past controversie. God having *made man*, is immediately his *Owner*, because his *maker*. Having *made him a Rational free Agent*, and so *to be Governed*, he hath the *Jus Regendi* by Immediate Resultancy from his Absolute Propriety; supposing the *Nature* of the Creature, and the Perfection of the Creator alone, which so qualifie one to be a *Subject*, and the other to be the *Governour*, that they are as it were the remoter *fundamentum Relationis*. From the *being* of Man *Hoc aliquid à Deo creatum*, resulteth the *propriety* of God: From the *specifick nature of Man*, as a *Rational*, *free*, *sociable Creature*, he is by immediate Resultancy *Gubernandus*: and being such, his Creator, *remotely* for his *Infinite Perfections* and *sole aptitude*, and *proximately*, because he is Mans *absolute Owner*, is by Resultancy his rightfull *Governour*: And that he neglecteth not this his Right, but actually Governeth him, appeareth in the very *making* man such, and *continuing* him such as is made to be Governed, as also in his actual *Laws and Judgements*. This is the true and plain resolution of the Question of the Title of God to his Kingdom, or *fundamentum* of the Relation of Universal King.

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§. 19. *Humane Government is an Ordinance of God, and Humane Governours are his Officers as he is supream: And he hath not left it free to the World, whether they will live in governed Societies, or not.*

That Humane Government is appointed by God, appeareth thus: 1. In that the light of Nature teacheth it all the World. 2. In that God hath put into mans Nature a *necessity* of it, and therefore signified his will concerning it: It is needfull to the very lives of men, and to their highest perfections, order, and attainments. If Parents did not govern Children,

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§. 20. *Therefore as all Rulers receive their Power from him, and hold it in dependance on him, so must they finally use it for him, even for his will and interest, which they must principally intend.*

He that is the Original of Power must needs be the End: He that giveth it to man, doth give it for the accomplishment of his own Will. It is held in pure subordination to him, and so it must be used, or it is abused.

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That is, he giveth no man Right, authority or commission to displease him, by the breaking of his Laws; for that is a contradiction, or chargeth his Laws with contradiction. Yet must not any Subjects make this a pretence to deny any just obedience to their Rulers, or to rebell against them, on supposition that their Government is against God. For as private men are not made Publick Judges of the interest of God, but only private discerners, in order to their own obedience to him; so may that Government be *for God* in the *main*, which is against him in some few particulars.

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(To a King rather than to a Justice of Peace or Constable:) And consequently the greatest sin is against him. If God be above man, so is duty to God, and sin against God, the greatest in both kinds.

Read what is after cited out of Zeno. Laert. in Zen. *saith, that the Stoicks say,* Virtutes sibi invicem esse connexas, ut qui unam habuerit, omnes habeat: esse enim illarum communes speculationes, &c. Qui enim probus est, ea despicere & agere quæ sint agenda: quæ vero facienda sint, ea & eligenda esse, & sustinenda, & distribuenda, & perseveranter tenenda: sequuntur autem prudentiam consiliorum maturitas & intelligentia; temperantiam vero ordinis dexteritas & ornatus; Justitiam autem æquitas & gratitudo: fortitudinemque constantia, atq; valentia. Placet autem eis, nullum inter Virtutem & Vitium esse medium. Quemadmodum enim lignum aut distortum aut rectum oportere esse aiunt, ita justum vel injustum— At virtutem Chrysippus quidem amitti posse, Cleanthes verò non posse ait.

§. 23. *Therefore there is Good and Evil, which respecteth God, and are called* Holiness *and* Sin, *which are incomparably greater, than Good and Evil so called from respect to any Creatures, whether Individuals or Societies.*

Therefore they that know no Good but that which is so called from its respect to mans commodity or benefit, nor no Evil but that which is so called from its respect to the hurt of Creatures, do not know God, nor his Relation to his works; but make Gods of themselves, and accordingly judge of Good and Evil.

§. 24. *The Consciences of men do secretly accuse them, or excuse them, according to this sort of Good or Evil.*

When men have wrangled against Religion never so long, there are very few so blinde and bad, in whom God hath not a resident witness, called *Conscience*, which secretly telleth a man that he doth well or ill, as he keepeth or breaketh the Laws of Nature, and that with respect to the Soveraign Law-giver, and not only to the good or hurt of man. As Conscience doth not accuse a man for being poor or sick, or wronged by another (though about these we may have also inward trouble) so it doth not justifie him for his Prosperity in the World (though it may be laid asleep and quieted by such means). But it is for Morall Good or Evil that Conscience doth accuse or justifie: If I make my self *poor wilfully*, my Conscience will trouble me for the *wilful fault*, and breed in me repentance and remorse: And so it will if I hurt or impoverish my neighbour: But if I hurt my self or neighbour unavoidably without any fault of mine, I am sorry for it, but my Conscience will not accuse or condemn me for it.

§. 25. *This power of Conscience causeth all the World, to praise or dispraise men according to this Moral Good or Evil.*

Mark but the Infidels themselves, or any whom Vice hath turned into Monsters, and they will commend men upon the account of that inward sincerity, and honesty, which God only can make Laws for: and dispraise men for the contrary.

Quæ autem natio non comitatem, non benignitatem, non gratum animum, & beneficii memorem diligit? Quæ superbos, quæ maleficos, quæ crudeles, quæ ingratos non aspernatur, non odit? *Cic. de leg. l. p. 222.*

ry. If you say, that they do this only because such virtues make men fit for humane converse, and profitable or not hurtfull to one another; I answer, we are not enquiring of the *final cause*, but the *formal*: Though they praise sincere and honest men, and those that are loving, compassionate, kinde, and dispraise dissemblers, malicious, and men of hurtfull dispositions, yet you may observe that they speak not of these only as *usefull* or *hurtfull* qualities, but as *morall good* or *evil*; as things that men *ought* or *ought* not to do; which they are *bound to do*, or *not do* by some *obligation*: And what Obligation can make it any mans *duty*, if there be no *Law of God in Nature* for it, when it is out of the reach of the Laws of men. Mark Heathens, and Infidels, and Atheists in their talk, and you shall hear them praise or dispraise men, for some things which intimate a *Divine Obligation*; which sheweth that the *Conscience* of the World beareth witness to the *supream universal Government* of God.

No man who believeth that there is a God, can believe that the actions of his rational creatures have no relation to him; or that the good or evil of them, which is the result of their relation to God, can be of less or lower consideration, than their relation to themselves or one another: Therefore if it be laudable to perform duty to Kings, and Parents, and Neighbours, Conscience will tell the World, that it is incomparably more necessary to perform our duty to God: And it cannot be, that the World should stand related to God, as their Creator, Proprietor, Governour and end, and yet owe him no duty.

Legibus & earum observantiâ exornantur omnia. *Demosth.* Nihil omnino neq; pulchrum neq; decorum reperiri potest; quod non cum lege aliqua communicet. *Id. Orat. 1. cont. Aristo.*

§. 26. *Gods Government (as Mans) consisteth of three parts, Legislation, Judgement, and Execution.*

Without *Laws*, the Subject can neither know his Duty, nor his Rewards and Punishments. Without *Judgement*, *laws* will be uneffectual; and without *execution*, *judgement* is a deceitfull ludicrous thing.

§. 27. *By a Law I mean, An Authoritative Institution what shall be due from and to the Subject for the ends of Government*] Or [*A sign of the Rulers Will instituting what shall be Due to and from the Subject, for the ends of Government.*]

The fuller reasons of this Definition of a Law, I have given in another Writing. *Signum* is the Genus of it; The *will*

will of a Ruler being no otherwise to be known to Subjects, but by *signs*: The Relations of [*Ruler* and *Subjects*] is presupposed: It is therefore only an *Authoritative sign*, or the *sign* of [a *Rulers*] *will*, because a *Ruler* only hath the Power of Government: I say of his [*Will*] as that which is the nearest perfective Efficient, or *Imperant* faculty, including the *understandings* conduct. I call it [*an institution*] or [*instituting sign*] to signifie *its efficiency de debito*, and to distinguish it from [the *judicial decisive determination* of the Ruler.] it is only [*to Subjects*] that this signification is made, he being not a *Ruler* to any others. The product of the *Institution* or *Statutum*, is only *Debitum*, which is the immediate full effect of Laws: This *Debitum* is twofold, 1. *Officii*, what shall be *Due* from the *Subject* (or what shall be the Subjects duty.) 2. What shall *be due to him*, 1. If he *keep the Law*, which is the *Debitum præmii*: 2. If he *break* it, which is the *Debitum pœnæ*: I say [*to the ends of Government.*] For it is a Relation which must have the end in the definition; and seeing I only define a Law *in genere*, I mention but [*the ends* of *Government*] *in genere*: For several Governments have several *ends*: The Government of *single persons only*, as of a *scholar*, *a son*, a *servant*, by a Tutor, Parent, Master, intendeth proximately but the *good* of the *individual subject*: The *mandates* of such Rulers, have the true nature of a *Law*, though it be of the lower sort, as is the Government; And Custom hath appropriated the word [*Law*] to a nobler *species* only. The Government of *Societies* is always immediately for [the *Order* of the *Society*:] But not always for their good; much less *chiefly*: The Government of a society of *Slaves* (as the *Spaniards* over the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans* in digging their Mines) is for the *Order* of those Slaves, but for the *benefit* of the *Lords*. The Government of some Armies, is for the *Order* of the Armies, but for the *good* of those they fight for. The Government of a true *Common-wealth* is for the *Bonum publicum*, the common good, which includeth the happiness of the Rulers with the Subjects. The universal Government of the World, is proximately for the *Order* of the World, and for *its good*, but ultimately and principally for the *fulfilling* and *pleasing the Will of God*, in the said *Order* and *good*, and in the glory or operations of his own Power,

Lex nihil aliud est, quàm recta & à natnine Deorum ratio, imperans honesta, prohibensq; contraria. *Cicero Phil.* 1.

Vitiorum emendatricem legem esse oportet, commendatricemq; virtutum: Ab ea enim vivendi doctrina ducitur. *Cicer.* 1. *de leg.*

Ad salutem Civium, civitatumq; incolumitatem, vitamq; hominum & quietam & beatam, conditæ sunt Leges. *Cicer.* 1. *de leg.*

A majoribus nostris nulla alia de causa leges sunt inventæ, nisi ut suos cives incolumes conservarent. *Cicer. in Vatin.*

Nil est tam aptum ad jus conditionemque naturæ sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus, stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest. Nam & hic Deo pareat, & huic obediunt maria terræq; & hominum vita justis supremæ legis obtemperat. *Cicer. de leg.* 3. *p.* 253, 254.

er, Wisdom, and Goodness therein. (As shall be further proved afterward.)

§. 28. *Any signification of the will of God, that man shall be benefited on condition of his obedience, is the præmiant part of his Law: And any signification of his will, that man shall be punished if he sin (or that punishment shall be his due) is the penal part of his Law.*

If it only foretold that in a way of Physical efficiency, obedience will produce good, and disobedience hurt to himself, this were not properly, præmiant or penal; But when the Good is *promised* upon the *condition* of *obedience*, and the *hurt threatned* upon *condition* of *sin*, as means to move a rational free Agent to obey, this is truly a *præmiant* and *penal* act of Law: And this is fulfilled also in a physical way of production; the Law-giver being also the *Creator* and Disposer of all the World, doth wisely order it, that *Moral good* shall be attended with *Physical good*, and *Moral evil* with *Physical evil*, first or last.

§. 29. *The Immensity (or Omnipresence) the Omnipotency, Omniscience, and infinite goodness of God, with his total Causation in the support of all his Creatures; do most undoubtedly prove his particular Providence, in observing and regarding all the actions of his Subjects in the World; and so declare his actual government.*

Of this read Cicero's 2. lib. de nat. Deor.

It is the gross ignorance of the Divine perfections, which ever made any one question the particular Providence of God as extending to the smallest things and actions. 1. It is proved by his *Immensity* (conceived of as without corporeal extension of parts as before said): He that made and upholdeth all the World, did never make that which is greater than himself, and excludeth his presence. Though being a Spirit he hath not Corporeal quantity, yet analogically and in a way of eminency and transcendency, we must say that he is Greater and Immense: And it is his perfection which denyeth extension and dimensions; and therefore in a nobler kinde he is every where present. And if he be here as certainly as I am, and in a more excellent manner, he cannot but observe all things and actions which are here.

2. He is *Omnipotent* and *Allsufficient*, and therefore as Able to observe and govern every the smallest Thing and

action, as if he had but that one to look after in the world. And I think, if God had but *one man* at all to mind and govern in all the world, the Adversary himself, that now denieth his particular providence, would confess, that God doth observe and regard that one individual. It is mens Atheistical or Blasphemous diminutive thoughts of God, who conceive of him as *finite*, though they call him *infinite*, which is the cause of all such kind of errors.

3. His *Omniscience* infallibly proveth also his particular observance of all things and actions in the world: for *His Knowledge* being his natural perfection is *necessary*: He cannot be *ignorant* of any thing that is. If I had but one thing just before my eyes to see, in the open light, I must needs see it, if it have the necessaries of a visible object, unless I wink. If the Sun's illumination were an act of vision, (as its like it is nothing more ignoble) how easily would it at once discern all that is upon one half of the earth at once? All things are naked and open before the eye of the Omniscient being: He cannot but behold or know them, and therefore observe them and regard them.

4. His Creation, Causation and Manutetency also prove, that he both *knoweth* and regardeth all things: For can he be either ignorant, forgetful or mindless of that which he made, and still doth so conserve, as to continue a kind of Creation of it? His Omnipotent Will which gave it a being, doth still continue it; should he withdraw his active sustentation, it would turn all, not only to confusion but to nothing. And doth he not know and regard what is continually as in his hand, or by continual volition produced or maintained by him? He is the universal Cause of all the agency and motion in the world; in him we Live, Move and Be: and can he be ignorant or regardless of what *he doth?* Why will he make, maintain, and move that which he doth not *regard?*

5. His Relation of *Owner* proveth his regard: all things are his *Own.*

6. And his Relation of a *Governour* proveth his *regard* and his *actual government* of *Man* and all his actions. For he taketh not on him a vain Relation; and he that *maketh Laws* for every person and action, doth *regard* and *govern* every person and action: But so doth God. *Ergo.*

§. 30.

§. 30. *Those who think God doth nothing to all the rest of the world, but by those noblest creatures which are next him, and that he hath committed the government of all the rest of the world to the Intelligences of the first Order; cannot without blindness and contradiction deny, that he is still Himself no less the actual Mover and Governour of all, than if he used no Officer or Instrument at all.*

For 1. God ceased not himself to be Omnipresent, Omniscient, Omnipotent, or most Benign, when he gave that supposed Power to those Instruments. 2. He made them and ordered them under Him, through plenitude of Goodness, delighting to communicate *Power* and *Dignity* as well as *Being* to his Creatures, and not through *impotency* or *insufficiency*, to supply any defect in his *own Government*, and to help him: He useth them to *honour them*, and not to *dishonour himself.* He gave away from himself no degree of Perfection, nor deprived himself of the smallest part of Honour, which he communicateth to them; but honoureth himself in the appearance of his Perfections by the said Communications. As God *can do* that by himself without the Creature, which he causeth the Creature to do; (as to *move, illuminate* and *heat* the lower parts *without* the *Sun* as well as *with it*, or any thing which importeth not impotency or contradiction) for he ceased not to be omnipotent; so that which he doth by any Creature is as truly and fully done by Himself, as if there were no created instrument or cause in it. For that Creature which *is nothing* of it self, and hath not *any Being* but in full dependance on its Maker, can have *no action* of it self, but in full dependance upon him; what ever it doth, it doth by him: though as to the *specifying comparison, why this rather than that*, God hath given *men* a *power* with liberty, yet the Action as an Action, being from the Power which was totally from him, is so it self: There can be no less of God's agency in any action, because he doth it by a Creature, than if he did it without; though there be *more* of the Creatures, there is no *less* of his: His communication of Power is not by discerption, or division and diminution of his own. He that knoweth what a Creator and total first Cause is, needs no other proof of this. *Men* indeed communicate power to their *Officers*, through their own insufficiency,

ciency, to be *their helpers*, and supply the want of their presence or action; but so doth not God. Therefore if Angels or Intelligences govern and move all inferiour things, they are all governed and moved no less certainly, proximately, honourably by God himself, than if he had never used such a subordinate Agent; and that *immediatione essentiæ & virtutis*; *immediately*, though not *so immediately*, as to use no honourary second cause.

Dii, qui quo velint, possint lædere, nec à quodam lædi vicissim, non nocent nisi improbis. *Plut. in Lacon.*

Hanc video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, Legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, neque scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam quod universum mundum regeret imperandi prohibendique sapientiâ. Ita principem Legem illam & ultimam Mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei. *Cic. de Leg. 2. p. 234.*

§. 31. *Justice is an Attribute of God as GOVERNOUR, by which he maketh equal Laws, and giveth all their due according to them; (or judgeth them righteously according to his Laws) for the ends of Government.*

As *Justice* is conceived of in God according to the image in Man, which we call the *Virtue* or *Habit* of Justice, so it is his eternal Nature, being nothing else but the perfection of his infinite Wisdom, and his Will or Goodness, as respecting a Kingdom of Subjects as *possible* and *future*. For he may so be called JUST, that *hath no Kingdom*, because he hath that Virtue which would do *Justice* if he *had a Kingdom*. But as JUSTICE is taken either for the *exercise* of righteous Government, or for the *honourable Relation* and Title of one that *doth so exercise it*; that is, of an *actually Just Governour*, so *formally* and *denominatively* it is an Attribute of God, which is *not Eternal*, but subsequent to his *Relation* of a *King* or *Governour*. He that is not a *Governour*, is not a just *tertii valet argumentum*. *negatione est secundi adjecti ad negationem est*

The Law is *Norma Officii & Judicii*. He that maketh a *Law*, thereby telleth his Subjects, that according to this they must live, and according to this they must be judged. Indeed the immediate sense of the words of a Law, as such, is not to be taken as *de Eventu*, but *de Debito*: He that saith, *Thou shalt not murder*, saith not, [Eventually it shall not *come to pass* that thou shalt not murder] but [It shall be thy Duty not to do it.] And he that saith, [If thou murder thou shalt be put to death] doth *primarily*, in the sense of the *words themselves*, mean no more but [Death shall be thy due.] But in that he declareth that he will *justly* govern according to this Law, therefore he meaneth *secondarily* and consequently, that ordinarily he will give to all their due.

In

In what cases the Letter and nearest sense of a Law may be dispensed with, or the Law-giver reserveth a liberty of dispensation to himself, belongeth not to this place to be disputed.

CHAP. IX.

II. *Of Man's Subjection to God, or Relation to him as our Governour.*

§. 1. *Man being made thus a Rational free Agent, and sociable to be governed, and God being his Rightful Governour, is immediately related* to God *as his Subject, as to* Right *and* Obligation.

There is no Soveraign without a Subject: *Subjection* is our *Relation* to our Governour, or else our *consent* to that Relation. In the former sense we take it here. A Subject is one that is bound to obey another as his Ruler. He that is a Subject by *Right* and *Obligation*, and yet doth not *consent* and actually subject himself to his rightful Governour, is a *Rebel*. There cannot be greater obligations to subjection imagined by a created understanding, than the Rational Creature hath to God.

§. 2. *All men are obliged to consent to this subjection, and to give up themselves absolutely to the government of God.*

God's absolute propriety in us as his creatures, giveth him so full a Title to govern us, that *our consent* is not at all necessary to our *obligation* and subjection-relative; but only to our *actual obedience*, which cannot be performed by one that consenteth not. Therefore God's right and our natural condition are the foundation of our subjection to him, as to *Obligation* and *Duty*; and he that *consenteth* not, sinneth by high Treason against his Soveraign. As God did not ask our *consent* whether he should make us men, so neither whether he should be our Governour and we his Subjects as to obligation: nor yet whether he shall punish the rebellious and disobedient. But he asketh our *consent* to *obey him*, and to be *rewarded* by *him*: for we shall neither be *holy* nor *happy* but by

Seneca Epist. ad Luc. 83. p. (mihi) 711. *saith*, Sic certe vivendum est, tanquam in conspectu vivamus. Sic cogitandum, tanquam aliquis in pectus inspicere posset & potest: Quid enim prodest ab homine aliquid esse secretum. Nihil Deo clausum interest animis nostris, & cogitationibus mediis intervenit.

Diogenes (*in* Laert.) *said to an immodest woman*, Non vereris mulier, ne forte stante post tergum Deo (cuncta enim plena ipso sunt) inhoneste te habeas? Primus est Deorum cultus, Deos credere; deinde reddere illis Majestatem suam: reddere Bonitatem sine qua nulla Majestas est: scire illos esse qui præsident Mundo, qui universa ut sua, temperant, qui humani generis tutelam gerunt. *Idem epist 92.*

by our own *consent*. Those therefore (whom I have confuted in my Treatise of Policy) who say, God is not our King till *we make* him King, nor his Laws obligatory to us till *we consent* to them, speaking *de Debito*, do not reason but rave, and are unworthy of a confutation.

§. 3. *All men therefore are obliged to* subject *their* Understandings *to the revealed Wisdom of God, and their* Wills *to his revealed Will, and to employ all the powers of Soul and Body, and all their possessions, in his most exact obedience.*

Subjection is an *obligation* to *obedience*. Where the Authority and *Subjection* are *absolute* and *unlimited*, there the *obedience* must be absolute and most exact. The *understanding* of our absolute Ruler is the absolute rule of our understandings. No man must set up his conceits against him, nor quarrel with his Government or Laws. If any thing of *His* revelation or prescription seem questionable, unjust or unnecessary to us, it is through our want of *due subjection*, through the arrogancy and enmity of our carnal minds. His *Will, de Debito*, must be the absolute Rule of all our Wills: so much secret exceptions and reserves as we have in our *resignation and subjection*, so much hypocrisie and secret rebellion we have. Our subjective obligation is so full and absolute, and our Ruler so infallible, just and perfect, that it is not possible for any mans obedience to God to be too absolute, exact or full. Nothing can be more certain than that a Creature, subject to the government of his Creator, of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness, doth owe him the most perfect and exact obedience, according to the utmost of his Powers, without any dissent, exception, resistance, unwillingness or neglect.

Nihil mihi videtur frigidius, nihil ineptius, quàm Lex cum prolegomeno: Dic quid me velis fecisse; non disco, sed pareo. *Senec. ep. 95.*

If Mens Laws must have so great authority, much more Gods.

Ex quo intelliges par esse, eos qui pernicios & injusta populis jussa descripserint, cum contra fecerint quod polliciti professique sint, quid vis potius tulisse quàm leges. *Cic. de leg. l. 2. p. 235.*

Multa perniciosa, multa pestifica scisuntur in populis, quæ non magis Legis omen attingunt, quam si latrones, &c. *d. ibid.*

§. 4. *All obedience which Rulers require of their Subjects, or Subjects give to any Governours, must be in full subordination to the government and will of God.*

For all Powers under the absolute Sovereign of the world, are derivative and dependent, and are no more than he hath given: they are *from him*, *under him*, and *for him*; and can no more have any authority *against him*, than a Worm against a King, or than they could have *Being* and *Authority* without him. He that contradicteth this Proposition, must take down God, and Deifie Man, and so defie and conquer Heaven,

Heaven, or else he will never make it good. As for the difficulties that seem to rise by allowing Subjects to prefer God's Authority before their Parents or Princes; it belongeth no more to the clearing of the present subject that I resolve them, than that I resolve such as arise from our allowing Subjects to disobey a Justice or Constable when he is against the King.

Plutarch de Tranquil. Anim. *saith, that it is one of* Aristotle's *sayings, That he that believed as he ought of the gods, should think as well of himself as* Alexander, *who commanded so many m. n. p. 155.*

§. 5. *They that are obliged to such absolute and exact obedience, are obliged to use their utmost diligence to understand God's Laws, which they must obey.*

For no man can obey a Law which he doth not know of, and understand. Subjection includeth an obligation to study our Maker's Laws, so far as we must do them: Indeed those that concern others, we are not so much bound to know (as a Subject to know God's Laws for Kings and Pastors of the Church); but for our *own duty* we cannot do it before we know it. Those that are ignorant of their Maker's Will through unwillingness, contempt or negligence, are *so far* disobedient to his Government.

§. 6. *There are many and great temptations to draw us to disobey our Maker, which every one is bound with greatest vigilancy and constancy to resist.*

He that is bound to *obey*, is certainly bound to resist all temptations to disobedience. For that is far from absolute or true obedience which will fail, if a man be but tempted to disobey. Kings and Parents will not accept of such obedience as this; they will not say, [Be true to me, and honour me, and obey me, till you are tempted to betray me, and to reproach me, and rebel.] He that will be false to God when he is tempted to it, was never true to him. No temptation can bring so much *for sin*, as God giveth us *against it*, nor can offer us so much *gain*, or *honour*, or *pleasure* by it, as he offereth us on condition we obey him. And that the world is full of such temptations, experience putteth past dispute, (of which, more anon.)

Dicebat *Thales*, Homines existimare oportere Deos omnia cernere, deorumque omnia esse plena, & tunc fore omnes Castiores. *Cic. 2. de Leg.*

Athenodorus dicere prudenter solebat, ita cum hominibus homines vivere debere, acsi Deus Retributor bonorum malorumque ultor, omni loco ac tempore actiones nostras intueretur conspiceretur que humanis nostris oculis. *Fulgos. l. 7. c. 2.*

Sic vive cum hominibus tanquam Deus videat: Sic loquere cum Deo tanquam homines audiant *Sen. ep 10.*

§. 7. *No price can be offered by any Creature, which to a Subject of God should seem sufficient to hire him to the smallest sin.*

Sin hath such aggravations (which shall be opened anon) that no gain or pleasure that cometh by it can counterballance. There being no proportion between the Creature

Chilon (in *Laert. p.* 43) inquit, Damnum potius quàm turpe lucrum eligendum, nam id semel tantum dolori esse: hoc semper.

and the Infinite Creator, there can nothing by, or of the Creature be proportionable, or considerable to be put into the ballance against the Creator's Authority and Will. The command of Kings, the winning of Kingdoms, the pleasure of the flesh, the applause of all the world, if they are offered as a price or bait to hire or tempt a man to sin, should weigh no more against the command of God, than a feather in the ballance against a Mountain. All this common reason will attest, however sense and appetite reclaim.

Plus apud bonos pietatis jura quàm omnes opes valent. *Justin. Hist. l.* 3.

§. 8. *No man can reasonably fear lest his true obedience to such a Governour should prove his final detriment or hurt: but if it did, it were nevertheless our duty to obey.*

Because God hath penalties to promote obedience, all Religion is called, The fear of God. Laertius *saith of* Cleanthes, Cum aliquando probro illi daretur, quod esset timidus: At ideo, inquit, parum pecco. *Fear is a preserving cautelous passion, though it make not a good man of it self, but as joyned with Love.*

1. No man can reasonably think, that *God* is *less able* to reward, protect and encourage his subjects in their *duty*, than any *Tempter* whatsoever in their *disobedience*. And no man can think that he is less *wise* to know how to perform it: nor can any think that *Infinite Goodness* is *less disposed* to do good to the good, than any *Tempter* whosoever can be to do good to the evil. These things being all as clear as light it self to the considerate, it must needs follow, that no reason can allow a man to hope to be finally a *gainer* or *saver* by his disobedience to his Maker, or to fear to be a loser by him.

2. But if it were so, obedience would be our duty still: for the *authority* of God, as his *propriety*, is absolute; and he that giveth us power to require the analogical obedience of our Horse or Ox, though it be to *our benefit* only, and *his hurt*, yea though it be in going to the slaughter, if he did so by us could do us no wrong, nor give us any just excuse for our disobedience. For as sweet as life is to us, it is not so much *Ours* in right as *His*, and therefore should be at his disposal.

§. 9. *The breaking of Gods Laws must needs deserve a greater penalty, than the breaking of any Man's Laws, as such.*

The difference of the Rulers and their Authority puts this past all controversie; of which yet I shall say more anon.

§. 10. *What is said of the subjection of Individuals to God, is true of all just Societies as such; the Kingdoms of the world being all under God the universal King, as small parcels of his Kingdom, as particular Corporations are under a humane King.*

Therefore Kings and Kingdoms owe their absolute obedience to God, and may not intend any ultimate end, but the

the pleasing of their universal Soveraign; nor set up any interest against him, or above him, or in coordination with him; nor manage any way of Government, but in dependance on him, as the *Principle* and the *End* of it; nor make any Laws, but such as stand in due subordination to his Laws; nor command any duty but what hath in its order, a true subserviency and conducibility to his pleasure.

CHAP. X.

Of GOD's particular Laws as known in Nature.

THe true nature of a Law I have opened before. It is not necessary that it be *written* nor *spoken*; but that it be in general any apt [*signification of the Will of the Rector to his subjects, instituting what shall be due from them and to them, for the ends of Government.*] Therefore whatsoever is a *signification of Gods will to man, appointing us our duty, and telling us what benefit shall be ours upon the performance, and what loss or hurt shall befall us, if we sin*, is a Law of God.

Though Cicero's *books de legibus, be usually read by us when we are boyes, they are worthy the perusal of the wisest men, and fit for the edification and pleasure of the learned.*

§. 1. A Law *being the* Rectors Instrument *of* Governing, *there can be no Law where there is no Government: And therefore, that which some call*, The eternal Law, is indeed no Law at all; But it is the Principle of all just Laws.

The Eternal Wisdom and Goodness of God (that is, the Perfection of his Nature and Will) as related to a *Possible, or future Kingdom*, is denominated *Justice*: And this *Justice* some call the *Eternal Law*: But it is truly no Law, because it is the will of God in himself, and not as *Rector*; nor is it any *signification* of that *Will*, nor doth it suppose any *governed subjects* in being from Eternity; nor doth it make any duty to any from Eternity: But all the Laws which God maketh *in time*, (and consequently which *men make*, which are just and good) are but the Products of this Eternal Will and Justice.

And whereas some say, that there is an eternall truth in such Axiomes as these [Thou shalt love God above all, and

do as thou would'ſt be done by, and the good ſhould be incouraged, and the bad puniſhed, &c.] I anſwer, God formeth not Propoſitions; And therefore there were no ſuch Propoſitions from Eternity: Nor was there any Creature to love God, or to do Good or Evil, and be the ſubject of ſuch Propoſitions: That Propoſition therefore which *was not* from Eternity, was neither *true* nor *falſe* from Eternity; for *non entis non ſunt accidentia vel modi.* But this is true, that from Eternity there were the *grounds* of the verity of ſuch Propoſitions when they ſhould after be: And that if there had been ſubjects from Eternity for ſuch Propoſitions, and Intellects to frame them, they *would have* been of Eternal truth.

Quod (de magiſtratu loquitur) cum dico legem, a me dici nihil aliud intelligi volo quàm imperium, ſine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, &c. *Ll. de leg. 3. init.*

§. 2. *At the ſame time of his Creation that God made Man his ſubject, he alſo made him ſome Laws, to govern him.*

For, ſubjection being a general obligation to obedience, would ſignifie nothing, if there were no particular duties to be the matter of that obedience. Elſe Man ſhould owe God no obedience, from the beginning, but be Lawleſs; for where there is no Law, there is no Obedience: (Taking a Law in the true comprehenſive ſenſe, as I here do.)

§. 3. *All the objective ſignifications* in natura rerum, within *us or* without *us, of the Will of God, concerning our Duty, reward or puniſhment, are the True Law of Nature, in the primary proper ſenſe.*

§. 4. *Therefore it is falſly defined by all Writers, who make it conſiſt in certain axioms (as ſome ſay) born in us, or written on our hearts from our birth; (as others ſay) diſpoſitively there.*

It is true, that there is in the nature of Mans Soul a certain aptitude to underſtand certain Truths, as ſoon as they are revealed, that is, as ſoon as the very *Natura rerum* is obſerved: And it is true, that this diſpoſition is brought to actual knowledge, as ſoon as the minde comes to actual conſideration of the things. But it is not true that there is any *actual* knowledge of any Principles born in Man: Nor is it true, that the ſaid *Diſpoſition to know* is truly *a Law*; nor yet that the actual knowledge following it, is a Law: But the *diſpoſition* may be called *a Law Metonymically*, as being the aptitude of the facultics to receive and obey a Law; as the Light of the Eye, which

which is the *potentia & diſpoſitio videndi*, may be called [the *Light of the Sun*] but unhanſomly: And the ſubſequent actual knowledge of Principles, may be called the *Law of Nature metonymically*, as being the *perception* of it, and an effect of it: as *actual ſight* may be called, the Light of the Sun, and as *actual knowledge* of the Kings Laws, may be called His *Laws within us*, that is, the effect of them, or the Reception of them: But this is far from propriety of ſpeech.

That the inward axiomes as *known* are not Laws, is evident, 1. Becauſe a Law is *in genere objectivo*, and this is *in genere actionum*: A Law is *in genere ſignorum*; but this is the *diſcerning of the ſign*: A Law is the *will of the Rector ſignified*: this is his will *known*: A Law is *Obligatory*: this is the *perception* of an Obligation. A Law *maketh duty*: but this is the *knowledge* of a *duty made*. 2. The Law is not in our power to change or abrogate: But a mans inward diſpoſitions and perceptions are much in his power, to encreaſe or diminiſh, or obliterate: Every man that is wilfully ſenſual and wicked, may do much to blot out the Law of *Nature*, which is ſaid to be written on his heart; But wickedneſs cannot alter or obliterare the *Law* of God: If this were Gods Law which is upon the heart, when a ſinner hath blotted it out, he is diſobliged from duty and puniſhment: For where there is no Law, there is no duty or tranſgreſſion. But no ſinner can ſo diſoblige himſelf by altering his Makers Laws: 3. Elſe there would be as many Laws of Nature, not only as there are men, but as there are diverſity of perceptions: But Gods Law is not ſo uncertain and multiform a thing. 4. And if Mans *diſpoſition* or *actual knowledge* be Gods Law, it may be alſo called Mans Law: And ſo the Kings Law, ſhould be the Subjects perception of it.

It is therefore moſt evident, that the true Law of Nature is another thing: (And is it not then a matter of admiration, that ſo many ſagacious, accurate Schoolmen, Philoſophers, Lawyers, and Divines, ſhould for ſo long time go on in ſuch falſe definitions of it!) The whole World belongeth to the Law of Nature, ſo far as it *ſignifieth to us* the *will* of God, about our duty, and reward, and puniſhment: The World is as Gods Statute Book: The foreſaid *natural aptitude*, maketh

Omnis lex inventum ſane & donum eſt Deorum & Decretum vero hominum prudentum— *Demoſt. cont. Ariſ. or. 1.*

keth us fit to read and practiſe it. The *Law* of *Nature* is as the external Light of the Sun; and the ſaid *natural diſpoſition*, is as the vitive faculty to make uſe of it. Yet much of the *Law of Nature* is *within us too*: But it is there only *in genere objectivo, & ſigni*: Mans own Nature, his Reaſon, Free will, and Executive power, are the moſt notable *ſigna* of his duty to God; To which all Mercies, Judgements, and other ſignifying means belong.

§. 5. *The way that God doth by Nature oblige us, is by laying ſuch* fundamenta *from which our duty ſhall naturally reſult, as from the ſignification of his Will.*

Communis lex nunquam immutatur, cum ſecundum naturam ſit: jus verò ſcriptum ſæpius. *Arſtot.* 1. *Rhet. ad Theod. c* 4.

§. 6. *Theſe* fundamenta *are ſome of them unalterable (while we have a being,) and ſome of them alterable: And therefore ſome Laws of Nature are alterable, and ſome unalterable accordingly.*

As for inſtance, Man is made a Rational free Agent; and God is unchangeably his Rightfull Governour, of infinite Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs: Therefore the nature of God and Man *(in via)* thus compared are the *fundamentum* from whence conſtantly reſulteth our indiſpenſable *duty* to love him, truſt him, fear him, and obey him: But if our being, or reaſon, or free-will, which are our eſſential Capacities ceaſe, our obligations ceaſe *ceſſante fundamento*. God hath made Man a *ſociable* Creature; and while he is in *ſociety*, the Law of Nature obligeth him to many things, which he hath no obligation to, when the ſociety is diſſolved: As when a Parent, Childe, Wife, or Neighbour dieth, all our duties to them ceaſe. Nature by the poſition of many circumſtances, hath made Inceſt ordinarily a thing producing manifold evils, and a ſin againſt God: And yet *Nature* ſo placed the children of *Adam*, in other circumſtances, that the ſaid *Nature* made that their duty *(to marry one another)* which in others would have been an unnatural thing: Nature forbiddeth Parents to murder their chil-

Diogenes (in *Laert.*) congregatis ad ſe plurimis exprobravit, quod ad inepta ſtudioſè concurrerent; ad ea vero quæ gravia & utilia, negligenter convenirent: Dicebatque de fodiendo & calcitrando certare homines, ut autem boni & probi fierent curare neminem. Muſicos in jus vocabat, quod cum lyræ chordas congruè aptarent, animi mores inconcinnos haberent. Mathematicos carpebat, quod Solem & Lunam & ſydera intuentes, quæ ante pedes erant negligerent. Oratores item, quod ſtuderent juſta dicere, non autem & facere. Avaros quoq; quod pecuniam vituperarent, ac ſummè diligerent: & eos qui juſtos, quod pecunias contemnerent laudabant, pecunioſos verò imitari ſatagebant. Stomachabatur eis qui pro bona valetudine ſacra facerent, inter ſacrificia contra ſanitatem cœnarent. Servos mirabatur, qui cum edaces dominos cernerent, nihil diriperent ciborum.— Dicebat manus ad amicos non complicatis digitis extendi oportere.

dren:

dren: But when God the abſolute Lord of life, would that way try *Abrahams* obedience, when he was ſure that he had a ſupernatural command, even Nature obliged him to obey it. Nature forbiddeth men to rob each other of their proper goods. But when the *Owner* of all things, had given the *Iſraelites* the *Egyptians* goods, and changed the propriety, the *fundamentum* of their former natural obligation ceaſed. Changes *in natura rerum*, which are the *foundation* of our obligation, may make changes in the obligations, which before were natural. But ſo far as *Nature*, that *Nature* which foundeth duty is the ſame, the duty remaineth ſtill the ſame: The contrary would be a plain contradiction.

§. 7. *The* Authoritas Imperantis *is the formall object of all obedience: and ſo all our duty is formally duty to God as our Supream, or to Men as his Officers: But as to the* Material *object, our Natural duties are either,* I. *Towards God:* II. *To our ſelves:* III. *To others.*

§. 8. I. *The prime duties of the Law of Nature are towards God, and are our full conſent to the three Relations, (of which two are mentioned before): To be Gods Rational Creatures, and not obliged to take him heartily for our Abſolute Owner and Ruler, is a Contradiction in Nature.*

§. 9. *Mans Nature being what it is, and Related thus to God, and Gods Nature and Relations being as afore deſcribed, Man is naturally obliged to take God to be what he is in all his Attributes forementioned (*cap. 5.*) and to ſuit his will, and affections to God accordingly: that is, to take him to be omnipotent, omniſcient, and moſt good, moſt faithfull, and moſt juſt, &c. and to believe him, ſeek him, truſt him, love him, fear him, obey him, meditate on him, to honour him, and preferre him before all the World; and this with all our Heart and might, and to take our chiefeſt pleaſure in it.*

All this ſo evidently reſulteth from the Nature of God and Man compared, that I cannot perceive that it needeth proof or illuſtration.

§. 10. *It is a contradiction to Nature, that any of this duty proper to God, may be given to any other, and that any Creature or Idol of our Imagination ſhould be eſteemed, loved, truſted, obeyed, or honoured as God.*

Laertius *ſaith of the* Magi, *that they do* Deorum cultui vacare; ſigna ſtatuaſq; reprehendere; & eorum imprimis qui Mares eſſe Deos & fœminas, dicunt, errores improbare. Signa & ſtatuas ex diſciplinæ inſtituto è medio tuliſſe. Qui & revicturos homines, immortaleſq; futuros, dicunt, & univerſa illorum precationibus conſiſtere. Pleriq; & Judæos ab his duxiſſe originem tradunt. *Laert. pag.* 4, 5, 6.

For that were falſhood in us, injury to God, and abuſe of the Creature.

§. 11. *Nature requireth, that Man having the gift of ſpeech from God, ſhould imploy his Tongue in the Praiſe and ſervice of his Maker.*

This plainly reſulteth, from our own Nature, and the uſe of the Tongue, compared with, or related to Gods Nature and perfections, with his propriety in us, and all that's ours, and his Government of us.

§. 12. *Seeing Man liveth in total dependance upon God, and in continual receivings from him, Nature obligeth him to uſe his heart and tongue in holy deſires expreſs'd and exerciſed in Prayer, and in returning thanks to his great Benefactor, (of which more anon.)*

For though God know all our ſins and wants already, yet the Tongue is fitted to *confeſs* our *ſins*, and to expreſs our deſires: And by *confeſſing* and *expreſſing*, a twofold capacity for mercy accreweth to us: That is, 1. Our own *Humiliation* is excited and increaſed by the ſaid Confeſſions; and our Deſires, and Love, and Hope, excited and increaſed by our own Petitions, (the tongue having a power to reflect back on the heart, and the exerciſe of all good affections being the means of their increaſe.) 2. And a perſon that is found in the actual exerciſe of *Repentance* and holy *Deſire*, and *Love*, is morally, and in point of Juſtice, a much fitter recipient for pardon, and acceptance, and other bleſſings, than another is: And it being proved by Nature, that Prayer, Confeſſion and Thankſgiving, hath ſo much uſefulneſs to our good, and to our further duty, Nature will tell us, that the tongue and heart ſhould be thus imployed. And therefore Nature teacheth all men in the World, that believe there is a God, to confeſs their ſins to him, and call upon him in their diſtreſs, and to give him thanks for their receivings.

§. 13. *Seeing Societies as ſuch are totally dependent upon God, and mens gifts are communicative, and Solemnities are operative: Nature teacheth us, that God ought to be ſolemnly acknowledged, worſhipped, and honoured, both in Families, and in more ſolemn appointed aſſemblies.*

It greatly affecteth our own hearts to praiſe God in great and ſolemn Aſſemblies: Many Hearts are like many pieces of

Pietas eſt ſcientia colendi numinis: inquit *Æmilius in Plutarch.*

of Wood or Coals, which flame up greatly when ſet together, which none of them alone would do. And it is a fuller ſignification of *Honour to God*, when his Creatures do purpoſely aſſemble for his ſolemn and moſt reverent Praiſe and Worſhip. And therefore Nature ſhewing us the reaſons of it, doth make it to be our duty.

§. 14. *Nature telleth us, that it is evil to cheriſh falſe opinions of God, or to propagate ſuch to others; to ſlander or blaſpheme him, to forget him, deſpiſe him, or neglect him, to contemn his Judgements, or abuſe his Mercies; to reſiſt his inſtructions, precepts, or ſanctifying motions: And that we ſhould alwayes live as in his ſight, and to bend all our powers entirely to pleaſe him, and to think and ſpeak no otherwiſe of him, nor otherwiſe behave our ſelves before him, than as beſeemeth us to the infinite, moſt bleſſed, and holy God.*

Nulla Pietas eſt erga Deos, niſi honeſta de numine Deorum ac Mente opinio ſit. *Cicer. pro Planc.*

§. 15. *Nature telleth us, that in Controverſies between Man and Man, it is a rational means for ending ſtrife, to appeal to God the Judge of all, by ſolemn Oaths, where proof is wanting: And that it is a hainous crime to do this falſly, making him the Patron of a lie, or to uſe his name raſhly, unreverently, prophanely, or in vain.*

De Diis ita ut ſunt loquere. *Bias in Laert.*

All this being both againſt the Nature of God, and of our ſpeech, and of humane ſociety, is paſt all doubt unnatural evil.

Equidem is qui de Diis talia commentus eſt, an Philoſophus appellandus ſit neſcio, (inquit *Laert. de Orpheo*, p. 3.) Videant certè qui ita volunt quo ſit cenſendus nomine, qui Diis cuncta hominum vitia, & quæ raro à turpibus quibuſq; & flagitioſis geruntur, adſcribit — Fulmine interiſſe cognoſcitur. *Laert. Proem.*

§. 16. *Nature telleth us, that God ſhould be worſhipped heartily, ſincerely, ſpiritually, and alſo decently and reverently, both with ſoul and body, as being the Lord of both.*

Lege *Laert. de Magis.*

§. 17. *It telleth us alſo, that he muſt not be worſhipped with ſin or cruelty, or by toyiſh, childiſh, ludicrous manner of Worſhip, which ſignifie a minde that is not ſerious, or which tend to breed a low eſteem of him; or which are any way contrary to his Nature, or his will.*

Cicero de nat. Deor. lib. 1. p. 46. *ſaith, That* Poſſidonius *believed that* Epicurus *thought that there was no God; and therefore, not according to his judgement, but in ſcorn, deſcribeth God like a man careleſs, idle, &c. which he would not have done, if he had thought that there was a God indeed.*

§. 18. *Nature telleth us, that ſuch as are endued with an eminent degree of holy wiſdom, ſhould be Teachers of others, for obedience to God, and their ſalvation.*

As the Soul is more worth than the Body, and its welfare more regardable, ſo charity to the Soul is as Natural a duty as to the body: which cannot better be exerciſed, than in communicating holy wiſdom, and inſtructing men in the matters of higheſt everlaſting conſequence.

Impellimur naturâ et prodesse velimus quamplurimis, imprimisque docendo, rationibusque prudentiæ tradendis. Itaque non facile est invenire, qui quod sciat, ipse non tradat alteri. Ita non solum ad discendum propensi sumus, verum etiam ad docendum. *Cic. 2. de fin.*

Descriptionem sacerdotum nullum justæ Religionis genus prætermittit: Nam sunt ad placandos Deos alii constituti, qui sacris præsint solennibus: ad interpretanda alii prædicta vatum; neque multorum ne esset infinitum, neque ut ea ipsa quæ suscepta publicè essent, quisquam extra collegium nosset. *Cic. de leg. l. 2. p. 141.*

Autoritate nutuque legum docemur dominitas habere libidines, coercere omnes cupiditates, nostra tueri, ab alienis mentes, oculos, manus abstinere. *Cic. 1. de Or.*

§. 19. *Yea, Nature teacheth, that so great a work should not be done slightly and occasionaly only, as on the by, but that it should be a work of stated office, which tried men should be regularly called to, for the more sure and universal edification of Mankind.*

Nature telleth us, that the greatest works, of greatest consequence, should be done with the greatest skill and care; and that it is likest to be so done when it is made a *set Office*, intrusted in the hands of tried men: for it is not many that have such extraordinary endowments: and if unfit persons manage so great a work, they will marr it, and miss the end: and that which a man taketh for his *Office*, he is likest to take care of, than that which he thinks belongeth no more to him than others: and how necessary Order is in all matters of weight, the experience of all Governments, Societies and Persons may soon convince us.

§. 20. *Nature telleth us also, that it is the duty of such Teachers to be very diligent, serious, and plain, and of Learners to be thankful, willing, studious, respectful, and rationally-obedient, as remembring the great importance of the work.*

For in vain is the labour of the Teachers, if the Learners will not do their part: the Receiver hath the chief benefit, and therefore the greatest part of the duty, which must do most to the success.

§. 21. *Nature telleth men, that they should not live loosely and ungoverned, but in the order of governed Societies, for the better attainment of the ends of their Creation, (as is proved before.)*

§. 22. *Nature telleth us, that Governours should be the most wise, and pious, and just, and merciful, and diligent, and exemplary, laying out themselves for the publick good, and the pleasing of the universal Sovereign.*

§. 23. *It teacheth us also, that Subjects must be faithful to their Governours, and must honour and obey them, in subordination to God.*

§. 24. *Nature telleth us, that it is the Parents duty, with special love and diligence, to educate their children in the knowledge, fear, and obedience of God, providing for their bodies, but preferring their souls.*

§. 25. *And that children must love, honour and obey their Parents;*

Parents; willingly and thankfully receiving their instructions and commands.

§. 26. *Nature also telleth us, that thus the Relations of Husband and Wife should be sanctified to the highest ends of life, and also the Relation of Master and Servant: and that our callings and labours in the world should be managed in pure obedience to God, and to our ultimate end.*

§. 27. *Nature teacheth all men to love one another, as servants of the same God, and members of the same universal Kingdom, and creatures of the same specifick nature.*

There is somewhat amiable in every man, for there is something of God in every man, and therefore something that it is our duty to love: And that according to the excellency of man's nature, which sheweth more of God than other inferiour creatures do; and also according to their additional virtues. Loveliness commandeth love, and love maketh lovely. This, with all the rest afore-mentioned, are so plain, that to prove them is but to be tedious.

Nihil interest utrum vir bonus sceleſtum spoliaverit, an bonum improbus: nec utrum bonus an malus adulteratus sit: sed lex damni solum spectat dissimilitudinem, utiturque pro paribus, si alter violavit, alter violatus est. *Aristot. Ethic. 5. c. 4.*

Vide *Plutarchi Roman.* quæst. 65.

Temperantia libidinum inimica est. *Cic.*

§. 28. *Nature telleth us, that we should deal justly with all, giving to every one his due, and doing to them as we would be done by.*

When an Adulterer asked Thales *whether he should make a vow? he answered him, Adultery is as bad as perjury: intimating, that he that made no conscience of adultery, would make none of perjury.* Laert. *Cyrus is praised by* Plutarch, de curiosit. *that would not see* Panthæa: *and they are by him reproved that cast a wanton eye at women in coaches as they pass by, and look out at windows to have a full view of them, and yet think that they commit no fault: suffering a curious eye and a wandering mind to slide and run every way.*

§. 29. *Particularly it telleth us, that we must do nothing injuriously against the life, or health, or liberty of our neighbour, but do our best for their preservation and comfort.*

§. 30. *Man being so noble a creature, and his education so necessary to his welfare, and promiscuous unregulated generation tending so manifestly to confusion, ill education, divisions and corruption of mankind, and unbridled exercise of lust tending to the abasement of reason, and corruption of body and mind, Nature telleth us, that carnal copulation should be very strictly regulated, and kept within the bounds of lawful marriage; and that the contract of marriage must be faithfully kept, and no one defile his neighbours bed, nor wrong another's chastity, or their own, in thought, word, or deed.*

This proposition, though Boars understand it not, is proved in the annexed reasons: Nothing would tend more to houshold divisions and ill education, and the utter degenerating and undoing of mankind than ungoverned copulation. No one would know his own children, if lust were not bounded by strict and certain Laws; and then none

would love them, nor provide for them; nor would they have any certain ingenuous education. Women would become most contemptible and miserable, as soon as beauty faded, and lust was satisfied; and so one halfe of mankind made calamitous, and unfitted to educate their own children: and ruine and depravation of nature could not be avoided. They that think their choicest Plants and Flowers fit for the inclosure of a Garden, and carefullest culture, weeding and defence, should not think their children should be educated or planted in the Wilderness. It is not unobservable, that all flying Fowls do know their Mates, and live by couples, and use copulation with no other: and that the Beasts and more terrestrial Fowl do copulate but only so oft as is necessary to generation. And shall Man be worse than Beasts?

§. 31. *Nature bindeth us, not to violate the propriety of our neighbour, in any thing that is his, by fraud, theft, or robbery, or any other means, but to preserve and promote his just commodity as our own.*

Aristotle, Ethic. 4. saith, *Every lie is evil, and to be avoided.*

The Roman *Laws against perjury and false witness and bribery, tell us what nature saith thereabout. Read in* Lamprid. *how vehement* Alexander Severus *was against bribery.*

Fundamentum justitiæ est fides, id est, dictorum conventorumque constantia & veritas. *Cicer.*

§. 32. *Government and Justice being so necessary to the order and welfare of the world, Nature teacheth us that bribery, fraud, false-witness, and all means that pervert Justice must be avoided, and equity promoted among all.*

§. 33. *The Tongue of Man being made to be the Index of his mind, and humane converse being maintained by humane credibility and confidence; Nature telleth us, that Lying is a crime, which is contrary to the nature and societies of Mankind.*

§. 34. *And Nature telleth us, that it is unjust and criminal to slander or injuriously defame our neighbour, by railing, reviling, or malicious reports; and that we ought to be regardful of his honour as of our own.*

§. 35. *Nature telleth us, that, both in obedience to God, the just disposer of all, and for our own quietness and our neighbours peace, we should all be contented with our proper place and the condition and estate, and not to envy the prosperity of our neighbour, nor covetously draw from him to enrich ourselves.*

Because God's will and interest is above our own, and the publick welfare to be preferred before any private persons; and therefore all are to live quietly and contentedly in their proper places, contributing to the common good.

§. 36. *Nature*

§. 36. *Nature teacheth us, that it is our duty to love humane Nature in our enemies, and pity others in their infirmities and miseries, and to forgive all pardonable failings, and not to seek revenge and right our selves by our brothers ruine: but to be charitable to the poor and miserable, and do our best to succour them, and help them out of their distress.*

All these are our undeniable duties to GOD and our Neighbours.

§. 37. *Nature also telleth us, that every man, as a rational lover of himself, should have a special care of his own felicity, and know wherein it doth consist, and use all prudent diligence to attain it, and make it sure.*

§. 38. *Nature telleth us, that it is the duty of all men to keep Reason clear, and their Wills conformable to its right apprehensions, and to keep up a constant Government over their Thoughts, Affections, Passions, Senses, Appetite, Words and Actions, conforming them to our Makers Laws.*

§. 39. *Nature telleth us, that all our Time should be spent to the Ends of our Creation, and all our Mercies improved to those Ends, and all things in the world be estimated by them, and used as Means conducing to them.*

§. 40. *Nature commandeth us to keep our Bodies in sobriety, temperance and chastity, and not be inordinate or irregular in eating, drinking, lust, sleep, idleness, apparel, recreation, or any lower things.*

§. 41. *It commandeth us also watchfully and resolutely to avoid or resist all temptations which would draw us to any of these sins.*

§. 42. *And it teacheth us patiently to bear our crosses, and improve our trials to our benefit, and see that they breed not any sinful distempers in our Minds or Lives.*

De altero temere affirmare periculosum est, propter occultas hominum voluntates multiplicesque naturas. *Cic.*

A man that loved his belly, desiring to be admitted into Cato's *family,* Cato *answered,* Non possum cum tali vivere, cujus palatum plus sapit, quàm cerebrum. *Erasm.*

Nullus mihi per otium dies exit. Partem noctium studiis vendico, non vaco somno sed succumbo. *Senec.*

What mean you to make your prison so strong, said Plato *to one that pampered his body.* Ficin. in vit. Plat.

Vires corporis sunt vires carceris, inquit *Petrarch. l. 1. dial. 5. Cato* homo virtuti simillimus—qui nunquam recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat: cuique id solum visum est rationem habere; quod haberet justitiam. *Velleius Pater. l. 2.*

Magna pars libertatis est, bene moratus venter. *Senec.*

Plato *saith, God is the temperate man's Law, and Pleasure the intemperate man's.*

Temperantia voluptatibus imperat: alias odit atque abigit: alias dispensat & ad sanum modum dirigit: nec unquam ad illas propter ipsas venit. *Sen.*

Scit optimum esse modum cupidorum, non quantum velis, sed quantum debeas sumere. *Senec.*

Animis tenduntur insidiæ——— ab ea quæ penitus in omni sensu implicata insidit imitatrix boni, voluptas, malorum autem mater omnium: cujus blanditiis corrupti, quæ naturâ bona sunt, quia dulcedine hac & scabia carent, non cernimus satis. *Cic. de leg. 1. p. 226.*

§. 43. *And*

Ampliat ætatis spatium sibi vir bonus; hoc est, vivere bis, vitâ posse priore frui. *Martial.*

§. 43. *And Nature telleth us, that this obedient pleasing of our Maker, and holy, righteous, charitable and sober living, should be our greatest pleasure and delight: and that we should thus spend our lives even to the last; waiting patiently in peaceful joyful hopes for the blessed end, which our righteous Governour hath allotted for our reward.*

As a summary of what the light of Nature may teach man, see the Stoicks Ethicks *collected by* Barlaam; *(much of which may be found in* Seneca, *and is confessed and praised by* Cicero, *though he chide them for their* new words *and* schism *) where you will see, that the* Stoicks *were wiser and better men, than the* Epicureans *would have men believe.*

All this is evidently legible in nature, to any man that hath not lost his reason, or refuseth not considerately to use it. And he that will read but *Antonine*, *Epictetus* and *Plutarch*, (who are full of such precepts, that I refer you to the whole Books instead of particular citations) may see, that he who will deny a life of Piety, Justice and Temperance, to be the duty and rectitude of Man, must renounce his reason and natural light, as well as supernatural revelation.

§. 44. *Reason also teacheth us, that when the corruption, sluggishness, or appetite of the flesh, resisteth or draweth back from any of this duty, or tempteth us to any sin, Reason must rebuke it, and hold the reins, and keep its government, and not suffer the flesh to bear it down, and to prevail.*

Oculos vigiliâ fatigatos cadentesque in opere detineo——— Malè mihi esse malo, quam molliter: si mollis es, paulatim effeminatur animus, atque in similitudinem otii sui & pigritiæ, in quâ jacet, solvitur. Dormio minimum, & brevissimo somno utor: satis est mihi vigilare desisse. Aliquando dormisse scio, aliquando suspicor. *Senec.*

CHAP. XI.

III. *Of GOD's Relation to Man as his* BENEFACTOR *and his* END. *Or as his* CHIEF GOOD.

THE Three *Essential Principles* in God, do eminently give out themselves to Man in his Three Divine Relations to us. His *Power*, *Intellect* and *Will*; His *Omnipotency*, *Omniscience* and *Goodness*; in his being our *Owner*, our *Ruler*, and our *Chief Good*. The two first I have considered already; our Omnipotent Lord or Owner, and our most *wise Governour*, and our Counter-relations with the duties thereof. I now come to the third.

For the right understanding whereof, let us a little consider

sider of the *Image of God* in Man, in which we must here see him. It is Man's WILL, which is his ultimate, perfective, imperant faculty; it is the proper subject of Moral habits, and principal agent of Moral acts: And therefore in all Laws and Converse, the WILL is taken for the Man; and nothing is further morally Good or Evil, Virtuous or culpably Vicious, than it is Voluntary. The INTELLECT is but the Director of the WILL: Its actions are not the perfect actions of the Man: If it apprehend bare *Truth* without respect to *Goodness*, its Object is not the highest or felicitating or attractive Object, and therefore the act can be no higher: if it apprehend any Being or Truth as *good*, it apprehendeth it but as a servant or guide to the WILL, to bring it thither to be received by LOVE. The perfect excellency of the object of humane acts is *Goodness*, and not meer *Entity* or *Verity*. Therefore the excellentest faculty is the *Will*: It is *Good* that is the *final-Cause* in the object of all humane acts: Therefore it is the *fruition* of *Good* which is the perfective final Act; and that *fruition* of Good as Good, is, though introductorily by Vision, yet finally and proximately by Complacencies, which is nothing else but *Love* in its most essential act, delighting in its attained object. And for the *executive Power*, though in the order of its natural being, it be before the Will, yet in its operation *ad extra*, it is after it, and commanded by it.

Porro cœli generationis authorem summe Bonum atque excellentissimum (asseruit *Plato*): ejus quippe quod sit in rebus conditis pulcherrimum, eum esse condidorem quem intelligibilium omnium constet esse præstantissimum. Itaque quoniam hujusmodi Deus est, cœlum vero præstantissimo illi simile est, quoniam pulcherrimum cernitur, nulli creaturæ erit similius, quàm Deo soli. *Laert. in Plat.*

Accordingly, while we see God but in this Glass, we must conceive that his Principle of *Understanding* and *Power*, stand in the foresaid order as to his WILL: and his Omnipotence and Omniscience, to that *eminently-moral Goodness*, which is the perfection of his will. (The *natural goodness* of his *Essence* filling all.)

Therefore here note, that this Attribute of God (his GOODNESS) doth make Him *our Chief Good*, in a two-fold respect, both EFFICIENTLY and FINALLY. In some sort it is so with the other Attributes: His *Power* is *Efficiently* the spring of our being and actions; and *finally* and *objectively* it terminateth our submission and our trust. His *Wisdom* is the *principle* of his Laws, and also the *object* and *end* of our enquiries and understandings. But his *Goodness* is the EFFICIENT of all our good in its *perfection* of *causality*, and that

Nihil eſt Deo ſimilius & gratius, quàm vir, animo perfecto bonus, qui hominibus cæteris antecellit, quod ipſe à Diis immortalibus diſtat. *Luc Apul. de Deo Soc.*

END of our Souls, which is commonly called ULTIMATE ULTIMUS. So that to *ſubmit* to his *Power*, and to be *ruled* by his *Wiſdom*, is, as I may ſay, *initially* our end. But to be *pleaſing* to his *good-will*, and to be *pleaſed* in his *good-will*; that is, to *Love Him*, and to be *beloved by Him*, is the abſolute perfection and end of man.

Therefore under this his Attribute of *Goodneſs*, God is to be ſpoken of both as our BENEFACTOR and our END; which is to be indeed our *ſummum bonum*.

§. 1. *Man hath his Being, and all the good which he poſſeſſeth, from God, as the ſole firſt Efficient by Creation.*

§. 2. *Therefore God alone is the Univerſal Grand* BENEFACTOR *of the world, beſides whom they have no other, but meerly ſubordinate to him.*

No creature can give us any thing which is originally its own, having nothing but what it hath received from God: Therefore it is no more to us, but either a gift of God, or a Meſſenger to bring us his gift; they have nothing themſelves but what they have received: nor have we any ſort of Good, either Natural, Moral, of Mind, or Body, or Fortune, or Friends, but what is totally from the Bounty of our Creator, and as totally from him, as if no creature had ever been his inſtrument.

Quis dubitare poteſt mi Lucili, quin Deorum immortalium munus ſit quod vivimus. *Senec.*

Prope Deus eſt, tecum eſt, intus eſt: Ita dico Lucili, ſacer intra nos ſpiritus ſedet, bonorum malorumque noſtrorum obſervator & cuſtos. Hic prout à nobis tractatur, ita & nos tractat ipſe: Bonus verò vir ſine Deo nemo eſt. An poteſt aliquis ſupra formam, niſi ab illo, adjutus exurgere. Ille dat conſilia, magnifica & erecta in unoquoque bono vito. *Senec.*

§. 3. *As God's Goodneſs is that by which he communicateth Being and all Good to all his Creatures, and is his moſt completive Attribute, in point of* Efficiency, *ſo is it that Attribute which is* in genere cauſæ finalis, *the* finis ultimate ultimus *of all his works. God can himſelf have no ultimate end but Himſelf; and his rational creatures can have no other lawful ultimate End: And in Himſelf, it is his* Goodneſs, *which is completely and ultimately that End.*

Here I am to ſhew, I. That God himſelf can have no ultimate end but Himſelf. II. That Man ſhould have no other. III. That God, as in his *Goodneſs*, is *ultimate ultimus*, the End of Man.

I. 1. That which is moſt Beloved of God is his ultimate End: but God Himſelf is moſt beloved of Himſelf: Therefore he is his own ultimate End.

The reaſon of the major Propoſition is, Becauſe to be the *ultimate end*, and to be *maxime amatum*, is all one. *Finis quærentis*

rentis hath reſpect to the Means of attainment, and is that *cujus amore media eliguntur & applicantur*. This God is not capable of, (ſpeaking in propriety) becauſe he never *wanteth* his End. *Finis fruitionis* is that which *amando fruimur*; which we love complacentially in full attainment: And ſo God doth ſtill *enjoy* his end: and to have it in Love is to *enjoy* it.

The Minor is paſt controverſie.

Obj. "But if God have not *finem quærentis*, then in every "inſtant he enjoyeth his end: and if ſo, then he uſeth no "*means* at all: for what need any means be uſed for that "end, which is not ſought but ſtill enjoyed. And conſe-"quently where there is no means there is no end.

Anſw. As *finis* ſignifieth nothing but *effectum, viz. perfectionem operis*, which is but *finis terminativus*; ſo it is not always at preſent attained; and God may be ſaid to uſe means, that is, ſubordinate efficients or inſtruments to accompliſh it. But as it ſignifieth *cauſam finalem*, ſcil. *cujus amore res fit*, ſo far as it may (without all imperfection) be aſcribed to him, he muſt be ſaid continually to *enjoy* it: And yet to uſe means for it, but not as wanting it, but in the ſame inſtant *uſing* and *enjoying*: that is, He conſtantly communicateth himſelf to his creatures, and conſtantly loveth himſelf ſo communicated. He is the firſt efficient and ultimate end, without any interpoſing inſtant of Time, (were Eternity diviſible) but in order of *Nature*, he is the *Efficient* before he is the *End enjoyed*, but not before the End intended. He ſtill ſendeth forth the beams of his own Glory, and ſtill taketh pleaſure in them ſo ſent forth: His *works* may be increaſed and attain perfection, (called *finem operis* by ſome) but his *Complacency* is not increaſed or perfected in his works, but is always perfect: As if the Sun took conſtant pleaſure in its own emitted light and heat, though the effects of both on things below were moſt various. God is ſtill *pleaſed* in that which *ſtill is*, in all his own works, though his works may grow up to more perfection.

Or if any think fit to ſay, that God doth *quærere finem*, and that he may enjoy more of it at one time than another, yet muſt he confeſs, that nothing below the complacency of his own will, in his own emitted beams of Glory, ſhining in his works, is this his ultimate end.

2. That which is the Begining must be the End: But God is the Beginning of all his works: therefore he is the End of all. He himself hath no Beginning or Efficient, and consequently no final cause of himself: but his *works* have himself for the Efficient, and for their End: that is, He that made them, intended in the making of them, that they should be illustrious with his communicated beams of Glory, and thereby *amiable* to his *will*, and should all serve to his complacency.

If the End were lower than the Beginning, there would be no proportion; and the Agent would sink down below himself.

3. If any thing besides God were his ultimate End, it must thereby be in part Deified, or his actions debased by the lowness of the End: but these are impossibilities. The Actions are no nobler than their End: and the End is more noble than the *Means* as such.

4. The ultimate End is the most amiable and delectable: The Creature is not to God the most amiable and delectable: Therefore the Creature is not his ultimate end. The first Argument was from the Act, this from the Object.

5. The ultimate end is that in which the Agent doth finally acquiesce: God doth not finally acquiesce in any creature. Therefore no creature is his ultimate end.

That the finis cui *is properly the ultimate end, and the* finis cujus *is subordinate to it,* Cicero *sheweth in* Piso's *speech,* l. 5. de finib. p. 188. In nobis ipsis ne intelligi quidem, ut propter aliam quampiam rem, verbi gratiâ, propter voluptatem, nos amemus. Propter nos enim illam, non propter eam nosmet-ipsos diligimus. Quid est quod magis perspicuum est, non modo earum sibi quemque, verum etiam vehementer earum.

6. That which is God's ultimate End is loved simply for it self, and not as a means to any higher end: The Creature is not loved by him simply for it self, but as a means to a higher end, (*viz.* his complacency in his glory shining in it): *Ergo*, it is not his ultimate end. The ultimate end hath no end; but the creatures have an end, *viz.* the complacency of God in his glory shining in the creature.

Obj. "But you confound the final Object and the final Act: "God's complacency of love is his final Act, but our enquiry is of the final Object.

Answ. The *finis cui*, or *personal end* is most properly the ultimate, he for whose sake, or for whom the thing is done: But this is God only, and therein he is both the act and object. He that did *velle creaturas*, did *velle eas ad complacentiam propriæ voluntatis*. The question is not of the *actus complacentiæ*, but of the *actus creandi vel volendi creaturarum existentiam*:

tiam: which he doth *propter voluntatis impletionem, & inde complacentiam*; which is the final act, and the final object of the creating act; But for the *actus complacentiæ* it is not *actus intentionis* but *fruitionis*; and therefore hath no end, above it self: And the final object of that Complacency, is not the Creature it self, but the Impletion of the Divine will in the Creature; yea, the Image of his Omnipotency, Wisdom and Goodness shining in the Creation, is not loved *propter se*, ultimately; but for the sake of that *Divine Essence* and Perfection of which it is the Image: (as we love the Image of our friend for his sake;) so that when all is done, God himself is his own end in all his works, so farr as (very improperly) he may be said to *intend an end.*

Or if you could prove the Creature to be the *Objectum finale*, that proveth him not to be properly the *finis ultimus*: For that is a difference between Mans agency and Gods: Man is an Agent made and acting for his final Object, and more ignoble than his Object (as the eye of a Flie that beholdeth the Sun): But God is an Agent more noble than the Object, who gave the Object it self its being, and made it of nothing, for himself; and so the Object is *for his* final Act.

"*Obj.* But God being Perfect needeth nothing, nor can "receive any addition of perfection or blessedness; and there- "fore it is not any addition of Good to himself which he "intendeth in the Creation, and consequently it is his ul- "timate end to do the Creature good.

Answ. All the antecedent part is granted, and is anon to be further asserted: But the last consequence is denyed; because there is no other end beside the addition of Good to himself, which God may intend, so farr as he may be said to *intend an end.* He doth all the Good to the Creature which it receiveth, but not ultimately for the Creatures sake.

II. That *man* should have no ultimate End but God, (that is, *ultimate ultimus* as its called) is proved in what is said: and the fuller opening of it, belongeth to the next Chapter.

III. It is God in all his Perfections, Omnipotency, Wisdom and Goodness, that is mans *ultimate end*; but it is the *last* which supposeth both the other, and to which mans *will*,

which must perform the *most perfect final* act, is most fully suited: And therefore is in a special sort, our ultimate end. The Omnipotency of God, is truly the *efficient*, *dirigent* and *final* Cause of all things, but it is most eminent in *Efficiency*: The *Wisdom* of God is truly the *efficient*, *dirigent* and *final cause* of all things: but *it* is most eminent in Direction and Government: The *Goodness* of God is truly the *efficient*, *dirigent* and *final cause*: But *it* is most eminent in being the *perfective efficient*, and *final Cause*.

§. 4. *Gods ultimate end in Creation and Providence, is not any supply or addition of Perfection or Blessedness in himself; as being absolutely perfect in himself, and capable of no addition.*

But those who think that God doth produce all things *ex necessitate naturæ* from Eternity, say, that as the Tree is not perfect without its *fruits*, so neither is God without his *works*: They say with *Bulbus* in *Cicero*, and other *Stoicks*, that the *World* is the *most excellent Being*; and that God is but the *soul* of the *World*: and though the Soul be a *compleat soul* if it had no body, yet it is not a *compleat Man*: and as the *Tree* is compleat *in genere causæ* without the fruit, yet not as a *Totum* containing those effects *ab essentia* which are its *Part* and *End*: So say they, God may be perfect without the World, as he is only the Soul and part of the World; but he is not a *compleat world*, nor *in toto*.

Answ. 1. That God is not the soul or constitutive cause of the World, but somewhat much greater, is proved before*: And also that it was not from Eternity; and consequently that he created it not by *naturall necessity*: The foundation therefore being overthrown, the building falleth. Those that hold the forcsaid opinion must hold, that God is in point of duration, an eternall *efficient*, *matter*, *form* and *end*; and that in order of Nature, he is first an *Efficient principle* causing *matter*, and secondly, he is an *efficient with matter*, and in the third instant he is the *form* of the effected matter, and in the fourth instant he is the *end* of his operations herein. And if you call the *efficient Principle* only by the name of God, then you grant what I prove and you seemed to deny: But if he be not God as the meer *efficient* and *end*, but also as the *matter*; then you make every stone, and Serpent, and every thief and murderer, and devil, to be part of God, and

* *Chap.* 4.

and make him the subject of all the sin and evil, all the weakness, folly and mutations which be in the World: (with the other absurdities before mentioned). And if you say, that he is *God*, as *efficient*, *form*, and *end*, and not as *matter*, then you contradict your self, because the *form* and *matter* are parts of the same *being*: And whether you call him *God* as the *form* only (and so make him but part of Being, and consequently imperfect, and consequently not God) or as *matter* and *form* also, and so make him a *compounded being*, still you make him imperfect, in denying his simplicity or unity, and as guilty of all the imperfections of matter, and of composition: And you make one part of God more imperfect than the rest, as being but an effect of it. All which are inconsistent with the nature of God, and with the nature of Man and every Creature, who is hereby made a part of God.

2. If this had been true of the *World* as consisting of its *constitutive* causes, that it is *God* in *perfection*, and eternal, *&c.* yet it could not be true of the daily-generated and perishing beings. There are millions of men and other animals, that lately *were not*, *what they are*: Therefore as such they were no eternall parts of God, because as such they were not eternall: Therefore if God brought them forth for his own Perfection, it would follow that he was before imperfect, and consequently not God; and that his Perfections are mutable and perishing. Therefore at least some other cause of *these* must be found out.

Quid enim est aliud natura quàm Deus? & divina ratio? toti mundo partibusque ejus insita? Ergo nihil agis ingratissime mortalium, qui te negas Deo debere, sed naturæ; quia nihil natura fine Deo est, nec Deus sine natura, sed idem est uterq; nec distat officio. *Senec. de Benefic.*

And as for the similitudes in the objection, I answer; 1. That the fructifying of a Tree is an act of Generation; and the ends of it are partly the use (for food) to superiour sensitive Creatures, especially man; and partly the propagation of its species, because it is mortall. *Fructification* is indeed its *perfection*, but that is because it is not made for it self, but for another. *Sic vos non vobis*, may be written upon all. But God is neither *mortall* needing a propagation of the species, nor is he subservient to any other, and finally for its use.

Leg. *Æneam. Gazeum de Anima* 3. *P.* T. 2. *Gr. lat. p.* 385, 386, *&c.*

And as for the *Soul*, it made not the *matter* of its own body, but found it made, though in the formation of it, it might be so efficient *as domicilium sibi fabricare*. But God made

made all *matter* of nothing, and gave the World whatsoever it is or hath; And therefore was Perfect himself before: For an imperfect being could never have been the cause of such a frame: Therefore he needed no *domicilium* for himself, nor as an imperfect Part (a form) to concurr to the constitution of a *whole*. But he is the *efficient, dirigent* and *final* cause of the World and all things, but not the *constituent* or *essential*; for then the Creature and Creator were all one, and God debased, and the Creature deified: But he is to them a *supra-essential cause*; even more than a *form* and *soul*, while he is a *total efficient* of all.

3. If all that is in the Objection had been proved, it would not at all shake the main design of my present discourse; which is to prove that God is our *Grand Benefactor* and *Chief Good!* and that he is *mans ultimate end*. For if the *World* were his Body, and he both its *Efficient* and its Soul, he would be the cause of all its Good; and the Cause would be more excellent than the Effect: And if our Souls that never made the matter of our Bodies, are yet the noblest part of us, and far more excellent than the Body; much more would God that made or caused all the Matter and Order in the World, be more excellent than that World which he effected: And as the Soul is not for the Body as its ultimate end, (though it be the Life of the Body, and its great Benefactor,) but the Body is finally more for the Soul, though the *Soul* need not the Body, so much as the Body needeth the Soul; and as the Horse is *finally* for the Rider, and not the Rider for the Horse; though the Horse needeth his Master more than the Master doth the Horse; (for the Horses life is preserved by the Master, when the Master is but accommodated in his Journey by his Horse;) Even so, though the World need God, and he needeth not the World, and God giveth being and life to the World, which can give nothing at all to him, yet the World is finally for God, and not God for the World. The noblest and first Being is still the End.

And the *generated* part of the World, which is not formally eternal, but doth *oriri & interire*, is it that our dispute doth most concern: which the Objection doth no whit invalidate.

§. 5. *The*

§. 5. *The same* Will of God *which was the free efficient, is the End of all his Works* ad extra.

Gods Essence hath no *Efficient* or *final Cause*, but is the efficient and *final* cause of all things else: They proceeded from his Power, his Wisdom and his *good-will*; and they bear the Image of his Power, Wisdom, and Good-will; and he loveth his own *Image* in them, and loveth them as they bear his Image; and loveth his Image for Himself. So that the act of his *Love* to *Himself* is *necessary*, though *voluntary*; and so is the act of his *Love* to his *Image*, and to all the Goodness of the Creature, while it is such: But he *freely* and not *necessarily* made and continueth the Creature in his Image; and needeth not the *Glass* or *Image*, (being self-sufficient) so that his *Creature* is the *mediate Object*, his *Image* on the Creature is the *ultimate created* Object; his own *perfections* to which that *Image* relateth, is the *objectum simpliciter ultimatum*; his *complacency* or *love* is the *Actus ultimus*; and that very act is the *object* of his precedent act of Creation, or volition of the Creatures: But all this is spoken according to the narrow imperfect capacity of man, who conceiveth of God as having a *prius & posterius* in his acts, which is but respectively and denominatively from the order of the objects. In short, *Gods free-will* is the *Beginning* of his works *ad extra*; and the *complacency* of *that will* in his *works as Good* in relation to his own *perfections*, is the END: And therefore he is said to *Rest* when he saw that all his works were *Good*.

§. 6. *Whatsoever is the fullest expression, and Glorifying demonstration of God in the Creature, must needs be the chief created excellency.*

Because he loveth Himself first, and the Creature for Himself: And seeing the Creature hath all from him which is good and amiable in it, it must needs follow, that those parts are most amiable and best, which have most of the impression of the Creators excellencies on them. Not that he hath greater Perfections to imprint on one Creature than another, but the impression of those Perfections, is much greater on one, than on another.

§. 7. *The Happier therefore God will make any Creature, the more will he communicate to it of the Image and demonstration*

Goodness *signifieth more than* utility *or Pleasure to our selves: As when we call a Man, a good Man, a good Scholar, a good Judge, &c. And so doth evil signifie on the contrary.*

Bonum est quod sui ipsius gratiâ expetendum est. *Aristot. Rhet.* 1.

Bonum omnis originis & ortûs finis est. *Id. Metaph. l.* α. *c.* 3.

Maximum Bonum maxime semper expetendum. *Aristot.* 1. *Eth. c.* 7. Duplex bonum est: alterum quod absolute & per se bonum sit; alterum quod alicui bono sit & usui. *Arist. Eth. l.* 7. *c.* 12.

Veteres probe summum bonum definierunt, id ad quod omnia referuntur. *Arist. Eth.* 1. *c.* 1.

It is a saying of Pliny's, *that as Pearls though they lie in the bottom of the Sea, are yet much neerer kin to Heaven, as their splendour and excellency sheweth; so a godly and generous soul, hath more dependance on Heaven, whence it cometh, than on earth where it abideth.*

ſtration of his own goodneſs, and ſo will both love it the more, for his own Image, and cauſe it to love *him the more, which is the chief part of his Image.*

§. 8. *The* Goodneſs *of God is conceived of by our narrow mindes, in three notions, as it were in three degrees of altitude: The Higheſt is, The infinite perfections of his Eſſence as ſuch: The ſecond is, The infinite perfection of his* Will *as ſuch, which is called His Holineſs, and the Fountain of Morality; The third is that* one part of his Wills perfection, *which is his* Benignity *to his Creatures, which we call his Goodneſs in a lower notion, as relative to our ſelves, becauſe he is inclined by it to* Do us good: *This is his Goodneſs in condeſcention.*

§. 9. *Though all this is but one in God, yet becauſe our mindes are fain to receive it as in ſeveral parts or notions, we may therefore not only* diſtinguiſh *them, but* compare *them, as the Objects of our Love.*

§. 10. *Man uſually beginneth at the loweſt, and loveth God firſt, for his Benignity and Love to us, before he riſeth to the higher acts.*

And this is not an irregular motion of a lapſed Soul, in its return to God, ſo be it we make haſte in our aſcent, and make no ſtay in theſe lower acts; otherwiſe it will be privatively ſinfull.

§. 11. *Therefore God multiplyeth Mercies upon Man, that he might facilitate this firſt act of Love by gratitude.*

Not that theſe Mercies being good to our ſelves, ſhould lead us to love God ultimately for our ſelves; But they ſhould help us firſt to love him *for our ſelves*, as the immediate paſſage to a higher act of Love, with which we muſt love Him in and for Himſelf, and our ſelves *for* Him.

§. 12. *Therefore God hath planted into our Natures the Principle of ſelf-love, that it might ſuit our Natures to the* Mercies *of God, and make them* ſweet *to us: Not that we ſhould ariſe to no higher an eſteem of them, but that this ſweetneſs in them which reſpecteth our ſelves, and is reliſhed by ſelf-love, ſhould lead us to the Fountain of perfect Goodneſs from which they flow.*

Our very ſenſes and appetites are given us to this end, not that we ſhould judge by no higher faculties, but that the delights of the patible or ſenſible qualities in the Creatures, by

by affecting the ſenſe, might preſently repreſent to the higher faculties, the ſweetneſſes of Infinite Goodneſs to the Soul; and ſo we might by all aſcend to God.

§. 13. *Thoſe mercies therefore are the greateſt, which reveal moſt of God, with the leaſt impediments of our aſcent unto him:*

§. 14. *Therefore his Love moſt revealed and communicated, and his perfect Goodneſs moſt manifeſted to the Soul, is the Greateſt Mercy; and all corporal Mercies are to be eſtimated and deſired but as they ſubſerve and conduce to theſe, and not as they are pleaſing to our fleſh or ſenſes.*

§. 15. *The Perfect Goodneſs of the Will of God, though it contain Benignity, and Mercy, yet is not to be* meaſured *by the good which he doth to us our ſelves, or to any* Creature; *But its higheſt excellency conſiſteth in its Eſſential Perfection, and the Perfect Love that God hath to himſelf, and in the conformity of his* Will *to his moſt perfect* Wiſdom, *which knoweth what is to be willed* ad extra; *and in his complacency in all that is good as ſuch.*

When ſelf-love ſo far blindeth us, as to make our Intereſt the Standard to judge of the goodneſs of God, we do but ſhew that we are fallen from God unto our ſelves, and that we are ſetting up our ſelves above him, and debaſing him below our ſelves: As if we and our Happineſs were that ultimate end, and he and his Goodneſs were the *Means*, and had no other Goodneſs but that *of a means* to us and our ſelicity! If he made us, he muſt needs have abſolute Propriety in us, and made us for *himſelf*: To meaſure his Goodneſs by our own Intereſt, is more unwiſe than to meaſure the Sea in our hand, or the Sun and all the Orbs by our ſpan. And to meaſure it by the Intereſt of the *Univerſe*, is to judge of that which is *infinite*, by that which is finite; betwixt which there is no proportion. As God is infinitely Better than the World, ſo he is infinitely more Amiable, and therefore muſt Infinitely more Love himſelf than all the World; and therefore ſo to do, is Infinite excellency and Perfection in his Will. But the out-going of his *Will* to the Creature, by way of *cauſative volition*, is *free*; and conducted by that *Wiſdom*, which knoweth what is fit, and what degrees of Communication are moſt eligible to God.

Bonum ſummum eſt animi operatio ſecundum virtutem optimam & perfectiſſimam in vitâ perfectâ. *Ariſtot. Ethic.* 1. Tria ſunt genera bonorum; maxima animi, ſecunda corporis; externa tertia: *Cicero* 3. *Tuſcul.* Nihil bonum niſi quod honeſtum; nihil malum niſi quod turpe. *Cicero. Attil.* 10.

If a man muſt love his Country better than himſelf, then God much more: And then ſelf *is not to be the higheſt in our Love.* Reſpublica nomen univerſæ civitatis eſt, pro qua mori, & cui nos totos dare, & in qua omnia noſtra ponere, & quaſi conſecrare debemus. *Cicer.* 2. *de leg.* Laudandus eſt is qui mortem oppetit pro Republica, qui docet patriam eſſe charioremnobis, quam noſmetipſos: Eſtq; illa vox inhumana & ſcelerata eorum, qui negant ſe recuſare, quo minus ipſis mortuis terrarum omnium deflagratio conſequatur. *Cicer.* 3 *de finib.*

God is Perfect without his Works: He had wanted nothing if he had never made them. He will not herein do all that he is simply Able to do, but all that his *Wisdom* seeth fitteſt to be done. He was as Good before he made the World as ſince; And thoſe that think he cauſed it eternally, muſt confeſs him in order of *Nature* to be firſt perfect in Himſelf, and to have more Goodneſs than all which he communicateth to the World. He was as Good before this preſent generation of men on Earth had any being! He is as good before he bringeth us to the Heavenly Glory, as he will be after; though before he did not ſo much good to us. It is no diminution of his Goodneſs, to ſay, that he made millions of Toads, and Flies, and Spiders, whom he could have made men if he had pleaſed; or to ſay, that he made millions of Men, whom he could have made Angels; nor that he made not every Clod or Stone a Starr or Sun: nor that he ſuffereth men to be tormented by each others cruelty, or by ſuch diſeaſes as the Stone and Strangury, Convulſions, Epilepſies, &c. nor that men at laſt muſt die, and their bodies rot and turn to duſt. That theſe things *are done*, is paſt diſpute: And that *God is good* is paſt diſpute: And therefore that all this is *conſiſtent* with this Goodneſs, is paſt diſpute: and conſequently that his goodneſs is not to be meaſured by ſo low a thing as humane or any Creature Intereſt.

It was the erroneous reaſoning of the Philoſophers, to prove the World eternall, that Optimam & Pulchrum, *God and the World muſt be inſeparable; and ſo to conclude the Being of that, which their fancies think beſt to be;* (*as* Ammonius *argueth with* Zachar. Mytilen.): *whereby they might as well prove* (*as* Zach. *telleth* Ammon.) *that* Plato *and* Ariſtotle *were from eternity, and muſt never die. It is fooliſh to reaſon againſt ſenſe and experience, or to deny that which is, becauſe we think that it ſhould be otherwiſe.*

If you ſay, that all this is hurtfull to the *Individuals*, but not to the *Univerſe*; to which it is better that there be a mixture of evil with good, than that every part had a perfection in it ſelf: I anſwer:

1. It ſeemeth then that the good which you meaſure Gods goodneſs by, is not the Intereſt of any individual Creature, at leaſt that is in this lower World. For you confeſs, that the good which would make it Happy, is given to it limitedly, and with mixtures of permitted or inflicted evil; and that God could have given them more of that goodneſs, if he would: God could have freed them from pain and miſery; yea, and have given the ignorant more knowledge, and honeſty, and grace. So that it is not *our intereſt* that is the meaſure of his goodneſs: And if ſo, what is it that you call the *Univerſal intereſt*. Surely, the *univerſality*

ality of *Rational* creatures, hath no being but in the Individuals; and if it be not the welfare of the Individuals, which is the Meaſure, then is it not any intereſt or welfare o the *Univerſe*, which is of the ſame kind: and for the *inſenſible* creatures, they feel neither good nor hurt; and therefore by your Meaſure ſhould be none of the Univerſe, whoſe intereſt is the Meaſure. Therefore it muſt be ſomewhat above the ſenſible intereſt of any or all the Individuals, which you call the *Bonum Univerſitatis*: and that can be nothing elſe but that *ſtate* and *order* of the *Univerſe*, in which it is conform to the Idea of the Divine Intellect, and to the Volition of the Divine Will, and ſo is fitteſt for him to take complacency in, as being the meaſure and reaſons of his own volitions and operations, which he fetcheth not *aliunde*; or at leaſt which are unknown to ſuch as we. No doubt but it is more for the happineſs of the Individuals, that every Duſt, and Stone, and Fly, and Beaſt, and Man were an Angel: but it is not ſo.

2. And ſurely they that believe the evil of ſin, and that God could have kept it out of the world, and ſaved the Individuals from it, will confeſs, that man's intereſt is not the Meaſure of God's goodneſs; eſpecially conſidering what conſequents alſo follow ſin, both here and hereafter.

3. And as to this lower part of the *Univerſe*, how many Nations of the Earth are drown'd in woful ignorance and ungodlineſs: how few are the wiſe, and good, and peaceable? When God could have ſent them Learning, and Teachers, and Means of Reformation, and have bleſſed all this Means to their deliverance. So that the far greater part of this lower world hath not ſo much good as God could give them; and the infirmities of the beſt do cauſe their dolorous complaints.

It is certain that God is infinitely good, and that all his works alſo are good in their degree: but withall it is certain, that God in himſelf is the *Simple Primitive Good*, and that *created goodneſs* principally conſiſteth in a conformity to his Will, which is the ſtandard and meaſure of it.

§. 16. God as conſidered in the Infinite Perfections of his Nature and his Will, is moſt Amiable, and the object of our higheſt love.

§. 17. But he is not known by us in thoſe Perfections, as

Cotta adds Velleius, that Epicurus by ascribing evil to the ignorance of Men, took away common Religion: Quid enim cuiquam Deo ad hominibus consulto dicar, cum Dii non modo homines non colant, sed omnino nihil curent, nihil agant? At est eorum quædam præstantia naturæ, ut ea deberet ipsa per se ad se colendam elicere sapientem. (This reason is not denied, but the goodness of God's Nature proved by his doing good.) — Quæ porro pietas esse deberet, si nonnihil acciperet? aut quid ornari ea, cui nullum meritum tribui deberet posset? Est enim Pietas Justitia adversus Deos: cum quibus quid potest nobis esse juris, cum homini nulla cum Deo sit communitas? sanctitas est scientia colendorum Deorum: quæ quoniam cadere in Deum non potest, nec accipere ab eo, nec præstare homini quidquam debet. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 32.*

for in themselves immediately, but as demonstrated and glorified expressively in his works, in which he shineth to us in his goodness.

§. 18. *His works therefore are made for the apt revealing of himself as amiable to the intelligent part of his Creation.*

They are the Book in which he hath appointed us to read, and the Glass in which he hath appointed us with admiration to behold the Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Creator; and in which we may see, that he is not only our *Chief Benefactor*, but the *Ultimate Objecti* of our *Love*, and so the End of all our Motions.

§. 19. *This third Relation of God to us as our* Chief Good, efficiently *and* finally, *is the highest and most perfective to us, but is not separated from the former two, but they are all mariage-fly conjunct, and concur in the production of most of the subsequent effects of Gods providence.*

As the Elements are conjunct, but not confounded in mixed bodies, and in themselves, are easily to be *distinguished*, where they are not *divided*, and their *effects* sometimes also distinct, but *usually* mix'd as are the causes; so is it in the case of these three Great Relations: though God's *Propriety* extend further than his *Government*; because Inanimates and Brutes are capable of one, and not of the other; yet as to the Rational Creatures, they are in reality of the same extent. God is as to *Right* the Owner and the Ruler of all the world, and also their real *Benefactor*, and *quoad debitum* their ultimate end. But as to *consent*, on their parts, none but the godly give up themselves to him in any one of these Relations. In order of Nature, God is first our *Owner*, and then our Ruler, and our chief Good or End. His work in the first Relation, is Arbitrary Disposal of us; his work in the second is to Govern us; and in the third, Attraction and Felicitating. But he so Disposeth of us, as never to cross his rules of Government; and so governeth us, as never to cross his absolute Propriety; and attracteth and felicitateth us in concent with his Premiant act of Government; and all sweetly and wonderfully conspire the perfection of his works.

§. 20. *All these Relations are oft summed up in one name, which principally importeth the last, which is the perfective Relation,*

lation, but truly includeth both the former: and that is, That GOD *is Our* FATHER.

As the Rational Soul doth ever include the Sensitive and Vegetative Faculties, so doth God's *Fatherly* Relation to us include his *Dominion* and *Government*. A *Father* is thus a kind of *Image* of God in this Relation: For, 1. he hath a certain *Propriety* in his children. 2. He is by nature their *rightful Governour*. 3. He is their *Benefactor*, (for they are beholden to him for their being and well-being) Nature causeth him to love them, and bindeth them again to love him. And the Title [*OUR FATHER which art in Heaven*] includeth all these Divine Relations to us, but specially expresseth the Love and Graciousness of God to us.

Obj. *But I must go against the sense of most of the world, if I take God to be infinitely or perfectly good: for* operari sequitur esse: *He that is* perfectly good, *will perfectly do good. But do we not see and feel what you said before. The world is but as a wilderness, and the life of man a misery! We come into the world in weakness, and in a case in which we cannot help our selves, but are a pity and trouble to others: we are their trouble that breed us and bring us up: we are vexed with unsatisfied desires, with troubling passions, with tormenting pains, and languishing weakness, and enemies malice, with poverty and care; with losses and crosses, and shame and grief, with hard labour and studies, with the injuries and spectacles of a Bedlam world, and with fears of death, and death at last! Our enemies are our trouble, our friends are our trouble: our Rulers are our trouble, and our inferiours, children and servants are our trouble: our possessions are our trouble, and so are our wants. And is all this the effect of* perfect Goodness? *And the poor Bruits seem more miserable than we! they labour, and hunger, and die at last to serve our will! we beat them, use them and abuse them at our pleasure! And all the Inanimates have no sense of any good! and which is worst of all, the world is like a Dungeon of ignorance, like an Hospital of mad-men for folly and distractedness, like a band of Robbers for injury and violence, like Tygers for cruelty, like snarling Dogs for contention, and, in a word, like Hell for wicked-*

Epicurus verò ex animis hominum extraxit radicitus Religionem, cum Dis immortalibus & Opem & Gratiam sustulerit. Cum enim & præstantissimam naturam Dei dicat esse, negat idem esse in Deo gratiam: tollit id quod maximè proprium est optimæ præstantissimæq, naturæ. *Id. ibid. p. 33, 34.*

Quæ enim potest esse sanctitas, si Dii humanæ non curant. *Id ibid.*

Ultimam istam caliditatem hominibus Dii ne dedissent: quæ perpauci bene utuntur; qui tamen ipsi à male utentibus opprimuntur; innumerabiles autem improbè utuntur: ut donum hoc divinum Rationis & consilii, ad fraudem hominibus non ad bonitatem, impertitum esse videatur: sed urgetis, hominum esse istam culpam, non Deorum — *Resp.* At, si medicus sciat eum ægrotum, qui jussus est vinum sumere, meracius sumpturum statimque periturum, magna sit in culpa sic vestra ista providentia reprehendenda, quæ rationem dederit

iis, quos sciverit ea perverse & improbe usuros. Non intelligo quid interfit, utrum nemo sit sapiens, an nemo esse possit. Debebant Dii quidem omnes bonos efficere, siquidem hominum generi consulebant; sin id minus, bonis quidem consulere debebant. *Cotta in Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. p. 105, 106.*

ness.

neſs. What elſe ſets the world together by the ears in wars and bloudſhed in all generations! what maketh peace-makers the moſt neglected men? what maketh vertue and piety the mark of perſecution and of common ſcorn? how ſmall a part of the world hath knowledge or piety? And you tell us of a Hell for moſt at laſt. Is all this the fruit of perfect Goodneſs. *Theſe thoughts have ſeriouſly troubled ſome.*

Anſw. He that will ever come to knowledge, muſt begin at the firſt Fundamental Truths, and in his enquiry proceed to leſſer Superſtructures, and reduce uncertainties and difficulties to thoſe points which are *ſure* and *plain*, and not caſt away the *plaineſt certain truths*, becauſe they overtake ſome difficulties beyond them. The true method of enquiry is, that we firſt try *whether there be a God that is perfectly Good or not*: If this be once proved beyond all controverſie, then all that followeth is certainly reconcilable to it: for Truth and Truth is not contradictory. Now that God is *perfectly Good* hath been fully proved before: He that giveth to all the world, both Heaven, and Earth, and all the Orbs, all that Good, whether Natural, Gracious or Glorious, which they poſſeſs, is certainly Himſelf better than all the world: for he cannot give more Goodneſs than he hath: this is not to be denied by any man of reaſon: therefore it is proved that God is perfectly Good. Beſides, his Perfections muſt needs be proportionable: we know that he is *Eternal*, as is unqueſtionably demonſtrated: we ſee by the wonderful frame of Nature, that he is Omnipotent and Omniſcient: and then it muſt needs be, that his Goodneſs muſt be commenſurate with the reſt.

If God's making man a free Agent be not againſt his Goodneſs, then the ſin which a free Agent committeth is no impeachment of Gods Goodneſs: At verum prius: *Ergo*—*The reaſons why God made man with free-will, the antient Writers commonly render to the Life*: Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexand. Arnobius, Lactantius, Euſebius, Tatianus, Origen, &c. *vid.* Zachar. Mitylen. Diſput. p. 364. B. P. Græco-lat. To. 1.

Therefore to come back again upon every conſequent which you underſtand not, and to deny a fundamental principle, which hath been undeniably demonſtrated; this is but to reſolve that you will not know. By this courſe you may deny any demonſtrated truth in Mathematicks, when you meet with difficulties among the ſuperſtructed conſequents.

Let us therefore methodically proceed: We have proved that God is the cauſe of all the Goodneſs in the world, in Heaven and Earth, and therefore muſt needs be Beſt himſelf. And it is certain, that all the ſins and calamities which you mention *are* in the world, and that the creature hath all thoſe

thoſe imperfections: therefore it is certain that theſe two Verities are conſiſtent, what ever difficulty appeareth to you in the reconciling them. Thus far there is no matter of doubt. And next we are therefore certain, that the Meaſure of God's Goodneſs is not to be taken from the Creatures intereſt. And yet we know that his Goodneſs inclineth him to communicate goodneſs and felicity to his creatures: for all the Good in the world is from him. It remaineth therefore, that he *is good, neceſſarily* and *perfectly*: and that he doth all *well* whatſoever he doth: and that there is in the Creature a higher Goodneſs than its own felicity, even the Image of God's Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs, in which his Holineſs and Juſtice have their place. And that this Goodneſs of the Univerſe (which conſiſteth in the Glorious appearances of God in it, and the ſuitableneſs of all to his Will and Wiſdom) includeth all things except ſin, which are contained in your objection; and that puniſhment of ſinners, though it be *malum phyſicum* to them, is a moral good, and glorifieth God's Juſtice and Holineſs: and even the permiſſion of ſin it ſelf is good, though the ſin be bad. And yet that God will alſo glorifie that part of his Goodneſs which conſiſteth in Benignity; for he hath an *amor beneficentiæ*, of which the creature only is the object; but of his *amor complacentiæ* he himſelf is the chief object, and the creature but the ſecondary, ſo far as it participateth of Goodneſs. (And Complacency is the eſſential act of Love.) Think but what a wonderful Fabrick he hath made of all the Orbs, compoſed into One World! and can you poſſibly have narrow thoughts of his Goodneſs? He hath placed more Phyſical Goodneſs in the nature of one ſilly Bird, or Fly, or Worm, than humane wit is able to find out; much more in Plants, in Beaſts, in Men, in Sea and Land, in the Sun, and fixed Stars, and Planets: Our underſtandings are not acquainted with the thouſandth thouſandth thouſandth part of the Phyſical goodneſs which he hath put into his creatures: there may be more of the wonderful skill, and power, and goodneſs of God, laid out on one of thoſe Stars, that ſeems ſmalleſt to our ſight, than millions of humane intellects, if united, were able to comprehend. And who knoweth the number any more than the magnitude and excellency of thoſe Stars. What man

Siquidem anima regalem Majeſtatem oſtendit, nullius dominio ſubjecta, & propriæ poteſtatis, tanquam imago Dei communia cum archetypo quædam habens. *Greg. Nyſſen. citat. etiam in Cæſarii Dial.* 3. *The Ancients commonly make the Freedom of the will as well as Rationality, to be God's natural Image on the Soul. See eſpecially the full diſcourſe of* Nemeſius, de Natur. hom. cap. 39, 40, 41. Lege Pennotti propugnacul. libert.

Si quis omnia alia habeat, valetudinem, & vitias, &c. sed mala ex confesso sit, improbabis illum. tem siquis nihil habet eorum quæ retulit, careat pecuniâ, clientum turbâ, avorum & proavorum serie, si ex confesso bonus sit, probas illum. Ergo hoc unum bonum hominis, quod qui habet, etiamsi aliis destituitur, laudandus est; quod qui non habet, in omnium aliorum copia damnatur ac rejicitur. *Senec.*

Inter fines is qui perfectus est, semper præcellit imperfectum. Perfectus porro est quo admoto, nullo amplius opus est. *Arist. Mag. Mor.* 1. c. 3. & 1 *Rhet.* c. 7. Finis est cujus gratiâ omnia comparantur, —Majus bonum est finis, quàm quod finis non est. & *Met.* 2. c. 2. Quod per se bonum est, suâque vi & naturâ, id omne finis est.

Nothing commoner in Philosophy, than that Publicæ saluti privata incolumitas est postponenda. *Therefore self-love must not perswade us, that there is nothing higher than our own good to be intended.*

can once look up towards the Firmament in a Star-light night, or once read a Treatise of Astronomy, and then compare it with his Geography, and compare those far more excellent Orbs with this narrower and darker world we live in, and not be wrapt up into the astonishing admiration of the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Creator? When the anatomizing of the body of one man or beast might wrap up any considerate man into *Galen*'s admiration and praises of the Maker! and how many myriades of such bodies hath God created? and how much more excellent are the forms or souls than any of those bodies? And how little know we how incomparably more excellent the nature of Angels may be than ours? and what glorious Beings may inhabit the more glorious Orbs? and yet can you think meanly of the Creator's Goodness?

O but you say, that all these lower Creatures have still the forementioned sorrows and imperfections.

I answer you, 1. They were not made *Gods*, but *Creatures*, and therefore were not to be perfect. 2. It is the corrupt and blinded sensual mind which crieth out for want of *sensible pleasure*, and can see no goodness in any thing but this: but true reason telleth any man that hath it, that our *sensible pleasure* is a thing too low to be the highest excellency of the creature, and to be the ultimate end of God: and that the glory of the whole world, even the inanimate parts as well as the animate, shewing the glory of the Infinite Creator is the excellency of the world. What if the Sun, and Stars, and Earth, and Sea, the Fire and Air have no *feeling*; have they therefore no goodness but what is a Means to the sensible delights of lower things? Hath a Worm more goodness than the Sun, if it have more feeling? These are the madnesses of sensual men. May not an excellent Limner, Watch-maker, or other Artificer, make a Picture, a Watch, or Musical Instrument, meerly for his own delight? and may he not delight in the excellency of it, though you imagine him to have no need of *it*, or of the *delight*? And what is the excellency of such a Picture, but to be the full demonstration of the Author's skill, in the most full representation of the thing resembled? Will you say that he hath done no good, because he made not his Picture *sensible*, and made not *its*

its pleasure his ultimate end? Those things which in particulars we call Bad, are Good as they are parts of the Universal frame; as many darknings and shadowings in a Picture may conduce to make it beautiful. The eye is a more excellent part of the body than a finger or a tooth; and yet it maketh to the perfection of the *whole* that there be fingers and teeth, as well as eyes: So it doth to the perfection of the world, that there be Men, and Beasts, and Plants, as well as Angels; and poor men as well as rich, and sick men as well as sound, and pain as well as pleasure. Our narrow sight that looketh but on a spot or parcel of God's work at once, doth judge according to the particular interest of that parcel, (and so we would have no variety in the world, but every thing of that species which we think best); But God seeth all his works at once, *uno intuitu*, and therefore seeth what is best in reference to the glory of the Universe; and seeth what variety is beautiful, and what each part should be according to the office and order of its place.

And 3. doth not your own experience reprehend your own complaint as guilty of contradiction? You would have all things fitted to your particular interest, or else you think God is not good enough to you: and may not every other creature say the same as justly as you. And then how would you have a Horse to carry you, an Ox to plow for you, a Dog to hunt for you, a Hare or Partridge to be hunted; yea, a bit of flesh to nourish you, yea, or the fruit of trees and plants, yea, or the earth to bear you, or the air to breath in, or the water to refresh you. For every one of these might expect to be advanced to be as high in sensual pleasure as you.

He that compareth (as aforesaid) the Elements and Orbs which have no sense, with a Worm that hath it, will think that sense hath blinded reason, when it is so overvalued, as to be thought the most excellent thing, or a meet measure of the goodness of the Creator.

4. Most of the calamities of the Rational creature which you mention, are sin, and the fruits of sin: and when Man bringeth in sin, it is good that God should bring in punishment. It is an act of Justice, and declareth his Holiness, and warneth others. Therefore all your complaints against these

Non quoniam mutabiles vires habemus, improbitatis nostræ culpa in Deum conferenda est: Non enim in facultatibus sunt vitia, sed in habitibus: Habitus autem ex electione & voluntate sunt. Itaq; nostra ipsorum electione & voluntate improbi evadimus, non naturâ sumus. *Nemesius de Nat. hom. cap.* 41.

penal evils, should be turned only against the sinner, and all should be turned to the praise of the righteous Governour of the world.

5. And as for the sin it self, which hath depraved the world as fouly as you describe it, it is none of the work of God at all; If you say, that he might have prevented it if he had pleased; I answer, He hath declared his detestation of it: as our Ruler he hath forbidden it: he deterreth men from it by his soreſt threatnings: he allureth them from it by his richeſt promiſes of reward: he appointeth Kings and Magiſtrates to ſuppreſs it by corporal penalties. This and much more he doth againſt it, and more he could do, which ſhould prove effectual; but his wiſdom ſaw it not meet, nor conducible to the glory of the Univerſe, to make all Moral Agents of one ſize, any more than all Natural Agents: and therefore he made not man indefectible. Do you think that [a Rational creature with *free-will*, being the Lord of its own acts, and a ſelf-determining Principle, to act without force] is not a thing which God *may* make and take delight in? as well as a Watch-maker taketh delight to make a Clock that ſhall go of it ſelf, without his continued motion, (and the longer he can make it go without him, and ſo the liker to himſelf, the more excellent he thinks his work.) If God may *make* ſuch a *free-agent*, then is it no impeachment to his goodneſs, if it abuſe its freedom unto ſin; eſpecially when he will over-rule even that ſin, ſo far as to bring good out of it by accident.

Homo eſt principium ſuarum operationum. *Ariſtot. 3 Eth.* Nemo nolens bonus & Beatus eſt. *Sen.* Si divitias veli, rem bonam eſſe ſcias, nec omnino in te ſitam. Si vero beari, id & bonum eſt & penes te. Opes enim fortuna ad tempus commodato dat. Beatitudo autem à noſtra voluntate procedit. *Epictet.* *Read* Gaſſendi Phyſ. ſect. 2. l. 1. c. 6. ſintne cœlum & ſydera habitabilia? *And* Card. Nic. Cuſanus, l. 2. de Doct. ignot. 11. in Coroll. *cited alſo, ibid. by* Gaſſendus.

And laſtly, as for all the objections from *ſin* and *miſery* againſt God's goodneſs; I anſwer you with thoſe Queſtions. Do you know what number the holy and glorious Angels are, in compariſon both of wicked men and Devils? Whether they may not be ten thouſand to one? Do you know how many thouſand fixed Stars there are, beſides Planets? Do you know whether they are all Suns? and how much bigger they are than the Earth? and how much more glorious? Do you know whether they are all inhabited or not? (when you ſee almoſt no place on Earth uninhabited, not ſo much as Water and Air) Do you know whether thoſe thouſands of more glorious Orbs have not inhabitants anſwerable to their greatneſs and glory, beyond the inhabitants of this darker Orb? Do you know whether ſin and ſorrow be not kept

kept out there, and confined to this, and ſome few ſuch obſcurer receptacles? Do you know the degrees of holineſs and Glory which thoſe ſuperiour Inhabitants poſſeſs? And do you know that all theſe things ſet together, the demonſtration of Gods goodneſs by the way of Beneficence, is not ten thouſand times beyond the demonſtrations of it in the way of Juſtice, and all the other ſorrows that you complain of? Till you know all theſe, do not think your ſelves meet, from your ſenſible troubles, to argue againſt that *Infinite goodneſs*, which demonſtrateth it ſelf ſo unqueſtionably to all, by all the Goodneſs of the whole Creation.

I may boldly then conclude, that GOD is OUR FATHER, our CHIEF GOOD, our CHIEF BENEFACTOR, and ULTIMATE END.

And ſo that *in ſenſu pleniſſimo*, THERE IS A GOD; that word comprehending both the foreſaid Trinity of Principles in the Unity of his Eſſence, and the Trinity of Relations, in the Unity of the Relation of our CREATOR.

CHAP. XII.

III. *Of Man's Relation to GOD, as he is our FATHER, or our Chief Good; and of our Duty in that Relation.*

§. 1. *GOD being to Man Efficiently and finally, his* Chief, *yea, his* Total Good, *as is declared; it muſt needs follow that Man is by immediate reſultancy related to Him as his* Total Beneficiary, *and* Recipient *of his benefits; and oweth him all that which* Goodneſs *conjunct with* Soveraignty *and* Dominion *can oblige him to.*

Whether all *Obligation*, which is truly Moral, to a *Duty*, do ariſe from *Soveraignty* and *Rule*, and belong to us as *Subjects* only, in the neereſt formal ſenſe? Or whether *Benefits* ſimply without any reſpect to *Government* and *Subjection*, may be ſaid to oblige to Moral Duty as ſuch, is a Queſtion that I am not concerned to determine; as long as God is both Governour and Benefactor, and his Government may give the formal moral obligation, as his Benefits provide the

greatest *Materials* of the Duty. Though this much I may say to it, that I cannot see but the Duty of a Beneficiary as such, may be called moral, as well as the Duty of a Subject as such: And if it were supposed that two men were *absolutely equals* as to any *subjection*, and that one of them should by kindness exceedingly oblige the other, all will acknowledge ingratitude to be an *unnatural* thing: and why that vice may not be called properly morall in a *rational free* agent, I am not yet convinced. You will say, It's true; but that is because that both those men are *Subjects* to *God*, whose Law obligeth them both to *Gratitude*, and therefore Ingratitude is a sin only as against the Law of God in Nature. To which I reply, that I grant Gods Law of Nature maketh Ingratitude a sin: and I grant that a Law is properly the instrument of a Governour as such: and so as Ingratitude is the violation of a Law, it is only a sin against Government as such. But I question whether as *Love* is somewhat different from *Wisdom* and *Power*, and as a *Benefactor* and an *attractive good* hath the highest and a peculiar kinde of obligation, so there be not something put by God into our *Nature*, which though it be not formally a *Law*, yet is as obligatory, and as much if not more than a Law, which maketh it *more* than the *Duty* of a Subject, to answer *love* and *goodness* with *gratitude* and *love*: so that if *per impossibile* you suppose that we had no other obligation to God but this of *love* and *goodness* (or abstract this from the rest) I question whether it be not most eminently morall, and whether the performance of it do not morally fit us for the highest benefits, and felicity, and the violation of it merit not, (morally) the rejections of our great Benefactor, and the withdrawing of all his favours to our undoing. But this Controversie my Cause is not much concerned in, as I have said, because the same God is our Soveraign also.

§. 2. *The duty which we specially owe to God in this highest Relation is* LOVE: *which* as such *is above obedience as such.*

The difference of Understandings and Wills requireth Government and obedience, that the understanding and will of the superiour may be a Rule to the subjects: But LOVE is a Concord of *Wills*; and so farr as LOVE hath caused a concord, there

there is no use for Government by Laws and Penalties: And therefore the Law is not made for a Righteous man as such, that is, so far as *Love* hath united his Soul to Virtue, and separated it from sin, he need not to be constrained or restrained by any Penal Laws: no more than men need a Law to command them to eat and drink, and preserve their lives, and forbear self-destruction. But so far as any man is unrighteous or ungodly, that is, hath a will to sin, or cross or averse to Goodness, so far he needeth a penal Law: which therefore all need while they remain imperfect.

Nature hath made *Love* and *Goodness* like the *Iron* and the *Load-stone*. The *Understanding* doth not so ponderously incline to *Truth*, as the *Will* doth naturally to *Good*. For this being the perfect act of the Soul, the whole inclination of Nature goeth after it. Therefore *Love* is the highest duty or noblest act of the Soul of Man; the *end* and *perfection* of all the rest.

§. 3. *The essential act of this* LOVE *is* COMPLACENCIE; *or the Pleasedness of the minde in a suitable Good: But it hath divers effects, concomitants and accidents, from whence it borroweth divers Names.*

§. 4. *The* LOVE *of* Benevolence, *as it worketh towards the felicity of another, is the Love of God to man, who needeth him; but not of Man to God, who is above our benefits, and needeth nothing.*

§. 5. *Our* LOVE *to God, respecteth him either,* 1. *as our Efficient,* 2. *Dirigent,* 3. *or final Good: which hath accordingly concomitant duties.*

§. 6. 1. *Our* LOVE *to God as our* Chief good efficiently, *containeth in it,* 1. A willing Receiving Love: 2. *A* Thankfull Love: 3. *A* Returning devoted serving Love: (*which among men amounts to retribution.*)

§. 7. 1. *An absolute dependent Beneficiary ought with full dependance on his Total Benefactor, to Receive all his Benefits with Love and willingness* *.

An undervaluing of Benefits, and demurring, or rejecting them, is a great abuse and injury to a Benefactor. Thus doth the ungodly World, against all the Grace and greatest mercies of God. They know not the worth of them, and therefore despise them, and will not be intreated to accept them: but

Seneca, Epist. 31. saith, Quærendum est quod non fiat indies deterius; cui non possit obstari; quo nil melius possit optari. Quid hoc est? Animus sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. Quid aliud voces hunc, quam Deum in humano corpore hospitantem? Hic animus tam in Equitem Romanum, quàm in servum potest cadere; Quid est eques Romanus? aut libertinus? aut servus? Nomina ex ambitione, aut ex injuria nata, subsilire in Cœlum ex angulo licet: exurge modo, & te dignum finge Deo; finges autem, non auro, non argento: Non potest ex hac materia Imago Dei exprimi similis.

Plato *saith, that Man's End is to be made like God.* Laert in Plat. Socrates *said, that God was the Best and most Blessed: and the nearer any one came in likeness to him, so much was he the better and more blessed.*

Non potest temperantiam laudare, qui summum bonum ponit in voluptate: *Cic.*

* Gratus sum; non ut alius mihi libentius præstet, priori irritatus exemplo; sed ut rem jucundissimam faciam, *Senec. Ep. 28.*

but take them for intollerable injuries or troubles, as a ſick Stomack doth its Phyſick and Food, becauſe they are againſt their fleſhly Appetites. An open heart to receive Gods mercies with high eſteem, beſeemeth ſuch Beneficiaries as we.

Credamus itaq; nihil eſſe grato animo honeſtius. Omnes hoc urbes, omnes etiam ex barbaris regionibus gentes conclamabunt; In tanta judiciorum diverſitate, referendam benè merentibus gratiam, omnes uno ore affirmabunt; in hoc diſcors turba conſentiens. *Senec. ib.*

§. 8. 2. Thankfulneſs *is that Operation of* Love, *which the light of Nature hath convinced all the World, to be a duty: and ſcarce a man is to be found ſo brutiſh as to deny it: And our Love to God ſhould be more thankfull than to all the World, becauſe our Receivings from Him are much greater, than from all.*

§. 9. 3. *Though we cannot* requite *God; true gratitude will bring back his Mercies to him for his uſe, ſo far as we are able.*

§. 10. II. *Our LOVE to our DIRIGENT Benefactor, is,* 1. *A* fiducial *Love,* 2. *A love* well-pleaſed *in his conduct;* 3. *A* following *Love.*

Though it belongeth to God chiefly as our *ſapiential Governour* to be the Dirigent Cauſe of our Lives: Yet he doth it alſo as our Benefactor, by a commixture of the effects of his Relations.

§. 11. 1. *So infinite and ſure a Friend, is abſolutely to be Truſted, with a General Confidence in the Goodneſs of his Nature, and a particular Confidence in the Promiſes or ſignifications of his good-will.*

Infinite Good cannot be willing to deceive or diſappoint us. And if we *abſolutely Truſt him,* it will abundantly conduce to our holineſs, and peace.

§. 12. 2. *We muſt alſo* love *his Conducti, his Precepts and his holy Examples, and the very way it ſelf in which he leadeth us.*

All that is from him is good, and muſt be loved both for it ſelf, and for him that it cometh from, and for that which it leadeth to. All his Inſtructions, helps, reproofs, and all his conducting Means ſhould be amiable to us.

§. 13. 3. *Love muſt make us cheerfully follow him, in all the wayes which by Precept or Example he is pleaſed to lead us.*

And ſo to follow him, as to love the tokens of his preſence, and footſteps of his will, and all the ſigns of his approbation: And

And with an Heroick fortitude of Love, to rejoyce in ſufferings, and venture upon dangers, and conquer difficulties for his ſake.

§. 14. III. *Our LOVE to GOD as our* final Good *is*, 1. *A* Deſiring LOVE: 2. *A* ſeeking LOVE; *and* 3. *A* full complacential delighting Love; *which is the perfection of us and all the reſt: And accidentally it is ſometimes a* Mourning Love.

§. 15. 1. *Man being but* in Via *under the* efficiency *and* conduct *of* Love, to final Love and Goodneſs *hath his* End *to intend, and his means to uſe, and therefore Love muſt needs work by* Deſire.

§. 16. *So far as a man is ſhort of the thing deſired, Love will have ſome ſenſe of want; and ſo far as we are croſſed in our ſeekings, and fruſtrate in any of our hopes, it will be ſorrowfull.*

§. 17. 2. *Man being appointed to a courſe and life of Means to his laſt end, muſt needs be employed in thoſe Means for the Love of that End: And ſo the main work of this life is that of a* Deſiring, ſeeking Love.

§. 18. 3. *The complacential delighting LOVE, hath three degrees: The firſt in* Belief *and* Hope, *The ſecond in* foretaſte; *and The third in full enflamed exerciſe.*

§. 19. 1. *The well-grounded* Hope *of the foreſeen Viſion and fruition of the Infinite Good which is our End, muſt needs poſſeſs the conſiderate minde, with a delight which is ſomewhat anſwerable to that Hope.*

§. 20. 2. *When the Soul doth not only* Hope *for its future* end, *but alſo at* preſent *cloſe with* God ſub-ratione-finis, *in the* exerciſe *of pure* complacencial Love, *in Prayer, Praiſe or Contemplation, he hath ſome meaſure of* fruition *even* in via, *and a ſenſible foretaſte of his future perfection, according to the degree of this his Love.*

There is a *delight* that cometh into the minde by the meer foreſight and hope of what we ſhall be, and have, and do hereafter: And this cometh by the Means of *Promiſe* and *Evidence*: And there is alſo a Delight which cometh in upon the preſent

Bene meritos quin colas, nec exorari fas eſt, neq; eſt excuſatio difficultatis: neq; æquum eſt tempore & die memoriam beneficii definire. *Cicer.*

Vos, vos appello, qui Mercurium, qui Platonem, Pythagoramq; ſectamini: voſq; cæteros qui eſtis unius mentis, & per eaſdem vias placitorum inceditis unitate. Audetis ridere nos — Quid Plato veſter nonne animo ſurgere ſuadet e terris, & circa Deum ſemper (quantum fieri poteſt) cogitatione ac mente verſari? Audetis ridere nos quod animarum noſtrarum provideamus ſaluti? id eſt ipſi nobis? Quid enim ſumus homines, niſi animæ corporibus clauſæ? Vos enim nonne omnes pro illarum geritis incolumitatibus curas? Metus ille vos habet ne velut trabalibus clavis affixi, corporibus hæreatis? Quid illi ſibi velint ſecretarum artium ritus, quibus affamipeditionis opponant. *Arnob. adv. Gentes, lib. 2. p. 14.*

present exercise of *Love* it self on God as present; when the soul in the contemplation of his infinite Goodness, is wrapt up in the pleasures of his Love: And this is a degree of *fruition* of *our end*, before the perfect fruition of it. And therefore take notice that there are these two wayes of our comfort in this life: 1. *Exploratio juris*, the tryall of our title: 2. *Exercitium amoris*; the feasting of the Soul in the exercises of Love.

§. 21. 3. *The final perfect act of* Love *will not be* in via, *but when we have fully reacht our end.*

§. 22. *This final act is not well expressed by the common word* [fruition] *because it intimateth that we are the* finis cui *our selves, and that our own enjoyment of God as our felicity, is the* finis ultimatè ultimus, *which is not true.*

§. 23. *Yet is* [fruition] *one ingredient into our End, because our final act of Love is for* our selves, *though not principally.*

Magistris, Diis & Parentibus, non potest reddi æquivalens. *Aristot. 9 Ethic.*

§. 24. *All the difficulties* de fine hominis *are best resolvedly understanding that it is* finis amantis, *and what that is: The Nature of Love is an inclination or desire of Union or Adhesion: And therefore it includeth the felicity of the Lover, together with the attractive excellency of the Object; and is both* gratia amantis & amati simul. *But when the Lover is infinitely above the Object, the Lover is the chief end (for his own complacency) though the Object have the benefit: And when the Object is infinitely better than the Lover, the Object must be incomparably the chief end,* cujus gratia potissimum: *though the Lover withall intend his felicity in fruition.*

Laus & gratiarum-actio debetur danti, non accipienti. *Arist. 4. Eth.*

§. 25. *But if any soul be so far above self-love, as to be drawn up in the fervours of Holy love, in the meer contemplation of the infinite Object, not thinking of its own felicity herein, its felicity will be never the less, for not intending or remembring it.*

Qui sancti? qui Religionem colentes, nisi qui meritam Diis immortalibus gratiam, justis honoribus, memori mente persolvunt? *Cicer. pro Planc.*

§. 26. *Therefore the final act of Love, hath no fitter name than* Love *it self,* or delightfull adhæsion *to* God, *the infinite* Good, *with full complacency in him.*

§. 27. *Though God must be loved as our Benefactor, yet the perfect goodness of his Will and Nature, as standing above all our Interest or Benefits, must be the* principal reason *and Object of our Love.*

That

That we must love God more for Himself, than for our selves, is thus proved: 1. That which is most Amiable must be most Loved: But God is most amiable, and not we our selves: Therefore he must be Loved above our selves, (and consequently not for our selves, but our selves for him:) The *minor* is soon proved: That which is *most Good* is most Amiable: But God is most good: *Ergo.* And Goodness is the proper object of Love.

If we must love good men for themselves, much more God. Ubi beneficus, si nemo alterius causa benigne facit. Ubi gratus, si non eum ipsum cui referunt gratiam, ipsi cernunt grati? Ubi illa sancta amicitia, si non ipse amicus per se amatur, toto pectore: qui etiam deserendus & abjiciendus est, desperatis emolumentis & fructibus: quo quid potest dici immanius? *Cicero de leg. 1 p. 227.*

2. That which the Soul most Loveth it doth most devote it self to, and adhere to, and rest in: But we must more devote our selves to God, and adhere to him, and rest in him, than our selves: *Ergo*, we must Love him more.

3. That which is an Absolute Good, and is dependent on nothing, must be absolutely loved for it self: But such is God: *Ergo.* And that which is only a derivative, limited, dependent Good, and not made ultimately for it self; is not to be loved ultimately for it self: But such is man: *Ergo.*

4. That which is the Fountain of all Goodness and Love, must be the end of all: But that is God and not Man: *Ergo.*

5. To love God ultimately for our selves, is to deifie our selves, and take down God into the order of a Means, that is, of a Creature.

§. 28. *Having proved, that God must be loved above our selves, we need no other proof, that not we, but God must be our ultimate end.*

Justitia nihil expetit præmii, nihil pretii: per se igitur expetitur: eademq; omnium virtutum causa atq; sententia est: Atq; etiam si emolumentis, non suapte natura virtus expetitur, una erit virtus, quæ malitia rectissimè dicetur. Ut enim quisque ad suum commodum refert maxime quæcunque agit, ita minime est vir bonus: ut qui virtutem præmio metiuntur, nullam virtutem nisi malitiam putant. *Cicero de Leg. 1. p. 227.*

§. 29. *Because we here see not God intuitively, but in his Works, we are bound with fervent desire to study and contemplate them, and therein to feast our love in beholding and tasting of his Love and Goodness.*

As a Man will look on the Picture, the Letters, the works of his absent Friend, and retain the Image of him in his heart; so God, though not absent, yet unseen, expresseth himself to us in all his works, that we may studiously there behold, admire and love him.

§. 30. *Therefore Gods Works must be more valued and studied, as they are the Glass representing the Image of his per-*

fections, and shewing us his chief essential amiableness, than as they are beneficial and useful to us, and so shew us only his benignity to us.

§. 31. *Yet must self-love, and sense it self, and the sensible sweetness and experience of Mercies be improved to our easier taste of God's essential Goodness, and we must rise up from the lower to the higher object: and this is our chief use of sensible benefits.*

Doubtless as the Soul, while it dwelleth with flesh, doth receive its objects by the mediation of sense, so God hath purposely put such variety of sensible delicacies into the creatures, that by every sight, and smell, and hearing, and touch, and taste, our souls might receive a report of the sweetness of God, whose goodness all proceed from. And therefore this is the life which we should labour in continually, to see God's goodness in every lovely sight, and to taste God's goodness in every pleasant taste, and to smell it in every pleasant Odour, and to hear it in every lovely word or sound; that the motion may pass on clearly without stop, from the senses to the mind and will, and we may never be so blockish as to gaze on the glass, and not see the Image in it; or to gaze on the Image, and never consider whose it is: or to read the Book of the Creation, and mark nothing but the words and letters, and never mind the sense and meaning. A Philosopher, and yet an Atheist or ungodly, is a monster; one that most readeth the Book of Nature, and least understandeth or feeleth the meaning of it.

§. 32. *Therefore God daily reneweth his mercies to us, that the variety and freshness of them producing renewed delight, may renew our lively feelings of his love and goodness, and so may carry us on in love, without cessations and declinings.*

Our natures are so apt to lose the sense of a Good that is grown ordinary and common, that God by our renewed necessities, and the renewed supplies, and variety of mercies, doth cure this defect.

§. 33. *Those therefore that turn God's mercies to the gratifying of their sensitive appetites and lusts, and forget him, and offend him the more, and love him the less, do forfeit his mercies by their inhumane and irrational ingratitude and abuse.*

Which is the sin of all proud, covetous, voluptuous persons;

Nihil homini metuendum, nisi ne fælicitatem excludat. *Solon in Laert. p.* 31.

Summo Bono constituto in Philosophia, constituta sunt omnia: nam cæteris in rebus sive prætermissum, sive ignoratum est quippiam, non plus incommodi, quam quanti quæque earum rerum est, in quibus neglectum est aliquid. Summum autem bonum si ignoretur, vivendi rationem ignorari necesse est: ex quo tantus error consequitur, ut quem in portum se recipiant, *scire* non possunt. Cognitis autem rerum finibus (bonorum & malorum) inventa vitæ via est conformatioque omnium officiorum. *Piso in Cic. de finib. lib.* 5. *pag.* 182.

Decrescere summum bonum non potest. Mortalia eminent, cadunt, deteruntur, crescunt, exhauriuntur, implentur. Divinorum una natura est. *Senec. Epist.* 66. *p.* 644, 645.

sons; the ambitious, fornicators, gluttons, drunkards, and lovers of sports, recreations, idleness, or any pleasure, as it turneth them from God.

§. 34. *Above all other sin, we should most take heed of the inordinate love of any creature (for it self, or for our carnal self alone) because it is most contrary to our love to God, which is our highest work and duty.*

§. 35. *Those mercies of God are most to be valued, desired and sought, which shew us most of God himself, or most help up our love to him.*

§. 36. *We must love both our natural selves and neighbours, the bad as well as the good, with a love of benevolence, desiring our own good and theirs: But at the same time we must hate our selves and them, so far as wicked, with the hatred of Displicency: and with the love of Complacency, must only so far love our selves or others, as the Image of Divine Goodness is in us or them.*

I speak not of the meer natural passion of the parent to the child, which is common to man and beast: nor of the exercises of love in outward acts, for those may be directed by God's commands to go more to one (as a wicked child) that hath less true amiableness in him. But all holy *love* must be suited to the measures of the truest object.

§. 37. *The love of God should be with all our soul, and with all our might; not limited, suppressed or neglected, but be the most serious, predominant action of our souls.*

How easie a matter is it to prove *Holiness* to be naturally mans greatest duty, when *love to God*, which is the summ of it, is so easily proved to be so. All the reason in the world, that is not corrupted, but is reason indeed, must confess without any tergiversation, that it is the most great and unquestionable duty of man to *love God above all*; yea, with all our heart and soul and might. And he that doth so, shall never be numbred by him with the ungodly, for those are inconsistent.

§. 38. *The exercises of love to God in complacency, desire, seeking, &c. should be the chief employment of our thoughts.*

For the thoughts are the exercise of a commanded faculty, which must be under the power of our will: and the ultimate end, and the exercises of *love* to it, should daily govern them.

Cœlestia semper spectato: illa humana contemnito. *Cic. Somn. Scipi.*

Templum mentis amo, non marmoris, aurea in illo
Fundamenta: manet fides structura nivali.
Consurgit pietate nitens, tegit ardua culmen:
Justitia interius spargit sola picta rubenti
Flore, pudicitiæ pudor almus, & atria servat.
Hæc domus apta mihi est, hæc me pulcherrima sedes
Accipit, æterno cœlestique hospite digna, *Prudent.*

Quicquid boni egeris in Deos refer: *Bias in Laert.*

When the Oracle of Delphos adjudged the Tripos to the wiseſt, it was ſent to Thales, and from him to another, till it came to Solon, who ſent it to the Oracle, ſaying, None is wiſer than God. Laert. in Thal. *So ſhould we all find back to God the glory and praiſe of all good which is aſcribed to us.*

them. And what a man loveth moſt, uſually he will think of, with his moſt practical powerful thoughts, if not with the moſt frequent.

§. 39. *The love of God ſhould employ our tongues in the proclaiming of his praiſe and benefits, and expreſſing our own admiration and affection, to kindle the like in the ſouls of others.*

For the ſame God who is ſo amiable, hath given us our ſpeech with the reſt of his benefits, and given it us purpoſely to declare his praiſe. Reaſon telleth us that we have no higher, worthier, or better employment for our tongues; and that we ſhould uſe them to the beſt. The tongues of men are adorned with language, for charitable and pious communication, that they may be fit to affect the hearts of others, and to kindle in them that ſacred fire, which is kindled in themſelves. Therefore that tongue which is ſilent to its Makers praiſe, and declareth not the Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, and power of the Lord, and doth not divulge the notice of his benefits, condemneth it ſelf, and the heart that ſhould employ it, as neglecting the greateſt duty it was made for.

Numen divinum omni modo, omni tempore ipſe colet, jura leges patrias, & ut ubi colant edice. *Liv. l.* 52.

§. 40. *The lives of Gods Beneficiaries ſhould be employed to his praiſe and pleaſure, and ſhould be the ſtreaming effects of inward love. And all his mercies ſhould be improved to his ſervice, from a thankful heart.*

All this hath the fulleſt teſtimony of reaſon, according to the rules of proportion and common right. To whom ſhould we live, but to him *from whom* and *by whom* we live? What but our ultimate end ſhould be principally intended, and ſought through our whole lives? A creature that hath all from God, ſhould in love and gratitude bring back all to him; and thus we make it more our own.

Apollo pyes rogatus alienando, quid haberent ſanctiſſimum Philoſophi? Si omnes inquit, leges intereant, æquabiliter vivimus. *Laert.*

§. 41. *This Life of Love ſhould be the chiefeſt Delight and Pleaſure of our Souls, which all other pleaſure ſhould ſubſerve, and all be abhorred which contradicteth it.*

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore. *Hor.*

Nothing is eaſilier confeſſed by all, than the deſirableneſs of *Delight* and *Pleaſure*: and the moſt excellent object, which muſt be moſt beloved, muſt be our chief delight: for Love it ſelf is a delighting act, unleſs ſome ſtop do turn it aſide into tears and ſorrows. Nothing can *it ſelf* be ſo *delectable* as God, the chiefeſt Good; and no *employment* ſo *delectable* as *loving him*. This therefore ſhould be our *work* and our *recreation*,

ation, our *labour* and our *pleaſure*, our *food* and *feaſt*. Other delights are lawful and good, ſo far as they further theſe delights of holy love, by carrying up our hearts to the original and end of all our mercies and delights. But nothing is ſo injurious to God and us as that which corrupteth our minds with ſenſuality, and becometh our Pleaſure inſtead of God.

§. 42. *The ſenſe of the preſent imperfection of our Love ſhould make us long to know God more, and to love him and delight in him, and praiſe him in perfection to the utmoſt extent of our capacities.*

If it be ſo good to love God, then muſt the higheſt degree of it be beſt: and reaſon teacheth us, when we feel how weak our Knowledge and Love is, to long for more; yea, for perfection.

Read Seneca, de vita beata, *fully proving againſt the* Epicureans, *that wealth, honour and pleaſure are not mans felicity, becauſe they make him not better or beſt.*

§. 43. *Thus hath Reaſon ſhewed us the end and higheſt felicity of man, in his higheſt duty, To Know God, to Love him and Delight in him in the fulleſt Perfection, and to be Loved by him, and be fully pleaſing to him, as herein bearing his Image, is the felicity, and the* ultimate *end of man.* LOVE *is mans final act, excited by the fulleſt Knowledge, and God ſo beheld and enjoyed in his Love to us, is the final Object. And here the Soul muſt ſeek its Reſt.*

Obj. *But* quæ ſupra nos nihil ad nos: *God indeed is near to Angels, but he hath made them our Benefactors, and they have committed it to inferiour Cauſes: there muſt be* ſuitableneſs *as well as excellency to win love: we find no ſuitableneſs between our hearts and God. And therefore we believe not that we were made for any ſuch employment. And we ſee that the far greateſt part of mankind are as averſe to this life of Holineſs as our ſelves; and therefore we cannot think but that it is quite above the nature of man, and not the work and end which he was made for.*

Surſum animum vocant initia ſua: Eritautem illic, etiam antequam hac cuſtodia exolvatur, ſi vitia ſua deſeruit, puruſq; acclenis in cogitationes divinas emicuit. *Senec. ep.* 80. Tutum iter eſt, jucundum eſt, ad quod natura te inſtruxit. Dedit tibi illa quæ ſi non deſerueris, par Deo conſurges. Parem autem Deo te pecunia non facit, &c. *Senec. ep.* 73.

Anſw. 1. Whether God have made Angels, or Rulers, or Benefactors, or what love or honour we owe them as his Inſtruments, is nothing to our preſent buſineſs. For if it be granted that he thus uſeth them, it is moſt certain that he is nevertheleſs himſelf our Benefactor, nor nevertheleſs near us. What nearneſs to us they have, we are much uncertain; but that he himſelf is our *total Benefactor*, and *always with us*, as near to us as we are to our ſelves, is paſt all queſtion, and proved before.

2. There

2. There neither is nor can be any object so suitable for our LOVE as God; he hath *all Goodness* in him, and all in the creature is derived from him, and dependeth on him; and he hath given us all that ever we our selves received, and must give us all that ever we shall receive hereafter. He is all-sufficient for the supply of all our wants, and granting all our just desires, and making us perfect: all that he doth for us, he doth in *Love*, as an intellectual free Agent; and he is still present with us, upholding us, and giving us the very Love which he demandeth: and he created us for Himself to be his *Own*, and gave us these faculties to know and love him. And can any then be a more *suitable* object of our love?

3. Do you not find that your understandings have a suitableness or inclination to *Truth* and *Knowledge*, and would you not know the *best* and *greatest* things? and know the *cause* of all the wonderful effects which you see: and what is this but to *know God?* And do you not find that your *Will* have a *suitableness* to *good* as such in the general? and to your *own felicity?* And do you not know that it should not be unnatural to any man to love the *best*, which is *best*, and especially which is *best for him*; and to love *him* best who is his greatest Benefactor, and most worthy of his love in all respects? And can you doubt whether God be most worthy of your *love?* All this is plain and sure. And will mens *averseness* to the love of God then disprove it? It is natural for man to *desire knowledge*, as that which perfecteth his understanding; and yet Boys are *averse* to learn their Books, because they are slothful, and are diverted by the love of play. What if your servants be *averse* and slothful to your service? doth it follow that it is not their duty, or that you hired them not for it? What if your wife and children be *averse* to love you? is it therefore none of their *duty* so to do? Rebels are *averse* to obey their Governours, and yet it is their *duty* to obey them. If your child or any one that is most beholden to you, should be averse to love and gratitude to you, (as thousands are to their Parents and Benefactors) will it follow that *Nature obliged them not* to it?

4. What can you think *is suitable* to your love, if God be not? is it lust, or play, or meat and drink and ease? A Swine hath a nature as *suitable* to these as you? Is it only to deal *ingeniously*

Quod si pœna, si metus supplicii, non ipsa turpitudo, deterret ab injuriosa, facinorosaque vitâ, nemo est injustus: at incauti potius habendi sunt improbi: Callidi, non boni sunt, qui utilitate tantum, non ipso honesto, ut boni viri sint moventur. *Cic. de leg. l. 1. p. 289.*

ingeniously and *honourably* in *providing* for the flesh, and maintaining the fuel of these sensualities, by Buildings, Trading, Manufactures, Ornaments and Arts? All this is but to have a reason to serve your sense, and so the swinish part still shall be the chief: for that which is the *chief and ruling object* with you, doth shew which is the chief and regnant *faculty*. If *sensual objects* be the chief, than *Sense* is the chief faculty with you. And if you had the greatest wit in the world, and used it only to serve your guts, and throats, and lusts, in a more effectual and ingenious way than any other men could do, this were but to be an ingenuous beast, or to have an Intellect bound in service to your bellies. And can you think that things so little satisfying, and so quickly perishing, are more *suitable objects* for your love than God?

5. What say you to all them that are otherwise minded, and that take the Love of God for their work and happiness? *They* find a *suitableness* in God to their highest esteem and love; and are they not as fit Judges for the affirmative, as you for the negative?

Obj. *They do but force themselves to some acts of fancy.*

Answ. You see that they are such acts as are the more serious and prevalent in their lives, and can make them lay by other pleasures, and spend their days in seeking God, and lay down their lives in the exercise and hopes of Love. And that it is *you* that follow *fancy*, and *they* that follow *solid reason*, is evident in the reason of your several ways. That world which you set above God is at last called *Vanity* by all that try it: Reason will not finally justifie *your* choice: but I have here shewed you undeniable reason for *their* choice and love; and therefore it is they that know what they do, and obey the Law of Nature, which you obliterate and contradict.

Obj. *But we see the Creature, but God we see not, and we find it not natural to us to love that which we do not see.*

Answ. Is not Reason a nobler faculty than sight? if it be, why should it not more rule you, and dispose of you? Shall no Subjects honour and obey their King but those that see him? You can love your mony, and land, and friends when they are out of sight.

Obj. *But these are things visible in their nature.*

Complent bona corporis beatissimam vitam; sed ita ut sine illis possit beata vita existere. Ita enim parvæ & exiguæ sunt istæ accessiones bonorum, ut sicut stellæ in radio solis, sic istæ in virtutum splendore, ne cernantur quidem. Atque hæc ut verè dicitur parva esse ad beatè vivendum momenta ista corporis commodorum, sic nimis violentum est, nulla esse dicere. Qui enim sic disputant, obliti mihi videntur quæ ipsi egerint principia naturæ. Tribuendum est his aliquid, dummodo quantum tribuendum sit intelligas. *Piso in Cic. de finib. l. 5. p. 202.*

Unum verò finem *Aristotelis* declaravit, esse usum virtutis in vita sancta & integrâ. *Hesych. Illust. in Aristot.*

Piſo ubi ſup. in Cic. *ſaith, That all the difference in this between the* Stoicks *and the* Peripateticks *and* Academicks *is but this, whether corporal things ſhall be called no Good at all, or only ſuch little Goods as to be next to none,*pag 102, 203. *To the ſhame of thoſe nominal chriſtians, who know no greater good than they.*

Anſw. They are ſo much the more vile, and leſs amiable. Your own Souls are invisible, will you not therefore love them? You never ſaw the life or form of any Plant or living Wight; you ſee the beauty of your Roſes, and many other flowers, but you ſee not the life and form within, which cauſeth all that beauty and variety; which yet muſt be more excellent than the effect. Can you doubt whether all things which appear here to your ſight, have an *inviſible Cauſe* and *Maker?* or can you think him leſs amiable, becauſe he is inviſible, that is, more excellent?

6. In a word, it is moſt evident, that all this *averſeneſs* of mens hearts to the Love of God, is their *ſin* and *pravity*; and the *unſuitableneſs* of their nature is, becauſe they are vitiated with ſenſuality, and deceived by ſenſible things: a diſeaſe to be cured and not defended. Their *ſin* will not prove the contrary no *duty*.

7. And yet while we are in fleſh, though God be not viſible to us, his works are, and it is in them (the frame of the world) that he hath revealed and expoſed Himſelf to our love: It is in this viſible Glaſs that we muſt ſee his *Image*, and in that Image muſt love him: and if we will love any Goodneſs, we muſt love his; for all is his, and as his ſhould be loved by us.

Si quis eſt hoc robore animi atque hac indole virtutis, ac continentiæ, ut reſpuat omnes voluptates, omnemque vitæ ſuæ curſum labore corporis, atque in animi contentione conficiat, quem non quies, non remiſſio, non æquabilium ſtudia, non ludi, non convivia delectant, nihil in vita expetendum putet, niſi quod eſt cum laude & honore conjunctum; hunc, meâ ſententiâ, Divinis quibuſdam bonis inſtructum atque ornatum puto. *Cic. pro Cal.*

CHAP. XIII.

Experiments of the difficulty of all this Duty, and what it will coſt a man that will live this holy life.

HItherto I have proved that there is a GOD, of *Infinite Power, Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs*; the *Creator*, and conſequently the *Owner*, the *Ruler*, and the *Father* or *Chief Good* of Man; and that *Man* as his creature is abſolutely *his own*, and therefore ſhould *reſign himſelf* as *his own* to *his diſpoſal*; and that he is *abſolutely his ſubject*, and therefore ſhould moſt *exactly* and *diligently obey him*; and I have ſhew'd particularly wherein; alſo that Man is his *Total Beneficiary*, and made to *love him* as his *chief Good* and *End*; and therefore ſhould

ſhould *totally devote himſelf* to him in *gratitude* and *love*, and *deſire* him, *ſeek* him and *delight* in him above all the world, and live in his *praiſes* and *continual ſervice*. All this is fully proved to be *Man's duty*. And now let us ſee on what terms he ſtandeth in the world for the performance of it.

§. 1. *There is in the preſent diſpoſition of Man a great averſeneſs to ſuch a life of* Reſignation, Obedience *and* Love to God, *as is before deſcribed, even when he cannot deny it to be his duty, and to be the beſt, moſt honourable, and moſt felicitating life.*

Too ſad experience confirmeth this. The bad are ſo averſe, that they will not be perſwaded to it: the godly have ſuch a mixture of averſeneſs, as findeth them matter of continual conflict. It is this *averſneſs* which ſerveth inſtead of arguments againſt it, or which is a *pondus* to the very judgment, and maketh it ſo hard to believe any arguments which go againſt ſo ſtrong a contrary inclination.

§. 2. *We find that the ſenſes of men are grown maſterly and inordinate, and are too eagerly ſet upon their objects, and hold down the mind from riſing higher, and cauſe it to adhere to things terrene.*

So that man's life now is like that of the bruits: it is things of the ſame nature that he valueth and adhereth to, and moſt men live to no higher ends but to enjoy their ſenſual pleaſure while they may.

§. 3. *We find that Reaſon in moſt men is ſo debilitated, that it cannot potently reduce it ſelf into action, nor ſee that practically which ſpeculatively it confeſſeth, nor clearly and powerfully obſerve thoſe Perfections of God in his works, nor thoſe Duties of man, which we are convinced to be true: but by inconſiderateneſs and dull apprehenſions is almoſt as no reaſon to them, and falleth down before their ſenſuality.*

§. 4. *Hereupon men grow ſtrangers unto God, and have no thoughts of him but dark, and dull, and ineffectual.*

§. 5. *The world is full of allurements to the fleſh, and thoſe Mercies which ſhould raiſe the mind to God, are made the food of this ſenſuality, and the greateſt means to keep it from him.*

Senſe is irrational, and faſtneth on its object: and when Reaſon faileth in its office, there we are left like Dogs gnawing upon a Carrion, and in greedineſs fighting for it with each other; when we have ſeparated the creature from God

Malè de me loquuntur, ſed mali: Moverer, ſi de me *Marc. Cato, ſi Lælius* ſapiens, ſi duo *Scipiones* iſta loquerentur. Nunc malis diſplicere, laudare eſt. *Sen.* Videturne ſummâ improbitate uſus non ſine ſumma eſſe ratione. Nec ſcena ſolum referta eſt his ſceleribus, ſed multo vita communis pœne majoribus. Sentit domus uniuſcujuſque, ſentit forum, ſentit curia, campus, ſocii, provincia, ut quemadmodum ratione rectè fiat, ſic ratione peccetur: alterum & à paucis & raro alterum & ſæpe & à pluribus: ut ſatius fuerit nullam omnino nobis à Diis datam eſſe rationem, quàm tanta cum pernicie datam. *Ita Cotta contra Deos in C. c. de Natur. Deor.* 3. *p.* 111.

in our minds, and ſo deprived it of its life and beauty, which fitted it for another uſe. And when every place and ſtate of life hath ſuch baits as theſe, which hourly are allureing a mind ſo weakly fortifi'd againſt them, no wonder if they do prevail.

Vir bonus nec cito fieri, nec intelligi poteſt: Nam ille alter fortaſſe Phœnix anno quingenteſimo naſcitur. Nec eſt mirum, ex intervallo magna generat; mediocria & in turbam naſcentia ſæpe fortuna producit: ſed qui ſciret quid eſſet vir bonus, nondum ſe eſſe credere, fortaſſe etiam fieri poſſe deſperaret. *Sen. ep.* 42.

Diogenes *ſaid, He found good children at* Lacedæmon, *but good men no where in all* Græce.

§. 6. *Education, cuſtom and ill example confirm theſe vicious habits with the moſt, and much encreaſe them.*

§. 7. *The beſt have ſome of this inordinate ſenſuality and weakneſs of Reaſon, and are imperfect in virtue, and are tempted by the world as well as others.*

§. 8. *Therefore no man can live to God according to his certain duty, who will not deny the deſires of his fleſh, and bring it into ſubjection, and live in vigilancy and daily conflict againſt its luſts.*

Obj. "But the appetite of meat, and drink, and ſleep, and "eaſe, and venery, and ſport, and pleaſure, and gain, and "honour, is *natural* to us: and that which is natural is no "vice, nor to be denied or deſtroyed.

Anſw. It is natural to have the *appetite*, but it is the *diſeaſe* of nature that this appetite is *inordinate*, and no otherwiſe natural than the Leproſie is to thoſe to whom it is propagated by their Parents. But is it natural to you to have luſt and appetite, and is it not natural to you to have *Reaſon* to moderate and rule them? If not, it is natural to you to be Bruits, and not natural to you to be men: What is more natural to Man than to be Rational? is it not his eſſential form? And whether is *Reaſon* or *Appetite*, think you, naturally made to be the predominant faculty? Should the Horſe rule the Rider, or the Rider the Horſe? The Soul and Body are much like the Rider and the Horſe; bethink you which ſhould naturally rule.

Rari quippe boni: numero vix ſunt totidem quot *Thebarum* portæ, vel divitis oſtia *Nili*. *Juven.*

§. 9. *The inordinacy of the fleſhly appetite and phantaſie, maketh it a continual pain to the fleſh to be reſtrained and denied.*

As it is to a head-ſtrong wilful Horſe to be governed, the more inordinate the appetite is, the more it is pained by denial and reſtraint.

Quæ ego ſcio, populus non probat: Quæ probat populus ego neſcio. *Sen. ep.* 29.

§. 10. *The far greateſt part of the world do live an ungodly ſenſual life, and the intereſt of the fleſh is predominant in them.*

Sad

Sad Experience puts this quite out of controverſie.

§. 11. *Uſually, the more Riches and Fullneſs of all Proviſions for the fleſh men poſſeſs, the more ſenſual and vicious they are.*

Imperitia in omnibus majori ex parte dominatur, & multitudo verborum. *Cleobulus in Laert.*

It is not *alwayes* ſo; but that its *uſually* ſo, we need no proof but the knowledge of the World: nor need we take it from Chriſt only as a point of Faith, That its hard for a Rich man to enter into Heaven: And Reaſon telleth us, that when the love of the World above God is the mortal ſin, thoſe are moſt in danger of it, to whom the World appeareth moſt lovely: And they that have moſt temptations are in the greateſt danger to miſcarry.

Offendet te ſuperbus contemptu, dives contumeliâ, petulans injuriâ, lividus malignitate, pugnax contentione, ventoſus & mendax vanitate? Non feres à ſuſpicioſo timeri, à pertinace vinci, à delicato faſtidiri. *Senec. de Ira. l.* 3. *c.* 8.

§. 12. *The Rich are commonly the Rulers of the World, who have the liberties, eſtates, and lives of others, much in their power.*

Præſtat cum paucis bonis adverſus malos omnes, quàm cum multis malis adverſus paucos pugnare. *Antiſthenes in Laert. l.* 6. *c.* 1.

I never yet knew or heard of that place, where the poor long ruled.

§. 13. *Commonly, the more averſe men are to Godlineſs, and the more prone to ſenſuality; the leſs can they endure thoſe that would perſwade them to Godlineſs from their ſenſual Lives; or that give them the Example of a holy ſelf-denying life.*

For as it ſeemeth intolerable to them to leave their ſenſuality, and to betake themſelves to a contrary life, which they are ſo averſe to; ſo they take him as an enemy to them, that would draw them to it, and are furious againſt him, as a hungry Dog againſt him that would take away his Carrion. Experience puts this paſt all doubt (of which more anon.)

§. 14. *Hence it cometh to paſs, that in all parts of the World, the fore-deſcribed life of Godlyneſs, is the matter of the common hatred, ſcorn and cruel perſecution of the ſenſual and ungodly.*

The more exactly any man ſhall ſet himſelf to obey God, the more he croſſeth the luſts and carnal Intereſt of the wicked; and the more he commonly ſuffereth in the World. So full of malice and prejudice is the World, againſt ſuch faithfull Subjects of God, that they ſlander them and make them

Seneca Epiſt. 87. ſcribit, Tam neceſſarium fuiſſe Romano populo naſci Catonem quam Scipionem: Alter enim cum hoſtibus noſtris, alter cum moribus, bellum geſſit. *And if a* Cato *was at warre with the manners of the World, much more will a true Saint, that is more fully acquainted with Sacred Verity.*

ſeem the moſt odious ſort of men: And ſo unreaſonable are they and unjuſt, that the fulleſt evidence for their Juſtification, doth but ſeem to aggravate their faults; and nothing is ſo great a Crime as their higheſt Virtues! Or if their Juſtification be undenyable they rage the more, becauſe they are hindered from making them ſuffer as deeply in their Names as in their Bodies. Theſe things are no more queſtionable than the Warrs of *Alexander* or *Cæſar*, the World having longer proof and fuller evidence of them.

§. 15. *And ordinarily God himſelf ſo ordereth it, that his faithfulleſt Subjects ſhall be the deepeſt ſufferers in this life.*

§. 16. *Therefore ſelf-denyal, mortification, contempt of the World, and patience under manifold ſufferings from God and Men, are neceſſary to all who will be faithfull to God, in the unqueſtionable duties before deſcribed.*

It is tryed Friendſhip and Obedience which is moſt valuable. And unwholſom pleaſures though preferred by the fooliſh Patient, are forbidden by our wiſe Phyſician, that they hinder not our health, and greater Pleaſures.

§. 17. *Therefore if Worldly fleſhly pleaſures were our end and chief Good, the beſt men would have the ſmalleſt meaſure of them.*

"*Obj.* But you reſtrain man further than God reſtraineth "him, and binde him to more than God bindeth him to, and "make ſuperſtition to ſeem his duty, and then raiſe theſe "conſequences from ſuch Premiſes.

Anſw. What I mean by ſin and duty I have ſo fully opened before, and proved to be ſuch by the light of Reaſon, that this Objection hath no place. Even the ſober Heathens, the *Greek* Philoſophers, and *Romane* Worthies found and confeſſed all this to be true. If there be any thing in the Life before deſcribed, which all ſound Reaſon doth not juſtifie and command, let him that is able manifeſt ſo much: If not, it is no ſuperſtition *, to live as a man that is governed by God, and led by Reaſon; and to do that which all our faculties were made for. And for auſterities, I have pleaded

* Qui toto die precabantur & immolabant, ut ſui liberi ſibi ſuperſtites eſſent, ſuperſtitioſi ſunt appellati: Quod nomen patuit poſtea latius: Qui autem omnia quæ ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, diligenter pertractarent, & tanquam relegerent, ſunt dicti Religioſi, ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo, à diligendo dil gentes, ex intelligendo intelligentes: ſuperſtitioſi & Religioſi, alterum vi- t i nomen, alterum laudis *Cicero de nat. Deor. lib.* 2. *p.* 73, 74.

Ardua re hæc eſt opibus non tradere mores. *Martial.*

Pittaci dictum eſt, Perdifficile eſt eſſe bonum. *Bruſon. worthleſneſs of Pleaſure in comparſon of Virtue.*

All Cicero's *Books* de Finib. *ſhow the*

for

for none, which are not become needfull to our own preſervation and felicity: As a Patient will endure a ſtrict dyet, and exerciſe, and blood-letting, and bitter Phyſick for his health: It is not any affected unprofitable auſterities, that I plead for; but thoſe which are for our good, and fit us for our duty, and keep the fleſh from rebelling againſt Reaſon, and keep Man from living like a Beaſt: Even leſs than many of the Philoſophers plead for; and he that uſeth but thus much which is needfull, will finde it both oppoſed as unſufferable by the World, and murmured againſt by his ſuffering and diſpleaſed Fleſh; and that the Soul cannot do its duty, but at a conſiderable coſt and trouble to the Body. Though there may be an evil masked and cunningly moderated, which men call Goodneſs, which may be had at a cheaper rate. But ſaith *Seneca* truly, *Non eſt Bonitas, peſſimis eſſe meliorem.*

CHAP. XIV.

That there is a Life of Retribution after this.

TO know whether there be a Life after this, for men to receive Rewards or Puniſhments in, is a matter of greateſt importance to Mankinde, to be fully reſolved in: upon which depend our Comforts, and our Religion, and without which we know not what to expect, to hope for, or to fear; nor what to intend and ſeek after through our lives, nor how to order our hearts or actions.

This therefore I ſhall inquire into by the help of Reaſon and Natural evidence, as one that would not be deceived nor deceive, in ſo great a matter. And I ſhall paſs by thoſe arguments which are commonly fetcht from the Souls immateriality, and independence upon matter, and other ſuch like, which are commonly to be found in Phyſicks and Metaphyſicks, as being not ſuch as my preſent method leadeth me to; and ſhall make uſe of ſuch as are the neceſſary conſectaries of the certain Truths already proved.

Senec. Conſol. ad Marciam: Cum tempus advenerit quo ſe mundus renovaturus, — omni flagrante materia uno igne, quicquid nunc ex diſpoſito lucet, arderbit— Nos quoq; fælices animæ, & æternæ ſortitæ, cum Deo viſum erit, iterum iſta moliri — Fœlicem filium tuum Marcia, qui iſta (mortuus) jam novit.—

Object.

Duæ sunt viæ, duplicesq; cursus animorum è corpore exeuntium: Nam qui se vitiis humani contaminarunt; & libidinibus se tradiderunt, iis deviam quoddam iter est, seclusum à consilio Deorum. Qui autem se integros castosq; servarunt, quibusq; fuit minima cum corporibus contagio, *iuncti*; in corporibus humanis vitam imitati Deorum, iis ad illos à quibus sunt profecti, facilè patet reditus. *Socrates, in Ciceron. Tusc. cul.* 1.

Qui rectè & honestè curriculum vivendi à natura datum confecerit, ad astra facilè revertetur. Nemo qui aut immoderatè, aut intemperanter vixerit. *Cicero de Univers.*

Object. *But whatever Rationalities may be drawn from the Divine Attributes, to prove a future state, yet it depending wholly on the Divine Will, and the Divine Will being absolutely free, we can have no rational inducements to bring us to any sufficient knowledge of it, but by a clear Revelation of the Divine Will.*

Answ. Is the Law of Nature no clear Revelation of Gods will? or is it a Law without any Rewards or Penalties? It depended on Gods will, whether man should be his Subject or no, obliged to obey him! But doth it follow therefore that it cannot be proved? By making him a Rational free Agent, and sociable, placed among occasions of good and evil, God did reveal that it was his will that Man should be his Subject, and obey him! One action of God doth oft reveal his will concerning another. Those Attributes of God which signifie his Relation to us, do reveal much of his will, concerning what he will do with us in those Relations. And though his will be *free*, his perfections consist not with falshood and mutability. If in *freedom* you include [*indetermination*] then when we prove the determination of it *ad unum*, you will plead no longer that it is free; no more than it is yet free whether he will make the World.

§. 1. I. *He that is the most Righteous Governour of the World, making a just difference by Rewards and Punishments, between the obedient and the wicked, which yet he maketh not in this life, will certainly make it after this life: But God is the most Righteous Governour of the World, making a just difference by Rewards and Punishments, between the obedient and the wicked, which yet he maketh not in this life: Therefore he will make it after this life.*

That *God* is the *Governour* of the *World* (in a proper sense, by Laws and Moral Government) is proved: And that he is *Righteous*, is contained in the Perfections of his Nature. To deny either of these is to deny him to be God. That his Laws of Nature have not only Precepts of Duty, but sanctions of Reward and Punishment, is also proved: And further may be thus. 1. If there be no Rewards or Punishments, there is no *Judgement* or *Execution*: But there is Judgement and Execution: for they are parts of Government. *Ergo*—

2. Without

2. Without Rewards and Punishments, Precepts would be vain to such as us, and uneffectual as to their ends. But God hath not made his Laws in vain,—*Ergo.*

Improbo bene esse non potest. *Cicero Par.*

Obj. *Governours use not to give men Rewards for their Obedience: Subjects must obey without Reward.*

Impii apud inferos poenas luunt. *Cicero Philipp.* 1. *de Legib.*

Answ. It is not the *Name* but the Thing that we enquire of: Call it a *Benefit* if you had rather: All Government is upheld by Rewards and Punishment. Reward is either that which is common to all obedient Subjects, or such as is specially proper to some: All subjects that are faithfull, have title to protection, and approbation, and justification against all false accusations; and to their share in that peace and felicity of the Common-wealth, which is the end of the Government: And some Commonwealths having far greater felicities than others, accordingly the Subjects of them have their right and part: And this is the *common reward* or *benefit* of *obedience* and fidelity. Besides which, some great exploits are usually rewarded with some special *præmium*. In humane Kingdoms as such, the End is no higher than the Beginning: Temporal Governours give but temporal Rewards: The felicities of the Kingdom, which are the ends of Government, as they are from Man are but temporal; and our share in them is all our Reward from men: But the original and end of the Kingdom of God are higher, and of further prospect: The benefits of fidelity are greater, as shall be further proved.

Impiis apud inferos sunt pœnæ præparatæ. *Cicer.* 1. *de invent.*

Sic habeto; te non esse mortalem, sed corpus hoc. *Cicer. Som. Scip.*

Cicero *saith, that their worshipping of* Hercules, *and other Heroes, doth imply, that* Animi omnium sunt immortales, sed Bonorum Divini. *Cicer.* 2. *de Legib.*

But let it be noted, that this Objection saith nothing against a life of *Punishment*. Governours never leave their Precepts without this sanction. And he that believeth future Punishment, will easily believe a future Reward.

Bonorum mentes mihi Divinæ atq; æternæ videntur, & ex hominum vita ad Deorum religionem sanctimoniamq; migrare. *Idem.*

Let it also be noted, that *Paternal Government* hath evermore Rewards in the strictest sense; that is, a special favour and kindness shewed to the Childe that is specially obedient; and so the rest according to their measures. But the Kingdom of God is *A PATERNALL KINGDOM* as is proved. That God will make in his *Retributions* a *just difference* between the good and bad, is proved from his *Justice* in Government: If his *Laws* make no difference, then men are left at liberty to keep or break them, nor can it rationally be expected that they should be kept: Nor could he be said

Deorum providentiâ Mundus administratur, iisdemq; consulunt rebus humanis, neq; solum universis, verum etiam singulis. *Cicer.* 1. *de Divinat.*

Perſuaſum hoc ſit à principio hominibus, Dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos: eaq; quæ gerantur, eorum geri ditione atq; numine —— Et qualis quiſq; ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate colat Religionem, intueri, Piorumq; & impiorum habere rationem, *Cicero de leg.* 2.

ſo much as to *love* or *approve*, or *juſtifie* the obedient more than the rebellious: But ſo unholy a Nature, and ſo indifferent between ſin and duty, and ſo unwiſe and unjuſt in governing, is not to be called *God*. Either he juſtly differenceth, or he doth not Govern.

That God maketh not a ſufficient differencing Retribution *in this life*, is the complaint of ſome, and the confeſſion of almoſt all the World: The bad are commonly the greateſt, and the Lords and Oppreſſors of the Juſt: The *Turks*, the *Tartarians*, the *Moſcovites*, the *Perſians*, the *Mogull*, and more ſuch brutiſh Monarchs, who uſe the people as the ſlaves of their pride and luſt, do take up the far greateſt part of the Earth. Few places are ſo good, where Goodneſs expoſeth not men to ſufferings, from the rabble of the vulgar, if not from the Governours; ſlanders and abuſes are the common lot of thoſe that will differ from the carnal, wilde, rebellious Rout. And poverty, pain, ſickneſs, and death, do come alike to all. The ſenſual, that have wit enough, ſo far to bridle their luſts, as to preſerve their health, do uſually live longer than more obedient men: And they deny themſelves none of thoſe fleſhly pleaſures, which the obedient do continually abſtain from.

Obj. *But do you not ordinarily ſay, that Vice bringeth its puniſhment with it in its natural effects? and Obedience its Reward? Is not the life of a Glutton and Drunkard puniſhed by poverty, and ſhame, and ſickneſs? And is not Godlineſs a pleaſure in it ſelf? If it be our higheſt end and Happineſs to love God and pleaſe him, then ſure the beginnings of it here, muſt have more good, than all the pleaſures of ſin? and ſo God maketh a ſufficient difference here.*

Anſw. Some Vices that are ſottiſhly managed, do bring poverty, ſhame and ſickneſs: but that may eaſily be avoided by a vicious wit: Gluttony and drunkenneſs may fall ſhort of ſickneſſes. Fornication and adultery and inceſt may be managed with greater craft. Pride and ambition may attain dominion and wealth: Theft may be hid, and cheating and fraud may make men rich, and free them from the pinching wants, and cares, and the temptations to diſcontent and contention, of the poor. Malice may delight it ſelf in ſecret revenges, in poyſonings, murderings, and ſuch like, without any worldly hurt to the tranſgreſſour. A *Tiberius*, a *Nero*, a *Caligula*, a *Domitian*, a *Commodus*, a *Heliogabalus*, a *Sardanapalus*, may be on the Throne, when a *Socrates*, a *Seneca*, a *Cicero*, a *Cato*, a *Demoſthenes* is put to death; yea, when a *Paul* or *Peter*, an *Ignatius*, a *Cyprian*, are ſacrificed to their bloody rage.

Yet it is true, that all this while they want the dignity and comfort of the Juſt: But while they *value* it not, and *feel not* the want of it, they take it not for a puniſhment, but chooſe it as a felicity.

And as for the preſent Rewards of Virtue, to ſpeak impartially, I verily think that if there *were no* life to come, Virtue and Holineſs were rationally more eligible: But that is much becauſe *God* is *an End above our ſelves*! And for *our own content*, in *many*, Holineſs would give the minde more pleaſure, than all fleſhly pleaſure, and worldly greatneſs could counterpoiſe. But with many others, whoſe afflictions are very heavy, and pains and poverty very great, and who are grievouſly tormented by cruel perſecutors; and perhaps a Melancholy conſtitution may forbid them much delight, it is hard to ſay, that if they durſt let looſe themſelves to all ſin, which maketh for their fleſhly intereſt, their Pleaſure would not be much greater. While the Soul is in fleſh, it unavoidably partaketh of the pain or pleaſure of the fleſh: Therefore the torment of the Stone, or Strangury, or of a Rack or Strappado will reach the Soul: And the operations of the Soul being in and by the body, a tormented body will hinder thoſe Contemplations which ſhould feed our Joy, and alſo hinder the Joy of thoſe Contemplations. Moſt Chriſtians enjoy little comfort in Holineſs, through the very cares of this life, and the weakneſs of Grace, and power of Corruptions, and doubts and fears which do attend them: Much leſs would they have much comfort, if they were here tormented, and miſerable in body, and had no hope of another life. In ſome ſenſe we may ſay, that Heaven is begun on Earth, becauſe Holineſs is begun: But the Heaven on Earth is the hope and reflection of the Heaven indeed, and is ſoon gone if that be gone, as the light here ceaſeth when the Sun is ſet. God ſeen and loved in a glaſs doth more differ as to us from God as ſeen and loved in the intuition of

his Glory, than the heart of man is now able to conceive. The difference may be well called ſpecifical as to our actions, yea tranſcendently ſuch. Let any man in torment without any hope of Heaven be Judge.

And though Honeſty without the Pleaſure and Comforts of it, be ſtill *better* and more eligible, yet while mans Reaſon and Virtue is ſo *weak*, and his ſenſe and appetite ſo ſtrong, and his body hath ſo much power upon his minde, it is very few that the meer Love of Virtue would prevail with, if that Virtue were never to come to a higher degree than this.

It is undoubtedly true, that the Delights of Holineſs, are incomparably more deſireable, as we have them in this life, than Kingdoms and all the pleaſures of the fleſh: But that is principally becauſe that this life is the paſſage to a better, and hath relation to ſo glorious a reward: The leaſt forethought of future Bleſſedneſs, may weigh down all the riches and pleaſures of the World. But take away the reſpect to the life to come, and weak man would meet with no ſuch comforts.

It is true alſo, that Virtue and Piety is moſt deſirable even for it ſelf: But that is eſpecially as it will be *it ſelf* indeed, in a life of fuller *perfection* than this: For here it is ſo weak, and clogged with ſo many corruptions, and infirmities, that the comfort of it is little perceived: But as a Childe in infancy hath leſs pleaſure than a Bruite, for all his Reaſon; and as young Scholars for a time, do meet with more trouble than pleaſure in their Learning, and half-witted Artiſts are oft more incommodious than none; and no one would much ſeek after Arts or Learning for all its excellency, if they had not hopes to aſcend above that troubleſome ſmattering degree: Even ſo in the preſent Caſe, though the leaſt Virtue be in it ſelf more valuable than all ſenſual pleaſure, yet conſidered as *Good to us*, we ſhould never be able to preferre it, if we had not hopes of a higher meaſure, than moſt of the truly virtuous and obedient, do here attain.

Either it is fleſhly, worldly pleaſure, or it is the pleaſing and enjoying of God in Holineſs and Love, which is Mans ultimate end. If it be the former, then certainly the ſenſual and wicked are in a better condition than the obedient: For they have much more of that kinde of delight; while the

the beſt are oft tormented and perſecuted by their cruelty. But if it be the *latter*, then it is ſure to be enjoyed hereafter, ſeeing we have here ſo ſmall a meaſure, and alſo finde that all the Virtue and Holineſs of this life, conſiſteth much more in *deſire*, and *ſeeking*, than in *delightfull* enjoying: And our *Delights* are for the moſt part, the effects of *Hope*, of what we ſhall poſſeſs hereafter, more than of the ſenſe of our preſent happineſs.

There is no righteous Governour on Earth, that will ſuffer (if he can help it) his diſobedient Subjects to perſecute thoſe that moſt carefully obey him, and to make them a common ſcorn, and to impriſon them, torment them, burn them at Stakes, or baniſh them, and then ſay, That their obedience is in its own nature ſo much better than diſobedience, that it is Reward enough of it ſelf. It is not the work of a Ruler only to ſee that no man be a loſer by him or his ſervice in point of commutative Juſtice; but to ſee that by diſtributive Juſtice ſuch a difference be made between the obedient and diſobedient, as the difference of their actions do require, in order to the ends of Government. Juſtice giveth every one his due. Mercy it ſelf when it remitteth a penalty, doth it for the ſame ends, and upon ſuch reaſonable conſiderations of repentance, confeſſion, ſatisfaction, reparation, (according to power) that it may be called a *Juſt Mercy*: God is ſuch a Lover of Holineſs, that he will in his Government *manifeſt* that Love; and ſuch a hater of ſin that he will *ſignifie* his hatred of it to the *ſinner*.

Moreover, the Body it ſelf is part of the Man, and that part which hath no ſmall intereſt in the ſin: It ſeemeth therefore unjuſt that the *Bodies and ſenſitive* powers of the diſobedient ſhould have all kinde of pleaſures, and the *Bodies* and ſenſe of the obedient have the pain of Faſting, ſelf-denyal, perſecutions, cruelties, and no further Judgement to make a more equal Retribution.

In a word, I think there are few that compare the life of an Emperour of *Turkie*, or *Tartary*, or any wicked ſenſual Worldling, with the life of many a thouſand perſecuted and tormented Saints, but will confeſs, that no Diſtributive Juſtice doth make in this life, ſo ſufficient a difference, as may make men know the Juſtice of the Governour, the

Animus eſt ingeneratus à Deo, ex quo verè vel agnatio nobis cum cœleſtibus vel genus vel ſtirps appellari poteſt. *Cicero 1. de Legib.*

Quum Pompeio res infeliciter cederent, & ad Cæſarem inclinaret victoria, Cato dicebat, in rebus Divinis multum eſſe caliginis; quod Pompeio præter jus agenti fuiſſent omnia proſpera; cauſam reipublicæ tuenti nihil ſuccederet. *Plutarch. in Catone.*

Plato dicebat, Deum nullo uſpiam modo injuſtum eſſe ſed planè juſtiſſimum: Nec ei ſimilius inveniri poſſe quicquam, quam qui inter nos juſtiſſimus eſt. *In Theæt.*

How like a Christian was that of Anaxagoras, *in* Laert. p. 87. Hic non modo generis gloriâ & opibus, verum animi quoque magnitudine clarissimus fuit: Quippe qui universum patrimonium suis sponte concessit. Quo cum ab eis insimularetur negligentiæ, Quid ergo, inquit, nonne vos ista curatis? Deinde ab eis profectus, ad speculandum rerum naturam se contulit, rei & publicæ & privatæ omnino negligens; adeo ut cuidam se ita compellanti, Nullane tibi Patriæ cura est? dixerit, Mihi vero patriæ cura est, & quidem summa; digitum in cœlum intendens. Bene merenti, bene profuerit; male merenti par erit. *Plaut.* Τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖ, dictum *Cleobuli. Phocilidis.* Μὴ κακὸν ἓν ἔρξῃς σπείρειν ἶσον ἐς ἐπόντῳ. Qui indignum honore afficiunt, stultitiæ opinionem habent. *&c.*

desirablenes of a holy state, or the danger of the contrary: it was the observation of this that made most of the Atheists of the world think, that there was no God, or that he exercised no moral Government over men: and that made even the innocent often to stagger, and tempted them to think their labours and sufferings were all in vain, till they look'd before them to the end.

And if God's Justice make not a sufficient difference here, it is certain that there is *another* life where he will do it; because else he should not be just, his Laws would be delusory, and his Government would be defective, and successful only by deceit.

Obj. "God is not obliged to do Justice to men any more "than to any other creatures: he suffereth the Dog to kill "the Hare, the Deer, and innocent Sheep; the Kite to kill "the harmless Doves and Chickens; the ravenous Birds, and "Beasts, and Fishes, to devour and live upon the rest; and "Man upon all: and he is not bound to do them Justice.

Answ. The Bruits are no subjects capable of *moral Government*, and consequently of *Propriety*, of *Right* or of *Wrong*. God that made them uncapable of *Government*, thereby declared that he *intended* them not for it. Let no man here play with ambiguities, and say, that *God governeth all the creatures*. The word [*Government*] is taken equivocally, when it is applied to a dead or bruitish subject, a Ship, a Coach, a Horse, a Dog; and meaneth not the same thing which we discourse of. It is *Moral Government* by Laws and Judgment which we treat of. When God had made Man a Governable Creature, he thereby declared his will to be himself his Governour, which is all the obligation that God is capable of, as to actions *ad extra*. He therefore that made the rational world his *Kingdom*, did thereby engage himself to govern them in Justice: there is therefore no comparison between the case of men and bruits, who never were *subjects*, but *utensils* in his Kingdom.

§. 2. II. *If there were no retribution in the life to come, the* secret sins *and* duties *of the* heart *and* life *would be under no sufficient Government. But the* secret sins *and* duties *of the* heart *and* life *are under a sufficient Government: Therefore there is a Retribution in the life to come.*

This

This Argument is a particular instance, to clear the former general Argument. The Major is proved by experience; the Heart is the Fountain of Good and Evil, man cannot see it, and therefore pretendeth not to govern it, or make Laws for it; if they did, it would be all in vain. The heart may be guilty of Atheism, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Malice, Contrivements, and desires of Treason, Murder, Incest, Adultery, Fraud, Oppression, and all the Villany in the world, and no man can know or punish it: and God doth not do it ordinarily in this life, with any sufficient act of Justice. So also all those sins which men are but able to hide, as secret Murders, Treasons, Revenge, Slanders, Fraud, &c. do escape all punishment from man. And God hath no observable ordinary course of outward Justice in this world, but what he exerciseth by men, (though extraordinarily he sometime otherwise interpose.) And how easie and ordinary it is for subtil men to do much wickedness, and never be discovered, needs no proof. The like we may say in some measure of those *secret duties* of heart and life, which have neither reward nor notice in this life, and if observed, are usually turned into matter of reproach.

Qui largiuntur indignis ea quæ dignis conferri debebant, tria committunt absurda, nam & ipsi jacturam faciunt, & in bonos contumelioſi sunt, & malos roborant, materiâ vitiorum suppeditatâ. *Antonin.* Stultissimum est existimare omnia justa esse quæ scita sint in populorum institutis, aut legibus. Etiamne si quæ sint Tyrannorum leges, si jo illi *Athenis* leges imponere voluissent? aut si omnes *Athenienses* delectarentur tyrannicis legibus, num idcirco hæ leges justæ haberentur? Nihilo credo magis illa quàm interrex noster tulit, ut Dictator quem vellet civium, indicta causa, impune posset occidere. Est enim unum jus quo devincta est hominum societas, &c. *Cic. de leg.* 1. p. 225. Idem undique in infernum descensus est; *said* Anaxagoras *to one that lamented that he must die in a strange country.* Laert. in Anaxag.

The Minor needeth no more proof, when we have proved already that God is our Governour: It is certain, that the secret acts of heart and life are as much under his government as the open, and therefore shall have equal retribution.

§. 3. III. *If there were no life of retribution after this, the sins of the Great ones and Rulers of the world, and all others, that by strength could make their part good, would be under no sufficient Justice. But the sins even of the greatest and strongest are under sufficient justice: Therefore there is a life of retribution after this.*

The Major is clear by experience: The sins of all the Sovereigns of the earth are rarely under sufficient justice in this life. If there were no punishment hereafter, what justice would be done upon a *Tamerlane*, a *Bajazet*, a *Mahumed*, a *Dionysius*, an *Alexander*, a *Cæsar*, a *Marius*, a *Sylla*, a *Sertorius*, and many hundred such, for all the innocent bloud which they have shed, for their pride and self-exalting. What justice would be done on Kings, and Emperours, and States, that have none above them, for all their lusts and filthiness,

Næ illi falsi sunt qui diversissimas res pariter expectant, voluptatem & præmia virtutis. *Sa'ust.*

Ut ex barba capillos detonsos negligimus; ita ille divinis animus egressurus, quo receptaculum suum conferatur, ignis illud exurat, an feræ distrahant, an terra contegat, non magis putat ad se pertinere, quam secundinas ad editum infantem. *Sen. ep. 93.*

Maximum est argumentum naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacitè judicare, quod omnibus curæ sint, & maxime quidem, quæ post mortem futura sunt. *Cic.*

Cum natura cæteros animantes abjecisset, ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, & ad cœli quasi cognationis domicilique pristini conspectum excitavit. Tum speciem ita formavit oris, ut in eâ penitus reconditos mores effingeret. *Cic. 1. de legib.*

thineſs, their intemperance and ſenſuality, their oppreſſion and cruelty? I know that God doth ſometimes puniſh them by Rebels, or by other Princes, or by ſickneſs in this life: but that is no *ordinary* courſe of juſtice, and therefore not ſufficient to its ends: Ordinarily all things here come alike to all. And what juſtice would be done upon any Rebels or Robbers that are but ſtrong enough to bear it out? Or upon any that raiſe unrighteous Wars, and burn, and murder, and deſtroy Countries and Cities, and are worſe than plagues to all places where they come, and worſe than mad dogs and bears to others? If they do but conquer, inſtead of puniſhment for all this villany, they go away here with wealth and glory.

The Minor is paſt queſtion: Therefore certainly there is another life, where conquering, rewarded, proſpering, domineering ſin ſhall have its proper puniſhment.

§. 4. IV. *If God rule not man by the hopes and fears of certain Good and Evil hereafter, he ruleth him not according to his Nature: But God doth rule man according to his Nature:* Ergo.

The Minor needeth no proof: The Major is proved by experience: The nature of man is to be moſt moved with the hopes and fears of Good and Evil after death: Otherwiſe death it ſelf would comparatively ſeem nothing to us. No other creature hath ſuch hopes and fears: If you ask, how I can tell that? I anſwer, as I can tell that a Tree doth not hear, and a Stone doth not feel or ſee, becauſe there is no appearance of ſuch a ſenſe, whoſe nature is to make it ſelf manifeſt by its evidences where it is: Bruits ſhew a fear of death, and love of life, but of nothing further; of which there is evidence enough to quiet a mind that ſeeketh after truth, though not to ſilence a prating caviller. This will be further improved under that which followeth.

§. 5. V. *If the world* cannot *be governed according to its nature, and God's Laws, without the hopes and fears of Good and Evil after death, then the objects of ſuch hopes and fears is certain truth. But the Antecedent is true: Therefore ſo is the Conſequent.*

That the nature of man requireth a Moral Government, and not only a Phyſical motion, is already proved. Phyſical motion only determineth the agent to act, and produceth the

the act it ſelf *quoad eventum*. Moral Government doth inſtitute for the ſubject a *debitum agendi, & habendi*, and judgeth him accordingly. If there were no Government but Phyſical motion, there were no *delitum* in the world, neither *officii, præmii vel pœnæ, vel jus poſſidendi, vel injuria*: no right or wrong. For Phyſical motion doth equally produce the act in perjury, murder, treaſon, adultery, as in good deeds: and it never produceth an act which eventually never is: Therefore there ſhould be nothing a *Duty* but what cometh to paſs, if Phyſical motion were all the Government. Government then there muſt be; and what God requireth of all by nature I have ſhewed before. Now that there is a moral impoſſibility of the performance of this in any ſincerity, ſo as to intimate any laudible Government of the world, I ſhall further prove.

Piſo in Cic. de fin. l. 5. p. 199. *Speaking of corporal and ſenſitive good, ſaith,* Quibus tantum præſtat Mentis excellens perfectio, ut vix cogitari poſſit quid interſit. *So that the perfection of the Mind is the perfection of the Man.*

1. If according to the preſent temper of man, there be no *motives*, which would ever prove ſufficient to reſiſt all the temptations of this life, to keep us in true obedience and love to God, unto the end, without the hopes and fears of Good and Evil after death; then cannot the world be governed according to God's Laws, without ſuch hopes and fears of futurity. But the Antecedent is true: *Ergo*, ſo is the conſequent.

If God had preſcribed man a courſe of duty in his Laws, (as to obey and love him upon terms of fleſhly ſuffering) and had not given man ſuch motives as might rationally prevail for the performance; his Laws had been all in vain. He that hath made Holineſs our indiſpenſible duty, hath certainly left us motives and rational helps to perform it. But ſo many and great are the temptations of this life, and ſo ſtrong is our ſenſe, and ſo great are the ſufferings of the obedient, that in this our imperfection we could never go through them, without the motives which are fetch'd from another life. 1. It would weaken the hands of the *beſt*, as to their duty, it would embolden them to ſin, it would give victory to all ſtrong temptations. Let every Reader but conſult with his own ſoul, and (though it be granted that virtue *ſhould* be choſen for its own ſake, how dear ſoever it may coſt, yet) let him without lying ſay, what he thinketh he ſhould be and do in caſe of temptations, if he knew that he had no life to live but this.

Ex ipſa vitâ diſcedimus tanquam ex hoſpitio, non tanquam ex domo: Commorandi enim nobis natura diverſorium, non habitandi domum dedit. *Cic. in Cat. Maj.*

Atque haud scio an pietate adversus Deos sublata, fides etiam & societas humani generis & una excellentissima virtus justitia tollatur. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. p.* 4.

Pietas est fundamentum omnium virtutum. *Cic. pro Plan.*

Zenophon *reporteth* Cyrus *as saying, If all my subjects were enduced with piety to God, they would do less evil to one another, and to me.* l. 8. Pietate adversus Deos sublatâ, fides etiam & societas humani generis, & una excellentissima virtus justitia, tollatur necesse est. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l.* 1.

Lento gradu ad vindictam sui, Divina procedit ira: tarditatemque supplicii gravitate compensat. *Valer. Max. de Dionys. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

I am not sure, but I will freely confess what I think most that now are honest would be and do. First, They would observe how little difference God maketh between the obedient and disobedient in his providence, and how ordinarily his present judgements are not much to be feared. And hence they would think, that he maketh no great matter of it, what they either are or do: and so their very *love* of Virtue would be much debilitated: Nay, the sufferings of the virtuous would tempt them to think, that it is no very *desirable* way: and though still they would have something within them, which would tell them, that honesty, and temperance, and piety are good; yet the natural love of themselves is so deeply planted in them, and so powerful, that in most great temptations it would prevail. They would venture upon *lying* and *perjury*, rather than lose their liberty, or livelihood, or reputation. They would do any thing which the Rulers bid them, or any one that is stronger than they, rather than suffer much for their innocency. I think they would not scramble much for riches, or high places, because a quiet life best pleaseth them; but if they had a fancy to any delightful seat, or pleasant accommodation, they would stretch their consciences hard to get it: And to escape poverty, and suffering, and death, they would do I know not what. And if their interest required them to do another mischief, in order to the publick good, (for revenge I suppose them not much enclined to) they would be as *Brutus's*, and would be confident of the success of subtil and concealed enterprises: they would no further resist any great temptation to please their appetites in meats and drinks; or their flesh, in lust, or ease, and sports, and gaming, and such vain pastimes, than some other carnal interest contradicting did forbid them. And though naturally some men prefer *Knowledge* before all worldly pleasures, yet considering how short a time they should be the better for it, and how many toilsome hours they must lay out for it, they would rather let it go, and take up with the ease and pleasure of the flesh. This, I fear, would be their life; for when all the comforts of this life of flesh are laid in the one end of the ballance, what should weigh them down but something greater? So that if some little *restraint of villany* might be made by *former motives*, I appeal

appeal to the conscience of the Reader, whether he thinks, that the fore-proved duties of *Resignation*, *Obedience*, and *Love to God* above all, would ever be performed (by any considerable number at least) if they knew that they had no life to live but this.

2. Yea, no tolerable Government at all could be kept up, (I speak not of God's Physical motion by Omnipotency.) For, 1. The *Rulers* of the world, that have *none above them* would have little or no restraint; and *their examples* would form the *people* to all abomination. If they feared insurrections, they would oppress them the more to disable them. And what a world must it be, when Lust is the Law to all the Governours? And the people would have nothing but the hopes and fears of temporal good or evil, to restrain them from any Treason or Rebellion or villany. And all those that Princes cannot please, would plot, revenge or play their game another way: and subtil men would think it easie to poison or murder secretly Princes and Nobles, and any enemy that stood in the way of their own designs, if once they were out of fear of a life to come.

3. And all secret villany would be committed without fear: (secret adulteries, theft, lying, perjury) and common honesty could not be maintained; for every man's self-interest would be his Law, and prevail against all the principles of honesty. And all that men would strive for, would be either to strengthen themselves in their wickedness, that they might be out of fear of humane Justice; or else to hide it from the cognisance of man: Thus would the world be turned into a resemblance of Hell, and men be as much worse than wild beasts, as their natures were better which are corrupted, and all would be in wickedness and confusion, without the hopes and fears of another life.

Obj. *But in all this you argue against experience: Hath there not been Government and order kept up among Heathens? and is there not a Government at this day in all the Kingdoms and Common-wealths throughout the world?*

Answ. In all this I speak according to experience: For, 1. Almost all the world believe a life to come: all the Christians, all the Mahometans, and all the Jews, and almost all or most of the known Idolaters and Heathens: their very Idolatry

Nam quid faciet is homo in tenebris, qui nihil timet nisi testem vel judicem? Quid in deserto loco nactus quem multo auro spoliare possit imbecillum atque solum? &c. *Cic. de leg.* 1. *pag.* 214.

A fortnight after the writing of this London *was burnt.*

Qui nihil alterius causa facit, & meritur suis commodis omnia, videtis credo quid sit acturus—si negabit illi vitam erepturum, & aurum ablaturum, non quod turpe judicet, sed quod metuat ne emanet, id est, ne malum habeat. *Cic. ibid.*

Thalaus dicta in Lucret. sunt, Animas esse immortales. Antiquissimum omnium entium Deus: ingeniis enim est: Pulcherrimum mundus: à Deo enim factus: Maximum locus; capit enim omnia: Velocissimum Mens; nam per universa discurrit, &c.

Stoici dicunt esse Dæmones quibus insit hominum miseratio, inspectores rerum humanarum: Heroas quoque solutas corporibus sapientum animas. *Laert. in Zenone.*

Idolatry intimateth this, when they number their deceased Heroes with their gods. And though the power of this belief is debilitated with the most, (and therefore piety and virtue proportionably perisheth) yet that common dull belief of it which they have, being in a business of unspeakable consequence, doth restrain them so far as they are restrained.

2. Those that believe it not, are yet in an *uncertainty*; and the possibility of rewards and punishments hereafter, keepeth up much of the order that is left.

3. Those few Countries which believe that there is no life to come, (or rather those *persons* in some Countries) do proportionably increase or excel in wickedness: they give up themselves to sensuality and lusts, to pride, and covetousness, and revenge, and cruelty; and are usually worse than others, as their belief is worse; what maketh Cannibals more savage than other people? What made a *Nero*, a *Heliogabalus*, &c. such swine? what made *Rome* it self at that pass, that *Seneca* saith, more died by poison of servants hands, (and secret murders) than by Kings: (even in days of such great and common cruelty.) All was, because mens consciences were from under the hopes and fears of another life: and if all were so, then all would live accordingly.

But it is another kind of life which the Law of God in Nature doth enjoyn us; it is another kind of life, which I before proved to be all mens duty: and whether the world have sufficient means and motives to *such* a life, and could be governed but like men, without the hopes and fears of futurity, let sober and considerate reason judge?

Qui ea committit quæ leges prohibent, & de quibus supplicia sunt, is ea multo magis committet, de quibus nullum supplicium est. *Aristot. 1. Rhet.*

Obj. *Can it be any worse then it is already? what vice or villany doth not every where abound, for all the belief of a life to come?*

Obj. At non apud omnes proficiunt leges.

Answ. If it be so bad for all that belief, what would it be without? if the enervating of it by the lusts of the flesh do loose the reins, and leave the world in so much wickedness, what would it be if their hopes and fears of another life were gone? Now men have a secret witness in their breasts, which checketh and restraineth them: Now they have Kings and Rulers, who having some belief of a life to come, do form their Laws accordingly, and govern the common people with some respect to that belief. Now there are many (through

Resp. Nec philosophia quidem; nec ideo inutilis & formandis animis ineffi-cax est. *Sen. ep. 95.*

(through the mercy of God) who are serious in that belief, and live accordingly; who are instructors, restraints and examples to the rest. And from these is that order which is kept up in the world: But if all were as those few, that have overcome this belief, the world would be a Wilderness of savage Beasts, and would be so full of impiety, villany, perfidiousness, bloodiness, and all confusion, that we should think it a greater sign of goodness in God to destroy it, than to continue it; and should think of his Government according to the effects, or should hardly believe he govern'd it at all.

I come now to prove the consequence of the Major Proposition, that *the objects* of those hopes and fears are certain truths, which are so necessary to the government of the world: and this needeth no other proof but this.

If God can govern the world without a course of deceit and lying, then the objects of these necessary hopes and fears are true: But God can govern the world without a course of deceit and lying: *Ergo.*

The Major is evident, because to govern by the hopes and fears of falshoods, or things that are not, (when those hopes and fears are not only of God, but made necessary to Government) is to govern by deceit and lying: or if it had not been by falshood uttered, but falshood permitted, the Minor is certain.

Utiles esse has opiniones quis neget, cum intelligat quam multa firmentur jurejurando: quantæ salutis sint fœdera religionis; quam multos divini supplicii metus, à scelere revocaret? quamque sancta sit societas civium, inter ipsos Dijs immortalibus interpositis, tum judicibus, tum testibus. *Cic. de leg. l. 2. p. 236, 237.*

For if God cannot govern without such a course of deceit, it is either for want of *Power*, or of *Wisdom*, or of *Goodness*; that is, Holiness, and Benignity of Will. But the Omnipotent wanteth not Power, and the Omniscient wanteth not Wisdom, to find out true and suitable means; and he that is *Optimus*, wanteth neither *Holiness* to love truth and hate falshood, nor *Benignity* to love his Creature: and therefore needeth no such means.

And he that believeth that God himself doth govern the world by a cheat, even by the hopes and fears of fictions, will sure think it best to imitate his God, and to govern, and trade, and live accordingly.

This argument was *à necessitate ad ordinem*, the next shall be only *from God's actual government.*

Nisi Deus istis te corporis custodiis liberaverit, ad cœlum aditus patere non potest. *Cic. Somn. Scip.*

§. 6. VI. *If God do* de facto *govern the world by the hopes and fears of Good and Evil in another Life, then the objects of*

Laertius *saith of* Bion Boristh. *That he had learned of impious* Theodorus *to deny God, in his health; but falling into unhealthfulness he repented of his sin against God.* Ac siquidem id dogma tueri perstitisset, merito dicendus esset sensisse ut visum fuisset, etsi male visum esset. At nunc tamen longo morbo tabescens, ac mori pertimescens, qui Deos non esse dixerat, phanum non viderat, mortalibus qui illudebat veris dum dis immolarent—— Peccavi dixit, delictis parcite—— Stultus qui mercede voluerit Deos esse. Quasi tunc Dii essent quum illos Bion demum esse arbitraretur.

those hopes and fears is certain: But God doth de facto so govern: Ergo.

The Major is proved as before: for that which proved that God *can* govern without falshood, proved also that he *doth* govern without it. It belongeth only to the Impotent, the Ignorant, or the Bad to use such means.

Obj. *May not a Parent or Physician honestly deceive a Child or Patient for his recovery to health? why then may not God do so?*

Answ. 1. They do it through *insufficiency* to attain their end by a better means: but the Omnipotent and Omniscient hath no such insufficiency. 2. They may not lie or utter any untruth to do it, though they may hide some truth by words which he is apt to mistake. But if the world be governed by such hopes and fears of futurity, it is hard to think whence they should fetch the object, but from some divine revelation in nature. 3. A whole course of Government of all the rational world, by so sorry an instrument as deceit and falshood, is more inconsistent with the nature and perfections of God, than a particular act of deceit in a work of necessity and charity is with the nature of imperfect man.

The Minor is proved in the answer to the last objection, and by the common experience of the world.

Obj. *How little doth the hopes and fears of another world do with the most? Do you not see that fleshly interest sweepeth them, and therefore they are what the Great ones would have them be, who can help or hurt them?*

Answ. 1. I have proved how much *worse* it would be, if that restraint which these hopes and fears make were taken off. 2. That this restraint is general in all Nations almost of the earth, though the prevalency of sin do much enfeeble it. 3. That Rulers themselves are under some of these restraints, in their Law-making and Judgement. Though fleshly interest much prevail against it, there are some remnants of secret hopes or fears in the consciences of sinners, which keep up so much good as is yet left, and keep men from those villanies, in which they might hope to escape all sufferings from men.

§. 7. VII. *If God himself kindle in the best of men desires to know him, love him, and enjoy him perfectly hereafter, then such*

such desires shall attain their end: But God himself doth kindle such desires in the best of men: Ergo—— *And consequently there is such a Life to come.*

Here 1. I must prove that the best men have such desires: 2. That God kindleth them: 3. That therefore he will satisfie them.

1. And for the first, the Consciences of all Good men are my witnesses; whose desires to know God better, to love him and please him more, and to enjoy his Love, is as the very pulse and breath of their souls. For this they groan, and pray, and seek; for this they labour, wait and suffer: If you could help them to more of the Knowledge and Love of God, you would satisfie them more than to give them all the wealth and honours of the World. Their Religious lives, their labours, prayers, contemplations, and sufferings, prove all this, and shew for what they long and live.

"*Obj.* But this is caused by the power of a deluded fan-"tasie, which seeketh after that which is not to be had: "What if you fall in Love with the Sun? Will it prove, that "you must be loved by it, see it and enjoy it, in the life to "come?

Answ. 1. To the similitude: Either the Sun is a rational free Agent, or not. If it be, it is either the chief Agent, or a dependent Instrument: If it were the first (as it is not) I should owe my self totally to it, in the exercise of all the powers given me, as is aforesaid: And if it gave me such Desires, I might suppose it was not in vain. But if it give me nothing but as an Instrument or dependent Cause, I owe it nothing but in subserviency to the first Cause: But in such subserviency, if God had commanded me to love and honour it, as a Lover of Mankinde, and a Rational Benefactor, and had placed any of my duty or felicity, in seeking perfection in that love and honour; I should obey him, and expect an answerable benefit: But if it be no intelligent Agent, or I cannot know that it is so, then I can owe it no other respect but what is due to a natural Instrument of God.

2. To the matter: That these desires are not from a deluded fantasie, but the work of God I prove: 1. In that I have fully proved them already to be our *Duty*, by the Law-

For as the Sun is not seen without the Sun, nor the Aire heard without the Air, but the Eye that is full of the light seeth the light, and the Ear full of air heareth the resounding air; so God is not known without God, but a mind full of God only, is lifted up to God, so far as illustrated with the light of God he knoweth God, and inflamed with the heat of God he thirsteth after him. Ficin. c. 2. p. 15.

It is a most improbable thing, that God would give up all the best men in the World to deceit, in so great a matter, and them that are most faithfull to the Truth, and would save all the Epicures, Drunkards, Fornicators, proud and perjured Atheists, from this error, if it were an error, to believe a life to come.

Θεὸν σέβου, καὶ πάντα πράξεις εὐδαίμων. Gr. Com.

Supplicii facilius pias a Diis supplicans Quam qui sceleſtus eſt, invenit veniam ſibi. *Plaut. Rud.*

Τῶν χρησῶν ἔχει τιὼ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ Θεός.

Εἰς πάντα καίριον, καὶ τύχης βοπτὼ πᾶσαν. Menand.

Nec unquam Bono quicquam mali evenire poteſt, nec vivo nec mortuo, nec res ejus a Diis negliguntur. *Cicero Tuſcul. 1.*

Law of Nature: To love God with all the heart and might, and conſequently to *deſire* to love him, and pleaſe him, and enjoy him in perfection, that is in the utmoſt of our capacity, is a proved duty. 2. In that the Beſt men are the poſſeſſors of it; And the more all other Virtues and Obedience do abound, the more this aboundeth. And the more any are vicious, impious, ſenſual, worldly, the leſs they have of theſe deſires after God. 3. They encreaſe in the uſe of holy means appointed by God: and they decay by evil means. All ſin is againſt it, and all obedience doth promote it. 4. It is found moſt ſuitable to the tendency of our faculties, as their only perfection: The only true advancement of Reaſon, and rectitude and felicity of the Will. If it be not by God, that the Love and Deſires of God are kindled in us, then no good is to be aſcribed unto God: For we have here no greater good.

Now that God will *ſatisfie* theſe *deſires* is proved; In that he maketh nothing in vain, nor kindleth any ſuch deſires as ſhall deceive them, and make all *their lives* a meer deluſion. Yea, and do this by the very *beſt* of men. None of this is conſiſtent with the perfections of God.

§. 8. VIII. *If there were no life of Retribution after this, Obedience to God would be finally mens loſs and ruine: But Obedience to God ſhall not be finally mens loſs and ruine:* Ergo, *there is another Life*——

The Major is proved before: However it would be beſt in point of Honeſty, it would be worſt to thouſands in point of perſonal *Utility*. Even to all thoſe that forſaking all the ſinfull pleaſures of this World, do conflict with their fleſh, and keep it under, and ſuffer the loſs of all outward comforts by the cruelty of Perſecutors, and it may be through melancholy or weak fears, have little comfort from God inſtead of them; and at laſt perhaps be tormented and put to death by cruelty. Few will think this deſirable for it ſelf.

And that our Obedience to God ſhall not be mens final loſs and ruine, needeth no proof but this; that he hath made our *ſelf-love* a Principle inſeparable from our nature, and maketh uſe of it in the Government of the World; and commandeth nothing but what is finally for our good; and ſo conjoyneth the pleaſing of him and our own felicity inſeparably in our end: His Regiment is paternal, His Glory which he ſeeketh by us, is the Glory of his Goodneſs communicated and accumulated on us. This taken in with the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of his Nature, will tell any man, that to be a *loſer finally* by our Obedience to God, is a thing that no man need to fear: He doth not ſerve himſelf upon us to our hurt; nor command us that which will undo us. He neither wanteth Power, Wiſdom, nor Goodneſs, to make us gainers by our duty. It is the deſire of natural Juſtice in all, *ut bonis bene ſit, & malis male*: If I finde but any duty commanded me by God, my Conſcience and my ſenſe of the Divine perfections, will not give me leave to think that I ſhall ever prove finally a loſer by performing it, though he had never made me any promiſe of reward: ſo far the Law of Nature hath a kinde of Promiſe in it, that if he do but ſay, Do this, I will not doubt but the doing of it is for my good! And if he bid me but uſe any means to my own happineſs, I ſhould blaſpheme if I ſuſpected itwould tend to my loſs and miſery, and was made my ſnare.

Sicut non poteſt quicquam ignis propinquatione fieri frigidiſſimum, ita non poteſt homo quia ſolus hæret Deo ſapientiſſimo, beatiſſimoq; ſtultiſſimus ex hoc, miſerrimuſq; evadere: Neq; poteſt Deus qui ſumma veritas & bonitas eſt, humanum genus, prolem ſuam decipere. *Marſil. Ficin. de Rel. Chriſt. c. 1. p. 13.*

§. 9. IX. *The highest Love and Obedience to God, is never a work of imprudence or folly, nor ever to be Repented of: But ſuch they would be to many, if there were no life to come:* Ergo——

By imprudence and folly, I mean that courſe which tendeth to our own undoing as aforeſaid: No man ſhall ever have cauſe to repent of his fidelity to God, and ſay, I did fooliſhly in ruining my ſelf by it. This argument being but a meer conſectary of the former, I paſs over.

Ariſto hoc unum tenuit, præter vitia atque virtutes negavit rem eſſe ullam aut fugiendam aut expetendam. *Piſo in Cicer. de fin. l. 5. p. 203.*

§. 10. X. *If no man living be* certain that there is no future *life of Retribution, then it is certain that* there is ſuch a life: *But no man living is certain that* there is no ſuch life: Ergo, *its certain that there is.*

Ea paranda viatico, quæ cum naufragio ſimul enatarent: ait *Antiſthenes in Laert. l. 6. c. 1.*

The Major is proved thus: If all men be in Reaſon obliged to ſeek the happineſs and eſcape the puniſhments of another life, before all the treaſures and pleaſures of this World, then it is certain that ſuch a Life of happineſs and puniſhments there is: But if no man be certain, that there is no ſuch life, the bare probability or poſſibility that there is ſuch, doth in reaſon oblige

Id ib. dixit, Eos qui cuperent immortales eſſe, oportere piè vivere & juſtè.

oblige all men to seek it, above all the World: Ergo, *it is certain that such a life there is.*

Dii boni! quid est in hominis vita diu? Mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud præteriit, effluxit: Tantum remanet quod virtute & rectè factis sit consecutus. Horæ quidem cedunt, & dies, & menses, & anni, nec præteritum tempus unquam revertitur: nec quid sequatur sciri potest. *Cicer. Cat. Maj.*

My argument is from our *Obligation to seek it before all*, to the *certain being of it.* 1. That no man is certain that there is no life to come, I need not prove, as long as no man ever proved such an opinion, and the boldest Atheists or Infidels say no more, than that they *think* there is no other life, but all confess that they have no assurance of it.

2. If so, then that the *possibility* or *probability* obligeth us to regard it in our *hopes*, *fears*, and *endeavours* before all this World, is evident from the incomparableness of them, or great disparity of the things. When *most* of the World think there *is another life*, and there is so much for it as we here lay down, and a few Atheists say only [we do not believe it, or it is not likely, though it be not a thing that we are certain of] now Reason commandeth every man that loveth himself, to preferr it before all earthly things. Because we are *fully certain* beyond all doubt, that all earthly things are of short duration, and will quickly leave us: and when they are gone, they are to us as if they had never been: They are a shadow, a dream, a something which is next to nothing: To say, It will shortly have an end, doth blot out the praise, and embitter the pleasures of all below. What the better are all generations past, for all the wealth and fleshly pleasures which they ever received in the World? There is no wise man, but would preferre the least probability of attaining full felicity, and escaping death and torments, before the certainty of possessing a pin or a penny for an hour. The disparity is much greater between things temporal and everlasting, than any such similitude can reach. All the Christians, and all the Mahometans, and most of the Heathens of the World do hold the Immortality of the Soul; and the perpetuity of the Happiness or misery hereafter: The Atheist is *not sure* of the contrary: and he *is sure* that a few years or hours will put an end to all his *temporal* pleasures, and equal those that lived here in pleasure and in pain: And therefore that at the worst his loss or hazard of the pleasures of sin for the hopes of eternal pleasure, is not a thing considerable: If those that dissent from him prove in the right, the sensualist

Nemini explicatum potest esse, quomodo sese habiturum sit corpus, non dico ad annum, sed ad vesperum, *Cicer. 2. de fin.*

Saith Plutarch, *de Tranquil. Anim.* Alexander *wept because he was not Lord of the World, when* Crates *having but a Wallet and a threadbare Cloak, spent his whole life in mirth and joy, as if it had been a continual Festival Day.*

is utterly undone for ever: He must live in endless pain and misery, and must lose an endless unspeakable joy and glory which he might have possest as well as others: But if he himself prove in the right, he gets nothing by it but the pleasing of inordinate concupiscence for a few years; and will die with as much emptiness of content as if he had lived in continual pain. Now this being the true case, no sober reason can deny, but that *wisdom* obligeth every man to labour for an *uncertain, endless Glory* with *Angels* more than for the certain pleasures of the World, which are of so short continuance; and to do more to escape *uncertain everlasting misery*, than a *certain trouble* to the flesh for so short a time: And thus a life of Godliness spent in seeking future Happiness, and in escaping future Punishment, is naturally made the *duty* of all men in the World.

"*Obj.* But you seem here to forget that you had before "made Godliness to be a Mans loss and undoing, if so be "there were no life to come? when now you make the loss "and hurt to be as nothing.

Answ. 1. I spake before especially of those that suffer *persecution* for their fidelity: I speak here especially of all the multitude of the World, who get nothing but the pleasures of sin by their sensuality. 2. When I speak of all the pleasures, profits and honours of this World, and life it self as next to nothing, I do not say that they are *simply nothing*. They are *nothing* compared to everlasting Joy or Misery: But they are *something* to him that shall have no more: The ease and life of a poor Bird or Beast is naturally desirable to it: One of the best of Christians said, that *If in this life only we had hope in Christ, we were of all men most miserable:* and yet, that *The sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared to the Glory which shall be revealed in us.* There is no contradiction between these two; that these short-lived pleasures are not worth one thought in comparison of the life to come: and yet that they would be considerable, if there were no other to be had and hoped for.

3. And now the consequence is proved in what is said before: If it should by common Reason and Nature be made all *mens duty* in the World, to seek to attain a happiness which is not to be attained, and to escape a misery which never

Plato dixit finem esse, Deo similem fieri. Virtutem sufficere quidem ad bene beateq; vivendum; cæterum instrumentis indigere, corporis bonis, robore, sanitate, integritate sensuum & cæteris id genus: Exterioribus item, puta opibus, &c. *Lactant. in Platone.*

Arbitratur & Deos humana cernere atq; curare —— & dæmones esse —— Porro in Dialogis Justitiam, Divinam legem arbitratus est, ut ad justè agendum potentius suaderet, ne post mortem pœnas improbi luerent. *Id. ibid.*

never was or will be unto any, and this with the chiefeſt care and labour of their lives, then the whole life of Man ſhould be vanity and a lie: Nature ſhould have formed him for meer deluſion; to tire him out in following that which is not: The World ſhould not only be totally governed by deceit, but formed principally for ſuch a life: And whereas indeed it is the *Worldling* that purſueth vanity, and ſpendeth his life in a dream or *ſhew*; this opinion would make mens *wiſdom, and honeſty, and piety*, to be the vanity, dream and ſhew. But none of this can be imputed to the moſt wiſe and gracious God: He need not ſet up a falſe deceitfull hope or fear before his Creatures to keep them in obedience; nor hath he appointed their lives for ſo vain a work.

Abeunt omnia unde orta ſunt. *Cicer. Cato Maj.*
Boni viri ſunt Deorum ſimulachra. *Diogen. in Laert.*
Surely if the World was made for Man, then Man was made for more than the world. Du-Pleſſis Verit. Chriſt. Relig. Præfat.

§. 11. XI. *If the perfection of mans faculties to which Nature formed him, be not attained in this life, then is there another life where it is to be attained. But the Antecedent is true:* Ergo, *ſo is the Conſequent.*

The reaſon of the conſequence is, becauſe God who maketh *nothing* in vain, made not *man* in vain, nor his *natural inclination* to his *own perfection*. His *will* is ſignified by his *works*: As a man that makes a *knife*, or *ſword*, or *gun*, or *ſhip*, doth tell you what he maketh it for, by the uſefulneſs and form of it; ſo when God made man with faculties fitted to *know* him, and *love* him, he ſhewed you that he made him for that uſe, and that therein he would employ him.

Obj. *It would perfect the wit of a Bruit if it were raiſed as high as a Mans; and yet it followeth not, that ſo it ſhall be.*

Anſw. I deny the antecedent: It would not *perfect him* in his kinde, but make him *another thing* of *another kinde*. Man is more than a *perfect Bruit*, and a *Bruit* is not an *imperfect man*: But I ſpeak of perfecting man in his *own kinde*, according to his *Nature*.

Obj. *A Chicken hath a deſire to live to full maturity, and yet you kill it before: And Graſs and Plants may be cut down before they come to perfection.*

Anſw. I ſpeak in my argument of the *ſpecies* of man, and the objection ſpeaketh only of *ſome* individuals: If there *be no higher ſtature* for any Chicken or Plant to grow up to, then *that* is the ſtate of its perfection. Its *natural inclination to a perfecter ſtate* doth ſhew that nature formed it for a perfecter ſtate, and that ſuch a ſtate there is to be attained, however by accident it may be killed or cut down before it do attain it, which never befalleth *all the kind*, but ſome *individuals*. So I confeſs that by ill accidents (by ſin) men may fall ſhort of *their natural perfection*. But *natures inclination* ſheweth that there is ſuch a ſtate.

And the Antecedent is manifeſt, 1. In our *nature*. 2. In all mens *experience*.

1. We feel in our natures a capacity of knowing all that of God which I have before laid down, and that it is improvable by further light to know much more: We feel that our hearts are capable of *loving* him, and of delighting in the contemplation of the glory of his perfections: And we find all other things ſo far below the tendancy of our faculties, and the contentment of our minds, that we know that *this is it* that we were made for, and *this* is the proper uſe that our *Underſtandings* and *Wills* were given us for. 2. And we find that we attain not any *ſuch perfection* in *this life* as we are *capable* of and do deſire; but that our encreaſe of virtue and holineſs is an encreaſe of our deſires after more; and the better any man is, the more he ſtill deſireth to *be better*; and the more he knoweth, and loveth, and delighteth in God, the more he deſireth it in a far higher degree. And even of our *knowledge of nature* we find, that the more we know, the more we would know; and that he that knoweth the *effect*, would naturally fain *know the cauſe*; and that when he knoweth the *nearer cauſe*, he would know the *cauſe of that*, and ſo know the *firſt cauſe, God himſelf*. And the little that we here attain to of Knowledge, Love and Delight, is far ſhort of the perfection in the ſame kind which our faculties encline unto.

Seneca Epiſt. 73. *pag.* (mihi) 673. *Jaith,* Miraris hominem ad Deos ire? Deus ad homines venit: immo (quod propius eſt) in homines venit: nulla ſine Deo mens bona eſt: Semina in corporibus humanis divina diſperſa ſunt: quæ ſi bonus cultor excipit, ſimilia origini prodeunt; & paria his ex quibus orta ſunt, ſurgunt: ſi malus, non aliter quàm humus ſterilis ac paluſtris, necat; ac deinde creat purgamenta pro frugibus. Beata vita eſt conveniens naturæ ſuæ: Quæ non aliter contingere poteſt, quàm ſi primum ſana mens eſt, & in perpetua poſſeſſione ſanitatis ſuæ. *Sence. de vita beat. c.* 3.

Nullum eſt animal præter hominem quod habet ullam notitiam Dei. *Cic.* 1. *de Leg.*
Dii immortales ſparſerunt animos in corpora humana, ut eſſent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœleſtem ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum, vitæmodo & conſtantiâ. *Cic. Cat. Maj.*

§. 12. XII. *Another illuſtration or confirming argument may be gathered from the great diſparity which God hath made between Men and Beaſts: If God had intended us for no more knowledge and fruition of himſelf hereafter than the Beaſts have, then he would have given us no more* Capacity, Deſire or Obligation *to ſeek it than the Beaſts have: But he hath given us more* Capacity, Deſire *and* Obligation *to ſeek it*: Ergo.—

A Beaſt hath no knowledge that there is a God, no thoughts

Ex terra sunt homines, non ut incolæ & habitatores, sed quasi spectatores superarum rerum atque cœlestium: quarum spectaculum ad nullum aliud animantium genus pertinet. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 2.* Non temere, nec fortuitò, sati & creati sumus: sed profectò fuit quædam vis, quæ generi consuleret humano; nec id gigneret aut aleret, quod cum omnes labores exanclaviſſet, tum incideret in mortis malum sempiternum. *Cic. 1. Tusc.*

Mors iis terribilis est, quorum cum vita omnia extinguuntur. *Cic. Parad. 1.*

Read Cic. l. 3. de Nat. Deor. *where* Cotta *would prove, that God did man a miſchief by making him rational.*

thoughts of a Life to come, no deſire to know God, or love him, or enjoy him; no obligation to take care for another life, nor to provide for it, nor once to conſider whether there be any ſuch or not: Becauſe he is not made for any life but this. And if God had made Man for no more, he would have diſpoſed and obliged him no further: We have an underſtanding to know it, and thoughts, and hopes, and fears, and cares about it, which are not all in vain; and we are plainly in reaſon obliged to this, and more than we do; and that Obligation is not vain.

§. 13. XIII. *If there were no Life of Retribution hereafter, Man were more vain and miſerable than the Bruits by far, and his Reaſon would but more delude him, and torment him: But the Conſequent is abſurd:* Ergo, *ſo is the Antecedent.*

The Major is eaſily proved by our great experience: for the world conſiſteth partly of men that believe another life, and partly of them that do not: and *Reaſon* maketh them *both* the more miſerable. For the former ſort, which is the moſt of the world, their Reaſon telleth them, that it is their duty to labour for a happineſs hereafter, and to fear and prevent a future miſery: and ſo their expectation would be their meer deluſion, and their lives would be all ſpent and ordered in deluſion: Like a company of men that ſhould run up and down to prepare for a tranſplantation into the Moon, and ſhould cut down timber to build there, and provide a ſtock of cattle to ſtore the grounds there, and buy and ſell Lands there; ſuch would be the life of man in preparing for another world: and he would be under a double calamity: One, by all this *fruitleſs labour*, and another by his *fear of future miſery*, if his labour by temptations ſhould be fruſtrate, and he ſhould miſcarry. To have *Reaſon* to lead a man in ſuch a deluſory life, and to torment him with the fears of what may befall him after death, is ſure to be by reaſon more unhappy than the beaſts, that have none of this.

And for the *Atheiſts*, *they* are more unhappy too, ſo far as they are rational and conſiderate. For they *have* no more happineſs than the beaſts to comfort them, while they look for none hereafter: and they have in all the way the foreſight of their end: they fore-know their great *probability* of *ſickneſs*, and painful tormenting diſeaſes: they fore-know the

Thus Man who is the perfecteſt of Animals ſhould be the moſt imperfect, and he that is the wiſeſt ſhould be the moſt deluded.

the *certainty* of their *death*: they know how all their ſport and pleaſure will end, and leave them in dolour, and how their corps muſt be rotting and turn to duſt: they fore-ſee abundance of croſſes in their way: they are troubled with cares for the time to come. A beaſt hath none of this fore-knowledge, and none of the fore-thoughts of pain or dying, but only fearfully flieth from a preſent danger. Moreover the poor Atheiſt, having no certainty of the truth of his own opinion, (that there is no other life) is oft haunted with fears of it, and eſpecially when approaching death doth awake both his reaſon and his fears: he then thinks, O what if there *ſhould be* another world, where I muſt live in miſery for my ſin! In deſpight of him, ſome ſuch fears will haunt him. Judge then whether the uſe of reaſon be not to make man a more deluded and tormented creature than the bruits, if ſo be there were no life after this?

But this cannot ſtand with the methods of our Creator: To give us ſo great an excellency of nature, to make us more vain and unhappy than the beaſts. When he maketh a creature *capable* and *fit* for higher things, he declareth that he *intendeth* him for higher things.

Obj. *But even here we have a higher kind of work and pleaſure than the Bruits: we rule them, and they ſerve us: we dwell in Cities, and Societies, and make proviſion for the time to come.*

Anſw. Thoſe Bruits that dwell in Woods and Deſarts ſerve us not: and our ruling them is a ſmall addition to our felicity: Pride it ſelf can take little pleaſure in being the Maſter of Dogs and Cats. Rule doth but adde to care and trouble: *cæteris paribus*, it is an eaſier life to *be ruled* than to *rule*. And if we take away their lives, it is no more than we muſt undergo our ſelves: and the *violent* death which we put them too hath uſually leſs pain, than our languiſhing age, and ſickneſs, and natural death. And it is as pleaſant to a Bird to dwell in her neſt, as to us to dwell in Cities and Palaces; and they ſing as merrily in their way of converſe, as we in our troubleſome Kingdoms and Societies: If preſent pleaſure be the higheſt of our hopes, they ſeem to have as much as we; or if there be any difference, it is counter-ballanced by the twenty-fold more cares, and fears, and labours, and mental troubles

troubles which we are more liable to. And our knowledge doth but encreaſe our ſorrow, (of which next.)

§. 14. XIV. *If there were no life of Retribution, the wiſer any man were, the more miſerable would be be, and knowledge would be their plague, and ignorance the way to their greateſt pleaſure: But the conſequence is abſurd:* Ergo, *ſo is the antecedent.*

The reaſon of the conſequence is manifeſt in what is ſaid: the *Ignorant* have nothing to diſturb them in their ſenſual delights. The liker to beaſts they can be to eat, and drink, and play, and ſatisfie every luſt, and never think of a reckoning, or of death it ſelf, the more uninterrupted would be their delights; the fore-thoughts of death or any change would not diſturb them: their folly, which maketh them over-value all the matters of the fleſh, would encreaſe their pleaſure and felicity: for things delight men as they are *eſteemed*, rather than as indeed they are. But the more *wiſe and knowing men* would always ſee *vanity* and *vexation* written upon all the treaſures and pleaſures of the world; and in the midſt of their delights would fore-ſee death coming to cut them off, and bring them to a dolorous end. So that undoubtedly the moſt knowing would be the moſt miſerable; and though Nature delight in knowing much, it would but let in an inundation of vexatious paſſions on the mind.

But Knowledge is ſo great a gift of God, and Ignorance ſo great a blemiſh unto Nature, that it is not by ſober reaſon to be believed, that ſo noble a gift ſhould be given us as a plague, and ſo great a plague and ſhame of nature as ignorance is, ſhould be a bleſſing or felicity.

§. 15. XV. *If the Kings and temporal Governours of the world do extend* their *Rewards and Puniſhments as far as to temporal proſperity and adverſity, life and death, in reſpect to the preſent ends of Government, and this juſtly; then is it meet and juſt that the* Univerſal King *extend his benefits and puniſhments much further, for good or evil, as they have reſpect unto his own Laws and Honour: But the antecedent is true:* Ergo, *ſo is the conſequent.*

Kings juſtly take away mens lives for Treaſon: They that look but to the preſent temporal good or hurt of the Common-wealth, do think that no temporal puniſhment or reward

Dicunt Stoici Malum, impium eſſe & ſine Deo: quod duplici ratione accipitur; ſive quod Deo *contrarius* dicatur, ſive quod *aſpernetur* Deum: id tamen malis omnibus non convenire: Pios autem & Religioſos eſſe ſapientes: peritos enim eſſe Divini juris omnes. Porro pietatem ſcientiam eſſe Divini cultus: Diis item eos ſacrificia facturos, caſtoſque futuros: Quippe ea quæ in Deos admittuntur peccata deteſtari, Diiſque charos ac gratos fore, quod ſancti juſtique in rebus Divinis ſint: ſolos vero Sacerdotes eſſe ſapientes, &c. *Laert. in Zenone.* (*How chriſtian-like is all this ſpoken*) Nec enim tantum mali eſt peccare principes (quanquam eſt hoc magnum per ſeipſum malum) quantum illud, quod permulti imitatores principum exiſtunt. Nam licet videre, ſi velis replicare memoriam temporum, qualeſcunque ſummi civitatis viri fuerunt talem civitatem fuiſſe: Quæcunque mutatio morum in principibus exiterit, eandem in populo ſecuturam. *Cic. de leg. 3. p. 262.*

reward can be too great for ſome crimes, and for ſome atchievments. Read but the Statute-books, and this will be ſoon found.

And that the offences which are againſt the *Infinite Majeſty* deſerve incomparably ſorer puniſhments, than any againſt *men* as *ſuch*, is paſt all queſtion. As alſo that love, and fidelity, and duty to God, is incomparably more laudable.

§. 16. XVI. *If there were no life of retribution after this, it would follow, that man is more to be feared and obeyed than God, and ſo hath the far greater and higher hand in the Moral Government of the world: But the conſequent is abſurd and blaſphemous:* Ergo, *ſo is the Antecedent.*

The argument is clear and paſt all contradiction. The reaſon of the Major or conſequence, is, Becauſe (though God can deſtroy any wicked man at his pleaſure, yet) all the world's experience ſheweth us, that ordinarily in this life he *doth* no ſuch things: If a ſtrange judgment overtake *ſome* wicked man, it is an *unuſual thing*, and next to a miracle: And *uſually* all things come alike to all; the good and the bad die of the ſame diſeaſe: the deceitful and the wicked proſper in the world as much as others; if *either* ſuffer more, uſually it is the *beſt*. *Videtis quam proſpera navigatio à Diis datur ſacrilegis*, ſaith *Dionyſius*. Thunder-bolts ſtrike ſo few, that it is ſcarce rational much to fear them. If *one* fall under ſome extraordinary judgement, many hundred ſcape.

But on the other ſide, *Kings* and *States* do *ordinarily* do execution on thoſe that diſpleaſe *them*, and break *their* Laws: The caſe of a *Daniel* is ſo rare, that it would be no rule to direct a rational courſe by: If the King ſhould forbid me praying as he did *Daniel*, or command me to worſhip his Image, as he did the other three witneſſes, reaſon and ſelf-preſervation would require me to obey him: for its ten to one but *he* would execute his wrath on me, and its an hundred to one God would not deliver me here. God ſuffered thirty or forty thouſand to be murdered at once by the *French* Maſſacre under *Charls* 9. He ſuffered two hundred thouſand to be murdered by the *Iriſh* Papiſts: He ſuffered many to be burned in Queen *Mary*'s days: He ſuffered yet greater Havock to be made of the poor *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*: He ſuffered moſt cruel inhumane torments, and death,

Laert. in Timon. *ſaith, That* Philarchus *the Hiſtorian reporteth of* Praylus *the Philoſopher, that he was of ſo conſtant a mind, that he ſuffered himſelf to be unjuſtly executed as a Traitor, and would not uſe one word of ſupplication for his life: But that's not the common temper of Mankind.*

Alta ſpectare ſi voles, atque hanc ſedem & æternam domum contueri; neque ſermonibus vulgi te dederis, nec in præmiis humanis ſpem poſueris rerum tuarum: ſois te illecebris oportet ipſa virtus trahit ad verum decus. *Cic. in Soma. Scip.*

death, upon thousands of innocent persons, to change the new-planted Religion in *Japan*. He therefore that careth for *his life and peace*, will think it far safer to venture on the *present executions of God*, than of his King, or Enemy, or any one that is strong enough to ruine him: If I lived under the *Turkish* Empire, and were commanded to *deny Christ*, and to renounce my Baptism, and to subscribe that my Baptismal Vow doth not oblige me, or any way to lie, or be perjur'd, or sin against God; *self-preservation* would bid me, [Venture on the sin, for it is an hundred to one but God will spare thee; and it is an hundred to one but that the Prince will punish and destroy thee if thou obey him not] How few that *knew* there were no life to come, would not rather venture to please a Tyrant, or a Robber than God, and more fear to displease them? and would not by perjury, or any commanded villany, save himself from their fury and cruelty? and would not study more to flatter and humour them, than to obey their God? And so *Man* should have the chief government of the world, while Man's rewards and punishments were so much more notable than God's, Man would be feared and obeyed before God: that is, Man would be taken for *our God*. These things are clear undeniable truths. If there were no life to come, *self-love* and *reason* would make man more obedient to *Man than God*, and so make *Gods of flesh and blood*. But whether this be the tendency of the Government of God, let Reason judge.

The very doubting of the life to come maketh multitudes take this course in our age: preferring that which they have in hand, before that which they suppose uncertain.

Rursus vero si animæ lethi adeunt januas (*Epicuri* ut sententia definitur) nec sic causa est competens cur expeti philosophia debeat, etiamsi verum est, purgari has animas, atque ab omni puras vitiositate præstari: Nam si communiter obeunt, non tantum est erroris maximi, verum stolidæ cæcitatis, frænare ingenitos appetitus, cohibere in angustiis vitam, nihil indulgere naturæ, non quod cupidines jusserint & instigaverint facere, cum nulla te præmia tanti laboris expectent, cum dies mortis advenerit, & corporalibus fueris vinculis exolutus. *Arnob. adv. Gentes, l. 2.*

§. 17. XVII. *A very probable argument may be fetched from the number and quality of intellectual spirits: He that looketh to the vast, and numerous, and glorious Orbs which are above him, and thinks of the glorious receptacles of a more glorious sort of creatures, and then considereth that we are intellectual agents, made to love and honour God as well as they; and considers further both the Benignity of God, and the communion which those other Orbs have with us, will think it probable, that we are in progress towards perfection: and that we that are so like them, may be capable of their happiness.*

§. 18. XVIII. *If in this life God have little of the praise and glory of his works, from those whom he created for it, but contrarily be much dishonoured by them; then there is another life in which he will be more honouredly by them: But the antecedent is true:* Ergo, *so is the consequent.* What

What a glorious fabrick hath God set man to contemplate? and how little of it is here known? so that Philosophy is found to be but a searching and wrangling about things which no man reacheth; and yet an inquisitive desire we have. And therefore sure there is a state in which these works of God shall be better known of us, and God shall have the honour of them more than now. His Laws also prescribe us excellent duties, and his Servants are very excellent persons, according to his own description: But our infirmities, our errors, or divisions, our miscarriages and scandals do so dishonour him and his ways, that the glory of them is much obscured, and blasphemers reproach him to his face, and Godliness (which the Law of *Nature* teacheth) is derided as a foolish thing, and as the meer effect of superstitious fear. Now though all this doth no *hurt* to God, yet he is capable of *wrong* who is uncapable of *hurt*. And it is not to be believed, that he will finally put up all this at his creatures hands, and never vindicate his honour, nor never more shew the glory of his Grace, his Image, his Justice and Judgments, than he now doth.

§. 19. XIX. *The constant testimony of conscience in all men, that have not mastered Reason by Sensuality, and the common consent of all that are worthy to be called Men, in all Ages and Countries upon earth, doth shew that the life to come is a truth which is naturally revealed, and most sure.*

Plato oft saith, that the wicked are punished after death. Antisthenes 7. Tome had a Book, de his quæ sunt apud inferos. *Laert. l. 6. c. 1.*

§. 20. XX. *The enemy of Souls doth (against his will) give man a four-fold reason to judge, that there is a life of Reward and Punishment hereafter:* viz. 1. *By Compacts with Witches.* 2. *By Apparitions.* 3. *By Satanical Possessions.* 4. *By all kind of subtil importunate temptations, (which evidence themselves.)*

1. Though some are very incredulous about *Witches*, yet to a full enquiry the evidence is past question, that multitudes of such there be. Though many are wronged, and some may be thought so foolish or melancholy, as not to know what they say against themselves; yet against such numerous and various instances, these exceptions do but confirm the general truth, that such there are. I have said so much of them in * two other Writings, that I shall now say no more but this: That those Judges ordinarily con-

* *Saints Rest; Part 2. and unreasonableness of Infidelity.*

By the Doctrine of Idols, false Gods that were sometimes men, and their Sacrifices, the Devil confesseth a Life to come.

demn them to die, who themselves have been most incredulous of such things: that so great numbers were condemned in *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Essex*, about twenty years ago, that left the business past all doubt to the Judges, Auditors, and Reverend Ministers, (yet living) who were purposely sent with them for the fuller inquisition. That the testimonies are so numerous and beyond exception, recorded in the many Volumes written on this subject, by the *Malleus Maleficorum*, *Bodin*, *Remigius*, and other Judges who condemned them, that I owe no man any further proof, than to desire him to read the foresaid Writings: wherein he shall find Men and Women, Gentlemen, Scholars, Doctors of Divinity, of several qualities and tempers, all confessedly guilty, and put to death for this odious sin. And he shall find what compacts they made with the Devil, promising him their Souls or their service, and renouncing their Covenant with God. All which doth more than intimate, that men have Souls to save or lose, and that there is an Enemy of Souls who is most sollicitous to destroy them; or else to what end would all this be? When people are in wrath and malice, desirous of revenge or in great discontents, or too eagerly desirous after overhasty knowledge in any needless speculation, the Devil hath the advantage to appear to them, and offer them his help, and draw them into some contract with him (implicit at least, if not explicit) I have my self been too incredulous of these things, till cogent evidence constrained my belief. Though it belong not to us to give account, why Satan doth it, or why upon no more, or why God permitteth it, yet that so it is in point of fact, it cannot be rationally denyed. And therefore we have so much sensible evidence, that there is a happiness and misery after this life, which the Devil believeth, though Atheists do not.

2. And though some are as incredulous of *Apparitions*, yet evidence hath confuted all incredulity. I could make mention of many: but for the notoriety I will name but two; which it is easie to be satisfied about:

The one is the Apparition in the shape of Collonel *Bowen* in *Glamorganshire*, to his Wife and Family, speaking, walking before them, laying hold on them, hurting them in time

time of Prayer (the man himself then living from his Wife in *Ireland*, being one that from Sect to Sect had proceeded to Infidelity if not to Atheism, and upon the hearing of it came over; but durst not goe to the place). The thing I have by me described largely and attested by learned godly Ministers, that were at the place; and is famous, past contradiction.

In Ireland, *it was testified by the Oaths of many witnesses, that after the Protestants had been murdered at* Portdown-Bridge, *a long time together, a* Spectrum *appeared in the River like a person naked, standing in the water up to the middle, and crying,* Revenge, Revenge. *See Dr.* Jones, *and Sir* John Temples *books.*

2. But (to name no more) he that will read a small Book called *The Devil of Mascon*, written by Mr. *Perreand*, and published by Dr. *Peter Moulin*, will see an instance past all question: The Devil did there for many months together at certain hours of the day, hold discourse with the inhabitants, and publikely disputed with a Papist that challenged him, and when he had done, turn'd him and cast him down so violently, that he went home distracted: He would sing and jest and talk familiarly with them as they do with one another: He would answer them questions about things done at a distance; and would carry things up and down before them, and yet never seen in any shape: All this was done in the house of the said Mr. *Perreand* a Reverend faithfull Minister of the Protestant Church, in the hearing of persons of both Professions, Papists and Protestants that ordinarily came in, for above three months at *Mascon* a City of *France* (And at last upon earnest Prayer it ceased.) Mr. *Perreands* piety and honesty was well known; and attested to me by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Orrery*, now Lord President of *Munster* in *Ireland*, and attested to the World by his most learned, worthy, honourable Brother Mr. *Robert Boyl*, in an Epistle before the Book; neither of them persons apt to be over-credulous of such unusual things, yet both fully satisfied of the truth of this story by Mr. *Perreands* own Narratives, with whom they were very familiar.

See the other Testimonies cited in my *Saints Rest*, Part 2.

Q. *But how doth this signifie that there is any future state for man.*

Answ. 1. Commonly, these Apparitions do expresly referr to some sin or duty which are regardable in order to a further Life. Sometimes they come to terrifie Murderers or other great Offenders: and sometimes the Devil hath killed men outright:

right: (which yet were no more painfull than another death, if it fetcht not their ſouls into a greater miſery) ſometimes they are uſed to tempt people to ſin, to witchcraft, to revenge, to idolatry and ſuperſtition (to which uſe they are common among many of the *Indians*): And all this intimateth ſome further hurt which ſin doth men after this preſent life; which they take not here for their pain, but their pleaſure. 2. Many of theſe Apparitions ſay, that they are the *ſouls of ſuch* and ſuch perſons that have lived here: If it *be ſo*, then the queſtion is granted. And whether it be ſo, I ſuppoſe is to us uncertain: For why a condemned Soul may not appear as well as Satan, notwithſtanding that both of them are in that ſtate of miſery which is called Hell, I yet could never hear any ſure proof. But (becauſe this is uncertain) 3. At leaſt it ſheweth us, that theſe evil Spirits are neer us, and able to moleſt us, and therefore are ordinarily reſtrained, and that their natures are not as to any elevation ſo diſtant from ours, but that a converſe there may be; and therefore that it is very probable, that when the ſouls of the Wicked are ſeparated from their bodies, they ſhall be ſuch as they, or have more converſe with them; and that the good Spirits ſhall be the companions of the ſouls of men that here were not far unlike themſelves. When we perceive that we live among ſuch inviſible Spirits, it is the eaſier to believe that *we ſhall* live with ſuch of them hereafter, as we are moſt like.

See what I have cited, Saints Reſt, *Part* 2. *cap.* 7.

3. I may adde to theſe the inſtance of *ſatanical Poſſeſſions*: For though many diſeaſes may have of themſelves very terrible and ſtrange effects, yet that the Devil, I mean ſome evil Spirit, doth operate in many is paſt all contradiction: ſome will ſpeak Languages which they never learnt: ſome will tell things done far off: ſome will have force and actions which are beyond their proper natural ability: Moſt great Phyſicians, how incredulous ſoever, have been forced to confeſs theſe things: and abundance of them have written particular inſtances.

And the manner of their tranſportations, their horrid blaſphemies againſt God, with other carriages, do commonly intimate a life to come, and a deſire that Satan hath to diſhonour God, and deſtroy the ſouls of men as well as their bodies.

4. And

4. And laſtly, the *Temptations* and ſuggeſtions of Satan, yea, and oft his external contrived ſnares, are ſuch as frequently give men a palpable diſcovery of his agency, that there is indeed ſome evil Spirit that doth all this to the hurt of Souls. Were there no ſuch Tempter it were ſcarce credible that ſuch horrid inhumane Villanies ſhould ever be perpetrated by a rational Nature, as Hiſtories credibly report, and as in this Age our eyes have ſeen. That men ſhould ever, even againſt their own apparent intereſt, be carryed on obſtinately to the laſt, in a wilfull courſe of ſuch ſins as ſeem to have little or nothing to invite men to them, but a delight in doing hurt and miſchief in the World. Whence is it that ſome men feel ſuch violent importunate ſuggeſtions to evil in their mindes, that they have no reſt from them, but which way ſoever they goe, they are haunted with them till they have committed it, and then haunted as much to hang themſelves in deſperation. Whence is it that all opportunities are ſo ſtrangely fitted to a ſinners turn, to accommodate him in his deſires and deſigns? And that ſuch wonderfull ſucceſſive trains of impediments are ſet in the way of almoſt any man that intendeth any great good work in the World? I have among men of my own acquaintance obſerved ſuch admirable fruſtrations of many deſigned excellent works, by ſuch ſtrange unexpected means, and ſuch variety of them, and ſo powerfully carryed on, as hath of it ſelf convinced me, that there is a moſt vehement inviſible malice permitted by God to reſiſt Mankinde, and to militate againſt all Good in the World. Let a man have any *evil* deſign, and he may carry it on uſually with leſs reſiſtance. Let him have any work of greateſt *Natural importance* which tendeth to no great benefit to Mankinde, and he may go on with it without any extraordinary impedition: But let him have any great deſign for *Common good*, in things that tend to deſtroying ſin, to heal diviſions, to revive Charity, to increaſe Virtue, to ſave mens Souls, yea or to the publick common felicity, and his impediments ſhall be ſo multifarious, ſo far fetcht, ſo ſubtile, inceſſant, and in deſpight of all his care and reſolution, uſually ſo ſucceſſfull, that he ſhall ſeem to himſelf to be like a man that is held faſt hand and foot, while he ſeeth no one touch him! or that ſeeth an hun-

Polybius *often noteth, that many excellent men have attempted great and excellent works; but very few have ever been ſo happy as to perform them; and of thoſe that have gone a little way, but few have finiſhed them.*

He that did but well ſtudy the plain ſtrife between Chriſt and Satan, about knowledge and ignorance in the World, and how marvellouſly Satan keepeth the Goſpel from the Infidel World, and locketh up the Scripture in an unknown tongue among the Papiſts, and bindereth Preachers in all the World, will ſee that there is certainly a Kingdom of Darkneſs and a Kingdome of Light, which ſtrive for Souls.

hundred blocks brought and cast before him in his way, while he seeth no one do it. Yea, and usually the greatest attempts to do good shall turn to the clean contrary, even to destroy the good which was intended, and drive it much further off. How many Countreys, Cities, Churches, Families, who have set themselves upon some great Reformation, have at first seen no difficulties almost in their way? And when they have attempted it, they have been like a man that is wrestling with a Spirit? Though he see not what it is that holdeth him, when he hath long swear, and chafed, and tired himself, he is fain to give over; yea, leave behind him some odious scandal, or terrible example, to frighten all others from ever medling with the like again. I have known that done which men call a Miracle, a sudden deliverance in an hour, from the most strange and terrible Disease, while by Fasting and Prayer men were present begging the deliverance: And presently the Devil hath drawn the persons in such a scandalous sin, that God had none of the honour of the deliverance, nor could any for shame make mention of it, but it turned to the greater dishonour of piety and prayer, though the wonder was past doubt. I have known men wonderfully enlightened and delivered from courses of Error and Schisme, and being men of extraordinary worth and parts, have been very like to have proved the recovery of abundance more: And they have been so unresistibly carryed into some particular Errors on the contrary extream, that all the hopes of their doing good hath turned to the hardening of others in their Schism, while they saw those Errors, and judg'd accordingly of all the reasons of their change. But especially to hinder the successes of godly Magistrates, and Ministers, in their reformings, and their Writings for the winning of Souls, it were endless to shew, the strange unexpected difficulties which occurre, and lamentably frustrate the most laudable attempts. Nay, I have known divers men that have had resolute designs, but to build an Alms-house, or a School-house, or to settle some publick charitable work, that when all things seemed ready, and no difficulty appeared, have been hindered in despight of the best of their endeavours, all their dayes, or many years: Yea men that purposed but to

to put it in their Wills, to do some considerable work of Charity, have been so delayed, hindered and disappointed, that they were never able to effect their ends. By all which it is very perceivable to an observing minde, that there is a working invisible Enemy still seeking to destroy all Godliness, and to hinder Mens salvation.

"Perhaps you will say, that if this be so, you make the "Devil to be stronger than God, and to be the Governour "of the World, or to be more in hatred to goodness, than "God is in love with it.

I answer, No: but it appeareth that his Enmity to it is implacable, and that he militateth against God and mans felicity, and that sin hath so far brought this lower World under Gods displeasure, that he hath in a *great measure* forsaken it, and left it to the will of Satan: Yet hath he his holy seed and Kingdom here, and the purposes of his Grace shall never be frustrated, nor the Gates of Hell prevail against his Church: And if he may forsake *Hell totally* as to his *felicitating presence*, he may also penally *forsake Earth* as to the greater number, whilest for ought we know, he may have thousands of Orbs of better Inhabitants which have not so forfeited his love, nor are not so forsaken by him.

I have been the larger in proving a Life to come, of Retribution to the good and bad, because all Religion doth depend upon it, and I have my self been more assaulted with Temptations to doubt of this, than of Christianity it self, though this have more of Natural Evidence. And I have set down nothing that I am able rationally to confute my self (though every Truth is liable to some snarling exceptions of half-witted and contentious men.) No man that confesseth a Life to come, can question the necessity of a Holy Life: But I have thought meet first to prove, that a *Holy Life* is our unquestionable duty (as the *prius cognitum*) and thence to prove the certainty of the future state: For indeed, though God hath not hid from us the matter of our Reward and Punishment, Hopes and Fears, yet hath he made our *Duty plainer* in the main, and proposed it *first* to our knowledge and consideration. The *Eternity* of the future state, I have not here gone about to prove; because I reserve it for a fitter place, and need the help of more than

Virtutis merces ac finis optimum quiddam est, divinum & beatum. *Aristot.* 1. *Eth.* c. 9.

Virtutum omnium jucundæ non sunt actiones, nisi quatenus finis copulatus conjunctusq; aspicitur. *Id.* 3. *Eth.* c. 9.

Virtus extollit hominem & super astra mortales collocat; nec ea quæ bona aut mala vocantur, aut cupiit nimis, aut expavescit. *Senec.* Ep. 88.

natural light, for such a task. But that it shall be of so much weight and duration, as shall suffice to the full execution of Justice, and to set all streight, that seemed crooked in Gods present Government, this *Nature it self* doth fully testifie.

Three sorts of men will read what I have written: 1. Some few (and but very few) of those whose Consciences are so bloody in the guilt of their debauchery, that they take it for their *interest* to hope that there is no life but this. 2. Those whose Faith and Holiness, hath made the World to come, to be *their interest*, happiness, hope, desire, and only joy. 3. Those that only understand in generall, that it is the highest interest of humane Nature, that there be a full felicity hereafter; and see it a most *desireable* thing, though they know not whether it be to be expected or not. The first sort, I may fear are under such a Curse of God, as that he may leave their Wills to master their Belief, as their Lusts have mastered their Wills, and left they be forsaken of God, to think that true which their wicked hearts desire were true; and that the Haters of God and a holy Life, should be left to dream that there is no God, nor future Happy Life.

Tria sunt quæ ex animæ providentia accipit corpus animalis: ut vivat, ut decore vivat, & ut immortalitas illi succedione quæratur. *Macrob. 7. Satur.*

The second sort have both *Light*, *Experience* and *Desire*, and therefore will easily believe.

The third sort are they whose *Necessities* are great, and yet conjunct with hope of some success. Though *bare interest* should command no mans understanding, because a thing may be *desireable*, which is neither certain nor possible; yet I must needs say, that Reason and self-love should make any man, (that is not resolved in wickedness) exceeding glad to hear of any *hopes*, much more of *certainty*, of a life of Angelical Happiness and Joy, to be possess'd when this is ended. And therefore the enquiry should be exceeding willingly and studiously endeavoured. I shall conclude this point with a few serious Questions, to those that deny a future Life of Retribution.

Animarum originem manare de cœlo, inter rectè philosophantes indubitatæ constat esse sententiæ. Et Animæ dum corpore utitur hæc est perfecta sapientia, ut unde orta sit, de quo fonte venerit, recognoscat. *Macrob. sup. somn. scip. l. 1. c. 9.*

Qu. 1. Whether he that taketh a man to be but an ingenuous kinde of Beast, can take it ill to be *esteemed* as a Beast? May I not expect that he should live like a Beast, who thinketh that he shall die like a Beast? Is such a man fit

fit to be trusted any further in humane converse, than his present fleshly interest obligeth him? May I not justly suppose that he liveth in the practice of fornication, adultery, lying, perjury, hypocrisie, murder, treachery, theft, deceit, or any other villany, as oft as his interest tells him he should do it. What is a sufficient or likely motive to restrain that man, or make him just, who believes not any life after this? It seemeth to me a wrong to him in his own Profession, to call him an *Honest man*.

2. If you think your selves but ingenuous Beasts, why should you not be content to be *used* as Beasts. A Beast is not capable of true Propriety, Right or Wrong: He that can master him, doth him no wrong, if he work him, or fleece him, or take away his life. Why may not they that can master you, use you like Pack-horses, or Slaves, and beat you, and take away your lives.

Maximum argumentum est, naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacitum judicare, quod omnis curæ sunt, & maximè quidem, quæ post-mortem futura sunt. *Cicero Tuscul. Qu. l. 1. p 220.*

3. Would you be only *your selves* of this mind, or would you have *all others* of it? If your *selves only*, why envy you the Truth (as you suppose) to others? If all others, what security shall Kings have of their lives? or Subjects of their lives or liberties? What trust can you put in Wife, or Child, or Servant, or any man that you converse with? Will you not quickly feel the effect of their opinions? Had you not rather, that the enemy who would murder you, the thief who would rob you, the lyar that would deceive you, did believe a Judgement and life of Retribution, than not?

4. If there be no Life after this, what business have you for your Reason? and all your noble faculties and time, that is worthy of a man; or that is not like Childrens games or Poppet-playes? What have you to do in the World, that hath any weight in the tryal, any content or comfort in the review, or will give solid comfort to a dying man? Were it not better lie down and sleep out our days, than waste them all in dreaming waking? O what a silly Worm were Man! what should he find to do with his understanding? Take off the poise of his ultimate End, and all his Rational Motions must stand still, and only the bruitish motion must go on, and Reason must drudge in the Captivity of its service.

Platonici dicunt, Beatum esse hominem fruentem Deo; non sicut corpore, vel seipso fruitur animus, aut sicut amicus amico; sed sicut Luce Oculus. *August. de Civ. Dei.*

But these Questions, and more such, I put more home in my Book, called *A Saint, or a Bruit*. If conscience tell you, that you can put no trust in your friend, your wife, your servant, or your neighbour, if they believe that there is no life but this: surely the same conscience may tell you, that then the thing is true, and that the God of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness hath better means enough than deceits and lies to rule the world by.

Hear what the conscience of the *Epicure* saith in *Cicero, Academ. Quæst. l.* 4. *p.* (*mihi*) 44. *Quis enim potest, cum existimet à Deo se curari, non & dies & noctes divinum numen horrere, &c.* its true of the guilty: But what greater joy to the upright, godly, faithful Soul.

CHAP. XV.

Of the intrinsick Evil of Sin, and of the perpetual Punishment due to the Sinner by the undoubted Law of Nature.

Cui hoc anima conjuncta corpori est, ut fruatur scientiis & virtutibus: si autem cum fervore magno se invenerit, benigne recipietur à suo creatore; sin autem secus, relegabitur ad inferna. *Plat. in Tim.* Animus recte solus liber, nec dominationi cujusquam parens, neque obediens cupiditati. Recte invictus, cujus etiamsi corpus constringatur, animo tamen vincula injici nulla possunt. *Cic. 3. de finib.* Deus animum ut Dominum & imperantem obedienti præfecit corpori. *Cic. de univers.*

§. 1. *IT seemed good to the most wise Creator to give Man with Reason a Liberty of Will, by which he is a kind of first cause of its own determination in comparative moral acts; though he hold the power in full dependance upon God, and perform each act as an act* in genere *by the influx of his Maker, and do all under his perfect government. And these great Principles in his Nature, his* Power, *his* Reason, *and his* free self-determining Will, *are the Image of God, in which as Man he was created, which advanced by the* perfections of Fortitude, Wisdom *and* Moral Goodness, *are also in* Holiness *the Image of God's Perfections.*

When a man deliberateth whether he shall do this sin or not, (as lie or murder) he cannot *act* in general without God, but that he chooseth *this* act rather than another, may be without any more of God, than his giving and maintaining his free-choosing power, and his universal influx before mentioned, and his setting him among such objects as he acteth upon. Neither do *those objects*, nor any *Physical efficient*

efficient motion of God, or any creature besides himself, *determine his will effectually* to choose the evil and refuse the good. It is not true, that nothing undetermined can determine it self to act; this is but to deny God's natural Image on the Will of Man. The Will cannot determine it self without the conduct of an Intellect, and without an Object *in esse cognito*, nor without Divine sustentation and universal influx: But it can determine it self to the moral species, which is but the mode of action, to this rather than that in the comparative proposal, without any pre-determining efficient: (for such none of the former are.)

And God having made such a self-determining creature, took delight to govern him according to his nature, by the sapiential moral means of Laws; of what he doth more to cause Good than Evil, and other such incident questions, I must now put them off to a fitter place.

Casta placent superis; pura cum mente venite
Et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam. *Tibul.*

§. 2. *God planted in man's mind a natural inclination to Truth and Goodness, and to his own felicity, and an averseness to falshood, and to evil, and to his own misery and hurt; that these lying deeper than his liberty of choice, might be a* pondus *to his motions, and help him the more easily and stedfastly to obey, and to adhere to and prosecute his proposed happiness and end.*

Pone Deos, & quæ tangendo sacra profanas;
Non bene cœlestes impia dextra colit. *Ovid.*

§. 3. *Accordingly God formed his holy Law, with a perfect fitness to these faculties and inclinations, furnishing it wholly with truth and goodness, and fitting all things in it to the benefit of man: (as is proved before.)*

§. 4. *This Law had a sufficient promulgation, being legible on the face of the whole Creation, (within our view) and specially on the nature of man himself, from whence his duty did result.*

§. 5. *And God was pleased to make as legible the most* rational powerful motives *to love and obedience, that can be imagined by man, that no tempter might possibly bid the ten thousandth part so much for our love and obedience as he had bid, and assured us of himself.*

§. 6. *From all this it is most evident, that God made us not sinners, though he made us men; but that man, being defectible, abused his liberty, and turned from God, and brought corruption and misery upon himself.*

Morbi perniciosiores, plurésque quam corporis. *Cic. 3. Tusc.*

§. 7. He that will understand God's Justice aright, must consider of these forty intrinsick evils that are in sin, which nature it self declareth.

1. In its formal nature, it is the violation of a perfect righteous Law.

2. It is a contempt or denial of God's governing authority over us.

3. It is the usurping of the government of our selves, which we denied to God.

The Athenians punished not only the total violation of a Law, but even of a clause or part of a Law.

4. It is a denial or contempt of the wisdom of God, as if he had erred in the making of his Laws, and knew not so well what is just, and meet, and good for us, as we our selves, and were not wise enough to govern a lump of animated clay.

5. It is an exalting of our folly into the Throne of the Divine Wisdom, as if we had more wisdom than he that made us, and knew better what is just and meet, and what is fit or good for our selves, and could correct God's Laws, and make our selves a better Rule.

6. It is a denial or contempt of the Goodness of God, as if he had ensnared us by his Law, and envied our happiness, and forbad us that which would do us good, and put us upon that which will do us hurt, and so would seduce us into calamity, and were an enemy to our welfare.

Piso in Cic. de fin. l. 5. p. 203. saith of the Epicureans, Quin etiam ipsi voluptuarii diverticula quærant, & virtutes habeant in ore totos dies, &c. which sheweth, that virtue was commended even by the voluptuous.

7. It is a preferring our naughtiness before His Goodness; as if we could do better in regulating our selves than God, and could make a better choice for our selves than his Laws have made. And as if our wills were fitter than God's to be the Rule of good and evil.

8. It is a denial or contempt of his Holiness and Purity, which is contrary to sin as health to sickness: as if by our deeds we would perswade the world, that God is as Satan, a lover of sin, and an enemy to Himself and Holiness.

9. It is a denial or contempt of God's propriety, as if we were not his own, and he had not power to dispose of us as he list: or it is a robbing him of the use and service of that which is absolutely his own.

10. It is a claiming of propriety in our selves, as if we were at our own disposal, and might do with our selves and our faculties as we list.

11. It is a belying or contempt of the great and gracious promises

Promises of God, and of the wonderfull mercy which he manifesteth in them; by which he doth binde and allure us to Obedience: As if he did not mean as he speaketh, or would not make good his Word to the Obedient.

12. It is a falsifying or contempt of his dreadfull Threatnings, as if he did not intend any execution of them, but made them only as a deceitfull terror to frighten men from sin, for want of better means.

13. It is a denyal or contempt of the dreadfull future Judgement of God, as if he would never call men to any account, nor judge them according to his Laws.

14. It is a denying the Veracity of God, as if he were a Lyar and Deceiver, and did not intend the things which he speaketh; As if his Precepts were but a false pretension, and he were indeed indifferent what we did, and were not to be believed in his predictions, promises, or threats.

15. It is a contempt of all the Mercies even of this life, which flesh it self doth overvalue; As if protection, provision, deliverances, comforts, were not so much to be regarded, as our Concupiscence; nor were not of weight enough to bind us to obey so mercifull a God; and as if Ingratitude were no Crime.

16. It is a contempt of those Castigatory Afflictions, by which God driveth men from sin, by giving them a taste of the bitterness of its fruits.

17. It is a contempt of all the examples of his Mercy and his Judgements upon others: by which he hath shewed us how good he is, and how just a punisher of sin.

18. It is a contempt of all the inward motions and strivings of God, which sinners oft feel perswading them to forbear their sin, and to seek after God.

19. It is a contempt of Conscience, which beareth witness for God against their sins.

20. It is a contempt of all the Instructions and advise of wise and good men, who are required by God and Nature to warn men, and perswade them from their sins.

21. It is a contempt of the Example of all Obedient Virtuous Persons, whose Lives instruct them and reprove them.

22. It is a contempt of Virtue it self, which is contrary to sin, and whose proper worth commandeth Love.

23. It

23. *It is a contempt of Gods Omnipresence, when we will sin in his very presence; and of his Omniscience, when we will sin when we know that he seeth it.*

24. *It is a contempt of the Greatness and Almightiness of God, when a silly Worm dare sin against him, who upholdeth the World, and can do Justice on him in a moment; as if we could make good our part against him.*

25. *It is a contempt of the attractive Goodness of God, by which he is Mans End and Happiness: As if all the Goodness and Love of God, were not enough to counterpoise the base and brutish pleasures of sin: and to drive the rational Soul to God? (It was his Efficient Goodness which I spake of before.)*

26. *And thus it declareth, that we are so farr void of* Love *to God: For Love is desirous to please.*

27. *It is a setting up the sordid* Creature *for our End, as if it were more attractive and amiable than God, and fitter to content and delight the Soul.*

28. *It is a contempt of all that glorious Happiness of the Life to come, which God hath warranted the righteous to expect: As if it were not all so good as the defiling transitory pleasures of sin, and would not recompence us for all that we can do or suffer for God.*

29. *It is the silencing and laying by our Reason by inconsiderateness, or the perverting and abusing of it by Error, in the greatest matters, for which it was given us; and so it is a voluntary drunkenness or madness, in the things of God and our felicity.*

30. *It is a setting up our senses and appetite above our Reason, and making our selves in* use, *as Beasts, by setting up the lower beastial faculties to rule.*

Minus malum est feritas & immanitas quam vitium, etsi terribilior. *Aristot. 7. Eth. c. 6.*

31. *It is the deformity, monstrosity, disorder, sickness and abuse of a* Noble Creature, *whom God made, in our measure, like himself, and so a contemptuous defacing of his Image.*

32. *It is a robbing God of that Glory of his Holiness, which should shine forth in our hearts and lives, and of that complacency which he would take in our Love, Obedience, Perfection and Felicity.*

33. *It is the perverting and Moral destruction, not only of our* own faculties, *(which were made for God), but of all the* World *which is within our reach: Turning all that against God,*

God and our happiness, which was given us for them. Yea, it is worse than casting them all away, while we use them contrary to their nature, against their Owner and their end.

34. *It is thus a breach in the Moral order and harmony of the world, and as much as in us lyeth, the destroying of the world: As the dislocation or rejection of some parts of a Clock or Watch, is a disordering of the whole; and as a wound to the hand or foot is a wrong to the body. And it is a wound to every* Society *where it is committed; and an injury to every individual, who is tempted or afflicted by it.*

Nil peccant oculi, si non animus oculis imperet. *Sen.*
Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quantum major qui peccat habetur. *Juv.*

35. *It is a contradicting of our own professions, confessions, understandings and promises to God.*

36. *It is a preferring of an inch of hasty time before the durable life to come, and things that we know are of* short *continuance, before those of which we can see no end.*

Omnino ex alio genere impotentia est, ex alio vitium: Vitium enim omne suæ culpæ ignarum est, non ignara impotentia. *Aristot. 7 Eth. c. 8.*

37. *It is the preferring of a corruptible flesh and its pleasure, before the Soul, which is more noble and durable.*

Vitia nostra voluntate necesse est suscipi. *Aristot. 3 Eth. c. 5.*

38. *It is an unmercifulness and inhumane cruelty to our selves, not only defiling soul and body, but casting them on the displeasure and punishing-justice of their great and terrible Creator.*

Quæ crimini dantur vitia in nostra potestate sunt. *Aristot. 3 Eth. c. 5.*

39. *It is the gratifying of the malicious Tempter, the enemy of God and of our souls; the doing his will, and receiving his image instead of Gods.*

40. *And all this is done* voluntarily, *without constraint, by a rational free-agent, in the open light, and for a thing of nought. Besides what* Christians *only can discern, all this the light of Nature doth reveal to be in the* malignity *of sin.*

§. 8. *Sin being certainly no better a thing than is here described, it is most certain that it deserveth punishment.*

Sceleris etiam pœna tristis, & præter eos eventus qui sequuntur, per se maxima est. *Cic. 2. de leg.*

§. 9. *And reason telleth us, that God being the Governour of the world, and perfect Government being his perfect work and glory in that relation, it is not meet that in such a Divine and perfect Government so odious an evil be put up, and such contempt of God and all that is good be past by without such execution of his Laws as is sufficient to demonstrate the justice of the Governour, and to vindicate his Laws and authority from contempt: nor that it be pardoned on any terms, but such as shall sufficiently attain the ends of perfect Government.*

The ends of Punishment are, 1. to do Justice and fulfil the Law, and truth of the Law-giver. 2. To vindicate

the honour of the Governour from contempt and treason, 3. To prevent further evil from the same offendor. 4. To be a terrour to others, and to prevent the hurt that impunity would encourage them to. 5. And if it be but meerly cattigatory, it may be for the good of the sinner himself: but in purely vindictive punishment it is the Governour and Society that are the end.

Ἄγει τὸ θεῖον τὰς κακὰς πρὸς τὸν δίκην. Θεῖν δ' ὅπερ δος τὰς κακὰς εὐδαιμονεῖν. Καὶ ζῶν ὁ φαῦλος, ἢ θνήσκει κολάζεται. *Max. Ud.*

Nemo malus felix. *Juven.*

Malo benefacere tantundem est periculum, quantum bono malefacere. *Plaut. Pen.*

Noxiæ par pœna esto, ut in suo vitio quisque plectatur. *Cic. 3 de leg.* Injusti judicis est bene agentem non remunerare, & negligentem non corripere. *Sen. de benef.* Turpe quid ausurus, te, sine teste, time. *Auson.* Vererem ferendo injuriam, invitas novam. *Gell. Noc. Attic. l. 18.*

1. It is true, that as the immediate sense of the Precept (*e.g. Thou shalt do no murder*) is not *de eventu*, [*it shall not come to pass*] but *de debito*, [*Thy duty is to forbear it*]; So also the immediate sense of the *Penal* part is not *de eventu*, (e.g *I thou murder thou shalt be put to death*) but *de debito*, *death shall be thy due, thou shalt be* Reus mortis: So that if it do *non evenire*, it is not presently a falshood. But its as true, that when the Sovereign makes a Law, he thereby declareth that this Law is a Rule of Righteousness, that it is *Norma officii & judicii:* that the Subject must do according to it, and expect to be *done by* according to it: that it is the Instrument of Government. Therefore these two things are declared by it. 1. That *ordinarily* Judgment and execution shall pass according to it. 2. That it shall never be extraordinarily dispensed with, by Sovereignty, but upon terms which as well declare the Justice of the Governour, and discourage offendors from contempt, and are as fit to preserve the common good, and the honour of the Sovereign. So that *thus far* a Law doth *assert* also the *event*; which I put to prevent objections, and to shew that truth and justice require the ordinary execution of just and necessary Laws.

2. And should they be ordinarily dispensed with, it would intimate, that the Ruler did he knew not what in making them; that he repented of them as unjust; or over-saw himself in them; or fore-saw not inconveniences; or was not able to see them executed: it would also make him seem a deceiver, that affrighted Subjects with that which he never intended to do; which Omnipotency, Omniscience and perfect Goodness cannot do, what ever impotent ignorant bad men may do.

3. And the offendor must be *disabled* (when penitency sheweth not the change of his *heart*) that he do so no more: and therefore death is ordinarily inflicted.

4. And

4. And especially offences must be prevented, and the honour of the Sovereign and safety of the people be preserved: If Laws be not executed, they and the Law-giver will be despised; others will be let loose, and invited to do evil, and no man's right will have any security by the Law. Therefore it is a Principle in Politicks, that *Pœna defetur reipublicæ*; it is the Common-wealth to which the punishment of offendors is due, that is, it is a *means* which the Ruler oweth them for their security. And *Cato* was wont to say, *Se malle pro colluto beneficio nullam reportare gratiam, quàm pro maleficio perpetrato non dare pœnam. Plutar. Apoth. Rom.* He had rather miss of thanks for his kindnesses and gifts, than of punishment for his faults. And was wont to say, that *Magistratus qui maleficos prohibere possent, & tamen impunitate donarent, lapidibus obruendos esse, ut Reipub. perniciosissimos.* A hundred such sayings are in Cicero, Offic. 3. *Quotusquisque reperietur qui impunitate propositâ abstinere possit injuriâ. Impunitas peccandi maxima est illecebra:* De Natur. Deor. 3. *Nec domus, nec Respubl. stare potest, si in ea nec rectè factis præmia extent ulla, nec supplicia peccatis.* In Verrem 5. *est utilius unius improbi supplicio multorum improbitatem coercere, quàm propter multos improbos uni parcere.* Offic. 1. *Non satis est eum qui lacessierit, injuriæ suæ penitere, ut ipse nequid tale posthac committat, & cæteri sint ad injuriam tardiores.* This is the common sense of all that know what it is to govern.

Obj. *But God is so good, that all his Punishments tend at last to the sinners good, and are meerly castigatory.*

Answ. God is so *wise*, that he knoweth better than we what is good and fitteth to be done. And God is so *good*, that for the honour of his Government, and Holiness, and Goodness, he expresseth his hatred of sin, to the final ruine of the sinners. And he is so wise and good, that he will not spare the offendor, when the penalty is necessary to the good of the innocent, to prevent their falls. The Objection is a surmise not only groundless, but notoriously false.

§. 10. *He that would know how far punishment is necessary to the ends of Government, must first know how far the Penal Law it self is necessary; for the first and chiefest benefit to the Common-wealth is from the* Law, *and the next from the* Execution.

All Laws were made for these two causes, Both that no man might be suffered to do that which is unjust; and that transgressors being punished, the rest might be made better. Demosth. Or. 2 cont. Aristog. *It is your part who are Judges to preserve the Laws, and to make them strong and valid: for it is by the benefit of these that good men are better than the bad.* Id. ib. Or. 1. *The Government is useless which hath not nerves and force against the wicked and injurious, and in which pardon and the request of friends can do more than the Laws.* Id. Or. de falsa leg. *Let no man be thought of so great authority as to escape unpunished, if he breaks the Laws.* Id 3. Olynth. Puniendis peccatis tres esse causas existimatum est 1. Cum adhibetur pœna castigandi & emendandi gratia; ut is qui deliquit attentior fiat correctiorq; 2. Quum dignitas ejus authoritasque in quem peccatur tuenda est, ne prætermissa animadversione contemptum ei pariat. 3. Propter exemplum ut cæteri metu pœnæ terreantur. Gell. l. 6.

The first benefit is to constrain men to duty, and to restrain them from doing ill. This is done immediately by the *fear* of *punishment*, (with the expectation of the benefit): This *fear* of *punishment* is to be caused by the rational *expectation* of it, if they do offend. This *expectation* is to be caused by the *commination* of the Law. When the Law saith, [He that sinneth shall suffer] the Subject avoideth sin for fear of suffering. Therefore the Subject must *believe* that the Law-giver meaneth as he speaketh, even to govern and judge in Justice according to that Law: and he that can but make the Subject believe, that the Governour doth but affright men with a lie, and meaneth not to execute his penalties, shall easily make his Laws of none effect, and turn loose offendors to presumptuous disobedience. Therefore the fore-belief of execution is necessary to the efficacy of the Law, which else is but as a Mawkin to affright away birds, and fit to work on none but fools. And if it be so necessary a duty to the Subject to *believe* that the Law shall be the *Norma judicii*, and *shall* be executed; then in our present case it is certainly true: For God cannot lie, nor make it the duty of the world to believe a lie, nor need so vile a means to keep the world in order. So that it is most evident, that if the *Law* be *necessary*, the execution of it is *ordinarily* necessary; and either the execution, or some means as effectual to the ends of Government, is *ever necessary*.

§. 11. *Therefore he that would know what degree of punishment it is meet and just for God to execute, must first know what degree it is meet for him to* threaten, *or make Due by Law: or rather how much* he hath made due: *Because what God* should *do, is best known by what* he actually doth.

If a temporal, short, or small measure of Penalty be sufficient to be *threatned* in the *Law*, for the present attaining of the ends of Government, then such a punishment is sufficient in the execution. But if the threatning of an endless punishment in another world be little enough; *in suo genere*, to prevail now with Subjects for order and obedience, then the execution will be therefore necessary by consequence.

§. 12. *It followeth not therefore that Punishment or Rewards must cease, if the* ends *be* past *in natural existence; because Moral means may in time be after their end, to which they were appointed*

appointed to operate in esse cognito; *and* that penalty *which is* perpetuated *may be a means to the ends already attained: that is,* the threatnings, *and* the expectation *of them; and then the honour of the Ruler's veracity and justice bindeth him to the execution.*

In judicando vel corrigendo hæc est lex ut aut eum quempunit emendet, aut pœna ejus cæteros meliores reddat; aut sublatis malis securiores cæteri vivant. *Sen. de Clem.*

§. 13. *What ever reward or punishment is annexed to simply the Law, is offered with the duty and sin to the subjects choosing or refusing, and no man is in danger of any punishment but he that* chooseth *it, in its self or in its annexed cause. And he that* will *have it, or will have that which he is told by God is annexed to it, (especially if it be deliberately and obstinately to the last) hath none to blame of cruelty towards him but himself, nor nothing to complain of but his wilful choice.*

Obj. "But it were easie with God to confirm man's will "so, that the threatning of a temporal punishment might "have ruled him.

Answ. It is easie with God to make every man an Angel, and every beast or worm a man: but if his wisdom think meet, below men to make such inferiour things as Beasts; and below Angels or confirmed Souls to make so low a rank of creatures as Men, that have Reason, and *undetermined* and *unconfirmed Free-wills*; what are we that we should expostulate with him for making them no better, nor ruling them in our way?

§. 14. *Sin doth unquestionably deserve a natural death and annihilation.*

This all men grant that believe that God is our Governour, and that there is any such thing as *His Laws*, and *Man's sins*. If treason against a King deserve death, much more rebellion and sin against God. Life and being is God's free gift: if he take it away from the innocent, he taketh but his own: therefore there can be no doubt but he may take it away from the guilty who abuse it.

Animas verò ex hac vita cum delictorum sordibus recedentes, æquandas his qui in abruptum ex alto præcipitique delapsi sunt, unde nunquam sit facultas resurgendi. Ideo utendum est concessis vitæ spatiis, ut sit perfectæ purgationis major facultas: *Macrob. de Somn. Scip. l.* 1. c. 13.

§. 15. *If such a penalty were inflicted, God is not bound to restore* that sinner *to being again whom he hath annihilated, (if it be not a contradiction): And then this penal Privation would be everlasting: Therefore an endless Privation of Being and all mercies is the sinners due.*

All this I know of no man that doth deny.

§. 16. *God is* not bound *thus to annihilate the sinner, but*

Sua quemque fraus, & suus error maximè vexat, suum quemq; scelus agitat, amentiaque afficit, suæ malæ cogitationes conscientiæque animi terrent. Hæ sunt impiis assiduæ domesticæque furiæ, quæ dies noctesque pœnas à sceleratissimis repetunt. *Cic. pro Rosc.*

Improbitas nunquam sinit eum respirare, nunquam quiescere. *Cic. de fin.*

Impii pœnas luunt, non tam judiciis, quàm angore conscientiæ, fraudisque cruciatu. *Id. 2 de Leg.*

Animi conscientiâ improbi semper cruciantur, tum etiam pœnæ timore. *Id 2. de fin.*

Impiis apud inferos sunt pœnæ præparatæ. *Id. 1. de leg.*

Hic geminæ æternum portæ, quarum altera durâ

Semper lege patens, populos Regesque receptat. *Val. Flac. 1. Claud. 2. Ruf* de inferis ita loquitur.

Huc post emeritam mortalia sæcula vitam

Deveniunt, ubi nulla manent discrimina fati

Nullus honor, vanoque exutum nomine Regem

Pertulbat plebeius egens ——

may *continue all his natural Being, and leave him under the deserved privation of well-being, depriving him of all other Mercies.*

This is undeniable; that it is in God's choice whether he will take away his Being it self, or only all the Mercies which are necessary to his well-being: for he that had nothing before but by free gift, may be deprived of *any thing* which was none of his own, if he forfeit it by abuse. Nay, we live upon such a continued emanation from God, as the beams from the Sun, that it is but God's stopping of his streams of bounty, and we perish, without any other taking away of mercies from us.

§. 17. *Nature teacheth men to choose a great deal of (tollerable) pain and misery, rather than* not be at all: *even so much as will not utterly weigh down the love of life, and of vital operations.*

I say not (as some) that the *greatest torment* or *misery* is more eligible (or less odious) than *annihilation*. But it is certain, that a *great deal* is. We see abundance (how ever the *Roman* and *Greek* Philosophers scorned it as basenes) who are blind, or lame, or in grievous pains of the Gout and Stone, and many that are in miserable poverty, begging their bread, or toiling from morning to night like horses, and yet seldom taste a pleasant bit, but joyn distracting cares with labours; and yet they are all unwilling to die: Custom hath made their misery tollerable, and they had rather continue so for ever than be annihilated. If then God may annihilate even the *innocent*, (supposing he had not promised the contrary) then may he lay all that *pain*, and *care*, and *labour* on them, which they would themselves prefer before annihilation. For its no wrong to one that hath his reason and liberty to give him his own choice.

§. 18. *It is just with God to lay more misery on a sinner, than on one that never deserved ill: and to lay more on him for his sin, than he would choose himself before annihilation.*

Whether God may without injustice inflict more misery on the *innocent*, than he would himself prefer before annihilation, some make a question, and deny it. For my part, I see no great difficulty in the question.

But it is nothing to that which I am proving; it is not God's

God's usage of the *innocent* but of the *guilty* which we are speaking of: and that he may make them more miserable *who deserve it*, than his *bounty* made them before any *guilt*, or than a *just man* would choose to be rather than be annihilated, I see no reason at all to doubt. Penalty is involuntary: and no man ever said that it was unjust to lay more upon a malefactor than he himself was willing of, and would choose before a condition, which without his fault he might have been put into.

So then we have already proved, 1. That God may punish a man everlastingly. 2. And with a greater penalty than annihilation.

§. 19. *God may leave a sinner his being, and (in particular) deprive him of his favour, and all the joys and blessednes which he refused by his sinning.*

§. 20. *And he may justly withal deny him those corporal mercies, (meat, drink, honour, pleasure, health, ease, &c.) which he over-valued and abused, and preferred before God and greater blessings.*

All this I think no man doth deny that acknowledgeth a God.

§. 21. *He that is continued in his natural being, and is deprived of God's favour, and of his future happiness for ever, and understandeth what it is that he hath lost, and is also deprived of all those natural benefits which he desired, must needs be under continual pain of sense as well as of loss: for all this want must needs be felt.*

§. 22. *He that in all this misery of loss and sense, doth remember how it was that he came to it, and how base a thing he preferred before his God, and his felicity, and for how vile a price he sold his hopes of the life to come, and how odiously he abused Godly sin, (as it is before described) cannot choose but have a continual torment of conscience, and heart-gnawing repentance in himself.**

§. 23. *He that is under utter despair of ever coming out of this condition, will thereby have his torment yet more encreased.*

All these are natural undeniable consequents.

§. 24. *A Body united to so miserable a self-tormenting forsaken Soul, cannot have any peace and quietness: seeing it is*

Facinorum mala flagellantur à conscientia cui plurimum torquentorum est, eo quod perpetua illam sollicitudo urget ac verberat. *Sen. ep. 97.*

Conscientia aliud agere non patitur, ac subinde respicere ad se cogit. Dat pœnas qui metuit. *Sen. ep. 105.*

* Facinorosa conscientia instar ulceris in corpore, pœnitentiam relinquit in anima lancinantem jugiter ac pervellentem. *Plut. de Tranquil.*

Maxima est factæ injuriæ pœna fecisse: nec quisquam gravius afficitur, quàm qui ad supplicium pœnitentiæ trahitur. *Sen. de Ira, l. 3. c. 29.*

It is one of Pythagoras's *sayings, That a bad man suffereth more by the scourge of his own conscience, than one that is beaten with rods, and chastised in his body.* Stob. serm. 24.

Quod quisque fecit, patitur: authorem scelus

Repetit, suoque præmitur exemplo nocens. *Sen. Her fur.*

Sed nemo ad id fero venit, unde numquam

Cum semel venit potuit reverti. *Id. ibid.*

is the Soul by which the body liveth, and hath its chiefest peace or pains.

§. 25. Thus sin doth both as a Natural and as a Moral Meritorious cause bring on dissatisfaction, grief, vexation, desertion by God, and privation of felicity and peace.

§. 26. For as long as a sinner is impenitent and unsanctified, (that is, loveth not God as God) nor is recovered from his carnal mind and sin, it is both morally and naturally impossible that he should be blessed or enjoy God.

Nihil est miserius quàm animus hominis conscius, &c. *Plaut.*

Jam aderit tempus, cum se etiam ipse oderit. *Plaut. Bac.*

For, as it is only God that *efficiently* can make happy, because nothing worketh but by him; and so sin meritoriously undoeth the sinner, by making him unfit for favour, and making him an object of displicence and justice; so it is only God that *finally* can make happy, all things being but *Means* to him, and unfit of themselves to give Rest to the *inquisitive seeking* mind. And God is enjoyed only by *Love*, and the sense of *His Love* and *Goodness*: therefore the soul that loveth not God, and is not suited to the delightful fruition of him, can no more enjoy him, than a blind man can enjoy the light, or an ox can feast with a man.

§. 27. He that is under this punishment and despair, will be yet further removed from the love of God, and so from all capacity of happiness: for he cannot love a God who he knoweth will for ever by penal justice make him miserable.

He that would not love a God who aboundeth in mercy to him in the day of mercy, will never love him when he seeth that he is his enemy, and hath shut him for ever out of Mercy, and out of Hope.

§. 28. God is not bound to sanctifie the mind and will of such a self-destroying sinner, who hath turned away himself from God and Happiness.

——Nam quis Peccandi finem posuit sibi, quando recepit Erectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem? Quisnam hominum est quem tu contentum videris uno Flagitio? *Juven.* 3.

And without a renewed Mind it is morally and unnaturally impossible that he should be happy. He that would not use the Mercy that would have saved him, in the day of mercy, cannot require another life of mercy and trial, when this is lost and cast away, nor can require the further helps of grace.

§. 29. If sin as sin have all the malignity and demerit before proved, much more the aggravated sins of many, and most of all a life of wickedness, which is spent in enmity against God and

and Godliness, and in a course of sensuality and rebellion, with the obstinate, impenitent, rejecting of all the counsel, calls and mercies which would reclaim the sinner, and this to the last breath.

In omni injuria permultum interest, utrum perturbatione aliquâ animi quæ plerumque brevis est, an consultè fiat: Leviora enim sunt ea, quæ repentino aliquo motu accidunt, quàm ea quæ præmeditata & præparata inferuntur. *Cic.* 3. *Offic.*

It hath before been manifested, that all wilful sin hath this malignity in it, that in effect it denieth that there is a God, or pulleth him down as much as in the sinner lieth, and it setteth up the Devil in his stead, and calleth him God, or maketh God to be such a one as the Devil is; and also maketh an Idol of the sinner himself. For it denieth God's Power, Wisdom, Goodness, Propriety, Sovereignty and Love; his Truth, and Holiness, and Justice: and maketh him on the contrary impotent, unwise, bad, envious, unholy, false, unjust, and one that hath no authority to rule us; with much more the like.

But a *life* of enmity, rebellion and final impenitency (which is the case of all that perish) much more deserveth what ever humane nature can undergo.

§. 30. He that consenteth not to God's Government is a Rebel, and deserveth accordingly: and he that consenteth to it, consenteth to his Laws, and consequently to the Penalty threatned: and therefore if he break them, he suffereth by his own consent, and therefore cannot complain of wrong.

Volenti non fit injuria.

Neque enim civitas in seditione beata esse potest, nec in discordia dominorum domus: Quo minus animus à seipso dissidens, secumque discordans, gustare partem ullam liquidæ voluptatis & liberæ potest. *Torquatus Epicur. in Cic. de fin. l. 1. p. 86.*

All that understand God's Government and Laws, and consent to them, are not only under the obligation of governing-power, but also of their *own consent*: and it is justly supposed that they consented on good and rational grounds, not knowing where they could be better: on hopes of the *benefits* of the Government, and the Reward, they necessarily consented to the Penalties.

§. 31. He that never consenteth to the Law, and yet is under the obligation of it, hath Life and Death, the Blessing and the Curse, Felicity and Misery set before him in the Law: Felicity is annexed to obedience, and misery to disobedience; and the Law-giver telleth us, that accordingly he will judge and execute, and he offereth every man his choice. He therefore that after this doth choose the sin which misery is annexed to, doth choose the misery and refuse the happiness: and therefore it is no wrong to cast him into misery, though everlasting, as long as he hath nothing but what he chose, *and loseth nothing but what* he rejected,

jected, *and that with wilful obstinacy to the very last.*

A sinner in this case hath nothing but blasphemy to say against the Justice of his Maker: for what can he say? He cannot say that his Maker had not Authority to make this Law, for his authority was absolute. He cannot say that it was too cruel, hard and unjust a Law; for it was made but to deter him and such as he, from such sin, to which he had no greater temptations than the toyish vanities of a fleshly life. And he himself hath declared by the event, that the Law was not terrible enough to deter him: if it would not seem against so small and poor a bait, he himself doth justifie the terribleness of it by his contempt. God saith, I threaten Hell to thee, to keep thee from sin: The sinner saith by his life and practice, The threatning of Hell is not enough to keep me from sin. And shall the same man say, when execution cometh, it is too great? No sinner shall suffer any thing but what he chose himself, in the *causes* of it. If he say, I did *not believe* that God was in good earnest, and would do as he said; this is but to blaspheme, and say, I took God for a liar, and deceiver, and a bad, and unwise, and impotent Governour. If he say, I did not know that sin (even final impenitency in an ungodly life) deserved so ill, common reason, and all the world will rise up against him, and the light of nature will shew him to his face, that all the forty points of malignity were in sin, which I mentioned before; and therefore that the Law of nature had a sufficient promulgation.

It is an odd fiction of Cicero, *that men for sin shall be turned into women:* Atque ille qui rectè & honestè curriculum vivendi à natura datum confecerit, ad illud astrum, quocum aptus fuerit revertetur: Qui autem immoderatè & intemperanter vixerit, eum secundus ortus in figuram mulierem transferet, & si ne tum quidem finem vitiorum faciet (*as he is less likely*) gravius etiam jactabitur, & in suis moribus simillimas figuras pecudum & ferarum transferetur. Neque malorum terminum prius aspiciet, quàm illam sequi cæperit conversionem, quam habebat in se, &c.— cum ad primam & optimam conversionem pervenerit. *Cic. de Universit. p (mihi) 358.*

Having thus shew'd what punishment God *may* inflict without the least imputation of injustice, let us next enquire of Reason, what he *will inflict.*

§. 32. *When it is at God's choice whether he will annihilate a sinner, or let him live in misery, Reason telleth us, that the latter is more suitable to the ends of Government: because the living offendor will not only be still a spectacle in the eyes of others, as a man hang'd up in chains, but will also confess his folly and sin, and his conscience will justifie his Judge, and so God's Justice will be more glorious and useful to its ends.*

That which *is not*, is not *seen* nor *heard:* the annihilated are out of sight. And the mind of man is apt to think of a state of annihilation as that which is as a state of rest, or ease, and

and feeleth no harm, and so is not terrible enough, (as shall be further said anon.) The living sufferer therefore is rationally the fittest monument of God's Justice.

§. 33. *It must reasonably be expected, that a Soul which is made apt to perpetual duration, should perpetually endure: and that the Soul enduring, the misery also should endure, seeing it was due by the Law of Nature, (as is proved.)*

Perpetual duration is *necessary* to no creature, their Beings being but *contingent* and *dependent* on the will of God, But *perpetual duration* of a dependent being is *certain*, when the *first Being* doth declare *his will* that it shall be so: and the natural way by which God declareth his *will* concerning the *use* of any thing, is by the nature and usefulness of it: because he maketh all things wisely, and nothing in vain. Therefore when he maketh the *nature* of an *Angel* or *spiritual being*, *apt* to *perpetual duration*, as being not mixt of separable Principles, nor corruptible, he thereby declareth his *will* for its *duration*, because he gave it not that durable nature in vain.

Two Arguments therefore I now offer to prove, that man's Soul is of perpetual duration: 1. Because it is such in its *operations*, (and therefore in its essence) as the superiour Spirits are which are so durable: for they are but *Intelligences* and *Free-agents*, fitted to love God, and delight in him, and praise him; and so is *man.* 2. Because (as is fully proved before) it is made to be happy in another life: and that proveth that it dieth not with the Body: and that proveth that its nature is incorruptible, and that proveth that it shall be perpetual, unless any sin should forfeit its being by way of penal deprivation: and that is improbable, both because God hath fitter ways of punishment, and intimateth in its corruptible nature that this is not his intent, and because the state of future reward is like to be a confirmed state.

§. 34. *Experience telleth the world, that so great is the folly and obduratenes of man, and the force of present sensual allurements, that nothing less than a perpetual misery, worse than annihilation, is rationally sufficient to be the Penalty of that Law, which is the instrument of governing the world: and therefore it is certain that so much is in the Law, and so much shall be executed.*

Those thieves and murderers that have confirmed their infidelity, and overcome all the expectations of another world, will as boldly venture their lives to rob and kill, as if they were of little worth: yea, when they know that they must die, how desperately go they to the gallows, and how little make they of their lives: Its true, (as was aforesaid) that nature abhorreth death; but we see among Souldiers, that he that at first is timerous, when he hath been used a while to kill men, or to see them kill'd by thousands, groweth senseless, almost regardless of his life, and will make as't were a jest of death. And when it is so ordinary a thing with men to kill birds, and fishes, and beasts, for their daily food and pleasure, why should they not easily bear their own, if they look for nothing after death? A beast loveth his life as well as we, and our death is no more painful than theirs, and we should have as much courage as a beast. Especially men that live a poor and miserable life on earth, would little fear that death which endeth it; and so humane Government it self would be in vain. He that would have an instrument to revenge him on his enemy, to kill his Governour, or do any villany in the world, if it were not for fear of another world, might find enow among Poor villains, that by misery or melancholly are a-weary of their lives. At least as long as they run but a hazard, like a Souldier in fight, and may possibly scape by craft, or flight, or friends, or strength, what wickedness will they not commit? What Prince so just that hath not some rebellious Subject, or some Enemy that seeks his life? What man so good that is not maliced by some? Who hath mony or an estate, which one or other doth not desire? and if there were nothing but death and annihilation to restrain men, what Prince, what person, had any security of his life or estate? If a Rogue once grow but sensual and idle, he will deliberately resolve, [I will venture my life to live in pleasure, rather than live in certain toil and misery; a short life, and a sweet, is better than a longer which is miserable, and must end at last.] We see, if once men be perswaded that they shall die like beasts, that they are not much troubled at it, because they think that when they have no being, they shall have no fear, nor care, nor grief, nor trouble, nor pain, nor want. And though right

Magna est peccandi illecebra spes impunitatis. *Cic. pro Mil.*

The light of Nature taught men, that God would not accept the sacrifices of the wicked, much less admit them to his glory. Domis impii ne placare Deos audeant *Platonem* audiant, qui vetat dubitare qua sit mente futurus Deus, cum vir nemo bonus ab improbo se donari velit. *Cic. de Leg. l. 2. p. 244.*

The Epicurean confesseth, Quod si qui satis opibus hominum sibi contra conscientiam sepsi esse & munit videntur, Deorum tamen numen horrent, easque ipsas solicitudines, quibus animi noctes diesque exeuntur, à Diis supplicii causa importare putant. *Cic. de fin. l. 1. p. 84.*

Nullum conscium peccatorum tuorum, magis timueris quàm temetipsum: alium enim potes effugere, te autem nunquam: Nequitia ipsa est sui pœna. *Sen.*

right improved Reason, which hath higher expectations, makes a greater matter of the loss of them; yet sensual men so brutine themselves, that they grow contented with the felicity of a Brute, and are not much troubled that they have no more. Annihilation therefore certainly is a penalty utterly insufficient, even to keep any common Order in the World (as I proved before): And therefore it is certain, that the penalty inflicted hereafter will be greater than Annihilation: And if so, it must contain, with the Being of the Creature, a suffering worse than the loss of Being.

§. 35. *The Belief of a Hell or endless punishment, being that which is* de facto *the restraint of the Obedient part of the World, and that which proveth too weak with the Disobedient part, it thence followeth, that a Hell or endless punishment will be inflicted.*

The Reasons I have given before, 1. Because that Experience sheweth that the *Threatning* of *Hell* is necessary in the *Law*: therefore *it* self is necessary in the execution. 2. Because God doth not govern the World by deceit.

§. 36. *God will inflict more punishment for the final rejection of his Government, than Kings do for treason and rebellion against thousands.*

There is no proportion between God and Man, and between a fault against God, and against Man: Therefore if racks, torments, and death, be justly inflicted for Treason against a King, much more may be expected for rebellion against God.

Obj. *But mens sins do God no hurt, as they do the King.*

Answ. They do *wrong*, where they do no hurt. It is not for want of Malignity in *sin*, but through the perfections of God, that they do not hurt him: But they *displease* him, and injure him, and they hurt the World and the sinner himself, who is not his own. A Child is to be corrected for many faults, which do his Father no harm. It is not *hurting* God that is the Cause that sin is punished.

Obj. *But God is mercifull as well as just.*

Answ. True, and therefore he shewed mercy to sinners in the day of Mercy: And it is for the contempt and abuse of mercy that he condemneth them: If the Mercy abused had been less, the sin and punishment had been less. A mercifull

Peccati dolor & maximus & æternus est. *Cic. Att. 11.*

Itaq; non ob ea solum incommoda quæ eveniunt improbis, fugiendam improbitatem putamus, sed multo etiam magis, quod cujus in animo versatur, nunquam finit eum respirare, nunquam quiescere; inq. *Torquatus Epicureus in Cicer. ne fin. l. 1. p. 85.*

King and Judge will hang a Murderer or Traytor. Mercy to the good requireth punishment of the bad. Gods Attributes are not contrary. He is mercifull to the due Objects of mercy, and hath penal Justice for the Objects of that Justice.

Obj. *But after this life, the ends of punishment cease: therefore so will the punishment: For there will be none in the next World to be warned by it, nor any further sin to be restrained, unless it be a Castigatory Purgatory for the sinner himself.*

Answ. 1. I have proved that *the Law* was necessary to the Government of *this World*: And if it was necessary that God say, [*everlasting death shall be the wages of sin*] then his *Truth and Justice* make the *execution* necessary afterwards.

2. When this life is ended, we look for a New Heaven and a New Earth wherein dwelleth righteousness: And the penalties of the sinners of this World, may be a means of that *righteousness* of the next; as the punishment of the Devils is a warning to us, and proposed to us for our terror and restraint.

3. How little know we, whether thousands of the Orbs which we see are not inhabited; and whether the penalties of Earthly sinners, may not be a warning to any of those superiour Worlds. God hath not acquainted us with all the uses that he can make of sinners punishments: And therefore when Nature telleth us what is *due*, it is folly to say it *will not be, because God hath no use for it.*

Obj. *But Hell is a cruelty which expresseth tyranny rather than wise justice.*

Answ. That's but the voice of Folly, partiality and guilt: Every thief that is hanged is like enough to think the same of his own Punishment and Judge. If you think it such a cruelty, why was not the threatning of it enough to govern you, and to counterpoise a Feather, the trifles of sordid fleshly pleasure: Why did you *choose it*, in the choice of sin? were you not told of it? and was not Life and Death offered to your choice? Would you choose that which you think it is cruelty to inflict? who is it that is cruel to you but your selves? Why will you now be so cruel to your own souls, and then call God cruel for giving you your choice? O sinners,

Ut Folusina pastorum pecudes ictu cadunt, omnium rerum ita animadversiones magnarum potestatum, terrent latius quàm nocent. *Senec.*

Solon. *counsel for the felicity of the Commonwealth was,* ut boni præmiis invitentur, & mali pœnis coerceantur. *Cicer. ad Brut.*

Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ. *Hor.*

ners, as you are wise, as you are men, as ever you care what becometh of you for ever, *have mercy upon your selves*, and do not refuse, and obstinately refuse the mercy of God, and then call him *unmercifull*? Have pity on your own Souls! Be not so cruel against your selves as to run into endless misery for nothing, and then think to lay the blame on God! God calleth now to you in your sin and wilfulness, and intreateth you to have mercy on your selves, and then he will have mercy on you in the day of your distress: But if you will not hear him, but will have none of his mercy now, wonder not if in vain you cry to him for it then.

Obj. *But I would not so use an Enemy of my own.*

Answ. 1. He doth not deserve it; for you are not Gods. 2. You are not Governours of the World, and so his fault respecteth not any such Law and Judgement of yours, by which the World must be governed. 3. Nor have you the Wisdom and Justice of God, to do that which is right to all. Yet are you not bound your selves to take complacency in the evil of your Enemies, but to use just means to bring him to a better minde and state.

§. 37. *The summ of all here proved is, that all sin deserveth endless misery, and naturally induceth to it; and that all ungodly impenitent souls shall certainly undergoe it; and that none can be saved from this misery, but by turning to God, and being saved from their sins.*

Dat ille veniam facilè, cui venia est opus. *Sen. Agam.*

Audetis ridere nes cum Gehennas dicimus & inextinguibiles ignes, in quos animas dejici ab eorum hostibus cognovimus? Quid Plato vester in volumine de animæ immortalitate? Nonne Acherontem, nonne Stygem, &c. nominat? in quibus animas asseverat volvi, mergi, exuri? Nec ejus authoritas plurimum à veritate declinat? Quamvis enim vir lenis & benevolæ voluntatis inhumanum esse crediderit capitali animas sententiâ condemnare; non est tamen absonè suspicatus jaci eas in flumina torrentia flammarum globis, & cænosis voraginibus terra. *Arnob. adv. Gent. li.* 2. *p.* 14.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the present sinfull and miserable state of this World.

See the Citations in Marg. Cap.

§. 1. *THough all men may know all this before said to be their duty, and sin to be so evil, and to deserve such punishment, yet none do live perfectly without sin, according to the Law of Nature.*

I have heard but of few that *pretend* to such perfection, and those few have confuted their own pretenses, and been the furthest from it of many others: And therefore this I have no need to prove.

Bias in Laert. inquit, Ita amandum quasi odio simus habituri: Plurimos enim esse malos: And though Cicero in Lxl. say, That it is a Sentence sapiente plane indigna, it is his mistake of the sense of it. For it is true, that in well-grounded Friendship we must avoid suspicion, (which is all that Cicero pleads for): but yet we must know Men to be Men, and mutable: and all just Love is not well grounded intimate Friendship.

§. 2. *The greatest part of the World do bend their mindes and lives to the satisfying of their flesh, and live in ungodliness, intemperance, and unrighteousness, neglecting God and future happiness, and that Holy life which is the way thereto.*

This being a matter of publick or common fact, doth need no other proof, than acquaintance with the people of the World.

§. 3. *Yea, there is an aversion and enmity in them, to the life which God in Nature doth prescribe them; and a strong inclination to a fleshly Life.*

There needeth no other proof of this, than the wonderfull difficulty which we find in perswading men to change their Lives, to live to God, and to forsake their sensuality and worldliness; and the abundance of Reason and labour that is lost upon them, when we cannot so much as make them willing.

§. 4. *It is evident in the effect, that much of this cometh with us into the World.*

1. How else should it be so universal as it is? How should it be found in all sorts of Constitutions and Complexions? and in every Countrey and Age till now? 2. How should it work so early in Children as commonly it doth? 3. How cometh it to prevail against the best Education, Helps and Means? Certainly all of us feel from our childhood too much of the truth of this?

§. 5. *This*

§. 5. *This natural pravity is quickly encreased, by the advantage of sensuality, which is active before Reason cometh to any power of resistance, and so getteth stronger possession by Custom, and groweth to a confirmed habit.*

In uno annulo omnes boni principes possunt insculpi, inquit quidam in *Vopisc. Aurel.*

§. 6. *And if* vicious Education *by vicious Parents be added,* and bad company *second that, and the* vulgar course, *or* Rulers countenance *concurr, the corrupt inclination is quickly more radicated, and next to a Nature.*

§. 7. *Many so farr prevail against the light and law of Nature, as to grow strange to God and to themselves, to their end, and their work. Even to doubt whether there be a God, or whether they have any other life to live, and whether Holiness be good and necessary, and sin be bad and deserve any punishment.*

Seneca *saith, That a good man is a Phœnix, born once in five hundred years.* Ep. 42,

§. 8. *There is a great deal of sottish unteachableness on the minds and wills of men, which hindereth their conviction and reformation.*

Lucian. in Tim. inquit, Boni possessio est, quæ haud facile inveniri potest; ut quæ jamdudum è vita concesserit: Adeo obscura & pusilla, ut illam vel Lynceus vix dum inveniat.

§. 9. *There is a great deal of senseless stupidity and hardheartedness on men, which maketh them sleepily neglect the greatest things which they are convinced of.*

§. 10. *There is in most a marvellous Inconsiderateness, as if they had not their Reason awake to use; so that they will not soberly and seriously think of the things which deeplyest concern them.*

§. 11. *Most men are so taken up with the concernments of their Bodies, that their Minds are pre-occupyed and made unfit for higher things.*

Diogenes crying, O homines adeste! *when a crowd came about him, drove them away, saying,* Homines vocavi, non sterquilinia.

All this is proved if we walk but in the World with open eyes.

§. 12. *The Love of the World and fleshly pleasure, is so powerfull in the most, that they love not the Holy Law of God, which forbiddeth them that sensuality, and commandeth them a holy and temperate life.*

They are like Children that cry for what they love, and will not be restrained by telling them that its unwholsom: Reason signifieth nothing with them, as long as Sense and Appetite gainsay it: They are angry with all that crosseth their Appetites, though it be to save their Lives: The Sense is become the predominant power in them, and Reason is dethroned, and hath left its power: Therefore Gods Law

Aristippus *being asked,* Quid esset admirandum in vita? *answered,* Vir probus & moderatus? quoniam etsi inter multos improbos agat, non tamen pervertitur. *Stob.*

is unacceptable and hatefull to these bruitish people; because it is quite against their inclination, and that which the Flesh doth call their Interest and Good.

§. 13. *Therefore they love not those who press them to the Obedience of this Law, which is so ungrateful to them; and who condemn their sin by the holiness of their lives; and that awaken their guilty Consciences by the serious mention of the Retributions of the life to come.*

Hence was Diogenes *his searching* Athens *with a Lanthorn to finde a man.*

All this is bitter to the taste, and the Reasonableness, necessity and future benefits, are things that they are much insensible of.

And when Themistocles *had a Farm to sell, he bid the Cryer tell it as its great commendation, that there was an honest Neighbour dwelt neer it, intimating the paucity of such.*

§. 14. *Therefore they love not God himself, as he is Holy, and Governeth them by a Holy Law, which is so much against their inclinations; as he forbiddeth them all their sinfull pleasure, and threatneth damnation to them if they rebell: Especially as his Justice will execute this: Indeed their aversation from God in these respects, is no less than a Hating Him as God.*

§. 15. *These Vices working continually in mens hearts, do fill them with deceiving thoughts, and distracting passions, and unquietness, and engage them in self-troubling wayes, and deprive them of the Comforts of the Love of God, and of a Holy life, and of the well-grounded hope of future blessedness.*

Ut Scarabæi & vultures unguentis offenduntur, —ita non omnibus placent optima. *Plutarch.*

Though they have such a present pleasure as prevaileth with them, it bringeth speedy smart and trouble: Just like the pleasure of scratching to a man that hath the Itch, which is quickly recompensed with smart if he go deep: Or like the pleasure of drinking cold water to a man in a Feaver, or a Dropsie, which increaseth the disease. Sin is their sickness, and corrupteth their appetites, and though it have its proper pleasure, it depriveth them of the pleasures and benefits of health.

Vir bonus & sapiens qualem vix repperit unum.
Millibus è cunctis hominum consultus Apollo. *&c. Virg.*
Vitio nostra quæ amamus defendimus; & malumus ea excusare quam excutere. *Sen. Ep.* 117.

§. 16. *These vices also so deprave sometimes, making every wicked man to be principally for* HIMSELF *and for his* LUSTS, *that they are commonly distracted with envy, malice, contention, persecutions, the fruits of Pride, and Covetousness and sensuality; and these diseases are still troubling them, till they work their ruine where they do prevail.*

§. 17. *The same vices set Kingdoms and other Commonwealths together in bloody Warrs, and cause men to study to destroy one another, and glory in the success, and fill the World with*

with rapine and violence by Sea and Land; and make it seem as necessary to their own preservation, to kill one another as their enemies, as to kill Toads and Serpents, Wolves and Tygers, and much more; and with much more care, and cost, and industry is it done.

Absurdum est putare eum qui ab aliquibus ex bono malus fuerit factus, eundem ab illis iterum ex malo bonum fieri posse. *Dion. Hal.* 11.

§. 18. *If any wise and charitable persons would heal these vices, and reconcile these contentions, and perswade persons and Nations to a holy, sober, peaceable course, they are commonly hated and persecuted, they seldom succeed, nor can their counsel be heard, through the multitude and fury of the vicious, whose folly and violence beareth down all.*

Ubi divitiæ honori sunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi innocentia pro malevolentia duci incipit. *Salust. in Catilin.*

§. 19. *And God himself doth give the sinfull World a taste of his displeasure by painfull sicknesses, consuming Plagues, Famines, Poverty, and many the like Calamities, which fall upon mankinde.*

Ælian. var. hist. l. 13. *saith, that* Theodata *a whore told* Socrates, *that he could draw away none of her followers, but she could draw away his at her pleasure; and he answered,* Non mirum: Tu siquidem ad declivem tramitem omnes rapis; ego vero ad virtutem cogo, ad quam arduus plerisque insolitus est ascensus.

§. 20. *But his sorest Judgements are the forsaking of Mens souls, and leaving them in all this folly and disorder, this sin and misery, to destroy themselves.*

The principal Mercies and Punishments of this Life, are found on the *Souls* of men themselves. The greatest present Reward of Obedience, is when God doth more illuminate the mind, and send in more of his celestial beams, and shed abroad his Love upon the heart, and fill it with the Love of *Goodness*, and delight it in himself, and confirm the will against temptations: And the greatest punishment is when God in displeasure for mens disobedience, doth withdraw this grace, and leave men to themselves, that they that love not his grace should be without it, and follow their foolish self-destroying lusts.

§. 21. *God cannot pardon an uncapable subject, nor any but on terms consistent with the honour of his Justice, Laws, and Government! Nor is there any that can deliver a sinner from his punishment, upon any other terms whatsoever.*

§. 22. *The conclusion is, that the sin and misery of Mankinde in General is great and lamentable, and their recovery a work of exceeding difficulty.*

"*Obj.* All this sheweth, that mans Nature was not "made for a Holy life, nor for a World to come: "Else their averseness to it would not be so great and com-"mon.

Animi morbi sunt cupiditates immensæ, inanes, divitiarum, gloriæ dominationis, libidinosarum etiam voluptatum accedunt ægritudines, molestiæ, merores, quæ animos exedunt conficiuntq; curis. *Cic. 1. de finib.*

In naturalibus desideriis pauci non peccant. *Arist. 3. Eth.*

Answ. This is fully answered before: It is proved, that Nature and Reason do fully bear witness against his wickedness and declare his obligations, to a better life, and his capacity of higher things: and that all this is his rebellion against Nature and Reason! And it no more proveth your Conclusion, than your Children, or Servants averseness to obedience, peace and labour, proveth that these are not their duty, or Subjects rebellion proveth that they are not obliged to be loyal.

"*Obj.* But it is incredible that God should thus far forsake "his own Creation.

Answ. 1. There is no disputing against the light of the Sun, and the experience of all the World: It is a thing visible and undenyable that *this case they are de facto* in, and therefore that *thus farr* they are forsaken: It is no Wisdom to say, that *is not*, which all the World seeth to be so, because we think it unmeet that it *should* be so. 2. Is it incredible that God doth further than this forsake the wicked in the World of punishment? If he may further forsake *Hell*, he may *thus far* forsake Earth, upon their great provocations. We have no certainty of it, but it is not at all unlikely, that the innumerable fixed Starrs and Planets are inhabited Orbs, who have dwellers answerable to their nature and preeminence: And if God do totally forsake Hell, as to his Mercy; and next to Hell, do *much* forsake a sinfull Earth that is likest and neerest unto Hell, and do glorifie his more abundant Mercy upon the more holy and happy inhabitants of all, or almost all the other Orbs, what matter of discontent should this be to us. 3. But God hath not left even this dark and wicked Earth it self, without all remedy, as shall be further shewed.

God only can recover lapsed man?
Nemo magnus sine aliquo afflatu Divino unquam fuit. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. 2.*

Of the Paucity of the good, and the abounding of wickedness, almost all Poets, Orators, Philosophers and Historians openly complain.

Pauci quos æquus amavit.
Jupiter aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus.

Read *Cicero*'s third Book *de Nat. Deor.* and you will see in *Cotta*'s speech, that the notoriously depraved Reason of man, and the prevalency and prosperity of wickedness, was the great argument of the Atheists, against God and Providence; which they thought unanswerable, because they looked no further than this life, and did not foresee the time of full universal Justice. And whereas *Cotta* saith, that if there be a God, he should have made most men good, and prevented all the evil in the World, and not only punish men when it

it is done, I shall answer that among the objections in the Second Tome; and I before shewed, how little reason men have to expect that God should make every man as good as he could make him, or make man indefectible; or to argue from mans sin against Gods goodness: The free Creator, Lord and Benefactor, may vary his creatures and benefits as he seeth meet, and may be proved good, though he make not man Angelical, and though he permit his sin, and punish him for sinning.

In vitia alter alterum tradimus: quomodo ad salutem revocari potest, quem nullus retrahit, & populus impellit? *Senec. Ep. 29.*

Serpunt vitia & contactu nocent, & in proximum quemq; transiliunt. *Id. de Tranq. vit.*
Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur. *Horat. 1. Ser. 3.*
Unicuiq; dedit vitium natura creato. *Propert.*
Quid ulcus leviter tangam? Omnes mali sumus. *Senec.*
Si cupis bonus fieri, primum crede quod malus sis. *Epictet. Enchir.*
Novi ego hoc seculum moribus quibus sit: Malus bonum malum esse vult ut sit sui similis: turbant, miscent, mores mali, rapax, avarus, invidus, sacrum profanum, publicum privatum habent: Hinlea gens: hæc ego doleo; hæc sunt quæ excruciant; hæc dies noctesq; tibi canto ut caveas. *Plaut.*
Nisi enim talis (mala) esset natura hominum, non anteponerent vindictam sanctitati & lucrum justitiæ, invidentes alienæ potentiæ non lædenti: sed volunt homines vindictæ cupiditate communes leges dissolvere, *&c. Thucid. l. 3.*
Sed & boni, dicetis, sunt in rebus humanis; Viri sapientes, justi, inculpati —Res. Sint licet perhonesti, fuerintq; laudabiles, —sed audire deposcimus, quot sint aut fuerint numero,— Unus, duo, tres,—centum certe numero diffiniti—At genus humanum non ex pauculis bonis, sed ex cæteris omnibus æstimari convenit, ponderari: In toto enim pars est, non totum in parte— Et quinam isti sunt, dicite? Philosophi credo, qui se esse solos sapientissimos autumant— Nempe illi qui cum suis quotidie cupiditatibus pugnant — Qui ne in vitia proritari facultatis possint alicujus instinctu, patrimonia & divitias fugiunt, ne causas sibi afferant lapsus. Quod cum faciunt & curant, apertissime animas esse indicant labiles, & infirmitate ad vitia proclives: Nostra autem sententia, quod bonum natura est, neq; emendari neq; corrigi se poscit: Immo ipsum debet quid sit malum nescire, si generis forma cujusq; in sua cogitat integritate perstare— Qui luctatur animorum ingenitas corrigere pravitates, is apertissime monstrat imperfectum se esse, quamvis omni & pervicacia contendat. *Arnob. adv. Gentes, lib. 2. in Auctuar. Bib. Pat. To. 1. p. 20.*

CHAP. XVII.

What Natural Light declareth of the Mercy of God to Sinners, and of the Means and Hopes of Mans Recovery.

Crede mihi miseris cœlestia numina parcunt.
Nec semper læsos & sine fine premunt. *Ovid. 3. de Pont.*

§. 1. *NOtwithstanding all this forementioned sin and guilt and misery of man, and Justice of God, Experience assureth all the Earth, that Great Mercy is still continued to them, and that they have to do with a Most Merciful God.*

Mens Lives are continued even while they sin: Patience endureth them: Time is vouchsafed them: Food and raiment, and Friends and Habitations, and health and ease and liberty is given them: The Sun sendeth them its *moving influence*, its *Light, and Heat*; The Earth supporteth them, and affordeth them fruit and maintenance and pleasure: The Clouds yield them rain; the Air breath; and the Sea it self is not unkind, and incommodious to them. Beasts, Birds and Fishes, and all inferiour Creatures serve them! And yet much more mercy they receive from God.

When Piso *in* Cicero *seeketh after the* summum bonum, *he proceedeth by these steps*, 1. Omnem naturam esse sui conservatricem. Neminem esse qui ipse se oderit. 2. Neminem esse qui quomodo se habeat, nihil sua censeat interesse: 3. Hominum è corpore & animo constare, primasque animi partes esse, & secunda corporis. 4. Animum aliquid agere semper, neq; ulla conditione quietem sempiternam posse pati. 5. Bona esse quæ naturæ conveniunt, eamq; perficiunt. 6. Animi duo genera esse virtutum; 1 Naturales, *viz.* docilitas, memoria, ingenium: 2 Voluntarias quæ in Voluntate posita magis proprio nomine virtutes appellantur. 7. In prima Classe maxime excellens, considerationem & cognitionem cœlestium. 8. Virtutes autem voluntatis esse præstantissimas. 9. Et ita concludit, Virtutem esse maxime expetendam, *This is the summ of the lib.* 5. de Finib.

§. 2. *It is therefore manifest that God dealeth not with the sinfull World according to the utmost rigor of Justice, nor punisheth them as much as they deserve.*

For all these Mercies they have forfeited, and deserved to be deprived of them.

"*Obj.* But it is no mercy, which hardeneth them in sin, "and endeth in misery: It is rather a punishment; as to "give cold water to a man in a Feaver.

Answ. 1. If it hardened them of its own nature, and not meerly by their abuse, and if it ended in misery by the designment of the Giver and the tendency of the gift, then were it as you say, no mercy but a Plague. But it is Mercy which in its nature and by the Donors will, hath a fitness and tendency to mens recovery, and to prevent their misery,

ry, and they are commanded and intreated accordingly to use it; and are warned of the danger of abuse.

"*Obj.* But God knoweth when he giveth it them, that "they will so abuse it.

Answ. Gods fore-knowledge or Omniscience is his perfection, and will you argue from thence against his Mercy? His foreknowledge of mens sin and misery causeth them not: What if he foreknew them not? Were it any praise to him to be ignorant? And yet the Mercy would be but the same? If you will not be reconciled to Gods wayes, till he cease to be Omniscient, or till he prevent all the sin and misery which he foreknoweth, you will perish in your enmity, and he will easily justifie his mercy against such accusations.

"*Obj.* But God could give men so much more grace as "to prevent mens sin and misery if he would.

Answ. True: he is not unable: And so he could make every clod a tree, and every tree a beast, and every beast a man, and every man an Angel, as I said before: but must he therefore do it?

Here note, that it is one thing to say of any *Punishment*, [This is so deserved, that God may inflict it if he please, without Injustice, yea and thereby demonstrate his Justice;] and another thing to say [This is so due that God must or will inflict it, if he will be just; unless a compensation be made to Justice.] It is of the first sort that I am now speaking: For God may have variety of times, and measures, and kinds of Punishments, which he may use at his own choice, and yet not leave the sin unpunished finally: But whether he properly dispense with any Law, which is determinate as to the penalty, I am not now to speak, it being not pertinent to this place and subject.

§. 3. *Therefore God doth in some sort and measure, pardon sin to the generality of mankinde, while he remitteth some measure of the deserved punishment.*

To remit or forgive the Punishment is so far to forgive the sin; for forgiveness as to *execution*, is but *non punire* proceeding from commiseration or mercy. And it is certain by all the *Mercy* bestowed on them, that God remitteth *something* of the punishment, which in Law and Justice he might inflict. Though this be not a *total pardon*, it is not therefore *none at all*.

§. 4. *The*

Sæpe levant pœnas, ereptaq; lumina reddunt
Cum bene peccati pœnituisse vident. *Ovid. 1. de Pont.*

Diſſenſio ab aliis; à te reconciliatio inciat: Cum ignoſcis ita beneficium tuum tempera, ut non ignoſcere videaris, ſed abſolvere; Quia graviſſimum pœnæ genus eſt, contumelioſa venia. *Senec.*
Pulchrum eſt vitam domare petenti ſtatim. *Theb.*

Nec ex templo ara, nec ex humana natura miſerecordia tollenda eſt; inquit *Phocion*, in *Stobæo.*

Facilius iis ignoſcitur, qui non perſeverare, ſed ab errato ſe revocare moliuntur: eſt enim humanum peccare, ſe belluinum in errore perſeverare. *Cicer. in Vatin.*

§. 4. *The Goodneſs of Gods Nature, with this univerſal Experience of the World, poſſeſſeth all mens minds with this apprehenſion of God, that he is gracious, merciſull, long-ſuffering, and ready to forgive a capable ſubject, upon terms conſiſtent with his truth and honour, and the common good.*

Its true, that ſelf-love and ſelf-flattery doth cauſe men to think of the Mercy of God, as indulgent to their luſts, and ſuitable to their fleſhly deſires; and therefore their conceits are none of the meaſure of his mercy: But yet it may be perceived, that this foreſaid conception of God as Merciſull and ready to forgive a capable ſubject, is warranted by the ſobereſt Reaſon, and is not bred by ſin and error: For the wiſe and better, and leſs ſinfull any is, the more he is inclined to ſuch thoughts of God as of a part of his Perfection.

§. 5. *This apprehenſion is increaſed in Mankinde by Gods obliging us, to forgive one another.*

For though it doth not follow, that God muſt forgive all that which he bindeth us to forgive, for the Reaſons before expreſſed; Yet we muſt believe, that the Laws of God proceed from that Wiſdom and Goodneſs which is his Perfection, and that they bear the Image of them; and that the obeying of them tendeth to form us more to his Image our ſelves, and to make us Holy as he is Holy: And therefore that this Command of God to Man, to be merciſull and forgive, doth intimate to us, that mercy and forgiveneſs are agreeable and pleaſing unto God.

§. 6. *God cannot caſt away from his Love and from Felicity, any ſoul which truly loveth Him above all, and which ſo repenteth of his ſin, as to turn to God in Holineſs of Heart and Life.*

Here ſeemeth to ariſe before us a conſiderable difficulty. That God can finde in his heart to damn one that truly loveth him, and is ſanctified, is incredible: Becauſe 1. then Gods own Image ſhould be in Hell, and a Saint be damned. 2. Becauſe then the Creature ſhould be readyer to love God, than God to love him. 3. Then a Soul in Hell ſhould have holy deſires, Prayers, Praiſes, and other acts of love. 4. And a Soul capable of the glorifying mercy of God, ſhould miſs of it: This therefore is not to be believed: For God cannot but

but take complacency in them that love him, and bear his Image: And thoſe will be happy that God taketh complacency in.

And yet on the other ſide, Do not the ſins of them that love God, deſerve death and miſery, according to his Law? And might he not inflict that on men which they deſerve? Doth not Juſtice require puniſhment on them, that yet ſin not away the Love of God, nor a *ſtate* of Holineſs? To this ſome anſwer, that all thoſe that conſiſt with Love and Holineſs, are Venial ſins, which deſerve only temporal chaſtiſement, and not perpetual miſery: I rather anſwer, 1. That all ſin conſidered in it ſelf, abſtracted from the Cauſe which counterballanceth it, and procureth pardoning mercy, doth deſerve perpetual miſery; and therefore ſo do the ſins of the Beſt in themſelves conſidered: But that Grace which cauſeth their Sanctification, and their Love to God, doth conjunctly cauſe the pardon of their ſins; ſo that God will not deal with ſuch as in rigour they deſerve. 2. And if the ſin of any that Love God, ſhould provoke him to caſt them into Hell, it followeth not, that one that loveth God *in ſenſu compoſito*, ſhould be damned: For God hath an Order in his Puniſhments: And firſt he would withdraw his *Grace* from ſuch a one, and leave him to himſelf; and then he will no longer Love God; and ſo it is not a *Lover of God* that would be damned.

Pœnitenti optimus eſt portus, mutatio conſilii. *Cicer. Phil. 12.*

Beatus eſt cui vel in ſenectute contigerit, ut ſapientiam, veraſq; opiniones conſequi poſſit. *Cicer. de finib.*

Read Cato's *ſpeech in* Cicer. de fin. l. 3. *that the Principle of ſelf-love and preſervation is the ſeed of virtue; and how every thing abhorreth its own hurt and deſtruction.*

§. 7. *The ſinfull World is not ſo farr forſaken of God, as to be ſhut up under deſperation, and utter impoſſibility of recovery and ſalvation.*

For if that were ſo, they were not *in Via*, or under an obligation to uſe any means, or accept of any mercy, in order to their recovery, nor could they rationally do it, or be perſwaded to it. There is no means to be uſed where there is no end to be attained, and no hope of ſucceſs.

Scelerum ſi bene pœniteat, eradenda cupidinis, prava ſunt elementa. *Hor.*

§. 8. *The light of Nature, and the foreſaid dealings of God with men, continuing them under his Government* in Via, *and manifold mercies, helps and means, do generally perſwade the Conſciences of men that there are certain* Duties *required of them, and certain* Means *to be uſed by them, in order to procure their recovery and ſalvation, and to ſcape the miſery deſerved.*

He that ſhall deny this, will turn the Earth into a Hell: he will teach men to forbear all means and duties which tend to their converſion, pardon and ſalvation, and to juſtifie themſelves in it, and deſperately give over all Religion, and begin the horrours and language of the damned.

Omnibus natura dedit fundamenta ſemenque virtutum. *Sen. ep.* 110.

§. 9. *The very command of God to uſe his appointed means for mens recovery, doth imply that it ſhall not be in vain, and doth not only ſhew a poſſibility, but ſo great a hopefulneſs of the ſucceſs to the obedient, as may encourage them cheerfully to undertake it, and carry it through.*

No man that is wiſe and merciful, will appoint his ſubject a courſe of means to be uſed, for a thing impoſſible to be got: or will ſay, Labour thus all thy life for it, but thou ſhalt be never the nearer it, if thou do. If ſuch an Omniſcient Phyſician do but bid me uſe ſuch means for my cure and health, I may take his command for half a promiſe, if I obey.

Homines ad Deos nulla re propius accedunt, quàm ſalutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet fortuna majus quàm ut poſſit; nec natura melius quàm ut velit, ſervare. *Cicero Ligar.*

Notitia peccati, initium ſalutis. *Sen.*

Such Epictetus, *as our Parents deliver us to School-maſters to be nurtured, to God deliver us to our Conſciences, whoſe nurture is not to be to tender.*

§. 10. *Conſcience doth bear witneſs againſt impenitent ſinners, that the cauſe of their ſin, and the hinderance of their recovery is in themſelves; and that God is not unwilling to forgive and ſave them, if they were but meet for forgiveneſs and ſalvation.*

Even now mens conſciences take God's part againſt themſelves, and tell them, that the Infinite Good, that communicateth all the Goodneſs to the creature, which it hath, is not ſo likely to be the cauſe of ſo odious a thing as ſin, nor of mans deſtruction as he himſelf. If I ſee a Sheep lie torn in the high-way, I will ſooner ſuſpect the Wolf than a Lamb to be the cauſe, if I ſee them both ſtand by: and if I ſee a Child drown'd in ſcalding water, I will ſooner ſuſpect that he fell in by folly and heedleſneſs himſelf, than that his Mother wilfully caſt him in. Is not ſilly naughty man much liker to be the cauſe of ſin and miſery, than the wiſe and gracious God? Much more hereafter will the ſinners conſcience juſtifie God.

§. 11. *God hath planted in the common nature of mankind an inſeparable inclination to* Truth as Truth, *and to* Good as Good, *and a* Love to themſelves, *and a* deſire to be happy, *and a* lothneſs to be miſerable; *together with ſome* reverence *and* honour *of* God, *(till they have extinguiſhed the belief of his being) and a* hatred *and* horrour *of the* Devil, *(while they believe he is): All which are a fit Stock to plant Reforming truths*

truths in, and Principles fit to be improved for mens converſion, and the excitation and improvement of them, is much of that recovering work.

§. 12. *Frequent and deep conſideration being a great means of mans recovery, (by improving the truth which he conſidereth, and reſtoring Reaſon to the Throne) it is a great advantage to man that he is naturally a Reaſoning and Thoughtful creature, his Intellect being propenſe to activity and knowledge.*

§. 13. *And it is his great advantage, that his frequent and great afflictions have a great tendency to awake his Reaſon to conſideration, and to bring it to the heart, and make it effectual.*

And conſequently that God caſteth us into ſuch a Sea and wilderneſs of troubles, that we ſhould have theſe quickening Monitors ſtill at hand.

§. 14. *And it is man's great advantage for his recovery, that* Vanity *and* Vexation *are ſo legibly written on all things here below; and that fruſtrated expectations, and unſatisfied minds, and the fore-knowledge of the end of all, and bodily pains which find no eaſe, with multitudes of bitter experiences, do ſo abundantly help him to eſcape the ſnare (the love) of preſent things.*

For all men that periſh are condemned for loving the creature above the Creator: and therefore ſuch a world, which appeareth ſo evidently to be vain, and empty, and deceitful, and vexatious, and which all men know will turn them off at laſt with as little comfort, as if they had never ſeen a day of pleaſure in it; I ſay, ſuch a world, one would think, ſhould give us an antidote againſt its own deceit, and ſufficiently wean us from its inordinate love. At leaſt this is a very great advantage.

§. 15. *It is alſo a common and great advantage for man's recovery, that his life here is ſo ſhort, and his death ſo certain, as that reaſon muſt needs tell him, that the pleaſures of ſin are alſo ſhort, and that he ſhould always live as parting with this world, and ready to enter into another.*

The *nearneſs* of things maketh them to work on the mind of man the more powerfully: *diſtant* things, though *ſure* and *great*, do hardly awaken the mind to their reception and due conſideration. If men lived 600 or 1000 years in the world, it were no wonder if covetouſneſs, and carnality, and

Nemo adeo ferus eſt, ut non miteſcere poſſit
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem. *Horat. ep.* 1.
Miſerum te eſſe judico, qui nunquam fueris miſer: traxiſti ſine adverſario vitam: Opus eſt ad ſui notitiam experimento. Quid quiſque poſſit non niſi tentando didicit. *Sen. de pro.*
Non omnino Diis exoſos eſſe, qui in hac vita cum ærumnarum varietate luctantur; ſed eſſe arcanas cauſas, &c. *Macrob. l.* 1. *Saturn.*
Rem pateris modicam & mediocri bile ferendam
Si flectas oculos, majora ad crimina —— *Juven.*
* Quotidie morimur, quotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitæ: & tunc quoque cum creſcimus vita decreſcit. Hunc ipſum quem agimus diem, cum morte dividimus. *Sen. ep.* 24.
Natura nihil hominibus brevitate vitæ præſtitit melius. *Id.*
Nihil æque tibi proficiet ad temperantiam omnium rerum, quàm frequens cogitatio brevis ævi & hujus incerti. Quicquid facis reſpice ad mortem. *Sen. ep.* 25.

security made them like Devils, and worse than wild beasts to one another: But when men cannot chuse but know, that they must certainly and shortly see the end of all that ever this world will do for them, and are never sure of another hour; this is so great a help to sober consideration, and conversion, that it must be monstrous stupidity and brutishness that must overcome it.

Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccati testis adhibetur. *Sen. What then may the presence of God do?*

Clemens Alexand. *was positive in it, that Philosophy was bestow'd to the saving of many Heathens who obey'd it.*

Tunc est consummata infelicitas, ubi turpia non solum delectant, sed etiam placent: & desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores fiunt. *Sen. Prov.*

At morbi pernicioſiores plurisque sunt animi quam corporis —— Qui vero probari potest, ut sibi medenti animus non possit, cum ipse medicinam corporis animus invenerit? Cumque omnes qui corpore se curari passi sunt, non continuo convalescant: Animi autem qui se sanari voluerint, præceptisque sapientum paruerint, sine ulla dubitatione sanentur. *Cic. Tuscul. l. 3. p. 270.*

§. 16. *It is also a great advantage for man's conversion, that all the world revealeth God to him, and every thing telleth him of the Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness, and Love of God; and of his constant Presence; and so sheweth him an object which should as easily over-power all sensual objects, which would seduce his soul, as a mountain will weigh down a feather.*

Though we see not God, (which would sure put an end to the controversie whether we should be sensual or holy) yet while we have a glass as big as all the world, which doth continually represent him to us, one would think that no reasonable creature should so much over-look him, as to be carried from him with the trifles of this world.

§. 17. *Men that have not only the foresaid obligations, to Holiness, Justice and Sobriety in their natures, but also all these Hopes, and Helps, and Means of their recovery from sin to God, and yet frustrate all, and continue in ungodliness, unrighteousness, or intemperance, impenitently to the end, are utterly destitute of all just excuse, why God should not punish them with endless misery: which is the case of all that perish.*

§. 18. *All men shall be judged by the Law which was given them of God to live by.*

For it is the same Law, which is, *Regula Officii & Judicii*: God will not condemn men for not believing a truth, which mediately or immediately was never revealed to them, and which they had no means to know: nor for not obeying a Law which was never promulgated to them, nor they could not come to be acquainted with: Phyſical impoſſibilities are not the matter of crimes, or of condemnation.

§. 19. *If any persons are brought by these means alone to repent unfeignedly of an ungodly, uncharitable and intemperate life, and to love God unfeignedly as their God, above all; and to live a holy, obedient life: God will not condemn such persons, though they wanted supernatural Revelation of his will. (As I shewed before §. 6.)*

§. 20. *When sinners stand at many degrees distant from God and a holy life, and mercy would draw them nearer him by degrees, they that have help and mercy sufficient* in suo genere, *to have drawn them* nearer *God, and refused to obey it, do forfeit the further helps of mercy, and may justly perish and be forsaken by him; though their help was not immediately sufficient to all the further degrees of duty which they were to do.*

These things as clear in their proper light, I stand not to prove, because I would not be unnecessarily tedious to the Reader.

And so much of GODLINESS, *or Religion, as revealed by* Natural Light.

Obj. "But all Heathens and Infidels find not all this in "the Book of Nature, which you say is there.

Answ. I speak not of what men *do see*, but what they *may see*, if they will improve their Reason. All this is undeniably legible in the Book of Nature; but the infant, the ideot, the illiterate, the scholar, the smatterer, the Doctor, the considerate, the inconsiderate, the sensual, the blinded, and the willing diligent enquirer do not *equally* see and read that which is written in the same characters to all.

Sunt enim ingeniis nostris semina innata virtutum, quæ si adolescere liceret, ipsa nos ad beatam vitam naturæ perduceret. Nunc autem simul ac editi sumus in lucem, in omni continuo pravitate versamur, &c. *Cic. 3. Tuscul.*

N. B. *That when Philosophers say, That* all is good which Nature teacheth, *& see they mean by* Nature, *the true and sound constitution of the Soul, which they distinguish from its diseases and corruption.*

He that shall deny this, will turn the Earth into a Hell: he will teach men to forbear all means and duties which tend to their conversion, pardon and salvation, and to justifie themselves in it, and desperately give over all Religion, and begin the horrours and language of the damned.

Omnibus natura dedit fundamenta semenque virtutum. *Sen. ep.* 110.

§. 9. *The very command of God to use his appointed means for mens recovery, doth imply that it shall not be in vain, and doth not only shew a possibility, but so great a hopefulness of the success to the obedient, as may encourage them cheerfully to undertake it, and carry it through.*

No man that is wise and merciful, will appoint his subject a course of means to be used, for a thing impossible to be got: or will say, Labour thus all thy life for it, but thou shalt be never the nearer it, if thou do. If such an Omniscient Physician do but bid me use such means for my cure and health, I may take his command for half a promise, if I obey.

Homines ad Deos nihil re propius accedunt, quàm salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet fortuna majus quàm ut possit; nec natura melius quàm ut velit, servare. *Cic. pro Ligar.*

Notitia peccati, initium salutis. *Sen.*

Such Epictetus, as our Parents deliver us to School-masters to be nurtured, so God delivereth us to our Consciences, whose nurture is not to be contemned.

§. 10. *Conscience doth bear witness against impenitent sinners, that the cause of their sin, and the hinderance of their recovery is in themselves; and that God is not unwilling to forgive and save them, if they were but meet for forgiveness and salvation.*

Even now mens consciences take God's part against themselves, and tell them, that the Infinite Good, that communicateth all the Goodness to the creature, which it hath, is not so likely to be the cause of so odious a thing as sin, nor of mans destruction as he himself. If I see a Sheep lie torn in the high-way, I will sooner suspect the Wolf than a Lamb to be the cause, if I see them both stand by: and if I see a Child drown'd in scalding water, I will sooner suspect that he fell in by folly and heedlessness himself, than that his Mother wilfully cast him in. Is not silly naughty man much liker to be the cause of sin and misery, than the wise and gracious God? Much more hereafter will the sinners conscience justifie God.

§. 11. *God hath planted in the common nature of mankind an inseparable inclination to* Truth as Truth, *and to* Good as Good, *and a* Love to themselves, *and a* desire to be happy, *and a* lothness to be miserable; *together with some* reverence *and* honour *of* God, *(till they have extinguished the belief of his being) and a* hatred *and* horrour *of the* Devil, *(while they believe he is): All which are a fit Stock to plant Reforming truths*

truths in, and Principles fit to be improved for mens conversion, and the excitation and improvement of them, is much of that recovering work.

§. 12. *Frequent and deep consideration being a great means of mans recovery, (by improving the truth which he considereth, and restoring Reason to the Throne) it is a great advantage to man that he is naturally a Reasoning and Thoughtful creature, his Intellecti being propense to activity and knowledge.*

§. 13. *And it is his great advantage, that his frequent and great afflictions have a great tendency to awake his Reason to consideration, and to bring it to the heart, and make it effectual.*

And consequently that God casteth us into such a Sea and wilderness of troubles, that we should have these quickening Monitors still at hand.

§. 14. *And it is man's great advantage for his recovery, that* Vanity *and* Vexation *are so legibly written on all things here below; and that frustrated expectations, and unsatisfied minds, and the fore-knowledge of the end of all, and bodily pains which find no ease, with multitudes of bitter experiences, do so abundantly help him to escape the snare (the love) of present things.*

For all men that perish are condemned for loving the creature above the Creator: and therefore such a world, which appeareth so evidently to be vain, and empty, and deceitful, and vexatious, and which all men know will turn them off at last with as little comfort, as if they had never seen a day of pleasure in it; I say, such a world, one would think, should give us an antidote against its own deceit, and sufficiently wean us from its inordinate love. At least this is a very great advantage.

§. 15. *It is also a common and great advantage for man's recovery, that his life here is so short, and his death so certain, that reason must needs tell him, that the pleasures of sin are also short, and that he should always live as parting with this world, and ready to enter into another.*

The *nearness* of things maketh them to work on the mind of man the more powerfully: *distant* things, though *sure* and *great*, do hardly awaken the mind to their reception and due consideration. If men lived 600 or 1000 years in the world, it were no wonder if covetousness, and carnality, and

Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit

Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem. *Horat. ep.* 1.

Miserum te esse judico, qui nunquam fuisti miser: traxisti sine adversario vitam: Opus est ad sui notitiam experimento. Quid quisque posset non nisi tentando didicit. *Sen. de pro.*

Non omnino Diis exosos esse, qui in hac vita cum æruminarum varietate luctantur; sed esse arcanas causas, &c. *Macrob. l.* 1. *Saturn.*

Rem pateris modicam & mediocri bile ferendam

Si flectas oculos, majora ad crimina —— *Juven.*

* Quotidie morimur; quotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitæ: & tunc quoque cum crescimus vita decrescit. Hunc ipsum quem agimus diem, cum morte dividimus. *Sen. ep.* 24.

Natura nihil hominibus brevitate vitæ præstitit melius. *Id.*

Nihil æque tibi proficiet ad temperantiam omnium rerum, quàm frequens cogitatio brevis ævi & hujus incerti. Quicquid facis respice ad mortem. *Sen. ep.* 25.

ſecurity made them like Devils, and worſe than wild beaſts to one another: But when men cannot chuſe but know, that they muſt certainly and ſhortly ſee the end of all that ever this world will do for them, and are never ſure of another hour; this is ſo great a help to ſober conſideration, and converſion, that it muſt be monſtrous ſtupidity and brutiſhneſs that muſt overcome it.

Magna pars peccatorum tolleretur, ſi peccati teſtis adhiberetur. *Sen. What then may the preſence of God do?*

Clemens Alexand. *was poſitive in it, that Philoſophy was bleſs'd to the ſaving of many Heathens who obey'd it.*

Tunc eſt conſummata intelligentia, ubi turpia non ſolum delectant, ſed etiam placent: & deſinit ibi remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores fiunt. *Sen. Prov.*

At morbi pernicioſiores pluresque ſunt animi quam corporis. —— Qui vero probari poteſt, ut ſibi mederi animus non poſſit, cum ipſe medicinam corporis animus invenerit? Cumque omnes qui corpore ſe curari paſſi ſunt, non continuo convaleſcant: Animi autem qui ſe ſanari voluerint, præceptaque ſapientum paruerint, ſine ulla dubitatione ſanentur. *Cic. Tuſcul. l. 3. p. 170.*

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Though we ſee not God, (which would ſure put an end to the controverſie whether we ſhould be ſenſual or holy) yet while we have a glaſs as big as all the world, which doth continually repreſent him to us, one would think that no reaſonable creature ſhould ſo much over-look him, as to be carried from him with the trifles of this world.

§. 17. *Men that have not only the foreſaid obligations, to Holineſs, Juſtice and Sobriety in their natures, but alſo all theſe Hopes, and Helps, and Means of their recovery from ſin to God, and yet fruſtrate all, and continue in ungodlineſs, unrighteouſneſs, or intemperance, impenitently to the end, are utterly deſtitute of all juſt excuſe, why God ſhould not puniſh them with endleſs miſery: which is the caſe of all that periſh.*

§. 18. *All men ſhall be judged by the Law which was given them of God to live by.*

For it is the ſame Law, which is, *Regula Officii & Judicii*: God will not condemn men for not believing a truth, which mediately or immediately was never revealed to them, and which they had no means to know: nor for not obeying a Law which was never promulgated to them, nor they could not come to be acquainted with: Phyſical impoſſibilities are not the matter of crimes, or of condemnation.

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Theſe things as clear in their proper light, I ſtand not to prove, becauſe I would not be unneceſſarily tedious to the Reader.

Sunt enim ingeniis noſtris ſemina innata virtutum, quæ ſi adoleſcere liceret, ipſa nos ad beatam vitam natura perduceret. Nunc autem ſimul ac editi ſumus in lucem, in omni continuo pravitate verſamur, &c. *Cic. 3. Tuſcul.* N. B. *That when Philoſophers ſay, That* all is good which Nature teacheth, *&c they mean by* Nature, *the true and ſound conſtitution of the Soul, which they diſtinguiſh from its diſeaſes and corruption.*

And ſo much of GODLINESS, *or Religion, as revealed by* Natural Light.

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PART II.

Of CHRISTIANITY and Supernatural Revelation.

CHAP. I.

Of the great need of a clearer Light, or fuller Revelation of the Will of God, than all that hath been opened before.

WHILST I resolved upon a deep and faithful search into the grounds of all Religion, and a review and trial of all that I had my self believed, I thought meet first to pass by *Persons*, and shut up my *Books*, and with retired *Reason* to read the *Book* of *Nature* only: and what I have there found, I have justly told you in the former *Part*; purposely omitting all that might be controverted by any considerable sober reason, that I might neither stop my self nor my Reader in the way; and that I might not deceive my self with plausible consequences of unsound or questionable antecedents; nor discourage my Reader by the casting of some doubtful passages in his way, which might

might tempt him to queſtion all the reſt. For I know what a deal of handſome ſtructure may fall through the falſneſs of ſome one of the ſupports, which ſeemed to ſtand a great way out of ſight: And I have been wearied my ſelf, with ſubtil diſcourſes of learned men, who in a long ſeries of *Ergo's* have thought, that they have left all ſure behind them, when a few falſe ſuppoſitions were the life of all. And I know that he who interpoſeth any doubtful things, doth raiſe a *diffidence* in the Reader's mind, which maketh him ſuſpect that the ground he ſtandeth on is not firm, and whether all that he readeth be not meer uncertain things. Therefore leaving things controvertable for a fitter place and time, I have thus far taken up ſo much as is plain and ſure, (which I find of more importance and uſefulneſs to my own information and confirmation, than any of thoſe controvertible points would be, if I could never ſo certainly determine them.

Nullus unquam à mortali ſemine vir abſolute bonus naſcetur. *Dion. Hal. l. 2.* *Truth delivered by the halves, will be lamely practiſed.* Ideo peccamus, quia de partibus vitæ omnes deliberamus: de toto nemo deliberat. *Sen.*

And now having peruſed the Book of Nature, I ſhall caſt up the account, and try what is yet wanting, and look abroad into the opinions of others in the world, and ſearch whence that which is yet wanting may be moſt fully, and ſafely, and certainly ſupplied.

§. 1. *And firſt, when I look throughout the world, I find, that though all the evidence aforeſaid for the neceſſity of a holy virtuous life, be unqueſtionable* in naturâ rerum, *yet moſt of the world obſerve it not, or diſcern but little of it, nor much regard the light without, or the ſecret witneſs of their conſciences within.*

Natural light or evidence is ſo unſucceſsful in the world, that it loudly telleth us, ſomething is yet wanting, what ever it is. We can diſcern what it is which is neceſſary to man's happineſs: but we can hardly diſcern whether *de facto* any conſiderable number (at beſt) do by the teaching of nature alone attain it. When we enquire into the *Writings* of the beſt of the Philoſophers, we find ſo little evidence of real holineſs, that is, of the foreſaid *Reſignation, Subjection,* and *Love to God as God,* that it leaveth us much in doubt whether indeed they were holy themſelves or not, and whether they made the Knowledge, Love, Obedience and Praiſe of God, the end and buſineſs of their lives. However, there is too great evidence, that the world lieth in darkneſs and wickedneſs,

neſs, where there is no more than natural light.

§. 2. *I find therefore that the diſcovery of the will of God, concerning our duty and our end, called, The Law of Nature, is a matter of very great difficulty, to them that have no ſupernatural light to help them.*

Though all this is legible in Nature, which I have thence tranſcribed; yet if I had not had another Teacher, I know not whether ever I ſhould have found it there. Nature is now a very hard book: when I have learnt it by my Teachers help, I can tell partly what is there: but at the firſt peruſal, I could not underſtand it. It requireth a great deal of *time*, and *ſtudy*, and *help* to underſtand that, which when we *do underſtand* it, is as plain to us as the high-way.

§. 3. *Thence it muſt needs follow, that it will be but* few *that will attain to underſtand the neceſſary parts of the Law of Nature aright, by that means alone; and the multitude will be left in darkneſs ſtill.*

What difficulties the wiſeſt Heathens find about God's proſpering the wicked, and afflicting the good. And how dark were they about the life to come? Therefore Seneca's *wiſe and good man was a* Phœnix. Sine doctrina ſiquid bene dicitur, adjuvante naturâ, tamen id quia fortuito fit, ſemper paratum eſſe non poteſt. *Cic. de Or.* Etſi ingeniis magnis prædita quidam, dicendi copiam ſine ratione conſequuntur, ars tamen dux certior eſt quàm natura. Aliud enim eſt poetarum more verba fundere, aliud, ea quæ dicas ratione & arte diſtinguere. *Cic. de fin. 4.*

The common people have not leiſure for ſo deep and long a ſearch into nature, as a few Philoſophers made; nor are they diſpoſed to it. And though reaſon obligeth them, in ſo neceſſary a caſe, to break through all difficulties, they have not ſo full uſe of their reaſon as to do it.

Obj. *But as Chriſtian Teachers do inſtruct the people in that which they cannot have leiſure to ſearch out themſelves; ſo why may not Philoſophers, who have leiſure for the ſearch, inſtruct the people quickly, who have not leiſure to find out the truth without inſtruction.*

Anſw. Much might be done, if all men did their beſt: But, 1. The difficulty is ſuch, that the learned themſelves are lamentably imperfect and unſatisfi'd, (as I ſhall further ſhew.) 2. Though the vulgar cannot ſearch out the truth without help, yet is it neceſſary that *by help* they come to ſee with their own eyes, and reſt not in a humane belief alone; eſpecially when their Teachers are of ſo many minds, that they know not which of them to believe. To learn the truth in its proper evidence, is very hard to them that have no more than the light of nature.

Obj. *But what difficulty is there in theſe few precepts, that all men may not eaſily learn them? [Thou ſhalt love God above all, and repent of ſin, and ſet thy heart upon the*

You may perceive the Heathens grieved to God by the want of Cotta's Concl. Stoic. Deor. 3. pag. 109. Num quis quod bonus vir esse debet, gratas Dis esse enitatur? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Jovemque Optimum Maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos justos, temperatos, sapientes efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos. —Judicium hoc omnium mortalium, fortunam à Deo petendam, à seipso sumendam esse sapientiam.

Life to come, and love thy neighbour as thy self, &c.

Answ. There is no difficulty in learning these words: But, 1. There is great difficulty in learning to understand the sense, and certain truth of that which is contained in them. To know what God is, so far as is necessary to our obedience and love, and to know what it is in him which is so amiable, and to know that there is a Life to come, and what it is, and to know what is God's will, and so what is duty, and what is the sin which we must repent of; these are more difficult. Generals are soon named; but it is a particular understanding which is necessary to practice. 2. And it is hard to see that certainty and attractive Goodness in these things, as may draw the mind to the practical embracements of them, from the love of other things. An obscure doubtful wavering apprehension, is not strong enough to change the heart and life.

§. 4. *These difficulties in the meer natural way of Revelation, will fill the learned world with controversies: and those controversies will breed and feed contentions, and eat out the heart of practical godliness, and make all Religion seem an uncertain or unnecessary thing.*

This is undoubtedly proved, 1. In the reason of the thing. 2. And in all the worlds experience: so numerous were the controversies among Philosophers, so various their Sects, so common their contentions, that the world despised them, and all Religion for their sakes, and look'd on most of them but as Mountebanks, that set up for gain, or to get Disciples, or to shew their wit: Practical piety died in their hands.

Obj. *This is a consequent not to be avoided, because no way hath so resolved difficulties, as to put an end to controversies and sects.*

Answ. Certainly *clearness* is more desirable than *obscurity*, and *concord* and *unity* than *division*; Therefore it concerneth us to enquire how this mischief may be amended, which is it that I am now about.

§. 5. *These difficulties also make it so* long *a work, to learn God's will by the light of Nature only, that the time of their youth, and oft of their lives, is slipt away, before men can come to know why they lived.*

It is true, that it is their own fault that causeth all these inconveniencies:

inconveniencies: but its as true, that their disease doth need a cure, for which it concerneth them to seek out. The life of man is held upon a constant uncertainty, and no man is sure to live another year: and therefore we have need of precepts so plain as may be easily and quickly learnt, that we may be always ready, if death shall call us to an account. I confess that what I have transcribed from nature is very plain there, to one that already understandeth it: but whether the distasted blindness of the world do not need yet something plainer, let experience determine.

§. 6. *That which would be sufficient for a sound understanding and will, is not sufficient to a darkned diseased mind and heart, such as experience telleth us is found throughout the world.*

To true reason which is at liberty, and not enthralled by sensuality and error, the light of nature might have a sufficiency to lead men up to the love of God, and a life of holiness: But experience telleth us, that the reason of the world is darkned, and captivated by sensuality, and that few men can well use their own faculties. And such eyes need spectacles, such cripples need crutches, yea, such diseases call for a Physician. Prove once that the world is not diseased, and then we will confess that their natural food may serve the turn, without any other diet or Physick.

§. 7. *When I have by* natural Reason *silenced all my doubts about the Life to come, I yet find in my self an uncouth unsatisfactory kind of apprehension of my future state, till I look to supernatural evidence: which I perceive is from a double cause. 1. Because a Soul in flesh, would fain have such apprehension as participateth of sense. 2. And we are so conscious of our ignorance, that we are apt still to suspect our own understandings, even when we have nothing to say against the conclusion.*

What I have said in the first part of this Book, doth so fully satisfie my Reason, as that I have nothing to say against it, which I cannot easily discern to be unsound: and yet for all that, when I think of another world, by the help of this natural light alone, I am rather *amazed* than satisfi'd; and am ready to think, [All this seemeth true, and I have nothing of weight to say against it; but alas how poor and uncertain a thing is man's understanding! how many are deceived in things that seem as undeniable to them! How

Parvulos nobis natura dedit igniculos quos celeriter in aliis moribus opinionibusque depravatis sic restinguimus, ut nusquam naturæ lumen appareat: —Nunc autem simulatque editi in lucem & suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate versamur, ut pene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur: cum vero parentibus redditi, deinde magistris traditi sumus, tum ita variis imbuimur erroribus, ut vanitati veritas, & opinioni confirmatæ natura ipsa cedat. *Cic. 3. Tusc.*

Multis signis natura declarat quid velit: —obsurdescimus tamen nescio quo modo, nec ea quæ ab ea moventur audimus. *Cic. Læl.*

Si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri, & perspicere, eâque optimâ duce cursum vitæ conficere possemus: haud esset sane quod quisquam rationem & doctrinam requireret cum natura sufficeret. Nunc vero, &c. *Cic. 3. Tusc.*

Quicquid infixum & ingenitum est, lenitur arte, non vincitur. *Sen.*

know I what one particular may be unſeen by me, which would change my judgment, and better inform me in all the reſt? If I could but ſee the world which I believe, or at leaſt but ſpeak with one who had been there, or gave me ſenſible evidence of his veracity, it would much confirm me.] Senſe hath got ſo much maſtery in the Soul, that we have much ado to take any apprehenſion for ſure and ſatisfactory, which hath not ſome great correſpondency with ſenſe. This is not well: But it is a diſeaſe which ſheweth the need of a Phyſician, and of ſome other ſatisfying light.

§. 8. *While we are thus ſtept in our way by tediouſneſs, difficulty, and a ſubjective uncertainty about the* end *and* duty *of man, the fleſh is ſtill active, and ſin encreaſeth and gets advantage, and preſent things are ſtill in their deceiving power; and ſo the Soul groweth worſe and worſe.*

O curvæ in terris animæ, & cœleſtium inanes!
Quid juvat hoc templis noſtros immittere mores?
Et bona Diis ex hac ſcelerata ducere pulpâ? *Perſius.*
Non bove mactato cœleſtia numina gaudent:
Sed quæ præſtanda eſt, & ſine teſte fides. *Ovid. ep.* 19.

§. 9. *The Soul being thus vitiated and perverted by ſin, is ſo partial, ſtubborn, negligent, unwilling, ſuperficial, deceitful, and by-ſided in its ſtudies, that if the evidences of life everlaſting be not ſtrong, and clear, and ſatisfying to others, it will over-look them, or not perceive their certainty.*

§. 10. *Though it be moſt evident by common experience, that the nature of man is lamentably depraved, and that ſin doth over-ſpread the world, yet how it entred, and* when, *or which of our progenitors was the firſt tranſgreſſor and cauſe, no natural light doth fully or ſatisfactorily acquaint me.*

§. 11. *And though Nature tell me that God cannot damn or hate a Soul that truly loveth him, and is ſanctified, yet doth it not ſhew me a means that is likely conſiderably to prevail to ſanctifie Souls, and turn them from the love of preſent tranſitory things, to the love of God and Life eternal.*

Though there be in nature the diſcovery of ſufficient Reaſons and Motives to do it, where Reaſon is not in captivity; yet how unlikely they are to prevail with others, both Reaſon and Experience fully teſtifie.

Omne nefas, omnemq; mali purgamine cauſam
Credebant noſtri tolere poſſe ſenes, &c.
Ah! nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Fulmineâ tolli poſſe putatis aquâ. *Ovid. 2. Faſt.*

§. 12. *And where as I ſee at once in the world, both the deſerving of ſin, which deſerveth damnation, and the abounding comforts to thoſe that are under ſuch deſerts; I am not ſatisfi'd by the light of Nature, how God is ſo far reconciled, and the ends of Government and Juſtice attained, as to deal with the world ſo contrary to its deſerts.*

§. 13. *And while I am in this doubt of God's reconciliation, I am not ſtill to fear, leſt preſent forbearance and mercy be but a reprieval, and will end at laſt in greater miſery: However I find it hard, if not impoſſible, to come to any certainty of actual pardon and ſalvation.*

§. 15. *And while I am thus uncertain of pardon and the love of God, it muſt needs make it an inſuperable difficulty to me, to love God above my ſelf and all things: for to love a God that I think will damn me, or moſt probably may do it, for ought I know is a thing that man can hardly do.*

§. 16. *And therefore I cannot ſee how the guilty world can be ſanctified, nor brought to forſake the ſin and vanities which they love, as long as God, whom they muſt turn to by love, doth ſeem ſo unlovely to them.*

§. 17. *And every temptation from preſent pleaſure, commodity or honour, will be like to prevail, while the love of God, and the happineſs to come, are ſo dark and doubtful, to guilty, miſgiving ignorant Souls.*

§. 18. *Nor can I ſee by Nature how a ſinner can live comfortably in the world, for want of clearer aſſurance of his future happineſs.*

For if he do but ſay as poor *Seneca*, *Cicero*, and others ſuch, [*It is moſt like that there is another life for us, but we are not ſure*] it will both abate their comfort in the forethoughts of it, and tempt them to venture upon preſent pleaſure, for fear of loſing all: And if they were never ſo confident of the life to come, and had no aſſurance of their own part in it, as not knowing whether their ſins be pardoned, ſtill their comfort in it would be ſmall. And the world can give them no more than is proportionable to ſo ſmall and momentany a thing.

§. 19. *Nor do I ſee in Nature any full and ſuitable ſupport againſt the pain and fears of ſufferings and death, while*

the forgiveneſs of ſin may be by us ſo far procured.

Multa miſer metui quia feci multa proteive *Idem.*
In malis ſperare bonum, niſi innocens nemo ſolet. *Senec.*

Turpe eſt quicquam mali perpetrare: bene autem agere nullo periculo propoſito, maltorum eſt: id vero proprium boni viri eſt, etiam cum periculo ſuo honeſtatem in agentem ſequi. *Plut. in Mario.*
At mens ſibi conſcia facti
Præmetuens, adhibet ſtimulos, terretque flagellis:
Nec videt interea qui terminus eſſe malorum
Poſſit, nec qui ſit pœnarum denique finis.
Atque eadem metuit magis hæcne in morte graveſcant. *Lucret.* 3.

men doubt of that which should support them.

§. 20. *I must therefore conclude, that the Light and Law of Nature, which was suitable to uncorrupted reason, and will, and to an undepraved mind, is too insufficient to the corrupted, vitiated guilty world; and that there is a necessity of some recovering medicinal Revelation.*

Which forced the very Heathens to fly to Oracles, Idols, Sacrifices, and Religious Propitiations of the gods; there being scarce any Nation which had not some such thing: though they used them, not only uneffectually, but to the increase of their sin, and strengthning their presumption; (as too many poor ignorant Christians now do their Masses and other such formalities and superstitions.) But as *Arnobius* saith, (*adv. Gentes, l.* 7.) *Crescit enim multitudo peccantium, cum redimendi peccati spes datur: & facile itur ad culpas, ubi est venalis ignoscentium gratia.* He that hopeth to purchase forgiveness with mony, or sacrifices, or ways of cost, will strive rather to be rich than to be innocent.

CHAP. II.

Of the several Religions which are in the world.

HAving finished my enquiries into the state and book of Nature, I found it my duty to enquire what *other men* thought in the world, and what were the reasons of their several beliefs, that if they knew more than I had discovered (by what means soever) I might become partaker of it.

§. 1. *And first I find that all the world, except those called Heathens, are conscious of the necessity of supernatural Revelation; yea, the Heathens themselves have some common apprehension of it.*

§. 2. *Four sorts of Religions I find only considerable upon earth: The meer Naturalists, called commonly Heathens and Idolaters: The Jews: The Mahometans: and the Christians. The Heathens by their Oracles, Augures and Aruspices, confess the necessity of some supernatural light; and the very Religion of all the rest consisteth in it.* I. *§.* 3. *As*

I. *§.* 3. *As for the Heathens, I find this much good among them: That some of them have had a very great care of their Souls: and many have used exceeding industry in seeking after knowledge, especially in the mysteries of the works of God; and some of them have lent their minds higher to know God, and the invisible worlds: That they commonly thought that there is a Life of Retribution after death; and among the wisest of them, the summe of that is to be found (though confusedly) which I have laid down in the first Part of this Book.*

Especially in *Seneca*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Plato*, *Plotinus*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus*, *Porphyry*, *Julian* the Apostate, *Antoninus*, *Epictetus*, *Arrian*, &c. And for their Learning, and Wisdom, and Moral Virtues, the Christian Bishops carried themselves respectfully to many of them, (as *Basil* to *Libanius*, &c.) And in their days many of their Philosophers were honoured by the Christian Emperours, or at least by the inferiour Magistrates and Christian people, who judged that so great worth deserved honour, and that the confession of so much Truth, deserved answerable love; especially *Ædesius*, *Julianus*, *Cappadox*, *Proæresius*, *Maximus*, *Libanius*, *Acacius*, *Chrysanthus*, &c. And the Christians ever since have made great use of their Writings in their Schools; especially of *Aristotle's* and *Plato's* with their followers.

§. 4. *And I find that the Idolatry of the wisest of them was not so foolish as that of the Vulgar; but they thought that the Universe was one animated world, and that the Universal Soul was the only Absolute Sovereign God, whom they described much like as Christians do: and that the Sun, and Stars, and Earth, and each particular Orb, was an individual* Animal, *part of the Universal world, and besides the Universal, had each one a subordinate particular Soul, which they worshipped as a subordinate particular Deity, as some Christians do the Angels. And their Images they set up for such representations, by which they thought these gods delighted to be remembred, and instrumentally to exercise their virtues for the help of earthly mortals.*

§. 5. *I find that except these Philosophers, and very few more, the* generality *of the Heathens were and are foolish Idolaters, and ignorant, sensual brutish men.*

At this day through the world, they are that sort of men that

Euvagius *saith, That* Constantine *so honoured* Sopater *the Philosopher, that he made him usually sit by him on the same bench.*

Sure the Philosophers were falsly reported to Theoph. Antioch. ad Autol. l. 2. p. 137. *when he saith that* Zeno, Diogenes *and* Cleanthes's *Books do teach to eat man's flesh, and fathers to be rosted and eaten by the children, and sacrificed by them, &c. Belying one another hath been the Devil's means to destroy charity on earth.*

Sed neſcio quomodo, nihil tam abſurde dici poteſt quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philoſophorum. *Cic. Divinat. l. 2. p. 183.*

that are likeſt unto Beaſts, except ſome few at *Siam*, *China*, the *Indian Bannians*, the *Japonians*, the Ethnick *Perſians*, and a few more. The greateſt deformity of Nature is among them: the leaſt of ſound knowledge, true policy, civility and piety is among them. Abominable wickedneſs doth no where ſo much abound. So that if the doctrin and judgment of theſe may be judged of by the effect, it is moſt inſufficient to heal the diſeaſed world, and reduce man to holineſs, ſobriety and honeſty.

§. 6. I find that theſe few among the Heathens who attain to more knowledge in the things which concern man's duty and happineſs than the reſt, do commonly deſtroy all again by the miſmixture of ſome dotages and vanities conceits.

Sed hæc eadem num cenſes apud eos ipſos valere, niſi *admodum paucos* à quibus inventa, diſputata, conſcripta ſunt? Quotus enim quiſque Philoſophorum invenitur, qui ſit ita moratus, ita animo ac vitâ conſtitutus ut ratio poſtulat? qui diſciplinam ſuam non oſtentationem ſcientiæ, ſed legem vitæ putet? qui obtemperet ipſe ſibi, & decretis ſuis pareat? Videre licet alios tanta levitate & inconſtantione, ut iis fere nihil non dedicciſſe nihilque: alios peccare cupidos, gloriæ nonnullos, multos libidinum ſervos: ut cum eorum vita mirabiliter pugnet oratio; quod quidem mihi videtur turpiſſimum. Ut enim ſi Grammaticum ſe profeſſus quiſpiam barbare loquatur, aut ſi abſurde canat is, qui ſe haberi velit muſicum, hoc turpior ſit, quod in eo ipſo peccet, cujus profitetur ſcientiam: ſic Philoſophus in ratione vitæ peccans, hoc turpior eſt, quod in officio, cujus magiſter eſſe vult, labitur, artemque vitæ profeſſus, delinquit in vitâ. *Cic. Tuſc. l. 2. pag. 252.*

The *Literati* in *China* excel in many things, but beſides abundance of ignorance in Philoſophy, they deſtroy all by denying the immortality of the Soul, and affirming rewards and puniſhments to be only in this life, or but a little longer. At leaſt, none but the Soul's of the good (ſay ſome of them) ſurvive: and though they confeſs One God, they give him no ſolemn worſhip. Their Sect called *Sciequia* or *Sciacca*, is very clear for *the Unity of the Godhead, the joys of Heaven, and the torments of Hell*, with ſome umbrage of the *Trinity*, &c. But they blot all with the *Pythagorean* toppericks, affirming theſe Souls which were in joy or miſery, after a certain ſpace to be ſent again into Bodies, and ſo to continue through frequent changes to eternity: to ſay nothing of the wickedneſs of their lives. Their third Sect called *Lauru* is not worth the naming, as being compoſed of fopperies, and ſorceries, and impoſtures. All the *Japonian* Sects alſo make the *world to be eternal*, and *Souls to be perpetuated through infinite tranſmigrations*. The *Siamenſes*, who ſeem the beſt of all, and neareſt to Chriſtians, have many fopperies, and worſhip the Devil for fear, as they do God for love. The *Indian Bramenes*, or *Bannians*, alſo have the *Pythagorean* errors, and place their piety in redeeming Bruits, becauſe they have Souls which ſometimes

ſometimes were humane. The *Perſians* diſperſed in *India*, who confeſs *God, and Heaven, and Hell*, yet think that theſe are but of a thouſand years duration. And it is above a thouſand years ſince they believed, that the world ſhould continue but a thouſand years, and then Souls be releaſed from Hell, and a new world made.

§. 7. Their great darkneſs and uncertainties appear by the innumerable ſects and differences which are among them; which are incomparably more numerous, than all that are found in all parties in the world beſides.

I need not tell you of the 288 Sects or Opinions *de ſummo bono*, which *Varro* ſaid was in his days: The difference which you may find in *Laertius*, *Heſechius*, and others, between the *Cynicks*, *Peripateticks*, *Academicks*, *Stoicks*, *Scepticks*, *Epicureans*, &c. with all their ſub-diviſions, are enow. In *Japan*, the twelve Sects, have their ſubdiviſions. In *China*, the three general Sects, have ſo many ſubdiviſions, that *Varenius* ſaith of them, [*Singuli fontes labentibus paulatim ſeculis, à fraudum magiſtris in tot meandros derivati ſunt, ut ſub triplici nomine trecentæ mihi ſectæ inter ſe diſcrepantes numerari poſſe videantur: ſed & hæ quotidianis incrementis augentur, & in pejus ruunt.*] *Petrus Texeica* ſaith of the *Indians*, [*In Regno Gazeratenſi varii ſunt ritus & ſectæ incolarum, & quod mirum, vix familiam invenias in qua omnes congruant: alii comedunt carnem, alii nequaquam; alii comedunt quidem, ſed non mactant animalia: alii nonnulla tantum animalia comedunt; alii tantum piſces, alii tantum lac & herbas, &c. Johan. a Twiſt.* ſaith of the *Indian Bramenes*, *Numerantur ſectæ præcipuæ nominis octoginta tres: ſed præter has minus illuſtrium magna eſt multitudo, ita ut ſingulæ familiæ peculiarem fere foveant religionem.* It were endleſs to ſpeak of all the Sects in *Africa* and *America*; to ſay nothing of the beaſtly part of them in *Braſil*, the *Cape of good hope*, that is, *Soldaniæ*, and the Iſlands of Cannibals, who know no God, (nor Government, nor Civility ſome of them.) They are not only of as many minds as countries, but of a multitude of ſects in one and the ſame country.

§. 8. I find not my ſelf called or enabled to judge all theſe people as to their final ſtate, but only to ſay, that if any of them have a holy heart and life, in the true love of God, they ſhall be

ſaved; but without this, no form of Religion will ſave any man, be it never ſo right.

§. 9. But I find it to be my duty to love them for all the good which is in them, and all that is true and good in their Religion, I will embrace: and becauſe it is ſo defective, to look further, and try what I can learn from others.

There is ſo much lovely in a *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Antonine*, *Epictetus*, *Plutarch*, *&c.* in the Religions of *Siam*, in the diſperſed *Perſian* Ethnicks in *India*, in the *Bramans*, or *Banians* of *India*, in the *Bonzii* of *Japan*, and divers others in *China* and elſe-where, that it obligeth us not only to love them *benevolently*, but with much *complacence*. And as I will learn from *Nature it ſelf* what I can, ſo alſo from theſe *Students* of Nature. I will take up nothing meerly on their truſt, nor reject any doctrin meerly becauſe it is theirs; but all that is true and good in their Religions, as far as I can diſcern it, ſhall be part of mine; and becauſe I find them ſo dark and bad, I will betake me for further information to thoſe that truſt to *ſupernatural Revelation*; which are the *Jews*, *Mahumetans* and the *Chriſtians*; of which I ſhall next conſider a-part.

In To 4. Bib. Pat. extat liber Hieronymi à Sancta Fide, ex Judæo Chriſtiani, contra Judæos & Talmud. qui it dicit Approbat o 5000 Judæos ad fidem convertit. *pag* 742, *&c.*

§. 10. II. *As to the Religion of the Jews, I need not ſay much of it by it ſelf; the Poſitive part of their doctrine being confeſſed by the Chriſtians and Mahumetans, to be of Divine Revelation; and the negative part, (their denying of Chriſt) is to be tryed, in the tryall of Chriſtianity.*

The Reaſons which are brought for the Chriſtian Religion, if ſound, will prove the Old Teſtament, which the *Jews* believe; it being part of the Chriſtians Sacred Book: And the ſame reaſons will confute the *Jews* rejection of Jeſus Chriſt. I take that therefore to be the fitteſt place to treat of this ſubject, when I come to the proofs of the Chriſtian Faith. I oppoſe not what they have from God: I muſt prove that to be of God, which they deny.

De Mahumetis origine, &c. vid. fragm. ex Anaſtaſ. Hiſt. Eccl. in B. P. Gr. Lat. To. 2. pag. 289, *&c.*

§. 11. III. *In the Religion of the Mahumetans I finde much good*, viz. *A Confeſſion of one only God, and moſt of the Natural parts of Religion; a vehement oppoſition to all Idolatry; A teſtimony to the Veracity of* Moſes, *and of Chriſt; that Chriſt is the Word of God, and a great Prophet, and the Writings of the Apoſtles true: All this therefore where Chriſtianity is approved, muſt be embraced.*

And there is no doubt but God hath made uſe of *Mahumet* as a great Scourge to the Idolaters of the World; as well as to the Chriſtians who had abuſed their ſacred priviledges and bleſſings: Whereever his Religion doth prevail, he caſteth down Images, and filleth mens mindes with a hatred of Idols, and all conceit of multitude of Gods, and bringeth men to worſhip one God alone, and doth that by the ſword in this, which the preaching of the Goſpel had not done in many obſtinate Nations of Idolaters.

§. 12. *But withall I finde a Man exalted as the chief of Prophets, without any ſuch proof as a wiſe man ſhould be moved with; and an Alcoran written by him below the rates of common Reaſon, being a Rhapſody of Nonſence and Confuſion; and many falſe and impious doctrines introduced; and a tyrannical Empire and Religion twiſted, and both erected, propagated, and maintained, by irrational tyrannical means: All which diſcharge my reaſon from the entertainment of this Religion.*

Vid. Theodori Abucare Opuſcul. Mahumetem non eſſe ex Deo. *&c.* Et Euthymii Zigaben. Moamethica.

1. That *Mahomet* was ſo great (or any) Prophet, is neither confirmed by any true credible Miracle, nor by any eminency of Wiſdom or Holineſs, in which he excelled other men; nor any thing elſe which Reaſon can judge to be a Divine atteſtation. The contrary is ſufficiently apparent in the irrationality of his *Alcoran*: There is no true Learning nor excellency in it, but ſuch as might be expected among men of the more inculr wits, and barbarous education: There is nothing delivered methodically or rationally, with any evidence of ſolid underſtanding: There is nothing, but the moſt nauſeous repetition an hundred times over of many ſimple incoherent ſpeeches, in the dialect of a drunken man; ſometimes againſt Idolaters, and ſometimes againſt Chriſtians for calling Chriſt, God; which all ſet together ſeem not to contain (in the whole *Alcoran*) ſo much ſolid uſefull ſenſe and reaſon as one leaf of ſome of thoſe Philoſophers whom he oppoſeth, however his *time*, had delivered him from their Idolatry, and cauſed him more to approach the Chriſtian Faith.

2. And who can think it any probable ſign that he is the Prophet of truth, whoſe Kingdom is of this World, erected by the Sword; who barbarouſly ſuppreſſeth all rational

enquiry into his doctrine, and all disputes against it, all true Learning and rational helps, to advance and improve the Intellect of man: and who teacheth men to fight and kill for their Religion: Certainly, the Kingdom of darkness is not the Kingdom of God but of the Devil: And the friend of Ignorance is no Friend to Truth, to God, nor to mankinde: And it is a sign of a bad Cause that it cannot endure the light. If it be of God, why dare they not soberly prove it to us, and hear what we have to object against it, that Truth by the search may have the Victory: If Beasts had a Religion it would be such as this.

3. Moreover, they have doctrines of Polygamy, and of a sensual kinde of Heaven, and of murdering men to increase their Kingdoms, and many the like, which being contrary to the light of Nature, and unto certain common Truths, do prove that the Prophet and his doctrine are not of God.

4. And his full attestation to *Moses* and Christ as the true Prophets of God, doth prove himself a false Prophet who so much contradicteth them, and rageth against Christians as a blood-thirsty Enemy, when he hath given so full a testimony to Christ. The particulars of which I shall shew anon.

CHAP. III.

Of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION: *and First, What it is.*

What the Christian Religion is, judge not by the intruded opinions of any Sect, but by the ancient Creeds and Summaries, which elsewhere I have recited out of Tertullian *and other ancients; and which you may finde recited or referr'd to in* Usher *and* Vossius, *de Symb.*

§. 1. IV. THE *last sort of Religion to be enquired into, is* CHRISTIANITY: *in which by the Providence of God I was educated, and at first received it by a humane Faith, upon the word and reverence of my Parents and Teachers, being unable in my Childhood rationally to try its grounds and evidences.*

I shall declare to the Reader just in what Order I have received the Christian Religion, that the Inquisition being the more clear and particular, the satisfaction may be the greater:

greater: And it being primarily for my own use that I draw up these Papers, I finde it convenient to remember what is past, and to insert the transcript of my own experiences; that I may fully try whether I have gone rationally, and faithfully to work or not. I confess, that I took my Religion at first upon my Parents word: And who could expect that in my Childhood I should be able to prove its grounds? But whether God owned that method of Reception, by any of his inward light and operations, and whether the efficacy of the smallest beams, be any proof of the truth of the Christian Faith, I leave to the Reader, and shall my self only declare the naked history in truth.

See the description of the Christian Faith in Proclus ad Armenios de fide in Bib. Pal. Græcolat. To. 1. pag. 311.

Also the Catechis. of Junilius Africanus, de part. div. Legis.

Et Hermenepul. de Fide Orthod.

§. 2. *In this Religion (received defectively both as to Matter and Grounds,) I found a Power even in my Childhood, to awe my Soul, and check my sin and folly, and make me carefull of my salvation, and to make me love and honour true wisdom and holiness of life.*

§. 3. *But when I grew up to fuller use of Reason, and more distinctly understood what I had generally and darkly received, the power of it did more surprize my minde, and bring me to deeper consideration of spiritual and everlasting things: It humbled me in the sense of my sin and its deserts: and made me think more sensibly of a Saviour: It resolved me for more exact Obedience to God; and increased my love to God: and increased my love to persons and things, sermons, writings, prayers, conference, which relished of plain resolved Godliness.*

§. 4. *In all this time I never doubted of the Truth of this Religion; partly retaining my first humane Belief, and partly awed and convinced by the intrinsick evidence of its proper subject, end, and manner; and being taken up about the humbling and reforming study of my self.*

§. 5. *At last having for many years laboured to compose my mind and life, to the Principles of this Religion, I grew up to see more difficulties in it, than I saw before: And partly by temptations, and partly by an inquisitive mind, which was wounded with uncertainties and could not contemptuously or carelessly cast off the doubts which I was not able to resolve, I resumed afresh the whole inquiry, and resolved to make as faithfull a search into the nature and grounds of this Religion, as if I had never been baptized into it.*

The first thing I studyed was, the *Matter* of *Christianity*, *What it is?* and the next was the *evidence* and *certainty* of it: of which I shall speak distinctly.

§. 6. *The Christian Religion is to be considered,* 1. *In* its self, *as delivered by God.* 2. *In its* Reception *and* Practice *by* men *professing it. In* its self *it is* Perfect, *but not so easily discernable by a stranger; In the* Practisers *it is* imperfect *here in this life; but more* discernable *by men that cannot so quickly understand the* Principles; *and more forcibly constraineth them to perceive its holyness and worth; Where it is indeed sincerely practised: And is most dishonoured and misunderstood through the wickedness of Hypocrites who profess it.*

Leg Julian. Tolet. in, cont Judæos. Et Rabbi Samuel. Marrochiani de adventu Messiæ.

As the Impress on the Wax doth make the Image more discernable than the Sculpture on the Seal; but the Sculpture is true and perfect, when many accidents may render the Impressed image imperfect and faulty: So is it in this case. To a diligent Enquirer, *Christianity* is best known in its Principles delivered by Christ the Author of it: and indeed is *no otherwise perfectly* known; because it is no where else perfectly to be seen: But yet it is much more *visible*, and *taking* with unskilfull superficial Observers, in the *Professors Lives:* For they can discern the good or evil of an *Actum*, who perceive not the nature of the *Rule* and *Precepts.* The *vital form* in the Rose-tree is the most excellent part; but the *beauty* and *sweetness* of the Rose is more easily discerned. *Effects* are most *sensible*, but *causes* are most *excellent.* And yet in *some respect* the *Practice* of Religion is more excellent than the Precepts, in as much as the Precepts are *Means* to *Practice:* For the end is more excellent than the Means as such. A poor man can easilyer perceive the worth of *Charity* in the person that cloatheth and feedeth and relieveth him, than the worth of a *treatise* or *sermon* of Charity. Subjects easily perceive the worth of a wise, and holy, and just, and mercifull King or Magistrate, in his actual Government, who are not much taken with the Precepts which require yet more perfection: And among all descriptions, historical Narratives, like *Xenophons Cyrus*, do take most with them. Doubtless, if ever the Professors of Christianity should live according to their own Profession, they would

would thereby overcome the opposition of the World, and propagate their Religion with greatest success through all the Earth.

Because no man can well judge of the *Truth* of a doctrine, till he first know *what it is*, I think it here necessary, to open the *true nature* of the Christian Religion, and tell men truly *what it is*: Partly, because I perceive that abundance that profess it hypocritically, by the meer power of Education, Laws and Custom of their Countrey, do not understand it, and then are the easilyer tempted to neglect or contemn it, or forsake it, if strongly tempted to it: (even to forsake that which indeed they never truely received). And because its possible some Aliens to Christianity may peruse these lines. Otherwise, were I to speak only to those that already understand it, I might spare this description.

§. 7. *The CHRISTIAN RELIGION containeth two Parts:* 1. *All Theological Verities which are of* Natural Revelation. 2. *Much more which is* supernaturally *revealed. The supernatural Revelation is said in it to be partly written by God, partly delivered by Angels, partly by inspired Prophets and Apostles, and partly by Jesus Christ himself in person.*

§. 8. *The* supernatural *Revelation reciteth most of the* Natural, *because the searching of the great Book of Nature, is a long and difficult work, for the now-corrupted, dark and slothfull minde of the common sort of men.*

§. 9. *These* supernatural *Revelations are all contained,* 1. Most copiously *in a Book called,* The Holy Bible, *or Canonical Scriptures.* 2. More summarily *and contractedly, in* three Forms, *called,* The Belief, The Lords Prayer, *and the* Ten Commandements: *and* most briefly *and summarily, in a* Sacramental Covenant: *This last containeth* all the Essential parts most briefly; *and the* second *somewhat fuller explaineth them; and the* first (*the holy Scriptures*) *containeth also all the* Integral parts, *or the whole frame.*

§. 10. *Some of the present Professors of the Christian Religion, do differ about the authority of some few Writings called* Apocrypha, *whether they are to be numbred with the Canonical Books of God, or not: But those few containing in them no considerable points of doctrine different from the rest, the* con-

controverſie doth not very much concern the ſubſtance or doctrinal matter of their Religion.

§. 11. *The ſacred Scriptures are written very much* Hiſtorically, *the Doctrines being interſperſed with the Hiſtory.*

§. 12. *This ſacred Volume containeth two Parts: The firſt called, The Old Teſtament, containing the Hiſtory of the Creation, and of the Deluge, and of the Jewiſh Nation till after their Captivity; As alſo their Law, and Prophets. The ſecond called* The New Teſtament, *containing the Hiſtory of the Birth, and Life, and Death, and Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt; The ſending of his Apoſtles, the giving of the Holy Ghoſt; the courſe of their Miniſtry and Miracles; with the ſumm of the doctrine preached firſt by Chriſt, and then by them, and certain Epiſtles of theirs to divers Churches and perſons more fully opening all that doctrine.*

Gen. 1. §. 13. *The ſumm of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament is this:* "That in the beginning God created the Heaven and the "Earth, with all things in them: *Viz.* That having firſt made "the Intellectual ſuperiour part of the World, and the matter "of the Elementary World in an unformed Maſs, he did "the firſt day diſtinguiſh or form the active Element of "Fire, and cauſed it to give light; The ſecond day he ſepa-"rated the rarified Paſſive Element called *Fire*, expanding "it from the Earth upwards to be a ſeparation and medium "of action between the ſuperiour and inferiour parts: The "third day he ſeparated the reſt of the Paſſive Element, "Earth and Water into their proper place, and ſet their "bounds; and made individual Plants, with their ſpecifick "forms, and virtue of generation. The fourth day he made "the Sun, Moon and Starrs, for Luminaries to the Earth; "either then forming them, or then appointing them to that "Office (but not revealing their other uſes which are no-"thing to us.) The fifth day he made Fiſhes and Birds, with "the power of generation. The ſixth day he made the ter-"reſtrial Animals, and Man, with the like generative Power. "And the ſeventh day he appointed to be a Sabbath of Reſt, "on which he would be ſolemnly worſhipped by Mankinde "as our CREATOR. Having made one Man and one "Woman, in his own Image, that is with Intellects, Free-"will, and executive Power, in wiſdom, holineſs, and apti-"tude

"tude to Obey him, and with Dominion over the ſenſitive "and vegetative, and inanimate Creatures; he placed them "in a Garden of pleaſure, wherein were two Sacramental "Trees, one called, The Tree of Life, and the other the *Tree* "of Knowledge of Good and Evil: And (beſides the Law "of Nature) he tryed him only with this poſitive prohibi-"tion, that he ſhould not eat of the Tree of Knowledge: "Whereupon the Devil * (who before this was fallen from "his firſt ſtate of innocency and felicity) took occaſion to "perſwade the Woman that Gods Threatning was not true; "that he meant not as he ſpake; that he knew Man was "capable of greater Knowledge, but envyed him that hap-"pineſs; and that the eating of that Fruit, was not the way "to death as God had threatned, but to Knowledge and "Exaltation: whereupon the woman ſeeing the beauty of "the Fruit, and deſiring Knowledge, believed the Devil, "and did eat of that which God forbad: The ſin being ſo "hainous for a new-made Rational Creature, to believe that "God was *falſe* and *bad*, a *lyar* and *envious*, which is indeed "the nature of the Devil, and to depart from his Love "and Obedience for ſo ſmall a matter, God did in Juſtice "preſently ſentence the Offenders to puniſhment: yet would "not ſo loſe his new-made Creature, nor caſt off Mankind, "by the full execution of his deſerved puniſhment; but he "reſolved to commit the *Recovery* and *Conduct* of Mankind "to a *Redeemer*, who ſhould better perform the work of *ſal-*"*vation*, than the firſt Man *Adam* had done the work of "*adhæſion* and *obedience*. This Saviour is the *Eternal Wiſ-*"*dom and Word of God*, who was in due time to aſſume the "Nature of Man, and in the mean time to ſtay the ſtroke "of Juſtice, and to be the inviſible Law-giver and Guide "of Souls, communicating ſuch meaſures of mercy, light, "and ſpirit, for their recovery, as he ſaw fit. (Of whom "more anon): ſo that henceforward God did no longer "Govern man as a ſpotleſs innocent Creature, by the meer "Law of entire-Nature; but as a lapſed, guilty, depraved "Creature, who muſt be pardoned, reconciled, and renew-"ed, and have Laws and Means made ſuitable to his cor-"rupted miſerable ſtate. Hereupon God publiſhed the *Pro-*"*miſe of a Saviour*, to be ſent in due time: who ſhould con-"found

* Cæſarius Dialog. 3. Q. 122. *thinketh that Adam was forty dayes in Paradiſe, and that therefore Lent is kept, to ſhew our hungring after Paradiſe. But that's a ſingular Fanſie. And after he changed it upon ſome old mens tradition of a longer time.*

Gen. 2. & 3.

Tranſtulit Deus hominem in Paradiſum, ei undiq; occaſiones ſuggerens ut creſceret, & perfectus redderetur, & declaratus tandem Deus, in aſtra aſcenderet. Mediam etenim conditionem obtinuit homo; nec totus mortalis, nec totus immortalis exiſtens; verum utriuſq; extitit particeps. *Theoph. Antio. ad Autol. l. 2. p.* 129.

Gen. 3. 15.

"found the Devil that had accuſed God of *falſhood*, and of
"*envying* the good of man, and had by lying murdered man-
"kind; and ſhould overcome all his deceits and power, and
"reſcue God's injur'd Honour, and the Souls of ſinners,
"and bring them ſafe to the everlaſting bleſſedneſs which
"they were made for. Thus God, as man's Redeemer, (and
"not only as his *Creator*) governeth him: He taught
"*Adam* firſt to worſhip him now by *Sacrifice*, both in ac-
"knowledgment of the Creator, and to teach him to be-
"lieve in, and expect the Redeemer, who in his aſſumed
"humanity was to become a Sacrifice for ſin. This Wor-
"ſhip by Sacrifice *Adam* taught his two ſons, *Cain* and *Abel*;
"who were the early inſtances, types and beginnings of the
"two ſorts of perſons which thence-forward would be in
Gen. 4. "the world; *viz.* The holy Seed of Chriſt, and the wicked
"Seed of Satan: *Cain*, the elder, (as corruption now is before
"Regeneration) offering the fruits of his land only to his
"Creator; and *Abel*, the younger, ſacrificing the firſtlings of
"his flock (of ſheep) to his Redeemer, with a purified
"mind; God rejected the offering of *Cain*, and accepted the
"ſacrifice of *Abel*: Whereupon *Cain*, in imitation of the
"Devil, envied his Brother, and in envy ſlew him, to fore-
"tell the world what the corrupted nature of man would
"prove, and how malignant it would be againſt the ſan-
"ctified, and what the holy Seed that are accepted of God
"muſt look for in this world, for the hope of an everlaſting
"bleſſedneſs with God. After this, God's patience waited
"on mankind, not executing the threatned death upon
"their bodies, till they had lived ſeven or eight or nine
Gen. 5. "hundred years a piece: which mercy was abuſed to their
"greater ſin, (the length of their lives occaſioning their ex-
Gen. 6. & 7. "ceſſive ſenſuality, worldlineſs, and contempt of God, and
"life eternal) ſo that the number of the holy Seed was at
"laſt ſo ſmall, and the wickedneſs of mankind ſo great, that
"God reſolved to drown the world: Only righteous *Noah*
"and his family (eight perſons) he ſaved in an Ark, which
"he directed him to make, for the preſervation of him-
"ſelf, and the ſpecies of Aereal and Terreſtrial Ani-
Gen. 8, & 9. & 10. & 11. "mals. After which Floud, the earth was peopled in time
"from *Noah*, to whom God gave Precepts of Piety and Juſtice,
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"which by tradition came down to his poſterity through
"the world. But ſtill the greater part did corrupt their ways,
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"teouſneſs, with his ſon *Iſaac*, and his grandſon *Jacob*, God
"did in ſpecial approbation of their righteouſneſs renew his
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"addition of many temporal bleſſings, and ſpecial privi-
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"*Egypt* therefore oppreſſed them, and uſed them as ſlaves,
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"till at laſt when God had in a night deſtroyed all the firſt-
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"the Seed of *Jacob* (or *Iſrael*) go: But repenting quickly,
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" *Egypt* (*Caleb* and *Joshua*) did live to enter it. But to con-

"fute their unbelief, God wrought many miracles for them
"in this Wilderneſs: He cauſed the Rocks to give them
"water: He fed them with Manna from above: Their ſhooes
"and cloaths did not wear in forty years. In this Wilderneſs
"*Moſes* received from God a Law, by which they were to
"be governed: In mount *Sinai* in flames of fire, with ter-
"rible thunder, God appeared ſo far to *Moſes*, as to ſpeak to
"him, and inſtruct him in all that he would have him do;
"He gave him the chief part of his Law in two Tables of
"Stone, containing Ten Commandments, engraven thereon
"by God himſelf, (or by Angelical miniſtration): The reſt
"he inſtructed him in by word of voice. *Moſes* was made
"their Captain, and *Aaron* their High Prieſt, and all the
"Forms of God's Worſhip ſetled, with abundance of Laws
"for Sacrifices and Ceremonies, to typifie the Sacrifice and
Joſh. *per tot.* Judg. "Reign of Chriſt: When *Moſes* and *Aaron* were dead in the
"Wilderneſs, God choſe *Joſhua*, *Moſes* his Servant, to be their
"Captain, who led them into *Canaan*, and miraculouſly
"conquered all the inhabitants, and ſetled *Iſrael* in poſſeſ-
"ſion of the Land. There they long remained under the
"government of a Chieftain, called a Judge, ſucceſſively
1 Sam. "choſen by God himſelf: Till at laſt they mutinied againſt
"that form of Government, and deſired a King like other
"Nations: Whereupon God gave them a bad King in diſ-
"pleaſure; but next him he choſe *David*, a King of great
"and exemplary holineſs, in whom God delighted, and
"made his Kingdom hereditary. To *David* he gave a Son
"of extraordinary wiſdom, who by God's appointment built
"the famous Temple at *Jeruſalem*; yet did this *Solomon*, by
"the temptation of his Wives, to gratifie them, ſet up Ido-
1 King. "latry alſo in the land; which ſo provoked God, that he
2 King. "reſolved to rend ten Tribes of the twelve out of his ſons
& 1 Chron. & 2 Chron. "hand; which accordingly was done, and they revolted and
"choſe a King of their own, and only the Tribes of *Juda*
"and *Benjamin* adhered to the poſterity of *Solomon*. The
"wiſe Sentences of *Solomon*, and the Pſalms of *David*, are
"here inſerted in the Bible. The Reigns of the Kings of
"*Juda* and *Iſrael* are afterwards deſcribed; the wickedneſs
"and idolatry of moſt of their ſucceſſive Kings and people;
"till God being ſo much provoked by them, gave them up
"into

"into Captivity: Here is alſo inſerted many Books of the
"Prophetis of thoſe Prophets which God ſent from time
"to time, to call them from their ſins, and warn them of
"his fore-told judgments: And, laſtly, here is contained Ezra & Nehem.
"ſome of the Hiſtory of their ſtate in Captivity, and the re-
"turn of the *Jews* by the favour of *Cyrus*; where in a tri-
"butary ſtate they remain'd in expectation of the promiſed
"Meſſiah, or Chriſt. Thus far is the Hiſtory of the Old Te-
"ſtament.

"The *Jews* being too ſenſible of their Captivities and
"Tributes, and too deſirous of Temporal Greatneſs and
"Dominion, expected that the Meſſiah ſhould reſtore their
"Kingdom to its ancient ſplendour, and ſhould ſubdue the
"Gentile Nations to them: And to this ſenſe they expound-
"ed all thoſe paſſages in their Prophets, which were ſpoken
"and meant of the ſpiritual Kingdom of Chriſt, as the Sa-
"viour of Souls: which prejudiced them againſt the Meſ-
"ſiah when he came: ſo that though they looked and long-
"ed for his coming, yet when he came they knew him not
"to be the Chriſt, but hated him and perſecuted him, as the Matth. 1, 2, &c. Luk. 1, 2, &c.
"Prophets had fore-told: The fulneſs of time being come,
"in which God would ſend the Promiſed Redeemer, the
"Eternal *Wiſdom* and *Word* of God, the Second in the Tri-
"nity, aſſumed a Humane Soul and Body, and was conceived
"in the womb of a Virgin, by the holy Spirit of God, without
"man's concurrence. His Birth was celebrated by Prophe-
"ſies, and Apparitions, and applauſe of Angels, and other
"Wonders: A Star appearing over the place, led ſome
"Aſtronomers out of the Eaſt to worſhip him in the Cradle:
"Which *Herod* the King being informed of, and that they
"called him the King of the *Jews*, he cauſed all the Infants
"in that country to be killed, that he might not ſcape:
"But by the warning of an Angel, *Jeſus* was carried into
"Egypt, where he remained till the death of *Herod*. At
"twelve years old he diſputed with the Doctors in the Tem-
"ple: In this time roſe a Prophet called *John*, who told
"them, that the Kingdom of the Meſſiah was at hand, and
"called the people to Repentance, that they might be pre-
"pared for him, and baptized all that profeſſed Repentance
"into the preſent expectation of the Saviour: About the
"thirtieth

Vid. *Brotli Homiliam de Nativ. Christi, interpret. Peltano.*

"thirtieth year of his age, *Jesus* resolved to enter upon the "solemn performance of his undertaken work: And, first, "He went to *John* to be baptized by him, (the Captains b-"ing to wear the same Colours with the Souldiers.) When "*John* had baptized him, he declared him to be the *Lamb "of God, that taketh away the sins of the world:* and when "he was baptized and prayed, the Heaven was opened, and "the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily shape like a Dove "upon him, and a voice came from Heaven which said, "*Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased:* The "first thing that *Jesus* did after his Baptism, was, when he "had fasted forty days and nights, to expose himself to the "utmost of Satan's temptations, who thereupon did divers "ways assault him; But *Jesus* perfectly overcame the "Tempter, who had overcome the first Man *Adam*; Thence-"forth he preached the glad tidings of Salvation; and called "men to repentance, and choosing Twelve to be more con-"stantly with him than the rest, and to be witnesses of his "works and doctrin, he revealed the mysteries of the King-"dom of God: He went up and down with them teaching "the people, and working miracles to confirm his doctrin: "He told them, that he was sent from God, to reveal "his will to lost mankind for their recovery, and to bring "them to a fuller knowledge of the unseen world, and the "way thereto; and to be a Mediator and Reconciler be-"tween God and Man, and to lay down his life as a Sacrifice "for sin; and that he would rise again from the dead the "third day; and in the mean time, to fulfill all righteousness, "and give man an example of a perfect life: Which accord-"ingly he did: He never sinned in thought, word or deed: He "chose a poor inferiour condition of life, to teach men by "his example, to contemn the wealth and honours of this "world, in comparison of the favour of God, and the hopes "of immortality. He suffered patiently all indignities from "men: He went up and down as the living Image of Di-"vine *Power, Wisdom* and *Goodness*; doing *Miracles* to ma-"nifest his *Power*, and opening the doctrin of God to mani-"fest his *Wisdom*, and healing mens bodies, and seeking the "salvation of their souls, to manifest his *Goodness* and his *Love*. "Without any means, by his bare command, he immediately "cured

Matth. 4. Luk. 4.

"cured Fevers, Palsies, and all diseases, cast out Devils, and "raised the dead to life again; and so open, uncontroled "and numerous were his Miracles, as that all men might see, "that the Omnipotent God did thereby bear witness to his "Word. Yet did not the greatest part of the *Jews* believe "in him, for all these Miracles, because he came not in world-"ly pomp to restore their Kingdom, and subdue the world: "but they blasphemed his very Miracles, and said, He did "them by the power of the Devil: And fearing lest his fame "should bring envy and danger upon them from the *Ro-"mans*, who ruled over them, they were his most malicious "persecutors themselves: The doctrin which he preached "was not the unnecessary curiosities of Philosophy, nor the "subservient Arts and Sciences, which natural light reveal-"eth, and which natural men can sufficiently teach: But it "was to teach men to know God, and to know themselves, "their sin and danger, and how to be reconciled to God, "and pardoned, and sanctified, and saved: How to live in "holiness to God, and in love and righteousness to men, and "in special amity and unity among themselves, (who are his "disciples): How to mortifie sin, and to contemn the wealth "and honours of the world, and to deny the flesh its hurtful "desires and lusts; and how to suffer any thing that we shall "be called to, for obedience to God, and the hopes of Hea-"ven: To tell us what shall be after death; how all men "shall be judged, and what shall become both of soul and "body to everlasting: But his great work was, by the great "demonstrations of the Goodness and Love of God to lost "mankind, (in their free pardon and offered salvation) to "win up mens hearts to the love of God, and to raise "their hopes and desires up to that blessed life, where they "shall see his glory, and love him, and be beloved by him "for ever. At last, when he had finished the work of his "ministration in the flesh, he told his Disciples of his ap-"proaching Suffering and Resurrection, and instituted the "Sacrament of his Body and Bloud, in Bread and Wine, "which he commandeth them to use for the renewing of "their covenant with him, and remembrance of him; and "for the maintaining and signifying their communion with "him and with each other. After this, (his time being come) "the

Vid. *Micrelog. de Eccles. observ. cap.* 23.

"the *Jews* apprehended him, and though upon a word of his "mouth (to shew his power) they fell all to the ground; "yet did they rise again and lay hands on him, and brought "him before *Pilate* the *Roman* Governour; and vehemently "urged him to crucifie him, contrary to his own mind and "conscience: They accused him of *blasphemy*, for saying he "was the Son of God; and of *impiety*, for saying, *Destroy this* "*Temple, and in three days I will re-build it*, (he meant his "Body): and of *treason* against *Cæsar*, for calling himself a "*King*, (though he told them that his Kingdom was not "worldly, but spiritual.) Hereupon they condemned him, "and clothed him in purple like a King in scorn, and set a "Crown of thorns on his head, and put a Reed for a Scepter "into his hand, and led him about to be a derision: They "cover'd his eyes, and smote him, and buffeted him, and bid "him tell who strake him: At last they nailed him upon a "Cross, and put him to open shame and death, betwixt two "Malefactors, (of whom, one of them reviled him, and the "other believed on him): they gave him gall and vinegar "to drink: The Souldiers pierced his side with a Spear, when "he was dead. All his Disciples forsook him and fled; *Peter* "having before denied thrice that ever he knew him, "when he was in danger. When he was dead, the earth "trembled, the rocks and the vail of the Temple rent, and "darkness was upon the earth, though their was no natural "Eclipse; which made the Captain of the Souldiers say, *Ve-* "*rily this was the Son of God.* When he was taken down from "the Cross, and laid in a stone-Sepulchre, they set a guard "of Souldiers to watch the grave, having a stone upon it, "which they sealed; because he had fore-told them that he
All this is written by the four Evangelists. "would rise again: On the morning of the third day, be- "ing the first day of the week, an Angel terrified the Soul- "diers, and rolled away the stone, and sate upon it; and when "his Disciples came, they found that *Jesus* was not there: "And the Angel told them, that he was risen, and would "appear to them: Accordingly he oft appeared to them, "sometimes as they walked by the way, and once as they "were fishing, but usually when they were assembled to- "gether: *Thomas*, who was one of them, being absent at his "first appearance to the rest, told them he would not believe "it,

"it, unless he saw the print of the nails, and might put his "finger into his wounded side: The next first day of the "week, when they were assembled, Jesus appeared to them, "(the doors being shut) and called *Thomas*, and bad him "put his fingers into his side, and view the prints of the nails "in his hands and feet, and not be faithless but believing: "After this he oft appeared to them, and once to above five "hundred brethren at once: He earnestly prest *Peter* to "shew the love that he bare to himself, by the feeding of his "flock: He instructed his Apostles in the matters of their "employment: He gave them Commission to go into all "the world, and preach the Gospel, and gave them the te- "nour of the New Covenant of Grace, and made them the "Rulers of his Church, requiring them by Baptism so- "lemnly to enter all into his Covenant, who consent to the "terms of it, and to assure them of pardon by his Blood, "and of salvation if they persevere: He required them to "teach his Disciples to observe all things which he had "commanded them, and promised them that he would be "with them (by his Spirit, and grace, and powerful defence) "to the end of the world. And when he had been seen of "them forty days, speaking of the things pertaining to the "Kingdom of God, being assembled with them, he com- "manded them not to depart from *Jerusalem*, but wait till "the holy Spirit came down upon them, which he had pro- "mised them: But they, being tainted with some of the "worldly expectations of the *Jews*, and thinking that he "who could rise from the dead, would sure now make him- "self and his followers glorious in the world, began to ask "him whether he would at this time restore the Kingdom "to *Israel*: But he answered them, [It is not for you to *Act.* 1. "know the times or seasons which the Father hath put in "his own power: But ye shall receive power, after that the "holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses to "me both at *Jerusalem*, and in all *Judea* and *Samaria*, and to "the uttermost parts of the earth.] And when he had said "this, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud re- "ceived him out of their sight: And while they looked "stedfastly toward heaven, as he went up, two men stood "by them in white apparel, and said, Why gaze ye up into

" Heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you in-
" to Heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen
" him go into Heaven. Upon this they returned to *Jerusa-*
Act. 2. " *lem*, and continued together, till ten days after: as they were
" all together, (both the Apostles and all the rest of the Dis-
" ciples) suddenly there came a sound from Heaven, as of
" a rushing mighty wind, and the likeness of fiery cloven
" tongues sate on them all, and they were filled with the
" holy Ghost, and began to speak in other languages, as the
" Spirit gave them utterance: By this they were enabled
" both to preach to people of several languages, and to work
" other miracles to confirm their doctrine; so that from this
" time forward, the holy Spirit which Christ sent down
" upon Believers, was his great *Witness* and *Agent* in the
" world; and procured the belief and entertainment of the
" Gospel wheresoever it came: For by this extraordinary
" reception of the Spirit, the Apostles themselves were much
" fuller instructed in the doctrine of salvation than they
" were before, notwithstanding their long converse with
" Christ in person; (it being his pleasure to illuminate them
" by supernatural infusion, that it might appear to be no
" contrived design to deceive the world.) And they were
" enabled to preach the word with power, and by this Spirit
" were infallibly guided in the performance of the work of
" their Commissions, to settle Christ's Church in a holy or-
" der, and to leave on record the doctrine which he had
" commanded them to teach: Also they themselves did
" heal the sick, and cast out devils, and prophesie, and by
" the laying on of their hands, the same holy Spirit was or-
" dinarily given to others that believed: so that Christians
" had all one gift or other of that Spirit, by which they
" convinced and converted a great part of the world in a
" short time: and all that were sincere, had the gift of san-
" ctification, and were regenerate by the Spirit, as well as
" by Baptismal water, and had the love of God shed abroad
" in their hearts, by the holy Ghost which was given them:
" A holy and heavenly mind and life, with mortification,
" contempt of the world, self-denial, patience, and love to
" one another and to all men, was the constant badge of all
Ag. 2, & 3. " Christ's followers: The first Sermon that *Peter* preached
" did

" did convert three thousand of those sinful *Jews* that had
" crucified Christ: And after that, many thousands of them
" more were converted: One of their bloody persecutors,
" (*Saul* a Pharisee) that had been one of the murderers of
" the first Martyr *Stephen*, and had haled many of them to Act. 9.
" prisons; as he was going on this business, was struck down
" by the high-way, a light from Heaven shining round about
" him, and a voice saying to him, *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest
" thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the
" Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest; it is hard for
" thee to kick against the pricks: And he trembling and
" astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And
" the Lord said, Arise, and go into the City, and it shall be
" told thee what thou must do: And the men that journeyed
" with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no
" man: And so *Saul* was led blind to *Damascus*, where one Act. per tot.
" *Ananias* had a vision, commanding him to Baptize him,
" and his eyes were opened: This Convert called *Paul*, did
" hence-forward preach the Gospel of Christ, from Country
" to Country, in *Syria*, in *Asia*, at *Rome*, and a great part
" of the world, in marvellous unwearied labours and suffer-
" ings, abuses and imprisonments, converting multitudes, and
" planting Churches in many great Cities and Countries, and
" working abundance of miracles where he went. His Hi-
" story is laid down in part of the New Testament: There
" are also many of his Epistles, (to *Rome*, to *Corinth*, *Ga-*
" *latia*, *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, *Coloss*, *Thessalonica*, to *Timothy*, to
" *Titus*, and to *Philemon*, and the *Hebrews* (as is supposed)
" There are also the Epistles of *Peter*, *James*, *John* and *Jude*,
" with the *Revelation* of *John*, containing many mysterious
" Prophesies. An *Eunuch* who was of great power under
" the Queen of *Ethiopia*, was converted by *Philip*, and car-
" ried the Gospel into his Country. The rest of the Apostles
" and other Disciples carried it abroad a great part of the
" world, especially in the *Roman* Empire: and though eve-
" ry where they met with opposition and persecution, yet
" by the power of the holy Ghost, appearing in their Holi-
" ness, Languages and Miracles, they prevailed and planted
" abundance of Churches, of which the most populous were
" at *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome* and *Alexandria*: And though

"they were all disperſed abroad the world, and out of the "reach of mutual converſe, yet did they never diſagree in "their Doctrine, in the ſmalleſt point, but proceeded through "ſufferings in Unity and Holineſs, in the work of ſaving "Souls, till moſt of them were put to death for the ſake of "Chriſt; having left the Churches under the Government "of their ſeveral Paſtors, according to the will of Chriſt.

This is the abſtract of the Hiſtory of the holy Scriptures.

§. 14. *The ſumm of the* Doctrine *of Chriſtianity is contained in theſe Articles following, conſiſting of three general Heads:* I. *Things to be* known *and* believed. II. *Things to be* willed, *and* deſired, *and* hoped. III. *Things to be* done.

I. "There is one only GOD in Eſſence, in Three Eſſential "Principles, POWER, UNDERSTANDING and WILL; "or OMNIPOTENCY, OMNISCIENCE and GOOD- "NESS; in Three Subſiſtences or Perſons, the FATHER, "the SON and the HOLY SPIRIT, who is a Mind or Spi- "rit, and therefore is moſt Simple, Incorruptible, Immor- "tal, Impaſſionate, Inviſible, Intactible, &c. and is Indivi- "ſible, Eternal, Immenſe, Neceſſary, Independent, Self- "ſufficient, Immutable, Abſolute and Infinite in all Perfe- "ctions: The Principal *Efficient*, *Dirigent* and *Final Cauſe* "of all the world: The CREATOR of all, and therefore "our Abſolute OWNER, or Supreme RULER, and our "Total BENEFACTOR, and CHIEF GOOD and "END.

1 Cor. 8.4,6. Matth. 28. 19 1 Joh. 5. 7. 1 Tim. 1. 17. Pſ. 139. 7, 8, 9. & 147. 5. Iſa. 40. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Mal. 3. 6. Jam. 1. 17. Neh 9. 6. Rev. 4. 8. & 15. 3. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Ezek. 18. 4. Pſ. 147. 7. & 119. 68. & 145. 9.

2. GOD made Man for himſelf; not to ſupply any want "of his own, but for the pleaſing of his own Will and Love, "in the Glory of his Perfections ſhining forth in his works: "In his own Image; that is, with Vital Power, Underſtand- "ing and Free-will, Able, Wiſe and Good; with Dominion "over the Inferiour Creatures, as being in ſubordination to "God their OWNER, their GOVERNOUR and their "BENEFACTOR and END. And he bound him by the "Law of his *Nature* to adhere to GOD his MAKER; by "Reſignation, Devotion and Submiſſion to him as his OW- "NER, by Believing, Honouring and Obeying him as his "RULER; and by Loving him, Truſting and Seeking him, "Delighting in him, Thankſgiving to him, and Praiſing "him, as his Grand BENEFACTOR, chief Good, and "ultimate

Prov. 16. 4. Gen. 1. 26, Deut. 30, 19. Col. 3. 10. Eccleſ. 7. 29. Pſal. 8. 5, 6. Mar. 12 30, 33. Deut. 6. 5. & 10. 12. & 1. 32. Gen. 2. 16, 17. Rom. 6. 23.

See an Expoſition of the Creed briefly in Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. l. 2. c. 23. p. 222.

Of the Original of the Creed, ſee Voſſius de Symbol. *and* Parker de Deſcenſu ad Inferos. *Of the ſeveral Creeds of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, ſee* Uſher, de Symbolis.

"ultimate end, to exerciſe Charity and Juſtice to each other; "and to Govern all his inferiour faculties by Reaſon accord- "ing to his Makers will, that he ſo might pleaſe him, and "be Happy in his Love: And, to try him, he particularly "forbad him to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of good and "evil, upon pain of death.

"3. Man being tempted by Satan to break this Law of "God, did believe the Tempter who promiſed him impu- "nity, and advancement in Knowledge, and who accuſed "God as falſe in his threatning, and as envying Man this "great advancement: And ſo by wilfull ſinning againſt "him, he fell from God and his uprightneſs and happineſs, "under the diſpleaſure of God, the penalty of his Law, "and the power of Satan: And hence we are all conceived "in ſin, averſe to good, and prone to evil, and condemna- "tion is paſſed upon all, and no meer Creature is able to "deliver us.

Gen. 3. Joh. 8. 44. Rom. 5. 12. 17, 18. Gen. 3. 16, 17. Rom. 3. 9, 19, 23. & 6. 23. Act. 26. 18. Eph. 2. 2. Heb. 2. 14 Pſal. 51. 5. Rom. 5. 12. Eph. 2. 2, 3, 5. Iſa. 48. 4. Job 14. 4. & 25. 4. Gen. 6. 5. Hoſ. 11. 7. Rom. 5. 18, 19. Rom. 5. 6, 10. Act. 4. 12.

"4. God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only "SON to be their REDEEMER, who being the Eternal "WISDOM and WORD of God, and ſo truly GOD and "one in Eſſence with the FATHER, did aſſume our Na- "ture, and became Man, being conceived by the HOLY "SPIRIT in the Virgin *Mary*, and born of her, and called "*JESUS CHRIST:* who being Holy and without all "ſin, did conquer the Tempter and the World, fulfilling all "righteouſneſs; He enacted and preached the Law or Cove- "nant of Grace, confirming his Doctrine by abundant un- "controlled Miracles; contemning the World, he expoſed "himſelf to the malice and fury, and contempt of ſinners, "and gave up himſelf a Sacrifice for our ſins, and a Ran- "ſom for us, in ſuffering death on a Croſs, to reconcile us "to God: He was buryed, and went in Soul to the Souls "departed: And the third day he roſe again, having con- "quered death; And after forty dayes having inſtructed and "authorized his Apoſtles in their Office, he aſcended up in- "to Heaven in their ſight; where he remaineth Glorified, "and is Lord of all; the chief Prieſt, and Prophet, and King "of his Church, interceding for us, teaching and governing "us, by his Spirit, Miniſters and Word.

Joh. 3. 16, 17. & 4. 42. 1 Joh. 2. 2. Rom. 9. 5. Joh. 10. 30. 1 Tim. 2. 5. Heb. 2. 14, 16. Luk. 1. 27, 31, 35. Mat. 1. 20, 21. Heb. 4. 15. Mat. 4. Heb. 7. 26. Mat. 3. 15. Act. 2. 22. Heb 2. 3, 4. Heb. 9. 26. & 10. 12. 1 Tim. 2. 6. Eph. 2. 16. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. Luk. 23. 43. Pſal. 16. 10. 1 Per. 3 18, 19. 2 Tim. 1. 10. Heb. 2. 14. Act. 2. 24, 9. & 3. 21. Rom. 9. 5. Heb. 7. 24. Act 2. 36. & 10. 36. Heb. 8. 2. & 10. 21. Act. 3. 23. & 5. 31. Heb. 7. 25. Rom. 8. 34 Eph. 4. 8, 11, 12, 13. Rom. 8, 9. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12.

"5. The New Law and Covenant which Chriſt hath pro-

Heb.9.15. Joh 1.12. & 3.16. Act.26.18. Gal. 5.6. Act.11.18. & 5.19. & 20. 21. Rom. 8. 1. 13. Mar. 4.12. Rom. 8 16,17. Gal. 4. 6. Joh. 3. 6. 1 Cor.6.17. Rom. 8. 9. Eph. 2.18.22 Rev. 2. & 3. Col. 1.22,23. Heb. 4. 1. Mar. 16. 16. Joh. 3. 3, 5. 36. Heb. 12.14. 2 Theſſ. 1. 8. 9. & 2.12. Luk. 13. 3. Mat. 28. 19. Mar. 16. 15, 16. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Joh. 5. 37. & 10 28,29. Joh. 14.26. & 15.26. 1 Pet. 1. 10, 11, 12. 2 Pet. 1. 21. 2 Tim. 3. 16. Joh. 16. 13. Eph. 3. 3, 5. & 2.20. Iſa. 8.20. Rev. 22.18, 19. 1 Tim. 6. 14. Luk. 16.29,31. Act. 2.22. & 5.32. & 19. 11,19. Heb. 2. 3, 4. Gal. 3.1,2,3. Joh. 14. 12. & 3.2. 1 Cor. 14. Act. 26.17,18. Rom. 8. 9,10,11. Act. 16. 14. Joh. 6. 44. Ezek. 36. 26. Gal. 5. 22. Col. 2.19. Eph. 5.30, 31, 32. & 3. 17. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13, 27. Rom. 3. 24. & 4.24. Ioh. 1.12. Tit. 2. 14. Rom. 5. 5. Mat. 10. 37. 1 Cor. 6 11. Luk. 1.75. 1 Joh. 3. 14. 1 Pet. 1.22. Act. 24. 2. Gal. 5.17,24. 1 Joh. 2. 15. 1 Cor. 1. 7. 2 Pet. 3.11,12. Tit. 1. 2. & 3. 7. Luk. 23. 43. & 16.22. 2 Cor. 5. 1, 8. Phil. 1. 23. 2 Pet. 3.19. Luk. 16. 28. Act. 1. 11.

"cured, made and ſealed (by his Blood, his Sacraments, "and his Spirit) is this; [That to all them who by true "Repentance and Faith, do forſake the Fleſh, the World and "the Devil, and give up themſelves to God the Father, Son "and Holy Spirit, their Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, "he will give Himſelf in theſe Relations, and take them as "his reconciled Children, pardoning their ſins, and giving "them his grace, and title to Everlaſting Happineſs, and will "glorifie all that thus perſevere: But will condemn the "unbelievers, impenitent, and ungodly, to everlaſting pu-"niſhment.] This Covenant he hath commanded his Mini-"ſters to proclaim and offer to all the World, and to bap-"tize all that conſent thereunto, to inveſt them Sacramen-"tally in all theſe benefits, and enter them into his holy Ca-"tholick Church.

"6. The *Holy Spirit* proceeding from the Father and "the Son, did firſt inſpire and guide the Prophets, Apoſtles "and Evangeliſts, that they might truly and fully reveal the "Doctrine of Chriſt, and deliver it in Scripture to the Church, "as the Rule of our Faith and Life; and by abundance of "evident, uncontrolled Miracles, and gifts, to be the great "witneſs of Chriſt, and of the truth of his holy Word.

"7. Where the Goſpel is made known, the HOLY SPI-"RIT doth by it illuminate the minds of ſuch as ſhall be "ſaved, and opening and ſoftening their hearts, doth draw "them to believe in Chriſt, and turneth them from the "power of Satan unto God: Whereupon they are joyned "to Chriſt the Head, and into the Holy Catholick Church "which is his Body, conſiſting of all true Believers, and are "freely juſtified and made the Sons of God, and a ſanctified "peculiar people unto him, and do Love him above all, and "ſerve him ſincerely in holineſs and righteouſneſs, loving and "deſiring the Communion of Saints, overcoming the Fleſh, "the World, and the Devil, and living in Hope of the coming "of Chriſt, and of Everlaſting life.

"8. At death the Souls of the Juſtified go to Happineſs "with Chriſt, and the Souls of the wicked to miſery: And "at the end of this World, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt will come "again, and will raiſe the Bodies of all men from the dead, "and will judge all the World according to the good or "evil

"evil which they have done: And the righteous ſhall go "into Everlaſting Life, where they ſhall ſee Gods Glory, and "being perfected in Holineſs, ſhall love and praiſe and pleaſe "him perfectly, and be loved by him for evermore; and the "Wicked ſhall go into Everlaſting puniſhment with the "Devil.

"II. According to this Belief we do deliberately and ſe-"riouſly by unfeigned conſent of Will, take this One God, "the infinite Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, the Father, "Son, and Holy Spirit, for our only God, our reconciled "Father, our Saviour and our Sanctifyer, and reſolvedly give "up our ſelves to him accordingly; entering into his Church "under the hands of his Miniſters, by the ſolemnization of "this Covenant in the Sacrament of Baptiſm. And in pro-"ſecution of this Covenant, we proceed to ſtirre up our "DESIRES by daily PRAYER to God in the Name "of Chriſt, by the help of the Holy Spirit, in the order "following: 1. We deſire the glorifying and hallowing of "the Name of God, that he may be known, and loved, "and honoured by the World, and may be well-pleaſed in "us, and we may delight in Him which is our ultimate "end. 2. That his Kingdom of Grace may be enlarged, and "his Kingdom of Glory as to the Perfected Church of the "ſanctified, may come: That Mankinde may more univer-"ſally ſubject themſelves to God their Creator and Re-"deemer, and be ſaved by him. 3. That this Earth which "is grown too like to Hell, may be made liker to the Holy "ones in Heaven, by a holy conformity to Gods Will, and "Obedience to all his Laws, denying and mortifying their "own fleſhly deſires, wills and minds. 4. That our Na-"tures may have neceſſary ſupport, protection and provi-"ſion in our daily ſervice of God, and paſſage through this "World, with which we ought to be content. 5. That all "our ſins may be forgiven us through our Redeemer, as "we our ſelves are ready to pardon wrongs. 6. That we "may be kept from Temptations, and delivered from ſin "and miſery, from Satan, from wicked men, and from our "ſelves: Concluding our Prayers with the joyfull Praiſes "of God, our Heavenly Father, acknowledging his King-"dom, Power, and Glory for ever.

"III. The

1 Cor. 15. Joh. 5. 22, 29. Mat. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 10. Mat. 25. & 13. 41, 42. 43. 2 Tim. 4. 8, 18. 2 Theſſ. 1. 8, 9, 10. & 2. 12. Joh. 17. 24.

Luk. 15. 21. Act. 2. 37. & 3. 19. Rom. 8. 13. Luk. 14. 33. 1 Theſſ. 1. 9. Exod. 20. 3. Deut. 26. 17. Joſh. 24. 16, 26. 2 Cor. 8. 5. Joh. 17. 3. 1 Cor. 8 6. 2 Cor. 6. 17, 18. 1 Joh. 1 3. Eph. 4. 5, 6. Joh. 14. 6. Luk. 5. 14. & 14. 26. Act. 9. 6. Rom. 6. 13, 16. Luk. 19. 27. Joh. 3. 10. Mat. 28. 19. Eph. 2. 18, 22. & 1. 13, 14, 18. Rom. 8. 9, 13, 16, 26. 1 Cor. 2. 10. Eph. 2. 18. 22. & 3. 5, 16. 2 Cor. 1. 22. & 5. 5. Iſa. 44. 3, 4, 5. Rom. 15. 6.

See the Lords Prayer.

"III. The Laws of Christian PRACTICE are these:

The Ten Command-ments.

"1. That our Souls do firmly *adhere* to God, our Creator, "Redeemer and Sanctityer, by Faith, Love, Confidence, "and Delight; that we seek him by desire, obedience and "hope; meditating on himself, his word and works of "Creation, Redemption and Sanctification, of Death, Judge- "ment, Heaven and Hell: exercising Repentance and mor- "tifying sin, especially atheism, unbelief, and unholiness, "hardness of heart, disobedience and unthankfulness, pride, "worldliness and flesh-pleasing: Examining our hearts, "about our Graces, our Duties, and our sins: Watchfully "governing our thoughts, affections, passions, senses, appe- "tites, words and outward actions: Resisting temptations; "and serving God with all our faculties, and glorifying him "in our Hearts, our Speeches, and our Lives.

Jud. 21. Gal. 5. 22. Luk. 10. 27. 1 Tim. 4. 7. Isa. 64. 7. Act. 24. 16. Col. 3. 5. Rom. 8. 13. Heb. 3. 11, 13. Mat. 15. 18, 19. Luk. 12. 15. Rom. 13. 13, 14. 1 Cor. 3. 18. 2 Pet. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 5. Gal. 6. 3, 4. Psal. 4. 4. & 104. 34. & 1. 2. & 119. 97, 99. Gen. 24. 63. Eph. 3. 18, 19. Psal. 90. 12. Luk. 12. 36. 2 Pet. 3. 11. 12. Luk. 21. 36. Psal. 141. 3. 1 Cor. 10. 12. Psal. 39. 1. Prov. 4. 23. Eph. 6. 10, 19. 1 Pet. 5. 9. Jam. 4. 7. Psal. 34. 1. & 145. 2. 1 Thess. 3. 17. Phil. 4. 6.

"2. That we worship God according to his Holiness, "and his Word, in Spirit and Truth, and not with Foppe- "ries and Imagery according to our own devices, which "may dishonour him, and lead us to Idolatry.

Joh. 4. 23, 24. Mat. 15. 9. Isa. 1. 13. Deut. 6. 13. & 10. 20. Jer. 4. 2. & 12. 16. Jam. 5. 12. Act. 2. 42, & 6. 2. & 20 7. 28. 30, 31, 36. 1 Cor. 14. 16, 26. Jam. 5. 14. Phil. 1. 4. 1 Cor. 11. 24. & 10. 16. Heb. 7. 7. Rev. 1. 10. Act. 20. 7. 1 Cor. 16. 2.

"3. That we ever use his Name with special Reverence; "especially in appealing to him by an Oath; abhorring pro- "phaneness, perjury, and breach of Vows and Covenants "to God.

Eph. 6. 4, 9. Deut. 6. 11, 12. Dan. 6. 10. Act. 10. 30. Psal. 101. 1 Sam. 2. 23, 29. Gen. 18. 19. Josh. 24. 15. Col. 3. 20, 22. Deut. 21. 18.

"4. That we meet in Holy Assemblies for his more so- "lemn Worship; where the Pastors teach his Word to their "Flocks, and lead them in Prayer and Praise to God, ad- "minister the Sacrament of Communion, and are the Guides "of the Church in Holy things; whom the people must "hear, obey and honour; especially the *Lords Day* must be "thus spent in Holiness.

"5. That Parents educate their Children in the Know- "ledge and Fear of God, and in obedience of his Laws; "and that Princes, Masters and all Superiours govern in "Holiness and Justice, for the glory of God, and the com- "mon good, according to his Laws; And that Children "love, honour and obey their Parents, and all Subjects their "Rulers, in due subordination unto God.

Math. 5. 21, 22, 23, 25, 38, 39.

"6. That we do nothing against our Neighbours Life "or Bodily welfare, but carefully preserve it as our "own.

"7. That

"7. That no man defile his Neighbours wife, nor com- "mit Fornication; but preserve our own and others Cha- "stity in thought, word and deed.

Mat. 5. 27, 28, 29, 30.

"8. That we wrong not another in his Estate, by stealing, "fraud, or any other means; but preserve our Neighbours "Estate as our own.

1 Thess. 4. 6. Eph. 4. 28.

"9. That we pervert not Justice by false witness or other- "wise; nor wrong our neighbour in his Name, by slanders, "backbiting or reproach: That we lie not; but speak the "truth in love, and preserve our neighbours right and ho- "nour as our own.

Prov. 19. 5, 9. & 21. 28. Rom. 13. 9. Rev. 16. 19. & 24. 17. Prov. 17. 23. & 31. 5. Col. 3. 9. Prov. 12. 22. & 6. 17. & 13. 5.

"10. That we be not selfish, setting up our *selves* and "our *own*, against our Neighbour and his good, desiring to "draw from him unto our selves: But that we love our "Neighbour as our selves, desiring his welfare as our own; "doing to others as (regularly) we would have them do to "us; forbearing and forgiving one another; loving even "our enemies, and doing good to all, according to our pow- "er, both for their Bodies and their Souls.

Ro. 7. 7. & 13. 4. Mat. 19. 19 & 22. 36. Luk. 14. 22, 23. Jam. 2. 8. & 3. 13. 1 Cor 13. Mat. 7. 12. Eph 4 32. Col. 3. 13. 1 Joh. 4. 16. Rom. 13. 9. 1 Thess 4 9. 1 Pet. 1. 22. & 3 8. & 2. 17. Gal. 6. 10. Eph. 2 10. Tit. 2. 14.

This is the Substance of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

§. 15. II. *The summ or Abstract of the Christian Religion is contained in three short Forms: The first called,* The Creed, *containing the matter of the Christian* Belief; *The second called,* The Lords Prayer, *containing the matter of Christian Desires and hope: The third called, The Law or Decalogue containing the summ of Morall Duties; which are as followeth.*

* Hades, *of which read Bp.* Usher *in his Answer to the Jesuits Challenge.*

De istis Scripturis, hæc breviatim collecta sunt ab Apostolis, ut quia plures credentium literas nesciunt, vel qui sciunt præoccupationibus seculi Scripturas legere non possunt, hæc corde retinentes habeant sibi sufficientem scientiam salutarem. *Isidor. de Eccl. Offic. l. 2. c. 22. pag.* (in *Bibl. Patr.*) 222.

The BELIEF.

1. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth; 2. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried, descended to * Hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: from thence he shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. 3. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of

Saints, the Forgiveness of sins, the Resurrection of the body, and the Life Everlasting.

The LORDS PRAYER.

Our FATHER which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name: Thy Kingdom come: Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us: And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory; for ever, Amen.

The Ten COMMANDEMENTS.

Exod. 20. Deut. 5.

God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, *out of the house of bondage.*

1. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, or any likeness of any thing in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the water under the Earth: Thou shalt not bow down thy self to them, nor serve them: For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children to the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my Commandements.

3. Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

4. * Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy: Six dayes shalt thou labour and do all thy work: but the Seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, thy Man-servant, nor thy Maid-servant, nor thy Cattel, nor the Stranger that is within thy gates: For in six dayes the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested the Seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the Seventh day, and hallowed it.

5. Honour

* De die septimo qui inter *omnes mortales* celebris est, magna apud plerosq; ignorantia est. Hic enim dies qui ab Hebræis Sabbatum vocatur, Græcè siquis interpretetur, Septimana, dicitur. Hoc nomine *mortales omnes* diem istum appellant; at nominis causam nesciunt plerique; *Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol. li. 1. p. (mihi) 121. in B. P. Gr. L. T. 1.*

5. Honour thy Father and thy Mother; that thy dayes may be long upon the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

6. Thou shalt not kill.

7. Thou shalt not commit Adultery.

8. Thou shalt not Steal.

9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy Neighbour.

10. Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours House: thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours Wife, nor his Man-servant, nor his Maid-servant, nor his Ox, nor his Ass, nor any thing that is thy Neighbours.

§. 16. *The ten Commandements are summed up by Christ into these two, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and might; and Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.*

§. 17. *These Commandements being first delivered to the* Jews, *are continued by Christ, as the summ of the Law of Nature; only instead of Deliverance of the* Jews *from* Egypt, *he hath made our Redemption from sin and Satan, which was thereby typified, to be the fundamental motive; And he hath removed the memorial of the Creation-Rest, from the seventh day-Sabbath, to be kept on the Lords day, which is the first, with the Commemoration of his Resurrection, and our Redemption, in the solemn Worship of his holy Assemblies.*

§. 18. III. *The briefest Summary of the Christian Religion, containing the Essentials only, is in the Sacramental Covenant of Grace: Wherein the Penitent Believer, renouncing the Flesh, the World and the Devil, doth solemnly give up himself to God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as his only God, his Father, his Saviour and his Sanctifier, engaging himself hereby to a Holy life (of Resignation, Obedience and Love); and receiving the pardon of all his sins, and title to the further helps of grace, to the favour of God, and everlasting life: This Covenant is first entered by the Sacrament of Baptisme, and after renewed in our communion with the Church, in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*

Matth. 28. 19. Rom. 8. 1. & 6. 4. 1 Pet. 3. 21, 22. Heb. 6. 2. Act. 2. 38, 41. Tit. 3. 5. 1 Cor. 11. De modo Baptizandi antiquo vide Walafridum Strabon. de rebus Eccles. *cap.* 26. p. (*Bibl. Pat.*) 691. Et Ivon. Carnot. *serm. de sacram. Neophytorum, p.* 767, 768, &c.

So that the *Christian* Religion is but [*Faith in God our Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifyer, producing the hope of*

Life Everlasting, and possessing us with the love of God and Man: And all this expressed in the genuine fruits of Patience, Obedience, and Praise to God, and works of Charity and Justice unto Man.

§. 19. That all this Religion might be the better understood, received and practised by us, the Word of God, came down into Flesh, and gave us a perfect Example of it in his most perfect Life; in perfect holiness and innocency, conquering all temptations, contemning the honours, riches and pleasures of the World; in perfect patience, and meekness, and condescension, and in the perfect Love of God and Man.

Joh. 13. 15. 1 Pet. 2. 21.

When perfect Doctrine is seconded by Perfect Exemplariness of Life, there can be no greater Light set before us, to lead us out of our state of darkness into the everlasting Light. And had it not been a pattern of holy Power, Wisdom and Goodness; of Self-denyall, Obedience and Love; of Patience, and of Truth and Prudence, and of contempt of all inferiour things, even of Life it self, for the Love of God, and for Life eternal; it would not have been a full exemplification of his Doctrine; nor a perfect Revelation of it to the World. Example bringeth Doctrine neer our Senses, and thereby maketh it more clear and powerfull.

§. 20. It is the undertaken Office of Jesus Christ, to send the Holy Spirit into Believers mindes, and to write out the substance of this Law upon their hearts, and give them such holy and heavenly inclinations, that it may become as it were a Natural Law unto them, and they obey it with love, facility and delight (though not in perfection till they arrive at the state of Perfection.)

Joh. 3:5,6. & 7. 38, 39. Gal. 4. 6. & 5. 18, 25. Rom. 8. 9, 13. 2 Cor. 3. 3. 1 Cor. 6. 11. & 2. 10, 11. Jer. 31. 33. Psal. 1. 2. 2 Pet. 1. 4. 1 Joh. 4. 7. & 5. 4, 18.

So much to shew WHAT the *Christian Religion* is.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Nature and Properties of the Christian Religion.

HAving understood the matter and words of the Christian Religion, before I proceeded any further, I thought it meet to pass a judgment upon the nature, temperament, constitution and properties of it. And therein I found that which must needs be a great preparative to belief.

Nihil est ad defendendum Puritate tutius: nihil ad dicendum Veritate facilius. *inq. Ambros.*

§. 1. And first, I found, that it is a most holy and spiritual Religion, resolved into the most excellent Principles and Ends, glorifying God, and humbling man, and teaching us the most divine and heavenly life, in the love and patient service of our Creator.

1. It is most *Holy*, for it calleth us up entirely unto God, and consisteth in our absolute dedication and devotedness to him. 2. It is most *Spiritual*, leading us from things *carnal* and *terrene*; and being principally about the government of the Soul; and placing all our *felicity* in things spiritual, and not in fleshly pleasures with the *Epicureans* and *Mahometans*: It teacheth us to worship God in a spiritual manner, and not either irrationally, toyishly, or irreverently: And it directeth our lives to a daily converse with God in holiness. 3. The Principles of it are the three Essentialities of God in Unity, *viz.* the Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; and the three grand Relations of God to Man, as founded in his three most famous works, *viz.* as our Creator, our Redeemer, and our Regenerater or Sanctifier; and the three great Relations arising from Creation, and also from Redemption, *viz.* as he is our Owner, our Ruler and our Benefactor or chiefest Good and End. 4. The *Ends* of the Christian Religion, I find are proximately the saving of man from Satan, and the Justice of God; the sanctifying them to God, and purifying them from sin, the pardon of their sins, and the everlasting happiness of their Souls, in the pleasing and fruition of God for ever. In a word, it is but the redeeming us from

Nulla major ad amorem invitatio quam prævenire amantem: & nimis durus est animus, qui, si delectionem nolebat impendere, nolit rependere. *August. de Catech. rud.*

In eo quod amatur, aut non laboratur, aut labor amatur. *August. de san. Vid.*

Ad Divos adeunto castè: pietatem adhibento, opes amovento: qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit. Leges *Rom. in Cic. de Leg. 2. p. 237.* Significat probitatem Deo gratam esse, sumptum esse removendum. *Ib p. 239.*

from our carnal *self*, the world, and the devil, to the love and ſervice of our Creator. 5. Nothing can be ſpoken more honourably of God in all his perfections, in the language of poor mortals, than what the Chriſtian Religion ſpeaketh of him. 6. And no Religion ſo much *humbleth man*, by opening the malignity both of his original and actual ſin, and declaring the diſpleaſure of God againſt it. 7. It teacheth us who once lived as without God in the world, to live wholly unto God, and to make nothing of all the world in compariſon of him. 8. And it teacheth us to live upon the hopes of heaven, and fetch our motives and our comforts from it.

Chriſtianus nemo recte dicitur, niſi qui Chriſto moribus, prout valet, coequatur. *Maxim.*

Chriſtiani nomen fruſtra ſortitur, qui Chriſtum minime imitatur: Quid enim tibi prodeſt vocari quod non es, & nomen uſurpare alienum? ſed ſi Chriſtianum te eſſe delectat, quæ Chriſtian tatis ſunt gere, & merito tibi Chriſtiani nomen aſſume. *Auguſt. de vita Chriſtiani.*

Ille vere Chriſtianus eſt, qui omnibus miſericordiam facit, qui nullâ omnino movetur injuriâ; qui alienum dolorem tanquam propium ſentit; cujus menſam pauper non ignorat; qui coram hominibus inglorius habetur, ut coram Deo & Angeli glorietur: qui terrena contemnit, ut poſſit habere cœleſtia; qui opprimi pauperem ſe præſente non patitur, qui miſeris ſubvenit, &c. *Auguſt. de vita Chriſt.*

§. 2. *I find that the Chriſtian Religion is the moſt pure, and clean, and utterly oppoſite to all that is evil.*

There is no vertue which it commendeth not, nor duty which it commandeth not, nor vice which it condemneth not, nor ſin which it forbiddeth not.

The chief thing in it which occaſioneth the rebellion and diſpleaſure of the world againſt it, is the *purity* and *goodneſs* of it, which is contrary to their ſenſual nature, and as Phyſick to their licentious lives: would it indulge their vices, and give them leave to ſin, they could endure it.

§. 3. *Particularly it moſt vehemently condemneth the grand vices of Pride, Worldlineſs, and Senſuality, and all their polluting and pernicious fruits.*

1. No Religion doth ſo much to teach men Humility, and make Pride appear an odious thing. It openeth the malignity of it, as it lifteth up the mind againſt *God* or *Man*: it condemneth it as Satans image: it giveth us a multitude of humbling precepts and motives, and ſecondeth them all with the ſtrangeſt example of condeſcenſion and lowlineſs in Chriſt that was ever preſented to the view of man. Whereas I find even in the famouſeſt of the *Roman* Heathens, that a great deal of pride was taken for a virtue, and men were inſtructed and exhorted to be proud, under pretence of maintaining and vindicating their honour; and true Humility was taken for diſgraceful baſeneſs, and men were driven from it by the ſcorn, not only of the vulgar, but of Philoſophers themſelves.

2. And there is no Religion that is fitted ſo much to the deſtruction of *Worldlineſs*, or of the love of Riches, as Chriſtianity

ſtianity is: for it teacheth men moſt effectually the *vanity* of the world; it appointeth them a holy life, ſo hateful to worldly men, as will occaſion them to feel the *vexation* of the world; it openeth to them the hopes of a life ſo much better, as may teach them to take all the wealth and glory of this world for a ſhadow, a feather, or a dream. It condemneth *worldly love*, as the ſin inconſiſtent with the love of God, and the certain mark of a droſſy unſanctified miſerable ſoul. It ſetteth before us ſuch an example of Chriſt, as muſt needs ſhame *worldlineſs* with all true believers.

Omnis creatura cum bona ſit, & bene poteſt amari, & male: Benè ſcilicet ordine conſtituto; male ordine perturbato. *Auguſt de Civit. Dei.*

Omnium malorum affectuum principium eſt Philautia; finis autem ſuperbia: Philautia, error eſt, quo corpus complectimur, rationi non conſentaneus. Hanc qui amplectuntur, eadem opera, omnes affectus ex ea orientes abſcidit *Maxim. de Charitat.*

3. And for *Senſuality*, it openeth the ſhame of its beaſtiality, and maketh the carnal mind and life to be enmity to God, and the contrary to that ſpiritual mind and life, which is the property of all that ſhall be ſaved: It ſtrictly and vehemently condemneth all gluttony and exceſs of drink; all ryotting and time-waſting needleſs ſports; all fornication, and ribald talk, and wanton carriage, words or thoughts: Whereas I find among Heathens and Mahometans, that inordinate ſenſuality was much indulged: exceſs of eating and drinking was made a matter of no great blame: time-waſting Plays were as little accuſed, as if men had no greater matter to do in the world, than to paſs away time in ſome ſenſual or fantaſtical delight: either by fornication, or many wives at once, their luſt was gratified; and ſo their minds were debaſed, polluted, and called down and made unfit for ſpiritual contemplation and a holy life. From whence no doubt it came to paſs, that they were ſo dark about things ſpiritual and divine, and ſo overſpread with errors about many plain and neceſſary things.

§. 4. *There is no Religion which ſo notably detecteth and diſgraceth the ſin of* SELFISHNESS, *nor ſo effectually teacheth* SELF-DENIAL, *as the Chriſtian Religion doth.*

It maketh man underſtand the nature of his corrupt depraved ſtate; that it is a *falling* from *GOD* to *SELF*: and that his recovery lieth in *returning* from *SELF* to *GOD*. It ſheweth him how ſelfiſhneſs is the principle of diviſions, enmity, wrath, contentions, envy, malice, covetouſneſs, injuſtice, oppreſſion, wars, uncharitableneſs, and all the iniquity of the world. And how *ſelf* is the grand *enemy* of *God*, and *Man*, and of the *Publick good* and *peace*; and contrary

to

to the love of God and our neighbour, and the Common-wealth. It giveth us so many precepts for *self-denial*, as no other Religion did ever mention; and such an example against it in Jesus Christ, as is the astonishment of Men and Angels. And therefore all other Religions did in vain attempt the true purifying of heart and life, or the pacifying of the divided minds of men, while they let alone this sin of *selfishness*, (or lightly touch'd it) which is the root and heart of all the rest.

Sic intelligimus Deum, si possimus, quantum possumus; sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia Creatorem, sine situ præsentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui mutatione, mutabilia omnia facientem, nihilque patientem. Quisquis Deum ita cogitat, etsi nondum potest invenire quid sit, piè tamen cavet, quantum potest, al quid de eo sentire quod non sit. *Aug. de Trinit. l. 5. c. 1.*

§. 5. No Religion doth so much reveal to us the Nature of God, and his works for Man, and Relations to him, as the Christian Religion doth.

And doubtless that is the most excellent doctrine which maketh known God most to mans mind; and that is the best Religion, which bringeth man neerest to his Creator, in love and purity. Few of the Heathens knew God in his Unity; and fewer in the Trinity of his Essential Primalities: many question'd his particular Providence and Government: they knew not man's relation or duty to him, while they were distracted with the observance of a multitude of Gods, they indeed had none. Though God be incomprehensible to us all, yet is there a great deal of the glory of his perfections, revealed to us in the light of Christianity, which we may seek in vain with any other sort of men.

§. 6. No Religion doth so wonderfully open, and magnifie, and reconcile God's Justice and Mercy to Mankind, as Christianity doth.

It sheweth how his Justice is founded in his Holiness, and his governing Relation: it justifieth it by opening the purity of his Nature, the evil of sin, and the use of punishment to the right government of the world: and it magnifieth it by opening the dreadfulness and certainty of his penalties, and the sufferings of our Redeemer when he made himself a Sacrifice for our sins. By the revelation of justice, sin and misery, it revealeth the wonderful greatness of Gods mercy: it openeth those operations and effects of it, which Heathenism and Mahometanism are utter strangers to: they speak diminutively both of Mercy and Justice, and cannot tell how to make God *merciful*, without making him *unjust*; nor to make him *just*, without obscuring the glory of his *mercy*: which is peculiarly set forth in the work of Redemption, and the Covenant of Grace, and promise of everlasting Blessedness.

§. 7. The Christian Religion openeth many other parts of holy doctrine, which are unknown to men that learned them not from thence.

Such as the doctrin of the Creation, and the Fall, and of original sin, and of Justification, Sanctification, Adoption, and the right worshipping of God: of which, mention is made before more distinctly.

§. 8. No Religion can be more Charitable; for it wholly consisteth in the love of God and one another, and in the means to kindle and maintain this love.

Rom. 13. 9. 1 Tim. 1. 14. 1 Thess. 4. 9. 1 Tim. 1. 5, 6. 1 Joh. 4. 7, 8, & 3. 11, 14, 23.

The whole Law of Christ is fulfilled in love: even in loving God for himself, above all; and our neighbours as our selves for the sake of God; yea, our enemies so far as there is any thing amiable in them. The end of all the Commandments is love, out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and unfeigned faith. And all Christians are obliged to love each other with a pure heart, and fervently; yea, to shew that love which they profess to Christ himself, by the loving of one another: How frequently and earnestly is this great duty pressed by Christ and his Apostles? how great a stress doth he lay upon it? He maketh it the evidence of our love to God: He promiseth salvation to it: He forbiddeth *selfishness*, that it may not hinder it: He commandeth us to live in the constant expression of it, and to provoke one another to love and to *good works*: He hath made himself the most matchless and wonderful example of it: He hath told us, that according to mens *charity* he will judge them at the last day. How dry and barren are all Religions and Writings that we have ever come to the knowledge of in the world, in the point of love, and the fruits of love, in comparison of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

Sine charitate quomodo quis veram contritionem habere poterit, quomodo ergo peccatorum remissionem. *Aug.* Deus, quia hominem nudum fragilemque formavit, dedit ei præter cætera hunc pietatis affectum, ut homo hominem tueatur, diligat, foveat, contraque omnia pericula & accipiat & præstet auxilium. Summum igitur inter se hominum vinculum est humanitas; quod qui disruperit, nefarius & parricida existimandus est. *Lactant. Inst. l. 6. c. 10.*

§. 9. I find that the Christian Religion is most for Unity and Peace of any Religion in the world; most vehemently commanding them, and appointing the fittest means for the attaining of them.

1. All Christians are commanded to be of one mind, to think the same things, and speak the same things; and discord

Tale bonum est bonum pacis, ut in rebus creatis nil gratiosius soleat audiri, nil delectabilius concupisci, & nil utilius possideri: Spiritus enim humanus, nunquam vivificat membra nisi fuerint unita; sic spiritus sanctus nunquam vivificat ecclesiæ membra, nisi fuerint in pace unita. *Aug. de civ. Dei.*

Pax vera est concordiam habere cum moribus probis, & litigare cum vitiis. *Cassian.*

Nec inveniri potest forma expressior conversationis angelicæ, quàm unitas socialis. *Idem. in Psalm.*

and division and contention is earnestly forbidden them, and condemned, and all occasions which may lead them thereunto. 2. And they have one Head and Centre, one God and Saviour, who is their common Governour, End and Interest, in whom therefore they may all unite: when most others in the world do shew a man no further end than *self-preservation*; and so while *self* is each mans *end* and *interest*, there are as many ends as men; and how then is it possible that such should have any true unity and concord? But to every true Christian, the pleasing and glorifying of God, and the promoting of his Kingdom for the salvation of the world, is above all self-interest whatsoever; and therefore in this they are all united: And though they all seek their own felicity and salvation, it is only in the seeking of this higher end; which is *finis amantis*; *sed creaturæ amantis creatorem*; the end of a lover, which desireth unity, and respecteth both the lover and the beloved; but it is not the end of the love of *equals*, but of the creature to the Creator, who therefore preferreth his beloved before himself in his intentions. So that it is only this holy centring in God, that can ever make men all of a mind, and agree the disagreeing world: While *Self* is every mans end, they will have such constant contrariety of interests, that it will be impossible for them to agree; but covetousness, ambition and sensuality will keep them in factions, contentions and wars continually. Moreover it is Christianity that most urgeth, and effectually giveth a hearty love to one another, and teacheth them to love their neighbours as themselves, and to do as they would have others to do by them: and this is the true root and spring of concord. And it is Christianity which most teacheth the forgiving of wrongs, and loving of enemies, and forbearing that revenge, which Heathens were wont to account an honour. And it is Christianity which teacheth men to contemn all the riches and honours of the world, which is the bone that worldly dogs do fight for, and the great occasion of their strife: and it teacheth them to mortifie all those vices, which feed mens divisions and contentions. So that if any man live as a Christian, he must needs be a man of unity and peace. If you say, that the contrary appeareth in the practice of Christians; I shall answer that with the rest of the objections by

by themselves: I shall only say now, That if this that I have laid down be certainly the doctrin of Christ, then it is as certain, that the contrary is contrary to Christianity, and that so far such persons are no Christians: It is hypocrites that take up the name of Christians for worldly advantage, and are no Christians indeed, who live thus contrary to the nature and precepts of Christianity which they profess.

§. 10. *The Christian Religion is most exactly* just, *in its Rules and Precepts, and vehemently condemneth all injustice, fraud, persecution and oppression.*

What juster Rule can there be than to suit all our actions to the perfect Law of Primitive Justice, and to do as we would be done by? What more effectual principle of Justice can there be, than *Charity* and *Self-denial*? to love all men for God, and to account our neighbours welfare as our own? Bring all men but to love their neighbours as themselves, and they will have little inclination to cruelty, oppression, fraud, or any other injuries. And when Heaven is made the reward of Justice and Mercy, and Hell the reward of Injustice and Cruelty, we have the greatest Motives that humane nature is capable of.

§. 11. *The Christian Religion is the most excellent Rule for order and government in the world, and for the peace of Kingdoms and their stability: in that it prescribeth the only method of true Government, and condemneth both impiety and tyranny in the Governours, and all sedition and rebellion in the subjects.*

1. It setteth Government on the only foundation, (the Authority which men receive from God) and teacheth men to rule as the Officers of the Universal King, in due subordination to him; for his glory, and according to his Laws; and letteth them know that they have no power but from God, and therefore none against him; and that they must be judged by him themselves for all their Government: and that all oppression, tyranny and persecution will be to their own confusion in the end. 2. It teacheth Subjects to honour their Superiours, and to obey them in all things, in which they disobey not God: and to be patient under all oppressions; and to avoid all murmurings, tumults and rebellions, and this for fear of God's condemnation. And certainly

Ordo in ecclesia ita statuit, ut alii sint oves, alii vero pastores: ita ut hi imperent, illi vero obediant: sicque hoc tanquam caput, illud pedes, illud manus, hoc oculi, illud vero aliud corporis membrum, quo omnia rectè inter se conveniant, commodumque tam ad præfectos, quam ad subditos redundet. *Nazianz. Or. de Modest. in Disput.*

these are the most powerful means for peace; and for the happy order and government of Societies.

§. 12. *The Christian Religion greatly condemneth all fierceness, and impatience and discontentedness; and requireth a meek and patient frame of minde; and therefore must needs conduce to the forementioned Unity and Peace.*

Simula æquitas est duplex iniquitas. *Aug. in Psal.* 23.

§. 13. *It is wholly for sincerity and uprightness of heart, and greatly condemneth all hypocrisie: It giveth Laws for the very disposition of the minde, and for the government of the secretest thoughts, affections and actions; and condemneth every sin which the World observeth not, or condemneth not.*

Duas Civitates duo fecient Amores: Jerusalem, facit amor Dei: Babylonem facit amor seculi: Interroget igitur unusquisque se quid amet, & inveniet unde sit Civis. *August. in Psal.* 64.

§. 14. *I finde, that the Christian Religion is not fitted to any Worldly designs; but only to the sanctifying of mens hearts and lives, and the saving of their Souls. Christ did not contrive by dominion or riches, to win the ungodly multitude to be his admirers, but by holy Precepts and Discipline to make his Disciples good and happy.*

Mahomet took the way of violence, and fleshly baits, and blinde obedience, to bring in the multitude, and to advance a Worldly Kingdom: But Christ goeth the clean contrary way; He calleth men to a life of Self-denyal, and patient suffering in the World; he calleth them to contemn the riches, honours, and pleasures of the World; and to forsake all, even life it self for him, and telleth them that they can on no lower terms than these be Disciples. He hath set up a Discipline in his Church, to cast out all Drunkards, fornicators, Covetous persons, Railers, and other such scandalous sinners who are impenitent; and will have none in his true mystical Church, but such as are truly holy; nor none in his visible Church, but such as are professed to be so. He turneth away all that come not up to his spiritual and holy terms; and he casteth out all that notoriously violate them, if they do not repent.

Multo facilius invenit Syderum conditorem humilis pietas, quàm Syderum ordinem superba curiositas. *August. de Eclipſ.*

§. 15. *The Christian Religion containeth all things Necessary to mans happiness, and taketh men off unprofitable speculations; and doth not overwhelme the mindes of men, with multitudes of needless things.*

It is for the most things unnecessary, as well as uncertain, with which the Philosophers have troubled the World; They

They have lost true wisdom in a Wilderness of fruitless controversies. But Christianity is a Religion to make men holy and happy, and therefore it containeth these necessary substantial Precepts, which conduce hereunto. And it taketh men off unnecessary things, which else would take up their mindes, and talk, and time, from things necessary. And so its suited to the generality of men, and not only to a few that have nothing else to do, but wander in a Wilderness of vain Speculations; and it is fitted to Mans best and ultimate end, and not to a phantastical delight.

Doctrina Spiritus non curiositatem acuit, sed charitatem accendit. *Bern. in Cant.*

O beata regio deliciarum! ad quam suspiro de valle lachrymarum; ubi sapientia sine ignorantia, ubi memoria sine oblivione, intellectus sine errore, ratio sine obscuritate fulgebit. *Bernard.*

§. 16. *It tendeth to exalt the minde of man, to the most high and heavenly elevation that it is capable of in this life.*

For it teacheth men (as is aforesaid) to live in the Spirit, upon the things above, in the continual Love of God, and desires and endeavours for everlasting glory: Than which mans minde hath nothing more high, and honourable, and excellent, to be employed about.

Illud est verum ac summum gaudium, quod non de creatura, sed de creatore concipitur; quod cum acceperis, nemo tollet a te; cui aliunde comparata omnis jucunditas mœror est; omnis suavitas dolor est; omne dulce amarum est; omne quod delectare potest molestum est. *Bernard.*

§. 17. *It leadeth men to the joyfullest Life that humane Nature is capable of on Earth.*

For it leadeth us to the assurance of the Love of God, and of the pardon of all our sins, and of endless glory when we die: It assureth us, that we shall live for ever, in the sight of the glory of God, with Jesus Christ, and be like the Angels, and be perfected in holiness and happiness, and be employed in the Love and Praises of God for evermore: It commandeth us to live in the foresight of these everlasting Pleasures, and to keep the taste of them alwayes upon our mindes, and in daily meditation on the Love of God, to live in the daily Returns of Love, and to make this our continual Feast and Pleasure. And can the minde of man on Earth, have higher and greater delights than these?

Nihil prodigæ satis est voluptati: semper famem patitur sui quæ alimentis perpetuis nescit impleri. *Ambroſ. in Luk.* 6.

§. 18. *The Christian Religion forbiddeth men no Bodily pleasure, but that which hindereth their greater pleasure, and tendeth to their pain or sorrow, nor doth it deny them any earthly thing, which is truly for their good.*

Indeed it taketh the bruitish appetite and flesh, to be an unfit Judge of what is truly good and desireable for us: And it forbiddeth much which the Flesh doth crave: Because either it tendeth to the wrong of others, or the breach of order.

Delectatio credit & præteriit, vulneravit & transit, miserum fecit & abiit, intolicem reddidit, & reliquit. *Ambros.*

Qui pro modica delectatione dat illud, pro quo Christus se tradidit, stultum Christum reputat mercatorem. *August.*

Centum decies centum - annos demus deliciis? Quænam erit ex his ad æternitatem compensatio? *Chrysost. de reparat. lapsi.*

Ipse est Christianus qui & in domo sua peregrinum se esse cognoscit. Patria nostra sursum est: ibi hospites non erimus. *August. in Psal.* 32.

Delicatus es miles, si putas sine pugna te posse vincere: fortiter dimica, atrociter in prælio concerta, considera pactum, conditionem quam accessisti, militiam cui nomen dedisti: ita enim quos miraris omnes pugnaverunt, vicerunt, triumpharunt. *Chrysost.*

der in the World; or to the corrupting of mans minde, and diverting it from things sublime and spiritual, or putting it out of reliſh with that which is our true felicity, or the way thereto. It is only on ſuch accounts, and in ſuch caſes as theſe, that Chriſt forbiddeth us the pleaſures of the fleſh: And ſo will Parents reſtrain the appetites of their Children, and Phyſicians of their Patients, and every wiſe man will reſtrain his own, when preſent ſenſual pleaſure tendeth to greater future pain. The ſatisfying delights of man can be no where but in the love of God, and in a heavenly life, and in the foreſight of endleſs joyes, and in the knowledge and means which lead to theſe: And the unwholſom luſcious pleaſures of the Fleſh, do greatly tend to draw down the minde, and corrupt the affections, and dull our deſires and endeavours towards theſe higher things: And therefore our Saviour doth ſtrictlyer here dyet us, than is pleaſing to diſeaſed Souls. But he loveth not our ſorrows or pains, nor envyeth us any deſireable pleaſure: He came not to torment us, but to ſave us from torment: If he forbid us any delight, it is becauſe he would have us have *better* and *more*, which that would keep us from. If he teach us to deny our Honour with men, it is but that we may have Honour with God and Angels. If he call us from our preſent wealth and profit, it is but to ſecure our Everlaſting Riches, and prevent our loſs. All his Precepts are wholly fitted to our own good; though our good be not the higheſt ultimate end, but the Glory and Pleaſure of our Maker.

§. 19. *There cannot poſſibly be any higher motives to ſincere piety and honeſty given to the World, than the Chriſtian Religion ſets before them; even the joyes of Heaven, and the pains of Hell, and all the pleaſures and priviledges of an holy life: And therefore it muſt needs be the powerfull means to all that is truly good and happy.*

§. 20. *It ſtrongleſt fortifieth the minde of Man, againſt the power of all temptations.*

For as it enervateth the Temptation; by teaching us to mortifie the luſts of the fleſh, and to contemn the World, ſo it alwayes counterpoiſeth it with the Authority of God, the Joyes of Heaven, the puniſhment of Hell; which are in the ballance againſt all the pleaſures of ſin, as a Mountain is againſt a Feather. §. 21. *It*

§. 21. *It affordeth us the moſt powerfull Supports and Comforts in every ſuffering, that we may bear it patiently and with joy.*

For it aſſureth us of the Love of God, and of the pardon of our greater ſufferings: It ſheweth us how to be gainers by all, and ſheweth us the glory and joy which will be the end of all.

Beati, qui habitant ibi, laudabunt Deum in ſecula ſeculorum, *Amen.* Regnum Dei conceditur in prædeſtinatione, promittitur in vocatione, oſtenditur in juſtificatione, percipitur in glorificatione. *Bernard.*

§. 22. *It affordeth us the greateſt Cordials againſt the fears of death.*

For it aſſureth us of endleſs happineſs after death. And if a *Socrates*, or *Cicero*, or *Seneca*, could fetch any comfort from a *doubtfull conjecture* of another life, what may a Chriſtian do that hath an undoubted aſſurance of it, and alſo of the nature and greatneſs of the felicity which we there expect: And why ſhould he fear dying, who looks to paſs into endleſs pleaſure. And therefore Chriſtianity conduceth (not to putillanimity, but) to the greateſt *fortitude* and nobleneſs of minde: For what ſhould daunt him who is above the fears of ſufferings and death.

Illæ honeſtæ eſſe voluptates putandæ ſunt, quæ non ſunt implicatæ dolori, nec pœnitendi cauſam afferunt, nec alio ullo detrimento afficiunt eos qui perfruuntur nec ultra modum progrediuntur, nec nos multum a gravioribus negotiis abſtrahunt, aut ſibi ſervire cogunt. Proprie voluptates ſunt quæ inſunt, aut annexæ ſunt cognitioni divini numinis, & ſcientiis, & virtutibus. *Nemeſius de Nat. Hom. cap.* 18. *de Volupt.*

§. 23. *It containeth nothing which any man can rationally fear, can be any way a hinderance to his ſalvation.*

This will be more cleared when I have anſwered the objections againſt it.

§. 24. *It containeth nothing that hath the leaſt contrariety to any Natural Verity or Law; but contrarily comprehendeth all the Law of Nature, as its firſt and principal part, and that in the moſt clear and legible character, ſuperadding much more which Naturaliſts know not.*

So that if there be any good in other Religions (as there is ſome in all), it is all contained in the Chriſtian Religion, with the addition of much more: There is no truth or goodneſs in the Religion of the Philoſophers, the *Platoniſts*, the *Stoicks*, the *Pythagorean Bannians* in *India*, the *Bonzii* in *Japan*, or thoſe in *Siam*, *China*, *Perſia*, or any other parts, nor among the *Mahometans* or *Jews*, which is not contained in the Doctrine and Religion of the Chriſtians.

§. 25. *Accordingly it hath all the reall Evidence which the true parts of any other Religion hath, with the addition of much more ſupernatural evidence.*

For

For all that is justly called the Law of Nature, (which is the first part of the Christian Religion) is evidenced by the light of Nature: and this Christians have as well as others: and all that is of true supernatural Revelation, they have above others by its proper evidence.

How excellently doth Seneca speak against a vain curiosity of speech in divers of his Epistles, and with what contempt and vehement indignation? This also is to be applied to the spirituality and plainness of the Christian way of Worship.

§. 26. The style of the Sacred Scripture is plain, and therefore fit for all; and yet Majestical and Spiritual, suited to its high and noble ends.

Were it expressed in those terms of Art, which the Masters of each sect have devised to transmit their opinions to posterity by, they would be fit for none but those few, who by acquaintance with such terms, esteem themselves, or are esteemed learned men: And yet the men of another sect might little understand them. For most new Sect-masters in Philosophy, devised new terms, as well as new principles or opinions: Though at *Athens*, where the principal Sects were near together, the diversity was not so great as among them at a further distance, yet was there enough to trouble their disciples. He that understandeth *Zoroaster* and *Trismegistus*, may not understand *Pythagoras*; and he that understandeth him, may not understand his follower *Plato*; and he that understandeth him, may not understand *Aristotle*: and so of *Telesius*, *Parmenides*, *Anaxagoras*, *Aristippus*, *Antisthenes*, *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, *Heraclitus*, *Democritus*, *Pyrrho*, *Epicurus*, with all the rest: And among Christians themselves, the degenerated Hereticks and Sectaries, that make their own opinions, do make also their own terms of Art; so that if you compare the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, *Apollinarians*, &c. and our late *Wigelians*, *Paracelsians*, *Rosicrucians*, *Behmenists*, *Familists*, *Libertines*, *Quakers*, &c. you shall find that he that seemeth to understand one Sect, must learn, as it were, a new language, before he can understand the rest. So that if the Scripture must have been phrased according to Philosophers terms of art, who knoweth to which Sect it must have been suited? and every day there riseth up a *Campanella*, a *Thomas White*, &c. who are reforming the old terms and arts, and making both new; so that nothing which is of universal use, as Religion is, can be fitted to any such uncertain measure. Christ hath therefore dealt much better

In exordio nascentis Ecclesiæ non eo quo nunc modo vel ordine sacra celebrabantur Missarum solemnia teste *Gregorio*, &c. Et fortasse primis temporibus solius *Pauli* Epistolæ legebantur, postmodum intermixtæ aliæ lectiones sunt, &c. *Bernо Ab. Augiens. de quibusdam ad Missam pertin. c. 1. p 698. Bibl. Patr.*

Orationes autem quas collectas dicimus, à diversis auctoribus compositæ creduntur, à *Gelasio* præsule *Romano*, & beato *Gregorio* Papa. *Idem ibid.* Lege & *Microlog. Eccles. observat. cap.* 12. & 13. & *Hugo à S. Victore de offic. In Romana Ecclesia Eccles. l. 2. c. 16. una tantum dicitur collecta, nisi, &c.*

better with the world, and spoken plainly the things which the simple and all must know, and yet spoken sublimely of things mysterious, heavenly and sublime.

This is the true nature and character of Christianity.

CHAP. V.

Of the Congruities in the Christian Religion, which make it the more easily credible, and are great preparatives to Faith.

Deus est Principium Effectivum in Creatione, Refectivum in Redemptione, Perfectivum in sanctificatione. *Joh. à Combis Comp. Theolog. l. 4. c. 1.*

BEcause Truth is never contrary to it self, nor agreeable with errour, it is a way that reason teacheth all men, in the trying of any questioned point, to reduce it to those that are unquestionable, and see whether or no they accord with those: And to mark the unquestionable *Ends* of Religion, and try how it suiteth its means thereunto: And therefore men of all sober professions have their determinate principles and ends, by which they try such particular opinions, as Christians do by their analogy of faith. And in this trial of Christianity, I shall tell you what I find it.

§. 1. I find in general, that there is an admirable concord between Natural Verity, and the Gospel of Christ; and that Grace is medicinal to Nature; and that where Natural light endeth, Supernatural beginneth; and that the superstructure which Christ hath built upon Nature, is wonderfully adapted to its foundation.

This is made manifest in all the first part of this Treatise. Reason, which is our Nature, is not destroyed, but repaired, illuminated, elevated and improved, by the Christian faith. Free-will, which is our Nature, is made more excellently free by Christianity. *Self-love*, which is our Nature, is not destroyed, but improved by right conduct and help to our attainment of its ends. The Natural part of Religion is so far from being abrogated by Christianity, that the latter doth but subserve the former. Christ is the way to God the Father. The duty which we owe by Nature to our Creator, we owe him still; and Christ came to enable and teach us to

perform it: the love of God our Creator with all our hearts is ſtill our duty: and faith in Chriſt is but the *means* to the love of God, and the bellows to kindle that holy fire. The Redeemer came to recover us to our Creator; He taketh not the Book of the Creatures or Nature out of our hands, but teacheth us better to read and uſe it. And ſo it is through all the reſt.

Read chap. 16. *with the citations.*

§. 2. I find alſo that the ſtate of this preſent world is exceeding ſuitable to the Scripture-character of it; that it is exceeding evil, and a deluge of ſin and miſery, doth declare its great neceſſity of a Saviour, and ſheweth it ſtill to be a place unmeet to be the home and happineſs of Saints.

Nam vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur, optimus ille Qui minimis urgetur. *Hor.*

Of all the parts of God's Creation, this earth doth ſeem to be next to Hell: certainly it is greatly defiled with ſin, and overwhelmed with manifold calamities; and though God hath not totally forſaken it, nor turned away his mercy as he hath done from Hell, yet is he much eſtranged from it: ſo that thoſe who are not recovered by grace, are next to devils. And alas how numerous and conſiderable are they to denominate it, [*an evil world!*] Thoſe that Chriſt calleth out of it, he ſanctifieth, and maketh them unlike the world: and his grace doth not give them a worldly felicity, nor ſettle them in a Reſt or Kingdom here; but it *ſaveth* them from this world, as from a place of ſnares, and a company of cheaters, robbers and murderers; and from a tempeſtuous Sea, whoſe waves ſeem ready ſtill to drown us.

The badneſs of the world occaſioned the Manichees to think, that God made it not; and Arnobius with them to run into that error, to hold, that God made not man, which he ſo vehemently defendeth, lib 2. adverſ. gentes: *yet profeſſing, that he who made us, and whence evil cometh, is a thing to us unknown.*

I. I find it is a world of Sin. II. And of Temptation. III. And of Calamity.

I. For Sin, it is become, as it were, its nature, it liveth with men from the birth to the grave. It is an ignorant world, that wandereth in darkneſs; and yet a proud ſelf-conceited world, that will not be convinced of its ignorance; and is never more furiouſly confident, than when it is moſt deceived and moſt blind. Even natural wiſdom is ſo rare, and folly hath the major vote and ſtrength, that wiſe men are wearied with reſiſting folly, and ready in diſcouragements to leave the fooliſh world unto it ſelf, as an incurable *Bedlam*: ſo fierce are fools againſt inſtruction, and ſo hard is it to make them know that they are ignorant; or to convince men of their miſtakes and errours. The Learner thinks his Teacher doteth; and he that hath but wit enough to diſtinguiſh him from a bruit, is as confident as if he were a Doctor. The Learned themſelves are for the moſt part but half-witted men, who either take up with lazie ſtudies, or elſe have the diſadvantage of uncapable temperatures and wits, or of unhappy Teachers and falſe principles received by ill education, which keep out truth: ſo that they are but fitted to trouble the world with their contentions, or deceive men by their errors: and yet have they not the acquaintance with their ignorance, which might make them learn of ſuch as can inſtruct them; but if there be among many but one that is wiſer than the reſt, he is thought to be unfit to live among them, if he will not deny his knowledge, and own their errours, and confeſs that modeſty and order require, that either the higheſt, or the major vote are the maſters of truth, and all is falſe that is againſt their opinions.

It is an Atheiſtical ungodly world, that knoweth not its Maker; or forgetteth, contemneth, and wilfully diſobeyeth him, while in words it doth confeſs him: and yet an hypocritical world, that will ſpeak honourably of God, and of vertue and piety, of juſtice and charity, while they are neglecting and rejecting them, and cannot endure the practice of that which their tongues commend: almoſt all ſorts will prefer the life to come in words, when indeed they utterly neglect it, and prefer the fleſhly pleaſures of this life: They cry out of the vanity and vexation of the world, and yet they ſet their hearts upon it, and love it better than God and the world to come: they will have ſome Religion, to mock God, and deceive themſelves, which ſhall go no deeper than the knee and tongue, in forms, or ceremonies, or a diſſembled affection and profeſſion. But to be devoted abſolutely to God, in ſelf-reſignation, obedience and love, how rare is it even in them who cannot deny, but the Law of Nature it ſelf doth primarily and undeniably oblige them to it? Their Religion is but ſelf-condemnation, while their tongues condemn their hearts and lives.

It is a ſenſual brutiſh world, and ſeemeth to have hired out their reaſon to the ſervice of their appetites and luſts: gluttony, and excels of drink, and ſports, and plays, and gaming,

Unicuique dedit vitium natura creato. *Propert.*

Sed quia cæcus ineſt vitiis amor, on ne futurum,
Deſpicitur, ſuadent brevem præſentia fructum
Et ruit in vetitum damni ſecura libido. *Claud.* 2. *Eut.*

Egregium ſanctumq; virum ſi cernо, bimembri
Hoc monſtrum puero, vel miranti ſub aratro
Piſcibus inventis, & fœtæ comparo mulæ. *Juven. Sat.* 13.

He that will peruſe that notable deſcript. on of the ſtate of mortals, and of ſouls in fleſh, which Arnobius *hath,* adv. Gentes, lib. 2. p. 18,19. Annot. Bib. Pat. *(too long to be tranſcribed) ſhall ſee the vanity and ſhame of this corrupted world expreſſed to the life.*

gaming, with pride, and wantonness, and fornication, and uncleanness, and worldly pomp, and the covetous gathering of provision for the flesh, to satisfie these lusts, is the business and pleasure of their lives: and if you tell them of *Reason*, or the *Law of God* to take them off, you may almost as well think to *reason* a hungry Dog from his carrion, or a lustful Boar to forbear his lust.

Nostri tantum qui Christiani vocamur nulla vobis cura est; finitis enim nos qui nihil mali patramus, immo omnium piissimè justissimeque cum orga Deum tum imperium vestrum nos gerimus, exagitari, rapi, fugari, nomen duntaxat nostrum plerisque impugnantibus. *Athenagor. Apolog. p. 1.*

And it is a *Selfish* world, where every man is as an idol to himself; and affected to himself and his own interest, as if he were all the world: drawing all that he can from others, to fill his own insatiable desires: loving all men, and honouring, and esteeming, and praising them, according to the measure of their esteem of him, or their agreeableness to his opinions, ways or interest: self-love, self-conceit, self-esteem, self-will and self-seeking, is the soul and business of the world. And therefore no wonder that it is a divided and contentious world, when it hath as many *ends* as men; and every man is for himself, and draweth his own way. No wonder that there is such variety of apprehensions, that no two men are in all things of a mind: and that the world is like a company of drunken men together by the ears, or of blind men fighting with they know not whom, and for they know not what. And that ignorant sects, and contentious wranglers, and furious fighters, are the bulkie parts of it. And that striving who shall *Rule*, or be *Greatest*, or have his *will*, is the worlds employment.

It is a dreaming and distracted world, that spend their days and cares for nothing; and are as serious in following a feather, and in the pursuit of that, which they confess is vanity and dying in their hands, as if indeed they knew it to be true felicity: they are like children, busie in hunting butterflies; or like boys at foot-ball, as eager in the pursuit, and in over-turning one another, as if it were for their lives, or for some great desirable prize: or liker to a heap of Ants, that gad about as busily, and make as much ado for sticks and dust, as if they were about some magnificent work. Thus doth the vain deceived world lay out their thoughts and time upon impertinencies, and talk and walk like so many Noctambulo's in their sleep: they study, and care, and weep, and laugh, and labour, and fight, as men in a dream: and

and will hardly be perswaded, but it is reality which they pursue, till death come and awake them. Like a Stage-play, or a Poppet-play, where all things seem to be what they are not, and all parties seem to do what they do not, and then depart, and are all disroab'd and unmask'd; such is the life of the most of this world, who spend their days in a serious jesting, and in a busie doing nothing.

It is a malignant world, that hath an inbred radicated enmity to all that virtue and goodness which they want: they are so captivated to their fleshly pleasures and worldly interests, that the first light, approach or motion, of reason, holiness, mortification and self-denial, is met by them with heart-rising, indignation and oppositon: in which their fury beareth down all argument, and neither giveth them leave considerately to use their own reason, or hearken to anothers: there are few that are truly wise, and good, and heavenly, that escape their hatred and beastly rage. And when Countries have thought to remedy this plague, by changing their forms of Government, experience hath told them, that the vice and root of their calamity lieth in the blindness and wickedness of corrupted nature, which no form of Government will cure: and that the Doves that are governed by Hawkes and Kites, must be their prey, whether it be one or many that hath the Sovereignty.

O ingratum & impium seculum! O in privatam perniciem incredibili pectoris obstinatione pronum! si aliquis ad vos medicus ex summotis venisset, & incognitis regionibus, medicamen pollicens —certatim blanditiis, &c. Quænam est hæc feritas, quæ libido tam carnifex, inexpiabile bellum indicere nihil de te merito? Dilacerare si detur velle eum per viscera, qui non modo nullum intulerit malum nulli, sed benignus hostibus, &c. *Arnob. l. 1. in fine.*

Yea, it is an unthankful world, that in the exercise of this malignant cruelty, will begin with those that deserve best at their hands. He that would instruct them, and stop them in their sin, and save their souls, doth ordinarily make himself a prey: and they are not content to take away their lives, but they will (among their credulous rabble) take away the reputation of their honesty: and no wisdom or learning was ever so great, no innocency so unspotted, no honesty, justice or charity so untainted, no holiness so venerable, that could ever priviledge the owners from their rage, or make the possessors to escape their malice. Even Jesus Christ, that never committed sin, and that came into the world with the most matchless love, and to do them the greatest good, was yet prosecuted furiously to a shameful death; and not only so, but in his humiliation his judgement was taken away; and he was condemned as an evil doer,

Prosperum ac fælix scelus virtus vocatur. Quis nomen unquam sceleris errori dedit? sæpe error ingens sceleris obtinuit locum. *Sen. Herc. fur.*

Anaxarchum, Democritium à Cyprio tyranno excarnificatum accepimus: *Zenonem* Eleatem in tormentis necatum: Quid dicam de *Socrate*, cujus morti illachrymari soleo *Platonem* logens. *Many more such instances hath* Cotta *in* Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 3. p. 1079, 108.

doer, who was the greatest enemy to sin that ever was born into the World: He was accused of Blasphemy (for calling himself the Son of God) of *Impiety* (for talking of destroying the Temple) and of Treason (for saying he was a King). And his Apostles that went about the World to save mens Souls, and proclaim to them the joyfull tydings of salvation, had little better entertainment: wherever they came, bonds and afflictions did abide them; And if they had not been taught to rejoyce in tribulations, they could have expected little joy on earth. And it was not only Christians that were thus used, but honesty in the Heathens was usually met with opposition and reproach, as *Seneca* himself doth oft complain, Yea, how few have there been that have been famous for any excellency of wit or learning, or any addition to the Worlds understanding, but their reward hath been reproach, imprisonment or death? Did *Socrates* die in his bed? Or was he not murdered by the rage of wicked Hypocrites? *Plato* durst not speak his minde, for fear of his Masters reward. *Aristippus* left *Athens*, *ne bis peccarent in Philosophiam*: not only *Solon*, but most benefactors to any Common-wealth have suffered for their beneficence. *Demosthenes*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, could none of them save their lives from fury, by their great learning or honesty. Yea, among nominal Christians, he that told them of an *Antipodes*, was excommunicated by the Papal Authority for an Heretick; And a *Savonarola*, *Arnoldus de Villa Nova*, *Paulus*, *Scaliger*, &c. could not be wiser than their Neighbours, but to their cost: No nor *Arias Montanus* himself. *Campanella* was fain in prison to compile his New Philosophy, and with the pleasure of his inventions to bear the torments which were their sowre sauce. Even *Galilæus* that discovered so many new Orbs, and taught this World the way of clearer acquaintance with its neighbours, could not escape the Reverend Justice of the Papalists, but must lie in a Prison, as if *O sapientia* had been written on his doors, (as the old Woman cryed out to *Thales*, when he fell into a ditch, while he was by his instrument taking the height of a Starr.) And Sir *Walter Rawleigh* could not save his head by his Learned History of the World (but must be one part of its History himself); nor yet by his great observation, * how *Antipater* is taken for a blood-

Primusq; de vitæ ratione differuit *Socrates*, primusq; Philosophorum damnatus moritur. *Laert. in Socrat. pag.* 92.

Campanella *telleth us himself of his* 30 *years cruel persecution, and torments in the Inquisition.*

* *Hist. part.* 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 3. *sect.* 6.

bloody Tyrant, for killing *Demosthenes*, and how Arts and Learning have power to disgrace any man that doth evil to the famous Masters of them. *Peter Ramus* that had done so much in *Physiosophy* for the Learned World, was requited by a butcherly barbarous murder, being one of the 30000 or 40000 that were so used in the *French Massacre*. And many a holy person perished in the 200000 murdered by the *Irish*. It were endless to instance the ungratefull cruelties of the World; and what entertainment it hath given to wise and godly men; even those whom it superstitiously adoreth when it hath murdered them.

Judices non tam quid commiserit reus aliquis nostrum inquirunt, quàm ipsi nomini tanquam certo sceleri illudunt. *Athenagor. ub. supr.*

And in all this wickedness, it is wilfull, and stupid, and incorrigible, and ordinary means do little to the Cure. Thus is it a *sinfull* evil World.

II. And it is a *Tempting World* that would make all bad as it is it self: Whereever the sanctifying Truth of God doth come to illuminate and reform men, the World is presently up in arms against it; and fighteth against that which would save mens Souls, as if it were a Plague or Enemy that would destroy them. Princes think it is against their interest, and the people finde that it is against *their* lusts: And so the sin of Tyranny keepeth the Gospel out of the greatest part of the World; and popular fury resisteth it where it cometh. The Empires of the *Turks*, and *Tartarian*, and *China*, are sad instances of the success of Tyranny against the means of mens salvation: And the Empire of *Japan* hath given the World an instance of such unparallel'd cruelty to that end, as maketh the persecutions of *Nero* and *Diocletian*, and even the Popish *Inquisition*, and almost the Massacres of *Piedmont*, *France* and *Ireland*, to seem very merciful acts of Charity. What rage, what inhumane fury hath been shewed, through all the World, to keep out Knowledge, and keep the Nations in their darkness and misery, and forbid relief? But for Error and Deceit, Idolatry and Superstition, how industriously are they propagated? Empire and Arts, Power and Learning, are employed to deceive and undoe the World. And though Empire be Gods Ordinance, and Arts his gifts, they are turned against him in the farr greatest part of the Earth, and Satan is served by them, as if they had been ordain'd by him. Almost every Country hath their

Vitia de mercede sollicitant: Avaritia pecuniam promittit: Luxuria multas ac varias voluptates: Ambitio purpuram & plausum; & ex hoc potentiam & quicquid potentia potest. *Senec. Ep.* 59.

In vitia alter alterum trudimus. Quomodo ad salutem revocari potest, quem populus impellit, & nullus retrahit? *Senec. Ep.* 29.

their proper opinions, and a Religion fitted to resist Religion: He that is an Idolater, or a *Mahometan*, or Infidel, would make more: And they that are against all serious Religion, are as eager to make others of their minde, as if it were a work of charity or commodity: And he that is endeavouring to undoe Souls, is as vehement in it, as he that is endeavouring to save them. He that hath any passion or corrupt affection is as inclinable to convey it to another, as fire is to kindle fire, or one that hath the Plague to infect his Neighbour. Covetousness, ambition, voluptuousness, lust, and wrath and revenge, are all contagious. Rioters think it strange if we run not with them into all excess. The very noise of their impertinent talk and business, and the great adoe that they make in doing nothing, is a great diverter of those that are about them, from serious business and sober consideration: They keep men so busie about their vanities, that they can finde no leisure to remember that they are men, or to think what business they have in the World, nor where it is that they must dwell for ever. And when their folly and selfishness hath set them all together by the ears, they must needs draw or drive others into the fire of contention with them; They cry, Who is on my side? who? And he that will not be of one party or other, but will keep his peace, shall lose it by the enmity of all: And no man shall be taken for orthodox or honest, that will not be of that Faction whose commendation he desireth: And when he hath humoured them, he shall go for a knave or a reproached person, with all the rest: A peaceable man shall hardly finde the peace which he desireth to himself; but it's ten to one but he loseth his labour if he would make peace between others; especially, if he have an honest ambition, of extending that blessing to Parties and Countreys, or any great and considerable numbers. If by tyranny and cruelty, by prisons, and torments, and death, they cannot affright men from honesty and the obedience of God, at least they will vex them in their way, and be as thorns and bryars to them in this Wilderness.

III. And it is a *calamitous, miserable* World. It is void of the comforts of sacred Illumination, and of the assured Love of God, and of the exercise of wisdom, or holiness: The

When just Aristides was made Treasurer at Athens, though he most uprightly discharged his Office, Themistocles accused him, and got him condemned as for Bribery: But by the favour of some of the greatest he was delivered, and restored to his Office for another year: The next year he did by connivence gratifie all the Pillagers of the Commonwealth that would grow rich by the common loss: And at the years end they offered him the Office again with great honour. But he refused it, and said, that their honour was a greater disgrace than their condemnation: For when he did well they condemned him, and when he gave way to the unjust, they honoured him. Plutar.

When he was to be condemned by the popular Vote, one came to him in the croud, that could not write, and not knowing who he was, desired him to write his name to Aristides condemnation; for he was resolved to give his voice against him, because he was called A Righteous Man: Aristides did as he desired, and wrote his name without discovering himself to him.

The delights of Saints in loving God, and waiting for eternal Life, are unknown to all the multitudes of the ungodly: They are confounded and lost in their ignorance and error; and tormented with their own passions, divisions and contentions. Their vices are part of their disquietment and pain, though pleasure be their intended end. It is a pitifull servitude that they are in to Satan, and an endless drudgery that they follow, in serving their covetousness, pride, and lust; and a tiresome task to care and labour to make provision for their fleshly appetites and wills. They are led captive by Satan to do his will; and yet in doing it they do their own, and are in love with their Captivity, and glory in their Chains. They are engaged daily against God and Mercy, against their Happiness, and their Friends that would procure it; and think him their Enemy that would make them wiser. They go under the guilt of all this sin; and they have no assurance of pardon or deliverance: And God overtaketh them many times with bodily distresses here: Sicknesses and pains consume men, and torment them; Warrs, and plagues do send them by thousands, out of the World, which they took for their felicity: Fire and famine, piracy and robbery, and fraud, impoverish them: The frustrations of their hope torment them. And yet under all, they are hardened against God, and fall not out with their sin and folly, but with the Justice of Heaven, and with its instruments, or rather with all that beareth the Image of the Holiness of God. This is the visible condition of this World.

Obj. If you say, *How can all this stand with the infinite Goodness of God?* I have answered it before: It sheweth you, that it is not *this World*, which is the great demonstration of the Goodness or Love of God, from whence we must take our estimate of it by the effects. If you will judge of the Kings splendour, and bounty, and clemency, will you go seek for examples and demonstrations of it in the Gaol, and at the Gallows, or rather at the Court? Hell is as the Gallows, and Earth is as the Gaol: Measure not Gods bounty and mercy by these: It is no sign of unmercifulness in God that there are Flies and Worms, and Toads, and Serpents on Earth as well as Men: nor that Earth was not made as indefectible as Heaven: And when men have drown'd themselves in sin,

it is no *want* of Goodness in God, but it is Goodness it self which causeth the demonstrations of his Justice on them. This World is not so much to all Gods Creation, as a wen or wart upon a Mans body is to the whole body: And if it were all forsaken of God, as it hath forsaken him, it were proportionably no more than the cutting off such a wart or Wen. God hath many thousand thousand thousand times more capacious Regions, which it's like have more noble and blessed Inhabitants: Look to them, if you would see his Love, in its most glorious demonstration: Justice also must be demonstrated if men will sin. And if Hell be quite forsaken, and Earth which is next it be partly forsaken of the favour of God, for all that God may gloriously demonstrate his Love, to a thousand thousand-fold more subjects (of the nobler Regions) than he doth demonstrate his Justice on in Hell or Earth. But these two things I gather for the confirmation of my Faith. 1. That the sin and misery of the World is such, that it groaneth for a Saviour; And when I hear of a Physician sent from Heaven, I easily believe it, when I see the wofull World mortally diseased, and gasping in its deep distress. The condition of the World is visibly so suitable to the whole Office of Christ, and to the Doctrine of the Gospel, that I am driven to think, that if God have mercy for it, some Physician and extraordinary help shall be afforded it: And when I see none else but *Jesus Christ*, whom Reason will allow me to believe is that Physician, it somewhat prepareth my minde to look towards him with hope.

Saith Cicero (*laughing at* Epicurus) Ego summum dolorem (summum dico, etiamsi decem atomis est major alius) non continuo dico esse brevem: multosq; possem bonos viros nominare qui complures annos doloribus podagræ cruciantur maximis: *Tusc. l. 2. p. 263.*

2. And also the *Evil* of this present World, is very suitable to the Doctrine of Christ, when he telleth us that he came not to settle us here in a state of Prosperity, nor to make the World our Rest or Portion; but to *save us from* it, as our enemy and calamity, our danger and our Wilderness and trouble; and to bring up our hearts first, and then our selves to a better World, which he calleth us to seek, and to make sure of. Whereas I finde, that most other Religions, though they say something of a Life hereafter, yet lead men to look for most or much of their felicity here, as consisting in the fruition of this World, which experience tells me is so miserable.

§. 3. *Moreover I finde, that the Law of entire Nature was no*

no more suitable to Nature in its integrity, than the Law of Grace revealed by Christ is suitable to us in our lapsed state: so that it may be called, the Law of Nature-lapsed and restorable; (Naturæ lapsæ restaurandæ.)

Nature entire and Nature depraved, must have the same pattern and rule of perfection *ultimately* to be conformed to; because lapsed man must seek to return to his integrity: But lapsed or corrupted man doth *moreover* need another Law, which shall first tend to his *restoration* from that lost and miserable state. And it was no more necessary to man in innocency to have a suitable Law for his preservation and confirmation, than it is to man in sin and guilt to have a Law of Grace for his pardon and recovery, and a course of means prescribed him for the healing of his Soul, and for the escaping of the stroke of Justice. The following particulars further open this.

If any say, that still Perfect Obedience *is* possible, *I will not* litigare de nomine, *but say as* Cicero, Ut nihil interest utrum nemo valeat, an nemo possit valere; sic non intelligo quid interfit, utrum nemo sit sapiens an nemo esse possit. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. pag.* 138. (mihi) *so I say of keeping the Law perfectly.*

§. 4. *It seemeth very congruous to Reason, that as Monarchy is the perfectest sort of Government (which it is probable is even among the Angels) so Mankinde should have one universal Head or Monarch over them.*

Kingdoms have their several Monarchs; but there is surely an Universal Monarch over them all! we know that God is the *primary* Soveraign; but it is very probable to Nature, that there is a subordinate Soveraign or general Administrator under him: It is not only the Scriptures that speak a Prince of the Devils, and of Principalities, and Powers, and Thrones, and Dominions, among the happy Spirits; and that talk of the Angels that are Princes of several Kingdoms, *Dan.* 10. but even the Philosophers and most Idolaters, have from this apprehension, been drawn to the worship of such, as an inferiour kinde of Deity. And if man must have a subordinate universal King, it is meet that it be one that is also *Man*: As Angels and Devils have Principals of their own sort and nature, and not of others.

Almost all the Heathens in the world, who worshipped one God as Chief, had their Demi-gods, as their particular Protectors and favourers, or Mediators; as intimating that Man is conscious of the need of some Mediator of access to the supreme Deity.

§. 5. *It seemeth congruous to Reason, that this Head be one that is fitted to be our Captain General, himself to lead us by Conduct, Precept and Example, in our warfare against those Devils, who also are said to have their Prince and General.*

As Devils fight against us under a Prince of their own nature, so is it congruous, that we fight against them, un-

der a Prince of our own nature, who hath himself first conquered him, and will go on before us in the fight.

§. 6. *It is congruous to Reason, that lapsed Man under the guilt of sin, and desert of punishment, who is unable to deliver himself, and unworthy of immediate access to God, should have a* Mediator *for his restoration and reconciliation with God: If any be found fit for so high an Office.*

§. 7. *And it is congruous to Reason, that this Mediator be one, in whom God doth condescend to Man, and one in whom man may be encouraged to ascend to God, as to one that will forgive and save him: And one that hath made himself known to man, and also hath free access to God.*

§. 8. *It is congruous to Reason, that lapsed, guilty, darkened sinners, that know so little of God, and of his Will, and of their own Concernments, and of the other World, should have a* Teacher *sent from Heaven, of greater Authority and Credit than an Angel, to acquaint us with God and his will, and the Life that we are going to, more certainly and fully than would be done by Nature only.*

The most learned men of Greece *and* Rome, *that saw by Reason the Immortality of the Soul, the Life to come, and the Perfections of God, were yet so distrustfull of their own Reasons, that they spake of the Life to come with great pauses of doubtfulness or darkness: And were many of them glad to run to Oracles, and* Augures *and* Aruspices *to try if they could get any addition of light by superficial Revelation. How glad then would they have been of a certain Teacher sent from Heaven?*

That this is very *desireable* no man can doubt: How gladly would men receive a Letter or Book that dropt from Heaven? Or an Angel that were sent thence to tell them what is there, and what they must for ever trust to? Yea, if it were but one of their old acquaintance from the dead? But all this would leave them in uncertainty still, and they would be doubtfull of the credit and truth of any such a Messenger: And therefore to have one of fuller Authority, that shall confirm his Word by unquestionable attestations, would very much satisfie men. I have proved, that Nature it self revealeth to us, a Life of Retribution after this; and that Immortality of Souls may be proved without Scripture: But yet there is still a darkness and unacquaintedness, and consequently a doubting and questioning the certainty of it, upon a carnal minde: And it would greatly satisfie such, if besides meer Reason, they had some proof which is more agreeable to a minde in flesh; and might either speak with some credible Messenger who hath been in Heaven, and fully knoweth all these matters; or at least might be certainly informed of his Reports. And indeed, to men that are fallen into such a dark depravedness of Reason, and such Strangers to God and

and Heaven as mankind is, it is become needful that they have more than natural light, to shew them the *nature*, the *excellency* and *certainty* of the happiness to come; or else they are never like so to love and seek it, and prefer it before all earthly things, as is necessary to them that will attain it. For few men will seek with their utmost labour, or let go all other things to attain a happiness, which they are not well perswaded of the reality of. And though sound reason might well perswade them of it, yet reason is now become so blind, and unsound, and partial, and enslaved to the flesh, that it is not fit for such an office, according to our necessity, without some heavenly Revelation.

Falsum est; pejores norimur quam nascimur: nostrum istud, non naturæ vitium est. Quid enim turpius quam in ipso limine securitatis esse solicitum. *Senec.*

Sæpe *Jovem* vidi cum jam sua mittere vellet
Fulmina thure dato sustinuisse manum;
At si negligitur, magnis injuria pœnis
Solvitur. *Ovid. 5. Fast.*

Dei injuriæ Deo curæ. *Tacit. Annal. l. 1.*

Virtutum omnium excellentissima justitia. *Ammian. Marcel. l. 20.*

§. 9. *And it is exceeding congruous to mans necessity, who is fain under the power and fears of death, as well as the doubts and estrangedness to the other world, that he that will save and heal us, do himself in our nature rise from the dead, and ascend up into heaven, to give us thereby a visible demonstration, that indeed there is a Resurrection and a life to come for us to look for.*

Though God was not obliged to do thus much for us, yet Reason telleth us, that if he will do it, it is very suitable to our necessities. For all the reasonings in the world do not satisfie in such things, so much as ocular demonstration: when we either see a man that is risen from the dead, or have certain testimony of it, it facilitateth the belief of our own resurrection: and he that is gone into Heaven before us, assureth us that a Heaven there is.

§. 10. *When God in mercy would forgive and save a sinful people, it was very congruous to reason, that there should be some fit means provided, to demonstrate his holiness in his justice, and to vindicate the honour of his Laws and Government, and so to secure the ends of both.*

For if God make a penal Law and execute it not, but let man sin with impunity, and do nothing which may deter him, nor demonstrate his Justice, as much as the sinners sufferings would do, it would tell the world, that he that gave them the Law, and thereby told them, that he would rule and judge them by it, did but deceive them, and meant not as he spake: And it would bring both the Law and Governour into contempt, and perswade men to sin without any

fear: and he that was queſtion'd for the ſecond crime, would ſay, I ventured, becauſe I ſuffered not for the firſt. It was the devils firſt way of tempting men to ſin, to perſwade mankind that God meant not as he ſpake in his threatning of their death, but that they ſhould not die, though God had threatned it. And if God himſelf ſhould by his actions ſay the ſame, it would tempt them more to ſin than Sathan could, as his credibility is greater. Therefore he that is a Governour muſt be juſt as well as merciful; and if God ſhould have pardoned ſinners, without ſuch a ſacrifice or ſubſtitute means, as might preſerve the honour of his Law and Government, and the future innocency of his Subjects, as well as their puniſhment in the full ſenſe of the Law would have done, the conſequents would have been ſuch, as I will leave to your own judgements.

§. 11. *And it was very congruous to reaſon, that ſo odious a thing as ſin ſhould be publickly condemned and put to ſhame, although the ſinner be forgiven: As it was done in the life and death of Chriſt.*

For the purity of God is irreconcileable to ſin, though not to the ſinner; and therefore it was meet that the ſin have all the publick ſhame, though the ſinner eſcape: and that God be not like weak imperfect man, who cannot do good, without doing or encouraging evil.

§. 12. *It is congruous to our condition, that ſeeing even the upright do renew their ſins, their conſciences ſhould have ſome remedy for the renewal of their peace and comfort, that it ſink them not into deſperation; which is moſt ſuitably provided for them in Jeſus Chriſt.*

For when we were pardoned once, and again, and oft, and yet ſhall ſin, he that knoweth the deſert of ſin, and purity of God, will have need alſo to know of ſome ſtated certain courſe of remedy.

* §. 13. *It was meet that the ſinful world have not only a certain Teacher, but alſo a perfect pattern before them, of righteouſneſs, love, ſelf-denial, meekneſs, patience, contempt of lower things, &c. which is given us by Jeſus Chriſt alone.*

And therefore the Goſpel is written Hiſtorically, with Doctrins intermixt, that we might have both perfect Precepts and Pattern.

§. 14. *It*

§. 14. *It was very congruous to a world univerſally Lapſed, that God ſhould make with it a new Law and Covenant of Grace, and that this Covenant ſhould tender us the pardon of our ſins, and be a conditional act of oblivion: And that ſinners be not left to the meer Law of perfect Nature, which was to preſerve that innocency which they have already loſt.*

To ſay [*Thou ſhalt perfectly obey*] to a man that hath already diſobeyed, and is unfitted for perfect obedience, is no ſufficient direction for his pardon and recovery. Perhaps you'l ſay, That God's gracious Nature is inſtead of a Law of Grace or Promiſe. But though that be the *ſpring* of all our hopes, yet that cannot juſtly quiet the ſinner of it ſelf alone, becauſe he is juſt as well as merciful, and Juſtice hath its objects, and pardon dependeth on the free-will of God, which cannot be known to us without its proper ſigns. The *Devils* may ſay that the *Nature* of God is *good and gracious*, and ſo may any condemned malefactor ſay of a good and gracious Judge and King; and yet that is but a ſlender reaſon to prove his impunity or pardon. All will confeſs, that abſolute pardon of all men would be unbeſeeming a wiſe and righteous Governour. And if it muſt be *conditional*, who but God can tell what muſt be the condition? If you ſay, That *Nature telleth us, That converting Repentance is the condition.* I anſwer, 1 *Nature* telleth us, That God cannot damn a holy loving Soul, that hath his Image: but yet it telleth us not, That this is the only or whole condition. 2. It is not ſuch a Repentance as lieth but in a frightned wiſh, that the ſin had not been done, but ſuch a one as conſiſteth in the change of the mind, and heart, and life, and containeth a hatred to the ſin repented of, and a love to God and Holineſs: and we have as much need of a Saviour to help us to this repentance, as to help us to a pardon.

§. 15. *It is very congruous to our miſerable ſtate, that the Condition of this Covenant of Grace ſhould be on our part, the acknowledgment of our Benefactor, and the thankful acceptance of the benefit, and a hearty conſent for the future to* *follow *his conduct, and uſe his appointed means in order to our full recovery: which is the condition of the Chriſtian Covenant.*

§. 16. *Seeing man's fall was from his God unto himſelf, eſpecially in point of love; and his real recovery muſt be, by bringing up*

* Religioſi ſunt cui facienda & vitanda diſcernunt. *Macrob. Saturn. l. 3.* Non votis neque ſupplicamentis mulierbribus auxilia Deorum parantur; ſed vigilando, agendo, bene conſulendo, proſpere cedunt omnia: ubi ſocordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam Deos implores, irati enim inſenſique ſunt. *Saluſt. in Catilin.*

Mysterii opus & finem, sacrificari scilicet & sanctificari fideles, ipse est solus qui peragit. De his autem preces sunt orationes & supplicationes sacerdotis. Illa enim sunt Domini, hæc vero servi: servator donat, sacerdos pro iis quæ data sunt gratias agit. *Nicol Caboſil. Liturg. Expoſ. c. 49. adverſ.* Eos qui dicunt sanctorum in sacro mysterio memoriam esse sacerdotis pro eis ad Deum supplicationem.

up his soul to the love of God again. And seeing a guilty condemned sinner can hardly love that God, who in justice will damn and punish him; nothing can be more congruous and effectual to man's recovery to God, than that God should be represented to him as most amiable; that is, as one that is so willing to pardon and save him, as to do it by the most astonishing expressions of love, in such an Agent, and Pledge, and Glass of Love as Jesus Christ.

The whole design of Christ's Incarnation, Life, Death, Resurrection, Ascension and Intercession, is but to be the most wonderful and glorious declaration of the goodness and love of God to sinners: that as the great frame of the Universe demonstrateth his power, so should the Redeemer be the demonstration of his love. That we may see both the wise contrivances of his love, and at how dear a rate he is content to save us; that our lives may be employed in beholding and admiring the glory of his love, in this incomprehensible representation. That we may love him, as men that are fetch'd up from the very gates of hell, and from under the sentence of condemnation, and made by grace the heirs of life.

§. 17. Especially to have a quickning Head, who will give the Spirit of grace to all his members, to change their hearts, and kindle this holy love within them, is most congruous to accompliſh mans recovery.

So dark are our minds, and so bad our hearts, so strong are our lusts, and so many our temptations, that *bare teaching* would not serve our turn, without a *Spirit of light, and life, and love* to open our eyes, and turn our hearts, and make all outward means effectual.

§. 18. The Commission of the Gospel-Ministery to preach this Gospel of pardon and salvation, and to baptize Consenters, and gather and guide the Church of Christ, with Fatherly love, is also very congruous to the state of the world, with whom they have to do.

§. 19. It is congruous to the state of our trembling Souls, that are conscious of their former guilt, and present unworthiness, that in all their prayers and worship of God, they should come to him in a Name that is more worthy and acceptable than their own, and offer their services by a Hand or Intercessor so beloved of God.

Though

Though an impious soul can never expect to be accepted with God, upon the merits of another, yet a penitent soul, who is conscious of former wickedness, and continued faults, may hope for that mercy by grace through a Redeemer, of which he could have less hopes without one.

§. 20. It is congruous to their state, who have Satan their accuser, that they have a Patron, a High priest and Justifier with God.

Not that God is in danger of being mistaken by false accusation, or to do us any injustice; but when our real guilt is before his face, (and the malice of Satan will seek thereupon to procure our damnation) there must also be just reasons before him for our pardon, which it is the office of a Saviour to plead or to present, that is, to be God's Instrument of our deliverance upon that account.

§. 21. It is exceeding congruous to our condition (of darkness and fear) to have a Head and Saviour in the possession of Glory, to whom we may commend our departing souls at the time of death, and who will receive them to himself; that we may not tremble at the thoughts of death and of eternity.

For though the infinite goodness of God be our chief encouragement, yet seeing he is holy and just, and we are sinners, we have need of a mediate encouragement, and of such condescending love as is come near unto us, and hath taken up our nature already into heaven. A Saviour that hath been on earth in flesh; that hath died, and rose, and revived, and is now in the possession of Blessedness, is a great emboldner of our thoughts, when we look towards another world; which else we should think of with more doubting, fearful and unwilling minds. To have a friend gone before us, who is so Powerful, so Good, and hath made us his Interest; to think that he is Lord of the world that we are going to, and hath undertaken to receive us to himself when we go hence, is a great reviving to our amazed, fearful, departing souls.

§. 22. And it is very congruous to the case of an afflicted persecuted people, who are misrepresented and slandered in this world, and suffer for the hopes of a better life, to have a Saviour who is the judge of all the world, to justifie them publickly before all, and to cause their righteousness to shine as the

Perturbatione temporum eos etiam qui vero judicio nullius criminis convinci queunt, maximis involvi criminibus haud est veri dissimile. *Pachymer. l. 1.*

light, and to turn all their ſufferings into endleſs joys.

§. 23. *And it ſeemeth exceeding congruous to reaſon, ſeeing that the Divine Eſſence is an inacceſſible Light, that we ſhould for ever have a* Mediator of Fruition, *as well as of* Acquiſition, *by whom the Deity may ſhine in communicated Glory and Love to us for evermore: and that God be for evermore eminently delighted and glorified in Him, than in us, as he excelleth us in dignity and all perfections; even as in One Sun, his Power and Glory is more demonſtrated, than in a world of Worms.*

Whether all theſe things be true or not, I am further to enquire; but I find *now*, that they are very *congruous* to our condition, and to *Reaſon*; and that if they be ſo, no man can deny, but that there is wonderful *Wiſdom* and *Love* to man in the deſign and execution: and that it is to man a very *deſirable* thing that it *ſhould* be ſo. And therefore that we ſhould be exceeding willing to find any ſound proof that it is ſo indeed; though not with a willingneſs which ſhall corrupt and pervert our judgments by ſelf-flattery, but ſuch as will only excite them to the wiſe and ſober examination of the caſe.

The EVIDENCES of the VERITY we ſhall next enquire after.

Q. Si divinæ Scripturæ probationibus ſufficiunt, quid neceſſaria eſt Religioni fides? R. Fides noſtra ſuper ratione quidem eſt, non tamen temerarie & irrationabiliter aſſumitur. Ea enim quæ ratio edocet, fides intelligit: & ubi ratio defecerit, fides præcurrit: Non enim utcunque audita credimus, ſed ea quæ ratio non improbat. Verum quod conſequi ad plenum non poteſt, fideli prudentia conſitemur. *Junilius African. de part. div. Leg. l. 2. c. 30.*

Q. Unde probamus libros Religionis noſtræ divina eſſe in ſpiratione conſcriptos? R. Ex multis, quorum primum eſt ipſius Scripturæ veritas: deinde ordo rerum, conſonantia præceptorum, modus locutionis ſine ambitu, puritaſque verborum. Additur conſcribentium & prædicantium qualitas, quod divina homines, excelſa vates, infacundi ſubtilia, non niſi divino repleti ſpiritu tradidiſſent. Tum prædicationis virtus, quam dum prædicaretur (licet à paucis deſpectis) obtinuit. Accedunt his rectificatio contrariorum, ut Sybillarum vel Philoſophorum; expulſio adverſariorum, utilitas conſequentium, exitus eorum quæ per acceptationes & figuras & prædictiones, quæ prædicta ſunt ad poſtremum; miracula jugiter facta, donec Scriptura ipſa ſuſciperetur à gentibus. De qua hoc nunc ad proximum miraculum ſufficit, quod ab omnibus ſuſcepta cognoſcitur. *Junilius African. de part. div. Leg. l. 2. c. 29.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the WITNESS *of* JESUS CHRIST, *or the demonſtrative Evidence of his Verity and Authority.*

THough all that is ſaid may be a reaſonable *preparative* to faith, it is more cogent evidence which is neceſſary to convince

convince us, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Saviour of the world. That a man appearing like one of us, is the Eternal Word of God incarnate, is a thing which no man is bound to believe, without very ſound evidence to prove it. God hath made Reaſon eſſential to our Nature: it is not our *weakneſs*, but our natural excellency, and his Image on our nature. Therefore he never called us to renounce it, and to lay it by: for we have no way to know Principles, but by an Intellectual diſcerning them in their proper Evidence: and no way to know concluſions by, but by a rational diſcerning their neceſſary connexion to thoſe principles. If God would have us know without reaſon, he would not have made us reaſonable creatures: man hath no way of mental diſcerning or knowledge, but by underſtanding things in their proper evidence: to know without this, were to know without knowledge. Faith is an act or ſpecies of knowledge, it is ſo far from being contrary to reaſon, that it is but an act of cleared elevated reaſon: it is not an act of immediate intuition of God or Jeſus Chriſt himſelf; but a knowledge of the truth by the divine evidence of its certainty: they that wrangle againſt us, for giving reaſon for our Religion, ſeem to tell us, that they have none for their own; or elſe reprehend us for being men. If they had to do with them, who make God to be but the *Prime Reaſon*, would they ſay that *Faith* is ſomething *above Reaſon*, and therefore ſomething *above God?* I believe that our Reaſon or Intellection is far from being univocally the ſame thing with God's: but I believe that God is Intellection, Reaſon or Wiſdom *eminenter*, though not *formaliter*: and that though the name be firſt uſed, to ſignifie the lower *derivative Reaſon* of many, yet we have no higher to expreſs the *Wiſdom of God* by, nor better notion to apprehend it by, than this which is its Image. I conclude therefore, that

§. 1. *The Chriſtian Religion muſt be the moſt Rational in the world, or that which hath the ſoundeſt reaſon for it, if it be the trueſt. And the proof of it muſt be, by producing the evidences of its truth.*

§. 2. *The evidence which* Faith *requireth is properly called Evidence of credibility.*

§. 3. *When we ſpeak of* Humane Faith, *as ſuch,* Credibility

is somewhat short of proper Certainty: *but when we speak of* Divine Faith, *(or a* Belief of God*) evidence of* Credibility *is evidence of* Certainty.

§. 4. *The great Witness of Jesus Christ, or the demonstrative Evidence of his Verity and Authority, was The* HOLY SPIRIT.

§. 5. *The Word or Doctrin of Jesus Christ, hath four several infallible testimonies of God's Spirit, which (though each of them alone is convincing, yet) all together make up this one great Evidence: that is,* 1. *Antecedently.* 2. *Constitutively or Inherently.* 3. *Concomitantly, and* 4. *Subsequently: of which I shall speak in course.*

§. 6. 1. *Antecedently the* Spirit of Prophecy, *was a Witness to Jesus Christ.*

Heb. 10. 15. 1 Pet. 1. 10. 2 Pet. 1. 19, 20.

Under which I comprehend the prediction also of Types: He that was many hundred years before (yea, from age to age) fore-told to come as the Messiah or Saviour, by Divine prediction of Promises, Prophesies and Types, is certainly the true Messiah our Saviour: But Jesus Christ was so foretold: *Ergo.*——

1. For Promises and Prophesies, *Gen.* 3. 15. presently after the Fall of *Adam*, God said, [*I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*] As it is certain that it was Satan principally, and the Serpent but instrumentally, that is spoken of as the deceiver of *Eve*; so it is as plain, that it was Satan and his wicked followers principally, and the Serpent and its seed only as the instruments, that are here meant in the condemnation. And that it is the seed of the woman, by an *excellency* so called, that is primarily here meant, (and under him her natural seed secondarily) is proved not only by the Hebrew Masculine Gender, but by the fulfilling of this Promise in the Expository effects, and in other Promises to the like effect. The rest of the Promises and Prophesies to this purpose are so many, that to recite them all would swell the Book too big; and therefore I must suppose, that the Reader perusing the Sacred Scripture it self, will acquaint himself with them there: only a few I shall repeat.

Lege Disputationem Gregentii cum Herbano Judeo.

Gen. 22. 18. *In thy seed shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed.*

Gen.

Gen. 49. 10. *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.*

The whole second Psalm is a Prophecy of the Kingdom of Christ: *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing: The Kings of the earth set themselves, and the Rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed, &c. Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Sion. I will declare the decree, the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Be wise therefore, O ye Kings, be learned, ye Judges of the earth: serve the Lord with fear, and rejoyce with trembling. Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish, &c.*

Psal. 16. 10. *For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.*

Psal. 22. 16, 17, 18. *Dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet: I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me: they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.*

Psal. 69. 21. *They gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.*

Isa. 53. *Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? for he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground; he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him: He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him: he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath born our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before the shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. He was taken from prison, and from judgment, and who shall declare his generation. For*

he was cut off out of the land of the living, for the tranſgreſſion of my people was he ſtricken: and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, becauſe he had done no violence, nor was any deceit in his mouth. Yet it pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him, he hath put him to grief. When thou ſhalt make his ſoul an offering for ſin, he ſhall ſee his ſeed, he ſhall prolong his days, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand. He ſhall ſee of the travel of his ſoul, and ſhall be ſatisfied: by his knowledge ſhall my righteous ſervant juſtifie many, for he ſhall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he ſhall divide the ſpoil with the ſtrong: becauſe he hath poured out his ſoul unto death, and he was numbred with the tranſgreſſors, and he bare the ſin of many, and made interceſſion for the tranſgreſſors.

Iſa. 9. 6. *For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulders: and his Name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, The mighty God, The Everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace: of the increaſe of his government and peace there ſhall be no end, upon the Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order it, and to ſtabliſh it with judgement and with juſtice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hoſts will perform this.*

Iſa. 7. 14. *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhall call his name Immanuel.*

Dan. 9. 24, &c. *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy City, to finiſh the tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the Viſion and Prophecy, and to annoint the moſt Holy. Know therefore and underſtand, that from the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and to build Jeruſalem, unto the Meſſiah the Prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks and threeſcore and two weeks; the ſtreet ſhall be built, and the wall even in troublous times. And after threeſcore and two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf. And the people of the Prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the City, and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof ſhall be with a floud, and unto the end of the war deſolations are determined. And he ſhall confirm the Covenant with many for one week: and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe, and for the over-ſpreading of abomination*

abomination he ſhall make it deſolate, even until the conſummation, and that determined be poured upon the deſolate.

Mal. 3. 1, 2, 3. *Behold I will ſend my meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye ſeek ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple, even the Meſſenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in; behold, he ſhall come, ſaith the Lord of hoſts: But who may abide the day of his coming, and who ſhall ſtand when he appeareth? For he is like a Refiners fire, and like Fullers ſope, and he ſhall ſit as a refiner and purifier of ſilver, &c.*

I omit the reſt to avoid prolixity. There is ſcarce any paſſage of the Birth, Life, Sufferings, Death, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion or Glory of our Saviour, which are not particularly propheſied of in the Old Teſtament; but nothing ſo copiouſly as his Righteouſneſs and his Kingdom. The Propheſie of *Iſaiah* is full of ſuch, and is but a Prophetical Goſpel.

To theſe muſt be adjoyned the Prophetical *Types*, even the *typical Perſons*, and the *typical Ordinances and Actions*. It would be too long to open, how his ſufferings from the malignant world was typified in the Death of *Abel*, and the attempted oblation of *Iſaac*, and the ſelling of *Joſeph*. And his work of Salvation, in *Noah*, and his preſerved Ark and Family: And his Paternity as to Believers, in *Abraham*: And his Kingly conduct and deliverance of the Church, by *Moſes* and his deliverance of the *Iſraelites* from *Egypt*, and conduct of them in the Wilderneſs, and by *Joſhua*'s victorious bringing them into the Land of Promiſe: His Reign and Kingdom by *David*, and his building of the Church by *Solomon*, and his Prieſthood by *Aaron* and his Succeſſors, &c.

And it would take up a juſt volume to open all the *typical Ordinances* and *Actions*, which prefigured Chriſt: from the inſtitution of Circumciſion, and the Paſſover or Paſchal Lamb, to the end of all the *Moſaical* Ceremonies, Chriſt is the ſignification and the end of all. I will only crave your conſideration of the cuſtom of *Sacrificing* in the general: it came into the world immediately upon mans ſin: we find *Cain* and *Abel*, the two firſt perſons born into the world, employed in it. From thence to this day it hath continued (in doctrin, though the practice be reſtrained) with the *Jews*: it was no peculiar Ceremony of their Law, but hath been

See Whately *on the Types, and* Lud. Crocii Epicriſ. *and moſt largely* Micrelius's Judas, *or ſecond Part of his Book againſt Infidels.*

been commonly exerciſed by almoſt all Nations through the world, both *Greeks*, *Romans* and *Barbarians*. And it yet continueth in moſt countries of the Heathens, where the Doctrin of Chriſt hath not aboliſhed it, as it hath done both with the Chriſtians and Mahometans. (For the Mahometans borrow the confeſſion of one God, and the rejection of Idols and Sacrifices originally from the Chriſtians.) Now I muſt confeſs, that I am not able to ſatisfie my ſelf of the original and univerſality of the cuſtom of Sacrificing, upon any reaſons, but thoſe of the Chriſtians: either it was a prophetical promiſſory inſtitution of God himſelf, to lapſed *Adam*, to point him to a Saviour, the ſecond *Adam*; or elſe it muſt be from the Law of Nature, or elſe it is from ſome other poſitive Inſtitution, or elſe it muſt be an univerſal Errour. There can no fifth way that is probable be imagined. And, 1. I am not able to ſee that the meer Light or Law of Nature ſhould be the original cauſe; for then it would be all mens duty ſtill: and what reaſon can Nature give us to judge, that God is delighted in the bloud and pain of the innocent bruits? or that the killing and offering of them ſhould be any ſatisfaction to his juſtice for our ſins, or any rational means to avert his judgments, or procure our forgiveneſs? If it be ſaid that [It was but a ceremonial confeſſion, that we our ſelves deſerve death, as that creature ſuffered it] I anſwer, *Confeſſion* is indeed due from us by the Law of Nature; but the queſtion is, of the killing of the poor beaſts, and offering them in ſacrifice. If the exerciſe of our own penitence by confeſſion were all, that might be done as well without the creatures bloud and death. What is it that this addeth to a penitent confeſſion? and why was the *oblation to God* contained in the Sacrifice? If you ſay, that the life of bruits is not ſo regardable, but that we take it away for our daily food; I anſwer, Its true, that it is allowed us for the maintenance of our lives; but yet it is not to be caſt away in vain, nor is God to be repreſented as one that doth delight in bloud: And the common ſenſe of all the world in their ſacrificing hath been, that beſides the confeſſion of their own deſert, there is ſomewhat in it to appeaſe God's diſpleaſure; and none that I ever read of did take it for a meer confeſſing ſign or action. If it be ſaid, that they did it to ſignifie their homage

homage to God; I anſwer, Why then did they not offer him only the *living creature* rather than the *dead*? all took it to be a propitiatory action. And if there *had* been an aptitude in this ſign to betoken our penitent confeſſion only, yet when God knoweth our confeſſions as well without it, and when the tongue is made the natural inſtrument to expreſs the mind, and there are variety of other ſigns, it is incredible that all the world ſhould ever (even ſo early) hit upon this *one ſtrange way* of expreſſion, without ſome ſpecial revelation or command of God.

2. And it cannot be ſaid with any credibility, that God made any *other* revelation of his will, to the world for Sacrificing, beſide what is made in *Nature*, and *in holy Scripture:* for who ever dreamt of ſuch a thing? or hath delivered us any ſuch revelation, and told us when, and to whom, and how it was made?

3. And it is not credible that it was taken up *erroneouſly* by all the world, as their vices or ſuperſtitions are: for though it is paſt queſtion that error hath cauſed the *abuſe* of it through the world, yet for the *thing it ſelf* there is no probability of ſuch an original. For what can we imagin ſhould induce men to it, and make all Nations (how various ſoever their Idols are) to agree in this way of worſhipping and propitiating them? There is nothing of *ſenſuality* in it, that by gratifying a luſt of the fleſh, might have ſuch an univerſal effect? And it muſt be ſome univerſal *Light*, or ſome univerſal *Luſt* or *Intereſt*, that muſt cauſe ſuch an univerſal concord. Nay, on the contrary you ſhall find that Tradition, and the cuſtom of their Fore-fathers, is the common *argument* pleaded for ſacrificing through all the world, even in the Ancients Hiſtorical reports of it.

4. Therefore it remaineth, very probable at leaſt, that they received it indeed by *tradition from their fore-fathers:* and that could be from none *originally* but the univerſal progenitor of mankind, who was capable of conveying it to all his poſterity, (for no Hiſtory mentioneth any later original nor could any later than *Adam* or *Noah* have made it ſo univerſal.) And no man can imagine why *God* ſhould inſtitute it, if it were not to intimate the tranſlating of our puniſhment into our Redeemer, and to point us to the *great Sacrifice*

crifice which is truly propitiatory, and is the great demonſtration of his *Juſtice*, who in *Mercy* doth forgive.

§. 7. II. *The ſecond Witneſs of the Spirit, which is inherent and conſtitutive to the Goſpel of Chriſt, is that image of God, the unimitable character of Divinity, which by the holy Spirit is put into the doctrin of Chriſt, as the very life or ſoul of it,* (together with the ſame on the pattern of his own life.)

1. On *Chriſt himſelf*, the unimitable Image of God in his Perfection, is a teſtimony of his veracity: (which I aſcribe to the holy Spirit, as the ultimate Operator in the Trinity, even that holy Spirit by which he was conceived, and which fell upon him at his Baptiſm, and which, *Matth.* 12. his enemies did blaſpheme) Many men have ſo lived, that no *notable* ſin of commiſſion hath been found or obſerved in them by the world at a diſtance. But the moſt vertuous, except Chriſt, was never without diſcernable infirmities, and ſins of omiſſion. No man ever convicted him of any ſin, either in word or deed; His obedience to the Law of God was every way perfect, He was the moſt excellent Repreſentative of the Divine Perfections: The Omnipotency of God appeared in his Miracles; The Wiſdom of God in his holy Doctrin; and the Love of God in his matchleſs expreſſions of Love, and in all the Holineſs of his life. He was ſo far from pride, worldlineſs, ſenſuality, malice, impatiency, or any ſin, that the world had never ſuch a pattern of ſelf-denial, humility, contempt of all the wealth and honours of the world, charity, meekneſs, patience, &c. as in him. He obeyed his Father to the death. He healed mens bodies, and ſhewed his pity to their ſouls, and opened the way of life even to his

All Chriſtians agree in the main Doctrin of a holy life. Leg. Marc. Eremit. de Lege Spirituali, & Dorothei Doctrinas, & Benedicti Inſtrumenta virtutum, Macarii Homil. Heſychii Presb. ad Theodul. Centuriæ; Tho. Kempiſ. & Thauleri opera; *and of the later* true Papiſts, Sales *Introduction to a devout life*, Benedicti de Benedict. Regul. Barbanſon, de Amore Dei: Parſons *of Reſolution*, Creſſy's Sancta Sophia, &c. *And among the Proteſtants, the number of holy Treatiſes is ſo great, that I ſhall not name any in ſo numerous a Treaſury: So that however the ſpirit of contention cauſeth many of them to over-look the good that is in one another, and aggravate the evil, yet Holineſs is the Doctrin of all the Chriſtians in the world, and the practice of all that are ſincere: And while the Sects and Hypocrites do rail at one another, yet in all they ſpeak againſt ſin. I have oft thought, Why is it that as Chriſtians, men live together in love; but as Parties, when they come to the intereſt of their Sects, they hate, revile and perſecute one another? And I anſwer it, Becauſe as Chriſtians they give no cauſe of hatred to each other; but as Sects and Parties, they leave God's way, and ſhew their ſelfiſhneſs and loathſome faults, and are enclined to injure one another, and ſo do again ſuffer by thoſe whom they have injured. But the wiſdom from above is pure and peaceable, &c.* Leg. etiam Thaleſſi Centuriæ, & Nili Paræneſis.

enemies:

enemies: He inſtructed the ignorant, and preached repentance to the impenitent, and ſuffered patiently the unthankful requitals of them that rendred him evil for good: He endured patiently to be reviled, ſcorned, buffeted, ſpit upon, crowned with thorns, nailed to a croſs, and put to death; and this upon the falſe accuſation and imputation of being an evil doer: In a word, He was perfect, and ſinleſs, and manifeſted firſt all that obedience and holineſs in his life, which he put into his Laws, and preſcribed unto others: And ſuch Perfection is inſeparable from Veracity.

Obj. *How know we what faults he might have, which come not to our knowledge?*

Anſw. 1. You may ſee by his enemies accuſations, partly what he was free from, when you ſee all that malice could invent to charge him with. 2. If the Narrative of his Life in the Goſpel have that evident proof, which I ſhall anon produce, there can remain no doubt of the perfect holineſs and innocency of Chriſt in his Perſon and his Life.

Object. *We find him accuſed of many crimes, as of being a gluttonous perſon, and a Wine-bibber; of blaſphemy, and impiety, and treaſon.*

Anſw. The very accuſations are ſuch as ſhew their falſhood, and his innocency. He is called a *gluttonous perſon*, and a *Wine-bibber*, becauſe he did eat and drink as other men in temperance and ſobriety, and did not tie himſelf to a wilderneſs life of auſterity, in total abſtinence from common meats and wine, as *John Baptiſt* did, and as they thought he that profeſſed extraordinary ſanctity ſhould have done. They accuſed him of eating *with publicans and ſinners*, becauſe he went to them as a Phyſician to heal their ſouls, and lived a ſociable charitable life, and did not obſerve the Laws of proud Phariſaical ſeparation. They accuſed him of blaſphemy and treaſon, for ſaying the truth, that he was the *Son of God*, and the *King of Iſrael*; And of impiety, for talking of *pulling down the Temple*, when he did but propheſie of his own death and reſurrection. And this was all that malice had to ſay.

Object. *He carried himſelf contemptuouſly to Magiſtrates: He called* Herod *the King,* [*That Fox*] *The Scribes and Phariſees he railed at, and called them hypocrites, painted ſepul-*

ebres, a generation of vipers, &c. When he was called to answer whether they should pay tribute to Cesar, *he doth but put off the resolution by ambiguity, instead of an open exhorting them to obedience, and saith,* [*Give to* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsars.] *And when he was called to for tribute for him, he payeth it but as a way to avoid offence, having pleaded first his own immunity.*

Answ. 1. His speeches of *Herod* and the Scribes and Pharisees are not revilings, but a free and just reprehension of their sin: which being done by God's commission, and in his Name, and for his cause, is no more to be called *reviling*, than an arrest of a Felon or Traitor in the Kings name, or an accusation put in against him for his crimes, should be so called. God will not forbear damning impenitent rebels, though they call it cruelty; nor will he forbear the reprehension and shaming of their villanies, though they call it railing; nor will he flatter proud rebellious dust, though they call flattery a necessary civility; nor will he give leave to his Messengers to leave sin in honour, and to let the proud do what their list, and quietly damn themselves and others, without plain reproof, though it be called unreverent sawcineſs or sedition. 2. And he that considereth how little Title *Cæsar* had to the Kingdom of the *Jews*, and that the sword alone is a better proof of *force* and *strength*, than of *Authority*, and is a Plea which an Usurper may have on his side, will rather praise the *submission* and *peaceableness* of Christ, than blame him as disloyal. But for the doctrin of *Obedience* in general, who hath ever taught it more plainly and pressingly, than Christ and his Apostles?

2. The *Gospel* or doctrin of Christ it self also, hath the very *Image* and *Superscription* of God. I will not say, *imprinted* on it, for that is too little, but *intrinsecally animating* and *constituting* it, which is apparent in the *Matter*, and the *Method*, and the *Stile*.

1. The *Matter* and *Design* containeth the most wonderful expression of the *Wisdom of God*, that ever was made to man on earth. All is mysterious, yet admirably fit, consistent and congruous, as is before declared. That a world which is visibly and undeniably fallen into wickedness and misery, should have a Redeemer, Saviour and Mediator towards God!

God! That he should be one that is near enough to God and unto us, and hath the nature of both: that he should be the second *Adam*, the Root of the Redeemed and Regenerate: that God should give all mercy from himself, from his own bounty and fulness, and not as unwilling be perswaded to it by another; and therefore that the Redeemer be not any Angel or intermediate person, but *God himself*: that thus God come nearer unto man, who is revolted from him, to draw up man again to Him: that he lose not the world, and yet do not violate his governing Justice: that he be so merciful, as not to be unrighteous, nor permit his Laws and Government to be despised; and yet so just, as to save the penitent renewed souls: that he give man a new Law and conditions of salvation, suitable to his lapsed guilty state; and leave him not under a Law and conditions, which were fitted to the innocent: that he revealed himself to the apostate world in that way, which only is fit for their recovery, that is, in his admirable love and goodness, that so love might win our love, and attract those hearts, which under guilt and the terrors of condemning justice would never have been brought to love him: that guilty souls have such evidence of God's reconciliation to encourage them, to expect his pardon, and to come to him with joy and boldness in their addresses; having a Mediator to trust in, and his Sacrifice, Merits, and acceptable Name, to plead with God: that Justice and Mercy are so admirably conjoyned in these effects: that Satan, and the world, and death, should be so conquered, in a suffering way, and man have so perfect a pattern to imitate, for self-denial, humility, contempt of honour, wealth and life, and exact obedience, and resignation to the will of God, with perfect love to God and man: that the world should be under such an universal Administrator, and the Church be all united in such a Head; and have one in their nature that hath risen from the dead, to be in possession of the glory which they are going to, and thence to send down his Spirit to sanctifie them, and fit them for Heaven; and afterward to be their Judge, and to receive them unto blessedness: and that sinners now be not condemned meerly for want of innocency, but for rejecting the grace and mercy which would have saved them; that we have

Cum Dominus pœnam dicit, [Ego in medio vestri sum, sicut qui ministrat] quis adeo sævus aut mentis inops est, ut omnem mox fastum & ambitionem non respuat? Cui universa sancta, mentecque & ratione prædita creatura, cultum & ministerium defert, quique eadem prorsus cum Deo Patre Majestate & potestate pollet, is Ministri personâ sumptâ, discipulorum pedes lavat. *Titus Bostrens. in Luc. cap.* 22.

Diligens Lector intelliget unam faciem esse Eloquiorum Sacrorum; cum distincte considerabit, quid sit admonitio, quid sit præceptum, quid prohibitio, quid remissio; & hæc nec se invicem impugnare, nec à seipsis distare; sed in omnibus sanitatis remedium moderare. *Hildebert. Cenoman. Epist.* 83. *argum.*

have all this taught us by a Messenger from Heaven, and a perfect rule of life delivered to us by him, and all this sealed by a Divine attestation: that this doctrin is suited to the capacity of the weakest, and yet so mysterious as to exercise the strongest wits: and is delivered to us, not by an impoling force, but by the exhortations and perswasions of men like our selves, commissioned to open the evidences of truth and necessity in the Gospel: All this is no less than the Image and wonderful effect of the *Wisdom of God.*

And his *Goodness* and *Love* is as resplendent in it all: for this is the effect of the whole design, to set up a Glass in the work of our Redemption, in which God's *Love* and *Goodness* should be as wonderfully represented to mankind, as his *Power* was in the works of Creation. Here sinful man is saved by a means which he never thought of or desired: he is fetch'd up from the gates of hell; redeemed from the Sentence of the righteous violated Law of God, and the execution of his Justice: The Eternal Word so condescendeth to man in the assumption of our nature, as that the greatness of the love and mercy, incomprehensible to man, becomes the greatest difficulty to our belief. He revealeth to us the things of the world above, and bringeth life and immortality to light: He dwelleth with men; He converseth with the meanest: He preacheth the glad tidings of Salvation to the world: He refuseth not such familiarity with the poorest or the worst, as is needful to their cure: He spendeth his time in doing good, and healing all manner of bodily diseases: He refuseth the honours and riches of the world, and the pleasures of the flesh, to work out our salvation: He beareth the ingratitude and abuse of sinners, and endureth to be scorned, buffeted, spit upon, tormented and crucified by those, to whom he had done no greater wrong than to seek their salvation: He maketh himself a Sacrifice for sin, to shew the world what sin deserved, and to save them from the deserved punishment. God had at first decreed and declared, that death should be the punishment of sin: and Satan had maliciously drawn man to it, by contradicting this threatning of God, and making man believe that God would falsifie his word, and that he did envy man the felicity of his advancement to be liker God in knowledge: And now Christ

Christ will first justifie the truth and righteousness of God, and will demonstrate himself by dying in our stead, that death is indeed the wages of sin; and will shew the world, that God is so far from envying their felicity, that he will purchase it at the dearest rate, and deliver them freely from the misery which sin and Sathan had involved them in. Thus Enemies are reconciled by the sufferings of him whom they offended; even by his sufferings in the flesh, whose Godhead could not suffer; and by his death as Man, who as God was most immortal. As soon as he was risen, he first appear'd to a Woman, who had been a sinner, and sent her as his first messenger with words of love and comfort to his disconsolate Disciples, who had but lately sinfully forsaken him: He giveth them no upbraiding words, but meltingly saith to her, [*Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, to my God and your God.*] He after this familiarly converseth with them, and instructeth them in the things concerning the Kingdom of God. He maketh an *Universal Pardon* or *Act of Oblivion* in a Covenant of Grace, for all the world, that will not reject it; and appointeth Messengers to preach it unto all; and what ever pains or suffering it cost them, to go through all with patience and alacrity, and to stick at nothing for the saving of mens souls. He gave the holy Spirit miraculously to them, to enable them to carry on this work; and to leave upon record to the world, the infallible narrative of his Life and Doctrine: His Gospel is filled up with matter of consolation, with the promises of mercy, pardon and salvation, the description of the priviledges of holy Souls, justification, adoption, peace and joy: and finally, He governeth and defendeth his Church, and pleadeth our cause, and secureth our interest in Heaven, according to the promises of this his word. Thus is the Gospel the very *Image* of the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of God. And such a *Doctrin* from such a *Person* must needs be Divine.

Joh. 20. 17.

Duo, sine pluribus, faciunt hominem sanctum, *viz.* Cognitio & Amor: hoc est, Cognitio Veritatis, & Amor bonitatis. Sed ad cognitionem Dei qui est Veritas, non potest venire, nisi per cognitionem tui-ipsius: nec ad amorem Dei qui est bonitas, nisi per amorem proximi tui. Ad cognitionem tui-ipsius potes pervenire per frequentem meditationem: ad cognitionem Dei per puram contemplationem. *Edmund. Cantuar. Specul. Eccles. cap.* 3. *vid. plura. c.* 29. *&c.*

2. And the *Method* and *Style* of it is most excellent, because most suitable to its holy ends: not with the excellency of frothy wit, which is but to express a wanton fancy, and please the ears of aery persons, who play with words, when they should close with wisdom and heavenly light: (such excellency

excellency of ſpeech muſt receive its eſtimate by its uſe and end:) But as the end is moſt Divine, ſo the light that ſhineth in the Goſpel is Heavenly and Divine: the Method of the Books themſelves is various, according to the time and occaſions of their writing, (the objections againſt them are to be anſwered by themſelves anon): But the *Method* of the *whole Doctrin* of Chriſtianity ſet together, is the moſt admirable and perfect in the world; beginning with God in Unity of Eſſence, proceeding to his Trinity of Eſſential Active Principles, and of Perſons, and ſo to his Trinity of Works, Creation, Redemption and Regeneration, and of Relations of God and Man accordingly, and to the ſecond Trinity of Relations, as he is our Owner, Ruler and Chief Good: And hence it brancheth it ſelf into a multitude of *benefits* flowing from all theſe *Relations* of God to Man, and a multitude of anſwerable *duties* flowing from our *Correlations* to God, and all in *perfect method*, twiſted and inoculated into each other, making a kind of circulation between *Mercies* and *Duties*, as in mans body there is of the arterial and venal bloud and ſpirits, till in the iſſue, as all Mercy came from God, and Duty ſubordinately from man, ſo Mercy and Duty do terminate in the Everlaſting Pleaſure of *God ultimately*, and *man ſubordinately*, in that *mutual love* which is here begun, and there is perfected. This method you may ſomewhat perceive in the deſcription of the Chriſtian Religion, before laid down.

3. And the ſtyle alſo is ſuited to the end and matter: not to the pleaſing of curious ears, but to the declaring of heavenly myſteries: not to the conceits of Logicians, who have put their underſtandings into the fetters of their own ill-deviſed notions, and expect that all men that will be accounted wiſe, ſhould uſe the ſame notions which they have thus deviſed, and about which they are utterly diſagreed among themſelves: But in a Language ſuitable both to the ſubject, and to the world of perſons to whom this word is ſent, who are commonly ignorant, and unlearned, and dull: *That* being the beſt Phyſick which is moſt ſuitable to the Patients temper and diſeaſe. And though the particular Writers of the Sacred Scriptures have their *ſeveral Styles*, yet is there in them all in common a Style which is ſpiritual,

ſpiritual, powerfull and divine; which beareth its teſtimony proportionably of that Spirit, which is the common Author in them all: (But of this more among the Difficulties and Objections anon.)

But for the diſcerning of all this *Image* of God in the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, Reaſon will allow me to expect theſe neceſſary qualifications in him that muſt diſcern it: 1. That before he come to *ſupernatural Revelations*, he be not unacquainted with thoſe *natural Revelations*, which are antecedent, and ſhould be foreknown (as I have in this book explained them with their evidence): For there is no coming to the higheſt ſtep of the Ladder, without beginning at the loweſt: Men ignorant of things knowable, by *Natural Reaſon*, are unprepared for higher things. 2. It is reaſonably expected that he be one that is not treacherous and falſe to thoſe Natural Truths which he hath received: For how can he be expected to be impartial and faithfull in ſeeking after more Truth, who is unfaithfull to that which he is convinced of? or that he ſhould receive that Truth which he doth not yet know, who is falſe to that which he already knoweth? Or that he ſhould diſcern the evidence of extraordinary Revelation, who oppoſeth with enmity the ordinary light or Law of Nature? Or that God ſhould vouchſafe his further light and conduct to that Man, who willfully ſinneth againſt him, in deſpight of all his former teachings? 3. It is requiſite that he be one that is not a ſtranger to *himſelf*, but acquainted with the caſe of his heart and life, and know his ſins, and his corrupt inclinations, and that guilt, and diſorder, and miſery, in which his need of mercy doth conſiſt: For he is no fit Judge of the Preſcripts of his Phyſician, who knoweth not his own diſeaſe and temperature. But of this more anon.

§. 8. III. *The third way of the Spirits witneſs to Jeſus Chriſt, is* Concomitantly, *by the* miraculous gifts and works *of Himſelf, and his* Diſciples; *which are a cogent Evidence of Gods atteſtation to the truth of his Doctrine.*

§. 9. *By the Miracles of Chriſt I mean,* 1. *His miraculous actions upon others:* 2. *His miracles in his Death and Reſurrection:* 3. *His predictions.*

The appearance of the Angel to *Zachary*, and his dumb-

neſs, his Propheſie and *Elizabeth*'s, with the Angels appearance to *Mary*, the Angels appearance and Evangelizing to the Shepherds; the Propheſie of *Simeon* and of *Anna*, the Star and the teſtimony of the wiſe Men of the Eaſt, the teſtimony of *John Baptiſt*, that Chriſt ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Fire, and that he was the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the World: Theſe and more ſuch I paſs by as preſuppoſed. At twelve years of age he diſputed with the Doctors in the Temple, to their admiration. At his Baptiſm the Holy Ghoſt came down upon him in the likeneſs of a Dove, and a voice from Heaven ſaid, *Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well-pleaſed.* When he was baptized, he faſted forty dayes and nights, and permitted Satan to tempt him extraordinarily, by carrying him from place to place, that he might extraordinarily overcome. When *Nathanael* came to him, he told him his heart, and told him what talk he had with *Philip* afar off, till he convinced him that he was Omniſcient. At *Cana* of *Galilee* at a Feaſt, he turned their Water into Wine. At *Capernaum* he diſpoſſeſſed a Demoniack, *Luk.* 4. 33, 34, *&c.* He healed *Simons* Mother of a Feaver at a word, *Luk.* 4. 38, 39. He healed multitudes of torments, diſeaſes, and madneſs, *Mat.* 4. 24. *Luk.* 4. 40, 41. He cleanſeth a Leaper by a word, *Matth.* 8. 2, 3. *Luk.* 5. 12. ſo alſo he doth by a Paralitick, *Matth.* 9. *Luk.* 5. He telleth the *Samaritane* woman all that ſhe had done, *Joh.* 4 At *Capernaum* he healed a Noble-mans Son by a word, *Joh.* 4. At *Jeruſalem* he cured an impotent Man that had waited five and thirty years: A touch of his Garment cureth a Woman diſeaſed with an Iſſue of blood twelve years, *Matth.* 9. 20. He cured two blinde men with a touch, and a word, *Matth.* 9. 28, 29. He diſpoſſeſſed another Demoniack, *Mat.* 9. 32. He raiſeth *Jairus* daughter at a word, (who was dead, or ſeemed ſo,) *Mat.* 9. 23, 24. He diſpoſſeſſed another Demoniack, blinde and dumb, *Mat.* 12. He healeth the Servant of a *Centurion* ready to dye, by a

Luk. 2. 46.

Luk. 3. 22.

Luk. 4. Mat. 4.

At qui cauſas cauſis, partes partibus volumus æquare, magis nos valemus oſtendere quid in Chriſto fuerimus ſecuti, quam in Philoſophis quid vos. Ac nos quidem in illo ſecuti hæc ſumus: Opera illa magnifica potentiſſimaſq; virtutes, quas variis edidit, exhibuitq; miraculis, quibus quivis poſſet ad neceſſitatem credulitatis adduci, & judicare fideliter, non eſſe quæ fierent hominis ſed Divinæ alicujus & incognitæ poteſtatis. Vos in Philoſophis virtutes ſecuti quas eſtis? ut magis vos illis, quam nos Chriſto oportuerit credere? Quiſquam ne illorum aliquando verbo uno potuit, aut unius imperii juſſione non dicam maris inſanias aut tempeſtatum furores prohibere, compeſcere, non cæcis reſtituere lumina, non ad vitam revocare defunctos, non annoſas diſſovere paſſiones ſed quod leviſſimum eſt furenculum, ſcabiem, aut inhærentem ſpinulam calli una interdictione ſanare? —— Perſonarum contentio non eſt eloquentiæ viribus, ſed geſtorum operumq; virtute pendenda. *Arnob. adv. Gent.* l. 2.

word,

word, *Luk.* 7. He raiſeth the Son of a Widow from death that was carried out in a Biere to be buried, *Luk.* 7. With five Barley Loaves and two ſmall Fiſhes, he feedeth five thouſand, and twelve baskets full of the fragments did remain, *Mat.* 14. *Joh.* 6. He walketh upon the waters of the Sea, *Mat.* 14. He cauſeth *Peter* to do the like, *Mat.* 14. All the diſeaſed of the Countrey were perfectly healed by touching the hem of his garment, *Mat.* 14. 36. He again healed multitudes, lame, dumb, blinde, maimed, *&c. Matth.* 15. He again fed four thouſand with ſeven Loaves, and a few little Fiſhes, and ſeven baskets full were left, *Matth.* 15. He reſtoreth a man born blinde to his ſight, *Joh.* 9. In the ſight of three of his Diſciples he is transfigured into a Glory which they could not behold, and *Moſes* and *Elias* talked with him, and a voice out of the Cloud ſaid, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well-pleaſed, hear ye him*, Mat. 17. Luk. 9. He healed the Lunatick, *Mat.* 17. Multitudes are healed by him, *Mat.* 19. 2. Two blinde men are healed, *Mat.* 20. He healed a Crooked woman, *Luk.* 13. 11. He withereth up a fruitleſs Tree at a word, *Mark* 11. He reſtoreth a blinde man nigh to *Jericho*, Luk. 18. 35. He reſtoreth *Lazarus* from death to life, that was four dayes dead and buryed, *Joh.* 11. He foretelleth *Judas*, that he would betray him: And he frequently and plainly foretold his own ſufferings, death and reſurrection. And he expreſly foretold the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and of the Temple, and the great calamity of that place, even before that generation paſt away, *Mat.* 24, *&c.* He propheſied his death the night before in the inſtitution of his Supper. When he dyed, the Sun was darkened, and the Earth trembled, and the Vail of the Temple rent, and the dead bodies of many aroſe, and appeared: ſo that the Captain that kept guard, ſaid, *Truly this was the Son of God*, Mat. 27. When he was crucified and buried, though his Grave-ſtone was ſealed, and a guard of Souldiers ſet to watch it, Angels appeared, and rolled away the Stone, and ſpake to thoſe that enquired after him: And he roſe and revived, and ſtaid forty dayes on Earth with his Diſciples: He appeared to them by the way: He came oft among them on the Firſt day of the week, at their Meetings, when the doors were ſhut: He called *Thomas* to ſee the prints of

the Nails, and put his finger into his ſide, and not be faithleſs but believing, till he forced him to cry out, *My Lord, and my God!* Joh. 20. He appeareth to them as they are fiſhing, and worketh a miracle in their draught, and provideth them broiled Fiſh, and eateth with them: He expoſtulated with *Simon*, and engaged him as he loved him to feed his Sheep, and diſcourſeth of the age of *John*, Joh. 21. He giveth his Apoſtles their full Commiſſion for their gathering his Church by Preaching and Baptiſm, and edifying it by teaching them all that he had commanded them, and giveth them the Keyes of it, *Mat.* 28. *Joh.* 19. & 20. He appeareth to above five hundred Brethren at once, 1 *Cor.* 15. He ſhewed himſelf to them by many infallible proofs, being ſeen of them forty dayes, and ſpeaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God; and being aſſembled with them, commanded them to tarry at *Jeruſalem* till the Spirit came down (miraculouſly) upon them: And he aſcended up to Heaven, before their eyes, *Act.* 1. And two Angels appeared to them, as they were gazing after him, and told them, that thus he ſhould come again. When *Pentecoſt* was come, when they were all together (about a hundred and twenty) the Holy Spirit came upon them viſibly, in the appearance of fiery Cloven Tongues, and ſate on each of them, and cauſed them to ſpeak the languages of many Nations, which they had never learned, in the hearing of all: Upon the notice of which, and by *Peters* Exhortation, about three thouſand were then at once converted. *Act.* 2. After this, *Peter* and *John* do heal a man at the entrance of the Temple, who had been lame from his birth, and this by the name of *Jeſus*, before the People: *Act.* 3. One that was above forty years old, *Act.* 4. 22. When they were forbidden to preach, upon their praiſes to God, the place was ſhaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt, *Act.* 4. 31. *Ananias* and *Sapphira* are ſtruck dead by *Peters* word, for hypocriſie and lying, *Act.* 5. And many Signs and Wonders were done by them among the People, *Act.* 5. 12. Inſomuch that they brought the ſick into the ſtreets, and laid them on Beds and Couches, that at leaſt *Peters* ſhadow might overſhaddow them, *Act.* 5. 14, 15. And a multitude came out of the Cities round about to *Jeruſalem*, bringing ſick folks, and

and Demoniacks, and they were healed every one, *v.* 16. Upon this, the Apoſtles were ſhut into the common Priſon; But an Angel by night opened the Priſon and brought them out, and bid them go preach to the People in the Temple, *Act.* 5. When *Stephen* was martyred, he ſaw the glory of God, and Jeſus ſtanding at his right hand, *Act.* 7. *Philip* at *Samaria* cured Demoniacks, Palſies, Lameneſs, and ſo converted the people of that City; inſomuch that *Simon* the Sorcerer himſelf believed: The Holy Ghoſt is then given by the Impoſition of the hands of *Peter* and *John*, ſo that *Simon* offered money for that gift, *Act.* 8. *Philip* is led by the Spirit to convert the *Æthiopian* Nobleman, and then carryed away, *Act.* 8. *Saul* who was one of the murderers of *Stephen*, and a great Perſecuter of the Church, is ſtricken down to the Earth, and called by Jeſus Chriſt, appearing in a light, and ſpeaking to him from Heaven, and is ſent to preach the Goſpel, which he doth with zeal and power, and patient labours, to the death, *Act.* 9. *Ananias* is commanded by God to inſtruct him and baptize him after his firſt call, *Act.* 9 *Peter* at *Lydda* cureth *Æneas* by a word, who had kept his bed eight years of a Palſie, *Act.* 8. At *Joppa* he raiſeth *Tabitha* from the dead, *Act.* 9. *Cornelius* by an Angel is directed to ſend for *Peter* to preach the Goſpel to him: The Holy Ghoſt fell on all that heard his words, *Act.* 10. *Agabus* prophelied of the Dearth, *Act.* 11. *Peter* impriſoned by *Herod* is delivered by an Angel, who opened the doors, and looſed his bonds, and brought him out, *Act.* 12. *Herod* is eaten to death with worms, *Act.* 12. At *Paphos Elymas* the Sorcerer is ſtrucken blinde by *Pauls* word, for reſiſting the Goſpel; and *Sergius* the *Roman* Depaty is thereby made a Believer, *Act.* 13. At *Lyſtra*, *Paul* by a word cureth a Creeple that was ſo born: inſomuch as the People would have done ſacrifice to him and *Barnabas* as to *Mercury* and *Jupiter*, Act. 14. *Paul* caſteth out a divining Devil, *Act.* 16. And being impriſoned and ſcourged with *Silas*, and their feet in the Stocks, at midnight as they ſang Praiſes to God, an Earthquake ſhook the foundations of the Priſon, the doors were all opened, and all their bonds looſed, and the Jailor converted, *Act.* 16. The Holy Ghoſt came upon twelve Diſciples, upon the impoſition of *Paul's* hands, *Act.* 19. And God

wrought ſo many miracles by his hands at *Epheſus*, that from his body were brought to the ſick, handkerchiefs, and aprons, and the diſeaſes departed from them, *Act.* 19. At *Troas* he raiſed *Eutychus* to life, *Act.* 20. His ſufferings at *Jeruſalem* are foretold by *Agabus*, *Act.* 21. At *Melita* the people took him for a God, becauſe the Viper hurt him not that faſtened on his hand: And there he cured the Father of *Publius* the chief man of the Iſland, of a Flux and Feaver, by Prayer and Impoſition of hands. In a word, in all places where the Apoſtles came theſe miracles were wrought, and in all the Churches the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt were uſual, either of Propheſie or of healing, or of ſpeaking ſtrange languages, or interpreting them, ſome had one, and ſome another, and ſome had moſt or all. And by ſuch miracles were the Chriſtian Churches planted. And all this power Chriſt had foretold them of at his departure from them, *Mark.* 16. 17. [*Theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe: in my Name ſhall they caſt out Devils, they ſhall ſpeak with new tongues, they ſhall take up Serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it ſhall not hurt them; they ſhall lay their hands on the ſick and they ſhall recover.*] Yea in his Life-time on Earth, he ſent forth his Apoſtles, and ſeventy Diſciples with the ſame power, which they exerciſed openly, *Luk.* 9. 1. *&c.* & 10. 16, 17. Thus was the Goſpel confirmed by multitudes of open miracles.

Tota tortus mundus mirabatur: Chriſtum poſt mortem ſurrexiſſe; cum carne cœlum aſcendiſſe; & per duodecim Apoſtolos Piſcatores mundum convertiſſe. *Chryſoſt. in Math.*

And Chriſts own Reſurrection and Aſcenſion was the greateſt of all. And here it muſt be noted, that theſe Miracles were 1. Not one or two, but multitudes: 2. Not obſcure and doubtfull, but evident and unqueſtionable: 3. Not controlled or checked by any greater contrary Miracles, as the wonders of the *Egyptian* Sorcerers were by *Moſes*; but altogether uncontrolled: 4. Not in one place only, but in all Countreys where they came: 5. Not by one or two perſons only, but by very many who were ſcattered up and down in the World.

And that miracles, and ſuch miracles as theſe, are a certain proof of the truth of Chriſt and Chriſtianity, is moſt evident; in that they are the atteſtation of God himſelf.

1. It is undenyable, that they are the effects of *Gods own Power*: If any queſtion whether God do them *immediately*, or whether an Angel or Spirit may not do them, that makes no difference in the caſe conſiderable: for all creatures are abſolutely dependant upon God, and can uſe no power but what he giveth them, and continueth in them, and exerciſeth by them: the power of the creatures is all of it the power of God: without him they *are* nothing, and can *do* nothing: and God is as near to the effect himſelf, when he uſeth an inſtrument, as when he uſeth none. So that undoubtedly it is God's work.

2. And God having no voice, but created, revealeth his mind to man by his operations: and as he cannot lie, ſo his infinite wiſdom and goodneſs will not give up the world to ſuch unavoidable deceit, as ſuch a multitude of miracles would lead them into, if they were uſed to atteſt a lie. If I cannot know him to be ſent of God, who raiſeth the dead, and ſheweth me ſuch a Seal of Omnipotency to his Commiſſion, I have no poſſibility of knowing who ſpeaketh from God at all, nor of eſcaping deceit in the greateſt matters; of which God by his Omnipotent Arm would be the cauſe. But none of this can ſtand with the Nature and righteous Government of God. This therefore is an infallible proof of the Veracity of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: and the truth of the Hiſtory of theſe Miracles ſhall be further opened anon.

§. 10. IV. *The fourth part of the Spirit's Teſtimony to Chriſt is* ſubſequent, *in the work of Regeneration or Sanctification: in which he effectually illuminateth the mind, and reneweth the ſoul and life to a true reſignation, obedience, and love of God, and to a heavenly mind and converſation: and ſo proveth Chriſt to be really and effectively the* SAVIOUR.

Ideo non omnibus ſanctis miracula attribuuntur, ne perniciosiſſimo errore decipiantur infirmi, æſtimantes in talibus factis eſſe majora bona, quam in operibus juſtitiæ, quibus vita æterna comparatur. *Aug. de Civ. Dei*, 33.

This evidence is commonly much over-look'd, and made little account of by the ungodly, who have no ſuch Renovation on themſelves: becauſe though it may be diſcerned in others by the fruits, yet they that have it not in themſelves, are much hindred from diſcerning it; partly becauſe it is at a diſtance from them, and becauſe it is in it ſelf ſeated in the heart, where it is neither felt nor ſeen by others, but in the effects. And partly becauſe the effects are imperfect, and clouded with a mixture of remaining faults: but eſpecially, becauſe that ungodly men have a ſecret enmity to holy things, and thence to holy perſons, and therefore

Chriſtianity is thus truly and orderly deſcribed by Auguſtine, de Agon. cap. 18.

Fides est prima, quæ subjugat animam Deo; deinde præcepta dat vivendi; quibus custoditis spes in ea firmatur & nutritur, cum quod cognitio & actio beatum faciunt, in cognitione cavendus est error, in actione negligentia.

Ille justus & sancti vivit, qui rerum in teger æstimator est: Iple est qui ordinatam habet charitatem, ne aut diligat quod non est diligendum, aut non diligat quod est diligendum, aut amplius diligat quod minus est diligendum, aut minus diligat quod amplius est diligendum; aut minus aut amplius quod æque diligendum est. *August. de Doctr. Christian.*

therefore are falsely prejudic'd against them: which is encreased by cross interests and courses in their converse. But yet indeed, the Spirit of Regeneration is a plenary evidence of the truth of Christ and Christianity.

To manifest which, I shall 1. consider, *What it is*, and *doth*. 2. How and by what means. 3. On whom. 4. Against what opposition. 5. That it is Christ indeed that doth it.

1. The change which is made by the Spirit of Christ, doth consist in these particulars following: 1. It taketh down *pride*, and maketh men *humble* and low in their own eyes: to which end it acquainteth them with their sin, and their desert and misery. 2. It teacheth men *self-denial*, and causeth them to resign themselves to God, and use themselves as being wholly his own. 3. It absolutely subjecteth the Soul to God, and setteth up his Authority as absolute, over our thoughts, and words, and all our actions. And maketh the Christians life a course of careful obedience to his Laws, so far as they understand them. 4. It taketh up a Christians mind with the thankful sense of his Redemption; so that the pardon of his sins, and his deliverance from hell, and his hopes of everlasting glory, do form his soul to a holy gratitude, and make the expressions of it to be his work. 5. It giveth man a sense of the *love of God*, as his gracious Redeemer; and so of the goodness and mercifulness of his Nature: It causeth them to think of God as their greatest Benefactor, and as one that loveth them; and as LOVE it self: and so it reconcileth their estranged alienated minds to him, and maketh the love of God to be the very constitution and life of the Soul. 6. It causeth men to believe that there is an everlasting Glory to be enjoyed by holy Souls; where we shall see the glory of God, and be filled with his love, and exercised in perfect love and praise, and be with Christ, his Angels and Saints, for evermore: It causeth them to take this felicity for their portion, and to set their hearts upon it, and to make it the chief care and business of all their lives to seek it. 7. It causeth them to live in the joyful hopes and foresight of this blessedness, and to do all that they do as means thereunto: and thus it sweetneth all their lives, and maketh Religion their chief delight. 8. It accordingly employeth their thoughts and tongues; so that the praises of God,

God, and the mention of their everlasting blessedness, and of the way thereto, is their most delightful conference, as it beseemeth travellers to the City of God: and so their political converse is in heaven. 9. And thus it abateth the fears of death, as being but their passage to everlasting life: And those that are confirmed Christians indeed, do joyfully entertain it, and long to see their glorified Lord, and the blessed Majesty of their great Creator. 10. It causeth men to love all sanctified persons with a special love of complacency, and all mankind with a love of benevolence; even to love our neighbours as our selves, and to abhor that selfishness which would engage us against our neighbours good. 11. It causeth men to love their enemies, and to forgive and forbear, and to avoid all unjust and unmerciful revenge. It maketh men meek, long-suffering and patient, though not impassionate, insensible, or void of that anger, which is the necessary opposer of sin and folly. 12. It employeth men in doing all the good they can: it maketh them long for the holiness and happiness of one another's souls, and desirous to do good to those that are in need, according to our power. 13. This true Regeneration by the Spirit of Christ, doth make those Superiours that hath it, even Princes, Magistrates, Parents and Masters, to Rule those under them in holiness, love and justice, with self-denial; seeking more the pleasing of God, and the happiness of their Subjects, for soul and body, than any carnal selfish interest of their own: and therefore it must needs be the blessing of that happy Kingdom, Society or Family, which hath such a holy Governour, (O that they were not so few!) 14. It maketh subjects, and children, and servants, submissive, and conscionable in all the duties of their Relations; and to honour their Superiours as the Officers of God, and to obey them in all just subordination to him. 15. It causeth men to love Justice, and to do as they would be done by, and to desire the welfare of the souls, bodies, estates and honour of their neighbours as their own. 16. It causeth men to subdue their appetites, and lusts, and fleshly desires, and to set up the government of God and sanctified Reason over them; and to take their flesh for that greatest enemy (in our corrupted state) which we must chiefly watch against, and master, as

Apud Christianos, non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam miser est. *Hieron.*

Sanctitatis causa servanda sunt, pudicitia corporis, castitas animæ, & veritas doctrinæ. *Aug. ibid.*

being a Rebel against God and Reason. It alloweth a man so much sensitive pleasure as God forbiddeth not, and as tendeth to the holiness of the soul, and furthereth us in God's service; and all the rest it rebuketh and resisteth. 17. It causeth men to estimate all the wealth, and honour, and dignities of the world, as they have respect to God and a better world, and as they either help or hinder us in the pleasing of God, and seeking immortality: and as they are against God and our spiritual work and happiness, it causeth us to account them but as meer vanity, loss and dung. 18. It keepeth men in a life of watchfulness against all those temptations, which would draw them from this holy course, and in a continual warfare against Satan and his Kingdom, under conduct of Jesus Christ. 19. It causeth men to prepare for sufferings in this world, and to look for no great matters here: to expect persecutions, crosses, losses, wants, defamations, injuries, and painful sicknesses, and death; and to spend their time in preparing all that furniture of mind, which is necessary to their support and comfort in such a day of trial; that they may be patient and joyful in tribulation and bodily distress, as having a comfortable relation to God and Heaven, which will incomparably weigh down all. 20. It causeth men to acknowledge, that all this grace and mercy is from the love of God alone, and to depend on him for it by faith in Christ; and to devote and refer all to himself again; and make it our ultimate end to please him; and thus to subserve him as the first Efficient, the chief Dirigent, and the ultimate final Cause of all: of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things; to whom be Glory for ever, *Amen*.

Fides attingit inaccessa, deprehendit ignota, comprehendit immensa, apprehendit novissima: ipsam denique æternitatem suo illo vastissimo sinu quodammodo circumcludit. *Bern. in Cant.*

This is the true description of that Regenerate Sanctified state, which the Spirit of Christ doth work on all whom he will save, and that are Christians indeed, and not in Name only. And certainly this is the Image of God's Holiness, and the just constitution and use of a reasonable Soul: And therefore he that bringeth men to this is a *Real Saviour*, (of whom more anon.)

Quatuor mirabilis fecit Deus: de Publicatore primum Ecclesiæ pastorem: de persecutore magistrum & doctorem gentium: de publicano primum Evangelistam; de latrone primum Cœlicolam. *Chrysost. in Matth.*

II. And it is very considerable, *by what means*, and *in what manner* all this is done: It is done by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, and that in plainness and simplicity: The curiosity

curiosity of artificial oratory doth usually but hinder the success, as painting doth the light of windows: It was a few plain men, that came with spiritual power, and not with the enticing words of humane wisdom, or curiosities of vain Philosophy, who did more in this work than any of their successors have done since. As in Naturals, every thing is apt to communicate its own nature, and not anothers; heat causeth heat, and cold causeth cold; so wit by communication causeth wit, and common learning causeth common learning; and so it is holiness and love which are fittest to communicate and cause holiness and love: which common qualifications are too low for (though they may be helpful in their several places and degrees.) what contemned instruments hath God used in the world, to do that for the regenerating of souls, which the greatest Emperors by their Laws, nor the subtilest Philosophers by their Precepts, did not? The *Athenian* Philosophers despised *Paul*, and *Gallio* counted his doctrine but a superstitious talk about names and words; but Satan himself despised not those, whom he tempted men to despise, but perceived they were like to be the ruine of his Kingdom, and therefore every where stirred up the most vehement furious resistance of them. It is evident therefore, that there is an inward effectual operation of the holy Ghost, which giveth success to these means, which are naturally in themselves so weak.

Multo melius est, ex duobus imperfectis rusticitatem sanctam habere, quam eloquentiam peccatricem. *Hieron. ad Nepot.*

The better any Philosopher was, the nearer he came to the Christian Pastors, as to the converting of souls; that is, They wrought the greatest reformation on their Auditors. Laertius *saith of* Socrates, *that* Theætetum cum de disciplina dissereret, ut ait *Plato*, mirifice immutatum, divinumq; ferme remisit. Euthyphrona, qui patri diem dixerat, quædam de justitia & pietate loquens, ab instituto revocavit. Lysidem hortando maxime moralem fecit. Lamprocles filium in matrem immitem & ferum, ut ait *Xenophon*, suadendo ad reverentiam reduxit. *Glauconem Platonis* fratrem ad rempublicam accedere volentem, a proposito retraxit, quod is rudis esset, ignarusque rerum. *These were the converts of* Socrates; *a change agreeable to the verities which he delivered. But it is another kind of success that the doctrine of Christianity hath had.*

And it is to be observed, that this great change is very often wrought on a *sudden*, in a prevalent (though not a perfect) degree. One Sermon hath done that for a many thousand sinners, which twenty years teaching of the greatest Philosophers never did. One Sermon hath turned them from the sins which they had lived in all their days; and hath turned them to a life which they were strangers to before, or else abhorred: One Sermon hath taken down the world, which had their hearts, and hath put it under their feet, and hath turned their hearts to another world: which sheweth that there is an internal Agent, more powerful than the speaker.

And it is remarkable that in the main, the change is wrought in one and the same method: first, humbling men for sin and misery, and then leading them to Jesus Christ as

the remedy, and to God by him; and so kindling the love of God in them by the bellows of faith; and then leading them towards perfection in the exercises of that holy love.

III. And it will further lead us to the original of this *Change*, to consider *on whom* it is thus wrought. 1. For their place and time. 2. Their quality in themselves. 3. And as compared to each other. 4. And as to their numbers.

1. For *time* and *place*, it is in all ages since Christ (to say nothing of the former ages now) and in all Nations and Countries which have received him and his Gospel, that Souls have been thus regenerated to God. If it had been only a fanatick rapture of brain-sick men, it would have been like the effects of the Heresies of the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, *Gnosticks*, *Montanists*, &c. or of the *Swenckfeldians*, *Weigelians*, *Behmenists*, *Quakers*, and other such Enthusiasts, who make a stir for one Age, in some one corner of the world, and then go out with a perpetual stink. In all Ages and Countries, these effects of Christian Doctrine are the very same as they were in the first Age, and the first Country where it was preached. Just such effects as it hath in one Kingdom or Family, it hath in all others who equally receive it; and just such persons as Christians were in the first Ages at *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Philippi*, &c. such are they now in *England*, according to their several degrees of grace, (though not in miracles and things extraordinary to the Church.) The children of no one father are so like as all God's sanctified children are throughout the world.

2. As to their *civil quality*, it is men of all degrees that are thus sanctified, though fewest of the Princes and great ones of the world. And as to their *moral qualification*, it sometime falleth on men prepared by a considering sober temper, and by natural plainness and honesty of heart; and sometimes it befalleth such as are most prophane, and drown'd in sin, and never dreamt of such a change; nay, purposely set their minds against it: These God doth often suddenly surprize by an over-powering light, and suitable-constraining-overcoming attraction, and maketh them new men.

3. And as to their *capacities compared*, there is plainly a *distinguishing* hand that disposeth of the work. Sometimes a persecuting *Saul* is converted by a voice from Heaven, when Pharisees

Pharisees that were less Persecutors are left in their unregeneracy. Sometimes under the same Sermon, one that was more prophane and less prepared is converted, when another that was more sober and better disposed remaineth as he was before: The husband and the wife, the Parents and the Children, Brothers and Sisters, Companions and Friends, are divided by this work, and one converted and the other not: Though none is deprived of this Mercy, but upon the guilt of their forfeiture, resistance, or contempt; yet is there plainly the effect of some special choice of the Holy Spirit, in taking out some of these that abused and forfeited grace, and changing them by an insuperable work.

4. And as to the *number*, it is many thousands that are thus renewed; enow to shew the Love and Power of him that calleth them: But yet the far smaller part of mankinde, to shew his *Dominion*, and distinguishing will, who knoweth the reason of all his works: (of which more anon.)

IV. Consider what *Opposition* this work of Grace doth overcome: 1. Within us. 2. Without us.

1. Within men, it findeth 1. A dungeon of *Ignorance*, which it dispelleth by it's heavenly light. 2. Abundance of error and prejudice which it unteacheth men. 3. A stupid hardened heart, which it softeneth; and a senseless sleepiness of Soul, which it overcometh, by awakening quickening power: 4. A *love* to sin, which it turneth into hatred: 5. An idolizing self-esteem, and self-conceitedness, and self-love, and self-willedness, which it turneth into self-loathing and self-denyall: not making us loath our selves as Natural, or as Renewed, but as corrupt with sin, and abusers of Mercy; and such as by wilfull folly have wronged God, and undone themselves: So that Repentance maketh men fall out with themselves, and become as loathsome in their own eyes. 6. It findeth in us an over-valuing love of

Nullus sanctus & justus caret peccato; nec tamen ex hoc desinit esse justus vel sanctus: Cum affectu teneat sanctitatem. *August. de defin. Eccles. dogm.*

To the grand objection, of the many that are not reformed by Christianity, let Cicero *answer, who telling us how few Philosophers lived as they taught, objecteth.* [Nonne verendum, si est ita ut dicis, ne Philosophiam falsa gloria exornes? Quod est enim majus argumentum quam quosdam perfectos Philosophos turpiter vivere? *Resp.* Nullum vero id quidem argumentum est: nam ut agri non omnes frugiferi sunt qui coluntur, sic animi non omnes culti fructum ferunt; atq; ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest, sic sine doctrina animus: ita est utraq; res sine altera debilis. Cultura autem animi Philosophia est, quæ extrahit vitia radicitus, & præparat animos ad salus accipiendos. *Tuscul.* 2. *p.* 152, 153.

this preſent World, and a fooliſh inordinate deſire to its profits, dignities, and honours; which it deſtroyeth and turneth into a rational contempt. 7. It findeth in us a prevailing ſenſuality, and an unreaſonable appetite and luſt; and a Fleſh that would bear down both Reaſon and the Authority of God: And this it ſubdueth, and mortifieth it's inordinate deſires, and bringeth it under the Laws of God. 8. It findeth all this radicated and confirmed by *Cuſtome*: And overcometh thoſe ſins, which a ſinner hath turned as into his Nature, and hath lived in the love and practice of all his dayes. All this and more oppoſition *within* us grace doth overcome in all the ſanctified: And there is not one of all theſe if well conſidered of, but will appear to be of no ſmall ſtrength, and difficulty to be truly conquered.

2. And *without* us, the *holy Spirit* overcometh, 1. Worldly allurements, 2. Worldly men, 3. All other aſſaults of Satan.

1. While the Soul is in fleſh, and worketh by the means of the outward ſenſes, theſe preſent things will be a ſtrong temptation to us: Proſperity and plenty, wealth and honour, eaſe and pleaſure are accommodated to the deſires of the fleſh; partly to its *natural* appetite, and much more to it as inordinate by corruption: And the fleſh careth not for *Reaſon*, how much ſoever it gainſay: And then all theſe entiſing things are *neer* us, and ſtill preſent with us, and before our eyes; when Heavenly things are all unſeen: And the ſweetneſs of honour, wealth and pleaſure, is known by *feeling*, and therefore known *eaſily* and by *all*; when the goodneſs of things ſpiritual is known only by Reaſon, and believing: All which laid together (with ſad experience) do fully ſhew, that it muſt be a very great work to overcome this World, and raiſe the heart above it to a better, and ſo to ſanctifie a ſoul.

2. And *worldly men* do riſe up againſt this *Holy work*, as as well as worldly things: Undenyable experience aſſureth us, that through all the World, *ungodly ſenſual* men, have a marvellous implacable hatred to *Godlyneſs* and true mortification; and will by flattery or ſlanders, or ſcorns, or plots, or cruel violence, do all that they are able to reſiſt it:

it: So that he that will live a holy temperate life, muſt make himſelf a ſcorn, if not a prey: The fooliſh wit of the ungodly is bent, to reaſon men out of Faith, Hope, and Holineſs, and to cavill againſt our obedience to God, and to diſgrace all that courſe of life, which is neceſſary to ſalvation. And it is a great work to overcome all theſe temptations of the fooliſh and furious World. Great I ſay, becauſe of the great folly and corruption of unregenerate men, on whom it muſt be wrought; though it would be ſmaller to a wiſe and conſiderate perſon. To be made as an Owl, and hunted as a Partridge or a beaſt of Prey, by theſe that we converſe with, when we might have their favour, and friendſhip, and Preferments, if we would ſay and do as they, this is not eaſie to fleſh and blood: But its eaſie to the Spirit of God.

3. The Devil is ſo notoriouſly an enemy to this ſanctifying work, that it is a ſtrong diſcovery that Chriſt was ſent from God to do it. What a ſtir doth he firſt make to keep out the Goſpel, that it may not be Preached to the Nations of the World? And where that will not ſerve, what a ſtir doth he make to debauch Chriſts Miniſters, and corrupt them by ignorance, hereſie, error, ſchiſm, domineering pride, ſenſuality, covetouſneſs, ſlothfulneſs and negligence, that they may do the work of Chriſt deceitfully, as if they did it not: Yea, and if it may be, to win them to his ſervice, to deſtroy the Church by Oppreſſion or Diviſion, under pretenſe of ſerving Chriſt? And what cunning and induſtry doth this Serpent uſe, to inſinuate into great ones and Rulers of the Earth, a prejudice againſt Chriſt and Godlineſs, and to make them believe, that all that are ſeriouſly Godly are their enemies, and are againſt ſome intereſt of theirs, that ſo he might take the ſword which God hath put into their hands, and turn it to his own ſervice againſt him that gave it? How cunning and diligent is he to ſeduce men that begin to ſet themſelves to a Religious life, into ſome falſe Opinions, or dividing Sects, or ſcandalous unjuſtifiable practice, that thereby he may triumph againſt Chriſt, and have ſomething to ſay againſt Religion, from the faults of men, when he hath nothing to ſay againſt it juſtly from it ſelf? and that he may have ſomething to

ſay

say to those Rulers and People, with whom he would fain make Religion odious? How cunningly doth he engage ungodly men, to be his Servants in seducing others, and making them such as they are themselves, and in standing up for sin and darkness against the light and life of Faith? So that ungodly men are but the Souldiers and Preachers of the Devil, in all parts employed to fight against God, and draw men from holiness and justice, and temperance, to sin, and to damnation: So that it is a very discernable thing, that *Satan* is the *Head* of one party in the World, as the Destroying Prince of Darkness and deceit; and that *Christ* is the *Head* of the *other party*, as the Prince of light, and truth, and holiness: And that there is a continued war or opposition, between these two Kingdoms or Armies, in all parts and ages of the World (of which I have fullyer treated in another Book *) If any shall say, How know you that all this is the work of Satan? I shall have fitter occasion to answer that anon: I shall now say but this, that the *nature* of the work, the *tendency* of it, the *irrationall*, *erroneous*, or brutish tyrannical *manner* of doing it, the internal *importunity* and manner of his suggestions, and the *effects* of all, and the *contrariety* of it to *God* and *Man*, will soon shew a considerate man the author. (Though more shall be anon added.)

* *Treatise against Infidelity*, Part 3.

V. All this aforegoing will shew a reasonable man, that the Spirits Regenerating work is such, as is a full attestation of God to that Doctrine, by which it is effected. And if any now say, How prove you, that all this is to be ascribed to *Jesus Christ*, any more than to *Socrates* or to *Seneca*, or *Cicero*: I answer: 1. So much truth of a sacred tendency, as *Plato*, or *Pythagoras*, or *Socrates*, or any Philosopher taught, might do some good, and work some reformation, according to its quality and degree: But as it was a lame imperfect doctrine which they taught, so was it a very lame imperfect reformation which they wrought, unlike the effects of the Doctrine and Spirit of Jesus Christ: I need to say no more of this, than to desire any man to make an impartial and judicious comparison between them. And, besides much more, he shall quickly finde these differences following: 1. That the Philosophers Disciples had a very poor,

poor, dark, disordered knowledge of God, in comparison of the Christians: and that mixt with odious fopperies, either blasphemous or idolatrous. 2. The Philosophers spake of God, and the Life to come almost altogether *notionally*, as they did of Logick or Physicks; and very few of them *Practically*, as a thing that mans happiness or misery was so much concerned in. 3. They spake very jejunely and dryly about a holy state and course of life, and the duty of Man to God, in resignation, devotedness, obedience and love. 4. They said little comparatively to the true humbling of a Soul, nor in the just discovery of the evil of sin, nor for self-denyall. 5. They gave too great countenance to Pride, and Worldliness, and pleasing the senses by excess. 6. The Doctrine of true Love to one another, is taught by them exceeding lamely and defectively: 7. Revenge is too much indulged by them, and loving our Enemies, and forgiving great wrongs, was little known, or taught, or practised: 8. They were so pitifully unacquainted with the certainty and blessedness of the Life to come, that they say nothing of it, that is ever likely to make any considerable number set their hearts on Heaven, and to live a heavenly Life. 9. They were so unacquainted with the nature and will of God, that they taught and used such a manner of Worship as tended rather to delude and corrupt men, than to sanctifie them: 10. They medled so little with the inward sins and duties of the heart, especially about the holy Love of God; and their goodness was so much in outward acts, and in meer respect to men; that they were not like to sanctifie the Soul, or make the *Man good*, that his *actions* might be good; but only to polish men for Civil Societies; with the addition of a little Varnish of Superstition and Hypocrisie. 11. Their very style is either suitable to dead speculation, as a Lecture of Metaphysicks; or sleighs and dull, and unlike to be effectual to convert and sanctifie mens Souls: 12. Almost all is done in such a disputing sophistical way, and clogg'd with so many obscurities, uncertainties, and self-contradictions, and mixt in heaps of Physical and Logical Subtilties, that they were unfit for the common peoples benefit, and could tend but to the benefit of a few. 13. Experience taught, and still teacheth the World, that *Holy*

Difference between the effects of Philosophy and Christianity.

Some of the strictest of the Philosophers, were for a Community of Wives; Laertius *saith of the Stoicks* (in Zenone li. 6. p. 442.) Placet item illis uxores quoq; communes esse oportere apud sapientes, ut quilibet illi congrediatur quæ sibi prior occurrit, ut ait Zeno in Rep. & Chrysippus de Rep. Diogene item Cynico & Platone hujus rei autoribus. *What blindness and impurity against Nature was in this opinion?*

Souls and *Lives*, that were ſincerely ſet upon God and Heaven, were ſtrangers amongſt the Diſciples of the Philoſophers, and other Heathens: Or if it be thought that there were ſome ſuch among them, certainly, they were very few, in compariſon of true Chriſtians, and thoſe few very dark, and diſeaſed and defective: with us, a Childe at ten years old will know more of God, and ſhew more true piety, than did any of their Philoſophers; with us poor women, and labouring perſons, do live in that holineſs, and heavenlineſs of minde and converſation, which the wiſeſt of the Philoſophers never did attain. I ſpake of this before, but here alſo thought meet, to ſhew you the difference between the effect of Chriſts doctrine and the Philoſophers.

2. And that all this is juſtly to be imputed to Chriſt himſelf, I ſhall now prove. 1. He gave them a perfect pattern for his holy, obedient, heavenly Life, in his own perſon and his converſation here on Earth. 2. His Doctrine and Law requireth all this holineſs which I deſcribed to you: You finde the Preſcript in his Word, of which the holy Souls and Lives of men are but a tranſcript. 3. All his Inſtitutions and Ordinances are but means and helps to this. 4. He hath made it the condition of mans Salvation to be thus holy, in ſincerity, and to *deſire* and *ſeek after* perfection in it: He taketh no other for true Chriſtians indeed, nor will ſave any other at the laſt. 5. All his comforting Promiſes of mercy and defence are made only to ſuch. 6. He hath made it the Office of his Miniſters through the World, to perſwade and draw men to this Holineſs: And if you hear the Sermons, and read the Books which any faithfull Miniſter of Chriſt doth preach or write, you will ſoon ſee that this is the buſineſs of them all: And you may ſoon perceive, that theſe Miniſters have another kinde of preaching and writing than the Philoſophers had; more clear, more congruous, more ſpiritual, more powerfull, and likely to win men to Holineſs and Heavenlineſs: When our Divines and their Philoſophers are compared, as to their promoting of true Holineſs, verily, the latter ſeem to be but as Glow-worms, and the former to be the Candles for the Family of God: And yet I truly value the wiſdom and virtue which I finde in a *Plato*, a *Seneca*, a *Cicero*, an *Anto-*

Antonine, or any of them. If you ſay, our advantage is becauſe coming after all, we have the helps of all, even of thoſe Philoſophers. I anſwer, mark in our Books and Sermons whether it be any thing but Chriſtianity which we preach? It is from Chriſt and Scripture, that we fetch our Doctrine, and not from the Philoſophers: we uſe their helps in Logick, Phyſicks, *&c.* But that's nothing to our Doctrine! He that taught me to ſpeak Engliſh, did not teach me the Doctrine which I preach in Engliſh: And he that teacheth me to uſe the Inſtruments of Logick, doth not teach me the doctrine about which I uſe them. And why did not thoſe Philoſophers by all their art, attain to that skill in this Sacred work, as the Miniſters of Chriſt do, when they had as much or more of the Arts than we? I read indeed of many good Orations then uſed; even in thoſe of the Emperour *Julian*, there is much good; and in *Antonine*, *Arrian*, *Epictetus*, *Plutarch*, more: And I read of much taking-Oratory of the *Bonzii* in *Japan*, *&c.* But compared to the endeavours of Chriſtian Divines, they are poor, pedantick, barren things, and little ſparks; and the ſucceſs of them is but anſwerable. 7. Chriſt did before hand promiſe to ſend his Spirit into mens Souls, to do all this work upon all his Choſen. And as he promiſed, juſt ſo he doth. 8. And we finde by experience, that it is the preaching of Chriſts doctrine by which the work is done: It is by the reading of the ſacred Scripture, or hearing the Doctrine of it opened and applyed to us, that Souls are thus changed, as is before deſcribed: And if it be by the medicines which he ſendeth us himſelf, by the hands of his own Servants, that we are healed, we need not doubt whether it be *he* that healed us. His *Doctrine* doth it as the inſtrumental Cauſe; for we finde it adapted thereunto, and we finde nothing done upon us but by that Doctrine; nor any remaining effect but what is the impreſſion of it: But his *Spirit* inwardly reneweth us as the *Principal cauſe*, and worketh with and by the Word: For we finde that the Word doth not work upon all; nor upon all alike, that are alike prepared: But we eaſily perceive a voluntary diſtinguiſhing choice in the operation. And we finde a power more than can be in the words alone, in the effect upon our ſelves. The heart is

like the Wax, and the Word like the Seal, and the Spirit like the hand that ſtrongly applyeth it: We feel upon our hearts, that (though nothing is done without the Seal, yet) a greater force doth make the impreſſion than the weight of the Seal alone could cauſe.

By this time it is evident, that this work of Sanctification is the atteſtation of God by which he publickly owneth the Goſpel, and declareth to the World, that Chriſt is the Saviour, and his Word is true: For 1. It is certain that this work of Renovation is the work of God: For 1. It is his Image on the Soul: It is the life of the Soul as flowing from his Holy Life: wherein are contained the Trinity of Perfections: It is the *Power* of the Soul, by which it can overcome the *Fleſh*, the *World* and the *Devil*, which without it none is able to do: It is the *Wiſdom* of the Soul, produced by his Light and *Wiſdom*; by which we know the difference between Good and Evil, and our Reaſon is reſtored to its dominion over fleſhly ſenſe: It is the *Goodneſs* of the Soul, by which it is made ſuitable to the Eternal Good; and fit to know him, love him, praiſe him, ſerve him, and enjoy him: And therefore nothing lower than his Goodneſs can be its principal Cauſe.

2. It ſubſerveth the Intereſt of God in the World: And recovereth the apoſtate Soul to himſelf: It diſpoſeth it to honour him, love him and obey him: It delivereth up the whole man to him as his own: It caſteth down all that rebelleth againſt him: It caſteth out all which was preferred before him: It rejecteth all which ſtandeth up againſt him, and would ſeduce and tempt us from him: And therefore it is certainly his work.

3. Whoſe elſe ſhould it be? Would Satan or any evil cauſe produce ſo excellent an effect? would the *worſt* of beings do the beſt of *works*? (It is the *beſt* that is done in this lower world) Would any enemy of God ſo much honour him, and promote his intereſt, and reſtore him his own? would any enemy of mankind thus advance us, and bring us up to a life of the higheſt honour and delights, that we are capable of on earth, and give us the hopes of life eternal?

And if any good Angel, or other Cauſe, ſhould do it, all reaſon will confeſs, that they do it but as the Meſſengers or Inſtru-

Inſtruments of God, and as ſecond cauſes, and not as the firſt Cauſe: for otherwiſe we ſhould make them gods. For my own part, my Soul perceiveth, that it is God himſelf that hath imprinted this his Image on me, and hath hereby, as it were, written upon me his Name and Mark, even *HOLINESS TO THE LORD*; and I bear about me continually a Witneſs of Himſelf, his Son, and holy Spirit; a Witneſs within me, which is the Seal of God, and the pledge of his love, and the earneſt of my heavenly inheritance.

And if our Sanctification be thus of *GOD*, it is certainly his atteſtation to the truth of Chriſt, and to his Goſpel: for, 1. No man that knoweth the perfections of God, will ever believe, that he would bleſs a deceiver, and a lie, to be the means of the moſt *holy* and excellent work that ever was done in the world. If Chriſt were a Deceiver, his crime would be ſo execrable, as would engage the Juſtice of God againſt him, as he is the righteous Governour of the world: And therefore he would not ſo highly honour him, to be his chiefeſt inſtrument for the worlds Renovation. He is not *impotent* to *need* ſuch inſtruments; he is not *ignorant*, that he ſhould ſo miſtake in the choice of inſtruments; he is not *bad*, that he ſhould love and uſe ſuch Inſtruments, and comply with their deceits. Theſe things are all ſo clear and ſure, that I cannot doubt of them.

2. No man that knoweth the *mercifulneſs* of God, and the *Juſtice* of his *Government* can believe, that he would give up Mankind ſo remedileſly to ſeduction; yea, and be the principal cauſer of it himſelf. For if beſides *Prophecie*, and a *holy Doctrine*, and a multitude of famous *Miracles*, a Deceiver might alſo be the great *Renewer and Sanctifier* of the world, to bring man back to the obedience of God, and to repair his Image on Mankind; what poſſibility were there of our diſcovery of that deceit? Or rather ſhould we not ſay, he were a *bleſſed Deceiver*, that had deceived us from our ſin and miſery, and brought back our ſtraying ſouls to God?

3. Nay, when Chriſt fore-told men, that he would ſend his Spirit to do all this work, and would renew men for eternal life, and thus be with us to the end of the world; and when I ſee all this done, I muſt needs believe, that he that can ſend down a *Sanctifying Spirit*, a *Spirit of Life*, a *Spirit*

Spirit of Power, Light and Love, to make his Doctrine in the mouths of his Miniſters *effectual* to mens Regeneration and Sanctification, is no leſs himſelf than God, or certainly no leſs than his certain Adminiſtrator.

4. What need I more to prove the *Cauſe* than the *adequate effect*? When I find that Chriſt doth actually *ſave me*, ſhall I queſtion whether he be *my Saviour*? When I find that he ſaveth thouſands about me, and offereth the ſame to others, ſhall I doubt whether he be the Saviour of the world? Sure he that *healeth* us all, and that ſo wonderfully and ſo cheaply, may well be called our *Phyſician*. If he had *promiſed* only to *ſave* us, I might have doubted whether he would perform it, and conſequently whether he be indeed *the Saviour*. But when he *performeth* it on *myſelf*, and *performeth* it on thouſands round about me, to doubt *yet* whether he be the *Saviour*, when he *actually ſaveth* us, is to be ignorant in deſpite of Reaſon and Experience. I conclude therefore that the *Spirit of Sanctification* is the *infallible Witneſs* of the *Verity of the Goſpel*, and the *Veracity* of Jeſus Chriſt.

5. And I entreat all that read this, further to obſerve, the great uſe and advantage of this teſtimony above others: in that it is *continued* from Generation to Generation, and not as the gift and teſtimony of *Miracles*, which continued plentifully but one Age, and with diminution ſomewhat after: this is Chriſt's witneſs to the end of the world, in every Country, and to every Soul: yea, and continually dwelling in them: *For if any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his*, *Rom.* 8. 9. He that is not able to examine the Hiſtory which reporteth the Miracles to him, may be able to find upon his Soul the Image of God imprinted by the Goſpel, and to know that the Goſpel hath that Image in it ſelf which it imprinteth upon others; and that it cometh from God, which leadeth men ſo directly unto God; and that it is certainly his own means which he bleſſeth to ſo great and excellent ends.

6. Note alſo, that part of the work of the *Spirit* of God in ſucceeding the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, doth conſiſt in the *effectual production* of *Faith it ſelf*: for though the work be wrought by the *Reaſons* of the Goſpel, and the *Evidences* of Truth; yet is it alſo wrought by the *Spirit* of *God*, concurring

curring with that evidence, and as the internal Efficient, exciting the ſluggiſh faculties to do their office, and illuſtrating the underſtanding, and fitting the will to entertain the truth: for the *difficulties* are ſo great, and the temptations to unbelief ſo ſubtil and violent, and our own *indiſpoſedneſs* through corruption, the greateſt impediment of all, that the bare Word alone would not produce a belief of that lively vigorous nature, as is neceſſary to its noble effects and ends, without the internal co-operation of the Spirit. So that Chriſt doth not only *teach* us the *Chriſtian Faith* and *Religion*, but doth *give* it us, and *work it in us* by his *Spirit*. And he that can *do ſo*, doth prove the Divine approbation of his Doctrine, without which, he could not have the command of mens Souls.

7. Note alſo, that the Goſpel propoſeth to the Soul of man both *Truth* and *Goodneſs*: and the *Truth* is in order to the *Good*, and ſubſervient to it: That *Chriſt* is indeed the *Saviour*, and his Word infallibly true, is believed, that we may be made partakers of *his Salvation*, and of the *Grace* and *Glory* promiſed. And when the Spirit by the Goſpel hath regenerated and renewed any Soul, he hath given him part of that grace in poſſeſſion, and hath procreated in him the *habitual love of God*, and of *holineſs*, with a love to that Saviour and holy Word which brought him to it. So that this *Love* is now become as a *new Nature* to the Soul: and this being done, the Soul cleaveth now as faſt to Chriſt and the Goſpel by *Love*, as by Belief: not that love becometh an irrational cauſleſs love, nor continueth without the continuance of Belief, or Belief without the Reaſons and Evidence of Verity and Credibility: But Love now by concurrence greatly aſſiſteth *Faith* it ſelf, and is the faſter hold of the two: ſo that the Soul that is very weak in its *Reaſoning* faculty, and may oft loſe the ſight of theſe Evidences of truth, which it did once perceive, may ſtill hold faſt by this holy Love. As the man that by reaſoning hath been convinced that hony is ſweet, will eaſilier change his mind than he that hath *taſted* it; ſo *Love* is the Souls *taſte*, which cauſeth its faſteſt adherence to God and to the Goſpel. If a caviller diſpute with a loving child, or parent, or friend, to alienate their hearts from one another, and would perſwade them

that

that it is but dissembled love that is professed to them by their relations and friends; *Love* will do more here to hinder the belief of such a slander, than *Reason* alone can do: and where Reason is not strong enough to answer all that the caviller can say, yet Love may be strong enough to reject it.

And here I must observe how oft I have noted the great mercy of God, to abundance of poor people, whose reasoning faculty would have failed them in temptations to Atheism and Infidelity, if they had not had a stronger hold than that, and their *Faith* had not been radicated in the *Will* by *Love*: I have known a great number of *women* who never read a Treatise that pleaded the Cause of the Christian Religion, nor were able to answer a crafty Infidel, that yet in the very decaying time of Nature, at fourscore years of age and upward, have lived in that sense of the Love of God, and in such Love to him and to their Saviour, as that they have longed to die, and be with Christ, and lived in all humility, charity, and piety, such blameless, exemplary, heavenly Lives, in the joyfull expectation of their Change, as hath shewed the firmness of their *Faith*; and the *Love* and *Experience* which was in them, would have rejected a temptation to Atheism and Unbelief, more effectually than the strongest Reason alone could ever do. Yet none have cause to reproach such, and say, Their *Wills* lead their *Understandings*, and they customarily and obstinately believe they know not why: for they have known sufficient reason to believe, and their understandings have been illuminated to see the truth of true Religion; and it was this knowledge of Faith which bred their Love and Experience: but when that is done, as Love is the more noble and perfect operation of the Soul (having the most excellent object) so it will act more powerfully and prevailingly, and hath the strongest hold: Nor are all they without Light and Reason for their belief, who cannot form it into arguments, and answer all that is said against it.

Obj. *But may not all this which you call Regeneration, and the Image of God, be the meer power of fantasie, and affectation? and may not all these people force themselves, like melancholy persons, to conceit that they have that which indeed they have not?*

Answ. 1.

Answ. 1. They are not melancholly persons that I speak of, but those that are as capable as any others to know their own minds, and what is upon their own hearts. 2. It is not one or two, but millions. 3. Nature hath given man so great acquaintance with himself, by a power of perceiving his own operations, that his own cogitations and desires are the *first thing* that *naturally* he can know: and therefore if he cannot know them, he can know nothing. If I cannot know what I think, and what I love and hate, I can know nothing at all. 4. That they are really *minded* and *affected* as they seem, and have in them that love to God, and Heaven, and Holiness which they profess, they shew to all the world by the effects: 1. In that it ruleth the main course of their lives, and disposeth of them in the world. 2. In that these apprehensions and affections over-rule all their worldly fleshly interest, and cause them to deny the pleasures of the flesh, and the profits and honours of the world. 3. In that they are constant in it to the death, and have no other mind in their distress; when as *Seneca* saith, Nothing feigned is of long continuance, for all forc'd things are bending back to their natural state. 4. In that they will lay down their lives, and forsake all the world, for the hopes which faith in Christ begetteth in them.

And if the objectors mean, that all this is true, and yet it is but upon delusion or mistake that they raise these hopes, and raise these affections; I answer, This is the thing that I am disproving: 1. The love of God, and a holy mind and life, is not a dream of the Soul, or a deliration: I have proved from Natural reason in the first Book, that it is the end, and use, and perfection of man's faculties: that if God be God, and man be man, we are to love him above all, and to obey him as our absolute Sovereign, and to live as devoted to him, and to delight in his love. Man were more ignoble or miserable than a beast, if this were not his work. And is that a dream or a delusion, which causeth a man to live as a man? to the ends that he was made for? and according to the nature and use of his reason and all his faculties? 2. While the *proofs* of the excellency and necessity of a holy life are so fully before laid down, from natural and supernatural revelation, the Objector doth but refuse to see in

I plead for no superstition, granting what Torquatus *the* Epicurean *in* Cic. de fin. l. 1. p. 87. *that* Superstitione qui imbutus est, quietus esse nunquam potest: *But I like not the quietness which intoxication, madness, or ignorance of danger doth procure.*

Though there be much difference, and though prejudice, and faction, and the interest of their parties, cause unchastitable hypocrites to slander and rail at all that are against their sect and mind, yet among all Christians, there are holy serious persons to be found, though such as the worldly sort do vilifie: And all of them write for Purity, Holiness, Love and Peace, (of which more after.) Read the writings of Thaulerus, *and that excellent holy Book of* Gerardus Zutphaniensis de Reformatione interiori, & de spiritualibus ascensionibus; *where you will see a speculum of other kind of purity than the Philosophers hold forth.*

in the open light, when he satisfieth himself with a bare assertion, that all this is no sufficient ground for a *holy life*, but that it is taken up upon mistake. 3. All the world is convinced at one time or other, that on the contrary it is the *unholy*, *fleshly*, *worldly life*, which is the *dream* and *dotage*, and is caused by the grossest error and deceit.

Object. *But how shall I know that there is indeed such holiness in Christians as you mention, and that it is not dissembled and counterfeit?*

Answ. I have told you in the fore-going answer. 1. If you were truly Christians, you might know it by possession in your selves: as you know that you love your friend, or a learned man knoweth that he hath learning. 2. If you have it not your selves, you may see that others do not dissemble, when you see them, as afore-said, make it the drift of all their lives, and prefer it before their worldly interest, and their lives, and hold on constantly in it to the death. When you see a holy life, what reason have you to question a holy heart? especially among so great a number, you may well know, that if some be dissemblers, all the rest are not so.

Obj. *But I see no Christians that are really so holy: I see nothing in the best of them above civility, but only self-conceit, and affectation, and strictness in their several forms and modes of Worship.*

Answ. 1. If you are *no better* than such your self, it is the greatest shame and plague of heart that you could have confessed: and it must needs be, because you have been false to the very light of Nature, and of Grace. 2. If you know no Christians that are truly holy, it must needs be, either because you are unacquainted with them, or because your malice will not give you leave to see any good in these that you dislike. And if you have acquainted your self with no Christians that were truly holy, what could it be but malice or sensuality that turned you away from their acquaintance, when there have been so many round about you? If you have been intimate with them, and known their secret and open conversation, and yet have not seen any holiness in them, it can be no better than wilful malice that hath blinded you. And because a negative witness that *knoweth not* whether it be so or not, is not to be regarded against an affirming witness who

who *knoweth* what he saith, I will here leave my testimony as in the presence of God, the searcher of hearts, and the revenger of a lie, yea, even of lies pretended for his glory?

I have considered of the characters of a Christian in the twenty particulars before expressed in this Chapter, (§. 10.) and I have examined my soul concerning them all; and as far as I am able to know my self, I must profess, in humble thankfulness to my Redeemer, that there is none of them which I find not in me: And seeing God hath given me his testimony within me, to the truth of the Gospel of his Son, I take it to be my duty in the profession of it, to give my testimony of it to unbelievers. And I must as solemnly profess, that I have had acquaintance with hundreds, if not thousands, on whom I have seen such evidences of a holy heavenly mind, which nothing but uncharitable and unrighteous censure could deny. And I have had *special intimate familiarity* with very many, in all whom I have discerned the Image of God, in such innocency, charity, justice, holiness, contempt of the world, mortification, self-denial, humility, patience and heavenly mindedness, in such a measure, that I have seen no cause to question their sincerity, but great cause to love and honour them as the Saints of God: yea, I bless the Lord that *most* of my converse in the world, since the 22d year of my age, hath been with such; and *much of it*, six years sooner. Therefore for my own part, I cannot be ignorant that Christ hath a sanctified people upon earth.

Serpit hodie putrida tabes hypocrisis per omne corpus ecclesiæ; & quo toleratius, eo desperatius; eoque periculosius quo communius. *Bernard.*

Cum dilectione fidei Christiani: sine dilectione fides dæmonum: Qui autem non credunt, pejores sunt quam dæmones. *Aug. de Charit.*

Hypocrita ut sine fine crucietur, vivere sine fine compellitur: ut cujus vita hic mortua fuit in culpa, illic ejus mors vivit in pœna. *Greg. Mor. l. 2.*

Object. *But how can one man know another's heart to be sincere?*

Answ. I pretend not to know by an infallible certainty the heart of any single individual person: But, 1. I have in such a course of effects as is mentioned before, great reason to be very confident of it, and no reason to deny it, concerning very many. A child cannot be infallibly certain that his father or mother loveth him, because he knoweth not the heart: But when he considereth of the ordinariness of natural affection, and hath always found such usage, as dearest love doth use to cause, he hath much reason to be *confident* of it, and none to deny it. 2. There may be a certainty that *all conjunctly* do not counterfeit, when you have no certainty of any

Nihil prodest æstimare quod non sis: & duplicis peccati reas es, non habere quod credaris, & quod habueris simulare. *Hieron. ep. ad fil. Maurit.*

any single individual. As I can be sure that all the mothers in the world do not counterfeit love to their children, though I cannot be certain of it in any individual.

Siquis hominem qui sanctus non est, sanctum esse crediderit, & Dei cum juverit sanctati, Christum violaverit membra ... Omnes credentes Christi corpus sumus: Qui in Christi corpore errat & labitur dicens membrum ejus esse sanctum cum non sit, vel non sanctus cum sit, vide quali crimine obnoxius fiat. *Hieron. in Phil.*

Object. *But it is not all Christians, nor most, that are thus holy.*

Answ. It is *all* that are Christians in deed and truth. Christ is so far from owning any other, that he will condemn them the more for abusing his Name to the covering of their sins: All are not Christians who have the name of Christians: in all professions, the vulgar rabble of the ignorant and ungodly, do use to joyn with the party that is uppermost, and seem to be of the Religion which is most for their worldly ends, be it right or wrong, when indeed they are of none at all. Hypocrites are no true Christians, but the persons that Christ is most displeased with. Judge but by his precepts and example, and you will see who they are that are Christians indeed.

Object. *But what if the preaching or writings of a Minister do convert and sanctifie men, it doth not follow that they are Saviours of the world.*

Answ. What ever they do, they do it as the Ministers and Messengers of Christ, by *his Doctrine*, and not by any of their own: by his Commission, and in his Name, and by his Power or Spirit. Therefore it witnesseth to his truth and honour, who is indeed the *Saviour*, which they never affirmed of themselves.

Object. *What if* Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, *the* Japonian Bonzii, *the* Indian Bramenes, *&c. do bring any souls to a holy state, (as its like they did) it will not follow that they were all Saviours of the world.*

The Grecians, Romans *and* Mahometans *take the murder of many thousands in unjust wars to be glorious, and yet punish the murder of single persons. Their renown was got by the most transcendent, unjust and most inhumane cruelties: Their* Alexanders *and* Cæsars *were renowned murtherers and thieves.* Aristotle *and* Cicero *make revenge a laudable thing, and the omission of it a dishonour. Of the cruel murderous sport of their Gladiators; the killing their servants when they were angry; their streams of blood wherewith* Rome *almost in every age had flowed, by those Civil Wars which pride and unjust usurpations had produced, &c. it is needless to tell any that have read their Histories.*

Even Cato *could lend his wife to his neighbour; and the* Mahometans *may have many, and put them away again: and many other such sensualities are the temperature of their Religion, which was hatch'd in war, and maintained by it, and even constituted of war and carnality, added to some precepts of honesty borrowed from Christianity, and from the honester Heathens.*

Answ. 1. They have but an *imperfect Doctrine*, and consequently make on the minds of men but a lame defective change: and that change but upon few, and that but for a few Ages, and then another Sect succeedeth them: So that they have no such attestation and approbation of God, as Christ hath in the renovation of so many thousands all abroad the world, and that for so many ages together. 2. They did not affirm themselves to be the Sons of God, and the Saviours of the world; if they had, God would not have annexed such a testimony to their word, as he doth to Christs. 3. The mercy of God is over all his works. He hath compassion upon all Nations; and setteth up some candles, where the Sun is not yet risen: The Light and Law of Nature are his, as well as the Light and Law of Supernatural Revelation: and accordingly he hath his instruments for the communication of them, to the rude and ignorant part of the world. All the truth which any Philosopher teacheth, is God's truth: and it is no wonder if a God of so much goodness, do bless his own truth, according to its nature and proportion, who ever be the messenger of it. Whether the success of Philosophy, be ever the true sanctification and salvation of any souls, is a thing that I meddle not with; (it belongeth not to us, and therefore is not revealed to us:) But it is visible in the Gospel, that all that part of practical doctrine which the Philosophers taught, is contained in the doctrine of Christ, as a part in the whole: and therefore the impress and effect is more full and perfect, as the doctrine; and the impress and effect of the Philosophers doctrine, can be no better than the cause, which is partial and defective, and mixt with much corruption and untruth. All that is good in the Philosophers is in the doctrine of Christ: but they had abundance of false opinions and idolatries to corrupt it; when Christianity hath nothing but clean and pure. So that as no Philosopher affirmed himself to be the *Saviour*, so his doctrine was not attested by the plenary and common effect of Regeneration, as Christ's was: but as they were but the *Ministers* of the God of Nature, so they had but an answerable help from God; who could not be supposed (however, had they wrought miracles) to have attested more than themselves asserted, or laid claim to.

Object. But Mahomet *ventured on a higher arrogation and pretence; and yet if his doctrine sanctifie men, it will not justifie his pretences.*

Answ. 1.

Anſw. 1. It is not proved, that his Doctrine doth truly ſanctifie any: 2. The effect which it hath can be but lame, defective, and mixt with much vanity and error, as his doctrine is: for the effect cannot excell the cauſe. 3. That part of his doctrine which *is good, and doth good*, is not his *own*, but part of *Chriſts*, from whom he borrowed it, and to whom the good effects are to be aſcribed. 4. *Mahomet* never pretended to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the World, but only to be a Prophet: Therefore his cauſe is much like that of the Philoſophers forementioned, ſaving that he giveth a fuller teſtimony to Chriſt. 5. If *Mahomet* had proved his *Word*, by antecedent Propheſies, Promiſes, and Types, through many ages; and by *inherent purity*, and by *concomitant Miracles*, and by ſuch wonderfull ſubſequent communications of renewing ſanctifying grace, by the Spirit of God, ſo ordinary in the World; we ſhould all have had reaſon to believe his Word: But if he pretend only to be a Prophet, and give us none of all theſe proofs, but a foppiſh, ridiculous bundle of Non-ſenſe, full of carnal doctrines, mixt with holy truth, which he had from Chriſt, we muſt judge accordingly of his Authority and Word, notwithſtanding God may make uſe of that common truth, to produce an anſwerable degree of Goodneſs, among thoſe that hear and know no better.

Theſe Objections may be further anſwered anon, among the reſt: And thus much ſhall here ſuffice of the great and cogent Evidences of the truth of the Chriſtian Faith.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſubſervient proofs, and means, by which the forementioned Evidences are brought to our certain knowledge.

THE witneſs of the Spirit in the four wayes of Evidence already opened, is proved to be ſure, and cogent, if firſt it be proved to be *true*, that indeed ſuch a witneſs to Jeſus Chriſt, hath been given to the World: The

The Argument is undenyable, when the Minor is proved, [*He, whoſe Word is atteſted by God, by many thouſand years predictions, by the inherent Image of God upon the frame of his doctrine, by multitudes of uncontrolled Miracles, and by the ſucceſs of his Doctrine to the true Regeneration of a great part of the World, is certainly to be believed: But ſuch is Jeſus Chriſt*: Ergo, –] I have been hitherto for the moſt part proving the Major Propoſition, and now come to the Minor; as to the ſeveral branches.

§. 1. I. *The Prophetical Teſtimony of the Spirit, is yet legible, in the Promiſes, Propheſies and Types, and main deſign of the Old Teſtament.*

§. 2. *The Books of Holy Scripture where all theſe are found, are certain uncorrupted records thereof, preſerved by the unqueſtioned tradition and care, and to this day atteſted by the generall confeſſion, of the* Jewes, *who are the biteereſt enemies to Chriſtianity.*

There are no men of reaſon that I have heard of, that deny the Books of *Moſes*, and the Pſalms, and the Prophets, &c. to be indeed thoſe that went under thoſe titles from the beginning: And that there can be no conſiderable corruption in them, which might much concern their teſtimony to Chriſt, the comparing of all the Copies, and the Verſions, yet extant, will evince; together with the teſtimony of all ſorts of enemies; and the morall impoſſibility of their corruption. But I will not ſtand to prove that which no ſober adverſary doth deny. To theſe Books the Chriſtians did appeal, and to theſe the *Jews* profeſs to ſtand.

§. 3. II. *The* conſtitutive inherent image of God *upon the Goſpel of Chriſt, is alſo ſtill viſible in the Books themſelves; and needeth no other proof, than a capable Reader (as afore deſcribed.)*

§. 4. *The preaching and Writings of the Miniſters of Chriſt, do ſerve to illuſtrate this, and help men to diſcern it; but adde nothing to the inherent* perfection *of the Goſpel, for matter, or for method.*

§. 5. III. *The teſtimony of the age of Miracles fore-deſcribed, can be known naturally no way, but by* ſight *or other* ſenſes *to thoſe preſent, and by* report *or* hiſtory *to thoſe abſent.*

§. 6. *The*

Miracula ubicunq; fiunt, vix à tota civitate feruntur, *&c.* Nam plerumq; fiunt ignorantibus cæteris, maxime ſi magna ſit civitas; at quando alibi aliiſq; narrantur, tanta ea commendat autoritas, ut ſine difficultate vel dubitatione credantur. *Aug. de Civit. Dei.* 22.

§. 6. The Apoſtles and many thouſand others ſaw the Miracles wrought by Chriſt; and needed no other proof of them than their ſenſes.

The many thouſands who at twice were fed by Miracle were witneſſes of that. The multitude were witneſſes of his healing the blinde, the lame, the paralitick, the Demoniacks, *&c.* The Phariſees themſelves made the ſtricteſt ſearch into the cure of the man born blinde, *Joh.* 9. and the raiſing of *Lazarus* from the dead, and many more. His miracles were few of them hid, but openly done before the World.

§. 7. The Apoſtles and many hundreds more, were witneſſes of Chriſts own Reſurrection; and needed no other proof but their ſenſe.

At divers times he appeared to them, together and apart: and yielded to *Thomas* his unbelief ſo farre, as to call him to put his finger into his ſide, and ſee the print of the Nails: He inſtructed them concerning the Kingdom of God, for forty dayes, *Act.* 1. He gave them their Commiſſion, *Mar.* 16. *Mat.* 28. *Joh.* 21. He expoſtulated with *Peter*, and engaged him to feed his Lambs: He was ſeen of more than five hundred brethren at once: And laſtly appeared after his aſcenſion to *Paul*, and to *John* that wrote the *Revelations.*

§. 8. *The Apoſtles alſo were eye-witneſſes of his aſcenſion: Act.* 1.

What he had foretold them, they ſaw him fulfill.

§. 9. *All theſe eye-witneſſes were not themſelves deluded, in thinking they ſaw thoſe things which indeed they did not ſee.*

For 1. They were perſons of competent underſtanding, as their Writings ſhew; and therefore not like Children that might be cheated with palpable deceits. 2. They were *many* (the twelve Apoſtles, and 70 Diſciples, and all the reſt, beſides the many thouſands of the common people that only wondered at him, but followed him not. One or two may be eaſilyer deceived than ſuch multitudes. 3. The matters of fact were done *neer* them, where they were preſent, and not far off. 4. They were done in the open light, and not in a corner, or in the dark. 5. They were done many times over, and

and not once or twice only. 6. The nature of the things was ſuch, as a juggling deluding of the ſenſes could not ſerve for ſo common a deceit: As when the perſons that were born blinde, the lame, the Paralitick, *&c.* were ſeen to be perfectly healed; and ſo of the reſt. 7. They were perſons who followed Chriſt, and were ſtill with him, (or very oft): and therefore if they had been once deceived, they could not be ſo always. 8. And vigilant ſubtile enemies were about them, that would have helped them to have detected a deceit. 9 Yea, the twelve Apoſtles and 70 Diſciples were employed themſelves in working Miracles, healing the ſick and Demoniacks, in Chriſts own life-time; and rejoyced in it: And they could not be deceived for divers years together in the things which they ſaw, and heard, and felt, and alſo in that which they did themſelves: Beſides that, all their own Miracles which they wrought after Chriſts aſcenſion, prove that they were not deceived. 10 There is no way left then but one to deceive them; and that is, if God himſelf ſhould *alter and delude* all their ſenſes, which it is certain that he did not doe: For then he had been the chief cauſe of all the deluſion, and all the conſequents of it in the World: He that hath given men *ſight, and hearing, and feeling*, will not delude them all by unreſiſtable alterations and deceits, and then forbid them to believe thoſe lies, and propagate them to others. Man hath no other way of knowing things ſenſible but by ſenſe. He that hath his ſenſes ſound, and the object proportionate and at a juſt diſtance, and the *medium* fit, and his underſtanding ſound, may well truſt his ſenſes; eſpecially when it is the caſe of many: And if ſenſe in thoſe caſes ſhould be deceived, we ſhould be bound to be deceived, as having no other way of knowing, or of detecting the deceit.

Unum boni Viri verbum, unus natus, ſexcentis argumentis ac verborum continuationibus parem fidem meretur. *Plutar. in Phocion.*

§. 10. *Thoſe that ſaw not Chriſt's miracles, nor ſaw him riſen, received all theſe matters of fact, from the teſtimony of them that ſaid they ſaw them: (Having no other way by which they could receive them.)*

Pluris eſt oculatus teſtis unus, quam auriti decem. Qui audiunt, audita dicunt: qui vident, plane ſciunt. *Plaut. Truc.*

§. 11. *Suppoſing now Chriſts Reſurrection and Miracles to be true, it is certain, that their uſe and obligation muſt extend to more than thoſe that ſaw them; even to perſons abſent, and of other generations.*

This I have fully and undenyably proved, in a Diſputation in my Book againſt Infidelity: by ſuch arguments as theſe.

1. The uſe and obligation of ſuch Miracles doth extend to all that have ſufficient evidence of their truth. But the Nations and generations which never ſaw them, may have ſufficient evidence of their truth (that they were done): *Ergo*, the uſe and obligation doth extend to ſuch.

The Major is paſt all contradiction. He that hath ſufficient evidence of the truth of the fact, is obliged to believe it. The Minor is to be proved in the following Sections.

2. The contrary doctrine maketh it impoſſible for God to oblige the World by Miracles, according to their proper uſe. But it is not impoſſible: Therefore that doctrine is falſe.

Here note, that the uſe and force of miracles lyeth in their being *extraordinary*, rather than in the *Power* which they manifeſt: For it is as great an effect of Omnipotency to have the Sun move, as to ſtand ſtill: Now if miracles oblige none to believe but thoſe that ſee them, then every man in every City, Countrey, Town, Family, and in all generations to the end of the World, muſt ſee Chriſt riſen, or not believe it, and muſt ſee *Lazarus* riſen, or not believe it; and muſt ſee all the miracles himſelf which oblige him to believe: But this is an abſurdity, and contradiction, making Miracles Gods ordinary works, and ſo as no miracles.

Every man expecteth himſelf to be believed: and therefore oweth juſt belief to others.

3. They that teach men that they are bound to believe no Miracles but what they ſee, do deprive all after-ages of all the benefit of all the miraculous works of God, both Mercies and Judgements, which their forefathers ſaw: But God wrought them not only for them that ſaw them; but alſo for the abſent, and after-times.

The teſtimony of one or two eye-witneſſes, is to be preferred before many learned conjectures and argumentations. Many wiſe men heretofore thought that they proved by argument, that there were no Antipodes, *and others that men could not live under the* Æquator *and* Poles; *But one Voyage of* Columbus *hath fully confuted all the firſt; and many ſince have confuted both the one and the other; and are now believed againſt all thoſe learned Arguments by almoſt all.*

4. By the ſame reaſon, they will diſoblige men from believing any other matters of fact, which they never ſaw themſelves: And that is to make them like new comers into the

the World, yea, like Children and Fools, and to be uncapable of Humane Society.

5. This reaſoning would rob God of the honour of all his moſt wonderous works, as from any but thoſe that ſee them: ſo that no abſent perſon, nor following age ſhould be obliged to mention them, believe them, or honour him for them: which is abſurd and impious.

6. The World would be ſtill as it were to begin anew, and no age muſt be the wiſer for all the experiences of thoſe that have gone before; if we muſt not believe what we never ſaw. And if men muſt not learn thus much of their Anceſtors, why ſhould they be obliged to learn any thing elſe, but Children be left to learn only by their own eye-ſight?

7. If we are not bound to believe Gods wonderous works which have been before our dayes, then our anceſtors are not bound to tell them us, nor we to be thankfull for them: The *Iſraelites* ſhould not have told their Poſterity how they were brought out of the Land of *Egypt*, nor *England* keep a day of Thankſgiving for its deliverance from the *Powder-plot*: But the conſequent is abſurd: *Ergo*, ſo is the antecedent. What have we our tongues for, but to ſpeak of what we know to others? The love that Parents have to their Children will oblige them to acquaint them with all things uſefull which they know. The Love which men have naturally to truth, will oblige them to divulge it. Who that had but ſeen an Angel, or received inſtructions by a Voice from Heaven, or ſeen the dead raiſed, would not tell others what he had ſeen and heard? And to what end ſhould he tell them, if they were not obliged to believe it.

8. Governments, and Juſtice, and all humane converſe is maintained by the belief of others, and the reports and records of things which we ſee not: Few of the Subjects ſee their King. Witneſſes carry it in every cauſe of Juſtice: Thus Princes prove their Succeſſions and title to their Crowns, and all men their Eſtates, by the records or teſtimony of others.

9. It is impudent arrogancy for every Infidel to tie God to be at his beck, to work Miracles as oft as he requireth it: To ſay, I will not believe without a Miracle; and if thou

work never so many in the sight of others, I will not believe unless I may see them my self.

§. 12. *There need not be new Revelations and Miracles, to confirm the former, and oblige men to believe them: For then there must be more Revelations and Miracles, to confirm the former, and oblige men to believe those; and so on to the end of the World: And then God could not govern the World by a setled Law by Revelations once made; which is absurd.*

§. 13. *Therefore the only natural way to know all such matters of fact is* sensible apprehension *to those that are* present; *and* credible report, *tradition or history, to those that are* absent *(as is aforesaid): which is the necessary medium to convey it from* their sense to our understandings: *And in this must we acquiesce, as the natural means which God will use.*

§. 14. *We are not bound to believe all history or report: Therefore we must be able to discern between the credible, and the incredible; neither receiving all, nor rejecting all; but making choice, as there is cause.*

§. 15. *History is more or less credible, as it hath more or less* evidence *of truth:* 1. *Some that is credible hath only evidence of* probability; *and such is that of meer* Humane Faith: 2. *Some hath* evidence *of* certainty, *from Natural causes concurring; where the conclusion is both of* knowledge, *and of* Humane Faith. 3. *And some hath* evidence *of* certainty *from* supernatural attestation, *which is both of* Humane Faith, *and of* Divine.

Quod si falsa historia illa rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore totus mundus ista religione completus est? aut in unam coire quî potuerunt mentem, gentes regionibus disjunctæ? Ventis, cœlo, convexionibusq; dimotæ: Imò, quia hæc omnia & ab ipso cernebant geri, & ab ejus præconibus qui per orbem totum missi —— veritatis ipsius vi victæ, & dederunt se Deo, nec in magnis potuere dispendiis, membra vobis projicere, & viscera sua lanianda præbere. *Agnob. l. 1. p. 9.*

§. 16. *That history or report which hath no more evidence than the meer* wisdom *and* honesty *of the author or reporter (supposing him an imperfect man) is but* probable, *and the Conclusion though* credible, *is not* infallible, *and can have no certainty, but that which some call Morall; and that in several degrees, as the* wisdom *and* honesty *of the reporter is either more or less.*

§. 17. II. *Where there is an* evident impossibility *that all the witnesses or reporters should lie, or be deceived, there the Conclusion is credible, by humane Faith, and also* sure, *by a* natural certainty.

§. 18. *Where*

§. 18. *Where these things concurre, it is* impossible *that that report or history should be false:* 1. *When it is certain, that the reporters were not themselves deceived:* 2. *When it is certain that indeed the report is* theirs. 3. *When they took their salvation to lie upon the truth of the thing reported, and of their own report.* 4. *When they expected Worldly ruin by their testimony, and could look for no commodity by it, which would make them any reparation.* 5. *When they give full proof of their honesty and conscience.* 6. *When their testimony is concordant, and they speak the same things, though they had no opportunity to conspire to deceive men; yea, when their numbers, distance and quality make this impossible.* 7. *When they bear their testimony in the time and place, where it might well be contradicted, and the falsity detected, if it were not true; and among the most malicious enemies; and yet those enemies, either confess the matter of fact, or give no regardable reason against it.* 8. *When the reporters are men of various tempers, countreys, and civil interests.* 9. *When the reporters fall out, or greatly differ among themselves, even to separations, and condemnations of one another, and yet none ever detecteth or confesseth any falshood in the said reports.* 10. *When the reporters being numerous, and such as professe that Lying is a damnable sin, and such as laid down their liberties, or lives in asserting their testimonies, did yet never any of them in life or death, repent and confess any falshood or deceit.* 11. *When their report convinceth thousands, in that place and time, who would have more abhorred them if it had been untrue.*

Nay, where *some* of these concurre, the conclusion may be of certainty: some of these instances resolve the point into *natural necessity.* 1. It is of *natural necessity* that men love themselves, and their own felicity, and be unwilling of their undoing and misery. The Will though free, is *quædam natura*; and hath its *natural necessary* inclination to that *good*, which is apprehended as its *own felicity*, or else to have *omnimodam rationem boni*; and its *natural necessary* inclination against that *evil*, (or aversation from it) which is apprehended as its own undoing or misery, or to have *omnimodam rationem mali*: Its liberty is only *servato ordine finis*: And some acts that are *free* are nevertheless of infallible certain

tain futurition, and of ſome kinde of *neceſſity*; like the Love and Obedience of the Saints in Heaven. 2. Nothing can be without a *cauſe* ſufficient to produce it: But ſome things here inſtanced can have no cauſe ſufficient to produce them, if the thing teſtified were falſe: As the conſent of enemies; their not gainſaying; the concurrence of ſo many, and ſo diſtant, and of ſuch bitter Oppoſites, againſt their own common worldly intereſt, and to the confeſſed ruine of their ſouls; and the belief of many thouſands that could have diſproved it if falſe; and more which I ſhall open by and by. There is a natural certainty that *Alexander* was the King of *Macedonia*, and *Cæſar* Emperour of *Rome*, and that there is ſuch a place as *Rome* and *Paris*, and *Venice* and *Conſtantinople*: And that we have had Civil Warrs between the King and Parliament, in *England*, and between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and that many thouſands were murdered by the *French* Maſſacre, and many more by the *Iriſh*, and that the Statutes of this Land were made by the Kings and Parliaments whoſe names they bear, *&c.* Becauſe that 1. There is no cauſe in Nature which could produce the concurrence of ſo many teſtimonies; of men ſo diſtant and contrary, if it were not true. 2. And on the contrary ſide, there *are natural cauſes* which would infallibly produce a credible contradiction to theſe reports if they were falſe.

§. 19. III. *When they that teſtifie ſuch matters of fact, do affirm that they do it by Gods own command, and prove this by* multitudes *of* evident uncontrolled Miracles, *their report is both* humane *and* divine, *and to be believed as moſt* certain *by* divine belief.

This is before proved, in the proof of the validity of the teſtimony of Miracles, and ſuch Miracles as theſe.

§. 20. *The Teſtimonies of the Apoſtles and other Diſciples of Chriſt, concerning his Reſurrection and Miracles, were credible by all theſe three ſeveral ſorts of credibility:* 1. *They were credible (and moſt credible) by a* humane belief, *as they were the teſtimony of honeſt (and extraordinarily honeſt) men.* 2. *They were credible, as reported with concauſes of natural certainty.* 3. *They were credible, as atteſted by God, by Miracles, and therefore certain, by a certainty of Divine belief.*

§. 21.

§. 21. I. *They that obſerve in the Writings of the ſaid Diſciples, the footſteps of eminent piety, ſincerity, ſimplicity, ſelf-denyal, contempt of the World, expectation of a better World, a deſire to pleaſe and glorifie God, though by their own reproach and ſufferings, mortification, love to ſouls, forgiving enemies, condemning lyars, with high ſpirituality and heavenly-mindedneſs,* &c. *Muſt needs confeſs them to be moſt eminently credible by a* humane Faith: *(They being alſo acquainted with the thing reported).*

§. 22. II. 1. *That the Apoſtles were not themſelves deceived I have proved before.* 2. *That the Report was* theirs, *the Churches that ſaw and heard them knew by ſenſe* (And *how we know it, I am to ſhew anon*). 3. *That they took their own ſalvation to lie upon the belief of the Goſpel which they preached, is very evident, both in the whole drift and manner of their Writings, and in their labours, ſufferings and death: And that they took a Lie to be a damning ſin.*

He that doth but impartially read the Writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, will eaſily believe that *they believed* what they preach'd themſelves, and lookt for ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt: Much more if he further conſider of their forſaking all, and labouring and dying in and for theſe expectations: And Nature taught them as well as Chriſt, to know that a Lie was a damning ſin: They teach us themſelves, that Lyars are *without*, as Dogs, and not admitted into the Kingdom of God: And that God needeth not our Lie to his Glory, nor muſt we do evil that good may come by it: Therefore they could never think that it would help them to Heaven, to ſpend their labours, and lay down their lives, in promoting a known lie, to deceive the World. Rev. 21. 22.

§. 22. 4. *That they expected temporal ruine by their Religion, without any worldly ſatisfaction, is manifeſt both in Chriſts* prediction, *telling them that it* would *be ſo, and in the tenour of his* Covenant, *calling them to forſake life and all, if they will be his Diſciples, and in the* hiſtory *of their own lives and labours, in which they met with no other uſage than was thus foretold them.*

Many of them had not much wealth to loſe; but every man naturally loveth his eaſe, and peace, and life. And *ſome* of them, though not many, had Worldly riches, (as *Zacheus*, *Joſeph*

Ambiguæ, ſi quando citabere teſtis
Incertæq; rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut ſis
Falſus, & admoto dictet perjuria tauro;
Summum crede nefas vitam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere cauſas.
Juven. 8.

Joseph of *Arimathea*, &c.) and commonly they had possessions, which they sold, and laid down the price at the Apostles feet. And the Apostles had ways of comfortable living in the world: instead of all this they underwent reproach, imprisonments, scourgings and death. Commodity or preferment they could not expect by it.

Object. *But to men that had been but low in the world, the very applause of the people would seem a sufficient satisfaction for their sufferings; To be Teachers, and have many followers, is a thing that some people would venture liberty and life for.*

Answ. Lay all these following things together, and you may be certain that this was not the case. 1. Even women, and many that were *not teachers*, were of the same belief. 2. The Teachers did all of them set up their Lord, and not themselves, but debased and denied themselves for his honour and service. 3. Their way of teaching was in travel and labour, where they must deny all fleshly ease and pleasure, and so must have nothing but bare applause, if that had been it which they sought after. 4. They suffered so much reproach and shame from the unbelievers, who were the rich and ruling party as would have much over-ballanced their applause among believers. They were persecuted, imprisoned, scourged, scorned, and made as the off-scouring of the world. 5. They were so many, that no single person was like to be carried so far with that ambition, when his honour was held in equality with so many. 6. One of the great vices which they preach'd and wrote against was pride, and self-seeking, and over-valuing men, and following sect-masters, and crying up *Paul*, *Apollo*, or *Cephas*, &c. And those that thus sought to set up themselves, and draw away Disciples after them, were the men whom they especially condemned. 7. If they had done, as this objection supposeth, they must have all the way gone on against their certain knowledge

1 Cor. 1. & 2. & 3. Act. 20.

Sed non creditis gesta hæc. Sed quæ ea conspicati sunt fieri, & sub oculis suis videruntagi, testes optimi certissimique auctores, & crediderunt hæc ipsi & credenda posteris nobis haud exilibus cum approbationibus tradiderunt. Quinam isti sunt, fortasse quæritis? Gentes, populi, nationes, & incredulum illud genus humanum; quod nisi aperta res esset, & hæc ipsa clarior, nunquam rebus hujusmodi credulitatis suæ commodarent assensum. An nunquid dicemus illius temporis homines usque adeo fuisse vanos, mendaces, stolidos, brutos, ut quæ nunquam viderant, vidisse se fingerent? & quæ facta non erant falsis proderent testimoniis, ut puerili assertione firmarent? Cumque possent vobiscum & unanimiter vivere, & inoffensas ducere conjunctiones, gratuita susciperent odia, & execrabili haberentur nomine. *Arnob.* l. 1.

and

and conscience, in teaching lies in matter of fact. And though some men would go far in seeking followers and applause, when they believe the doctrine which they preach themselves, yet hardly in preaching that which they know to be false: the stirrings of conscience would torment some of them, among so many, and at last break out into open confession and detection of the fraud. 8. And if they had gone thus violently against their consciences, they must needs know that it was their *Souls*, as well as their lives and liberties which they forfeited. 9. And the piety and humility of their writings sheweth, that applause was not their end and prize: if they had sought this, they would have fitted their endeavours to it; whereas it is the sanctifying and saving of souls, through faith in Jesus Christ, which they bent their labours towards. 10. So many men could never have agreed among themselves in such a scatter'd case, to carry on the juggle and deceit, without detection. Now tell us, if you can, where ever so many persons in the world, so notably humble, pious and self-denying, did preach against pride, man-pleasing and lying, as damnable sins, and debase themselves, and suffer so much reproach and persecution, and go through such labour and travel, and lay down their lives, and confessedly hazard their souls for ever, and all this to get followers, that should believe *in another man*, by perswading men that *he wrought miracles*, and *rose from the dead*, when they knew themselves that all were lies which they thus laboriously divulged? If you give an instance in the Disciples of *Mahomet*, the case was nothing so: no such miracles attested! no such witnesses to proclaim it! no such consequents of such a testimony! none of all this was so: but only a Deceiver maketh a few barbarous people believe that he had Revelations, and was a Prophet, and being a Souldier, and prospering in War, he setteth up and keepeth up a Kingdom by the Sword, his Preachers being such as being thus deluded, did themselves believe the things which they spake, and found it the way to worldly greatness.

§. 24. 5. *That the witnesses of Christ were men of honesty and conscience, is before proved.* 6. *That it was not possible for so many persons, to conspire so successfully to deceive the world, is*

manifest from 1. *their persons*; 2. *their calling*; 3. *their doctrine*; 4. *and their manner of ministration and labours.*

1. For their *Persons*, they were, 1. Many; 2. Not men of such worldly craft and subtilty, as to be apt for such designs: 3 Of variety of tempers and interests, men and women. 2. For their *Callings*, the Apostles knew the matter of fact indeed by common sense; but their sufficiency and gifts by which they carried on their ministry, were suddenly given them by the holy Ghost, when Christ himself was ascended from them. And *Paul*, that had conferred with none of them, yet preached the same Gospel, being converted by a voice from heaven in the heat of his persecution. 3. Their doctrine containeth so many and mysterious particulars, that they could never have concorded in it all, in their way. 4. And their labours did so disperse them about the world, that many new emergent cases must needs have cast them into several minds or ways, if they had not agreed by the unity of that Spirit, which was the common Teacher of them all.

§. 25. 7. *That the Disciples of Christ divulged his Miracles and Resurrection, in the same Place and Age, where the truth or falshood might soon have been search'd out, and yet that the bitterest enemies either denied not, or confuted not their report, is apparent, partly by their confessions, and partly by the non-existence of any such confutations.*

That the Disciples in that Age and Country did divulge these Miracles, is denied by none: for it was their *employment*, and by it they gathered the several Churches: and their writings not long after written declare it to this day. That the enemies *confuted* not their report appeareth, 1. not only in the Gospel-history, which sheweth that they denyed not many of his Miracles, but imputed them to conjuration and the power of Satan; but also by the disputes and writings of the *Jews*, in all Ages since, which do go the same way. 2. And if the enemies had been able to confute these Miracles, no doubt but they would have done it; having so much advantage, wit and malice.

Object. *Perhaps they did, and their writings never come to our knowledge.*

Answ. The unbelieving *Jews* were as careful to preserve their writings as any other men: and they had better advantage

vantage to do it than the Christians had: and therefore if there had been any such writings, yea, or verbal confutations, the *Jews* of this age had been as like to have received them, as all the other antient writings which they yet receive. *Josephus* his testimony of Christ is commonly known; and though some think it so full and plain, that it is like to be inserted by some Christian, yet they give no proof of their opinion; and the credit of all copies justifieth the contrary; except only that these words are like to have been thrust in, [*This is Christ*] which some Annotator putting into the Margin, might after be put into the Text. And that the *Jews* wanted not will or industry to confute the Christians, appeareth by what *Justin Martyr* saith to *Tryphon* of their malice, [*That they sent out into all parts of the world their choicest men to perswade the people against the Christians, that they are Atheists, and would abolish the Deity, and that they were convict of grest impiety.*]

§. 26. 8. *The great diversity of believers and reporters of the Gospel Miracles, doth the more fully evince, that there was no conspiracy for deceit.*

There were learned and unlearned *Jews* and *Gentils*, rich and poor, men and women, some that followed Christ, and some (as *Paul*) that perhaps never saw him: and for all these to be at once inspired by the holy Ghost, and thenceforth unanimously to accord and concur in the same doctrine and work, doth shew a supernatural cause.

§. 27. 9. *There were dissentions upon many accidents, and some of them to the utmost distance, which would certainly have detected the fallacy, if there had been any such, in the matters of fact, so easily detected.*

1. In Christ's own family there was a *Judas*, who betrayed him for mony: This *Judas* was one that had followed Christ, and seen his Miracles, and had been sent out to preach, and wrought miracles himself. If there had been any collusion in all this, what likelier man was there in the world to have detected it? yea, and his conscience would never have accused, but justified him, he need not to have gone and hanged or precipitated himself, and said, I have sinned in betraying the innocent bloud? The Pharisees who hired him to betray his Master, might, by mony and authority, have

Propherizare & virtutes facere & dæmonia ejicere interdum non est meriti illius qui operatur; sed invocatio Christi hoc agit, vel ob utilitatem eorum qui vident & audiunt, vel, &c. *Hieron. in Matth.* 7.

Operum Dei causa si lateat hominem, non se obliviscatur esse hominem, nec propterea Deo det insipientiam, quia non bene capit ejus sapientiam. *Aug. de spir. & lit.*

Rationem de occulto Dei consilio quærere, nil aliud est quam contra ejus consilium superbire. *Gregor. Hom.*

have eaſily procured him, to have wrote againſt him, and detected his fraud, if he had been fraudulent: it would have tended to *Judas* his juſtification and advancement. But God is the great defender of truth.

2. And there were many baptized perſons, who were long in good repute and communion with the Chriſtians, who fell off from them to ſeveral Sects and Hereſies; not denying the dignity and truth of Chriſt, but ſuperinducing into his doctrine many corrupting fancies of their own; ſuch as the *Judaizers*, the *Simonians*, the *Nicolaitans*, the *Ebonites*, the *Cerinthians*, the *Gnoſticks*, the *Valentinians*, *Baſilidians*, and many more: And many of theſe were in the days of the Apoſtles, and greatly troubled the Churches, and hindred the Goſpel; inſomuch as the Apoſtles riſe up againſt them with more indignation, than againſt the Infidels; calling them dogs, wolves, evil workers, deceivers, bruit beaſts, made to be taken and deſtroyed, &c. They write *largely* againſt them; they charge the Churches to avoid them, and turn away from them, and after a firſt and ſecond admonition to reject them as men that are ſelf-condemned, &c. And who knoweth not that among ſo many men thus excommunicated, vilified, and thereby irritated, ſome of them would certainly have detected the deceit, if they had known any deceit to have been in the reports of the afore-ſaid Miracles. Paſſion would not have been reſtrained among ſo many and ſuch, when they were thus provoked.

2 Pet. 2. Jude. Tit. 3. 10.

Nulla major eſt comprobatio quàm geſtarum ab eo fides rerum; quàm virtutum novitas, quàm omnia victa decreta, diſſoluta fatalia, quæ populi gentesque ſuo generis ſub limine nullo diſſentiente vidére: quæ nec ipſi audent falſitatis arguere, quorum antiquas ſeu patrias leges vanitatis eſſe pleniſſimas atque inanillimæ ſuperſtitionis oſtendit. *Arnob. adv. Gent. l.* 1.

3. And ſome in thoſe times, as well as in all following ages, have forſaken the faith, and apoſtatized to open infidelity: and certainly *their judgment*, *their intereſt*, and *their malice*, would have cauſed them to detect the fraud, if they had known any in the matters of fact of theſe Miracles. For it is not poſſible that all theſe cauſes ſhould not bring forth this effect, where there was no valuable impediment. If you again ſay, *It may be they did detect ſuch frauds by words or writings, which come not to our knowledge*; I anſwer again, 1. The Jews then, that have in all ages diſputed and written againſt Chriſtianity, would certainly have made uſe of ſome ſuch teſtimony, inſtead of charging all upon Magick, and the power of the devil. 2. And it is to me a full evidence, that there were no ſuch deniers of the Miracles of Chriſt, when

when I find that the Apoſtles never wrote againſt any ſuch, nor contended with them, nor were ever put to anſwer any of their writings or objections: When all men will confeſs that their writings muſt needs be written according to the ſtate and occaſion of thoſe times in which they wrote them: and if then there had been any books or reaſonings divulged againſt Chriſt's miracles, they would either have wrote purpoſely againſt them, or let fall ſome confutations of them, in their Epiſtles to the Churches: but there are no ſuch things at all.

§. 28. 10. *Seeing it is ſo heinous a crime to divulge lies in multitudes of matters of fact, to deceive the world into a blaſphemy, it is ſcarce poſſible, that the conſciences of ſo many perſons, of ſo much piety as their writings prove, ſhould never be touched with remorſe for ſo great a villany, either in life, or at the hour of death, and force ſome one of them to detect all the fraud, if they had been guilty of it.*

There is a natural conſcience in the *worſt* of men, (much more in the beſt) which will at ſome time do its office, and will conſtrain men to confeſs, eſpecially their *heinous* crimes, and eſpecially at the time of *death*, when they ſee that their lies will ſerve their worldly intereſt no more: and eſpecially if they be men that indeed believe another life. Now conſider if the Apoſtles and Diſciples had been deceivers, how heinous a crime they had committed: 1. To affirm a man to be God incarnate, and to be the Saviour of the world, on whom all men muſt truſt their ſouls, &c. if he had been but a deceiver. 2. To make ſuch abundance of lies in open matters of fact. 3. To frame hereupon a new Law to the world. 4. To overthrow the Law of *Moſes*, which was there in force. 5. To abuſe the intellects of ſo many thouſand perſons with ſuch untruths, and to call the world to ſuch a needleſs work as the Chriſtian Religion would be, if all this were falſe! to put the world upon ſuch tasks, as forſaking

Occurſurus forſitan eſt cum aliis multis calumnioſis & puerilibus vocibus. Magus fuit, clandeſtinis artibus omnia illa perfecit, *Ægyptiorum* ex adytis angelorum potentium nomina, & remotas furatus eſt diſciplinas. Quid dicitis O parvuli? incomperta vobis & neſcia temeritate vocis loquacitate garrientes? Ergone illa quæ geſta ſunt, dæmonum fuere præſtigiæ, & magicarum artium ludi? Poteſtis aliquem nobis deſignare, monſtrare, ex omnibus illis Magis, qui unquam fuere per ſecula, conſimile aliquid Chriſto milleſima ex parte qui fecerit? Qui ſine ulla vi carminum, &c. *Arnob. ubi ſup. l.* 1.

all for Chriſt. 6. To draw ſo many to loſe their lives in martyrdom to atteſt a lie. 7. To loſe their own time, and ſpend all their lives and labour upon ſo bad a work: All theſe ſet together, would prove them far worſe than any thieves, or murderers, or traitors, if they knew it to be a lie which they preached and atteſted: There are now no men known on earth, even in this age of villanies, guilty of ſuch a heinous crime as this. And let any man that readeth the Apoſtles writings, or conſidereth of their lives and deaths, conſider whether it be not next to an impoſſibility, that ſo many, and ſuch perſons, ſhould go on in ſuch a way, upon no greater motives of benefit than they expected; nay, through ſuch labours, reproach and ſufferings, and not one of them to the death be conſtrained by conſcience to detect the fraud, and undeceive the world.

§. 29. 11. *Laſtly, it is not poſſible, that ſo many thouſands of ſuch perſons as they preſently converted, ſhould ever have been perſwaded to believe their reports of theſe matters of fact, in a time and place, where it was ſo eaſie to diſprove them, if they had been falſe.*

For, 1. The *underſtanding* is not *free* as the *will* is, but only *participative, in quantum à voluntate imperatur*: and a man cannot believe what he will, nor deny belief to cogent evidence, though againſt his will: The Intellects acts, as in themſelves, are *neceſſitated*, and *per modum naturæ*. 2. And all theſe new converts had underſtandings which were naturally inclined to truth as truth, and averſe to falſhood: and they had all ſelf-love: and they all embraced now a doctrine which would expoſe them to ſuffering and calamity in the world: And therefore both nature and intereſt obliged them to be at the labour of enquiring, whether theſe things were ſo or not, before they ran themſelves into ſo great miſery: And the three thouſand which *Peter* converted at his firſt Sermon, muſt alſo take the ſhame of being murderers of their Saviour, and for this they were pricked at the heart: And *Paul* muſt be branded for a confeſſed perſecutor, and guilty of the bloud of *Stephen*! And would ſo many men run themſelves into all this for nothing, to ſave the labour of an eaſie enquiry, after ſome matters of publick fact? How eaſily might they go and be ſatisfied, whether Chriſt

Chriſt fed ſo many thouſand twice miraculouſly, and whether he healed ſuch as he was ſaid to heal, who were then living? and whether he raiſed *Lazarus*, and others, from death, who were then living? and whether the earth trembled, and the vail of the Temple rent, and the Sun was darkned at his death? And whether the witneſſes of his Reſurrection were ſufficient? And if none of this had been true, it would have turned them all from the belief of the Apoſtles, to deride them.

Object. *Is not the unbelief of the moſt, a greater reaſon againſt the Goſpel, than the belief of the ſmaller number is for it.*

Anſw. No: 1. Becauſe it is a *negative* which they were for: and many witneſſes to a *negative*, is not ſo good as a few to an *affirmative*. 2. Moſt of them were kept from the very *hearing* of the Apoſtles, which ſhould inform them and excite them. 3. Moſt men every where follow their Rulers, and look to their worldly intereſt, and never much *mind* or diſcuſs ſuch matters, as tend to their ſalvation, eſpecially by the way of ſuffering and diſgrace. 4. We believe not that the unbelieving party did deny Chriſt's miracles, but fathered them upon the devil; therefore even their teſtimony is for Chriſt: only they hired the Souldiers to ſay, that Chriſt was ſtoln out of the Sepulchre while they ſlept, of which they never brought any proof, nor could poſſibly do it, (if aſleep.)

§. 29. III. *I have proved Chriſt's Miracles to be*, 1. Credible, *by the higheſt* humane faith. 2. Certain, *by* natural evidence, *there being a* natural impoſſibility *that the teſtimonies ſhould be falſe.* 3. *I am next to prove that they are* certain *by* ſupernatural evidence, (*which is the ſame with* natural evidence, *as in the effect, but is called* ſupernatural *from the way of cauſing it.*)

§. 30. *The ſame works of the SPIRIT, inherent, concomitant and ſubſequent, were the infallible proof of the truth of the* Diſciples teſtimony *of Chriſt, his Perſon, Miracles and Doctrine.* 2 Pet. 2. 16. *Eye-witneſſes of his Majeſty on the Mount.*

§. 31. I. *They were perſons of holy lives, and* holineſs *is the lively impreſs or conſtitution of their doctrine, now viſible in their writings.*

What was before ſaid of the Doctrine of Chriſt himſelf, is

is true of theirs: And as the Kings Coyn is known by his Image and Superſcription, or rather as an unimitable author is known by his Writings, for matter, method and ſtyle, even ſo is Gods Spirit known in *them* and in their *doctrine*.

§. 32. II. *Their miraculous gifts and works were ſo evident and ſo many and uncontrolled, as amount to an infallible proof, that God is his Witneſs in the World, and ſheweth the moſt infallible proof of his aſſertions.*

§. 33. 1. *Their gifts and miracles were* many in kinde: *as their ſudden illumination, when the Spirit fell upon them, and knowing that which they were ignorant of before: Their propheſying and ſpeaking in languages never before learn'd by them; and interpreting ſuch propheſies and languages; their diſpoſſeſſing Demoniacks, and healing diſeaſes, their deliverances by Angels out of cloſed Priſons and Fetters; their inflicting Judgements on Oppoſers and offenders, their raiſing the dead; and the conveying of the ſame Spirit to others by the Impoſition of the Apoſtles hands.*

1. It is not the leaſt teſtimony of the veracity of the Apoſtles, that even while they lived with *Jeſus Chriſt*, they remained ignorant of much of the myſtery of the Goſpel, and ſome (that are ſince neceſſary) articles of Faith, as of his Death and Burial, and Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, and much of the ſpiritual nature of his Kingdom, and Priviledges of Believers; and that all this was made known to them upon a *ſudden*, without any *teaching*, ſtudying or common means, by the coming down of the *Holy Ghoſt* upon them: And that Chriſt had promiſed them his Spirit before, to lead them into all truth, and bid them wait at *Jeruſalem* till they received it: And it came upon them at the appointed time, on the day of Pentecoſt: And he promiſed that this Spirit ſhould be ſent on *others*, and become *his Agent* or *Advocate* in the World, to do his work in his bodily abſence, and bear witneſs of him. And he told his Diſciples, that this Spirit ſhould be better to them than his bodily preſence; and therefore it would be for their good that he ſhould go from them into Heaven: So that Chriſts teaching them immediately and miraculouſly by this ſudden giving them his Spirit, is an infallible proof both of *his truth* and *theirs*.

Act. 1. & 2. Joh. 14. & 16.

2. This

2. This *propheſying* was partly by foretelling things to come (as *Agabus* did the dearth, and *Pauls* bonds) and partly the expoſition of old Propheſies, and partly the ſpiritual inſtruction of the People, by ſudden inſpirations; And thoſe that were enabled to it, were people of themſelves unable for ſuch things, and ignorant but a little while before.

3. Their *ſpeaking in various languages* was a thing which no natural means could produce. *Fernelius* and many other Phyſicians, who were very loth to believe diabolical poſſeſſions, do confeſs themſelves convinced by hearing the poſſeſſed ſpeak *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which they had never learn'd: How much more convincing is this evidence, when ſo many ſpeak in ſo many languages, even in the language of all the Inhabitants of the Countreys round about them; and this upon theſe ſudden inſpirations of the Spirit.

4. Their *interpreting* of ſuch tongues alſo, which they never learnt, was no leſs a proof of a ſupernatural power and atteſtation.

5. Their deliverances are recorded in the Scriptures: *Peter*, *Act.* 12. and *Paul* and *Silas*, *Act.* 16. had their bonds all looſed, and the Priſon-doors opened by an Angel and a Miracle; which muſt be by a Power that ſufficiently atteſteth their verity.

6. And they inflicted judgements on Delinquents by no leſs a power: *Ananias* and *Sapphira* one after another were ſtruck dead upon the word of *Peter*, for their Hypocriſie and lyes: *Elymas* the Sorcerer was ſtruck blinde by *Paul*, in the preſence (or knowledge) of the Governour of the Countrey: And the excommunicated were often given up to Satan, to ſuffer ſome extraordinary penalty.

7. Their healing Demoniacks, the lame, the blinde, the paralitick, and all manner of diſeaſes with a word, or by Prayer and Impoſition of hands in the name of Chriſt, yea upon the conveyance of Napkins and Cloaths from their bodies, is witneſſed in the many Texts which I have before cited out of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. And this Chriſt promiſed them particularly before-hand: And it was the occaſion of that *Unction* of the ſick, which ſome have ſtill continued as a Sacrament.

8. Their *raiſing the dead*, is alſo among the fore-cited

paſſages; ſo *Peter* raiſed *Dorcas* or *Tabitha*, *Act.* 9. and (its like) *Paul Eutichus*, *Act.* 20.

9. And it is the greateſt evidence of all, that the ſame Spirit was given to ſo many others, by their Impoſition of hands and Prayer; and all theſe had ſome of theſe wonderfull gifts; either propheſies, tongues, healing, or ſome ſuch like.

§. 34. 2. *Theſe Miracles were wrought by* multitudes of *perſons, and not only by a few; even by the Apoſtles, and ſeventy Diſciples, and others on whom they laid their hands; which was by the generality or greater part of the Chriſtians.*

If it were but by one or two men that Miracles were wrought, there would be greater room for doubting of the truth: But when it ſhall be by hundreds and thouſands, there can be no difficulty in the proof: That the Apoſtles and the ſeventy Diſciples wrought them in Chriſts own time, is declared before: That they wrought them more abundantly after, and that the ſame Spirit was then commonly given to others, I ſhall now further prove (beſides all the Hiſtories of it before recited.) That upon the Impoſition of the Apoſtles hands, or Baptiſm, or Prayer, the Holy Ghoſt was given, is expreſſed *Act.* 2. 38. to three thouſand at once the Holy Ghoſt was given. *Act.* 4. 31. All the aſſembly *were fil'ed with the Holy Ghoſt: And with great power gave the Apoſtles witneſs of the Reſurrection of the Lord Jeſus, and great grace was upon them all.* v. 33. Act. 8. 15, 17. The *Samaritans* received the Holy Ghoſt upon the prayer of *Peter* and *John*, ſo that *Simon Magus* would fain have bought that gift with Money. *Act.* 9. 7. *Paul* was filled with the Holy Ghoſt by the impoſition of *Ananias*'s hands. *Act.* 10. 44, 45, 47. Upon *Peters* preaching, the Holy Ghoſt fell on all the Family, and Kindred, and Friends of *Cornelius* who heard him preach, and they ſpake with tongues, and magnified God. *Act.* 11. 15. Even in the ſame manner as it fell on the Apoſtles. *Act.* 13. 52. The Diſciples were filled with the Holy Ghoſt. *Act.* 19. 6. Twelve men upon *Pauls* impoſition of hands, received the Holy Ghoſt, and ſpake with tongues, and propheſied. The Holy Ghoſt was given to the *Roman* Chriſtians, *Rom.* 5. 5. Yea, he telleth them, If any have not the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſame

Math. 16. 17.
Math. 10. 1, 2.
Luk. 10. 1, 17, 19.
Act. 2. 1, 2, 3.
Math. 3. 11.

ſame is none of his, *Rom.* 8. 9. The ſame was given to the Church of the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 6. 19. & 12. 12, 13. And to the Church of the *Galatians*, Gal. 3. 1, 2, 3, 5. And to the Church of the *Epheſians*, *Eph.* 1. 13. & 4. 30. To the *Philippians*, *Phil.* 1. 19. 27. & 2. 1. To the *Coloſſians*, Col. 1. 8. To the *Theſſalonians*, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 19. & 1. 6. And what this Spirit was and did, you may find in 1 *Cor.* 12. 4, 7, &c. *There are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit: But the manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withall: For, to one is given by the Spirit the word of wiſdom, to another the word of knowledge by the ſame Spirit, to another faith by the ſame Spirit, to another the gifts of healing by the ſame Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another propheſie, to another diſcerning of Spirits, to another divers kindes of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues: But all theſe worketh that one and the ſelf ſame Spirit, dividing to every man ſeverally as he will — For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jewes or Gentiles, bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.* And in 1 Cor. 14. the gift of ſpeaking with *tongues* was ſo common in the Church of the *Corinthians*, that the Apoſtle is fain to give them inſtructions for the moderate uſe of it, leſt they hindered the edification of the Church, by ſuppreſſing prophecy or inſtruction in known tongues: And therefore he perſwadeth them to uſe it but more ſparingly.

And *James* (5. 14, 15.) exhorteth Chriſtians when they *were ſick, to ſend to the Elders of the Church, that they may pray for them and anoynt them*, and they may be forgiven and recover: By which it ſeems it was no unuſual thing in thoſe times to be healed by the Prayers of the Elders. Yea, the very Hypocrites, and ungodly perſons, that had only the barren profeſſion of Chriſtianity, had the gift of Miracles, without the grace of Sanctification: And this Chriſt foretold, *Matth.* 7. 22. *Many ſhall ſay in that day, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy Name? and in thy Name caſt out devils? and done many wonderfull works?*

Quid ſoboles, virtuſq; Dei, & ſapientia Chriſtus?
Nonne ſatis vanis curas erroribus aufert?
Noſq; ſimul monitis & factis edocet unum
Cuncta Deum regere, —— et cum
Omnipotens verbo ſternit mare, vel pede calcat;
Et verbo morbos abigit, vel Dæmonas urget;
Aut reduces animas in corpora ſancta remittit; Jamq; diu exanimes tumulis jubet ire reclusis;
Integraq; putres virâ remeante ſepultos: Nonne poteſtatem propriam ſatis indicat auctor?
Qui ſolus naturam omnem vitamq; gubernat. *Claudian. Mammert. Carmen poſt lib. de Anim.*

Obj. *But all were not healed by them:* Paul *left* Trophimus *at* Miletum *sick: Why doth not* Paul *cure* Timothy *of his weak stomack and infirmity, without drinking of Wine, if he could do it?*

Answ. 1. Certainly, they did not cure all men that were sick: For then who would have dyed? It was none of the intent of the Spirit of Christ, in working Miracles, to make men immortal here on earth; and to keep them from Heaven? 2. And it is easily confess'd, that the Spirit was not at the command or will of them that had it: And therefore they could not do what and when they pleased, but what the Spirit pleased; And his operations were at his own time and disposal. And this proveth the more fully, that it was the testimony of God, and not the contrivance of the wit of man. 3. And miracles and tongues were not for them that believed, but rather for them that believed not: And therefore a *Trophimus* or a *Timothy* might be unhealed.

§. 35. 3. *These Miracles were oftentimes wrought, even for many years together, in several Countreys and places through the World, where the Apostles and Disciples came: and not only once, or for a little space of time.*

Dissimulation might be easilyer cloaked for a few acts, than it can be for so many years. At least these gifts and miracles continued during the Age of the Apostles, though not performed every day, or so commonly as might make them uneffectual, yet so frequently as to give success to the Gospel, and to keep up a reverence of Christianity in the World. They were wrought not only at *Jerusalem*, but at *Samaria*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Philippi*, and the rest of the Churches through the World.

§. 36. 4. *They were also wrought in the presence of multitudes, and not only in a corner, where there was more possibility of deceit.*

The Holy Ghost fell on the Apostles and all the Disciples at *Jerusalem* before all the people; that is, *They all heard them speak in several tongues, the wonderfull works of God; even the Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the Inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judæa, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia*, Egypt, *Lybia, Cyrene, Rome, Jews and Proselites, Cretes, and Arabians*, Act. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. It was

three thousand that the Holy Ghost fell on, *Act.* 2. 38. Those that went into the Temple, and all the people, saw the lame man, that was cured by *Peter* and *John*, Act. 3. The death of *Ananias* and *Sapphira* was a publick thing, so that *fear fell on all*, and hypocrites were deterred from joyning with the Church, *Act.* 5. The gifts of tongues, and interpretation, were commonly exercised before Congregations or multitudes. And crowds of people flocked to them to be healed; As with Christ they uncovered the roofs of the houses to lay the sick before him; so with the Apostles they strove who might come within their shadow, or touch the hem of their garment, or have Cloaths or Napkins from them, that they might be healed. So that here was an *age* of *publick Miracles.*

§. 37. 5. *All these miracles were uncontrolled; that is, They were not wrought in opposition to any controling Truth, which hath certain evidence contradicting this; nor yet were they overtopt by any greater miracles for the contrary.*

A miracle (if God should permit it to be wrought in such a case) might be said to be *controlled*, either of these two wayes: 1. If a man should work Miracles to contradict the certain light of Nature, or perswade men to that which is certainly false: 2. If men should do wonders as *Jannes* and *Jambres* the *Egyptian* Sorcerers, which should be overtopt by greater wonders, as those of *Moses*, and as *Simon Magus*, and *Elymas* by *Peter* and *Paul*; In these cases God could not be said to deceive men, by his power or permission, when he giveth them a sufficient preservative. But these Miracles had no such controll, but prevailed without any check from contradictory Truths or Miracles. Thus Christ performed his Promise, *Joh.* 14. 12. *Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do, shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I goe unto the Father.*

§. 38. III. *The third testimony of the Spirit to the truth of the Apostles witness, was the marvellous success of their doctrine to the sanctifying of souls; which as it could not be done without the power and Spirit of God, so neither would the righteous and merciful Governour of the World, have made a company of profligate lyars and deceivers his instruments of doing this excellent work by cheats and falshoods.*

This

This I ſpake of before, as it is the Seal of *Chriſts own* doctrine: I now ſpeak of it only as it is the Seal of the *Apoſtles verity* in their teſtimony of the Reſurrection and Miracles of Chriſt. *Peter* converted three thouſand at once: Many thouſands and myriads up and down the world were ſpeedily converted. And what was this Converſion. They were brought unfeignedly to love God above all, and their neighbours as themſelves. *Act.* 2. 42, 46. *They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtles doctrine, and fellowſhip, and breaking of bread and prayer: And all that believed were together and had all things common,* (not by levelling, but by ſome) *and ſold their poſſeſſions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need, and did eat their meat with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart, praiſing God, and having favour with all the People.*

Act. 4. 32. *The multitude of Believers were of one heart, and of one ſoul, neither ſaid any of them that ought of the things that he poſſeſſed was his own, but they had all things common.*

All that are in Chriſt, have *his Spirit, and are ſpiritually minded, and walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit*, Rom. 8. *They that are Chriſts, have crucified the fleſh, with the affections and luſts: The world is crucified to them, and they to the world*, Gal. 5. 24. & 6. 14. *They are choſen to be holy and unblameable in love*, Eph. 1. 4. They walk as *renewed in the ſpirit of their mindes, with all lowlineſs and meekneſs, and long-ſuffering, forbearing one another, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*: Eph. 4. 23. 2. 3. As being *created unto good works in Chriſt*: Eph. 2. 10. *Without corrupt communication, bitterneſs, wrath, clamor, evil-ſpeaking, fornication, uncleanneſs, covetouſneſs, filthineſs, fooliſh talking and jeaſting*, Eph. 4. 29. & 5. 3. 4. *Denying ungodlyneſs and worldly luſts, living ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent world*, as *redeemed from all iniquity, and purified as a peculiar people to Chriſt, zealous of good works*: Tit. 2. 12, 14. *Having their converſation in Heaven, from whence they expect their Redeemer* to tranſlate them into Glory, *Phil.* 3. 20, 21. Theſe were the fruits of the Miniſtry of the Apoſtles.

And God was pleaſed to bleſs their labours more than any others

others ſince, and make better, holyer, heavenlyer Chriſtians, by the means of their endeavours; that ſo he might give, a fuller proof of the truth of their teſtimony of Chriſt.

§. 39. *It is the great advantage of our Faith, that theſe ſecond attеſtations to the Diſciples teſtimony of the Miracles of Chriſt, are much more open, evident, and convincing, to us at this diſtance, than the Miracles of Chriſt himſelf; that ſo there might be no place for rational doubting.*

The ſorts of their miracles were as numerous as his: They were wrought by hundreds and thouſands, and not by Chriſt alone. They were wrought for an age, and not for three years and a half alone: They were wrought in a great part of the World, and not in *Judæa* and *Galilee* alone: They were done in the face of abundance of Congregations, and not before the *Jews* only: And they ſucceeded to the converſion and ſanctification of many thouſands more than did the preaching of Chriſt himſelf. So that if any thing that is ſaid before, of the confirmation of Chriſts own miracles, had wanted evidence, it is abundantly made up in the evidence of their miracles who were the reporters and witneſſes of his.

§. 40. *I have hitherto been ſhewing you, how the miracles of Chriſt were proved, atteſted, and made certainly known to the firſt Churches planted by the Apoſtles themſelves*, viz. *by the teſtimony of the Spirit*, 1. *In their doctrine and lives*, 2. *In their miracles*, and 3. *In their ſucceſs, in the ſanctification of mens ſouls: I am next to ſhew you how theſe matters of fact, or actions of the Apoſtles, are certainly proved, or brought down to us.*

§. 41. *And this is by the ſame three wayes of proof as the Apoſtles proved to the firſt Churches, their teſtimony: (though with much difference in the point of miracles)* viz. I. *We have it by the* moſt credible humane teſtimony: II. *By ſuch teſtimony as hath a* natural certainty: III. *And by ſome of that teſtimony of God, which is alſo a* ſupernatural *evidence: Of all which I muſt ſpeak in order (ſuppoſing what is ſaid before.)*

§. 42. I. *The only natural way of tranſmitting thoſe things down to us, is by Hiſtorical Conveyance: And the authors of this Hiſtory, are, both the* Churches *of Chriſt, and their enemies: The credibility of which Teſtimonies will be fully ever opened,*

opened, under the second degree of proofs; which comprehendeth this.

§. 43. II. *That there is a natural* Impossibility *that our History of the Apostles gifts and miracles should be false, will appear by reviewing all the particulars by which the same was proved of the Apostles testimony of the miracles of Christ; And in many respects, with much more advantage.*

§. 44. (1.) *It is naturaly impossible that all Reporters could be themselves deceived: For* 1. *They were* many thousands, *in several Countreys through the World: And therefore could not be all either* mad or senseless: 2. *They were men that took their salvation to be most neerly concerned in the thing, and were to forsake the pleasures of the World, and suffer from men for their Religion: and therefore could not be* utterly careless *in examining the thing:* 3. *They were* present *upon the place, and eye-witnesses, and ear-witnesses of all.* 4. *The Languages were said to be spoken, in their assemblies, and the miracles done among them, for many years, even an age together: And it is impossible all Countreys could be cheated by juggling, in matters which their eyes and ears were such competent witnesses of, for so many years together.* 5. *They were said to be the objects of many of these miracles themselves;* viz. *That the cures were wrought on many of them; that the same Spirit was given to them all.* 6. *And they were said to be the Agents themselves in the several works of that Spirit, according to their several gifts. So that their common deceit must be impossible.*

If any man should now among us, take on him to speak with divers Languages, or tell the Churches that divers Languages are spoke among them in their hearing, by unlearned men; and that Propheſyings, Interpretations, miraculous cures, *&c.* are wrought among them, and name the persons, time and place; and should tell them that they had all some sort or other of the same gifts themselves; were it possible for the people to believe all this, if it were a Lie? Would they not say, when did we ever hear your Languages? or when did we ever see your Cures and other Miracles? when did we see an *Ananias* and *Saphira* die? When did we do any such works our selves? Do we not know what we doe? Men *could not* believe such palpable untruths in

in matter of publick fact, so neer them, among them, upon them, and much less could so *many thousands* believe this, in so *many Nations*, if it were false: Because the understanding is not *free* in it self; but *per modum naturæ* is necessitated by cogent evidence. Absurd *doctrines* may easily deceive many thousands; and so may false History do by men at a sufficient distance: But he that thinks the ears and eyes and other senses of so many thousand sound persons, were all deceived thus in *presence*, will sure never trust his own ears or eyes or sense in any thing; nor expect that any man else should ever believe him, who so little believeth his own sense and understanding.

§. 45. (2.) *That the reporters were not purposely the Deceivers of the World by wilfull falshood, is also certain by these following evidences.*

§. 46. *It was not possible that so many thousands in all Countreys, should have wit and cunning enough for such a contrivance, and could keep it secret among themselves, that it should never be detected.*

They that think they were all so stupid as to be *themselves deceived*, cannot also think that they were all so cunning as to conspire the deceiving of all the World, so successfully and undiscovered. But it is past doubt, that for their Naturals, they were ordinary persons, neither such mad people as all to think they saw, and heard, and did things which were nothing so, for so long together; nor yet so subtile as to be able to lay such a deceiving plot, and carry it on so closely to the end. And they that suspect the Apostles and first Disciples to be the Authors of the plot, will not suspect all the Churches too: For if there were *Deceivers*, there must be some to be *deceived* by them: If Christ *deceived* the *Disciples*, then the *Disciples* could not be wilfull *deceivers* themselves: For if they were themselves deceived, they could not (therein) be wilfull deceivers: And then how came they to confirm their testimony by Miracles? If the *Apostles only* were *deceivers*, then all the Disciples and Evangelists who assisted them must be *deceived*, and not *wilfull deceivers*. And then how came *they also* to do miracles? If all the Apostles and Disciples of the first Edition were wilfull Deceivers, then all the Churches through the World which were gathered

thered by them, were *deceived* by them, and then *they* were not *wilful deceivers* themſelves: which is all that I am now proving, having proved before that they were not *deceived*.

§. 47. 2. *If they had been* cunning *enough, it is moſt improbable that ſo many thouſands in ſo many Nations, ſhould be ſo* bad, *as to deſire and endeavour at ſuch a rate as their own temporal and eternal ruine, to deceive all the world into a blaſphemy without any benefit to themſelves, which might be rationally ſufficient to ſeem a tempting compenſation to them.*

Nemo jam infamiam incutiat; nemo aliud exiſtimet: quia nec fas eſt ulli de ſua religione mentiri. *Tertul. Apol.* c. 20.

§. 48. *For all theſe Churches which witneſſed the Apoſtles Miracles,* 1. *Did profeſs to believe lying and deceiving to be a heinous ſin.* 2. *And to believe an everlaſting puniſhment for liars.* 3. *They were taught by their Religion to expect calamity in this world.* 4. *They had experience enough to confirm them in that expectation: Therefore they had no motive which could be ſufficient to make them guilty of ſo coſtly a deceit.*

For, 1. *Operari ſequitur eſſe.* A man will do ill, but according to the meaſure that he is *ill*; and as bad as humane nature is, it is not yet ſo much depraved, as that thouſands through the world could agree, without any commodity to move them to it, to ruine their own eſtates, and lives, and ſouls for ever, meerly to make the world believe that other men did miracles, and to draw them to believe a known untruth. And, 2. as free as the *will* is, it is yet a thing that hath its *nature* and *inclination*, and cannot act without a cauſe and object; which muſt be ſome *apparent good*: Therefore when there is no *good-appearing*, but wickedneſs and miſery, it cannot will it. So that this ſeemeth inconſiſtent with humane nature.

Quid adeo ſimile Philoſophus & Chriſtianus? Græciæ diſcipulus & cœli? famæ negotiator & vitæ? verborum & factorum operator. *Tertul. Apol.* c. 46.

§. 49. *And the certain hiſtory of their lives doth ſhew, that they were perſons extraordinary good and conſcionable: being holy, heavenly and contemners of this world, and ready to ſuffer for their Religion: and therefore could not be ſo extremely bad, as to ruine themſelves only to do miſchief to the world and their poſterity.*

§. 50. *And their enemies bare them witneſs, that they did and ſuffered all this in the hopes of a reward in heaven: which proveth that they were not wilful liars and deceivers: for no man can look for a reward in heaven, for the greateſt known villany on earth, even for ſuffering, to cheat all the world into a blaſphemy.*

Even

Even *Lucian* ſcoffeth at the Chriſtians for running into ſufferings, and hoping to be rewarded for it with a life everlaſting.

§. 51. 3. *If they had been never ſo* cunning *and ſo* bad, *yet was it impoſſible that they ſhould be able for the* ſucceſsful execution *of ſuch a deceit, as will appear by all theſe following evidences.*

§. 52. 1. *It was impoſſible that ſo many thouſands, at ſuch a diſtance, who never ſaw each others faces, could lay the plot, in a way of concord; but one would have been of one mind, and another of another.*

§. 53. 2. *It is impoſſible that they ſhould agree in carrying it on, and keeping it ſecret through all the world, if they had accorded in the firſt contrivance and attempts.*

§. 54. 3. *It is impoſſible that all the thouſands of adverſaries among them, who were eye-witneſſes and ear-witneſſes as well as they, ſhould not diſcover the deceit.*

All thoſe *Parthians, Medes, Elamites*, and other Countrymen, mentioned *Act.* 2. were not Chriſtians: and the Chriſtians, though many, were but a ſmall part of the Cities and Countries where they dwelt. And *Paul* ſaith, that Tongues and Miracles were for the ſake of unbelievers; and unbelievers were ordinarily admitted into the Chriſtian aſſemblies: and the Chriſtians went among them to preach; and moſt of the miracles were wrought in their ſight and hearing.

§. 55. 4. *It is impoſſible that the falling out of Chriſtians among themſelves, among ſo many thouſands in ſeveral Nations, ſhould never have detected the deceit, if they had been all ſuch deceivers.*

§. 56. 5. *It is impoſſible but ſome of the multitudes of the perverted, exaſperated, ſeparating, or excommunicate Hereticks, (which were then in moſt Countries where there were Chriſtians, and oppoſed the Orthodox, and were oppoſed by them) ſhould have detected this deceit, if it had been ſuch.*

§. 57. 6. *It is impoſſible but ſome of the Apoſtates of thoſe times, who are ſuppoſed to have joyned in the deceit, would have detected it to the world, when they fell off from Chriſtianity.*

§. 58. 7. *It is ſcarce poſſible among ſo many thouſands in ſeveral Lands, that none of their own conſciences living or dying,*

should be constrained in remorse and terrour, to detect so great an evil to the world.

§. 59. 8. *Much more impossible is it, that under the conscience of such a villany, they should live, and suffer, and die rejoycingly, and think it a happy exchange to forsake life and all, for the hopes of a reward in heaven for this very thing.*

§. 60. 9. *Lastly, it is impossible, that these thousands of Christians should be able to deceive many more than themselves, into the belief of the same untruths, in the very time and place, where the things were said to be done; and where the detection of the deceit had been easie, yea, unavoidable.*

Christianity was then upon the increase: they that were converted, did convert more than themselves. Suppose in *Jerusalem*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Rome*, &c. some thousands believed by the preaching of the Apostles, in a few years at the first: in a few years more, there were as many more added. Now supposing all this had been but a cheat, if the Christians had told their neighbours, [Among us, unlearned men speak in the Languages of all Countries; they cast out devils; they cure all diseases with prayer and annointing; they prophesie, and interpret Tongues; they do many other miracles; and the same Spirit is given to others by their imposition of hands; and all this in the Name and by the Power of Jesus:] would not their neighbours easily know whether this were true or not? And if it were false, would they not hate such deceivers, and make them a common scorn, instead of being converted by them?

§. 61. *The foresaid impossibilities are herein founded:* 1. *There is no effect without a sufficient cause.* 2. *A* necessary *cause, not sufficiently hindred, will bring forth its answerable effect. But the opposed supposition maketh effects without any sufficient cause, and necessary causes without their adequate effects.*

§. 62. *The providence of God permitted dissentions and heresies to arise among Christians, and rivals and false Teachers to raise hard reports of the Apostles, and the people to be somewhat alienated from them, that the Apostles might by challenges appeal to miracles; and future ages might be convinced, that the matter of fact could not be contradicted.*

The *Romans* had contentions among themselves, the strong and the weak contemning or condemning one another, about meats

meats and days, *Rom.* 14. and 15. The *Corinthians* were divided into factions, and exasperated against *Paul* by false Apostles; so that he is fain at large to vindicate his Ministry: and he doth it partly by appealing both to miracles and works of power wrought among them, and by the Spirit given to themselves, 2 *Cor.* 12. 12. and 13. 3, 4, 5. and 1 *Cor.* 12. 7, 12, 13. The *Galatians* were more alienated from *Paul* by *Jewish* Teachers, and seemed to take him as an enemy, for telling them the truth, and he feared that he had bestowed on them labour in vain; and in this case he vehemently rebuketh them, and appealeth first to miracles wrought among them, and before their eyes, and next to the Spirit given to themselves: *Gal.* 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that you should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? He therefore that ministreth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?* Now if no such miracles were wrought among them, and if no such Spirit was received by themselves, would this argument have silenced adversaries, and reconciled the minds of the *Galatians*? or rather have made them deride the cause that must have such a defence, and say, [Who be they that work miracles among us? and when did we receive such a Spirit?] So to the *Romans*, this is *Paul*'s testimonial, *Rom.* 15. 18, 19. *For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed: Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God,* &c. And to the *Corinthians* he saith, 1 *Cor.* 14. 18. *I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all.* So *Gal.* 2. 8. 1 *Cor.* 14. 22. *Tongues are for a sign to them that believe not.* So *Acts* 2. 43. and 4. 30. and 5. 12. and 7. 36. and 8. 13. and 14. 3. and 6. 8. and 8. 6, 13. and 15. 12. and 19. 11. 1 *Cor.* 12. 10. Miracles are still made the confirmation of the Apostles testimony and doctrine.

And in *Heb.* 2. 3, 4. you have the just method of the proof and progress of Christianity, [*Which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord,* (but how is that known?) *and was confirmed:*

firmed to us by them that heard him. (But how shall we know that they said truth? *) God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the holy Ghost, according to his own will.*

And *Act.* 4. 33. *And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.* 1 *Joh.* 1. 1, 2, 3. *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life, (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us;) that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us, &c.*

§. 63. III. *The miracles of the Apostles are not only attested by the Churches which were eye-witnesses of them,* 1. *By the way of* most credible humane testimony. 2. *And by natural evidence of infallible certainty: but also,* 3. *By* supernatural *testimony of God himself, as appeareth in these following evidences.*

§. 64. 1. *Many miracles were wrought by those* first Churches, *who were the witnesses of the Apostles miracles; which is a divine attestation to their testimony.*

1. The Scriptures fore-cited tell us, that the same holy Ghost was given to them all, though all had not the same gifts; and that tongues, and healing, and miracles were the gifts of many, though not of all: which, as I have shewed, they could not themselves have believed of themselves, if it had not been true. Yea, sufficient historical testimony telleth us, that for three or four hundred years, (at least till *Constantine* owned and protected Christianity by Secular Power) miracles were wrought in confirmation of the Christian faith. It hath been the devils craft to seek to destroy the credit of them, partly by hypocrites, who have counterfeited miracles; and partly by lying Legends of the carnal proud domineering part of the Church, who have told the world so many palpable lies, that they seemed to do it in design, to perswade them to believe nothing that is true. But yet all wise men will know the difference between History credible and incredible. The many testimonies of the miracles

miracles of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and many others, mentioned by *Eusebius*, and almost all other Christian Writers of those times, and those mentioned by *Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib.* 22 *cap.* 8. and *Retract. lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. *& passim*; and by *Cyprian, Tertullian*, and many more, will not be thought incredible by impartial considering men.

§. 65. 2. *The eminent sanctity of the Pastors of the Churches, with the success of their testimony and doctrine, for the true sanctification of many thousand souls, is God's own attestation to their testimony and doctrine.*

How far the sanctifying renewing success of the doctrine, is a Divine attestation to its verity, I have before opened: and how far God owneth even the truths of Philosophy, by blessing them with an adequate proportionable success. The defective partial truths of Philosophy, produce a defective partial reformation; (how far God accepteth it, belongeth not to my present business to determine.) The more full and integral discovery of God's will, by Jesus Christ, doth produce a more full and integral renovation. And, 1. The cause is known by the effect. 2. And God will not (as is before said) bless a lie to do the most excellent work in all the world. Now it is a thing most evident, that God hath still bless'd the Ministry of the Christian Pastors in all ages, to the renewing of many thousand souls: That this is truly so, I shall somewhat fullier shew anon: but that it is God's own attestation, I have shewed before.

§. 66. *I have opened the validity of the Apostles testimony of the Resurrection and miracles of Christ, and the first Churches certain testimony of the miracles of the Apostles; both of them having a three-fold certainty, Moral, Natural, and Supernatural: In all which I have supposed, that such a testimony the Churches have indeed given down to their posterity; which is the thing that remaineth lastly to be here proved.*

§. 67. *The doctrine and miracles of Christ and his Apostles have been delivered us down from the first Churches, by all these following ways of history.* 1. *By delivering to us the same* writings *of the Apostles and Evangelists which they received from their hands themselves as certain truth, and delivered down as such to us: even the holy Scriptures of the New Testament. They that believed their words, believed their writings,*

and

and have told us their belief, by preserving them for posterity as Sacred Verities.

In the holy Scriptures, the life, and death, and doctrine of Christ is contained; with the doctrine of the Apostles, and so much of the history of their Preaching and Miracles, as *Luke* was an eye-witness of, or had certain knowledge of, (who was commonly *Pauls* companion) by which we may partly judge of the Acts of the rest of the Apostles. And if the Churches had not believed all these, they would not have delivered them as the infallible Writings of the inspired Apostles to their Posterity.

§. 68 2. *The very* successive Being *of Christians and Churches, is the fullest history that they believed those things which made them Christians and Churches, which was the doctrine and miracles of Christ.*

A *Christian* is nothing else but one that receiveth the Doctrine, Resurrection, and Miracles of Christ, as certain truth, by the preaching and Miracles of his great Witnesses, the Apostles: so many *Christians*, as there ever were, so many *believers* of these things there have been. It was this Doctrine and Miracles that made them Christians, and planted these Churches: And if any man think it questionable, whether there have been *Christians* ever since Christs time, in the World, All history will satisfie him, *Roman*, *Mahometan*, *Jewish* and *Christian*, without any one dissenting voice. *Pliny*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Marcellinus*, *Eunapius*, *Lucian* and *Porphyry* and *Julian*, and all such enemies may convince him: He shall read the history of their sufferings, which will tell him, that certainly such a sort of persons there was then in the World.

§. 69. 3. *The succession of Pastors and Preachers in all generations, is another proof: For it was* their office *to read publickly, and preach this same Scripture to the Church and World, as the truth of God.*

I speak not of a succession of Pastors in this one City or that, or by this or that particular way of ordination, having nothing here to do with that: But that a certain succession there hath been since the dayes of the Apostles, is past question: For 1. Else there had been no particular Churches: 2. Nor no baptism: 3. Nor no publick Worship of

of God. 4. Nor no Synods, or Discipline: But this is not denyed.

§. 70. 4. *The continuance of Baptism, which is the kernel or sum of all Christianity, proveth the continuance of the Christian Faith. For all Christians in Baptism, were baptized into the vowed belief and obedience of the Son and Holy Ghost as well as of the Father.*

§. 71. 5. *The delivering down of the three breviate Symbols,* of Faith, Desire *and* Duty, *the Creed, Lords Prayer and Decalogue, is the Churches delivery of the Christian Religion, as that which all Christians have believed.*

§. 72. 6. *The constant communion of the Church in solemn Assemblies, and setting apart the Lords Day to that use, was a delivery of the Christian Faith, which those assemblies all professed to believe.*

§. 73. 7. *The constant preaching and reading of these same Scriptures in those Assemblies, and celebrating there the Sacrament of Christs death, and the custom of open professing their Belief, and the Prayers and praises of God for the Resurrection and Miracles of Christ, are all open, undenyable testimonies that these things were believed by those Churches.*

§. 74. 8. *The frequent disputes which Christians in all ages have held with the adversaries of the Scripture and Christianity, do shew that they believed all these Scriptures, and the Doctrines and Miracles therein contained.*

§. 75. 9. *The Writings of the Christians in all ages, their Apologies, Commentaries, Histories, Devotional treatises; all bear the same testimony, that we have these things by their tradition.*

§. 76. 10. *The Confessions, Sufferings and Martyrdom of many in most ages, do bear the same testimony, that they believed this, for which they suffered; and that posterity received it from them.*

§. 77. 11. *The Decrees and Canons of the Synods or Councils of the Bishops of the Churches, are another part of the history of the same belief.*

§. 78. 12. *Lastly, the decrees and laws of Princes concerning them, are another part of the history, shewing that they did believe these things.*

§. 79. *And if any question whether our Scriptures which contain*

theſe hiſtories and doctrines be indeed the ſame, which theſe Churches received and delivered from the Apoſtles, he may eaſily be convinced, as followeth.

§. 80. 1. *Various Copies of it in the* Hebrew *and* Greek *text, were very quickly ſcattered about the World, and are yet found in all Nations agreeing in all material paſſages.*

§. 81. 2. *Theſe Scriptures were tranſlated into many Languages, of which there are yet extant, the* Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick, Perſian, &c. *which agree in all material things.*

§. 82. 3. *It was the ſtated Office of the Miniſters in all the Churches in the World, to read theſe Scriptures openly to the People, and preach on them, in all their ſolemn Aſſemblies: And a thing ſo publickly maintained and uſed, could not poſſibly be altered materially.*

§. 83. 4. *All private Chriſtians were exhorted to read and uſe the ſame Scriptures alſo, in their Families, and in ſecret.*

§. 84. 5. *This being through ſo many Nations of the World, it was not poſſible that they could all agree upon a corruption of the Scriptures: nor is there mention in any hiſtory of any attempt of any ſuch agreement.*

§. 85. 6. *If they would have met together for that end, they could not poſſibly have all conſented: Becauſe they were of ſo many mindes, and parties, and inclinations.*

§. 86. 7. *Eſpecially when all Chriſtians by their Religion, take it to be matter of damnation, to adde to or diminiſh from theſe ſacred Writings, as being the inſpired Word of God.*

§. 87. 8. *And every Chriſtian took it for the rule of his Faith, and the Charter for his heavenly Inheritance; and therefore would certainly have had his action againſt the Corrupters of it.*

As the Laws of this Land, being recorded, and having Lawyers and Judges whoſe calling is continually to uſe them, and men holding their Eſtates and ſafety by them, if any would alter them all the reſt would quickly detect it, and be upon his head.

§. 88. 9. *Yea, the many Sects and Contentions among Chriſtians, and the many Hereticks that were at enmity with them, would certainly have detected any combination to corrupt the Scriptures.*

§. 89. 10.

§. 89. 10. *Some few Hereticks in the beginning did attempt to bring in the Goſpel of* Nicodemus, *and ſome other forged Writings, and to have corrupted ſome parts of Scripture; and the Churches preſently cryed them down.*

§. 90. 11. *Moſt Hereticks have pleaded theſe ſame Scriptures, and denyed them not to be genuine:* Yea, Julian, Celſus, Porphyry, *and other Heathens did not deny it, but took it as a certain truth.*

§. 91. 12. *The ancient Writers of the Church,* Clemens, Ignatius, Juſtin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Athenagoras, Lactantius, Euſebius, Nazianzene, Nyſſen, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, Epiphanius, Hierom, Auguſtine, *&c. do all cite theſe Scriptures as we now have them in all things material.*

§. 92. 13. *The Chriſtian Emperours have inſerted the mention of ſome paſſages in their Laws, in the ſame words as they are in our Bibles.*

§. 93. 14. *Several Councils have not only cited ſeveral paſſages out of them, but pleaded them ſtill as the Word of God, and enumerated the particular Books which conſtitute the whole Syſteme.*

All this ſet together will tell any man of reaſon, conſideration, and impartiality, that we have much fuller certainty that theſe Scriptures are the ſame which the firſt Churches received from the Apoſtles, than they can have that *Virgil's*, *Ovid's*, *Cicero's* or *Plutarch's* works are theirs; or that the Statutes of this Land are currant. Yea, were it not leſt I be too tedious, I might diſtinctly ſhew you the forementioned threefold *certainty* of all this: 1. A *moral certainty* of the ſtrongeſt humane Faith. 2. A *natural certainty* grounded upon Phyſical impoſſibilities of the contrary. 3. And ſomewhat of a *Divine ſupernatural atteſtation*, by the continued bleſſing of God on the Scriptures for the ſanctifying of ſouls in every age.

And this bringeth me up to the laſt part of this Chapter: I have all this while been ſhewing how the three firſt parts of the *Spirits* witneſs to Chriſt, are made known to us, *viz.* Prophecy, the Holyneſs of the Doctrine, and Miracles: I come now in a word to the fourth.

§. 94. IV. *How may we certainly know the fourth part of*

Mat. 1 21. *He shall save his People from their sins*: Vide quæ de nomine Jesu habet Beda in *Luc. 2. l. 1. c. 7. fol. 62. p. 1. de numero* 888. in literis numeralibus Jesus inclusa.

the SPIRITS *witness to Christ*, viz. *The success of his doctrine in the Regeneration of his Disciples, and the actual saving them from their sins?*

Answ. I shall answer this, 1. As to the times past, and 2. As to the present age.

§. 95. 1. *What men have been in times past, we have but these three wayes to know*: 1. *By the History of those ages*; 2. *By their remaining works*: 3. *By their successors in whom their belief and qualities are continued. And* 1. *that there have been holy persons in all ages (yea, that all true Christians were such) we have as good testimony as History can afford: whether you will judge of them by their profession, life or sufferings.* 2. *Their remaining works are very great testimonies what a spirit of Holiness, Charity and Justice, doth breath in the writings of those holy men, which are come to our hands?* Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Cyprian, Ephrem Syrus, Macarius, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzene, Gr. Nyssen, Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Salvian, Cassianus, Bernard, *&c.* 3. *Those that succeed them at this day in the serious profession of Christianity, are a living history of the virtues of their ancestors.*

§. 96. 2. *Of the sanctity of the Christians of* this present age, *there is a double knowledge to be had*: 1. *By them that are Regenerate themselves*: 2. *By them that are not*: *Between these wayes of knowledge the difference must be great.*

Sicut Ars in eo qui nactus est illam, ita gratia Spiritus in eo qui recepit, semper quidem præsens, at non perpetuò operans est *Basil. de Spir. sanct.*

§. 97. 1. *As he that hath learning, or love to his Parents, or loyalty to his King, or faithfulness to his friend, may know that he hath it*; *so may he that is renewed by the Spirit of God, and hath a predominant love to God, a heavenly minde and conversation, a hatred of sin, a delight in holiness, a love to all men, even his enemies, a contempt of the World, a mastery over his fleshly appetite, sense and lusts*; *a holy Government of his passions, thoughts, and tongue*; *with a longing desire to be perfect in all this, and a supporting hope to see Gods glory, and enjoy him in the delights of Love and Praise, for evermore.*

Animæ afflatæ ac illustratæ Spiritu, fiunt & ipsæ Spirituales; & in alios gratiam emittunt: Hinc futurorum præscientia, arcanorum intelligentia, occultorum comprehensio, donorum distributiones, cœlestis conversatio, cum Angelis chorea; Hinc gaudium nunquam finiendum, hinc in Deo perseverantia, & cum Deo similitudo, & quo nihil sublimius expeti potest, hinc est ut Divinus fiis. *Basil, ibid.*

§. 98. *This evidence of the* Spirit *of* Sanctification in our selves

selves is not the reason or motive of our first faith, but of our confirmation; and fuller assurance in believing afterwards: For a man must in some sort believe in Christ before he can know that he is sanctifyed by him.

The rest of the motives are sufficient to begin the work of Faith: and are the means which God ordinarily useth to that end.

§. 99. *It is Christs appointed Method that by learning of Him and using his appointed means, Men be brought up to such a degree of Holyness, as to be able to discern this witness in themselves, and thence to grow up to full assurance of Faith and Hope: Therefore if any one that hath heard the Gospel, do want this inward assuring testimony, it is because they have been false to the truth and means before revealed to them.*

He that will but enquire into the Gospel, and receive it and obey it so far as he hath reason to do it, and not be false to his own Reason and Interest, shall receive that renewing sanctifying Spirit, which will be an abiding witness in himself. But if he will reject known truth, and refuse known duty, and neglect the most reasonable means that are proposed to him, he must blame himself if he continue in unbelief, and want that evidence which others have. Suppose, that in a common Plague, one Physician should be famed to be the only and infallible Cürer of all that take his remedies; and suppose many defame him, and say, He is but a Deceiver: and others tell you, [He hath cured us and many thousands, and we can easily convince you, that his Remedies have nothing in them that is hurtfull; and therefore you may safely try them; especially having no other help;] He that will so far believe in him, and trust him now, as to try his Remedies, may live; but he that will not, must blame none but himself, if he die of his disease: He that tryeth, shall know by his own cure and experience, that his Physician is no *Deceiver*: And he that will not, and yet complaineth that he wanteth that experimental knowledge, doth but talk like a peevish self-destroyer.

Hoc itaq; prodest in Deum credere, rectâ fide, Deum colere, Deum nosse, ut & bene vivendi ab illo fit nobis auxilium; & si peccaverimus, indulgentiam mereamur; non in factis quæ odit, securi perseverantes, *&c. Augst. de fid. & oper. lib. c. 21. p. 34.*

§. 100. 2. *He that yet hath not the evidence of the Spirit of Regeneration in himself, may yet be convinced that it is in others; and thereby may know that Christ is indeed the Saviour of the World, and no deceiver.*

Even as in the aforesaid instance, he that never tryed the Physician himself, yet if he see thousands cured by him, may know by that, that he is not a deceiver; and so may be perswaded to trust and try him himself.

Non in meditatione Sermonis & structura verborum, sed in rebus opere declarandis, tanquam doctrina viva, professio nostra posita est: *Athenagor. Apol. B. P. p. 78.* *Yet there he complaineth that they were accused of the most odious villanies, without all shew of cause.*

§. 101. *The way to know that* others *are thus regenerated, is* 1. *By believing them* Fide humana, 2. *By discerning it in the* effects.

And though it be too frequent to have presumptuous self-conceited persons, to affirm that the Spirit of Christ hath *renewed* them, when it is no such matter, yet all humane testimony of matters so neer men, even *within* them, is not therefore incredible; but wise men will discern a credible person from an incredible. In the forementioned instance, many may tell you, that they are cured by the Physician, when it is not so; but will you therefore believe *no one* that telleth you that he is cured? Many may boast of that *learning* which they have not, and tell you that they have knowledge in Mathematicks, or in several Arts; But is no man therefore to be believed that saith the same?

But yet I perswade no man here to take up with the bare belief of another mans word, where he seeth not enough in the effects, to second it, and to perswade a reasonable man that it is true. But as he that heareth a man that was sick, professe that he is cured, may well believe him, if he see him eat, and drink, and sleep, and labour, and laugh as the healthfull use to doe; so he that heareth a sober man professe with humble thanks to God, that he hath changed and renewed him by his Spirit, may well believe him, if he see him live like a renewed man.

§. 102. *Though you cannot be infallibly certain of the sincerity of any one individual person, but your self (because we know not the heart); yet may you be certain that* all *do not dissemble.*

Because there is a natural impossibility, that interests, and motives, and sufficient causes should concurre to lead them to it: As before I said, we are not certain of any individual woman that she doth not dissemble Love to her Husband and Children: but we may be certain that all the women in the World do not; from many natural proofs which might be given.

§. 103. *All*

§. 103. *All these effects of Renovation may be discerned in others.* 1. *You may discern, that they are much grieved for their former sins.* 2. *That they are weary of the remnant of their corruption or infirmity.* 3. *That they long and labour to be delivered, and to have their cure perfected, and live in the diligent use of means to that end.* 4. *That they live in no sin, but smaller humane frailties.* 5. *That all the riches in the world would not hire them deliberately and wilfully to sin, but they will rather choose to suffer what man can lay upon them.* 6. *That they are vile in their own eyes, because of their remaining imperfections.* 7. *That they do no wrong or injustice to any, or if they do wrong any, they are ready to confess it, and make them satisfaction.* 8. *That they love all good men with a love of complacency, and all bad men with a love of benevolence, yea, even their enemies; and instead of revenge are ready to forgive, and to do what good they can for them and all men. And that they hate bad men in opposition to* complacency, *but as they hate* themselves *for their sins.* 9. *That they love all doctrines, persons and practices which are holy, temperate, just and charitable.* 10. *That their passions at least are so far governed, that they do not carry them to swear, curse or rail, or slander, or fight, or to do evil.* 11. *That their tongues are used to speak with reverence of holy and righteous things, and not to filthy ribbald, railing, lying, or other wicked speech.* 12. *That they suffer not their lusts to carry them to fornication, nor their appetites to drunkenness or notable excess.* 13. *That nothing below God himself, is the principle object of their devotion: but to know him, to love him, to serve and please him, and to delight in these, is the greatest care, and desire, and endeavour of their souls.* 14. *That their chiefest hopes are of heaven, and everlasting happiness with God, in the perfection of this* sight *and* love. 15. *That the ruling motives are fetch'd from God, and the life to come, which most command their choice, their comforts, and their lives.* 16. *That in comparison of this, all worldly riches, honours and dignities, are sordid contemptible things in their esteem.* 17. *That for the hope of this, they are much supported with patience under all sufferings in the way.* 18. *That they value and use the things of this world, in their callings and labours, in subserviency to God and Heaven, as a means to its proper end.* 19. *That they use their relations in the same subserviency; ruling chiefly for God,*

Spiritus sanctus conceditur ad usum, ad miraculum, ad salutem, ad auxilium, ad solatium, ad fervorem. Ad usum vitæ, bonis & malis communia bona tribuens: Ad miraculum in signis & prodigiis. Ad salutem, cum toto corde revertitur ad Deum. Ad auxilium, cum in omni coll. statione adjuvat infirmitatem nostram: Ad solatium, cum testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro, quod filii Dei sumus. Ad fervorem, cum in cordibus perfectorum vehementius spirans validum ignem charitatis accendit. *Bern. Serm. 15 Pentecost.*

God, if they be superiours, and obeying chiefly for God, if they be inferiours; and that with fidelity, submission and patience, so far as they can know his will. 2c. That their care and daily business in the world is, by diligent redeeming precious time, in getting and doing what good they can, to make ready for death, and judgment, to secure their everlasting happiness, and to please their God.

§. 104. *All this may be discerned in others, with so great probability of their sincerity, that no charitable reason shall have cause to question it. And I repeat my testimony, that here is not a word which I have not faithfully copied out of my own heart and experience; and that I have been acquainted with multitudes, who, I verily believe, were much better than my self, and had a greater measure of all this grace.*

§. 105. *If any shall say, that men superstitiously appoint themselves unnecessary tasks, and forbid themselves many lawful things, and then call this by the name of* Holiness: *I answer, That many indeed do so, but it is no such that I am speaking of: Let reason judge, whether in this or any of the fore-going descriptions of Holiness there be any such thing at all contained.*

§. 106. *He that will be able to discern this Spirit of God in others, must necessarily observe these reasonable conditions.* 1. *Choose not those that are notoriously No-christians, to judge of Christianity by; a drunkard, fornicator, voluptuous, carnal, worldly, proud or selfish person, calling himself a Christian, is certainly but an hypocrite: And shall Christianity be judged of by a lying hypocrite?* 2. *As you must choose such to try by, as are truly serious in their Religion, so you must be* intimate *and familiar with them, and not* strangers, *that see them as afar off: for they make no vain ostentation of their piety. And how can they discern the divine motions of their souls, that only see them in common conversation?* 3. *You must not judge of them by the revilings of ignorant ungodly men.* 4. *Nor by the reproach of selfish men, that are moved only by some interest of their own.* 5. *Nor by the words of faction,* (Civil or Religious) *which judgeth of all men according to the interest of their sect, or cause and party.* 6. *Nor by your own partial interest, which will make you judge of men, not as they are indeed, and towards God, but as they either answer or cross your interests and desires.* 7. *Nor must you judge of all by some that prove hypocrites, who once seemed sincere.*

8. *Nor*

8. *Nor must you judge of a man by some particular fall or failing, which is contrary to the bent of his heart and life, and is his greatest sorrow.* 9. *Nor must you come with a fore-stalled and malicious mind, hating that holiness your self which you enquire after; for malice is blind, and a constant false interpreter and a slanderer.* 10. *You must know what Holiness and Honesty is, before you can well judge of them.*

These conditions are all so reasonable and just, that he, that liveth among religious honest men, and will stand at a distance, unacquainted with their lives, and maliciously revile them, upon the seduction of false reports, or of interest either his own interest, or the interest of a faction, and will say, I see no such *honest* and *renewed* persons, but a company of self-conceited hypocrites; this man's confirmed infidelity and damnation, is the just punishment of his wilful blindness, partiality and malice, which made him false to God, to truth, and to his own soul.

§. 107. *It is not some but All true Christians, that ever were or are in the world, who have within them this witness or evidence of the Spirit of Regeneration.*

Inseperabilis est bona vita à fide quæ per dilectionem operatur, imò vero ea ipsa est bona vita. *Aug. de fid. & oper. c. 23.*

As I have before said, Christ will own no others, Rom. 8. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Luk. 14. 26. 33. *If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new. He that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple.* Gal. 5. 24. *They that are Christs, have crucified the flesh, with its affections and lusts.* Indeed the Church visible, which is but the congregate Societies of professed Christians, hath many in it, that have none of this Spirit or grace; but such are only Christians equivocally, and not in the primary proper sense: 1 Joh. 5. 7, 8, 9, 10. *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghost, and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself: He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son.*

§. 108. *The more any one is a Chriſtian in degree, the more he hath of this witneſs of the ſanctifying Spirit in himſelf, and the holier he is.*

See what I cited before of Socrates *and his Converts.*

§. 109. *The nearer any Philoſopher or others are like to Chriſtians, the nearer they come to this renewed Image of God.*

§. 110. *As this Image of God, the holineſs of the ſoul, is the very end and work of a true Saviour, ſo the true effecting of it on all true Chriſtians, is actually their begun ſalvation; and therefore the ſtanding infallible witneſs of Chriſt, which ſhould confound unbelief in all that are indeed his own.*

Nulla in diſcendo mora eſt, ubi ſpiritus ſanctus doctor adeſt. *Beda in Luc.*

This (which I ſpake of the fore going Chapter) is a teſtimony in every holy ſoul, which the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt. He that undertaketh to cure all of the Plague, or Stone, or Gout, or Fever, that will take his medicines, and be ruled by him, is certainly no deceiver, if he do that which he undertaketh. He that undertaketh to teach all men Arithmetick, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Muſick, &c. who will come and learn of him, is certainly no deceiver if he do it. What is it that Jeſus Chriſt hath undertaken? Think of that, and then tell me whether he be a deceiver. He never undertook to make his Diſciples Kings, or Lords, or rich, or honourable in the world; nor yet to make them the beſt Logicians, Orators, Aſtronomers, Mathematicians, Phyſicians, Muſicians, &c. but to make them the beſt *men:* to renew them to the love of God in holineſs, and thereby to ſave them from their ſins, and give them repentance unto life. Nor hath he promiſed this to all that are baptized or called Chriſtians, but only to thoſe that ſincerely conſent to learn of him, and take his counſel, and uſe the remedies which he preſcribeth them. And is it not certain that Chriſt doth truly perform this undertaking? How then can he be a deceiver, who doth perform all that he undertaketh? Of this all true Chriſtians have a juſt demonſtration in themſelves, which is his witneſs.

Spiritus Paracletus dat pignus ſalutis, robur vitæ, ſcientiæ lumen. Pignus ſalutis, ut ipſe reddat teſtimonium ſpiritui tuo quod filius Dei ſis: Robur vitæ, ut quod per naturam tibi eſt impoſſibile, per gratiam ejus non ſolum poſſibile ſed facile fiat: Lumen ſcientiæ, ut cum omnia bene feceris, te ſervum inutilem pates; & quicquid boni in te inveneris, illi tribuas, à quo omne bonum eſt. *Bern. Serm. 2. Pentec.*

Object. *But Chriſt undertaketh more than this, even to bring us to everlaſting bleſſedneſs in heaven.*

Anſw. It is our comfort that he doth ſo: but me-thinks its eaſie to believe him in that, if he perform the reſt: For, 1. I have proved in the firſt part of this Book, that by the light of nature, a future life of retribution muſt be expected, and

and that man is made for a future happineſs. 2. And who then ſhould have that happineſs, but the holy and renewed ſouls? Doth not natural reaſon tell you, that ſo good a God will ſhew his love to thoſe that are good, that is, to thoſe that love him? 3. And what think you is to be done to bring any man to heaven, but to pardon him, and make him holy? 4. And the nature of the work doth greatly help our faith. For this *holineſs* is nothing but the beginning of *that happineſs.*

When we find that Chriſt hath by his Spirit begun to make us *know God,* and *love him,* and *delight in him,* and *praiſe him*; it is the eaſier to make us believe that he will perfect it. He that promiſeth to convey me ſafely to the Antipodes, may eaſily be believed when he hath brought me paſt the greateſt difficulties of the voyage. He that will teach me to ſing artificially, hath merited credit, when he hath taught me the gradual tones, the Scale of Muſick, the Sol-fa-ing, the Cliffs, the Quantity, the Moods, the Rules of time, &c. He that cauſeth me to love God on earth, may be believed if he promiſe me that I ſhall love him more in heaven: And he that cauſeth me to deſire heaven above earth, before I ſee it, may be believed when he promiſeth, that it ſhall be my great delight when I am there. It is God's work to love them that love him, and to reward the obedient; and I muſt needs believe that God will do *his* work, and will never fail the juſt expectations of any creature. All my doubt is, whether I ſhall do *my* part, and whether I ſhall be a prepared ſubject for that felicity: and he that reſolveth this, reſolveth all: He that will make me fit for heaven, hath overcome the greateſt difficulty of my belief; and I ſhould the more eaſily believe that he will do the reſt, and that I ſhall ſurely come to heaven when I am fit for it.

Object. *But Chriſt doth not only undertake to regenerate and to ſave us, but alſo to juſtifie us, and this by a ſtrange way, by his Sacrifice and Merits.*

Anſw. The greater is his wiſdom and goodneſs, as made known to us. I am ſure an unpardoned unrighteous perſon, is uncapable of felicity in that ſtate: and I am ſure I cannot pardon my ſelf, nor well know which way elſe to ſeek it. And I am ſure that ſo excellent and holy a perſon, is fitter to be well-beloved of God than. But I pray you remember,

1. That he undertaketh not to pardon or justifie any man, whom he doth not renew and sanctifie. 2. And that all his means, which seem so strange to you, are but to restore God's Image on you, and fit you for his love and service. And this we can testifie by experience that he hath done, in some measure in us: and if I find his means successful, I will not quarrel with it, because it seemeth strange to me. A Physician may prescribe me remedies for some mortal disease, which I understand not, but seem unlike to do the cure: but if I find that those unlikely means effect it, I will not quarrel with him, nor refuse them, till I know my self to be wiser than he, and have found out some surer means.

It is most evident then, that he who saveth us is our Saviour; and he that saveth us from sin, will save us from punishment; and he that maketh us fit for pardon, doth procure our pardon; and he that causeth us to love God above all, doth fit us to enjoy his love; and he that maketh us both to love him, and to be beloved by him, doth prepare us for heaven, and is truly the MEDIATOR.

§. 111. *Four or five Consectaries are evident from this, which I have been proving:* I. *That we have left no room for their insipid cavil, who say, that we flie to a private spirit, or conceit, or Enthusiasm, for the evidence of our faith.*

Of this see Amyraldus *in* Thesi. Salmurienf.

There are some indeed that talk of the meer *perswasion*, or *inward active testimony* of the *Spirit*, as if it were an inward word that said to us, This is the word of God: But this is not it which I have been speaking of; but the objective testimony, or evidence of our Regeneration, which could not be effected but, 1. by a perfect doctrine; and, 2 by the concurrent work or blessing of God's Spirit, which he would not give to confirm a lie. The Spirit is Christ's witness in the four ways fore-mentioned: and he doth moreover cause me to believe, and increase that faith, by blessing due means: But for any Enthusiasm, or unproved bare perswasion, we own it not.

§. 112. II. *That Malignity is the high-way to Infidelity: As the holiness of his members is Christ's last continued witness in the world; so the malicious slandering and scorning at godly men, or vilifying them for self-interest, or the interest of a faction; is*

is the devils means to frustrate this testimony.

§. 113. III. *That the destruction of true Church-discipline, tendeth to the destruction of Christianity in the world, by laying Christ's Vineyard common to the Wilderness, and confounding godly and the notoriously ungodly, and representing Christianity to Pagans and Infidels, as a barren notion, or a common and debauching way.*

§. 114. IV. *That the scandals and wickedness of nominal Christians, is on the same accounts, the devils way, to extirpate Christianity from the earth.*

§. 115. V. *That the great mercy of God hath provided a sure and standing means for the ascertaining multitudes of holy Christians of the truth of the Gospel, who have neither skill nor leisure to acquaint themselves with the History of the Church, and records of Antiquity, nor to reason it out against a learned subtil caviler, from other extrinsick arguments.*

Abundance of honest holy souls, do live in the fervent love of God, and in hatred of sin, and in sincere obedience, in justice and charity to all men, and in heavenly desires and delights; who yet cannot well dispute for their Religion; nor yet do they need to flie to believe as the Church believeth, though they know not what or why, nor what the Church is: But they have that Spirit within them, which is the living witness and Advocate of Christ, and the seal of God, and the earnest of their salvation; not a meer pretense that the Spirit perswadeth them, and they know not by what evidence; nor yet that they count it most pious to believe strongliest, without evidence, when they least know why: but they have the spirit of *Renovation and Adoption*, turning the very bent of their hearts and lives from the world to God, and from earth to heaven, and from carnality to spirituality, and from sin to holiness. And this fully assureth them, that Christ, who hath *actually saved them*, is their *Saviour*, and that he who maketh good all his *undertaking*, is no deceiver, and that God would not sanctifie his people in the world by a blasphemy, a deceit and lie; and that Christ who hath performed his promise in this, which is his earnest, will perform the rest. And withall the very love to *God*, and *Holiness*, and *Heaven*, which is thus made their new nature by the Spirit of Christ, will hold fast in the hour

O magna vis veritatis! quæ contra hominum ingenia, calliditatem, fole tiam, contraque fictas omnium insidias facile se per se ipsam defendat! *Cicer. pro Cæcin.*

of temptation, when *reasoning* otherwise is too weak. O what a blessed advantage have the sanctified against all temptations to unbelief: And how lamentably are ungodly Sensualists disadvantaged, who have deprived themselves of this inherent testimony. If two men were born blinde, and one of them had been cured, and had been shewed the Candle-light and twilight, how easie is it for him to believe his Physician, if he promise also to shew him the Sun? in comparison of what it is to the other who never saw the light?

CHAP. VIII.

Of some other subservient and Collateral Arguments for the Christian Verity.

HAving largely opened the great Evidence of the Christian Verity, *viz.* The SPIRIT in its four wayes of testifying, Accidentally, Inherently, Concomitantly, and Subsequently, I shall more briefly recite some other subservient Arguments, which I finde most satisfactory to my own understanding.

§. 1. I. *The natural evidence of the truth of the Scripture, about the Creation of the World, doth make it the more Credible to me in all things else.*

For that is a thing which none but God himself could reveal to us: For the Scripture telleth what was done, before there was any man in being. And that this World is not eternal, nor of any longer continuance, is exceeding probable, by the state of all things in it. 1. Arts and Sciences are far from that maturity, which a longer continuance, or an Eternity would have produced. Guns and Printing are but lately found out: The body of man is not yet well Anatomized; A *Sellius* his milkie *Veines*, and *Pecquets* Receptacle of the Chyle, and *Bartholines* Glandules, and the *Vasa Lymphatica*, are of late discovery: *Galileus* his Glasses, and his four *Mediceun* Planets, and the Lunary mutations of *Venus*, and the strange either opacous parts and shape

shape of *Saturn*, or the proximity of two other Stars which misshape it to our sight, the shadowy parts of the Moon, &c. with the innumerable Stars in the *Via Lactea*, &c. were all unknown to former ages. *Gilberts* magnetical discoveries (I speak not of those questionable Inferences which *Campanella* and others contradict) the nature of many Minerals and Plants, the chief operations and effects of Chymistry, abundance of secrets for the cure of many diseases, even the most excellent medicaments, are all of very late invention. Almost all Arts and Sciences are encreasing neerer towards Perfection. Ocular demonstrations by the *Telescope*, and sensible experiments, are daily multiplyed: Yea, the World it self is not all discovered to any one part; but a great part of it was but lately made known even to the *Europeans*, whose knowledge is greatest, by *Columbus*, and *Americus Vespucianus*; and it is not long since it was first measured by a Circumnavigation. If the World had been eternall, or of much longer duration than the Scripture speaketh, it is not credible that multiplyed experiences, would not have brought it above that Infancy of knowledge in which it so long continued.

Obj. *Cursed Warrs by Fire and Depopulation, consume all Antiquities, and put the World still to begin anew.*

Answ. It doth indeed do much this way; but it is not *so much* that Warre could do: For when it is in one Countrey, others are free, and some would fly, or lie hid or survive, who would preserve Arts and Sciences, and be teachers of the rest. Who can think now that any Wars are like to make *America*, or *Galileus*'s Stars unknown again? or any of the forenamed Inventions to be lost.

2. Moreover, it is strange, if the World were eternall, or much elder than Scripture speaketh, that no part of the World should shew us any elder Monument of Antiquity; no engraven Stones or Plates; no *Mausolus*, Pyramids, or Pillars; no Books; no Chronological Tables, no Histories or Genealogies, or other Memorials and Records. I know to this also, cursed Warrs may contribute much: But not *so much*, as to leave *nothing* to inquisitive Successors.

§. 2. II. *It greatly confirmeth my belief of the Holy Scriptures, to finde by certain experience, the Original and Universal*

versal pravity of mans nature, how great it is, and wherein it doth consist; exactly agreeing with this Sacred Word; when no others have made such a full discovery of it.

This I have opened, and proved before; and he is a stranger to the World and to himself, that seeth it not: Were it not lest I weary the Reader with length, how fully and plainly could I manifest it?

§. 3. III. *The certain observation of the universal Spiritual Warre, which hath been carryed on according to the first Gospel, between the Woman's and the Serpent's seed, doth much confirm me of the truth of the Scriptures.*

Even between the carnal hypocritical nominal Christian, and the true Christian: as Gal. 4. 29. *As then he that was born after the Flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.*

Such a contrariety there is, even between *Cain* and *Abel*, Children of the same Father; such an implacable enmity throughout all the World, in almost all wicked men against Godliness it self, and those that sincerely love and follow it; such a hatred in those that are Orthodoxly bred, against the true power, use and practice, of the Religion which they themselves profess; such a resolute resistance of all that is seriously good and holy, and tendeth but to the saving of the resisters; that it is but a publick visible acting of all those things which the Scripture speaketh of; and a fulfilling them in all ages and places in the sight of all the World. Of which having treated largely in my Treatise against Infidelity, of the sin against the Holy Ghost, I referre you thither.

§. 4. IV. *It much confirmeth me to finde that there is no other Religion professed in the World, that an impartial rational man can rest in.*

That man is made for another life, the light of Nature proveth to all men: And some way or other there must be opened to us to attain it: *Mahometanisme* I think not worthy a confutation. *Judaisme* must be much beholden to Christianity for its proofs, and is but the introduction to it, inclusively considered. The Heathens or meer Naturalists are so blinde, so idolatrous, so divided into innumerable sects, so lost and bewildred in uncertainties, and shew us so little holy fruit of their Theology, that I can incline to no more than to take those natural Verities which they confess, and which they cast among the rubbish of their sopperies and wickedness, and to wipe them clean, and take them for

for some part of my Religion. Christianity or nothing is the way.

§. 5. V. *It much confirmeth me to observe, that commonly the most true and serious Christians, are the holyest and most honest, righteous men; and that the worse men are, the greater enemies they are to true Christianity: And then to think, how incredible it is that God should lead all the worst men into the truth, and leave the best and godlyest in an error.*

In small matters, or common secular things, this were no wonder: But in the matter of Believing, worshipping and pleasing God, and saving of Souls, it is not credible. As for the belief of a Life to come, no men are so far from it as the vilest Whoremongers, Drunkards, perjured persons, Murderers, Oppressors, Tyrants, Thieves, Rebels, or if any other name can denote the worst of men: And none so much believe a Life to come as the most godly, honest-hearted persons: And can a man that knoweth that there is a God, believe that he will leave all good men in so great an error, and rightly inform and guide all these Beasts, or living walking images of the Devil. The same in a great measure is true of the friends and enemies of Christianity.

§. 6. VI. *It hath been a great convincing argument with me, against both Atheisme and Infidelity, to observe the marvelous Providences of God, for divers of his servants, and the strange answer of Prayers, which I my self, and ordinarily other Christians have had.*

I have been and am as backward to ungrounded credulity about wonders, as most men, that will not strive against knowledge. But I have been oft convinced by great experience, and testimonies which I believed equally with my eye-sight, of such actions of God, as I think would have convinced most, that should know as much of them as I did. But few of them are fit to mention: For some of them so much concern my self, that strangers may be tempted to think that they savour of self-esteem; and some of them the factions and parties in these times, will by their interest be engaged to distaste; And some of them have been done on persons, whose after scandalous Crimes have made me think it unfit to mention them; lest I should seem to put honour on a scandalous sinner, or seem to dishonour Gods Works

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by mentioning such an object of them: And I have much observed, that whatever wonder I ever knew done, in answer to Prayer, or attestation of any good, the Devil hath with marvellous subtilty, endeavoured by some error or scandal of men, to turn it all against Christ and to his own advantage. But yet God declareth the truth of his Promises, by the deliverances of his Servants, and the granting of prayers which are put up to him in the name of Christ. I will not dispute whether these actions shall be called *Miracles*, or not: It is enough for my purpose, if they be but attesting Providences. All Church-History telleth us of many such heretofore: how great things have been done, and deliverances wrought upon Christians earnest Prayer to God. The success of the Thundering Legion in the Army of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, in *Germany*, is commonly mentioned: You may see it in the *Apolog.* of *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*: See more in *Pamelius*'s Notes on *Tertull.* N. 64. *Cyprian* saith to *Demetrius*, pag. 328 of the Christians casting out of Devils, [*O si audire velles & videre, quando a nobis adjurantur & torquentur spiritalibus flagris, & verborum tormentis de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando ejulantes & gementes voce humanâ, & potestate divinâ flagella & verbera sentientes, venturum judicium confitentur. Veni & cognosce vera esse quæ dicimus: & quia sic Deos colere te dicis, vel ipsis quos colis, crede: aut si volueris & tibi credere, de te ipso loquetur, audiente te, qui nunc tuum pectus obsedit. Videlis nos rogari ab eis quos tu rogas, tamen ab eis quos tu adoras; videbis sub manu nostra stare vinctos, & tremere captivos, quos tu suspicis & veneraris ut Dominos: certè vel sic confundi in istis erroribus tuis poteris, cum conspexeris & audieris deos tuos, quid sint, interrogatione nostra statim prodere*, &c.

But it were tedious to recite all that Antiquity telleth us of this kinde: Later times have their testimonies also: *Bayname* could tell the Papists, that burned him, in the midst of his flames, [*Lo, ye Papists, here is a Miracle: I feel no more pain in this fire than in a bed of Down; it is as sweet to me as a bed of Roses*]. Bishop *Farrar* could say, when he went to the fire [*If I stirre in the fire, believe not my doctrine*]; and accordingly remain'd unmoved: Many more you may see in Martyrologies and Church-history. It was the

the mercifull Providence of God to Mris. *Honywood*, who in her passionate self-accusations, when the Minister was perswading her of the pardon of her sin, threw the glass which was in her hand up to the wall, saying, she was as certainly an hypocrite, as that glass would break; and it fell to the ground, and remained unbroken. They were convincing Providences which God exercised on the leading women of the Familistical Sect which troubled *New-England*: when one of them, Mris. *Dyer*, brought forth a Monster that had the parts of Man, Beast, Birds and Fishes; and the other their Propheteſs, Mris. *Hutchinson*, brought forth about thirty mishapen lumps or births at once; and thereby the Land was awakened, and delivered from the danger *.

See her story in Fuller's Worthy's *of* England.

* *Which Mr.* Weld *of* New-England *hath printed: And upon Mr.* Stubs *his Exetuation, in his Book for Sir* Henry Vane, *against me, in Letters since he hath fully confirmed.*

The many Miracles mentioned by such credible persons as Augustine (de Civit. Dei) *and other learned holy men, deserve some credit sure.*

Victor Uticensis *telleth of many Confessors whose tongues were cut out by the* Arrian Vandal Hunnerichus, *who spake freely without tongues*: *And* Æneas Gazæus *in a notable Treatise for the Immortality of the Soul saith the same, and that he saw them himself; and hath more such Wonders.*

Ego novi multa bonorum virorum corpora, quæ etiam phalanges dæmonum, tantopere terrerent, quantopere ipsi vexabant hominem abs se captum atque obsessum; itemque morbos innumeros quibus curandis ars medica non sufficeret, ipsa facile curarent, perpurgarent, omninoq; auferrent. *Id. ibid, page* 411. B. P.

Even Cicero *speaking of some sacrilegious impious persons, could observe,* Qui vero ex his & omnium scelerum principes fuerunt, & præter cæteros in omni Religione impii, non solum vita cruciati (vel cum cruciatu, ut *Lambinus*) atque dedecore, verum etiam sepultura ac justis exequiis caruerunt *Lib.* 2. *de leg. p.* 345. *And to the objection, that it oft falleth out otherwise, and that the best suffer most, he answereth,* Non recte existimamus quæ pœna sit divina: & opinionibus vulgi rapimur in errorem, nec vera cernimus: Morte aut dolore corporis, aut luctu animi aut offensione judicii, hominum miserias ponderamus: quæ fateor humana esse, & multis bonis viris accidisse: sceleris autem pœna tristis, & præter eos eventus qui sequuntur, per se ipsa maxima est. Videmus eos qui nisi odissent patriam, nunquam inimici nobis fuissent, ardentes cum cupiditate, tum metu, tum conscientia; quid agerent modo timentes, vicissim contemnentes Religiones. *And he concludeth,* Duplicem pœnam esse Divinam, quod consteret & ex vexandis vivorum animis, & eâ famâ mortuorum, ut eorum exitium & judicio vivorum, & gaudio comprobetur. *Ibid.*

I desire the learned Reader to read the three Miracles which Æn. Gazæus *saith he saw with his own eyes, in his* Theophrast. in Bib. Pat. Gr. To. 2. page 414, 415. *The first of an old man, that raised one from the dead: The second of a good man, that when he was dying, promised his Scholar, that was blind, that within seven days he should have his sight; which accordingly came to pass: The third, of the Confessions before mentioned, that by prayer could speak most articulately without tongues: All these he professeth he saw with his own eyes: And the rationality and piety of his writings maketh his testimony the more credible.*

Lege Palladii Historiam Lausiac. cap. 52. de Miraculo ab ipso viso.

Though I know that as Apparitions, so Miracles are too oft counterfeit, yet all that are recorded by the antient Doctors and Historians cannot be so thought, especially when we have seen something like them.

My own deliverances by prayer (because they were my own) I think not fit here to express: Nor many other persons that were familiar with me, some yet living, and some dead: Nor would I mention such small things as corporal deliverances and cures, but only because they are matters of *sense*, and somewhat unusual, and not as supposing them the great matters which Christians have to look after or expect in answer to their prayers: they are far greater things which prayer brings to all true Christians: the strength of the Spirit against temptations, the mortification of those sins, which nature, constitution, temperature, custom and interest, would most strongly draw them to; the special assistances of God in duty, the information of the mind, by a light which sheweth the evidence of truth in a special clearness; the resolution of doubts; the conquest of passions; the elevation of the soul in divine love and praises; the joy of the holy Ghost, and comfortable thoughts of the coming of Christ, and our endless blessedness with God in Heaven. These are the Answers of Prayer, which are the fulfilling of the promises of Christ, and which are of greater moment than Miracles; of which we have ordinary experience.

§. 7. VII. *It confirmeth my belief of the Gospel, to observe the connaturality and suitableness which it hath to the best & holiest souls: that by how much the better, in true honesty, and charity, and heavenliness any man is, by so much the more is the Gospel beloved, pleasant, and suitable to him; as humane food is to humane nature.*

My much converse in the world, with men of all sorts, but most with the persons now described, hath given me opportunity to be fully assured of the truth of this experiment, beyond all doubt. And that which is the *best in man*, is certainly of God: and therefore that which is *suitable* and *connatural* to the *best* in man, must be of God also.

§. 8. VIII. *It confirmeth my belief of the Gospel, to find it so very suitable to the worlds diseases, necessities and business; to reconcile them to God, and fill them with love and heavenly mindedness; which other Religions do meddle with so little, and superficially, and ineffectually.*

§. 9. IX. *The* matter *of the Gospel is so holy and spiritual, and against all sin, and evil spirits, that it is incredible that evil spirits, or very bad men, should be the inventers of it: And yet to*

to forge so many miracles and matters of fact, and call a man God, *and to perplex the world with needless delusory strictnesses, and to father all this on God himself, would have been a villany so transcendent, that none but men extremely bad could do it. Therefore it must needs be the design of Heaven, and not of Men.*

§. 10. X. *When I deeply consider the evidence of verity in the Gospel, it hath as much to convince me, as I could have chosen or desired.*

§. 11. 1. *If I had been put my self to choose by what means God should open to man the things of the unseen world, I could have desired no more than that a messenger might come to us from heaven to tell it us; unless we had either sight and sense, or immediate vision and fruition.*

And I am fully satisfied, 1. That spiritual things are invisible, and are no objects of corporeal sense. 2. That it is not meet and honourable to God's Wisdom and Justice, to govern rational free Agents *in via*, by sight and sense. It would be no trial, or thanks to the most sensual wretch, to forbear his sin, if Heaven and Hell were open to his sight. 3. That *spiritual vision* and *fruition* is our state *in patriâ*; our end and perfection, and not fit for the state of trial and travellers in the way.

§. 12. 2. *If I had been to choose* who *this Messenger should be, I could have preferred none before him, who is the very Wisdom, Truth, and Word of God.*

Had it been but an Angel, I might have thought that his Indefectibility and Veracity is uncertain to mankind on earth: but Wisdom and Truth it self can never lie.

§. 13. 3. *If I had been to choose in* what way *this Messenger should converse with man, as an efficient and suitable Teacher of these Mysteries, and how the work of Mediation between God and man should be performed, I could have desired no fitter way than that he should assume our nature, and in that nature familiarly instruct us, and be our example, and our High Priest toward God, by his Merit, Sacrifice and Intercession.*

§. 14. 4. *Had I been to choose what way he should* prove his Message to be of God, *I could not have chosen a more satisfying way than that of Prophecy, Sanctity, and open numerous and uncontrouled Miracles, with his own Resurrection and Ascension, and giving the holy Ghost to be his Advocate and Witness continually to the world.*

§. 15. 5. *I could not have expected that these* Miracles *should be done in the sight of all the persons in the world, in every place and age, (for then they would be but as common works) but rather before such chosen Witnesses, as were fit to communicate them to others.*

§. 16. 6. *Nor could I have chosen a fitter way for such Witnesses to confirm their testimony by, than by the same Spirit of holiness and power, and by such a stream of Miracles as the Apostles wrought, and such success in the actual renovation of their followers.*

§. 17. 7. *Nor could I well have chosen a more meet and convincing way of History or Tradition, to convey down all these things to us, than that before described, which hath been used by God.*

§. 18. 8. *Nor could I have chosen any one standing Seal and Witness of Christ, so fit for all persons, learned and unlearned, and to endure through all generations, as is the actual saving of men, by the real renovation of their hearts and lives by the holy Spirit, reclaiming them from selfishness, sensuality, worldliness, and other sin, and bringing them up to the Image of God's holiness, in love and heavenliness; which is the continued work of Christ.*

So that when God hath done all things so, as my very reason is constrained to acknowledge best, what should I desire more? I confess I feel still, that my *nature* would fain be satisfied by the way of *sight* and *sense*. Could I see heaven and hell, I think it would most effectually end all doubts: But my *Reason* is satisfied, that it is a thing *unmeet*, and utterly unsuitable to a world, that must be morally governed and conducted to their end.

§. 19. XI. *The temptations of Satan, by which he would hinder us from faith, love and obedience, are so palpable, malicious and importunate, that they do much to confirm me of the truth and goodness of that word and way, which he so much resisteth.*

I think that there are few men, good or bad, if they will observe both the inward suggestions with which they are oft solicited, for matter, manner and season, and the outward impediments to every good work, and invitations to evil, which they meet with in their conversations, but may be convinced

convinced that there are malicious spirits, who are enemies to Christ and us, and continually by temptations fight against him.

§. 20. XII. *The Devils contracts with Witches, opposing Christ, and engaging them to renounce their Baptism, and to forsake his ways, is some confirmation of the Christian verity.*

Of the abundance of Witches at that time read B. Hall, Sol. 15. p. 53, 54. Read Edm. Bower, of the Salisbury Witch.

That Witches really there are, as I said before, he that will read *Remigius* and *Bodin* only may be satisfied; as also the *Malleus maleficorum Danæus*, &c. and the numerous instances in *Suffolk* and *Essex* about 21 years ago, may further satisfie them. And that the Devil draweth them to such renunciations of the Covenant and Ordinances of Christ, the many Histories of it are full proof.

§. 21. XIII. *Though many such reports are fabulous and delusory, yet there have been certainly proved in all ages, such Apparitions, as either by opposition or defence have born some testimony to the Christian faith.*

Of both these last, see what I have written in my Treat. of Infidelity, and in the *Saints Rest*, Part 2. And read *Lavater de Spectris*, & *Zanchius*, *tom.* 3. *lib.* 4 *cap.* 10. and *cap.* 20. *Delrio*, &c. And what I said before, especially the Narrative called, *The Devil of Mascon*, and Dr. *Moor* of Atheism.

§. 22. XIV. *The speeches and actions of persons possessed by the Devil, usually raging blasphemously against Christ, doth somewhat confirm the Christian verity.*

That there are and have been many such, there hath been unquestionable evidence. See my *Saints Rest*, *part* 2. *page* 258, &c. *Zanchius*, *tom.* 3. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. *page* 288. *Forestus de Venenis*, *observ.* 8. *in Schol. Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. Clas.* 1. *cap.* 9. *Fernel. de abdit. rerum causis*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 16. *Platerus observ. pag.* 20. *de stupore Dæmon.* &c. *Tertul. Apol. cap.* 23. *Cyprian. Epis. ad Demetrium. Origen. in Matth.* 17. *Augustin. de Divinat. Dæmon.* &c.

§. 23. XV. *Lastly, the testimony of the enemies of Christianity is some encouragement to faith.*

Porphyry *was so convinced of the truth of* Daniel's *Prophecy, that he is fain to say, That it was written after the things were fulfilled, saith* Grot.

What conjectures there be, that *Pythagoras* had his knowledge from the *Jews*, and *Plato* was not a stranger to *Moses*'s writings, hath been shewed by many. How plain it is, that the wiser and better any Heathens have been, the nearer they have come in their doctrines to that of Jesus Christ. I need not

Imòi Petri miracula *Phlegon Adriani* Imperatoris libertus in Annalibus suis commemoravit: inquit *Grotius de Verit. Rel. l.* 3.

not say much to convince the considerate, that are men of reading. How the *Jews* were convinced of the miracles of Christ, and fled to the accusation of Christ as a Magician, is already shewed. The wisest and best of the *Roman* Emperours favoured them. *Dion Cassius* in the life of *Nerva Cocceius*, *page* 1. saith, [*Cæterum Nerva omnes qui impietatis in Deos rei fuerant, eos absolvi voluit: exules in patriam reduxit:* (These that were called *Impietatis rei*, were the Jews and Christians who refused to sacrifice to Idols) And he addeth, [*Ne servi de cætero dominos criminarentur, edicto vetuit, neve liceret aut impietatis, aut Judaicæ sectæ quemquam dehinc insimulari.*] It seemeth by this, that when displeased servants would be revenged on their masters, they used to accuse them of Christianity or Judaism.

Fuit vero prodigiorum apud sepulchra editorum tanta frequentia, tot eorum testes, ut etiam *Porphyrio* ejus rei confessionem expresserit: inquit *Grot. l.* 3.

Trajan did something against the Christians, being provoked by the Jews, who (saith *Dion Cassius in vita Trajani*) did make one *Andrew* their Captain, and about *Cyrene* murdered of *Greeks* and *Romans* above two hundred thousand men. But upon *Pliny*'s information of the Christians innocency and unjust sufferings, their persecutions were moderated.

Adrian also was exasperated by the Jews, who as *Æl. Spartianus* saith in *Adrian*: *Moverunt bellum, quod vetebantur mutilare genitalia:* (And the Christians were taken for a sort of Jews, and so suffered often for their faults:) But *Serennius Granianus Legatus*, a Roman Noble-man, writing to *Adrian* how unjust it was upon vulgar clamour to kill innocent Christians, only for their Religion: *Adrian* wrote to *Minutius Fundanus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, that no Christian should suffer but for proved crimes. *Euseb. Hist. lib.* 4.

I know what a stir is made about Josephus *testimony of Christ, some accounting it currant, and some as foisted in by some Christian: but I doubt not to say, that to those who well consider all, the middle opinion of* B. Usher *will appear to be far the most probable:* viz. *That the whole sentence is currant, except those words,* [This was Christ.] *And that some Christian having wrote those words as expository in the margin of his book, they afterward crept thence into the text.*

Athenagoras *tells* M. Aurel. Antoninus *the Emperour, and* L. Aur. Commodus *to whom he wrote,* Nec dubito quin vos etiam doctissimi & sapientissimi Principes, historias & scripta *Mosis, Esaiæ, Hieremiæ*, & reliquorum Prophetarum aliqua ex parte cognoveritis. ——Sed vobis relinquo qui libros novistis, studiosius in illorum prophetias inquisitre ac perpendere, &c. *Apol. p. in B. p.* 56, 57. *And it's like that* Antonine *learned somewhat from the Scriptures, as well as* Severus, *if he so well knew them; and thence received some of his wisdom and virtue.*

Lampridius

Lampridius in *Alexand. Sever.* saith, [*Quod* (*viz. Templum Christo facere*) *& Adrianus cogitasse fertur; qui Templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulachris jussit fieri: quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani; quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur: sed prohibitus est ab his, qui consulentes sacra repererant, omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, & templa reliqua deserenda.*

Lucian honoureth the Christians, while he derideth them for their sufferings and faith, saying, [*Persuaserunt sibi infœlices Christiani, se immortalitate fruituros, perpetuoque victuros esse: ideo & mortem magno contemnunt animo: ac non pauci sua sponte semetipsos occidendos obtulerunt; Postquam vero semel à nobis didicerunt, Græcorum Deos constanter abnegant, &c.*

When *Adrian* had found how the Christians differed from the Jews, and had suffered by *Barchocebas*, because they would not joyn in the Rebellion, when he had ended the war, he gave *Jerusalem* to the Christians and others to inhabit, saith *Euseb.*

Antoninus Pius published this Edict for the Christians, [*Si quisquam cuiquam Christiano, quia Christianus sit, pergat molestiæ quicquam aut criminis inferre, ille cui crimen illatum erit, etiamsi Christianus reipsa deprehensus sit, absolvatur: qui autem illum accusaverat, justum debitumque supplicium subeat.* Adding a Decree of *Adrian*'s, thus: [*Pro quibus hominibus & alii provinciarum Præsides, jam ante Divo Patri meo scripserunt; Quibus ille rescripsit, nequid interturbarent hoc genus hominum nisi qui convicti essent tentasse quippiam contra Rempublicam.* Euseb. Hist. l. 4.

And though under that excellent Prince, *Antoninus Philosophus*, some persecution was raised, it was mostly by Officers, at a great distance, in *France*, &c. yet all was staid, and favour shewed them, upon the miraculous relief of the Army by rain, upon the Christian Souldiers prayers, (called *Legio Fulminatrix*) when they were in war with the *Quadi*: of which see *Jul. Capitolin. Dion Cass. Tertul. Apolog. Euseb. lib.* 5. *Orosium, &c.* His Letters to the Senate are these: [*Credibile est Christianos, licet eos impios existimemus, Deum pro munimento habere in pectore: simul enim atque hunii sese abjecerunt, & preces fuderunt, adignotum mihi Deum, statim è cælo pluvia delapsa est, in nos quidem frigidissima, in nostros vero*

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him: he confesseth his miraculous Nativity, and mighty works, and that he was sent from heaven to preach the Gospel: He bringeth in God as saying, [*We have delivered our declarations to* Jesus *the Son of* Mary, *and strengthned him by the holy Ghost.*] And, [*We have delivered him the Gospel, in which is direction and light, &c.*] And he teacheth his followers this Creed, [*Say, We believe in God, and that which was delivered to* Moses *and* Jesus, *and which was delivered to the Prophets from their Lord: we distinguish not between any of them, and we deliver up our selves to his faith.*] And if Christ be to be believed, as *Mahomet* saith, then Christianity is the true Religion: for as for his and his followers reports, that the Scriptures are changed, and that we have put out Christ's prediction, that *Mahomet* must be sent, &c. they are fables, not only unproved, but before here proved utterly impossible.

Read *Eusebius*, *Eccles. Hist. l.* 8 *c.* 17, *&* 18. *& l.* 9. *c.* 10. of God's strange judgments on *Maximinus* the Emperour, whose bowels being tormented, and his lower parts ulcerated with innumerable worms, and so great a stink, as kill'd some of his Physicians; which forced him to confess, that what had befallen him was deservedly, for his madness against Christ, (for he had forbidden the Christians their assemblies, and persecuted them): wherefore he commanded that they should cease persecuting the Christians; and that by a Law and Imperial Edict, their Assemblies should be again restored: He confessed his sins, and begg'd the Christians Prayers, and professed that if he were recovered, he would worship the God of the Christians, whom by experience he had found to be the true God.

See Bishop *Fotherby Atheomast. l.* 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 140, 141. comparing his case with *Antiochus* his.

Paulus Orosius, *histor. li.* 6. *fine*, telleth us of a Fountain of Oyl which flowed a whole day in *Augustus* Reign, and how *Augustus* refused to be called *Dominus*, and how he shut up *Janus* Temple because of the Universal Peace, and that *eo tempore, id est, eo anno quo fortissimam verissimamq; pacem ordinatione Dei Cæsar composuit, natus est Christus; cujus adventum pax ista famulata est; in cujus ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes Angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelsis Deo & in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.* See

See also what after others he saith of *Tyberius* motioning to the Senate, that Christ might be accounted a God; and *Sejanus* resisting it: *li* 7. *Auct. Bib. Pat. To.* 1. *p.* 209. where he saith also that *aliquanti Græcorum libri* attested the darkness at *Christs* death. And *li.* 7. *p.* 216. he sheweth, that as after the ten Plagues of *Egypt*, the *Israelites* were delivered and the *Egyptians* destroyed, so was it in the *Roman* Empire with the Christians and Pagans, after the particular revenges of the ten Persecutions. But because he is a Christian Historian, I cite no more from him.

CHAP. IX.

Yet Faith hath many Difficulties to overcome: What they are; and what their Causes.

THere are two sorts of persons who may possibly peruse these things, and are of tempers so contrary, that what helpeth one may hurt the other: The first are those who see so many objections and difficulties, that they are turned from the due apprehension of the *Evidences* of Christianity, and can think of nothing but stumbling-blocks to their Faith. To tell these men of *more difficulties*, may adde to their discouragement, and do them hurt: And yet I am not of their minde that think they should be therefore silenced: For that may tempt them to imagine them unanswerable, if they come into their mindes: The better way for these men is, to desire them better to study the Evidence of truth: And there are other men, who must be thought on, who seeing *no difficulties* in the work of Faith, do continue unfortified against them, and keep up a Belief by meer extrinsick helps and advantages, which will fall as soon as the storms assault it: And because no doubt is well overcome that is not known, and *Nil tam certum quàm quod ex dubio certum est*, I will venture to open the Difficulties of Believing.

Omnis credendi difficultas non temere ex futili nulliusq; judicii opinione nascitur; sed ex valida causa, & verisimilitudine plurimum munita: Tum enim incredulitas rationem justam habet, quum ipsa res de qua non creditur, quiddam incredibile continet. Nam rebus quæ dubitandi causam non habent, non credere, eorum est qui sano judicio in discutienda veritate minime utuntur. *Athenager. leg. pag.* 82.

§. 1. *That Believing in Christ is a work of Difficulty, is proved*

proved both by the paucity of found Believers, and the imperfection of Faith in the sincere; and the great and wonderfull means which must be used to bring men to believe.

Superficial Believers are a small part of the *whole World*, and *found Believers* are a small part of professed Christians: And these found Believers have many a temptation, and some of them many a troublesom doubt, and all of them a Faith which is too farr from perfection. And yet all the Miracles, Evidences, Arguments and Operations aforesaid, must be used to bring them even to this.

§. 2. *The Difficulties are* I. *Some of them in the things to be believed,* II. *Some of them in extrinsecal impediments:* III. *And some of them in the minde of Man who must believe.*

§. 3. I. 1. *The mysteriousness of the doctrine of the* blessed Trinity, *hath alwayes been a difficulty to Faith, and occasioned many to avoid Christianity, especially the* Mahometanes; *and many Hereticks to take up Devices of their own, to shift it off.*

§. 4. 2. *The Incarnation of the second Person, the Eternal Word, and the personal union of the Divine Nature with the Humane, is so strange a condescension of God to man, as maketh this the greatest of difficulties, and the greatest stumbling-block to Infidels and Hereticks.*

§. 5. 3. *The Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ, and the advancement of mans nature in him above the Angelical nature, and glory, is a difficulty.*

§. 6. 4. *To believe all the history of the Miracles of Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles, is difficult, because of the strangeness of the things.*

§. 7. 5. *It is not without difficulty firmly to believe the Immortality of Souls, and the endlesness of the felicity of the life to come.*

Si animus sit quinta illa, non nominata magis quam intellecta natura: multo integriora & puriora sunt ut à terra longissime se efferant. *Cicer. Tusc. Qu. l. 1. p. 223.*

§. 8. 6. *And it hath proved hard to many to believe the endless miseries of damned souls in Hell.*

§. 9. 7. *And it is as hard to believe the paucity of the blessed, and that the damned are the farr greater number.*

§. 10. 8. *And that so great a change, and so holy a life, is necessary to salvation, hath proved a difficulty to some.*

§. 11. 9. *The doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body, is one of the greatest difficulties of all.*

§. 12.

§. 12. 10. *So is Christ's coming into the World so late, and the revealing of his Gospel to so few, by Prophecy before, and by Preaching since.*

§. 13. 11. *So also was the appearing Meanness of the Person of Christ, and of his Parentage, place and condition in the World, together with the manner of his birth.*

§. 14 12. *The manner of his sufferings and death, upon a Cross, as a Malefactor, under the charge of Blasphemy, Impiety and Treason, hath still been a stumbling-block both to* Jews *and* Gentiles.

§. 15. 13. *So hath the fewness and meanness of his followers, and the number and worldly preeminence and prosperity of unbelievers, and enemies of Christ.*

§. 16. 14. *The want of excellency of speech and art in the holy Scriptures, that they equall not other Writings in Logical method and exactness, and in Oratorical elegancies, is a great offence to unbelievers.*

§. 17. 15. *As also that the Physicks of Scripture so much differeth from Philosophers.*

§. 18. 16. *As also the seeming Contradictions of the Scripture do much offend them.*

§. 19. 17. *And it offendeth them, that Faith in Christ himself, is made a thing of such excellency and necessity to salvation.*

§. 20. 18. *And it is hard to believe, that present adversity and undoing in the World, is for our benefit and everlasting good.*

§. 21. 19. *And it offendeth many, that the doctrine of Christ doth seem not suited to Kingdoms and Civil Government, but only for a few private persons.*

§. 22. 20. *Lastly, the Prophesies which seem not intelligible or not fulfilled, prove matter of difficulty and offence. There are intrinsecal difficulties of Faith.*

§. 23. II. *The outward adventitious impediments to the Belief of the Christian Faith are such as these.* 1. *Because many Christians, especially the Papists, have corrupted the doctrine of Faith, and propose gross falshoods contrary to common sense and reason, as necessary points of Christian Faith: (as in the point of Transubstantiation.)*

§. 24. 2. *They have given the World either false or insuffi-*

cient:

cient reasons and motives, for the belief of the Christian Verity, which being discerned confirmeth them in Infidelity.

§. 25. 3. *They have corrupted Gods Worship, and have turned it from rational and spiritual, into a multitude of irrational ceremonious fopperies; fitted to move contempt and laughter in unbelievers.*

§. 26. 4. *They have corrupted the doctrine of Morality, and thereby hidden much of the holyness and purity of the Christian Religion.*

§. 27. 5. *They have corrupted Church-history, obtruding or divulging a multitude of ridiculous falshoods in their Legends and Books of Miracles; contrived purposely by Satan to tempt men to disbelieve the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles.*

§. 28. 6. *They make Christianity odious, by upholding their own Sect and power, by fire and blood and inhumane Cruelties.*

§. 29. 7. *They openly manifest that ambition and worldly dignities and prosperity, in the Clergy, is their very Religion: and withall pretend, that their party or Sect is all the Church.*

§. 30. 8. *And the great disagreement among Christians, is a stumbling-block to unbelievers; while the* Greeks *and* Romans *strive who shall be the greatest; and both they and many other Sects, are condemning, unchurching, and reproaching one another.*

Leg. Nazianz. Orat. 26. & 32.

§. 31. 9. *The undisciplined Churches, and wicked lives of the greatest part of professed Christians, especially in the* Greek *and* Latine *Churches, is a great confirmation of Infidels in their unbelief.*

§. 32. 10. *And it tempteth many to Apostasie, to observe the scandalous errors and miscarriages of many who seemed more godly than the rest.*

§. 33. 11. *It is an impediment to Christianity, that the richest, and greatest, the learned, and the far greatest number in the World, have been still against it.*

§. 34. 12. *The custom of the Countrey, and Tradition of their Fathers, and the reasonings and cavils of men that have both ability and opportunity, and advantage, doth bear down the truth in the Countreys, while Infidels prevail.*

§. 35. 13. *The Tyranny of cruel persecuting Princes, in the* Maho-

Mahometane *and* Heathen *parts of the World, is the grand Impediment to the progress of Christianity, by keeping away the means of knowledge.*

And of this the *Roman* party of Christians, hath given them an incouraging example, dealing more cruelly with their fellow-Christians than the *Turks* and some Heathen Princes do. So that Tyranny is the great sin which keepeth out the Gospel from most parts of the Earth.

§. 36. III. *But no Impediments of Faith are so great, as those within us. As* 1. *the natural strangeness of all corrupted mindes to God, and their blindeness in all spiritual things.*

§. 37. 2. *Most persons in the World, have weak, injudicious, unfurnished heads, wanting the common, natural preparatives to Faith, not able to see the force of a reason, in things beyond the reach of sense.*

§. 38. 3. *The carnal minde is enmity against the Holiness of Christianity, and therefore will still oppose the receiving of its principles.*

§. 39. 4. *By the advantages of Nature, Education, Custom, and Company, men are early possest with prejudices and false conceits, against a life of Faith and Holiness; which keep out reforming truths.*

Magni autem est ingenii, revocare mentem a sensibus, & cogitationem a consuetudine abducere. *Cicero Tusc. Qu. l. 1. p. 222.*

§. 40. 5. *It is very natural to incorporated Souls, to desire a sensible way of satisfaction, and to take up with things present and seen, and to be little affected with things unseen, and above our senses.*

§. 41. 6. *Our strangeness to the Language, Idiomes, Proverbial speeches then used, doth disadvantage us as to the understanding of the Scriptures.*

§. 42. 7. *So doth our strangeness to the* Places *and Customs of the Countrey, and many other matters of fact.*

§. 43. 8. *Our distance from those Ages, doth make it necessary, that matters of fact be received by humane report and Historical Evidence: And too few are well acquainted with such History.*

§. 44. 9. *Most men do forfeit the helps of Grace by wilfull sinning; and make Atheism and Infidelity seem to be* desireable *to their carnal Interest, and so are* willing *to be deceived: and forsaking God, they are forsaken of him, flying from the Light, and over-*

overcoming Truth, and debauching Conſcience, and diſabling Reaſon, for their ſenſual delights.

§. 45. 10. *Thoſe men that have moſt need of means and help, are ſo averſe and lazy, that they will not be at the pains and patience, to read, and conferre, and conſider, and pray, and uſe the means which is needfull to their information; but ſettle their judgement by ſlight and ſlothfull thoughts.*

§. 46. 11. *Yet are the ſame men proud and ſelf-conceited, and unacquainted with the weakneſs of their own underſtandings, and paſs a quick and confident judgement, on things which they never underſtood: It being natural to men to* judge *according to what they do actually apprehend, and not according to what they* ſhould *apprehend, or is apprehended by another.*

§. 47. 12. *Moſt men think it the wiſeſt way, becauſe it is the eaſieſt, to be at a venture of the Religion of the King and the Countrey where they live; and to do as the moſt about them do (which is ſeldom beſt.)*

§. 48. 13. *Men are grown ſtrangers to themſelves, and know not what man is; nor what is a reaſonable Soul; but have ſo abuſed their higher faculties, that they are grown ignorant of their dignity and uſe; and know not that in themſelves which ſhould help their Faith.*

§. 49. 14. *Men are grown ſo bad and falſe, and prone to lying themſelves, that it maketh them the more incredulous of God and man, as judging of others by themſelves.*

§. 50. 15. *The cares of the Body and World, do ſo take up the mindes of men, that they cannot afford the matters of God and their ſalvation, ſuch retired ſerious thoughts as they do neceſſarily require.*

§. 51. 16. *Too few have the happineſs of judicious Guides, who rightly diſcern the Methods and Evidences of the Goſpel, and tempt not men to unbelief, by their miſtaken grounds, and unſound reaſonings. Theſe are the Impediments and difficulties of Faith, in the Perſons themſelves who ſhould believe.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Intrinſecal Difficulties in the Chriſtian Faith, reſolved.

Object. 1. *THe Doctrine of the Trinity is not intelligible or credible.*

Anſw. 1. Nothing at all in God can be *comprehended*, or fully known by any creatures: God were not God, that is, Perfect and Infinite, if he were comprehenſible by ſuch Worms as we. Nothing is ſo *certainly* known as God, and yet nothing ſo imperfectly.

2. The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is ſo intelligible and credible, and is ſo admirably apparent in its products, in the methods of Nature and Morality, that to a wiſe Obſerver it maketh Chriſtianity much the more credible, becauſe it openeth more fully, theſe excellent myſteries and methods. It is intelligible and certain that MAN is made in the Image of God: And that the nobleſt Creatures bear moſt of the impreſs of their Makers excellency: And that the inviſible Deity is here to be known by us, as in the Glaſs of his viſible works: Of which the Rational or Intellectual Nature is the higheſt with which we are acquainted. And it is moſt certain, that in the Unity of mans Minde or Soul, there is a Trinity of Eſſentialities, or Primalities (as *Campanella* calleth them) that is, ſuch *faculties* as are ſo little diſtinct from the Eſſence of the Soul as ſuch, that Philoſophers are not yet agreed, whether they ſhall ſay, it is *realiter, formaliter, relative vel denominatione extrinſeca.* To paſs by the three faculties of *Vegetation*, *ſenſation* and *intellection*; In the Soul as *Intellectual* there are the Eſſential faculties, of *Power* (executive or communicative *ad extra*) *Intellect* and *Will*; *Poſſe*, *Scire*, *Velle*; And accordingly in *morality* or *virtue*, there is in *one New-creature*, or holy Nature, *wiſdom*, *goodneſs*, and *ability* or *fortitude* (and promptitude) to act according to them. And in our Relation to things below us, in the unity of *our Dominion* or *ſuperiority*, there is

See Part 1. *Chap.* 5. *Pardon the Repetitions here for the reaſons after-mentioned.*

See before in the Marg. of Chap. 5. Part 1. *the Collection of* Chriſtoph. Simpſon *of Trinity in unity, in the Harmony of Muſical Concordance, in The Diviſion-Violiſt.* pag. 17.

Read Campanella's *Metaphyſicks, and his* Atheiſmus triumphatus *of this.*

is a Trinity of Relations; *viz.* we are their *Owners*, their *Rulers* (according to their capacity) and their *End* and Benefactors: so that in the Unity of Gods Image upon man, there is this *natural*, *moral* and *dominative* Image: and in the *Natural*, the Trinity of Essential faculties, and in the *Moral*, the Trinity of holy Virtues; and in the *Dominative*, a Trinity of superiour Relations.

Richardus in Opuscul. ad S. Bernard: de appropriatis personarum, inquit, Quod Potentia, Sapientia & Bonitas, sunt notissima quid sint apud nos, qui ex visibilibus invisibilia Dei per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspicimus: Et quoniam in Elementis & plantis & brutis reperitur *Potentia* sine sapientia; & in Homine & in Angelo reperitur *Potentia*, sed non sine sapientia: Et in Lucifero reperitur *Potentia* & Sapientia, sine Bonitate & Charitate, seu adsit Posse & Scire: Igitur sunt tria hæc distincta; et POSSE est per se ut principale, SAPIENTIA est a POTENTIA, & ab utrisq; VOLUNTAS & AMOR.

And though the further we go from the root, the more darkness, and dissimilitude appeareth to us, yet it is strange to see even in the *Body*, what Analogies there are to the Faculties of the Soul; In the *superior*, *middle*, and *inferior* Regions: And in them the *natural*, *vital*, and *animal* parts, with the three sorts of *Humours*; three sorts of *Concoctions*, and three sorts of *Spirits*, answerable thereto, and admirably united: with much more, which a just Scheme would open to you. And therefore seeing God is known to us by this his Image, and in this Glass, though we must not think that any thing in God is *formally* the same as it is in *Man*; yet certainly we must judge, that all this is *eminently* in God; and that we have no fitter notions and names concerning his incomprehensible Perfections, than what are borrowed from the Minde of man. Therefore it is thus undenyable, that GOD is in the Unity of his Eternal, Infinite *Essence*, a Trinity of *Essentialities*, or Active Principles: *viz.* POWER, INTELLECT and WILL: And in their HOLY Perfections, they are, *Omnipotency*, *Omniscience* (or Wisdom) and *Goodness*: And in his Relative Supremacy is contained this Trinity of Relations, He is our OWNER, our RECTOR and our CHIEF GOOD, that is, Our Benefactor and our end.

And as in Mans Soul, the *Posse*, *Scire*, *Velle*, are not three *parts* of the Soul, it being the *whole* Soul *quæ potest*, *quæ intelligit & quæ vult*; and yet these three are not *formaliter*, (or

(or how you will otherwise call the distinction) the same: Even so in GOD, it is not one *Part* of God that hath POWER, and another that hath UNDERSTANDING, and another that hath WILL; but the *whole Deity* is POWER, the whole is UNDERSTANDING, and the whole is WILL: The whole is Omnipotency, the whole is Wisdom, and the whole is *Goodness* (the Fountain of that which in man is called Holiness or Moral Goodness): And yet *formally* to *understand* is not to *will*, and to *will* is not to be able to *execute*.

If you say, what is all this to the Trinity of Hypostases or persons, I answer, Either the three Subsistences in the Trinity are the same, with the *Potentia*, *Intellectus* and *Voluntas*, in the Divine Essence, or not: If they are the same, there is nothing at all intelligible, incredible or uncertain in it: For natural Reason knoweth that there is all these eminently in God; And whoever will think that any humane language can speak of him, must confess that his Omnipotence, Wisdom and Goodness, his Power, Intellect and Will, must be thus to mans apprehension distinguished: Otherwise we must say nothing at all of God, or say that his power is his willing, and his willing is his knowing, and that he willeth all the sin which he knoweth, and all that he *can* do: which language will, at best, signifie nothing to any man.

And it is to be noted, that our Saviour in his *Eternal subsistence*, is called in Scripture, The WISDOM of God, (or his internal Word): and in his *Operations* in the *Creation*; he is called, *The Word of God*, as *operative* or efficient: and in his *Incarnation*, he is called *The Son of God*: Though these terms be not *alwayes* and *only* thus used, yet *usually* they are.

The Words of an ancient godly Writer before cited, are considerable; *Potho Prumensis*, *de statu domus Dei*, *lib.* 1. *p.* 567. *in Biblioth. Patr. T.* 9. [*Tria sunt invisibilia Dei*, h. e. *Potentia*, *Sapientia*, *Benignitas*, *a quibus omnia procedunt*, *in quibus omnia subsistunt*, *per quæ omnia reguntur*: *Pater est Potentia*, *Filius Sapientia*, *Spiritus sanctus Benignitas*. *Potentia creat*, *Sapientia gubernat*, *Benignitas conservat*. *Potentia per Benignitatem Sapienter creat*: *Sapientia per potentiam benignè gubernat*: *Benignitas per Sapientiam potenter conservat*: *Sicut Imago in speculo cernitur*, *sic in*

Ecce in uno capite duo tibi sunt Oculi: sed est substantiæ eorum unus Aspectus, &c. Quod si unius substantiæ in se ista bina continent unitatem, non vis in Deo Patre & Filio vere duas personas unam habere substantiam. *Arnobius Conflict. cum Serapione. p.* 354. *Vid. Cæsarii dialog.* Q. 2. de triplici lumine Σοζιαν εαν ειπω γενημα αυτο εγω, inquit Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol. *l.* 1. *p.* 3. Leg. *Agust.* de Trinitate, & Dialog. ex eo excerpt. de Trinit. in *B. P. Gr. Lat. To.* 1. *p* 540.

Nihil aliud est Filius vel Verbum Dei, quam Cogitatio, vel Ars, vel Sapientia ejus—— Nihil aliud Sp. sanctus quam Amor Dei intelligitur. *Id. Ibid. pag.* 542, 543. Leg. & *Hilar.* de Trinit.

Vid. *Maxim. Mystagog. Ecclesiast. cap. 6.* Per talem rationem venit homo ad cognitionem Dei, quod est Unus in substantia, & Trinus in Personis. Istud idem videt homo in seipso: Nam ipse videt bene quod semper habuit homo in seipso Potentiam, & post Potentiam, Sapientiam: — Et de ambabus venit Amor: & quando videt homo quod ita est in seipso, ex hoc intelliget bene quod ita est in Deo, qui est ultra illum: *viz.* Quod in Deo sit Potestas, & de illa Potestate venit sapientia, & de utraque venit Amor. Et propter hoc quod ex prima persona venit secunda, & de ambabus procedit tertia, ideo prima persona vocatur Pater, secunda Filius, tertia Spiritus S. Isto modo venit homo primo ad cognitionem Dei sui creatoris, quomodo est fine principio, & quare vocatur Deus, unus substantia, trinus personis. Et quia prima persona vocatur Pater, secunda Filius, tertia Spiritus Sanctus; & quia appropinquatur Potestas Patri, Sapientia Filio, Bonitas & Amor Sp. Sancto: Tali modo debet cognoscere Deum Filium, & iste modus cognitionis est fundamentum contemplationis. *Edmund. Archiepisc. Cantuar. Specul. Eccles. cap* 28.

in ratione animæ. Huic similitudini Dei approximat homo; cui Potentia Dei dat Bonum posse, Sapientia tribuit scire; Benignitas præstat velle: Hæc triplex Animæ rationalis vis est; scil. *Posse, Scire, Velle*; *quæ supradictis tribus fidei, spei, & charitati cooperantur, &c.* Read more in the Author, and in *Raimundus Lullius*: and among latter Writers, in *Campanella, Raymundus de subundis*, &c. as I said before. He that will give you a scheme of Divinity in the true method, will but shew you how all God's *Works* and Laws flow from these *Three* Essentialities or Principles; and the three great Relations founded in them, (His being our Owner, Ruler, and Chief Good:) And how all *our duty* is branch'd out accordingly in our *correlations*: He will shew you the Trinity of Graces, *Faith, Hope* and *Love*; and the three summary Rules, the *Creed, Lord's Prayer* and *Decalogue*; and, in a word, would shew you, that the Trinity revealeth it self through the whole frame of true Theology or Morality. But who is able to discern it in the smaller and innumerable branches?

See more of this before, tom. 1. cap. 5.

Yea, if ever it were to be hoped, that our *Physicks* should be brought into the light of certainty and true method, you would see *Unity* in *Trinity* in all things in the world. You would see that in the *Sun*, and the other Celestial *Luminaries*, (which are the glorious Images of the Intellectual world) in the *Unity* of their *Essence*, there is a *Moving, Illuminating* and *Heating Power*: and that no one of these is formally the other: nor is any one of them a *Part* of the *Sun* or other Luminary, much less a meer *accident* of *quality*, but an Essential Active Principle or Power; the *whole Luminary* being essentially a Principle of *Motion, Light* and *Heat*; which are not accidents in them, but *Acts flowing* immediately from their Essential Powers, as Intellection and Volition from the Soul.

I shall

I shall now say no more of this, but profess, that the discovery of the emanations or products of the Trinity, and the Image and *Vestigia* of it, in the course of Nature, and Method of Morality, doth much increase my reverence to the Christian Doctrine, so far is the Trinity from being to me a stumbling-block.

Object. *But what are such Trinities in Unity as these to the Trinity of Persons in the Deity? such weak arguments will but increase incredulity. Will you pretend to prove the Trinity by natural reason? or would you perswade us that it is but three of God's Attributes, or our inadequate conceptions of him?* Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa: Ergo, *No creature can reveal to us the Trinity.*

Answ. 1. It is one thing to *prove* the Sacred Trinity of Persons, by such reason (or to undertake *fully to open* the mystery) and it is another thing to prove that the Doctrine is neither *incredible* nor *unlikely* to be true; and that it implieth *no contradiction* or *discordancy*, but rather seemeth *very congruous* both to the frame of nature, and of certain moral verities. This only is my task against the Infidel.

2. It is one thing to shew in the creatures a clear demonstration of this Trinity of Persons, by shewing an effect that fully answereth it; and another thing to shew such *vestigia*, adumbration or image of it, as hath those dissimilitudes which must be allowed in any created image of God. This is it which I am to do.

3. He that confoundeth the Attributes of God, and distinguisheth not those which express these three Essential Primalities, or Active Principles, to which our faculties are analogous, from the rest; or that thinketh that we should cast by this distinction, under the name of an inadequate conception, so far as we can imagine these Principles to be the same, and that there is not truly in the Deity a sufficient ground for this distinction, is not the man that I am willing now to debate this cause with; I have done that sufficiently before. Whether the distinction be real, formal or denominative, the *Thomists, Scotists* and *Nominals* have disputed more than enough. But even the Nominals say, that there is a sufficient ground for the denomination, which some call Virtual, and some Relative. And they that dispute of the

distinction

distinction of Persons, do accordingly differ, calling it either Relative, Virtual, Formal or Modal, or *ratione ratiocinata*, as they imagine best. And they that differ about these, do accordingly differ about the difference of the faculties of our souls. For my part I see not the least reason to doubt, but that the Trinity of Divine Primalities, Principles and Perfections hath made its impress on man's soul, in its three parts, *viz.* the Natural, the Moral, and the Dominative parts: in the first we have an Active Power, an Intellect and Free-will. In the second Fortitude, (or holy promptitude and strength) Wisdom and Goodness, (or Love:) In the third, we are to the inferiour creatures their Owners, Rulers and Benefactors, or End: and what ever you will call our faculties and their moral perfections, it is undoubted that in God, his *Omnipotency*, *Wisdom* and *Goodness* are his *Essence*, and yet as much distinct as is aforesaid. And what mortal man is able to say, whether the distinction of Persons be either greater or less than this? And remember, that as I speak of *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, both as in the *faculties* of the Sun, (as I may call them) and in the *Actis* or *Emanations*; and of the *Power*, *Intellect* and *Will* of man, both as in the *Faculties* and *Actis*; so do I here of the *Divine Primalities*; yet so, as supposing that in God, who is called a Pure Act, there is not such a difference between *Power* and *Acti*, as there is in man or other creatures.

4. No man, I think, is able to prove, that the *works* of the *Trinity*, *ad extra*, are *any more undivided*, than the works of the three Essential Active Principles: they are so undivided, as that yet the work of *Creation* is *eminently*, or most notably ascribed to the *Father*, (as is also the sending of the Son into the world, the forgiving of sin for his sake, &c.) and the work of *Redemption* to the *Son*, and the work of *Sanctification* to the *holy Ghost*: We shall be as loth to say, that the Father or holy Ghost was incarnate for us, or died for us, or mediates for us, as that the *Power* or *Love* of God, doth the works which belong to his *Wisdom*. And the Essential Wisdom and Love of God are no more communicable to man, than the Son and holy Spirit, who are said to be given to us, and to dwell within us. The Scripture often calleth Christ the *Wisdom of God*: and λόγος is both the *Ratio* & *Oratio*,

Oratio, the Internal and Expressed (or Incarnate) Word. And he that understandeth that by the *holy Ghost*, which is said in Scripture to be given to *believers*, is meant the habitual or prevalent *LOVE* to *GOD*, will better understand how the holy Ghost is said to be given to them that already have so much of it as to cause them to believe. Abundance of Hereticks have troubled the Church with their self-devised opinions about the Trinity, and the Person and Natures of Christ: and I am loth to say, how much many of the Orthodox have troubled it also, with their self-conceited, misguided, uncharitable zeal, against those whom they judged Hereticks: The present divisions between the *Roman* Church, the *Greeks*, the *Armenians*, *Syrians*, *Copties* and *Ethiopians*, is too sad a proof of this: and the long contention between the *Greeks* and *Latins* about the terms *Hypostasis* and *Persona*.

5. And I would advise the Reader to be none of those, that shall charge with Heresie all those School-men and late Divines, both Papists and Protestants, who say, that the Three Persons are *Deus seipsum intelligens*, *Deus à seipso intellectus*, & *Deus à seipso amatus*, (though I am not one that say as they:) nor yet those holy men whom I have here cited, (*Petho Prumensis*, *Edmundus Archiepisc. Cantuarienſis & Parisiensis*, and many others, who expresly say, that *Potentia*, *Sapientia & Amor*, are the Father, Son and holy Ghost.

See Bp. Lucy, *in the end of his Book against* Hobs, *proving the Trinity by* Lully's *reasons.*

6. But for my own part, as I unfeignedly account the doctrine of the Trinity, the very summ and kernel of the Christian Religion, (as expresst in our Baptism) and *Athanasius* his Creed, the best explication of it that ever I read; so I think it very unmeet in these tremendous mysteries, to go further than we have God's own light to guide us: And it is none of my purpose at all to joyn with either of the two fore-mentioned parties; nor to assert that the mysterie of the blessed Trinity of Hypostases or Persons is no other than this uncontroverted Trinity of Essential Principles. All that I endeavour is but as aforesaid, to shew that this Doctrine is neither contradictory, incredible, nor unlikely, by shewing the *vestigia* or Image of it, and that which is as liable to exception, and yet of unquestionable truth. And if the three Hypostases be not the same with the Trinity of Principles

aforesaid, yet no man can give a sufficient reason, why Three in One should not be truly credible and probable in the one instance, when common natural reason is fully satisfied of it in the other. He must better understand the difference between a *Person* and such an Essential Principle *in Divinis*, than any mortal man doth, who will undertake to prove from the Title of a [Person] that one is incredible or unlikely, when the other is so clear and sure: or rather, he understandeth it not at all, that so imagineth. For my part, I again from my heart profess, that the *Image* or *Vestigia* of Trinity in Unity through the most notable parts of Nature and Morality, do increase my estimation of the Christian Religion, because of the admirable congruity and harmony.

Arnobius junior, *in his conflict*, cum Serapion, *useth this similitude: As fire and gold are two distinct substances, yet fire is of it self invisible, till by union with the heated gold it becometh visible: So Christ's Divine Nature and his Humane, &c.* Leg. pag. 368, 369. *And to the question,* Utrum Pater Filium genuerit Necessitate an Voluntate, *he answereth, Neither because understanding or Wisdom is not necessitated, and yet is antecedent to Volition:* But *by* Necessity *he seemeth to mean that which is by constraint.* Vid. Nat. Fevardent. in loc. Leg. Methodii Resp. ad eos qui dicunt, Quid profuit nobis Filius Dei homo factus? &c. *Edit. per Gretser.*

Object. II. *But who is able to believe the Incarnation and Hypostatical Union? If you should read that a Kings Son, in compassion to poor flies, or fleas, or lice, had himself become a flie, or flea, or louse, (had it been in his power) to save their lives, would you have thought it credible? And yet the condescension had been nothing to this, as being but of a creature to a creature.*

Answ. This is indeed the greatest difficulty of faith: but if you do not mistake the matter, you will find it also the greatest excellency of faith. 1. Therefore you must take heed of making it difficult by your own errour: think not that the Godhead was *turned* into man, (as you talk of a man becoming a flie) nor yet that there was the least real change upon the Deity by this incarnation: nor the least real abasement, dishonour, loss, injury or suffering to it thereby. For all these are not to be called *difficulties*, but *impossibilities* and *blasphemies*. There is no abatement of any of the Divine Perfections by it, nor no confinement of the Essence: but as the soul of man doth animate the body, so the *Eternal Word* doth, as it were, *animate* the whole humane Nature of Christ. As *Athanasius* saith, As the reasonable soul and humane flesh do make one man, so God and Man are one Christ: and that without any coarctation, limitation, or restriction of the Deity. 2. And this should be no strange Doctrine, nor incredible to most of the Philosophers of the world, who have one part of them taught, that God is the *Soul of the world*; and that the whole Universe is thus animated by him: and another part,

part, that he is the Soul of Souls, or Intelligences, animating them as they do bodies. That therefore which they affirm of all, cannot by them be thought incredible of one. And it is little less, if any thing at all, which the *Peripateticks* themselves have taught of the *assistant Forms (Intelligences)* which move the Orbs; and of the *Agent, Intellect* in man; and some of them, of the universal soul in all men. And what all their vulgar people have thought of the Deifying of *Heroes*, and other men, it is needless to recite; *Julian* himself believed the like of *Æsculapius*. None of these Philosophers then have any reason to stumble at this, which is but agreeable to their own opinions. And indeed the opinion, that God is the Soul of souls, or of the Intellectual world, hath that in it, which may be a strong temptation to the wisest to imagine it: Though indeed he is no constitutive form of any of those creatures, but to be their Creator and total efficient is much more. What Union it is which we call Hypostatical, we do not fully understand our selves: but we are sure that it is such as no more abaseth the Deity, than its concourse with the Sun in its efficiencies.

Junilius de part. Div. Leg. l. 1. c. 19. *saith, that* Et essentia vel natura facit, quia ei nihil accidens est, & tamen voluntate, quia nihil facit necessitate vel coactus. *Speaking of his operations as he is* Bonus, Sapiens, Fortis.

Leg. Ruperti Tuitiens. de Divin. Offic. l. 11. c. 2, & 3, & 4. Quod nomen Patris, Filii & Sp. Sancti propria veri Dei descriptio sit, &c. *per totum lib.* Arnob. ubi supra, l. 1. *telleth the Heathens, how many they worship as Gods, who once were men, as* Jupiter, Æsculapius, Hercules, &c. p. 6.

Leg. Theodori Presbyteri Rhaithuensis Præpar. & Meditat. de Incarnat. Christi, & Herefibus circa eandem.

Leg. & Theodori Abucaræ Opuscul. 2. explan. vocum quibus Philosophi utuntur, &c. Et ejusdem fidem orthodox. missam ad Armen. à *Thoma* Patriarch. *Hierosol.*

Vide & *Theoriani* Dialog. cum Generalissi. Armeniorum.

At Deus Verbum nihil ipsum à societate & animæ immutatum neque illorum imbecilitatis particeps, sed eis suam divinitatem impartiens, unum cum eis fit; & permanet, quod erat ante junctionem. Vid. cætera in *Nemesio Emissen. de Natura hom. cap.* 3.

Object. *But what kin are these assertions of Philosophers to yours, of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word and Wisdom of God?*

Answ. What was it but an Incarnation of a Deity, which they affirmed of *Æsculapius* and such others? And they that thought God to be the *Soul of the world*, thought that the world was as much animated with the Deity, as we affirm the humane Nature of Christ to have been; yea, for ought I see, whilst they thought that this soul was parcelled out to every individual, and that Matter only did *pro tempore* individuate, they made every man to be God incarnate. And can they believe that it is so with *every man*, and yet think it

incredible in Christianity, that our humane Nature is personally united to the Divine? I think in this they contradict themselves.

3. And it is no way incredible that God should value man according to his natural worth and usefulness, as an intellectual agent, capable of Knowing, and Loving, and Praising him, and Enjoying him: His creating us such, and his abundant mercies to us, do abundantly prove the truth of this. Nor is it incredible that he should be willing that his depraved creature should be restored to the use and ends of its nature: nor is it incredible that God should choose the best and fittest means to effect all this. Nothing more credible than all this.

4. And it is not incredible at all, that the Incarnation of the Eternal Word should be the *fittest means* for this reparation: If we consider, 1. What question we should have made of the *word* of an Angel, or any meer creature, that should have said, he came from God to teach us; seeing we could not be so certain that he was infallible, and indefectible. 2. And how short a creature would have fallen in the Priestly part of Mediation. 3. And how insufficient he would have been for the Kingly Dignity, and universal Government and Protection of the Church, and Judgement of the world. 4. And withall, that *God Himself*, being the *Glorifier of Himself*, and the Donor of all felicity to us, it is very congruous, that he should most eminently *Himself* perform the most eminent of these works of mercy.

5. And it much assisteth my belief of the Incarnation, to consider, that certainly the work that was to be done for man's recovery, was the winning of his heart to the *Love* of God, from himself and other creatures: and there was no way imaginable so fit to inflame us with love to God, as for him most wonderfully to manifest his love to us: which is more done in the work of man's Redemption, than any other way imaginable; so that being the most suitable means to restore us to the love of God, it is fittest to be the way of our recovery; and so the more credible.

6. And it much suppresseth temptation to unbelief in me, to consider, that the three grand works in which God's Essentialities declare themselves, must needs be all such as beseemeth

seemeth God; that is, *most wonderful*, transcending man's comprehension. And as his *Omnipotency* shewed it self (with *Wisdom* and *Love*) in the great work of *Creation*, so was it meet that his *Wisdom* should shew it self most wonderfully in the great work of *Redemption*, in order to the as *wonderful* declaration of his *Love* and *Goodness*, in the great work of our Salvation, (our Regeneration, and Glorification.) And therefore if this were not a *wonderful* work, it were not fit to be parallel with the Creation, in demonstrating God's Perfections to our minds.

Object. III. *But how incredible is it that humane nature should, in a glorified Christ, be set above the Angelical nature.*

Answ. There is no arguing in the dark, from things unknown, against what is fully brought to light. What God hath done for man, the Scripture hath revealed, and also that Christ himself is far above the Angels: But what Christ hath done for Angels, or for any other world of creatures, God thought not meet to make us acquainted with. There have been Christians who have thought, (by plausible reasonings from many Texts of Scripture) that Christ hath three Natures, the Divine, and a Super-angelical, and a Humane; and that the Eternal Word did first unite it self to the Super-angelical nature, and in that created the world; and in that appeared to *Abraham* and the other Fathers; and then assumed the Humane nature last of all for Redemption: And thus they would reconcile the *Arrians* and the *Orthodox*. But the most Christians hold only two Natures in Christ: but then they say, that he that hath promised that we shall *be equal with the Angels*, doth know that the nature of Man's Soul and of Angels differ so little, that in advancing one, he doth as it were advance both: and certainly maketh no disorder in nature, by exalting the inferiour *in sensu composito*, above the Superiour and more excellent. Let us not then deceive our selves, by arguing from things unknown.

Object. IV. *There are things so incredible in the Scripture-Miracles, that it is hard to believe them to be true.*

Answ. 1. No doubt but Miracles must be *Wonders:* they were not else so sufficient to be a divine attestation, if they were not things exceeding our power and reach. But why should they be thought incredible? Is it because they tran-

scend the *Power* of God, or his *Wisdom*, or his *Goodness*? Or because they are harder to him than the things which our eyes are daily witnesses of? Is not the motion of the Sun and Orbs, and especially of the *Primum Mobile*, which the Peripateticks teach; yea, or that of the Earth and Globes, which others teach, as great a work, as any miracle mentioned in the holy Scriptures? Shall any man that ever considered the number, magnitude, glory, and motions of the Fixed Stars, object any difficulty to God? Is it not as easie to raise one man from the dead, as to give life to all the living?

2. And are not Miracles according to our own necessities and desires? Do not men call for signs and wonders, and say, If I saw one rise from the dead, or saw a Miracle, I would believe? Or at least, I cannot believe that Christ is the Son of God, unless he work Miracles? And shall that be a hinderance to your belief, which is your last remedy against unbelief? Will you not believe without miracles, and yet will you not believe them because they are Miracles? This is but meer perverseness? as much as to say, we will neither believe with Miracles nor without.

3. Impartially consider of the proof I have before given you, of the certain truth of the *matter of Fact*, that such miracles were really done: and then you may see not only that they are to be believed, but the doctrine to be the rather believed for their sakes.

† Obj. V. *It is hard to believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Life to come, when we consider how much the soul dependeth in its operations on the body; and how it seemeth but gradually to exceed the bruits: Especially to believe the Eternity of it, or its joyes; when* omne quod oritur interit; *And if Eternity* à parte ante *be proper to God, why not Eternity* à parte post?

† Fuge garrulitates anxias Philosophorum qui asserere non erubescunt, suas canumq; animas eandem tenere speciem. *Basil Hexam. l. 8. Interp. Eustath. Leg. Mammerti Claudiani lib. 3. de statu Animæ; & præcipuè Gr. Nyssenum*: & quæ ex eo citantur in Cæsarii *Dialog. 3. This stuck with* Galen *and some such.*

His & talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsivit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus supplex fuit: Adhibuitq; liberam contumaciam à magnitudine animi & paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi è custodia, noluit: Et cum pene in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem, verum in cœlum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat atq; disseruit: Duas esse vias, duplicesque cursus animorum è corpore excedentium: Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se totos libidinibus dedissent quibus cœcati velut domesticis vitiis atq; flagitiis se inquinassent vel in Republica violanda fraudes inexpiabiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam iter esse seclusum à Concilio Deorum: Qui autem se integros castosque servassent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati Deorum, his ad illos à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. *Cicer. Tuscul. 1. pag. 233.*

Answ.

Answ. 1. The Immortality of the Soul, and consequently its perpetual duration, and a life of Retribution after this, did not seem things incredible to most of the Heathens and Infidels in the World: And I have proved it before by evidence of Nature to common Reason. So that to make that incredible in Christianity, which Philosophers and almost all the World hold, and which hath cogent natural evidence, is to put out the eye of Reason as well as of Faith.

2. And that it hath much use of, or dependance on the body in its present operations, is no proof at all that when it is out of the body it can no otherwise act or operate. Not to meddle with the controversie, whether it take with it hence the material sensitive Soul as a body afterward to act by? or whether it fabricate to it self an æthereal body? or remain without any body of it self? It is certain, that it was not the Body that was the Principle of Intellection and Volition here: but it was the Soul which did all in the body, but according to the mode of its present coexistence: seeing then that it was the Soul that did it here, why may it not also do it hereafter? If the Candle shine in the Lanthorn, It can shine out of it, though with some difference: He is scarce rational that doubteth whether there be such things as incorporeal invisible intelligences, minds or spirits: And if *they* can act without bodies, why may not *our minds?* Though the Egge would die if the shell were broken, or the Hen did not sit upon it, it doth not follow, that therefore the Chicken cannot live without a shell, or sitting on. Though the Embrio and Infant must have a continuity with the mother, and be nourished by her nourishment, it doth not follow, that therefore it must be so with him, when he is born and grown up to ripeness of age. And when there is full proof that Souls have a future life to live, it is a folly to doubt of it, meerly because we cannot conceive of the manner of their acting without a body: For he that is not desirous to be deceived, must reduce things uncertain and dark, to those that are clear and certain, and not contrarily: All good arguing is *à notioribus*, and not *à minùs notis*. The neerer any Being is in excellency unto God, the more there is in it which is hard to be comprehended: Spi-

rits

rits and Minds are excellent Beings; and therefore very imperfectly known even by themselves, while they are in the Lanthorn, the Shell, the Womb of flesh. The Eye is not made to see its own light, though it may see in a Glass the Organ of its sight: And as sight seeth not sight, nor hearing heareth not hearing, nor taste tasteth not tasting, &c. the act being not its own object; But yet by seeing other things, I am most certain that I see, and by hearing, tasting, smelling, &c. I am certain that I hear, taste, and smell; so is not the Intellect here fitted intuitively to understand its own act of understanding; but by understanding other objects, it understandeth that it doth understand: (Though I confess, some learned men in this think otherwise, *viz.* that the Intellect intuitively knoweth it self.) If a man have a Watch which is kept in order, to tell him the hour of the day, though he know not the reason of the frame, the parts and motions, nor how to take it into pieces, and set it again together, yet it serveth his turn to the use he bought it for. And a Ship may carry him who is unacquainted with the workmanship that's in it: And so if a mans Soul know how to love and please its Maker, and know it *self morally*, it attaineth its end, though it know not it self physically so far, as to be able to anatomize its faculties and acts. Argue not therefore from obscurities against the Light.

Campanella *well teacheth, that the Soul hath naturally a certain inward knowledge or sense of it self; but when men go about to bring this to such a knowledge as we have of things extrinsical by ratiocination, they oft-times reason themselves into Ignorance and Error. And* Cicero *hath the very same.* Nec vero de hoc quisquam debitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret de ligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod iis sæpe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent; sic mentis acies seipsam intuens, nonnunquam hebescit; ob eamq; causam contemplandi diligentiam amittimus. *Cic. Tusc. l.* 1. *p.* 233.

And that man doth not differ from a bruit only in degree, but specifically, he that is indeed a man doth know: Considering what operations the minde of man hath above Bruits; not only in all the most abstruse and wonderful Arts and Sciences, Astronomy, Geometry, Mutick, Physick, Navigation, Legislation, Logick, Rhetorick, &c. but also his knowledge of a Creator, a love and fear of him, an obedience to him, and a care for an Everlasting Life: Whether Bruits have Analogical Ratiocination or not, it is certain that these things are far above them.

2. If by the Eternity of our felicity were meant only an *Ævum* of very long duration, it would be so strong a motive to

to Godliness and Christianity, as with any rational man, as to weigh down all the counter-pleasures of this world.

3. But as long as there is no want of *Power* in God to perpetuate our blessedness, nor any proof that it is disagreeable to his *Wisdom* or his *Will*, why should that seem incredible to us, which is sealed and attested so fully by supernatural revelation, as I have proved? If once the revelation be proved to be Divine, there is nothing in this which reason will not believe.

4. And all they that confess the immortality and perpetuity of the soul, must confess the perpetuity of its pleasure or pain.

5. And why should it be hard for the *Peripatetick* to believe the perpetuity of the soul, who will needs believe the eternity of the world it self, both as *à parte ante*, and *à parte post*? Surely it should seem no difficulty to any of that opinion.

Object. VI. *Who can believe that God will torment his creatures in the flames of hell for ever? Is this agreeable to infinite Goodness?*

Answ. 1. I have fully answered this already, *chap.* 15. *part* 1. and therefore I must intreat the Objector to peruse his Answer there: Only I shall now say, that it is not incredible that God is the Governour of the world; nor that he hath given man a Law; nor that his Law hath penalties to the disobedient; nor that he is just; and will judge the world according to that Law, and make good his threatnings: nor is it incredible that those who chose sin, when they were fore-told of the punishment, and refused Godliness, when they were fore-told of the blessed reward and fruits, and this with obstinacy to the last, should have no better than they chose. It is not incredible that unholy enemies of God and Holiness, should not live hereafter in the blessed sight and love, and holy delightful fruition of God, no more than that a Swine is not made a King: nor that an immortal Soul, who is excluded immortal happiness by his wilful refusal, should know his folly, and know what he hath lost by it: nor that such knowledge should be his continual torment: nor is it incredible that God will not continue to him the pleasures of whoredom, and gluttony, and drunkenness, and sports,

Sosipatra ubi— incidisset in disputationem de anima in genere; quæ ejus pars supplicio puniatur, quæque interitus sit expers, dum furore quodam divino incitata rapitur, &c. *Eunap. in Ædes. p.* 594. Et, ut quod gnotum est pareat, hæc est hominis vera mors, cum animæ nescientes Deum, perlongissimi temporis cruciatu consumuntur ignifero, in quem illas jacium quidam crudeliter sævi, & ante Christum incogniti, & ab solo sciente detecti. *This was the conceit of* Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 2. p. 14.

sports, and worldly wealth, or tyrannical domination, to quiet him in his loss of heaven: nor that he will deprive him of the temporal mercies which now content him, or may afford him any delight hereafter: nor is it incredible, if his body rise again, that it shall be partaker with his soul: nor that God, who might deprive him of his *being*, if he had been *innocent*, may make him worse, or bring him into a condition to which he would prefer annihilation, when he is an *obstinate impenitent* sinner. It is not incredible, that a good King or Judge may hang a Felon or Traitor, for a crime against man and humane society. Nor is it any goodness in them to be unjust, or to cherish murderers by impunity: none of all this is at all incredible. But it is indeed incredible, till conscience have humbled him, that the Thief or Murderer should *like* this penalty, or think well of the Judge: or that a sinner, who judgeth of good and evil in others as Dogs do, by the interest of his throat or flesh, and thinks them good only that love him, and bad that hurt him and are against him, should ever believe that it is the amiable goodness of God, which causeth him in justice to condemn the wicked.

* *We say not that corporeal fire doth touch the soul.* Sed memoratæ apud inferos pœnæ & suppliciorum generibus multiformes: Ecquis erit tam brutus, & rerum consequentias nesciens, qui animis incorruptibilibus credat, aut tenebras tartareas posse aliquid nocere? aut igneos fluvios aut cænosis gurgitibus paludes; aut rotarum volubilium circumactus. Quod enim contiguum non est, & à legibus dissolutionis amotum est, licet omnibus ambiatur flammis, — illibatum necesse est permaneat. *Arnob. adverf. Gent. l. 2. p. 17. Auct. Bibl. Pat. To. 1.*

* 2. But yet let not misunderstanding make this seem harder to you than indeed it is. Do not think that souls in hell are hanged up in flames, as beasts are hanged in a butchers shambles: or that souls have any pain but what is suitable to souls, (and that's more than bodies bear:) It is an affliction in rational ways, which falls on rational spirits. Devils are now in torment, and yet have a maliguant kingdom and order, and rule in the children of disobedience; and go up and down seeking whom they may devour. We know not the particular manner of their sufferings, but that they are forsaken of God, and deprived of his complacential love and mercy; and have the rational misery before described, and such also as shall be suitable to such kind of bodies as they shall have. And while they are immortal, no wonder if their misery be so.

Object. VII. *Who can believe that the damned shall be far more than the saved? and the devil have more than God? How will this stand with the infinite goodness of God?*

Answ. I have fully answered this before in *Part* 1. *chap.* 11. and

11. and should now adde but this; 1. In our enquiries, we must begin with the *primum cognita*, or *notissima*, as aforesaid: that God is most *good*, and also *just*, and punisheth *sinners*, is before proved to be among the *notissima*, or *primum cognita*; and therefore it is most certain, that these are no way contradictory to each other.

2. And if it be no contradiction to God's *goodness*, to punish and cast off for ever the *lesser part* of the world, then it is none to punish or cast off the *greater part*. The inequality of number will not alter the case.

3. It is no way against the goodness of *humane Governours*, in some cases, to punish even the *greater number*, according to their deserts.

And seeing most of the Heathens believe the Immortality of souls, and the Justice of God, it is meet that they believe a punishment for the bad, as they do a reward for the good. As Arnobius saith, lib. 2. adverf. Gent. Cum igitur hæc ita sint, quanam injustitia tanta est, ut fatui vobis credulitate in ista videamur? Cum vos & similia credere, & in eadem videamus expectatione versari? Si irrisione existimamur digni, quod spem nobis hujusmodi pollicemur, & vos eadem expectat irrisio, qui spem vobis immortalitatis adscisitis. Si tenetis aliquam sequiminique ratione, & nobis portione ex ista rationem concedite. Si nobis hæc gaudia *Plato* promisisset —Consentaneum fuerat ejus suscipere nos cultus, à quo tantum doni expectaremus & muneris. Nunc cum eam Christus non tantum promiserit, verum etiam virtutibus tantis manifestaverit, posse compleri, quid alienum facimus aut stultitiæ crimen quibus rationibus sustineamus, si ejus nomini Majestatique substernimur à quo speramus utrumque & mortem cruciabilem fugere, & vitam æternitate donari? *page* 17. *Auct. Bib. Pat. To.* 1.

4. Can any man that openeth his eyes deny it in *matter of fact*, that the far greater part of the world is *actually ungodly*, worldly, sensual and disobedient? Or that such are *meet* for punishment, and *unmeet* for the love and holy fruition of God? When I *see* that most men are *ungodly*, and *uncapable* of Heaven, is it not harder to reason, to believe that these *shall have* that joy and employment of which they are uncapable, than that they shall have the punishment which agreeth with their capacity, desert and choice? Must I believe that *God's enemies* shall *love him for ever*, meerly because they are the *greater number*? If *one man* that dieth *unreconciled* be capable of heaven, *another* is so, and all are so: Therefore I must either believe that *no impenitent* ungodly person is saved, or that *all* be saved. The number therefore is nothing to the deciding of the case.

5. Can any man in his wits deny, that it is as sure that God permitteth *sin* in the world, as that the *Sun* shineth on us: yea, that he permitteth that universal enormous deluge of wickedness which the world groaneth under at this day?

And that this sin is the souls calamity; and to a right judgment, is much worse than punishment, what ever beastly sensuality may gainsay. If then the *visible wickedness* of the world be permitted by God, without any impeachment of his *goodness*, then certainly his *goodness* may consist with *punishment*, (which as such is *good*, when *sin* is evil:) And much of this punishment also is but materially *permitted* by God, and executed by sinners upon themselves.

6. The *wisdom and goodness* of God saw it meet, for the right government of this world, to put the *threatnings* of an *everlasting punishment* in his *Law*: (and how can that man have the face to say, it was *needless*, or *too much* in the *Law*, with whom it proved *not enough* to weigh down the trifling interests of the flesh.) And if it was meet to put that penalty in the *Law*, it is just and meet to put that Law into execution, how many soever fall under the penalty of it, (as hath been proved.)

7. The *goodness* of God consisteth not in a Will to make all his creatures as *great*, or *good* and *happy*, as he *can*: but it is *essentially* in his *infinite perfections*; and *expressively* in the *communication* of so much to his creatures, as he *seeth meet*, and in the accomplishment of his *own pleasure*, by such ways of *Benignity and Justice* as are most suitable to his *Wisdom and Holiness*. Man's *personal interest* is an unfit rule and measure of *God's goodness*.

8. To recite what I said, and speak it plainlier, I confess it greatly quieteth *my mind* against this great objection of the numbers that are damned and cast off for ever, to consider how small a part this earth is of God's creation, as well as how sinful and impenitent. Ask any Astronomer, that hath considered the innumerable number of the fixed Stars and Planets, with their distances, and magnitude, and glory, and the uncertainty that we have whether there be not as many more, or an hundred or thousand times as many, unseen to man, as all those which we see (considering the *defectiveness* of man's sight, and the Planets about *Jupiter*, with the innumerable Stars in the Milky way, which the Tube hath lately discovered, which man's eyes without it could not see,) I say, ask any man who knoweth these things, whether all this earth be any more in comparison of the

Of the probability of the habitation of the Planets, see Gassendus, and his reasons, that the inhabitants are not men of our species, but what the inhabitants are diversified as the habitations are, and other things in the universe.

the whole creation, than one Prison is to a Kingdom or Empire, or the paring of one nail, or a little mole, or wart, or a hair, in comparison of the whole body. And if God should cast off *all this earth*, and use *all the sinners* in it as they deserve, it is no more sign of a want of benignity or mercy in him, than it is for a King to cast *one subject* of a *million* into a Jail, and to hang him for his murder, or treason, or rebellion; or for a man to kill *one louse*, which is but a molestation to the body which beareth it; or than it is to *pare a mans nails*, or cut off a wart, or a hair, or to pull out a rotten aking tooth. I know it is a thing uncertain and unrevealed to us, whether all these Globes be inhabited or not: but he that considereth, that there is scarce any uninhabitable place on earth, or in the water, or air, but men, or beasts, or birds, or fishes, or flies, or worms and moles do take up almost all, will think it a probability so near a certainty, as not to be much doubted of, that the vaster and more glorious parts of the Creation are not uninhabited; but that they have Inhabitants answerable to their magnitude and glory (as Palaces have other inhabitants than Cottages): and that there is a connaturality and agreeableness there as well as here, between the Region or Globe, and the inhabitants. But whether it be the Globes themselves, or only the inter-spaces, or other parts that are thus inhabited, no reason can doubt, but that those more vast and glorious spaces are proportionably possess'd: And whether they are all to be called *Angels* or *Spirits*, or by what other name, is unrevealed to us: but what ever they are called, I make no question but our number to theirs is not one to a million at the most.

Though Cicero *frequently derideth the superstitious fear of Hell, yet he meaneth not of all future punishment of the wicked, but of the Ports fables of* Styx, Cerberus, Tantalus, *and* Sysiphus *kind of penalties, and of* Minos *and* Rhadamanthus *the infernal Judges.*

Sed (generis Christus humani (injuriis) conservator advenit cur non omnes æquali munificentia liberat? *Resp.* Æqualiter liberat, qui æqualiter omnes vocat: Haud ab indulgentia principali quenquam repellit, aut respuit: qui sublimibus, infimis, servis, &c. uniformiter præstatem veniendi ad se facit? Patet omnibus fons vitæ, neque ab jure potandi quisquam prohibetur. Si tibi fastidium tantum est, ut oblati respuas beneficium muneris, quinimo si tantum sapientia prævales, ut ea quæ offeruntur à Christo ludum & ineptias nomines quid invitans peccat, cujus solum sunt hæ partes, ut sub tui juris arbitrio fructum suæ benignitatis exponat? — An orandus es ut beneficium salutis à Deo digneris accipere, & tibi aspernanti, fugientique longissime, infundenda est in gremium divinæ benevolentiæ gratia? Vis sumere quod offertur, & in tuos usus convertere consulueris tu tibi. Aspernaris, contemnis & despicis, te muneris commoditate privaveris. Nulli Deus infert necessitatem. *Object.* Nolo (inquis) & voluntatem non habeo. *Resp.* Quid ergo criminaris Deum, tanquam tibi desit? Opem desideras tibi ferre, cujus dona & munera non tantum aspernaris & fugias, verum in alia verba cognominas, & jocularibus facetiis prosequaris. *Arnob. adv. Gent. l.* 2.

Now this being so, for ought we know those glorious parts may have inhabitants without *any sin* or *misery*; who are filled with their *Makers love* and *goodness*; and so are fitter to be the demonstration of that *love and goodness*, than this sinful mole-hill or dungeon of ignorance is. If I were sure that God would save *all mankind*, and only leave the *devils* in their damnation, and forsake no part of his Creation but *their Hell*, it would not be any great stumbling to my faith: Or if *Earth* were all God's creation, and I were sure that he would condemn but one man of a hundred thousand, or a million, and that only for *final impenitency* in the contempt of the mercy which would have saved him; this would be no great difficulty to my faith. Why then should it be an offence to us, if God, for their final refusal of his grace, do for ever forsake and punish the far greater part of this little dark and sinful world, while he glorifieth his Benignity and Love abundantly upon innumerable Angels, and blessed Spirits, and inhabitants of those more large and glorious seats? If you would judge of the Beneficence of a King, will you go to the Jail and the Gallows to discern it, or to his Palace and all the rest of his Kingdom? And will you make a few condemned malefactors the measure of it? or all the rest of his obedient prosperous subjects? If *Hell* be totally forsaken of God, as having totally forsaken him; and if Earth have made it self next to Hell, and be forsaken as to the far greater part, because that greater part hath forsaken him; as long as there may be millions of blessed ones above, to one of these forsaken ones on earth, it should be no offence to any but the selfish guilty sinner. I confess I rather look on it as a great demonstration of God's holiness and goodness in his Justice, that he will punish the rebellious according to his Laws; and a great demonstration of his Goodness in his Mercy, that he will save *any* of such a rebellious world, and hath not forsaken it utterly as Hell: And when of all the thousands of Worlds or Globes which he hath made, we know of none forsaken by him, but Hell, and part of the Earth, all the Devils, and most of Men; we should admire the glory of his bounty, and be thankful with joy, that we are not of the forsaken number; and that even among sinners, he will cast off none but those that finally reject his mercy.

Eunomiani minas futuri supplicii & gehennæ, non ad veritatem, sed ad metum prolatas aiebant, *Hermenopul. de Sectis. Sect.* 13.

But

But *selfishness* and *sense* do make men blinde, and judge of Good and Evil only by *self-interest* and *feeling*; and the malefactor will hardly magnifie Justice, nor take it to be a sign of Goodness: But God will be God whether selfish rebels will or not.

Obj. *That any thing existeth besides God cannot be known but by sense or history: Have you either of these for those Inhabitants? And if we may go by Conjectures, for ought you know there may as many of those Worlds be damned, as of earthly men.*

Ans. 1. Some men are so little conscious of their humanity, that they think that nothing is known at all: But he that knoweth by sense that *He is himself*, and that there is a *World about him*, and then by Reason that there is *a God*, may know also by Reason that there are other Creatures which he never saw: Neither *sense* nor *history* told us of the inhabitants of the (then) unknown parts of the World; and yet it had been easie to gather at least a strong probability that there are such. He that knoweth that an intelligent Nature is better than a non-intelligent, and then knoweth that God hath made man intelligent, and then thinketh what difference there is in matter, magnitude and glory, between the dirty body of Man with the Earth he liveth in, and those vast and glorious Ethereal spaces; will quickly judge that it is a thing incredible, that God should have no Creatures nobler than man, nor imprint more of his Image upon any in those more glorious Regions, than on us that dwell as Snails in such a shell; or that there should be such a strange disproportion in the works of God, as that a *punctum* of dirty earth only should be possessed of the Divine or Intellectual nature, and the vast and glorious Orbs or Spaces be made only to look on, or to serve these mortal Worms: But proofs go according to the preparation of the Receivers minde: Nothing is a proof to the unprepared and prejudiced.

2. We have *sense* by the Telescope to tell us, that the Moon hath parts unequal, and looketh much like the habitable Earth: And we have sense to tell us, that there are *Witches* and *Apparitions*, and consequently other kinde of intellectual Wights than we. And we have History to tell us

of

of the appearances and offices of Angels: And if there be certainly such wights, our eyes may help us to conjecture at their Numbers (compared to us) by the spaces which they inhabit.

3. There is a proportion and harmony in all the works of God: And therefore we that see how much the superiour Orbs do in glory excell this dirty Earth, have reason to think that the nature of the Inhabitants is suited to their Habitations; and consequently that they are more excellent Creatures than we, and therefore less sinfull, and therefore more happy.

4. Yet after all this, I am neither asserting that all this is so, nor bound to prove it. I only argue, that you who are offended at the numbers that sin and perish, do wrangle in the dark, and speak against you know not what. Conjecture is enough for me, to prove that you do foolishly to argue against experience (of the sin and misery of the most) upon meer uncertainties. You will not censure the actions of a Prince or Generall, when your ignorance of their Counsels maketh you uncertain of the *cause*; yea and of the *matter of fact* it self. The proof lyeth on your part, and not on mine: You say, *our doctrine is incredible*, because so few are saved, and yet confess that for ought you know, taking all together it may be many millions for one that perisheth. I think by proving you *uncertain* of this, I prove you foolish in your Infidelity. And if you will *conjecture* then, that there may as many of those other Regions be damned, 1. You shew your selves much more harsh in your censures than the Christians are, whose harshness you are now reproving: Yea you conjecture this without all ground or probability. And will you say then, *For ought I know it may be so*, Ergo, *Christianity is incredible?* Can a groundless conjecture allow any rational man such a Conclusion?

Obj. *But you say your selves that many of the Angels fell, and are now Devils.*

Answ. But we say not *how many*: we never said that it is the whole number of the Glorious Inhabitants of all the superiour World, who are called *Angels*, as Messengers or Officers about man: we know not how small a part of them comparatively it may be: And of them we know not how

how few fell. *Augustine* conjectured that it was the tenth part; but we have no ground for any such conjecture.

Obj. *But it is incredible that the World should perish for one mans sin, whom they never knew, nor could prevent?*

Answ. 1. To them that know what Generation is, and what the Son is to the Father, it is not incredible at all that the unholy Parents do not beget holy Children, nor convey to them that which they have not themselves; nor yet that God should hate the unholy: Nor that the Parents choice should signifie much for their Childrens state, who have no wills of their own fit for actual choice; nor that restored imperfect holiness should not be conveyed to Children by natural propagation; which came to the Parents by Regeneration: nor that the Children of Traytors should be disinherited for their Fathers faults: nor that the Children of Drunkards and Gluttons should be naturally diseased.

2. No man in the World doth perish for *Adams* sin alone without his own: (Though we judge the case of Infants to allow you no exception, yet to carry the controversie to them into the dark, and to argue *à minus notis*, is not the property of such as seek impartially for truth.) Christ hath procured a new Covenant upon which all those that hear the Gospel, shall again be tryed for life or death: And those that hear it not, have divers means which have a tendency to their recovery, and are under undenyable Obligations to use those means in order to their recovery: which if they do not faithfully, they perish for their own sin. Should it not make Christianity *the more easily credible*, when *certain experience* assureth us, how prone even Infants are to sin, and how universally the World is drown'd in wickedness; and then to finde so admirable and suitable a Remedy revealed?

Obj. *But Punishment is to warn others from sinning: But after this life there will be none to warn: therefore there will be no punishment, because the end of punishing ceaseth.*

Answ. 1. It is a false position, that punishment is only or chiefly to be a warning to others. It is chiefly for the ultimate end of Government, which *secundum quid* among men, is the *bonum publicum*; but *simpliciter*, in Gods Government,

vernment, it is the Glorifying or demonstration of the Holiness and Justice of God the universal Governour, to the pleasure of his holy will.

See more of this before, Part I. Ch. 15. *The Reader must pardon this speaking of the same thing twice, both because the Object requires the repeating it on, and because I think it needfull to most Readers; to procure their observation.*

2. It is the Penalty as Threatned in the Law, and not the penalty as executed, which is the first necessary means to deterre others from offending: And then the execution is secondarily necessary, because the Law must be fulfilled. It is not the actual hanging of a murderer; which is the first necessary instrument or means to restrain murderers: But it is the Penalty in the *Law*, which saith that Murderers shall be hanged: And the commination of the Law would be no restraint, if it were not that it relateth to a just execution. So that it was necessary to the restraint of sinners in *this world*, that God should threaten Hell in his Law: And therefore it is necessary that he execute that Law; or else it would be delusory, and contemptible.

Aut ideo gregem pusillum appellat, quia totum hominum genus, ne dum soli sancti, cum immensa illa Angelorum multitudine, collatum, perexiguus grex est. Est enim illorum multitudo incredibilis, hominum nume um infiniris pene partibus excedens. *Titus Bostrens. in Luc. cap.* 12.

3. How know we who shall survive this present World, to whom God may make mans Hell a warning? Are not the Devils now set out in Scripture for a warning to *Man?* And how know we what other Creatures God hath, to whom these punished sinners may be a warning? Or whether the *New Earth, wherein Righteousness must dwell, according to Gods Promise* (2 *Pet.* 3. 12, 13.) shall not have use of this warning to keep them in their righteousness? As long as all these things are probable, and the contrary utterly uncertain, how foolish a thing is it, to go from the light of a plain Revelation and Scripture, and argue from our dark uncertainties and improbabilities against that light? And all because self-love and guilt doth make sinners unwilling to believe the truth? So much for the Objection against Hell.

Obj. VIII. *But it is incredible, that all those shall be damned that live honestly and soberly, and do no body harm, if they do not also live a holy and heavenly life, and forsake all for another World.*

We deny not but that there are different degrees of punishment according to the difference of mens sins.

Answ. It is but selfishness and blindness, which maketh men call him an *honest* man, and speak lightly of his wickedness who preferreth the dung and trifles of this World, before his Maker, and Everlasting glory. What if a pack of Murderers, Thieves and Rebels, do live together in love, and do one another no harm? shall that excuse their murders or rebellions, and give them the name of *honest men?* What is the Creature to the Creator? what greater wickedness can man commit, than to deny, despise and disobey his Maker? and to preferre the most contemptible vanity before him? and to choose the transitory pleasure of sinning, before the endless fruition of his God? what is wronging a Neighbour, in comparison of this wrong? shall a sinner refuse his everlasting happiness when it is offered him, and then think to have it, when he can possess the pleasure of sin no longer? and all because *he did no man wrong?* Doth he think to refuse Heaven, and yet to have it? If he refuse the Love of God, and perfection of Holiness, he refuseth Heaven. It is so far from being incredible that the unholy should be damned, and the *Holy* only saved, that the contrary is *impossible*: I would not believe an Angel from Heaven, if he should tell me that one unholy Soul, *in sensu composito, while such*, shall be saved, and have the heavenly felicity: because it is a meer contradiction. For to be blessed in Heaven, is to be happy in the perfect Love of God: And to love God without Holiness, signifieth to love him without loving him. Are these the Objections of unbelief?

Obj. IX. *The Resurrection of these Numerical Bodies, when they are devoured and turned into the substance of other bodies, is a thing incredible* †.

Answ. 1. If it be neither against the *Power*, the *Wisdom*, or the *Will of God*, it is not incredible at all. But it is not against any of these. Who can say, that God is *unable* to raise the dead, who seeth so much greater things performed by him, in the daily motion of the Sun (or Earth) and in the support and course of the whole frame of Nature? He that can every Spring give a kinde of Resurrection, to Plants and Flowers, and Fruits of the Earth, can easily raise our bodies from the dust. And no man can prove, that the *Wisdom* of God, or yet his *Will*, are against our Resurrection; but that both

Etsi mortalibus in decies millenos annos hæc exteinis sensibus exposita vita producatur, nunquam tamen opinor tantæ Angelorum & Dæmonum multitudini, humanarum animarum numerus par erit. *Æneas Gazæus de Animâ Theophrast. p.* 399.

† Cum non esset, te formavit ex humida & minima substantia, & ex minutissima guttula, quæ nec ipsa aliquando erat. *Theoph Antioch. ad Autolych. l.* 1.

One that had never heard nor thought of the way of generation, would think it as unlikely a thing that an Acorn should bring forth an Oak, or such a thing as sperma humanum the Body of a man, as you do that the body rise again. And the Platonists *think, that all Souls presently upon their departure hence do subsicate to themselves either aereal or ethereal bodies: And why should you think them so alienated from the bodies which they lived in, as only to be uncapable of those? If we knew what the* hoc idem *of the Body is, we might have more particular explicit satisfaction: In the mean time we must implicitly trust in God.* Leg. Finem Disput. Zachariæ Scholast. Mitylen.

Legè etiam Athenagoram de Resurrectione.

Read Garbut of the Resurrection.

Read Æn. Gazæus *his* Theophrastus, *where is a handsome discourse of the Resurrection.*

are for it, may be proved by his *Promises*: Shall that which is beyond the power of Man, be therefore objected as a difficulty to God?

2. Yea, it is congruous to the Wisdom and Governing Justice of God, that the same Body which was partaker with the Soul in sin and duty, should be partaker with it in suffering or felicity?

3. The Lord Jesus Christ did purposely die and rise again in his humane body, to put the Resurrection out of doubt, by undenyable ocular demonstration, and by the certainty of belief.

4. There is some *Natural Reason* for the Resurrection in the Souls inclination to its Body. As it is unwilling to lay it down, it will be willing to reassume it, when God shall say, The time is come. As we may conclude at night when they are going to bed, that the people of City and Countrey will rise the next morning, and put on their Cloaths, and not go naked about the streets, because there is in them a *Natural inclination* to *rising* and to *cloaths*, and a natural aversness to *lie still* or to go uncloathed; so may we conclude from the *souls natural inclination* to its body, that it will reassume it as soon as God consenteth.

5. And all our Objections which reason from supposed contradictions vanish; because none of us all have so much skill in Physicks as to know what it is which *individuateth* this Numerical Body, and so what it is which is to be restored: But we all confess, that it is not the present mass of flesh and humours, which being in a continual flux, is not the same this year which it was the last, and may vanish long before we die.

Obj. X. *If Christ be indeed the Saviour of the World, why came he not into the World till it was* 4000 *years old? And why was he before revealed to so few? and to them so darkly? Did God care for none on earth, but a few* Jews? *or did he not care for the Worlds recovery till the later age, when it drew towards its end?*

Answ. It is hard for the Governour of the World, by ordinary means, to satisfie all self-conceited persons of the wisdom and equity of his dealings. But 1. it belongeth not to us, but to our free Benefactor, to determine of the measure,

sure, and season of his benefits: May he not do with his own as he list? And shall we deny or question *a proved truth*, because the reason of the circumstances is unrevealed to us? If our Physician come to cure us of a mortal disease, would we reject him because he came not sooner? and because he cured not all others that were sick as well as us?

2. The Eternal Wisdom and Word of God, the second Person in the Trinity, was the Saviour of the World before he was incarnate. He did not only by his *Undertaking*, make his future performances valid, as to the merit and satisfaction necessary to our deliverance; but he *instructed* Mankinde in order to their recovery, and *Ruled* them upon terms of *grace*, and so did the work of a Redeemer or Mediator, even as Prophet, Priest and King, before his Incarnation. He enacted the Covenant of Grace, that whoever repenteth and believeth shall be saved; and so gave men a conditional pardon of their sins.

If Philosophy be medicinal to the foolish world, why were Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, *and* Zeno *born no sooner? but the world suffered to lie so long in ignorance? Answer this your selves, and you are answered.*

3. And though Repentance and the Love of God, was necessary to all that would be saved, even as a constitutive cause of their salvation; yet that *Faith* in the *Mediator*, which is but the *means* to the *Love* of God, and to sanctification, was not alwayes, nor in all places, in the same particular Articles necessary as it is now, where the Gospel is preached. Before Christs coming, a *more general belief* might serve the turn, for mens salvation; without believing, that [This Jesus is the Christ; that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin *Mary*, suffered under *Pontius Pilate*; was crucified, dead, and buryed, and *descended* to *Hades*, and rose again the third day, and ascended into Heaven, *&c.*] And as more is necessary to be believed, since Christs incarnation and resurrection than before; so more was *before* necessary to the *Jewes*, who had the Oracles of God, and had more revealed to them than to other Nations who had less revealed: And *now* more is necessary where the Gospel cometh, than where it doth not.

Arnobius *answereth this Objection, partly by alledging mans ignorance of what God did to former ages, and partly by asserting Gods mercy to them.* adv. Gentes li. 2.

4. So that the *Gentiles* had a *Saviour* before Christs Incarnation, and not only the *Jewes*. They were reprieved from Legal Justice, and not dealt with by God upon the proper terms of the Covenant of Works, or meer Nature: They had all of them much of that mercy which they had

Obj. Quid visum est ut ante horas paucu-las sospitator Christus coeli ex arcibus mitteretur? *Resp.* Quæ causa est quod serius hyems, æstas, autumnus fiant? — Non minus inficias nescire nos: nec promptum est cu-quam Dei mentem videre, aut quibus modis ordinaverit res suas, homo animal cœcum & ipsum se nesciens ullis potest rationibus consequi-- Nec continuo sequitur ut infecta fiant quæ facta sunt, & amittat res fidem, quæ posteritatibus est monstratum. *Id. ib.*

forfeited; which came to them by the Grace of the Redeemer. They had time and helps to turn to God, and a course of means appointed them to use, in order to their recovery and salvation: According to the use of which they shall be judged: They were not with the Devils left remediless, and shut out of all hope, under final desperation: No one ever perished in any Age or Nation of the World, who by *believing in a mercifull, pardoning, holy God, was recovered to love God above all.* And if they did not this, they were all without a just excuse.

5. The course of Grace as that of Nature, doth wisely proceed from low degrees to higher, and bringeth not things to perfection at the first: The Sun was not made the first day of the Creation; nor was Man made, till all things were prepared for him. The Churches Infancy was to go before its Maturity. We have some light of the Sun, before it rise; much more before it come to the height: As Christ now teacheth his Church more plainly, when he is himself gone into Glory, even by his Pastors whom he fitteth for that work, and by his Spirit; so did he (though more obscurly yet sufficiently) teach it before he came in the flesh, by Prophets and Priests: His work of Salvation consisteth in bringing men to live in Love and Obedience: And his way of Teaching them his saving doctrine is by his Ministers without, and by his Spirit within: And *thus* he did *before* his coming in flesh, and *thus* he doth since: we that are born since his coming, see not his Person, any more than they who were born before. But *we* have his *Word*, *Ministers*, and *Spirit*, and so had *they*: His *reconciling sacrifice* was effectual morally *in esse cognito & volito* before the performance of it: And the means of reconciling *our minds* to God, were sufficient in their kind before, though more full and excellent since his coming.

Nam quod nobis objectare consuestis, novellam esse Religionem nostram, & ante dies propemodum paucos natam, neq; vos potuisse antiquam & patriam linquere, *&c.* ratione istud intenditur nulla: Quid enim si hoc modo culpam velimus infligere, prioribus illis & antiquissimis seculis, quod inventis frugibus glandes spreverint, quod corticibus contegi, & amiciri desierint pellibus, postquam vestis excogitata est textili, — Commune est omnibus & ab ipsis pene incunabulis traditum, bona malis anteferre, inutilibus utilia præponere — Convenit ut inspiciatis non factum, nec quid reliquerimus opponere, sed secuti quid simus potissimum contueri. *Arnob. lib. l. 2. And he next instanceth, what abundance of things they had then innovated at* Rome. Et postea—sed novellum nomen est nostrum, & ante dies paucos Religio est nata quam sequimur: *Resp.* Ut interim concedatur. Quid est in negotiis hominum, quod vel opere corporis & manibus fiat, vel solius animæ disciplina & cognitione teneatur, quod non ex aliquo cœperit tempore? Philosophia, Musica, Astronomia, *&c. Id. ib. p.* 24.

If

If you would not be deluded into Infidelity by this objection (which indeed is one of the greatest difficulties of Faith) you must not further one error by another. 1. Think not that God is *hired* or *perswaded* by Christ as against his will to forgive mens sins and save their souls, or to do them any good. Understand, that no good cometh to man, or any Creature, but totally from *Gods will and Love*, who is the Original and Eternal Goodness. All the question is but of the *modus conferendi*, the way of his Conveyance: And then it will not seem incredible, that he should give out his mercy by degrees, and with some diversity.

2. Think not that Christianity doth teach men, that all those who were not of the *Jewish* Nation or Church then, or that are not now of the Christian Church, were so cast off and forsaken by God as the Devils are, to be left as *utterly hopeless* or *remediless*: nor that they were upon no other terms for salvation, than man in innocency was under; which was [*Obey perfectly and live; or if thou sin, thou shalt die*]: For this had been to leave them as *hopeless* as the Devils, when once they had sinned.

3. And think not that Christ can shew no mercy, nor do any thing towards the salvation of a sinner, before he is *known himself* to the sinner; especially before he is known as an *incarnate Mediator*, or one that *is to be incarnate*. He struck down *Paul*, and spake to him from Heaven, before *Paul* knew him: He sent *Philip* to the Eunuch, before he knew him, and *Peter* to *Cornelius*, and sendeth the Gospel to Heathen Nations, before they know him. If the Apostles themselves, even after that they had lived long with Christ, and heard his preaching, and seen his Miracles, yea and preached and wrought Miracles themselves, did not yet understand that he must suffer, and die, and rise again, and send down the Spirit, *&c.* you may conjecture by this what the common Faith of those before Christs coming was, who were saved.

4. Think not therefore that Christ hath no way or degree of effectual Teaching, but by the express doctrine of his Incarnation, Death and Resurrection, which is now *THE GOSPEL.*

5. And think not that all the mercies which Pagan Nations

tions have from God, are no acts of Grace, nor have any tendency to their conversion and salvation. Doubtless, it is the same Redeemer, even the eternal *Wisdom* and *Word* of God, who *before* his Incarnation gave greater mercy to the *Jews*, and lesser to the Gentiles: He doth by these mercies oblige or lead men to *Repentance* and *Gratitude*, and reveal God as mercifull and ready to forgive all capable sinners: As even under the Law, *Exod.* 34. he revealed himself fully to *Moses*, [*The Lord, the Lord God, mercifull and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin*, &c.] though he *will by no means* (no not by Christ) *clear the guilty*, that is, either say to the wicked, thou art just, or pardon any uncapable subject. Doubtless, mercy bindeth Heathens to know *God as mercifull*, and to *love him*, and to *improve* that mercy to their attainment of more, and to seek after further knowledge, and to be better than they are; and they are set under a certain course of Means, and appointed Duty, in order to their recovery and salvation: Else it might be said, that they have nothing to do for their own recovery, and consequently sin not by omitting it. By all this you may perceive, that Christ did much by *Mercies* and *Teaching* before his Incarnation, and since for all the World, which hath a tendency to their conversion, recovery and salvation.

Religionis auctoritas non est tempore estimanda sed numine. *Id. ib. Yet next he saith, Our Religion is the oldest, because God is so, though Christ came but lately to teach us us better.*

Obj. XI. *The conception of a Virgin, without man, is improbable; and must all depend upon the credit of her own word: And the meanness of his Parentage, breeding and condition, doth more increase the difficulty.*

Answ. 1. It was meet that the birth of Christ should begin in a Miracle, when his life was to be spent and finished in Miracles. 2. It is no more than was promised before by the Prophet, *Isa.* 7. 14. *A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son*, &c. And why should the fulfilling of a Prophesie by miracle be incredible? 3. It is neither *above* nor *against* the *Power*, *Wisdom* or *Love* of God, and therefore it should not seem incredible. There is no contradiction or impossibility in it; nor any thing contrary to Sense or Reason. Reason saith indeed, that it is above the *power of man*, and above the *common course* of *Nature*; but not that it is above the Power of

of the God of Nature: Is it any harder for God to cause a Virgin to conceive by the Holy Ghost, than to make the first of Humane kinde, (or any other kinde) of nothing? 4. It was meet that he who was to be a Sacrifice for sin, and a Teacher and pattern of perfect righteousness, and a Meditor between God and Man, should not be an ordinary Childe of *Adam*, nor be himself defiled with Original or actual sin; and therefore that he should be in a peculiar sense the *Son of God*. 5. And this doth not depend only on the *Credit* of the *Virgin-mothers word*, but on the multitude of Miracles whereby God himself confirmed the truth of it.

And as for the *Meanness* of his Person and Condition, 1. It was a needfull part of the humiliation which he was for our sins to undergo; that he should *take upon him the form of a Servant, and make himself of no reputation*, Phil. 2. 7, 8, 9. 2. It was a suitable testimony against the *pride, carnality*, and *worldly-mindedness* of deluded men, who overvalue the honour and pleasure and riches of the World: And a suitable means to teach men to judge of things aright, and value every thing truely as it is. The contrary whereof is the cause of all the sin and misery of the World. He that was to cure men of the *Love of the World*, and all its riches, dignities and pleasure, & he that was to *save them* from this, by the Office of a Saviour, could not have taken a more effectual way, than to teach them by his own example, and to go before them in the setled contempt of all these vanities, and preferring the true and durable felicity. 3. Look *inwardly* to his God-head, and spiritual perfections: Look upward to his present state of Glory, who hath now all power given into his hands, and is made Head over all things to the Church, *Eph.* 1. 22. Look *forward* to the day of his glorious appearing, when he shall come with all his Celestial Retinue, to judge the World: And then you will see the Dignity and excellency of Christ. If you preferre not spiritual and heavenly dignities your selves, you are uncapable of them, and cannot be saved: But if you do, you may see the excellencies of Christ. He that knoweth how vain a bubble the honour of man and the glory of this world is, will not be offended at the King of Saints because his Kingdom is not of this World: And he that knoweth any thing

of the difference between God and the Creature, Heaven and Earth, will not despise the Eternal *Jehovah*, because he weareth not a silken Coat, and dwelleth not in the guilded Palaces of a Prince: If Earthly Glory had been the highest, it had been the glory of Christ: And if he had come to make us happy by the rich mans way, *Luk.* 16. *To be cloathed in Purple and Silk, and faring sumptuously every day*, then would he have led us this way by his example. But when it is the work of a Saviour to save us *from the flesh*, and from this present evil World, the Means must be suited to the end.

Obj. XII. *But it is a very hard thing to believe that person to be God Incarnate, and the Saviour of the World, who suffered on a Cross, as a Blasphemer and a Traytor that usurped the Title of a King.*

Answ. The Cross of Christ hath ever been the stumbling-block of the proud and worldly sort of men. But it is the confidence and consolation of true Believers. For 1. It was not for his *own sins* but for *ours* that he suffered: Even so was it prophesied of him, *Isa.* 53. 4. *Surely, he hath born our griefs, and carryed our sorrows; yet did we esteem him stricken of God, and afflicted: But he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed: All we like Sheep have gone astray, we have every one turned to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* And it is impudent ingratitude to make those his sufferings the occasion of our unbelief, which we were the causes of our selves; and to be ashamed of that Cross which *we* laid upon him by our sins. It is not worth the labour to answer the slanders of his accusers, about his usurpation of a Kingdom, when they believed it not themselves: He was above a worldly Kingdom. And it could be no blasphemy for him to say that he was the Son of God, when he had so fully proved it by his works.

2. His

I eg. *Ivon Carnotens.* de rebus Ecclesiast. cap. Quare Deus natus & passus est? *Bibl. Pat. To.* 10. *pag.* 809, 810. Etiam *Ruper. Tuitiens. li.* 3. *de Divinis Offic. cap.* 14. de eo quod solet quæri, Cur Deus Ipsum hominis evenire permiserit, pro quo Incarnatio ejus necessaria fuit? *pag.* 897. *Pythagoras* famius suspicione dominationis injustâ vivus concrematus in fano est: Nunquid ea quæ docuit, vim propriam perdiderunt, quia non Spiritum sponte, sed crudelitate apperitus effudit: similiter *Socrates* civitatis suæ judicio damnatus, *&c. Aquilius, Trebonius, Regulus*, acerbissimarum mortium experti sunt formas: nunquid idcirco post vitam judicati sunt turpes? Nemo unquam innocens male interemptus infamis est; nec turpitudinis alicujus commaculatur nota, qui non suo merito, pœnas graves, sed cruciatoris perpetitur sævitatem. *Arnob. adv. Gent. li.* 1. *p.* 7.

2. His suffering as a reputed Malefactor on a Cross, was a principal part of the merit of his Patience: For many a man can bear the *corporal pain*, who cannot so far deny his honour, as to bear the imputation of a *Crime*: For the innocent Son of God, that was never convict of sin, to suffer under the name of a *Blasphemer* and a *Traytor*, was greater condescention, than to have suffered under the name of an innocent person.

3. And in all this it was needfull that the Saviour of Mankinde, should not only be a Sacrifice and Ransom for our sinfull Souls, but also should heal us of the over-love of *Life*, and *Honour* by his Example. Had not his self-denyal and patience extended to the loss of all things in this World, both life it self, and the reputation of his righteousness, it had not been a perfect example of self-denyal and patience unto us. And then it had been unmeet for so great a work, as the cure of our Pride and love of Life. Had Christ come to deliver the *Jews* from Captivity, or to make his Followers great on Earth, as *Mahomet* did, he would have suited the Means to such an End: But when he came to save men from *pride*, and *self-love*, and the esteem of this World, and to bring them to Patience, and full obedience to the will of God, and to place all their happiness in another life, true Reason telleth us that there was no example so fit for this end, as Patient submission to the greatest sufferings. The Cross of Christ then shall be our glory, and not our stumbling-block or shame. Let the Children of the Devil boast, that they are *able to do hurt*, and to trample upon others: The Disciples of Christ will rather boast, that they can *patiently endure* to be abused, as knowing that their Pride and Love of the World, is the enemy which they are most concern'd in conquering.

Obj. XIII. *It was but a few mean unlearned persons who believed in him at the first: And it is not past a sixth part of the World, that yet believeth in him: And of these, few do it judiciously and from their hearts, but because their Kings or Parents, or Countrey are of that Religion.*

Answ. 1. As to the Number I have answered it before. It is no great *number* comparatively that are Kings, or Lords, or Learned men, and truly judicious and wise: will you there-

therefore set light by any of these? Things excellent are seldom common. The Earth hath more Stones than Gold or Pearls. *All* those believed in Christ who heard his word, and saw his works, and had wise, considerate, honest hearts, to receive the sufficient evidence of truth. The greater part are every where ignorant, rash, injudicious, dishonest, and carryed away with prejudice, fancy, custom, error and carnal interest. If all men have means in its own kind sufficient to bring them to believe, to understand so much as God immediately requireth of them, it is their fault who after this are ignorant and unbelieving; and if it prove their misery, let them thank themselves. But yet Christ will not leave the success of his undertaking so far to the will of man, as to be uncertain of his expected fruits: He hath his chosen ones throughout the World, and will bring them effectually to Faith and Holiness, to Grace and Glory, though all the Powers of Hell do rage against it: In them is his delight, and them he will conform to his Fathers will, and restore them to his Image, and fit them to love and serve him here, and enjoy him for ever: And though they are not the greater number, they shall be the everlasting demonstration of his Wisdom, Love, and Holiness: And when you see all the worlds of more blessed Inhabitants, you will see that the Damned were the smaller number, and the Blessed in all probability many millions to one: If the Devil have the greater number in this World, God will have the greater number in the rest.

How gallantly have your Learned Philosophers excelled us? When the Pyrrhonians *and* Arcesilas *his new Academicks have learned to know that nothing can be known; and the one sort of them say that they know not* that much *neither. But whether they dare say that they* know *that they know not that much they have not told us. Of them even* Cicero *learned as much to* doubt *as to* know.

Quicquid nil verum statuens Academia duplex
Personat; arroso quicquid sapit ungue Cleanthes ——
Apol. Sidonius Carm. 2. p. 123.

2. It was the wise design of Jesus Christ, that few in comparison should be converted by his personal converse or teaching, and thousands might be suddenly converted upon his Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost: Both because his Resurrection and Ascension were part of the Articles to be believed, and were the chiefest of all his Miracles which did convert men: And therefore he would Rise from the dead before the multitude should be called: And because the Spirit as it was his extraordinary Witness and Advocate on Earth, was to be given by him after he ascended into glory; And he would have the World see, that the Conversion of men to Faith and Sanctity, was not the effect of any politick Confederacy between him and them,

them, but the effect of Gods Power, Light and Love: so that it should be a great confirmation to our Faith to consider, that those multitudes believed by the wonderfull testimony and work of the Holy Ghost, upon the Disciples, when Christ had been crucified in despight, who yet believed not before, but were his Crucifiers: It was not so hard nor honourable an act to believe in him; when he went about working Miracles, and seemed in a possibility to restore their temporal Kingdom, as to believe in him after he had been crucified among Malefactors. He therefore that could after this by the Spirit and Miracles, bring so many thousands to believe, did shew that he was alive himself and in full power.

3. And that the Apostles were mean unlearned men, is a great confirmation to our Faith. For now it is apparent that they had their abilities, wisdom and successes from the Spirit and Power of God: But if they had been Philosophers or cunning men, it might have been more suspected to be a laid contrivance between Christ and them. Indeed for all his Miracles, they began to be in doubt of him themselves, when he was dead and buryed, till they saw him risen again, and had the Spirit came upon them, and this last undeniable evidence, and this heavenly insuperable Call and Conviction was it, which miraculously settled them in the Faith.

*4. And that Saviour, who came not to make us Worldlings, but to save us from this present evil World, and to cure our esteem and love of worldly things, did think it meetest both to appear in the form of a poor man himself, and to choose Disciples of the like condition, and not to choose the worldly wise, and great, and honourable, to be the first attesters of his miracles, or preachers of his Gospel. Though he had some that were of place and quality in the World, (as *Nicodemus*, *Joseph*, *Cornelius*, *Sergius Paulus*, &c.) yet his Power needed not such Instruments: As he would not teach us to magnifie worldly Pomp, nor value things by outward appearance, as the deluded dreaming world doth

* Quid nobis est investigare ea quæ neq; scire compendium, neq; ignorare detrimentum est ullum? Remittite hæc Deo, atq; ipsum scire concedite, quid, quare, & unde sit? debuerit esse aut non esse. Vestris non est rationibus liberum implicare vos talibus, & tam remotas inutiliter curare res: Vestra in ancipiti notioni, à corporalibus vinculis exolutos, expectat mors sæva; non repentinam afferens extinctionem, sed pertractum temporis cruciabilis pœnæ acerbitate consumens. *Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 2.*

sita est salus animarum vestrarum; & nisi vos applicatis Dei Principis

doth, so he would shew us, that he needeth not Kings nor Philosophers, by worldly power or wisdom to set up his Kingdom. He giveth power, but he receiveth none: He setteth up Kings, and by him they reign; but they set not up him, nor doth he reign by any of them: Nor will he be beholden to great men, or learned men for their help, to promote his cause and interest in the World. The largeness of his mercy indeed extendeth to Kings, and all in Authority, as well as to the poor, and if they will not reject it, nor break his bonds, but kiss the Son, before his wrath break forth against them, they may be saved as well as others: (*Psal.* 2. 1, 2, 9, 10. 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.) But he will not use them in the first setting up of his Church in the World, lest men should think, that it was set up by the Learning, Policy or Power of man: 1 *Cor.* 1. 26, 27, 28, 29. and 2. 5, 6, 7, 10, 13. & 13. 19, *&c.* And therefore he would not be voted one of the Gods by *Tyberius*, or *Adrians* Senate, nor accept of the worship of *Alexander Severus*, who in his *Lararium* worshipped him as one of his Demi-gods; nor receive any such beggarly Deity from man; but when *Constantine* acknowledged him as God indeed, he accepted his acknowledgement. Those unlearned men whom he used were made wiser in an hour by the Holy Ghost, than all the Philosophers in the World: And those mean contemned persons overcame the Learning and Power of the World, and not by Arms as *Mahomet*, but against Arms and Arguments, wit and rage, by the *Spirit* alone they subdued the greatest powers to their Lord.

Obj. XIV. *But it doth* sapere scenam, *sound like a Poetical fiction, that God should satisfie his own Justice, and Christ should die instead of our being damned, and this to appease the wrath of God, as if God were angry, and delighted in the blood or sufferings of the innocent.*

Answ. Ignorance is the great cause of unbelief. This objection cometh from many errours, and false conceits about the things of which it speaketh. 1. If the word [*Satisfaction*] offend you, use only the Scripture-words, that Christ was a *Sacrifice*, an *Atonement*, a *Propitiation*, a *Price*, &c. And if this be incredible, how came it to pass that *sacrificing* was the custom of all the world? Doth not this objection as much militate against this? was God angry? or was he delighted in the blood and sufferings of harmless sheep and other cattel? and must these either satisfie him, or appease his wrath? What think you should be the cause, that sacrificing was thus commonly used in all ages through all the earth, if it savoured but of poetical fiction?

Lege pretiosissimum Grotii lib. de satisfactione: Item Zarnovecium & Iohan. Junium & Essenium de satisf.

2. God hath no such thing as a passion of anger to be appeased, nor is he at all delighted in the blood or sufferings of the worst, much less of the innocent, nor doth he sell his mercy for blood; nor is his *satisfaction* any reparation of any loss of his, which he receiveth from another. But, 1. Do you understand what *Government* is? and what *Divine Government* is? and what is the end of it? even the pleasing of the will of God in the demonstrations of his own perfections: if you do, you will know, that it was necessary that God's penal Laws should not be broken by a rebel world, without being executed on them according to their true intent and meaning, or without such an equivalent demonstration of his Justice, as might vindicate the Law and Lawgiver from contempt, and the imputation of ignorance or levity, and might attain the ends of Government as much, as if all sinners had suffered themselves: And this is it that we mean by a *Sacrifice*, *Ransom*, or *Satisfaction*. Shall God be a Governour and have no Laws? or shall he have Laws that have no penalties? or shall he set up a lying scar-crow to frighten sinners by deceit? and have Laws which are never meant for execution? Are any of these becoming God? Or shall he let the Devil go for true, who told *Eve* at first, *You shall not die?* and let the world sin on with boldness, and laugh at his Laws, and say, God did but frighten us with a few words, which he never intended to fulfill? or should God have damned all the world according to their desert? If none of all this be credible to you, then certainly nothing should be more credible, than that his wisdom hath found out some way, to exercise pardoning saving mercy, without any injury to his governing justice and truth, and without exposing his Laws and himself to the contempt of sinners, or emboldening them in their sins; even a way which shall vindicate his honour, and attain his ends of government, as well as if we had been all punished with death and hell; and yet

Pontifex ille credo est qui principaliter apud divinitatem summæ Trinitatis humani generis oblata sanctificat, peccata expiat, vota commendat. Ipse ergo verius sacerdos est, quia Filius Dei secundum id quod æqualis est Patri, non tam preces fundit, quam precantes exaudit; homo potius hic intelligendus est, quem Pontificem Apostolus docens, nostrisque infirmitatibus compati, &c. *Claudian Mamert. de statu Animæ contr. Faust. l.* 1 *c* 3.

yet may save us with the great advantage of honour to his mercy; and in the fullest demonstration of that love and goodness, which may win our love. And where will you find this done but in Jesus Christ alone? 2. You must distinguish between *Anger* and *Justice:* when God is said to be *angry*, it meaneth no more but that he is *displeased* with sin and sinners, and executeth his governing-justice on them. 3. You must distinguish between *sufferings* in themselves considered, and as in their *signification* and *effects:* God loved not any mans pain and suffering and death, as in it self considered, and as evil to us: (no not of a sacrificed beast) but he loveth the demonstration of his truth, and justice, and holiness, and the vindication of his Laws from the contempt of sinners, and the other good ends attained by this *means:* and so as a *means* adapted to such ends he loveth the punishment of sin.

Object. XV. *It is a suspicious sign that he seeketh but to set up his name, and get disciples, that he maketh it so necessary to salvation to believe in him; and not only to repent and turn to God.*

Answ. He maketh not *believing in him* necessary, *sub ratione finis*, as our holiness and love to God is; but only *sub ratione medii*, as a means to make us holy, and work us up to the love of God. He proclaimeth himself to be *the Way, the Truth*, and *the Life*, by whom it is that we must *come to the Father*; and that *he will save to the uttermost all that come to God by him*, Heb. 7. 25. Joh. 14. 6. So that he commandeth Faith but as the bellows of Love, to kindle in us the heavenly flames. And I pray you, how should he do this otherwise? Can we learn of him, if we take him for a deceiver? Will we follow his example, if we believe him not to be our pattern? Will we obey him, if we believe not that he is our Lord? Will we be comforted by his gracious promises and covenant, and come to God with ever the more boldness and hope of mercy, if we believe not in his Sacrifice and Merits? Shall we be comforted at death in hope that he will justifie us, and receive our souls, if we believe not that he liveth, and will judge the world, and is the Lord of life and glory? Will you learn of *Plato* or *Aristotle*, if you believe not that they are fit to be your Teachers? Or will you take Physick

Physick of any Physician whom you trust not, but take him for a deceiver? Or will you go in the Vessel with a Pilot, or serve in the Army under a Captain, whom you cannot trust? To *believe in Christ*, which is made so necessary to our justification and salvation, is not a dead opinion, nor the joyning with a party that cryeth up his name: But it is to *become Christians indeed*; that is, to *take him unfeignedly for our Saviour, and give up our selves to him by resolved consent or covenant, to be saved by him from sin and punishment, and reconciled to God, and brought to perfect holiness and glory.* This is true justifying and saving faith. And it is our own necessities that have made this faith so necessary as a means to our own salvation. And shall we *make it* necessary *for our selves*, and then quarrel with him for making it *necessary in his Covenant?*

Object. XVI. *If Christ were the Son of God, and his Apostles inspired by the holy Ghost, and the Scriptures were God's Word, they would excel all other men and writings in all true rational worth and excellency: whereas* Aristotle *excelleth them in Logick and Philosophy, and* Cicero *and* Demosthenes *in Oratory, and* Seneca *in ingenious expressions of morality. &c.*

* *Answ.* You may as well argue, that *Aristotle* was no wiser than a Minstrel, because he could not fiddle so well, nor than a Painter, because he could not limn so well; or than a harlot, because he could not dress himself so neatly. Means are to be estimated according to their fitness for their ends. Christ himself excelled all mankind, in all true perfections; and yet it became him not to exercise all mens arts, to shew that he excelleth them. He came not into the world to teach men Architecture, Navigation, Medicine, Astronomy, Grammar, Musick, Logick, Rhetorick, &c. and therefore shewed not his skill in these. The world had sufficient helps and means for these in Nature. It was to save men from

* *The parts and style of men may vary, who speak the same truth.* Sentit ut *Pythagoras*, dividit ut *Socrates*, explicat ut *Plato*, implicat ut *Aristoteles*, ut *Æschines* blanditur, ut *Demosthenes* irascitur, vernat ut *Hortensius*, ut *Cethegus*, incitat ut *Curio*, moratur ut *Fabius*, simulat ut *Crassus*, dissimulat ut *Cæsar*, suadet ut *Cato*, dissuadet ut *Appius*, persuadet ut *Tullius*: instruit ut *Hieronimus*, destruit ut *Lactantius*, astruit ut *Augustinus*, attollitur ut *Hilarius*, summittitur ut *Joannes*, ut *Basilius* corripit, ut *Gregorius* consolatur, ut *Orosius* affluit, ut *Ruffinus* stringitur, ut *Eusebius* narrat; ut *Eucherius* sollicitat, ut *Paulinus* provocat, ut *Ambrosius* perseverat. Sidonius Ep. *Mammert. pop. l. de*

Even as your Heathen Authors had their several styles, so had the Sacred Writers. Qua *Crispus* brevitate placet, quo pondere *Varro*. Quo genio *Plautus*, quo flumine *Quintilianus*. Qua pompa *Tacitus* nunquam sine laude loquendus. *Apol. Sidonius Carm.* 2. *Auctuar. Bib. Patr. p.* 123.

Nihil fide noſtra ini quius fingi poſſet, ſi in eruditos tantum, & dicendi facultate & Logicis demonſtrationibus excellentes caderet: popularis autem multitudo, ut auro & argento aliiſque omnibus rebus, quæ hic in pretio habentur, atque à pleriſque avide expetuntur, ſic hoc quoque fruſtraretur, ac Deus id quod altum & excelſum eſt, & ad paucos pertingit, gratum acceptumque haberet; contra, quod propinquius eſt, nec vulgi captum ſuperat, aſpernaretur & rejiceret. *Nazianz. Orat.* 26. p. 458.

Sed ab indoctis hominibus & rudibus ſcripta ſunt. Et idcirco non ſint facili auditione credenda. Vide ne magis fortior hæc cauſa ſit: cur illa ſint nullis coinquinata mendaciis; mente ſimplici prodita, & ignara lenociniis ampliare & certum eſt, circumduci ſe patitur orationis per ambitum longiorem: Collectiones Enthymemata, definitiones, omniaque illa ornamenta quibus fides quæritur aſſertionis, ſuſpicantes adjuvant, non veritatis lineamenta demonſtrant—— Solœciſmis, Barbariſmis, inquis obſitæ ſunt res veſtræ— Puerilis ſane & anguſti pectoris reprehenſio: Quam ſi admitteremus ut vera ſit— Quid enim officit, O quæſo? aut quam præſtat intellectui tarditatem? utrumne quid leve, an hirſuta cum aſperitate promatur? inflectatur quod acui, an acuatur quod oportebat inflecti— *Arnob. l.* 1. *p.* 10.

Diſſoluti eſt pectoris, in rebus ſeriis quærere voluptatem— Atſi verum ſpectes, nullus ſermo natura eſt integer, vitioſus ſimiliter nullus: Quænam enim eſt ratio naturalis, aut in mundi conſtitutionibus lex ſcripta, ut hic paries dicatur, & hæc ſella? *Id. ibid.*

ſin and hell, and bring them to pardon, holineſs and heaven, that Chriſt was incarnate, and that the Apoſtles were inſpired, and the Scriptures written: and to be fitted to theſe ends, is the excellency to be expected in them: and in this they excell all perſons and writings in the world. As God doth not ſyllogize or know by our imperfect way of ratiocination, but yet knoweth all things better than ſyllogizers do; ſo Chriſt hath a more high and excellent kind of Logick and Oratory, and a more apt and ſpiritual and powerful ſtyle, than *Ariſtotle*, *Demoſthenes*, *Cicero* or *Seneca*. He ſhewed not that skill in *methodical healing* which *Hippocrates* and *Galen* ſhewed: But he ſhewed *more* and *better* skill, when he could heal with a word, and raiſe the dead, and had the power of life and death, ſo did he bring more convincing evidence than *Ariſtotle*, and perſwaded more powerfully than *Demoſthenes* or *Cicero*. And though this kind of formal learning was below him, and below the inſpired meſſengers of his Goſpel, yet his inferiour ſervants (an *Aquinas*, a *Scotus*, an *Ockam*, a *Scaliger*, a *Ramus*, a *Gaſſendus*) do match or excel the old Philoſophers, and abundance of Chriſtians equalize or excel a *Demoſthenes* or *Cicero*, in the trueſt Oratory.

2. His mercy had a general deſign, for the ſalvation of all ſorts and ranks of men, and therefore was not to confine it ſelf to a few trifling pedantick Logicians and Orators, or thoſe that had learned to ſpeak in their new-made words and phraſes: but he muſt ſpeak in the common Dialect of all thoſe whom he would inſtruct and ſave. As the Statutes of the land, or the Books of Phyſick, which are moſt excellent,

cellent, are written in a ſtyle which is fitted to the ſubject matter, and to the Readers, and not in Syllogiſms, or terms of Logick; ſo was it more neceſſary that it ſhould be with the doctrine of ſalvation. The poor and unlearned were the greateſt number of thoſe that were to be converted and ſaved by the Goſpel, and ſtill to uſe the holy Scriptures.

3. There is greater exactneſs of true Logical method in ſome parts of the Scripture, (as *e. g.* in the Covenant of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue) than any is to be found in *Ariſtotle* or *Cicero*; though men that underſtand them not do not obſerve it. The particular Books of Scripture were written at ſeveral times, and on ſeveral occaſions, and not as one methodical ſyſtem, (though the Spirit that indited it, hath made it indeed a methodical ſyſtem, agreeably to its deſign:) but if you ſaw the doctrines of all this Bible *uno intuitu*, in a perfect ſcheme, as it is truly intended by the Spirit of God; if you ſaw all begin the Divine Unity, and branch out it ſelf into the Trinity, and thence into the Trinity of Relations and Correlations, and thence into the multiplied branches of Mercy and Precepts, and all theſe accepted and improved in Duty and Gratitude by man, and returned up in Love to the bleſſed Trinity and Unity again, and all this in perfect order, proportion and harmony; you would ſee the moſt admirable perfect method that ever was ſet before you in the world: The reſemblance of it is in the circular motion of the humours and ſpirits in mans body, which are delivered on from veſſel to veſſel, and perfected in all their motions. I know there are many ſyſtems and ſchemes attempted, which ſhew not this: but that is becauſe the wiſdom of this method is ſo exceeding great, that it is yet but imperfectly underſtood: for my own part, I may ſay as thoſe that have made ſome progreſs in Anatomy beyond their Anceſtors, that they have no thought that they have yet diſcovered all; but rejoyce in what they have diſcovered, which ſhewed them the hopes and poſſibility of more. So I am far from a perfect comprehenſion of this wonderful method of Divinity; but I have ſeen that which truly aſſureth me, that it excelleth all the art of Philoſophers and Orators, and that it is really a moſt beautiful frame,

and harmonious consort; and that more is within my prospect than I am yet come to.

4. Moreover it is Christ who gave all men all the gifts they have: to Logicians, Orators, Astronomers, Grammarians, Physicians, and Musicians, &c. what ever gifts are suited to mens just ends and callings, he bestoweth on them; and to his Apostles he gave those gifts which were most suitable to their work: I do not undervalue the gifts of Nature or Art in any; I make it not, with *Aristotle*, an argument for the contempt of Musick, *Jovem neque canere, neque cytharam pulsare*; but I may say, that as God hath greater excellencies in himself, so hath he greater gifts to give; and such gifts as were fittest for the confirmation of the truth of the Gospel, and first planting of the Churches he gave to the Apostles: and such as were fit for the edifying of the Church he giveth to his Ministers ever since. And such as were fit for the improvement of Nature, in lower things, he gave the Philosophers and Artists of the world.

Object. XVII. *The Scripture hath many contradictions in it, in points of History, Chronology, and other things: Therefore it is not the word of God.*

Answ. Nothing but ignorance maketh men think so: understand once the true meaning, and allow for the errors of Printers, Transcribers and Translators, and there will no such thing be found. Young Students, in all Sciences, think their books are full of contradictions; which they can easily reconcile, when they come to understand them. Books that have been so oft translated into so many Languages, and the Originals and Translations so oft transcribed, may easily fall into some disagreement between the Original and Translations; and the various Copies may have divers inconsiderable verbal differences. But all the world must needs confess, that in all these Books, there is no contradiction in any point of Doctrine, much less in such as our salvation resteth on.

There are two opinions among Christians about the Books of the holy Scripture: the one is, That the Scriptures are so entirely and perfectly the product of the Spirit's Inspiration; that there is no word in them which is not infallibly true. The other is, That the Spirit was promised and given to the Apostles, to enable them to preach to the world the

the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and to teach men to observe what ever Christ commanded; and truly to deliver the History of his Life and Sufferings, and Resurrection, (which they have done accordingly.) But not to make them perfect and indefectible in every word, which they should speak or write, no not about Sacred things; but only in that which they delivered to the Church, as necessary to salvation, and as the Rule of Faith and Life: but every Chronological and Historical narrative, is not the Rule of Faith or Life. I think that the first opinion is right, and that no one errour or contradiction in any matter, can be proved in the Scriptures: yet all are agreed in this, that it is so of Divine Inspiration, as yet in the manner, and method, and style, to partake of the various abilities of the Writers, and consequently of their humane imperfections. And that it is a meer mistake, which Infidels deceive themselves by, to think that the Writings cannot be of Divine Inspiration, unless the Book, in order, and style, and all other excellencies, be as perfect as God himself could make it: Though we should grant that it is less Logical than *Aristotle*, and less Oratorical and Grammatical and exact in words, than *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, it would be no disparagement to the certain truth of all that is in it. It doth not follow that *David* must be the ablest man for strength, nor that he must use the weapons which in themselves are most excellent, if he be called of God to overcome *Goliah*; but rather that it may be known that he is called of God, he shall do it with less excellence of strength and weapons, than other men: and so there may be some real weakness (not culpable) in the Writings of the several Prophets and Apostles in point of style and method, which shall shew the more that they are sent of God to do great things by little humane excellency of speech, (and yet that humane excellency be never the more to be disliked, no more than a sword, because *David* used but a sling and stone.) If *Amos* have one degree of parts, and *Jeremiah* another, and *Isaiah* another, &c. God doth not equal them all by Inspiration, but only cause every man to speak his saving truth in their own language, and dialect, and style. As the body of *Adam* was made of the common earth, though God breathed into him a rational soul, (and so is the body of

every Saint, even such as may partake of the infirmities of parents) so Scripture hath its style, and language, and methods so from God, as we have our bodies; even so that there may be in them the effects of humane imperfection; and it is not so extraordinarily of God as the truth of the Doctrine is: All is so from God, as to be suitable to its proper ends: but the *body* of Scripture is not so extraordinarily from him, as the *soul* of it is; as if it were the most excellent and exact in every kind of ornament and perfection. The *Truth* and *Goodness* is the *soul* of the Scripture, together with the *power* manifested in it: and in these it doth indeed excel. So that variety of gifts in the Prophets and Apostles, may cause variety of style and other accidental excellencies in the *parts* of the holy Scriptures, and yet all these parts be animated with one soul of *Power*, *Truth* and *Goodness*.

But those men who think that these humane imperfections of the Writers do extend further, and may appear in some by-passages of Chronologies or History, which are no proper part of the Rule of Faith and Life, do not hereby destroy the Christian cause. For God might enable his Apostles to an infallible recording and preaching of the Gospel, even all things necessary to salvation, though he had not made them infallible in every by-passage and circumstance, no more than they were indefectible in life.

As for them that say, *I can believe no man in any thing, who is mistaken in one thing, (at least as infallible)* they speak against common sense and reason: for a man may be infallibly acquainted with some things, who is not so in all: An Historian may infallibly acquaint me, that there was a Fight at *Lepanto*, at *Edge-hill*, at *York*, at *Naseby*; or an Insurrection and Massacre in *Ireland* and *Paris*, &c. who cannot tell me all the circumstances of it: or he may infallibly tell men of the late Fire which consumed *London*, though he cannot tell just whose houses were burnt, and may mistake about the Causers of it, and the circumstances. A Lawyer may infallibly tell you whether your cause be good or bad, in the main, who yet may misreport some circumstances in the opening of it. A Physician, in his Historical observations, may partly erre as an Historian in some circumstances, & yet be infallible as a Physician in some plain cases which belong directly to his Art.

Art. I do not believe that any man can prove the least error in the holy Scripture in any point, according to its true intent and meaning: but if he could, the Gospel, as a Rule of *Faith* and *Life*, in things necessary to salvation, might be nevertheless proved infallible by all the evidence before given.

Object. XVIII. *The Physicks in* Gen. 1. *are contrary to all true Philosophy, and suited to the vulgars erroneous conceits.*

Answ. No such matter: there is sounder doctrine of Physicks in *Gen.* 1. than any Philosopher hath who contradicteth it. And as long as they are altogether by the ears among themselves, and so little agreed in most of their Philosophy, but leave it to this day, either to the *Scepticks* to deride as utterly uncertain, or to any Noveliſt to form anew, into what principles and hypothesis he please; the judgment of Philosophers is of no great value, to prejudice any against the Scriptures. The sum of *Gen.* 1. is but this, [That God having first made the * Intellectual Superiour part of the world, and the *matter* of the Elementary world in an unformed Mass or Chaos, did the first day distinguish or *form the active Elment of Fire*, and caused it to give *Light*: The second day he separated the attenuated or rarifi'd part of the *passive Element*, which we call the *Air*; expanding it from the earth upwards, to separate the clouds from the lower waters, and to be the medium of Light. (And whether in different degrees of purity, it fill not all the space between all the Globes both fixed and planetary, is a question which we may more probably affirm than deny; unless there be any waters also upwards by condensation, which we cannot disprove:) The third day he separated the rest of the passive Element, Earth and Sea, into their proper place and bounds: and also made individual Plants, in their specifick forms and virtue of generation, or multiplication of individuals: The fourth day he made the Sun, Moon and Stars, (either then forming

Lege Basilii Hexamer. & Greg. Nyssen. addit.

* Basil *saith, that* In principio *is In the beginning of time; but that the intellectual world is here presupposed*: Erat antiquissima creaturæ ordinatio, illis quæ extra mundum sunt, apta virtutibus, orta sine tempore, sempiterna sibique propria: in qua conditor omnium Deus opera certa constituit, id est, lumen intellectibile, conveniens beatitudini amantium Dominum: Rationabile, invisibilesque dico naturas, & omnium intellectibilium decorationem, quæ capacitatem nostræ mentis excedunt, quorum nec vocabula reperire possibile est. Hæc substantiam invisibilis mundi repleviſſe sciendum est, &c. *Basil. Hex. interp. Eustath. l.* 1.

Cæsarius Dial. 1. Qu. 50 & Qu. 51. *saith, That* Moses *past by the Nations of Ange's, and began with the creation of the visible world, and that the first day he created Matter, and afterward other things of that, &c. And that of the Light first made, God made the Sun. But he ignorantly deniеth its circular motion.*

forming them, or then making them Luminaries to the earth, and appointing them their relative office; but hath not told us of their *other uses*, which are nothing to us.) The fifth day he made inferiour Sensitives, Fishes and Birds, the inhabitants of Water and Air, with the power of generation or multiplication of individuals. The sixth day he made first the terrestrial Animals, and then Man, with the power also of generation or multiplication. And the seventh day, having taken complacency in all the works of this glorious perfected frame of Nature, he appointed to be observ'd by mankind as a day of rest from worldly labours, for the worshipping of Him their Omnipotent Creator, in commemoration of this work.]

This is the sum and sense of the Physicks of *Gen.* 1. And here is no errour in all this, what ever prejudice Philosophers may imagine.

Object. XIX. *It is a suspicious sign, that Believing is commanded us instead of knowing, and that we must take all upon trust without any proof.*

Answ. This is a meer slander. Know as much as you are able to know: Christ came not to hinder, but to help your knowledge: Faith is but a *mode*, or act of *knowing*: How will you know matters of History which are past, and matters of the unseen world, but by believing? If you could have an Angel come from heaven to tell you what is there, would you quarrel because you are put upon believing him? if you can know it *without* believing and testimony, do: God biddeth you believe nothing but what he giveth you sufficient reason to believe: Evidence of credibility in Divine faith, is evidence of certainty: Believers in Scripture usually say, [*We know that thou art the Christ, &c.*] You are not forbidden, but encouraged to try the spirits, and not to believe every spirit nor pretended prophet: Let this Treatise testifie, whether you have not *Reason* and evidence for Belief: it is *Mahomet*'s doctrine and not Christ's, which forbiddeth examination.

Object. XX. *It imposeth upon us an incredible thing, when it perswadeth us, that our undoing, and calamity, and death, are the way to our felicity and our gain; and that sufferings work together for our good: At least these are hard terms, which we cannot*

cannot undergoe, nor think it wisdom to lose a certainty for uncertain hopes.

Answ. Suppose but the truth of the Gospel proved, yea or but the Immortality and Retribution for Souls hereafter, (which the light of Nature proveth) and then we may well say, that this Objection savoureth more of the *Beast* than of the *Man*: A Heathen can answer it though not so well as a Christian: *Seneca* and *Plutarch*, *Antonine*, and *Epictetus* have done it in part. And what a dotage is it to call things present, *Certainties*, when they are certainly ready to pass away, and you are uncertain to possess them another hour? who can be ignorant what haste Time maketh, and how like the Life of man is to a dream? What sweetness is now left of all the pleasant cups and morsels, and all the merry hours you have had, and all the proud or lustfull fancies, which have tickled your deluded fleshly mindes? Are they not more terrible than comfortable to your most retired sober thoughts? and what an inconsiderable moment is it, till it will be so with all the rest? All that the World can possibly afford you, will not make Death the more welcom, nor less terrible to you; nor abate a jot of the pains of Hell. It is as comfortable to die poor as rich, and a life of pain and weakness and persecution, will end as pleasantly as a life of Pomp and wealth, and pleasures. If it be no unreasonable motion of a Physician to tell you of blood-letting, vomiting, purging and strict dyet, to save your lives, nor any hard dealing in your Parents, to set you many years to School, to endure both the labour of learning and the Rod; and after that to set you to a seven years Apprentice-ship, and all this for things of a transitory nature; since God deserveth not to be accused as too severe, if he train you up for Heaven, more strictly and in a more suffering way, than the flesh desireth. Either you believe that there is a future Life of Retribution, or you do not: If not, the foregoing Evidences must first convince you, before you will be fit to debate the case, whether sufferings are for your hurt or benefit: But if you do believe a life to come, you must needs believe that its concernments weigh down all the matters of fleshly interest in this World, as much as a mountain would weigh down a feather: And then do but further bethink your selves impartially, whether a life

Sed & noxæ in h. jusmodi casibus non auxiliatur Deus. Promptæ & manifesta causa est. Nihil enim est nobis promissum ad hanc vitam, nec in cunctulæ hujus folliculo constitutis, opis aliquid spondetur est, auxiliiq; decretum: Quinimo edocti sumus minas omnes quærcunq. sunt parvi ducere—— Atq; ista quam dicitis persecutionis asperitas, liberatio nostra est, non persecutio: nec pœnam vexatio inferet, sed ad lucem libertatis educet: *Arnobius adv. Gent. l. 2. in fine.*

of Prosperity or of Adversity be the liker to tempt you into the Love of this World, and to wean away your thoughts and desires from the heavenly felicity? Judge but rightly first of your own interest, and you will be fitter to judge of the Doctrine of Christ.

Obj. XXI. *Christ seemeth to calculate all his Precepts to the poorer sort of peoples state, as if he had never hoped that Kings and Nobles would be Christians: If men think as hardly of the Rich as he doth, and take them to be so bad, and their salvation so difficult, how will they ever honour their Kings and Governours? And if all men must suffer such as abuse and injure them, and must turn the other cheek to him that striketh them, and give him their Coat who taketh away their Cloak, what use will there be for Magistrates and Judicatures?*

Ans. 1. Christ fitteth his Precepts to the benefit of all men: But in so doing he must needs tell them of the danger of overloving this World, as being the most mortal sin which he came to cure: And he must needs tell them what a dangerous temptation a flesh-pleasing prosperous state is to the most, to entice them to this pernicious sin. Had he silenced such necessary truths as these, he could not have been their Saviour: For how should he save them from sin, if he conceal the evil and the danger of it? If the corruption of mans Nature be so great, that Riches and Honours, and Pleasures are ordinarily made the occasions of mens perdition, must Christ be Christ and never tell them of it? And is he to be blamed for telling them the truth? or they rather who create these difficulties and dangers to themselves? Christ teacheth men to honour a Sacred Office, such as Magistracy is, without honouring Vice, or betraying sinners by concealing their temptations. And to holy faithfull Rulers he teacheth us, to give a double honour. They that will prove, that most of the great and wealthy shall be saved, must prove first that most of them are godly, and mortified, heavenly persons: And the fit proof of that must be by shewing us the men that are so.

2. The Laws of Christ require every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers, and not resist; and this not only for fear of their wrath, but for Conscience sake; and to pay honour

nour and custom to all whom it is due to. And what more can be desired for the support of Government.

3. Yea, nothing more tendeth to the comfort and quietness of Governours, than the obedience of those Precepts of patience and peace, which the Objection quarrelleth with. If Subjects would love each other as themselves, and forgive injuries, and love their enemies, what could be more joyfull to a faithfull Governour? And to the Question, *What use would there be then of Judicatures?* I answer, They would be usefull to good men for their protection against the injuries of the bad; where we are but Defendants; And also in Cases where it is not want of *Love*, but of *Knowledge*, which causeth the Controversie, and when no fit arbitration can decide it: And they will be usefull among contentious persons: For all men are not true Believers: The most will be (ordinarily) the worst: As we will not be Fornicators, Thieves, Perjured, &c. lest you should say, To what purpose is the Law against such offenders? so we will not be revengefull and contentious, lest you should say, To what end are Judicatures? The Law is to *prevent* offences by threatned penalties: And that is the happyest Commonwealth, where the Law doth most without the Judge, and where Judicatures have least employment: For there is none to be expected on Earth so happy, where meer LOVE (of Virtue and of one another) will prevent the use both of Penal Laws and Judicatures.

4. And it is but selfishness, and contentiousness, and private revenge which Christ forbiddeth, and not the necessary defence or vindication of any Talent which God hath committed to our trust, so it be with the preservation of brotherly Love and Peace.

5. And that Christ foreknew what Princes and States would be converted to the Faith, is manifest, 1. In all his Prophets, who have foretold it (that Kings shall be our Nurling Fathers, &c.) 2. In that Christ propheſied himself, that when he was lifted up, he would draw all men to him. 3. By the Prophecies of *John*, who saith, that the Kingdoms of the World should become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ.

Obj. Sed & ipſe pollicetur cum non probat. *Reſp.* Ita eſt: Nulla enim futurorum exiſtere poteſt comprobatio. *Arnob. lib.* 2.

Obj. XXII. *But it is the obſcurity of all thoſe Prophecies which is one of the difficulties of our Faith, and that they are never like to be fulfilled: Almoſt all your Expoſitors differ about the ſenſe of* Johns *Revelations: And the Calling of the* Jews, *and bringing in all the* Gentiles *to their ſubjection, ſeem to be plainly propheſyed of, which are never like to come to paſſe.*

Anſw. 1. Prophecies are ſeldom a Rule of Life, but an Encouragement to hope, and a Confirmation to Faith when they are fulfilled: And therefore if the particularities be dark, and underſtood by few, ſo the general ſcope be underſtood, it ſhould be no matter of offence or wonder. It is *doctrine* and *precept*, and *promiſes* of ſalvation, which are the daily food of Faith.

2. If no man can hitherto truly ſay, that any one Promiſe or Prophecie hath failed, why ſhould we think that hereafter they will fail? what though the things ſeem improbable to us? They are never the unliker to be accompliſhed by God: The Converſion of the Gentiles, of the *Roman* Empire, and ſo many other Nations of the World, was once as improbable as the Calling of the *Jews* is: and yet it was done.

3. And many of thoſe Prophecies are hereby fulfilled, it being not a worldly Kingdom, as the carnal *Jews* imagined, which the Prophets foretold of the *Meſſiah*, but the ſpiritual Kingdom of a Saviour: When the power and glory of the *Roman* Empire in its greateſt height, did ſubmit and reſign it ſelf to Chriſt, with many other Kingdoms of the world, there was more of thoſe Prophecies then fulfilled, than ſelfiſhneſs will ſuffer the *Jews* to underſtand. And the reſt ſhall all be fulfilled in their ſeaſon. But as in all Sciences, it is but a few of the extraordinarily wiſe, who reach the moſt ſubtile and difficult points, ſo it will be but a very few Chriſtians who will underſtand the moſt difficult prophecies, till the accompliſhment interpret them.

Obj. XXIII. *But the difficulties are as great in the Doctrines as in the Prophecies: Who is able to reconcile Gods Decrees, foreknowledge and efficacious ſpecial Grace, with mans Free-will, and the righteouſneſs of Gods Judgement, and the reaſonableneſs of his Precepts, Promiſes and Threats? How Gods Decrees*

crees are all fulfilled, and in him we live, and move, and be, and are not ſufficient for a good thought of our ſelves, but to believe, to will, and to do, is given us, and he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth, and it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy: And yet that he would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he repent and live, and that he would have all men ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and layeth all the blame of their miſery on themſelves.

Anſ. Firſt, conſider theſe things *apart* and in themſelves, and then comparatively as they reſpect each other. 1. Is it an incredible thing, that *all Being* ſhould be from the *Firſt Being*? and all *Goodneſs* from the *Infinite, Eternal Good*? and that nothing ſhould be unknown to the *infinite omniſcient Wiſdom*? and that nothing can *overcome* the *Power* of the *Omnipotent*? or that he is certainly able to procure the accompliſhment of all his own *Will*? and that none ſhall diſappoint his Purpoſes, nor make him fall ſhort of any of his Councils or Decrees? Go no further now, and do not by falſe or uncertain Doctrine make difficulties to your ſelves, which God never made, and then tell me whether any of this be doubtfull?

2. On the other ſide, is it incredible, that Man is a rational free Agent, and that he is a Creature governable by Laws, and that God is his Ruler, Law-giver, and Judge? and that his Laws muſt command and prohibit, and the ſanction contain rewards and puniſhments? and that men ſhould be judged righteouſly according to their works? or that the Meſſengers of Chriſt ſhould intreat and perſwade men to obey? and that they ſhould be moved as men by motives of good or evil to themſelves? Is there any thing in this that is incredible or uncertain? I think there is not.

And theſe difficulties will concern you nevertheleſs, whether you are Chriſtians or not? They are harder points to Philoſophers than to us: and they have been *their controverſies* before Chriſt came into the World: They are points that belong to the *natural part* of Theology, and not that which reſteth only on ſupernatural Revelation; and therefore this is nothing againſt Chriſt.

Read Cicero de Fato, de Divinatione, *&c. and all thoſe* Philoſophers de Fato, *whoſe Opinions* Grotius *hath collected, and you will ſee that they had the ſame doubts as we, but were leſs able to reſolve them.*

Intellectum eſt optimum cognoſcere voluntatem Dei: Omnium ſuperior efficitur homo, qui obedierit veritati. *Pachomius in morali. per Voſſ. Edit.*

Leg. librum excell. *D. Strangii Scoti* de hiſce controverſiis. Plurima etiam conſiderata dignißima ſunt in *Rob. Baronis Metaphyſic.*

2. But yet I will answer your question, *Who can reconcile these things?* 1. They can do much to the reconciling of them, who can distinguish a *meer Volition* or Purpose or Decree, from an *efficacious pre-determining influx*: 2. And can distinguish between those effects which need a *positive cause* and purpose or decree, and those nullities which having *no cause* but defective, do need *no positive purpose* or *decree*. 3. And can distinguish between the need we have of *Medicinal Grace* for holy actions, and the need we have of *common help* for every action natural and free. 4. And can distinguish between an *absolute Volition*, and a *limited Volition in tantum & ad hoc*, and no further. 5. They that can distinguish between mans *Natural liberty* of *self-determination*, and his *Civil liberty* from restraint of *Law*, and his *moral liberty* from vicious habits: 6. They that can well difference mans *Natural power* or *faculties*, from his *moral power* of *good and holy disposition*: 7. They that know what a *free Power is*, and how far the causer of that Power is or is not the cause of the act or its omission. 8. They that can distinguish between those acts which God doth as our *Owner* or as our *free Benefactor*, and those which he doth as *Rector*: 9. And between those which he doth as *Rector by his Legislative will*, *antecedent* to mens keeping or breaking of his Laws, and by his *Judicial* and *executive will*, as consequent to these acts of man. 10. He that can distinguish between Gods method in giving both the *first Call of the Gospel*, and the *first internal Grace* to *receive* it, and of his giving the Grace of *further sanctification*, *justification*, and *glory*: 11. And between the manner of his procuring our *first faith*, and the procuring our *following sanctification*. 12. And he that knoweth how easie it is with God to attain what he willeth, without destroying the Liberty of our wills: (As a Miller can make the stream of water turn his Mill and grinde his Corn, without altering any thing in the inclination of the water.) 13. And withall how incomprehensible the nature and manner of Gods operation is to Man; and how transcendently it is above all Physical agency by corporeal contact or motion: I say, he that understandeth and can apply these distinctions, can reconcile the Decrees and concourse of God, with his Government and mans Free will,

Dorotheus Doct. 6. *to prove the unsearchableness of Gods Counsels and differencing grace, doth instance in two young Maids in natural temper much like, both brought as Captives in a Ship to be sold. A holy woman bought one of them, and instructed her in holyness. A Harlot bought the other, and taught her the trade of wickedness: And who, saith he, can give the reason of this event?*

as farre as is necessary to the quieting of our understandings.

Obj. XXIV. *But the Christian Faith doth seem to be but Humane and not Divine, in that it is to be resolved into the Credit of Men: Even of those men who tell us, that they saw Christs miracles, and saw him risen and ascend; and of those who saw the miracles of the Apostles; and of those who tell us, that the first Churches witness that they saw such things. The certainty cannot exceed the weakest of the Premises: And this is the argument: [The Doctrine which was attested by Miracles is of God: But the Christian Doctrine was attested by Miracles: Proved: The spectators averred it to others, who have transmitted the Testimony down to us.] So that you are no surer of the Doctrine than of the Miracles, and no surer of the Miracles than of the Humane Testimony which hath delivered it to you.*

Ans. If you will be at the labour to read over what I have written before, you shall finde a threefold testimony to Christ, besides this of Miracles: And you shall finde the Apostles testimony of Christs Miracles and Resurrection attested by more than a humane testimony: And you shall finde the *Miracles of the Apostles* also to have a *fuller attestation*: Even 1. besides the most credible humane testimony, 2. a natural impossibility of deceit and falshood, 3. and a further attestation of God supernaturally: And you shall finde that the Gospel hath its certain evidence, in the sanctifying effect by the co-operation of the holy Spirit of Christ unto this day. Peruse it impartially, and you will finde all this in what is said.

What would men rather desire to attest the veracity of a Messenger from Heaven, than Miracles: Evident, uncontrolled, multiplyed miracles? And must this messenger live in every age, and go into every Land, to do these Miracles in the presence of every living Soul? If not, how would those that live in another Land or Age, be brought to the knowledge of them, but by the testimony of those that saw them? And how would you have such testimonies better confirmed, than by multiplyed miracles, delivered in a way which cannot possibly deceive? and fully and perpetually attested by the Spirit of effectual sanctification.

tion on Believers? It is an unreasonable arrogancy to tell our Maker, that we will not believe any miracles which he doth, by whomsoever or howsoever witnessed, unless we see them our selves with our own eyes; and so they be made as common as the shining of the Sun; (and then we should contemn them as of no validity.)

So much shall here suffice against the Objections from the Intrinsecal difficulties in the Christian Faith. Many more are answered in my Treatise against Infidelity published heretofore.

CHAP. XI.

The Objections from things Extrinsecal resolved.

Obj. I. *ALL men are Liars: and History may convey down abundance of Untruths: Who liveth with his eyes open among men, that may not perceiv. how partially men write? and how falsly through partiality? and with what brazen-faced impudency the most palpable falsehoods in publick matters of fact, are most confidently averred? and that in the Land, the City, the Age, the Year, of the transaction? who then can lay his salvation upon the truth of the history of acts and miracles done, one thousand six hundred years ago.*

Answ. The Father of Lies no doubt can divulge them, as well by Pen or Press as by the Tongue: And it is not an unnecessary Caution to Readers and Hearers too, to take heed what they believe; especially, 1. when one Sect or party speaks against another; 2. or when carnal Interest requireth men to say what they do; 3. or when falling out provoketh them to asperse any others; 4. or when the stream of the popular vogue, or countenance of men in power hath a finger in it; 5. or when it is as probably contradicted by as credible men; 6. or when the higher Powers deterre all from contradicting it, and dissenters have not liberty of speech.

But none of these, nor any such, are in our present case: There are Lyars in the world; but shall none therefore be believed?

believed? There is history which is false; but is none therefore true? Is there not a certainty in that history which telleth us of the *Norman* Conquest of this Land? and of the series of Kings which have been since then; and of the Statutes which they and their Parliaments have made? yea, of a battail and other transaction, before the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*? Doth the falshood of Historians make it uncertain whether ever there was a Pope at *Rome*, or a King in *France*, or an Inquisition in *Spain*, &c?

But I have proved, that it is more than the bare credit of any Tradition or Historians in the world, which assure us of the truth both of fact and doctrine, in the Christian Faith.

Obj. II. *Are not the Legends written with as great confidence as the Scriptures? and greater multitudes of Miracles there mentioned, and believed by the Subjects of the Pope? And yet they are denyed and derided by the Protestants?*

Ans. Credible History reporteth many miracles done in the first ages of the Christian Church, and some since in several ages and places: And the truth of these was the Cloak for the Legends multiplyed falsities: which were not written by men that wrought Miracles themselves to attest them; nor that proved the verity of their writings as the Apostles did: Nor were they ever generally received by the Christian Churches, but were written awhile ago, by a few ignorant superstitious Friers, in an age of darkness, and in the *manner*, exposing the stories to laughter and contempt, and are lamented by many of the most learned Papists themselves, and not believed by the multitude of the people. And shall no Chronicles, no Records, no certain History be believed, as long as there are any foolish superstitious Lyars left upon the Earth? Then Lyars will effectually serve the Devil indeed, if they can procure men to believe neither humane testimony, nor Divine.

Obj. III. *Many Fryers and Fanaticks, Quakers and other Enthusiasts have by the power of Conceit, been transported into such streins of speech, as in the Apostles were accounted fruits of the Spirit: Yea, to a pretence of Prophesie and Miracles: And how know we that it was not so with the Apostles?*

How like are the stories of Eunapius, *of* Jamblichus, Ædesius, Sosipatra *the wife of* Eustathius, *and others, their raptures, prophesies, visions, miracles, to those of the* Roman *Legends, and the* Quakers ?

Answ. 1. It is the Devils way of opposing Christ, to do it by apish imitation: So would the *Egyptian* Magicians have discredited the miracles of *Moses*. And Christianity consisteth not of any *words* which another may not speak, or any actions of devotion, or gesture, or formality, which no man else can do. There are no words which seem to signifie a rapture (which are not miraculous) but they may be counterfeited: But yet as a Statuary or Painter may be known from a Creator, and a Statue from a Man, so may the Devils imitations and fictions from the evidences of Christianity which he would imitate. Look through the four parts of the testimony of the Spirit, and you may see this to be so. 1. What antecedent Prophesies have foretold us of these mens actions? 2. What frame of Holy doctrine do they deliver bearing the Image of God, besides so much of Christs own doctrine as they acknowledge? 3 And what Miracles are with any probability pretended to be done by any of them (unless you mean any Preacher of Christianity in confirmation of that common Christian Faith.) There are no Quakers or other Fanaticks among us, that I can hear of, who pretend to miracles: In their first arising, two or three of them were raised to a confidence that they had the Apostolical gift of the Spirit, and should speak with unlearnt Languages, and heal the sick, and raise the dead; but they failed in the performance, and made themselves the common scorn, by the vanity of their attempts: Not one of them that ever spake a word of any Language but what he had learnt; nor one that cured any disease by Miracle: One of them at *Worcester* half famished, and then (as is most probable) drown'd himself; and a woman that was their Leader undertook to raise him from the dead; But she spake to him as the Priests of *Baal* to their God, that could not hear; and made but matter of laughter and pity to those that heard of it. There hath not been in *England* in our dayes, that ever I could hear of, either by Jesuit, Fryer, Quaker, or other Fanatick, so much as a handsome Cheat, resembling a Miracle, which the People might not easily see, to be a transparent foolery. But many *wonders* I have known done at the earnest Prayers of humble Christians. So that he who shall compare the Fryers and Fanaticks with the Apostles and

and other Disciples of Christ, (whose Miracles were such as afore-described) will see that the Devils apish design, though it may cheat forsaken Souls into infidelity, is such as may confirm the faith of sober men. 4. And what *Spirit of sanctification* doth accompany any of their peculiar doctrines? If any of them do any good in the World, it is only by the doctrine of Christ: But for their *own doctrines*, what do they but cheat men and draw the simple into sin? A Frier by his *own doctrine* may draw men to some foppery or ridiculous ceremony, or subjection to that Clergy, whose holy diligence consisteth in *striving who shall be greatest, and Lord it over the inheritance of Christ, and rule them by constraint, and not willingly.* A Quaker by his *own doctrine* may teach men to cast away their bands, and cuffs, and points, and hat-bands, and to say [*Thou*] instead of [*You*] and to *put off their hats to no men*, and to be the publick and private *revilers* of the *holiest* and *ablest* Preachers of the Gospel, and the best of the people, and with truculent countenances to rail at God's servants in a horrid abuse of Scripture-terms. If this *image* and *work* of the Devil were indeed the *image* and *work* of God, it were some testimony of the verity of their doctrine. And yet even these Sects do but like a flash of lightning, appear for a moment, and are suddenly extinct, and some other sect or fraternity succeedeth them. The Quakers already recant most of those rigidities, on which at first they laid out their chiefest zeal. If a flash of such lightning, or a squib, or glow-worm, be argument sufficient to prove that there is no other Sun, then Friers and Fanaticks, as oft as they are mad, may warrant you to believe that all men are so too, even Christ and his Apostles.

Object. IV. *But the power of cheaters, and credulity of the vulgar is almost incredible. The great number of Papists who believe their holy cheats, and the greater number of Mahometans, who believe in a most sottish ignorant deceiver, do tell us what a folly it is to believe for company.*

Answ. This is sufficiently answered already: no doubt but cheaters may do much with the ignorant and credulous multitude: but doth it follow thence, that there is nothing certain in the world? None of these were ever so successful

in deceiving, as to make men of sound understanding and senses believe, that they saw the lame, and blind, and deaf, and sick, and lunatick, healed, and the dead raised, and that they themselves performed the like, and that they saw and were instructed by one risen from the dead, when there was no such thing; or that abundance of men did speak in many unlearn'd tongues, and heal the lame, and blind, and sick, and raise the dead; and this for many years together, in many Countries, before many Congregations; and that they procured the same spirit to those that believed them, to do the like; and that by this means they planted Churches of such believers through the world: Who is it that hath been such a successful deceiver?

As for the *Mahometans*, they do but believe by education and humane authority, that *Mahomet* was a great Prophet, whose sword, and not his miracles, hath made his sect so strong, that they dare not speak against it. Those few miracles which he pretendeth to, are ridiculous unproved dreams. And if there be found a people in the world, that by a Tyrants power may be so barbarously educated as to believe any foppery, how foolish and vain soever be the report, it doth not follow, that full and unquestionable evidence is not to be believed.

Object. *But what can be imagined by the wit of man more certain than sense? when it is sound senses, and all the senses, and all mens senses, upon an object suitable and near, with convenient media, &c. And yet in the point of Transubstantiation, it is not a few fools, but Princes, Popes, Prelates, Pastors, Doctors, and the most profound and subtil School-men, with whole Kingdoms of People of all sorts, who believe that all these senses are deceived, both other mens and their own. What therefore may not be believed in the world?*

Sensus nostros, non parens, non nutrix, non magister, non poeta, non scena depravat; non multitudinis consensus abducit a vero: Animis omnes tenduntur infidæ, vel ab iis quos modo enumeravi vel ab ea quæ penitus in omni sensu implicata insidet imitatrix boni voluptas, malorum autem mater omnium. *Cic. de leg.* 1. *p.* 226.

Answ. And yet a *nihil scitur vel certum est*, is an inhumane foolish consequence of all this; nor hath it any force against the certainty of the Scripture Miracles. For, 1. All this is not a believing that *positively they see, and feel, and taste, and hear*, that which indeed they do not: but it is a believing that *they do not* see, and hear, and feel, and taste, that which indeed they *do*: they are made believe that there is *no Bread* and *Wine*, when indeed there *is*. But this is no delusion

delusion of the *senses*, but of the *understanding*, denying credit to the sense: If you had proved that all these Princes, Lords, Prelates and People, had verily thought that they *had seen, and tasted, and felt Bread and Wine*, when it was not so, then you might have carried the cause of unbelief; but upon no other terms (which is to be remarked) than by proving that *nothing in all the world is certain or credible.* For all the certainty of the Intellect is so far founded in the certainty of sense, and resolved into it, in this life, that it cannot possibly go beyond it. If you suppose not *all mens sound consenting senses* to have as much infallibility, as man is capable of in this life, for the ordinary conduct of his judgment, you must grant that there is no further infallibility to be had by any natural way. For he that is not certain of the infallibility of such *consenting senses*, is not certain that ever there was a Bible, a Pope, a Priest, a Man, a Council, a Church, a World, or any thing.

2. And for my part I do not believe, that all these that you mention do really believe, that their senses are deceived: (though if they did, its nothing to our case.) Most of them are frightned for carnal preservation into a silencing of their belief: others know not what Transubstantiation meaneth. Many are cheated by the Priests changing the question, and when they are about to consider, *Whether all our senses be certain that this is Bread and Wine?* they are made believe that the question is, *Whether our senses are certain of the Negative, that here is not the real Body and Blood of Christ.* And they are taught to believe, that sense is not deceived about the *Accidents*, which they call the *Species*, but about the *Substance* only; when most of the simple people by the *species* do understand the *Bread* and *Wine* it self, which they think is to the invisible body of Christ, like as *our bodies*, or the body of a Plant, is to the *soul*. So that although this instance be one of the greatest in the world, of infatuation by humane authority and words, it is nothing against the Christian verity.

Of the Canon of the Scripture, read Dr. Reynolds, &c. lib. Apocr. and Bishop Cosin, his full Collections on that subject. Vide etiam Carm. Jambic. Amphilochii in Auct. Bibl. Par. To. 1: pag. 624. *Many Papists confess, that the H. Scriptures contain all things necessary to the salvation of all.*

Object. V. *You are not yet agreed among your selves what Christianity is, as to the matter of Rule: the Papists say, it is all the Decrees* de fide *(at least) in all General Councils, together with the Scriptures Canonical and Apocryphal: The Protestants,*

Quemadmodum enim siquis vellet sapientiam hujus seculi exercere, non aliter hoc consequi poterit, nisi dogmata Philosophorum legat; sic quicunque volumus pietatem in Deum exercere, non aliunde discemus quam ex Scripturis Divinis. *S. Hippol. t. Homil. Adenar. Bibl. Patr. To. 1. p. 622.*

Protestants take up with the Canonical Scriptures alone, and have not near so much in their Faith or Religion, as the Papists have.

Answ. What it is to be a *Christian*, all the world may easily perceive, in that solemn *Sacrament*, *Covenant or Vow*, in which they are solemnly entred into the Church and profession of Christianity, and *made Christians*. And the antient Creed doth tell the world, what hath always been the faith which was professed. And those sacred Scriptures which the Churches did receive, doth tell the world what they took for the entire comprehension of their Religion. But if any Sects have been since tempted to any additions, enlargements, or corruptions, its nothing to the disparagement of *Christ*, who never promised, that no man should ever abuse his Word, and that he would keep all the world from adding or corrupting it. Receive but so much as the doctrine of Christ, which hath certain proof that it was indeed his, delivered by himself, or his inspired Apostles, and we desire no more.

Object. VI. *But you are not agreed of the reasons and resolution of your faith: one resolveth it into the authority of the Church, and others into a private spirit, and each one seemeth sufficiently to prove the groundlesness of the others faith.*

Answ. Dark minded men do suffer themselves to be fooled with a noise of words not-understood. Do you know what is meant by the *resolution* and *grounds* of faith? Faith is the believing of a conclusion, which hath two premises to infer and prove it: and there must be more argumentation for the proof of such premises, and faith in its several respects and dependances, may be said to be *resolved* into more things than one, even into every one of these. This general and ambiguous word [*Resolution*] is used oft'ner to *puzzle* than *resolve*. And the grounds and reasons of faith are more than one, and what they are I have fully opened to you in this Treatise. A great many of dreaming wranglers contend about the Logical names of the *Objectum quod, & quo, & ad quod*; the *objectum formale, & materiale, per se, & per accidens, primarium & secundarium*; *ratio formalis quæ, qua & sub qua*; *objectum univocationis, communitatis, perfectionis, originis, virtutis, adæquationis, &c.* the *motiva fidei, resolutio*, and many

many such words; which are not wholly useless, but are commonly used but to make a noise to carry men from the sense, and to make men believe that the controversie is *de re*, which is meerly *de nomine*. Every true Christian hath some solid reason for his faith, but every one is not learned and accurate enough to see the true order of its causes and evidences, and to analize it throughly as he ought. And you will take it for no disproof of *Euclid* or *Aristotle*, that all that read them, do not sufficiently understand all their Demonstrations, but disagree in many things among themselves.

Object. VII. *You make it a ridiculous Idolatry to worship the* Sun, *and* Jupiter, *and* Venus, *and other Planets and Stars, which in all probability are animate, and have souls as much nobler than ours as their bodies are, (for it's like God's works are done in proportion and harmony:) and so they seem to be to us as subordinate Deities: And yet at the same time you will worship your Virgin* Mary, *and the very image of Christ, yea, the Image of the Cross which he was hang'd on; and the* salita capita, *and rotten bones of your Martyrs, to the dishonour of Princes, who put them to death as malefactors: Is not the Sun more worthy of honour than these?*

Thus Julian *in his Orations, and* Eunapius *in* Ædesio, pag. (mihi) 598, &c.

Answ. 1. We ever granted to an *Eunapius*, *Julian*, *Porphyry* or *Celsus*, that the Sun, and all the Stars and Planets, are to be honoured according to their proper excellency and use: that is, to be esteemed as the most glorious of all the visible works of God; which shew to us his Omnipotency, Wisdom and Goodness, and are used as his instruments to convey to us his chief corporal mercies, and on whom, under God, our bodies are dependant, being incomparably less excellent than theirs. But whether they are animated or no, is to us utterly uncertain: and if we were sure they were, yet we are sure that they are the products of the Will of the Eternal Being: And he that made both them and us, is the Governour of them and us: and therefore as long as he hath no way taught us to call them Gods, nor to pray to them, nor offer them any sacrifice, as being uncertain whether they understand what we do or say; nor hath any way revealed that this is his will, nay, and hath expressly forbidden us to do so; Reason forbiddeth us to do any more, than

than honourably to esteem and praise them as they are, and use them to the ends which our Creator hath appointed.

2. And for the Martyrs, and the Virgin *Mary*, we do no otherwise by them: we honour them by *estimation*, *love* and *praise*, agreeable to all the worth which God hath bestowed on them: (and the holiness of humane souls, which is his image, is more intelligible to us, and so more distinctly amiable, than the form of the Sun and Planets is.) But we *pray not* to them, because we know not whether they hear us, or know when we are sincere or hypocritical; nor have we any such precepts from our common Lord. It is but some ignorant mistaken Christians who pray to the dead, or give more than due veneration to their memories. And it is *Christ*, and not every ignorant Christian, or mistaken Sect, that I am justifying against the cavils of unbelief.

Object. VIII. *You make the holiness of Christian doctrine a great part of the evidence of your faith*; * *and yet Papists and Protestants maintain each others doctrine to be wicked: and such, especially against Kings and Government*, as Seneca, or Cicero, or Plutarch *would have abhorred. The Protestants tell the Papists of the General Council at the Lateran*, sub Innoc. 3. *where*, Can. 3. *it is made a very part of their Religion, That temporal Lords who exterminate not Hereticks, may be admonished and excommunicated, and their Dominions given by the Pope to others, and subjects disobliged from their allegiance: they tell them of the doctrine of their leading Doctors, that Kings excommunicate are no Kings, but may be killed: And of the many Rebellions which the Pope hath raised against Kings and Emperours. And the Papists say, that the Protestants are worse than they, and that their Religion hath every where been introduced by rebellion, or established by it: and that the Bible (which is your Religion) hath caused most rebellions, and therefore they dare not let the people read it: And is this your holy doctrine?*

* *As you cannot judge of the faculties of man by an infant, so neither of the nature of Christianity by infant Christians.* A primo mirabiliter occulta est natura, nec perspici nec cognosci potest; progredientibus autem ætatibus sensim, tardéve potius nosmetipsos cognoscimus: Itaque illa prima commendatio quæ à natura nostri facta est, nobis obscura & incerta est; primusque appetitus ille animi, tantum agit ut salvi atque integri esse possimus: cum autem despicere cæperimus & sentire quid simus, & quid ab animantibus cæteris differamus, tum ea sequi incipimus ad quæ nati sumus. *Cic. de fin. l. 5. p. 192. So is it here.*

Answ. 1. That Christianity is incomparably more for Government and due subjection, than Heathenism, is past all

all doubt to those that are impartial Judges. How few of all the Roman Heathen Emperours was there, that died not by subjects hands? Among the *Athenians*, a King and a Tyrant were words too often of the same significant. How hateful the name of a King was among the *Romans*, is well known. How few even of their most renowned Orators and Philosophers were not put to death, upon accusation of resistance of some Prince: (*Brutus*, *Cicero*, *Cato*, *Seneca*, &c.) *Cicero*, *pro Milone*, can say, [*Non se obstrinxit scelere, siquis Tyrannum occidat*; *quamvis familiarem* (which *Brutus* practised on *Cæsar*) Et *Tuscul.* 5. *Nulla nobis cum Tyrannis societas est, neque est contra naturam spoliare eum quem honestum est necare.* Much more such dangerous doctrine hath *Cicero*. *Seneca Traged. Hercul. fur.* saith, [*Victima haud ulla amplior potest, magisque opima maciari Jovi, Quam Rex iniquus* —— But Christianity teacheth us subjection to *bad* Rulers, and not only to the good. The ordinary Writings of the *Athenian* and *Roman* learned men are so bitter against Kings, and so much for the peoples power, that it is meer impudency for men of their Religion to asperse Christianity as injurious to Kings. How things were used to be carried at *Rome*, you may perceive by these words of *Lampridius*, who wondring that *Heliogabalus* was killed no sooner, but permitted three years, saith, [*Mirum fortasse cuipiam videatur*, Constantine *venerabilis*, *quod hæc clades quam retuli loco Principum fuerit*, *& quidem propè triennio*, *ita ut nemo inventus fuerit qui iftum à gubernaculis* Romanæ *Majestatis abduceret*; *cum* Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulæ, *cæterisque hujusmodi nunquam tyrannicida defuerit.*

Hesichius in *Arcesil.* saith, Arcesilaus *Regum neminem magnopere coluit*: *Quamobrem legatione ad* Antigonum *fungens pro patria*, *nihil obtinuit.* And *Laert.* maketh *Solon* resolve not to live in his own Country, meerly because there was a Tyrant, that is, a King, that had by a faction set up himself, and yet ruled, as he professed, as righteously as a Senate. And he saith of *Thales*, that it was one of the rarities which he spake of, *Rempubl. vidisse Tyrannum senem.* And of *Chrysippus*, *Quod vidatur aspernator Regum*, *immodice fuisse*, &c.

We do not deny but there are three sorts of Christians that are too much for the resisting and destroying of bad Governours,

Cum *Antistibus agamus ut ex libris illis* (Sibillinis) *quidvis potius quam Regem proferant*: *Quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec homines esse patientur. Cic. Divinat. l. 2. p. 186.*

Imperatorem necesse est ut suspiciamus, ut enim quem Dominus noster elegit: ut merito dixerim, Noster est magis Cæsar, ut à Deo nostro constitutus. *Tertul. Apol. c.* 33.

vernours. and speak much as these Heathens did: The one sort are some over-philosophical learned men, who have more conversed with the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* than with Christian Writers. Such was honest *Petrarch*, who piously saith, *Et sane si vel unum Patria civem bonum habeat, malum Dominum diutius non habebit.* The second sort are the faction of the Pope, who are led to it by meer interest, their Religion and Clergy-interest both consist in an universal Kingdom or Government over Kings and all the Christian world: it is no wonder therefore to find them industrious to subject all powers to themselves. The third sort are here and there a few Enthusiasts, or fanatical deluded persons, who are like the turbulent Zealots among the *Jews*, who occasioned the combustions and bloud-shed at *Jerusalem*, about the time of its destruction: who are but the ignoranter sort of Christians, misled by pretences of zeal or inspiration, for want of judgment, stayedness and experience. And this is *vitium personæ*, and is no disparagement to Christ. As for any doctrines of rebellion or sedition, or deposing and killing excommunicate Kings, there is none more condemneth them than Christ. It is not every proud or covetous person that maketh the name of Christianity or Church-government a cloak for his usurpation, ambition or worldliness, that we are pleading for: A Roman Præfect was wont to say, *Make me the Bishop of* Rome, *and I will be a Christian:* What if the match had been made, and the Pagan had turned Christian in profession for that Bishoprick? and had lived like a Pagan still, and domineered according to his ambition? would Christianity have been ever the worse for that? Judge of Christ by his own Book and doctrine, and not by the Council of *Laterane*, nor by the books, or doctrine, or practice of any proud and worldly hypocrite, who abuseth his Name to sin against him. Christ never promised to make

Beda in Apocal. 13. fol. 211. p. 2. *expoundeth the number of Antichrist 666 by reference to* 1 King 10. 14, 2 Chron. 9. 13. *where* Solomon's *yearly revenue of Gold was 666 talents: and so he saith, Antichrist shal exact that tribute of mony to himself, which is due to a true King. As if covetousness and great revenues were the number of the Beast.*

Et in cap. 17. In purpura fucus simulati regiminis: In coccino, cruentus habitus impietatis demonstratur. *Fol.* 214. *p.* 2.

Vobis humana æstimatio innocentiam tradidit: humana item dominatio imperavit: Inde nec plenæ nec adeo timendæ estis disciplinæ: Tanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum bonum, quantum authoritas ad exigendum: tam illa falli facilis quam ista contemni. *Tertul. Apol. c.* 45.

such

such Laws, as no man could abuse or break. Yet withall let me tell you, that the splene and envy of factious persons, doth usually cause them to belie each other, and make each others doctrine as odious as they can: and if wrangling boys fall out and call one another *bastards*, it is no good proof that they are so indeed.

Object. *But those of you that do escape the doctrines of disloyalty, are traitors against your Countries liberties, and base-spirited men, and flatterers of Princes, and defenders of tyranny and oppression, and all to beg their countenance for your Religion. The Christian spirit is poor and private in comparison of the old Greek and Roman genius, which would stand up against the proudest Tyrant.*

Answ. It seems Christianity is hot and cold, as malice fancieth it. Indeed the doctrine of it is so much for submission, patience and peace, as giveth more countenance to this accusation than the former, but is guilty of neither of the crimes. It is not flattering hypocrites that I am to defend, let them bear their shame; but it is the doctrine of Christ which is the thing in question. Did Christ flatter *Herod*, when he said, *Go tell that Fox, Behold, I cast out devils, &c?* Luk. 13. 32. Did *John Baptist* flatter him, when he lost his liberty and life for reprehending his filthy lust? Did Christ flatter the Pharisees? *Matth.* 23. Doth *James* flatter the rich and great, *Jam.* 5. 1, *&c. Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl, for the miseries that shall come upon you: your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire: ye have heaped treasure together for the last days—— Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton, ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.* And, Jam. 2. 6. *Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment-seats?* Christianity teacheth us to lament the sin of Tyranny, the grand crime which keepeth out the Gospel from the Nations of Infidels and Pagans through the earth, and eclipseth its glory in the Popish Principalities: It teacheth us to resist tyrannical Usurpers in the defence of our true and lawful Kings. But if it teach men patiently to suffer, rather than rebelliously

resist, that is not from *baseness* but true *nobleness* of spirit, exceeding both the *Greek* and *Roman* genius: in that it proceedeth from a contempt of those inferiour trifles, which they rebell for, and from that satisfaction in the hopes of endless glory, which maketh it easie to them to bear the loss of liberty, life, or any thing on earth; and from obedience to their highest Lord. But in a lawful way they can defend their Countries and liberties as gallantly, as ever Heathens did.

Object. IX. *If your Religion had reason for it, what need it be kept up by cruelty and bloud? how many thousands and hundred thousands hath sword, and fire, and inquisition devoured, as for the supporting of Religion? and when they are thus compelled, how know you who believeth Christianity indeed?*

In ecclesia non coactum, sed acquiescentem oportet ad meliora converti: Non est enim qui curare possit invitum. *Chrysost.*

Nemo invitus bene agit, etiamsi bonum est quod facit. *Aug. Confes.*

Answ. This is none of the way or work of Christianity; but of that sect which is raised by worldly interest and design, and must accordingly be kept up. In Christ's own family, two of his Disciples would have called for fire from heaven to consume those that rejected him; but he rebuked them, and told them that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, and that he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: Will you now lay the blame of that consuming zeal on Christ, which he so rebuketh? The same two men would have been preferred before the rest, to sit at his right hand and his left hand in his Kingdom; and his Disciples strove who should be the greatest: Did Christ countenance this? or did he not sharply reprehend them, and tell them that they must not have titles and domination as secular Princes have, but be as little children in humility, and their greatness must consist in being greatliest serviceable, even in being servants to all. If men after this will take no warning, but fight, and kill, and burn, and torment men, in carnal zeal, and pride, and tyranny; shall this be imputed to Christ, who in his doctrine and life hath form'd such a testimony against this crime, as never was done by any else in the world, and as is become an offence to unbelievers?

Præfecti vel *Antistetis* vitium est non quàm optimum esse, nec novas subinde virtutum accessiones facere: siquidem virtutis suæ præstantia, multitudinem ad mediocritatem tracturus sit. *Nazian. Orat.* 1. *p.* 8.

Object. X. *We see not that the Leaders in the Christian Religion do really themselves believe it: Pope* Leo *the tenth called it,* Fabula de Christo: *What do men make of it but a Trade to live by? a means to get Abbies, and Bishopricks, and Benefices, and*

and to live at ease and fleshly pleasure: and what do Secular Rulers make of it, but a means to keep their subjects in awe?

Answ. He that knoweth no other Christians in the world but such as these, knoweth none at all, and is unfit to judge of those whom he knoweth not: True Christians are men, that place all their happiness and hopes in the life to come, and use this life in order to the next, and contemn all the wealth and glory of the world, in comparison of the love of God and their salvation. True Pastors and Bishops of the Church do thirst after the conversion and happiness of sinners, and spend their lives in diligent labours to these ends; not thinking it too much to stoop to the poorest for their good, nor regarding worldly wealth and glory in comparison of the winning of one soul, nor counting their lives dear, if they may but finish their course and ministery with joy. *Luk.* 15. *Act.* 20. *Heb.* 13. 7. 17. &c. They are hypocrites, and not true Christians, whom the objection doth describe, by what names or titles soever they be dignified, and are more disowned by Christ than by any other in the world.

Profecto ars quædam artium, & scientia scientiarum mihi esse videtur, hominem regere, animal omnium maxime varium & multiplex. *Id ibid.*

Object. XI. *Christians are divided into so many sects among themselves, and every one condemning others, that we have reason to suspect them all: for how know we which of them to believe or follow?*

Answ. 1. Christianity is but *One*, and easily known; and all Christians do indeed hold this as certain, by common agreement and consent, they differ not at all about that which I am pleading for: there may be a difference, whether the Pope of *Rome* or the Patriarch of *Constantinople* be the greater, or whether one Bishop must rule over all, and such like matters of carnal quarrel; but there is no difference whether Christ be the Saviour of the world, or whether all his doctrine be infallibly true: and the more they quarrel about their personal interests and by-opinions, the most valid is their testimony in the things wherein they all agree: it is not those things which they differ about, that I am now pleading for, or perswading any to embrace; but those wherein they all consent.

Sicut noxium est si unitas desit bonis, ita perniciosum est si sit in malis. Perversos quippe Unitas corroborat, dum concordant; & tanto magis incorrigibiles, quanto unanimes fecit. *Greg. Moral. l.* 33.

Sed perturbat nos opinionum varietas hominumque dissensio: & quia non idem contingit in sensibus, hos natura certos putamus: Illa quæ aliis sic, aliis secus, nec iisdem semper uno modo videntur, ficta esse dicimus. Quod est longe aliter. *Ciceo de leg.* 2. *p.* 226.

2. But if they agree not in all the *Integrals* of their Religion, it is no wonder, nor inferreth any more than that they are not all *perfect* in the knowledge of such high and mysterious

rious things: and when no man understandeth all that is in *Aristotle*, nor no two interpreters of him agree in every exposition, no, nor any two men in all the world agree in every opinion, who hold any thing of their own, what wonder if Christians differ in many points of difficulty.

3. But their differences are nothing in comparison of the Heathen Philosophers, who were of so many minds and ways, that there was scarce any coherence among them, nor many things which they could ever agree in.

4. The very differences of abundance of honest Christians, is occasioned by their earnest desire to please God, and do nothing but what is just and right, and their high esteem of piety and honesty, while the imperfection of their judgments keepeth them from knowing in all things, what it is which indeed is that good and righteous way which they should take. If children do differ and fall out, if it be but in striving who shall do best, and please their father, it is the more excusable: enemies do not so: ideots fall not out in School-disputes or Philosophical controversies: swine will not fall out for gold or jewels, if they be cast before them in the streets: but it's like that *men* may.

5. But the great sidings and factions kept up in the world, and the cruelties exercised thereupon, are from *worldly hypocrites*, who under the mask of Christianity, are playing their own game: And why must Christ be answerable for those whom he most abhorreth, and will most terribly condemn?

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Answ. 1. Every man knoweth, that the vulgar rabble, who indeed are of no Religion, will seem to be of the Religion which is most for their worldly advantage, or else which their Ancestors and Custom have delivered to them: And who can expect that such should live as Christians, who are no Christians? You may as well blame men, because Images do not labour, and are not learned, wise and virtuous. We never took all for Christians indeed, who for carnal interest, or custom, or tradition, take up the bare name, and desire to be called Christians: rebels may affect the name of loyal subjects: and thieves and robbers, the name of true and honest men: Shall loyalty, truth and honesty therefore be judged of by such as them? Nothing can be more unrighteous, than to judge of Christianity by those hypocrites, whom Christ hath told us shall be condemned to the forest punishment, and whom he hateth above all sorts of sinners. What if *Julian*, *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, or any of these objectors, should call themselves Christians, and live in drunkenness, cruelty, perjury or deceit, is it any reason that Christ should be reproached for their crimes? Christianity is not a dead opinion or name, but an active heavenly principle, renewing and governing heart and life. I have before shewed what *Christianity* is.

2. In the Dominions of the *Turks* and other Infidel Princes, the Christians by oppression are kept without the *means* of *knowledge*; and so their ignorance hath caused them to degenerate, for the greater part, into a sensual sottish sort of people, unlike to Christians. And in the Dominions of the *Moscovite*, tyranny hath set up a jealousie of the Gospel, and suppressed Preaching, for fear lest Preachers should injure the Emperour. And in the West, the usurpation and tyranny of the Papacy hath lock'd up the Scriptures from that people in an unknown tongue, that they know no more

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Those that revolt from Christ because of sufferings, are like him that Cicero, ibid. *speaks of* Nobis Heraclotes ille *Dionysium* flagitiose desciviſſe videtur à Stoicis, propter oculorum dolorem. Quaſi hoc didiciſſet â *Zenone*, non dolere cum doleret! Illud audierat, nec tamen didicerat, Malum illud non eſſe, quia turpe non eſſet, & eſſet ferendum viro. p. 209.

Qui per virtutem peritat, non interit. *Plaut. in du capt.*

life: and we are not ſouls that have no bodies, and therefore cannot ſleight theſe things.

Anſw. But you have ſouls that were made to *rule* your bodies, and are more worthy and durable than they; and were your ſouls ſuch as reaſon telleth you they ſhould be, no life on earth would be ſo delectable to you, as that which you account ſo troubleſome. And if you will chuſe things periſhing for your portion, & be content with the momentary pleaſures of a dream, you muſt patiently undergo the fruits of ſuch a fooliſh choice. And if eternal glory will not compenſate what ever you can loſe by the wrath of man, or by the croſſing of your fleſhly minds, you may let it go, and boaſt of your better choice as you find cauſe.

How much did the light of nature teach the *Stoicks*, the *Cynicks*, and many other Sects, which differeth not much in auſterity from Chriſt's precepts of mortification and ſelf-denial? *Socrates* could ſay, [*Opes ac nobilitates, non ſolum nihil in ſe habere honeſtatis, verum omne malum ex eis oboriri.* Laert. l. 2. in Socr. p. 99. *Dicebat & unicum eſſe bonum ſcientiam, malumque unicum, inſcitiam.* Id. ib. *Et referenti quod illum Athenienſes mori decreviſſent, & natura illos, inquit.* Ib. *Et multa prius de immortalitate animorum ac præclara diſſerens, cicutam bibit.* p. 105. *Magna animi ſublimitate carpentes ſe & objurgantes contemnebat.* p. 96. When he was publickly derided, *Omnia ferebat æquo animo.* And when one kickt him, and the people marvelled at his patience, he ſaid, *What if an Aſs had kickt me, ſhould I have ſued him at Law?* p. 93. When he ſaw in *Fairs* and *Shops* what abundance of things are ſet to ſale, he rejoycingly ſaid, *Quam multis ipſe non egeo? & cum libere quo vellet abire carcere liceret, noluit, & plorantes ſevere increpavit, pulcherrimoſque ſermones illos vinctus proſecutus eſt.* If ſo many Philoſophers thought it a ſhameful note of cowardiſe, for a man to live and not to kill himſelf, when he was falling into ſhame or miſery, much greater reaſon hath a true believer, to be willing to die in a lawful way, for the ſake of Chriſt, and the hope of glory, and to be leſs fearful of death than a *Brutus*, a *Cato*, a *Seneca*, or a *Socrates*, though not to inflict it on themſelves. Soundly believe the promiſes of Chriſt, and then you will never much ſtick at ſuffering. To loſe a feather, and win a Crown, is a bargain

bargain that very few would grudge at. And profanely with *Eſau* to ſell the birth-right for a moiſel, to part with heaven for the paltry pleaſures of fleſh and fancy, were below the reaſon of a man, if ſin had not unmann'd him. *Matth.* 16. 25, 26. *Whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it; and whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake ſhall find it. For what is a man profited if he ſhall gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul?*

Virulent *Eunapius* giveth us the witneſs of natural reaſon, for a *holy mortified* life, whilſt he maketh it the glory of the Philoſophers, whom he celebrateth. Of *Antoninus* the ſon of *Ædeſius*, he ſaith, [*Totum ſe dedidit atque applicuit Diis loci gentilibus, & ſacris myſticis & arcanis; citoque in Deorum immortalium contubernium receptus eſt; neglectâ prorſus corporis curâ, ejuſque voluptatibus remiſſo nuntio, & ſapientiæ ſtudio profano vulgo incognitum amplexus. —— Cunctis mortalibus hujuſce viri temperantiam, conſtantiam & inflecti neſciam mentem demirati ſuere.* Eunap. in Ædeſ. What a Saint doth he make *Jamblichus* to be? of whom it was feigned, that in his Prayers he would be lifted up above ten cubits from the earth, and his garments changed into a golden colour, till he had done? *Eun. in Jambl. p.* 572. Even while he raileth at the *Alexandrian* Monks, *ut homines quidem ſpecie, ſed vitam turpem porcorum more exigentes, &c.* p. 598. (contrary to the evidence of abundant Hiſtory) he beareth witneſs againſt a vitious life. And if holineſs, and mortification or temperance be ſo laudable, even in the judgment of the bitterest Heathens, why ſhould it be thought intollerable ſtrictneſs, as it is more clearly and ſweetly propoſed in the Chriſtian verity. And if he ſay of *Jamblicus*, [*Objuſtitiæ cultum, facilem ad deorum aures acceſſum habuit;*] we may boldly ſay that *the righteous God loveth righteouſneſs*; and that *the prayers of the upright are his delight*; and that their ſuffrings ſhall not always be forgotten; nor their faithful labours prove in vain.

CHAP. XII.

The reasonable Conditions required of them, who will overcome the difficulties of Believing, and will not undo themselves by wilful Infidelity.

I Have answered the objections against Christianity, but have not removed the chiefest impediments: for *recipitur ad modum recipientis*; the grand impediments are within, even the incapacity, or indisposition, or frowardness of the persons that should believe. It is not every head and heart that is fit for heavenly truth and work. I will next therefore tell you what conditions Reason it self will require of them that would not be deceived: that so you may not lay that blame on Christ, if you be infidels, which belongeth only to your selves.

Non meretur audire veritatem, qui fraudulenter interrogat. *Ambros.*

Cond. 1. *Come not, in your studies of these sacred Mysteries, with an enmity against the doctrine which you must study; or at least suspend your enmity, so far as is necessary, to an impartial search and examination.*

For ill will cannot easily believe well. Malice and partiality will blind the strongest wits, and hide the force of the plainest evidence.

Con. 2. *Drown not the love of truth in a vitious fleshly heart and life; and forfeit not the light of supernatural revelation, by wilful sinning against natural light, and debauching your sciences, by abusing the knowledge which already you have.*

Read the beginning of Theophil. Antioch. ad Autolyc. *shewing that wickedness causeth further Atheism, and that it blindeth sinners that they cannot know God.*

Sensuality and wilful debauchery is the common temptation to Infidelity: when men have once so heinously abused God, as that they must needs believe, that if there be a God, he must be a terrour to them; and if there be a judgment and a life of retribution, it is like to go ill with them, a little thing will perswade such men, that there is no God, nor life to come indeed. When they once *hope* it is so, and take it for their interest, and a *desirable* thing, they will easily believe that it is so indeed. And God is just, and beginneth the executions of his justice in this world: and the forsaking of a foul

a soul that hateth the light, and wilfully resisteth and abuseth knowledge, is one of his most dreadful judgments. That man who will be a drunkard, a glutton, a whore-monger, a proud ambitious worldling, in despight of the common light of nature, can hardly expect that God should give him the light of grace. Despighting truth, and enslaving reason, and turning a man into a beast, is not the way to heavenly illumination.

Cond. 3. *Be not ignorant of the common natural Truths, (which are recited in the first part of this book,) for supernatural revelation presupposeth natural; and grace, which maketh us Saints, supposeth that reason hath constituted us men: and all true Knowledge is methodically attained.*

It is a great wrong to the Christian cause, that too many preachers of it have missed the true method, and still begun at supernatural revelations, and built even *natural* certainties thereupon; and have either not known, or concealed much of the fore-written natural verities. And it is an exceeding great cause of the multiplying of Infidels, that most men are dull or idle drones, and unacquainted with the common natural truths, which must give light to Christianity, and prepare men to receive it. And they think to know what is in Heaven before they will learn what they are themselves, and what it is to be a man.

Cond. 4. *Get a true Anatomy, Analysis, or Description of Christianity in your minds: for if you know not the true nature of it first, you will be lamentably disadvantaged in enquiring into the truth of it.*

For Christianity well understood in the *quiddity*, will illustrate the mind with such a winning beauty, as will make us meet its evidence half-way, and will do much to convince us by its proper light.

Cond. 5. *When you have got the true method of the Christian doctrine, or Analysis of faith, begin at the Essentials or primitive truths, and proceed in order, according to the dependencies of truths; and do not begin at the latter end, nor study the conclusion before the premises.*

Cond. 6. *Yet look on the whole scheme or frame of causes and evidences, and take them entirely and conjunctly; and not as peevish factious men, who in spleenish zeal against another sect,*

reject and vilifie the evidence which they plead.

Vita lectio est vita sanctorum. *Greg. Mor.* 24.

This is the Devils gain, by the railing of sects and contentions in the Church: he will engage a Papist for the meer interest of his sect, to speak lightly of the Scripture and the Spirit; and many Protestants in meer opposition to the Papists, to sleight *Tradition*, and the testimony of the Church, denying it its proper authority and use. As if in the setting of a Watch or Clock, one would be for one wheel, and another for another, and each in peevishness cast away that which another would make use of, when it will never go true without them all. Faction and contentions are deadly enemies to truth.

Cond. 7. *Mark well the suitableness of the remedy to the disease; that is, of Christianity to the depraved state of man: and mark well the lamentable effects of that universal depravation, that your experience may tell you how unquestionable it is.*

Cond. 8. *Mark well how connaturally Christianity doth relish with holy souls; and how well it suiteth with honest principles and hearts; so that the better any man is, the better it pleaseth him. And how potently all debauchery, villany and vice befriendeth the cause of Atheists and unbelievers.*

Cond. 9. *Take a considerate just survey of the common enmity against Christianity and Holiness, in all the wicked of the world; and the notorious war which is every where managed between Christ and the Devil, and their several followers, that you may know Christ partly by his enemies.*

Cond. 10. *Impartially mark the effects of Christian doctrine, where ever it is sincerely entertain'd, and see what Religion maketh the best men: and judge not of serious Christians at a distance, by false reports of ignorant or malicious adversaries: And then you will see that Christ is actually the Saviour of souls.*

Cond. 11. *Be not liars your selves, lest it dispose you to think all others to be liars, and to judge of the words of others by your own.*

Cond. 12. * *Be-think you truly what persons you should be*

* An vero nisi Deum genus humanum respicere, eique præsse putaremus, adeo puritati & innocentiæ studeremus? Nequaquam, sed quia persuasissimi sumus, Deo cui & nos & mundum hunc condidit, transactæ hic vitæ totius rationes nos redditurus, moderatum, benignum, & plerisque contemptum vivendi genus deliginus. Quippe nullum in hac vita tantum malum, etiamsi capitis periculum agatur, supervenire nobis posse arbitramur, quod omnino sit minimi, immo nihili faciendum præ illa quam à summo judice expectamus olim fœlicitate, &c. *Athenag. Apol. p.* 58. *in B. P.*

Si enim solam hanc præsentem vitam nos victuros crederemus, suspicioni foret locus, nos carni & sanguini indulgentes, aut avaritiæ aut concupiscentia captos, peccare? Nos vero omnibus non modo factis sed cogitationibus & sermonibus nostris, tum noctu tum interdiu, Deum adesse scimus; eumq; & totum esse lumen, & quæ in cordibus nostris latent videre, & hac mortali vita defunctos, alteram hac terrestri longe meliorem, nempe cœlestem, nos victuros. *Id. ibid. p.* 77.

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your selves, and what lives you should live, if you did not believe the Christian doctrine: or if you doe not believe it, mark what effect your unbelief hath on your lives.

For my own part, I am assured, if it were not for the Christian doctrine, my heart and life would be much worse than it is; though I had read *Epictetus*, *Arrian*, *Plato*, *Plotinus*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus*, *Seneca*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, every word: and those few of my neighbourhood, who have fallen off to infidelity, have at once fallen to debauchery, and abuse of their nearest relations, and differed as much in their lives from what they were before in their profession of Christianity, (though unsound) as a leprous body differeth from one in comeliness and health.

Cond. 13. *Be well acquainted (if possible) with Church-History, that you may understand by what Tradition Christianity hath descended to us.*

For he that knoweth nothing but what he hath seen, or receiveth a Bible, or the Creed, without knowing any further whence and which way it cometh to us, is greatly disadvantaged as to the reception of the faith.

Cond. 14. *In all your reading of the holy Scriptures, allow still for your ignorance in the languages, proverbs, customs, and circumstances, which are needful to the understanding of particular Texts: and when difficulties stop you, be sure that no such ignorance remain the cause.*

He that will but read *Brugensis*, *Grotius*, *Hammond*, and many other that open such phrases and circumstances, with Topographers, and *Bochartus*, and such others as write of the Animals, Utensils, and other circumstances of those times, will see what gross errors the opening of some one word or phrase may deliver the Reader from.

Cond. 15. *Understand what excellencies and perfections they be which the Spirit of God intended to adorn the holy Scriptures with, and also what sort of humane imperfections are consistent with these its proper perfections: that so false expectations may not tempt you into unbelief.*

It seduceth many to infidelity to imagine, that if Scripture be the word of God, it must needs be most perfect in every accident and mode; which were never intended to be part of its perfection. Whereas God did purposely make use of

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those men, and of that style and manner of expression, which was defective in some points of *natural excellency*, that so the *supernatural excellency* might be the more apparent. As Christ cured the blind with clay and spittle, and *David* slew *Goliah* with a sling. The excellency of the means must be estimated by its aptitude to its end.

Cond. 16. *If you see the evidences of the truth of Christianity in the whole, let that suffice you for the belief of the several parts, when you see not the true answer to particular exceptions.*

If you see it soundly proved, that Christ is the Messenger of the Father, and that his word is true, and that the holy Scripture is his word; this is enough to quiet any sober mind, when it cannot confute every particular objection: or else no man should ever hold fast any thing in the world; if he must let all go after the fullest proof, upon every exception which he cannot answer. The inference is sure. If the whole be true, the parts are true.

Cond. 17. *Observe well the many effects of Angels ministration, and the evidences of a communion between us and the spirits of the unseen world: for this will much facilitate your belief.*

Cond. 18. *Over-look not the plain evidences of the Apparitions, Witches, and wonderful events which fall out in the times and places where you live: and what reflections they have upon the Christian cause.*

Cond. 19. *Observe well the notable answers of Prayers, in matters internal and external, in others and in your selves.*

Cond. 20. *Be well studied at home, about the capacity, use and tendency of all your faculties; and you will find that your very nature pointeth you up to another life, and is made only to be happy in that knowledge, love and fruition of God, which the Gospel most effectually leads you to.*

Cond. 21. *Mark well the prophesies of Christ himself, both of the destruction of* Jerusalem, *and the successes of his Apostles in the world, &c. and mark how exactly they are all fulfilled.*

Cond. 22. *Let no pretence of humility tempt you to debase humane nature below its proper excellency; lest thence you be tempted to think it uncapable of the everlasting sight and fruition of God.*

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The devils way of destroying is oftentimes by overdoing. The proud devil will help you to be very humble, and help you to deny the excellency of reason and natural freewill, and all supernatural inclinations, when he can make use of it to perswade you, that man is but a subtil sort of bruit, and hath a soul but gradually different from sensitives, and so is not made for another life.

Cond. 23. *Yet come to Christ as humble learners, and not as arrogant self-conceited censurers: and think not that you are capable of understanding every thing as soon as you hear it.*

Cond. 24. *Judge not of the main cause of Christianity, or of particular texts or points, by sudden hasty thoughts and glances, as if it were a business to be cursorily done: but allow it your most deliberate sober studies, your most diligent labour, and such time and patience, as reason may tell you are necessary to a learner in so great a cause.*

Cond. 25. *Call not so great a matter to the trial in a case of melancholy and natural incapacity; but stay till you are fitter to perform the search.*

It is one of the common cheats of Satan, to perswade poor weak, and melancholy persons, that have but half the use of their understandings, to go then to try the Christian Religion, when they can scarce cast up an intricate account, nor are fit to judge of any great and difficult thing. And then he hath an advantage to confound them, and fill them with blasphemous and unbelieving thoughts; and if not to shake their habitual faith, yet greatly to perplex them, and disturb their peace. The soundest wit and most composed, is fittest for so great a task.

Cond. 26. *When upon sober trial you have discerned the evidences of the Christian verity, record what you have found true: and judge not the next time against those evidences, till you have equal opportunity for a full consideration of them.*

In this case the Tempter much abuseth many injudicious souls: when by good advice and soberest meditation, they have seen the evidence of truth in satisfying clearness, he will after surprise them, when their minds are darker, or their thoughts more scattered, or the former evidence is out of mind, and push them on suddenly then to judge of the matters of immortality, and of the Christian cause, that what he

cannot get by truth of argument, he may get by the incapacity of the disputant: As if a man that once saw a mountain some miles distant from him, in a clear day, should be tempted to believe that he was deceived, because he seeth it not in a misty day, or when he is in a valley, or within the house: Or as if a man that in many days hard study, hath cast up an intricate large account, and set it right under his hand, should be called suddenly to give up the same account anew, without looking on that which he before cast up; when as if his first account be lost, he must have equal time, and helps, and fitness, before he can set it as right again. Take it not therefore as any disparagement to the Christian truth, if you cannot on a sudden give your selves so satisfactory an account of it, as formerly in more clearness, and by greater studies you have done.

Cond. 27. *Gratifie not Satan so much, as to question well resolved points, as oft as he will move you to it.*

Though you must prove all things, till, as learning, you come to understand them in their proper evidence, time and order; yet you must record and hold fast that which you *have proved*, and not suffer the devil to put you to the answer of one and the same question over and over, as often as he please: this is to give him our time, and to admit him to debate his cause with us by temptation, as frequently as he will: which you would not allow to a ruffian to the debauching of your wife or servants: and you provoke God to give you up to errour, when no resolution will serve your turn. After just resolution, the tempter is to be rejected and not disputed with; as a troublesome fellow that would interrupt us in our work.

Cond. 28. *Where you find your own understandings insufficient, have recourse for help to some truly wise judicious Divine.*

Not to every weak Christian, nor unskilful Minister, who is not well grounded in his own Religion: but to those that have throughly studied it themselves: you may meet with many difficulties in Theology, and in the Text, which you think can never be well solved, which are nothing to them that understand the thing. No Novice in the study of Logick, Astronomy, Geometry, or any Art or Science, will think

think that every difficulty that he meeteth with, doth prove that his Author was deceived, unless he be able to resolve it of himself: but he will ask his Tutor, or some one versed in those matters to resolve it: and then he will see that his ignorance was the cause of all his doubts.

Cond. 29. *Labour faithfully to receive all holy truths with a practical intent, and to work them on your hearts according to their nature, weight and use. For the doctrine of Christianity is* scientia affectiva practica; *a doctrine for Head, Heart and Life. And if that which is made for the Heart, be not admitted to the Heart, and rooted there, it is half rejected while it seemeth received, and is not in its proper place and soil.*

If you are yet in doubt of any of the supernatural Verities, admit those truths to your hearts which you are convinced of: else you are false to them and to your selves, and forfeit all further helps of grace.

Object. *This is but a trick of deceit to engage the affections, when you want arguments to convince the judgment*: Perit omne judicium cum res transit in affectum.

Answ. When the affection is inordinate, and over-runs the judgment, this saying hath some truth; but it is most false as of *ordinate affections* which follow sound judgment. For by suscitation of the faculties, such affections greatly *help* the judgment: and judgment is but the eye of the soul to guide the man, and it is but the passage to the *will*, where humane acts are more compleat. If your wife be taught that conjugal love is due to her husband; and your child, that filial love and reverence is due to his father; such affections will not blind their judgments; but contrarily they do not sincerely receive these precepts, if they let them not into the heart, and answer them not with these affections.

And here is the great difference between the faith of an honest sanctified Plowman, and of a carnal unsanctified Lord or Doctor: the one openeth his *heart* to the doctrine which he receiveth, and faithfully admitteth it to its proper work, and so embraceth it *practically, and in love*; and therefore holdeth it fast as a *radicated experienced truth*, when he cannot answer all cavils that are brought against it. The other superficially receiveth it into the *brain*, by meer speculation; and treacherously shuts up his heart against it, and never gave

Dubitamus, ambigimus, necesse quod dicitur plenum fidei suspicamur: committamus nos Deo, nec plus apud nos valeat incredulitas nostra, quàm illius nominis & potentiæ magnitudo: ne dum ipsi nobis argumenta conquirimus quibus esse videatur falsum id quod esse novimus atque adnitimur verum, obrepat dies extremus, & inimicæ mortis reperiamur in faucibus. *Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 2. verbis ultim.*

gave it real rooting; and therefore in the time of trial loseth that unsound superficial belief which he hath. God blesseth his word to the heart that honestly and practically receiveth it, rather than to him that imprisoneth it in unrighteousness.

Cond. 30. *Lastly, if yet any doubts remain, bethink you which is the surest side, which you may follow with least danger, and where you are certain to undergo the smallest loss.*

It is pity that any should hesitate in a matter of such evidence and weight, and should think with any doubtfulness, of Christianity as an uncertain thing: But yet true Believers may have cause to say, *Lord, help our unbelief*, and *encrease our faith*. And all doubting will not prove the unsoundness of belief. The true mark to know when Faith is true and saving, notwithstanding all such doubtings, is the *measure of its prevalency with our hearts and lives*: That belief in "Christ and the life to come is true and saving, notwith-"standing all doubtings, which habitually possesseth us with "the love of God above all, and resolveth the will to pre-"fer the pleasing of him, and the hopes of heaven, before "all the treasures and pleasures of this world, and causeth "us in our endeavours to live accordingly. And that faith "is unsound which will not do this, how well soever it may "be defended by dispute. Therefore at least, for the resolving of your wills for *choice* and *practice*, if you must doubt, yet consider which is the safest side. If Christ be the Saviour of the world, he will bring *Believers* to Grace and Glory: and you are sure there is nothing but * transitory trifles which you can possibly lose by such a choice. For certainly his precepts are holy and safe, and no man can imagine ra-

* Quæ mala Stoici non audent appellare; aspera autem, & incommoda & rejicienda, & aliena naturæ esse concedunt; ea nos mala dicimus, sed exigua, & porro minima. *Piso de Peripat. & Academ. in Cicer. de fin. l. 5. p. 204.*

Cum ergo hæc sit conditio futurorum ut teneri & comprehendi nullius possim anticipationis attactu, nonne purior ratio est, ex duobus incertis & in ambigua expectatione pendentibus, id potius credere, quod aliquas spes ferat, quàm omnino quod nullas? In illo enim periculi nihil est, si quod dicitur imminere, casum fiat & vacuum; In hoc damnum est maximum, (id est salutis amissio) si cum tempus advenerit, aperiatur hoc fuisse mendacium. Quid fletibus & lacrymis & misericordia dignissimum; Ita non tam extimescitis, ne forte hæc vera sint, quæ sunt despectui vobis, & præbent materiam risus? Nec saltem vobiscum sub obscuris cogitationibus volvitis, ne quod hodie credere obstinatâ renitimini perversitate redarguat serum tempus & irrevocabilis pœnitentia castiget? Nonne vel hæc saltem vobis fidem faciunt argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras in tam brevi tempore immensi hujus sacramenti diffusa sunt? &c. *Arnob. l. 2. p. 12.*

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tionally that they can endanger the soul. But if you reject him by infidelity, you are lost for ever: for there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for of judgment, and fire, which shall devour his adversaries for ever. There is no other Saviour for him, who finally refuseth the only Saviour. And if you doubted whether faith might not prove an error, you could never see any cause to fear, that it should prove a hinderance to your salvation: for salvation it self is an unknown thing to most that do not believe in Christ: and no man can well think, that a man who is led by *an age of such miracles*, so *credibly reported* to us, to believe in one that leadeth up souls to the *love of God*, and a *holy and heavenly mind and life*, can ever perish for being *so led* to such a guide, and then *led by him* in so *good a way*, and to so *good an end*.

AND thus, Reader, I have faithfully told thee, what reasonings my own soul hath had about its way to everlasting life, and what enquiries it hath made into the truth of the Christian faith: I have gone to my own Heart for those reasons, which have satisfied my self, and not to my Books, (from which I have been many years separated) for such as satisfie other men, and not my self: I have told thee *what* I believe, and *why*. Yet other mens reasonings perhaps may give more light to others, though these are they that have prevailed most with me. Therefore I desire the *Reader*, that would have more said, to peruse especially these excellent Books: *Camero's Prælectiones de Verbo Dei*, with the *Theses Salmurienses* and *Sedanenses* on that subject: *Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*: *Marsilius Ficinus de Relig. Christ. cum notis Lud. Crocii*: *Ludovicus Vives de Verit. Fid. Christ.* *Phil. Morney du Plessis de Verit. Fid. Christ.* *John Goodwin* of the Authority of the Scriptures: *Campanella's Atheismus Triumphatus & Hieronymus Savonarola's Triumphus Crucis*, (both excellent Books, excepting the errors of their times) *Raymundus de Sabundis* his *Theologia Naturalis*: *Miscelli Ethnophrenius* (an excellent Book.) *Raymundus Lullius Articul. Fid.* *Alexander Gill* (out of him) on the Creed: *Mr. Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ* (a late and very worthy labour.)

labour) Dr. *Jackson* on the Creed: Mr. *Vincent Hatecliffe's Aut Deus aut Nihil* (for the first part of Religion:) pulling by *Lessius*, *Parsons*, and abundance more; and Common Place-books, which many of them treat very well on this subject. And of the Ancients, *Augustine de Civitate Dei*, & *Eusebii Preparatio & Demonstratio Evangelica*, are the fullest; and almost all of them have somewhat to this use, as *Justin*, *M. Athenagoras*, *Tatianus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexand.* *Origen* against *Celsus*, &c. *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Athanasius*, *Basile Gr. Nazianzene*, *Nissen*, &c.

For my own part, I humbly thank the Heavenly Majesty, for the advantages which my education gave me, for the timely reception of the Christian faith: But temptations and difficulties have so often called me to clear my grounds, and try the evidences of that Religion, which I had first received upon the commendation of my Parents, that I have long thought no Subject more worthy of my most serious faithful search; and have wondred at the great number of Christians, who could spend their lives in studying the superstructures, and wrangling about many small uncertainties, to the great disturbance of the Church's peace, and found no more need to be *confirmed* in the *faith*. In this enquiry, I have most clearly to my full satisfaction discerned, all those natural evidences for GODLINESS or HOLINESS which I have laid down in the first part of this Book. And I have discerned the congruous superstruction and connection of the CHRISTIAN Religion thereunto: I have found by unquestionable experience the sinful and depraved state of man: and I have discerned the admirable suitableness of the remedy to the malady: I have also discerned the attestation of God, in the grand evidence, the HOLY SPIRIT, the ADVOCATE or Agent of Jesus Christ: *viz.* 1. The *antecedent* evidence in the Spirit of Prophecie, leading unto Christ. 2. The *inherent constituent* evidence of the Gospel, and of Christ, the *Image of God*, in the *Power*, *Wisdom* and *Goodness*, both of *Christ* and of his doctrine. 3. The *concomitant* evidence of Miracles, in the Life, Resurrection, and Prophecies of Christ, and in the abundant Miracles of the Apostles and other his Disciples through the world. 4. The *subsequent* evidence, in the successes of the Gospel, to the true sanctification

sanctification of millions of souls, by the powerful efficacy of Divine co-operation. I have spent most of my life in converse with such truly sanctified persons, and in preaching this Gospel (through the great mercy of God) with such success upon no small numbers: so that I am certain by full experience of the reality of that holy change, which cannot be done but with the co-operation of God. I have seen that this change is another matter than fancy, opinion, or factious conjunction with a Sect; "[Even the setting up "God in the soul as God, as our *Owner*, *Ruler*, and *Chief* "*Good*, and the devoting of the soul to him in *Resignation*, "*Obedience* and *thankful Love*; the seeking of an everlasting "felicity in his glorious sight and love in heaven; the contempt of this world, as it pleaseth the flesh, and the holy "use of it, as the way to our felicity and pleasing God; the "subduing and denying all carnal desires, which would rebel against God and reason, and restoring Reason to the "government of the lower faculties: the denying of that "inordinate *selfishness*, which setteth up our interest against "our neighbours; and the respecting and loving our neighbours as our selves; and doing to others as we would be "done by; and doing good to all men as far as we have "power: the holy governing of our inferiours, and obeying "our superiours in order to these ends: living soberly, "righteously and godly in this world; and in the patient "bearing of all afflictions, and diligent serving God in "our several places, to redeem our time, and prepare for "death, and wait with longing for the everlasting glory, the "hope of which is caused in us by faith in Christ, our Ran"some, Reconciler, Example, Teacher, Governour and "Judge.] This is the true nature of the Religion expressed in the Gospel, and impressed on the souls of sanctified men. By this effect, I know that Christ is the Saviour of the world, and no deceiver, as I know a man to be a true Physician and no deceiver, when I see him ordinarily and throughly perform the cures which he undertaketh. He saveth us actually from the power of our sins, and bringeth up our hearts to God, and therefore we may boldly say, He is our Saviour: This witness through his mercy I have in my self, and is always with me, and in those whom I converse with round

about

about me. I have also upon just enquiry found, that the witnesses of Christ's Resurrection and Miracles have delivered us their testimony with a three-fold evidence: 1. The evidence of just *credibility* to a *humane belief*. 2. The evidence of *natural certainty* in the natural impossibilities of deceit. 3. The evidence of *supernatural divine* attestation, in, 1. The Image of God on their hearts and doctrine: 2. Their miracles: and, 3. Their sanctifying success. And I have found that the witnesses of the *Miracles* of the *Apostles* themselves, have also given us the same *three degrees* of *proof* of the Verity of *their* testimony; though Miracles continue not now as then. And I have look'd round about me in the world, as diligently and impartially as I could, to see whether Christ, and the way which he hath prescribed us, have any competitor which may make it difficult, to resolve which to prefer and follow. And as I have found that none but GOD alone hath absolute Dominion and Sovereignty over us, and is our chief Benefactor, nor fit to be our felicity and ultimate end; so I have found, that there is no one so fit to be taken for our Mediator and the Way to God, as Jesus Christ; none else that hath a natural aptitude, none else among men that is perfect without sin, that hath conquered Satan, the world and death; that is a Messenger from Heaven so infallible and sure; whose Doctrine and Life is suited to our case; none else that is become a Sacrifice for our sins, and hath risen from the dead, and ascended into Glory, and doth govern and preserve us, and will judge the world, and hath power to give the holy Ghost, both for Gifts and Graces, nor that actually giveth it to the sanctifying of all his sincere followers; none else that hath such a Church and Kingdom, contemning the world, and contemned by the world, and so truly fitted to the pleasing of God, and the future fruition of him in Glory. I see that *Judaism* is but the porch of Christianity; and if Christ had not confirmed the verity of the Old Testament to me, I should have found the difficulty of believing it much greater. And as for Mahometanism, besides the common truths which it retaineth, (of the Unity of the Godhead, the Verity of Christ, and the Life to come, &c.) there is nothing else which at all inviteth my understanding. And as for Heathenism,

thenism, the case that it hath brought the miserable world into, is much to be pitied and deplored: Much precious truth is revealed to us by Nature; but experience telleth us of the need of more: and Christianity hath all which Nature teacheth, with a great deal more. So that Christianity hath no considerable competitor. Leg. Idiotæ contemplat. de Amore Dei.

And as for worldly wealth and honour, superiority and command of others, the favour, applause and praise of great ones, or of the multitude, voluptuousness, and fleshly delights, &c. ease, long life, or any accommodations of the flesh, yea, learning it self, as it is but the pleasing of the fancy in the knowledge of unnecessary things; all these I have perused, and found them to be *deceit* and *trouble*: a glimpse of heaven, a taste of the love of God in Christ, yea, a fervent *desire* after God, yea, a penitent tear, is better than them all, and yieldeth a delight which leaveth a better taste behind it, and which my Reason more approveth in the review: and the vanity of all inferiour pleasures appeareth to me in the common effects: they distract and corrupt the minds of those that have the greatest measure of them, and make them the calamity of their times, the furious afflicters of the upright, and the pity of all sober standers-by, who see them turn the world into a *Bedlam*: and how all their honour, wealth and sport will leave them at a dying hour, and with what dejected minds unwelcome death will be entertain'd by them, and with what sad reviews they will look back upon all their lives, and in what sordid dust and darkness they must leave the rotting flesh, when their souls are gone to receive their doom, before the Judge of all the world. All these are things which were past all doubt with me, since I had any solid use of reason, and things which are still before my eyes.

"Wherefore, my God, I look to Thee, I come to Thee, "to Thee alone! No man, no worldly creature Made me; "none of them did Redeem me; none of them did Renew "my soul, none of them will justifie me at thy Bar, nor "forgive my sin, nor save me from thy penal Justice: none "of them will be a full or a perpetual felicity or portion for "my soul. I am not a stranger to their promises and per-"formances: I have trusted them too far, and followed them

"too long! O that it had been less, (though I must thankfully "acknowledge, that Mercy did early shew me their deceit, "and turn my enquiring thoughts to thee:) to thee I *resign* "my self, for I am *thine own!* to thee I *subject* all the powers "of my soul and body, for thou art my Rightful Sovereign "Governour: from thee I *thankfully* accept of all the bene- "fits and comforts of my life: in thee I expect my true fe- "licity and content: to know thee, and love thee, and de- "light in thee, must be my blessedness, or I must have none. "The little tastes of this sweetness which my thirsty soul hath "had, do tell me that there is no other real joy. I feel that "thou hast *made* my mind to *know thee*, and I feel thou hast "made my heart to love thee, my tongue to praise thee, and "all that I am and have to serve thee! And even in the pant- "ing languishing desires and motions of my soul, I find that "thou, and only thou, art its resting place: and though "Love do now but *search*, and *pray*, and *cry*, and *weep*, and "is reaching upward, but cannot reach, the glorious light, "the blessed knowledge, the perfect love, for which it long- "eth; yet by its eye, its aim, its motions, its moans, its "groans, I know its meaning, where it would be, and I "know its end. My displaced soul will never be *well*, till it "come near to thee, till it know thee better, till it love thee "more. It loves it self, and justifyeth that self love, when it "can love thee: it loaths it self, and is weary of it self as a "lifeless burden, when it feels no pantings after thee. Were "thou to be found in the most solitary desart, it would seek "thee; or in the uttermost parts of the earth, it would make "after thee: thy presence makes a croud, a Church: thy "converse maketh a closet, or solitary wood or field, to be "kin to the Angelical Chore. The creature were dead, if "thou wert not its life; and ugly, if thou wert not its beau- "ty; and insignificant, if thou wert not its sense. The soul "is deformed, which is without thine Image; and lifeless, "which liveth not in love to thee, if love be not its pulse, "and prayer, and praise, its constant breath: the Mind is "unlearned which readeth not thy Name on all the world, "and seeth not *HOLINESS TO THE LORD* engraven "upon the face of every creature. He doteth that doubteth "of thy Being or Perfections, and he dreameth who doth "not

Illa enim gloria quid est nisi æternum Angelorum beatorumq; spirituum convivium, quod est semper laudare Deum? Ad hoc vitæ præsentis inopia nullatenus valet contingere. Scire autem ubi sit, & prægustare, illud gaudio spei, sitire & esurire quod gustaveris, hæc est illa quæ dicitur sanctorum in hac vita perfectio. *Hugo à S. Victore Erud. Theol. de offic. eccl. l. 2. cap. 19.*

"not live to thee. O let me have no other portion! no rea- "son, no love, no life, but what is devoted to thee, employed "*on* thee, and *for* thee here, and shall be perfected in thee, "the only perfect final object, for evermore. Upon the holy "Altar erected by thy Son, and by his hands, and his Media- "tion, I humbly devote and offer thee *THIS HEART*: "O that I could say with greater feeling, *This flaming, lov- "ing, longing Heart*! But the sacred fire which must kindle "on my sacrifice, must come from thee; it will not else "ascend unto thee: let it consume this dross, so the nobler "part may know its home. All that I can say to commend "it to thine acceptance, is, that I hope it's wash'd in precious "bloud, and that there is something in it that is thine own; "it still looketh towards thee, and groaneth to thee, and "followeth after thee, and will be content with gold, and "mirth, and honour, and such inferiour fooleries no more: "it lieth at thy doors, and will be entertain'd or perish. "Though alas, it loves thee not as it would, I boldly say, "it longs to love thee, it loves to love thee; it seeks, it craves "no greater blessedness than perfect endless mutual love: "it is vowed to thee, even to thee alone; and will never "take up with shadows more, but is resolved to lie down "in sorrow and despair, if thou wilt not be its *REST* and "*JOY*. It hateth it self for loving thee no more; accounting "no want, deformity, shame or pain so great and grievous "a calamity.

"For thee the Glorious Blessed GOD, it is that I come to "*Jesus Christ*. If he did not reconcile my guilty soul to thee; "and did not teach it the heavenly art and work of Love, "by the sweet communications of thy love, he could be no "Saviour for me. Thou art my only ultimate end; it is "only a guide and way to thee that my anxious soul hath "so much studied: and none can teach me rightly to know "thee, and to love thee, and to live to thee, but thy self: it "must be a Teacher sent from thee, that must conduct me "to thee. I have long looked round about me in the world, "to see if there were a more lucid Region, from whence "thy will and glory might be better seen, than that in which "my lot is fallen: But no Traveller that I can speak with, "no Book which I have turn'd over, no Creature which I "can

"can see, doth tell me more than Jesus Christ. I can find "no way so suitable to my soul, no medicine so fitted to my "misery, no bellows so fit to kindle love, as faith in Christ, "the Glass and Messenger of thy love. I see no doctrine so "divine and heavenly, as bearing the image and superscri-"ption of God; nor any so fully confirmed and delivered by "the attestation of thy own Omnipotency; nor any which "so purely pleads thy cause, and calls the soul from *self* and "*vanity*, and condemns its sin and purifieth it, and leadeth "it directly unto thee; and though my former ignorance "disabled me to look back to the Ages past, and to see the "methods of thy providence, and when I look into thy "Word, disabled me from seeing the beauteous methods "of thy Truth; thou hast given me a glimpse of clearer "light, which hath discovered the reasons and methods of "grace, which I then discerned not: and in the midst of my "most hideous temptations and perplexed thoughts, thou "kept alive the root of faith, and kept alive the love to "thee and unto Holiness which it had kindled. Thou hast "mercifully given me the *witness* in my self; not an *unrea-*"*sonable perswasion* in my *mind*, but that *renewed nature*, "those holy and heavenly desires and delights, which sure "can come from none but thee. And O how much more "have I perceived in many of thy servants, than in my self! "thou hast cast my lot among the souls whom Christ hath "healed, I have daily conversed with those whom he hath "raised from the dead. I have seen the power of thy Gospel "upon sinners: All the love that ever I perceived kindled "towards thee, and all the true obedience that ever I saw "performed to thee, hath been effected by the word of Je-"sus Christ: how oft hath his Spirit helped me to pray! "and how often hast thou heard those prayers! what "pledges hast thou given to my staggering faith, in the "words which prayer hath procured, both for my self and "many others? And if Confidence in Christ be yet deceit, "must I not say that thou hast deceived me? who I know "canst neither be deceived, or by any falshood or seduction "deceive.

"On thee therefore, O my dear Redeemer, do I cast and "trust this sinful soul! with *Thee* and with thy *holy Spirit*

"I renew

"I renew my Covenant; I *know* no other; I *have* no other; "I *can* have no other Saviour but thy self: To thee I de-"liver up this soul which thou hast redeemed, not to be "advanced to the wealth, and honours, and pleasures of this "world; but to be delivered from them, and to be healed "of sin, and brought to God; and to be saved from this "present evil world, which is the portion of the ungodly "and unbelievers: to be washed in thy Bloud, and illumi-"nated, quickned and confirmed by thy *SPIRIT*; and "conducted in the ways of holiness and love: and at last to "be presented justified and spotless to the Father of spirits, "and possessed of the glory which thou hast promised. O "thou that hast prepared so dear a medicine for the clen-"sing of polluted guilty souls, leave not this unwor-"thy soul in its guilt, or in its pollution! O thou that "knowest the Father, and his Will, and art nearest to him, "and most beloved of him, cause me in my degree to know "the Father; acquaint me with so much of his will, as "concerneth my duty, or my just encouragement: leave "not my soul to grasp in darkness, seeing thou art the "Sun and Lord of Light. O heal my estranged thoughts "of God! is he my light, and life, and all my hope? and "must I dwell with him for ever? and yet shall I know "him no better than thus? shall I learn no more that have "such a Teacher? and shall I get no nearer him, while I "have a Saviour and a Head so near? O give my faith a "clearer prospect into that better world! and let me not "be so much unacquainted with the place in which I must "abide for ever! And as thou hast prepared a Heaven for "holy souls, prepare this too-unprepared soul for Heaven, "which hath not long to stay on earth. And when at death "I resign it into thy hands, receive it as thine own, and "finish the work which thou hast begun, in placing it "among the blessed Spirits, who are filled with the sight "and love of God. I trust thee living; let me trust thee dy-"ing, and never be ashamed of my trust.

"And unto Thee, the Eternal Holy Spirit, proceeding "from the Father and the Son, the Communicative "LOVE, who condescendest to make *Perfect* the Elect "of God, do I deliver up this dark imperfect soul, to be

"further

"further renewed, confirmed and perfected, according to "the holy Covenant. Refuse not to bless it with thine "indwelling and operations; quicken it with thy life; ir-"radiate it by thy light; sanctifie it by thy love; actuate "it purely, powerfully and constantly by thy holy motions. "And though the way of this thy sacred influx be beyond "the reach of humane apprehension; yet let me know the "reality and saving power of it, by the happy effects. "Thou art more to souls, than souls to bodies, than light "to eyes. O leave not my soul as a carrion destitute of thy "life; nor its eyes as useless, destitute of thy light; nor "leave it as a senseless block without thy motion. The "remembrance of what I was without thee, doth make "me fear lest thou shouldst with-hold thy grace. Alass, "I feel, I daily feel that I am dead to all good, and all "that's good is dead to me, if thou be not the life of all. "Teachings and reproofs, mercies and corrections, yea, the "Gospel it self, and all the liveliest Books and Sermons, are "dead to me, because I am dead to them: yea, God is as "no God to me, and Heaven as no Heaven, and Christ as "no Christ, and the clearest evidences of Scripture verity "are as no proofs at all, if thou represent them not with "light and power to my soul: Even as all the glory of "the world is as nothing to me, without the light by "which it's seen. O thou that hast begun, and given me "those heavenly *intimations* and *desires*, which flesh and "bloud could never give me, suffer not my folly to "quench these sparks, nor this bruitish flesh to prevail "against thee, nor the powers of hell to stifle and kill "such a heavenly seed. O pardon that folly and wilful-"ness, which hath too often, too obdurately and too "unthankfully striven against thy grace; and depart not "from an unkind and sinful soul! I remember with grief "and shame, how I wilfully bore down thy motions; pu-"nish it not with desertion, and give me not over to my "self. Art thou not in Covenant with me, as my *Sanctifier*, and *Confirmer*, and *Comforter?* I never undertook "to do these things for my self; but I consent that thou "shouldst work them on me. As thou art the Agent "and Advocate of Jesus my Lord, O plead his cause "effectually

"effectually in my soul, against the suggestions of Satan "and my unbelief; and finish his healing saving work; "and let not the flesh or world prevail. Be in me the "resident witness of my Lord, the Author of my Prayers, "the Spirit of Adoption, the Seal of God, and the ear-"nest of mine inheritance. Let not my nights be so long, "and my days so short, nor sin eclipse those beams, "which have often illuminated my soul. Without thee, "Books are senseless scrawls, studies are dreams, learn-"ing is a glow-worm, and wit is but wantonness, im-"pertinency and folly. Transcribe those sacred precepts "on my heart, which by thy dictates and inspirations are "recorded in thy holy word. I refuse not thy help for "tears and groans: but O shed abroad that love upon "my heart, which may keep it in a continual life of "love. And teach me the work which I must do in Hea-"ven: refresh my soul with the delights of holiness, "and the joys which arise from the believing hopes of the "everlasting Joys: Exercise my heart and tongue in "the holy praises of my Lord. Strengthen me in sufferings; "and conquer the terrors of death and hell. Make "me the more heavenly, by how much the faster I am "hastening to heaven: and let my last thoughts, words "and works on earth, be likest to those which shall be "my first in the state of glorious immortality; where "the Kingdom is delivered up to the Father, and GOD "will for ever be, *All*, and *In all*: of whom, and through "whom, and to whom are all things, To whom be glory "for ever. *Amen.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Vid. *Pet. Damian: Dom. vobisc. c. 6. de unit. Eccles.*

Consectaries: 1. *What Party of Christians should we joyn with, or be of, seeing they are divided into so many Sects?*

Psal. 1. Mat. 18.19. Act. 11 26.

I Shall briefly dispatch the Answer of this Question in these following Propositions.

§. 1. *GODLYNESS and CHRISTIANITY is our only Religion; and if any party have any other, we must renounce it.*

1 Cor. 12. Eph. 4. 3, 4, 14.

§. 2. *The Church of Christ being his Body is but One, and hath many Parts, but should have no Parties; but Unity and Concord without Division.*

1 Cor. 1, 10. Act. 20. 30. Rom. 16, 17.

§. 3. *Therefore no Christian must be of a Party or Sect as such, that is, as dividing it self from the rest, causing schisme, or contention in the Body; or making a rent unnecessarily in any particular Church, which is a part.*

1 Cor. 3. 3, 4, 5. Act. 24. 14. Act. 28. 21.

§. 4. *But when Parties and Sects do trouble the Church, we must still hold to our* meer Christianity, *and desire to be called by no other name, than* Christians *(with the Epithets of sincerity): And if* men *will put the name of a* Party *or* Sect *upon us, for holding to* Christianity only, *against all corrupting Sects, we must hold on our way, and bear their obloquy.*

Matth. 28. 19, 20. Mar. 16. 16. Heb. 6. 1, 2, 3.

§. 5. *What CHRISTIANITY is may be known,* 1. *Most summarily in the Baptismal Covenant, in which we are by solemnization made Christians, in which renouncing the Flesh, the World and the Devil, we give up our selves devotedly to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as our Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifyer.* 2. *By the ancient summary Rules of Faith, Hope and Charity, the Creed, the Lords Prayer and the Decalogue.* 3. *Integrally in the sacred Scriptures, which are the Records of the Doctrine of Christ and the Holy Spirit.*

1 Cor. 14. 26. 40.

§. 6. *But there are many circumstances of Religious Worship, which Scripture doth not particularly determine of, but only give general Rules for the determination of them, (as what Chapter*

ter shall be read, what Text preached on, what Translation used, what Meeter or Tune of Psalms, what time, what place, what Seat or Pulpit, or Cup or other Utensils, what Vesture, gesture, &c. whether we shall use Notes for memory in preaching? what method we shall preach in? whether we shall pray in the same words often, or in various; with a book, or without; with many other). In all which the People must have an obedientiall respect to the conduct of the lawfull Pastors of the Churches.

Rom. 14. & 15. Gal. 2. 13, 14, 15. Phil. 3. 16, 17.

§. 7. *Differing opinions or practices about things indifferent, no nor about the meer integrals of Religion, which are not Essentials, do not make men of different Religions or Churches (universally considered.)*

§. 8. *Nothing will warrant us to separate from a Church as no Church, but the want of something Essential to a Church.*

Eph. 1. 22. & 4. 15. Col. 1. 18. & 2. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 27. Eph. 4. 12. & 5. 23. Math. 28 19. 1 Cor. 5.

§. 9. *The Essential or Constitutive parts of the Church Catholick (or Universal) are* Christ *the Head, and all* Christians *as the Members.*

§. 10. *All* sincere *and* sanctified Christians *are the members of the Church mystical, invisible, or regenerate: And all* Professors *of sincere Christianity, that is, all Baptized persons, not apostatised nor excommunicate, are the members of the Church visible; which is integrated of the particular Churches.*

Act. 14. 23. Phil. 1. 1. Eph. 4. 11, 12. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13.

§. 11. *It is essential to particular political Churches, that they be constituted of true Bishops or Pastors, and of flocks of baptised or professed Christians: United in these Relations, for holy communion in the worshipping of God, and the promoting of the salvation of the several members.*

Math. 28. 19, 20. & 18. 15. 18. 1 Thess. 5. 12. Heb. 13. 17. Act. 20. 36. Jam 5. 14. Act. 2. 42. Act. 8. 1.

§. 12. *It is essential to a true Bishop or Pastor of the Church, to be in* Office, *(that is, in Authority and Obligation) appointed by Christ in subordination to him in the three parts of his Offices, Prophetical, Priestly and Kingly: That is, to teach the people; to stand between them and God in Worship; and to guide or govern them by the Paternal exercise of the Keyes of his Church.*

§. 13. *He that doth not nullifie or unchurch a Church, may lawfully remove from one Church to another, and make choice of the best and purest, or that which is most suited to his own Edification, if he be a Free-man.*

Rom. 9. 3. 1 Cor. 12. 25, 26.

§. 14. *But in case of such choice or personal removal, the Interest of the whole Church, or of Religion in common, must be first taken into consideration, by him that would rightly judge of the lawfulness of the fact.*

Rom. 3. 8.

§. 15. *If a Church which in all other respects is purest and best, will impose any sin upon all that will have local communion with it, though we must not separate from that Church as no Church, yet must we not commit that sin, but patiently suffer them to exclude us from their communion.*

Tit. 3. 10. 2 Joh. 10. Heb. 5. 11, 12. 1 Cor. 15 1, 2, &c. Luk. 18. 34. Joh. 12. 16. Gal. 5 2. & 1. 7, 8, 9. & 3. 1, 2.

§. 16. *True Heresie, (that is, an Error contradictory to an essential Article of the Christian Faith) if it be seriously and really held, so that the contrary truth* is not *held seriously and really, doth nullifie the Christianity of him that holdeth it, and the Church-state of that Congregation which so professeth it. But so doth not that fundamental Error which is held but in words through ignorance, thinking it may consist with the contrary truth, while that truth is not denyed, but held* majore fide; *so that we have reason to believe that if they did discern the contradiction, they would rather forsake the error than the truth.*

But of this more elsewhere.

In isto factiosissimo sæculo, vix quisquam eximie doctus hæreseos suspicione carebat. *Erasm. in Vita Hieronym.*

Et profecto ita est, ut id habendum sit antiquissimum & Deo proximum, quod sit optimum. *Cic. de leg. l. 2. p. 244.*

CHAP. XIV.

I intreat the Reader to peruse the Lord Bacons *Considerations, and Mr.* Hales *of Schisme, and Mr.* Stillingfleets *Irenicon, especially* pag. 117. *and Mr.* Jer. Burroughs *Irenicon: which will all much promote his understanding in this point: And* Grotius de Imper. sum. pa.

Consectary II. *Of the true Interest of Christ, and his Church, and the Souls of Men: Of the means to promote it; and its Enemies and Impediments in the World.*

SO great and common is the Enmity against Christianity in the World, yea, against the life and reality of it in all the Hypocrites of the Visible Church, that the guilty will not bear the detection of their guilt; And therefore the Reader must excuse me for passing over the one half of that which

which should be said upon this subject, because they that need it cannot suffer it.

Luk. 14. 26, 29, 33.

§. 1. *Every true Christian preferreth the Interest of Christ and of Religion, before all worldly Interest of his own, or any others.*

For he that setteth himself or any thing above his *God*, hath indeed *no God*: For if he be not *Maximus, Sapientissimus, Optimus*, Greatest, Wisest and Best, he is not God: And if he be not really *taken* as such, he is not taken for their God. And he that hath no God, hath no Religion. And he that hath no Religion is no Christian: And if he *call* himself a Christian, he is an Hypocrite.

Rom. 9. 3. & 15. 7. 1 Cor. 10. 31. Eph. 1. 12. 14.

§. 2. *Though we must preferre the Interest of Christ and the Church* above *the Interest of our Souls: yet must we never set them in competition or opposition, but in a due conjunction, though not in an equality.*

I adde this to warn men of some common dangerous errors in this point: some think that if they do but feel themselves more moved with another Ministers preaching, or more edified with another way of Discipline, they may presently withdraw themselves to that Minister or Discipline, without regard to the Unity and good of the Church where they are, or whatever publick evil follow it. Whereas he that seemeth to deny even to his Soul some present edification for the publick good, shall finde that even this will turn to his greater edification.

And some, on the contrary extream, have got a conceit that till they can finde that they can be content to *be damned for Christ*, if God would so have it, they are not sincere. Which is a case that no Christian should put to his own heart, being such as God never put to any man: All the tryall that God putteth us to, is but whether we can deny this transitory life, and the vanities of the World, and the pleasures of the flesh, for the Love of God, and the Hopes of Glory: And he that doth thus much shall undoubtedly be saved. But to think that you must ask your hearts such a question, as whether you can be content to be damned for Christ, is but to abuse God and your selves. Indeed both Reason and Religion command us, to esteem God infinitely above our selves, and the Churches welfare above our own;

becauſe that which is beſt, muſt be beſt eſteemed and loved: But yet though we muſt ever acknowledge this inequality, Yet that we muſt never disjoyn them nor ſet them in a *poſitive* oppoſition or competition, nor really do any thing which tendeth to our damnation, upon any pretenſe of the Churches good, is paſt all queſtion. He that hath made the love of our ſelves and felicity inſeparable from man, hath made us no duty inconſiſtent with this inclination, that is, with our humanity it ſelf: For God hath conjoyned theſe neceſſary ends, and we muſt not ſeparate them.

Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Col. 1. 24. 1 Tim. 4. 16. & 4. 7. 8 Rom. 11. 36. Prov. 16. 4. 1 Cor. 10. 31.

§. 3. The Intereſt of the Church, is but the Intereſt of the Souls that conſtitute the Church, and to preferre it above our own, is but to preferre many above one.

§. 4. He that doth moſt for the publick good, and the Souls of many, doth thereby moſt effectually promote his own conſolation and ſalvation.

§. 5. The Intereſt of God, is the Ultimate End of Religion, Church, and particular Souls.

§. 6. Gods Intereſt is not any addition to his Perfection or Bleſſedneſs; but the pleaſing of his Will in the Glory of his Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs ſhining forth in Jeſus Chriſt, and in his Church.

Eph. 3. 10. 21. & 5. 27, 29. 2 Theſſ. 1. 10, 11. Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17. Math. 25.

§. 7. Therefore to promote Gods Intereſt, is by promoting the Churches Intereſt.

§. 8. The Intereſt of the Church conſiſteth, I. Intenſivè, *in its* HOLYNESS: II. Conjunctivè & harmonicè, *in its* Unity, Concord, *and* Order: III. Extenſivè, *in its increaſe and the multiplication of Believers.*

Eph. 5. 25. 26. Tit. 2. 19. 1 Pet. 2. 9, 10. & 1. 3. 14, 15, 16. 21, 8, 6,

§. 9. I. *The* HOLYNESS *of the Church conſiſteth, 1. In its* Reſignation *and* ſubmiſſion *to God its Owner. 2. In its* ſubjection *and* obedience *to God its Ruler. 3. In its* Gratitude *and* Love *to God its* Benefactor *and* Ultimate End.

Act. 26. 18. Eph. 1. 18. Math. 28. 19. Heb. 5. 9.

§. 10. Theſe acts conſiſt, 1. In a right eſtimation and Belief of the minde: 2. In a right Volition, Choice and Reſolution of the Will: 3. In the right ordering of the Life.

Mar. 28. 20. Gal. 1. 7. 2 Tim. 1. 13. Act. 20. 20, &c. 1 Tim. 4. 2. 1 Tim. 5. 17.

§. 11. The Means of the Churches HOLYNESS *are theſe: 1. Holy Doctrine: Becauſe as all Holineſs entereth by the underſtanding, ſo Truth is the inſtrumental cauſe of all.*

§. 12. 2. The holy, ſerious, reverent, skilfull and diligent preaching of this doctrine, by due explication, proof and application, ſuitably to the various auditors.

Act. 20. 1 Tim. 4, 18, 19. & 3. 2. & 4 12. 1 Cor. 5. Mat. 18. 15 2 Theſſ. 3. Rom. 16. 16, 17. 1 Tim. 5. 20.

§. 13. 3. The holy lives and private converſe of the Paſtors of the Church.

Act. 20. 2 Tim. 2. 15. 2. & 1 Tim. 3. 2. 3 Joh. 8. Act. 18. 26. Rom. 16. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 18. Tit. 3. 8.

§. 14. 4. Holy Diſcipline faithfully adminiſtred; encouraging all that are godly, and comforting the penitent, and humbling the proud, and diſgracing open ſin, and caſting out the proved impenitent groſs ſinners, that they infect not the reſt, embolden not the wicked, and diſhonour not the Church in the eyes of the unbelievers.

§. 15. 5. The election and ordination of able and holy Paſtors, fit for this work.

1 Tim. 3. 2. Eph. 6. 4. Deut. 6. 6, 7, 8. & 11. 18, 19. Act. 10. 2, 24.

§. 16. 6. The conjunct endeavours of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced members of the flock, not uſurping any Eccleſiaſtical office, but by their wiſdom, and authority, and example in their private capacities, ſeconding the labours of the Paſtors, and not leaving all to be done by them alone.

§. 17. 7. Eſpecially the holy inſtructing and governing of families, by catechizing inferiours, and exhorting them to the due care of their ſouls, and helping them to underſtand and remember the publick teaching of the Paſtors, and praying and praiſing God with them, and reading the Scripture and holy books, eſpecially on the Lord's day; and labouring to reform their lives.

1 Per. 3. 2. Phil. 2. 15. 2 Per. 3. 14. Tit. 2. 5. 1 Tim. 6. 1. Rom. 2. 24. Joh. 17. 21. 1 Cor. 1. 10. Iſa. 32. 1. & 52. 5. & 49. 23. Hoſ. 8. 4, 5. Pſal. 2. Dan. 9. 6, 8. Rom. 13. 3, 5, 6.

§. 18. 8. The blameleſs lives, and holy converſe, converſe and example of the members of the Church among themſelves: Holineſs begetteth holineſs, and encreaſeth it, as fire kindleth fire.

§. 19. 9. The unity, concord, and love of Chriſtians to one another.

2 Per. 2. Gal. 1. 7, 8. 1 Tim. 3. 6. & 5. 22. & 4. 15 16. & 6. 4, 5.

§. 20. 10. And laſtly, holy Princes and Magiſtrates, to encourage piety, and to protect the Church, and to be a terrour to evil doers. Theſe are the means of holineſs.

1 Cor. 5. 1 Tim. 3. 7. Mar. 9, 38, 39. Phil. 1. 15. Jam. 3. 1. 15, 17. 1 Sam 2. Act. 20. 30, 31. Rom. 16. 16, 17. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12, 13. 2 Chron. 26. 14, 15. Ezek. 22. 27. Hoſ. 9. 15. & 7. 3. Zeph. 3. 3. 1 Cor. 2. 6, 8.

§. 21. The contraries of all theſe may eaſily be diſcerned to be the deſtroyers of holineſs, and pernicious to the Church. 1. Unholy doctrine. 2. Ignorant, unskilful, negligent, cold or envious preaching. 3. The unholy lives of them that preach it. 4. Diſcipline neglected, or perverted, to the encouraging of the ungodly, and afflicting of the moſt holy and upright of the flocks. 5. The election or ordination of inſufficient, negligent, or ungodly Paſtors. 6. The negligence of the wiſeſt of the flock, or

or the reſtraint of them by the ſpirit of jealouſie and envy, from doing their private parts in aſſiſtance of the Paſtors. 7. *The neglect of holy inſtructing, and governing of families; and the lewd example of the governours of them.* 8. *The ſcandalous or barren lives of Chriſtians.* 9. *The diviſions and diſcord of Chriſtians among themſelves.* 10. *And bad Magiſtrates, who give an ill example, or afflict the godly, or encourage vice, or at leaſt ſuppreſs it not.*

Math. 15. 2,3,9,11, 13. Col. 2. 20 21, 22. Mar. 2 26. Luk. 6. 2. & 13, 14, 15. Joh. 5. 18. Joh. 11. 49. & 18. 13. Act 4. 6. & 23. 2. 2 Tim. 2. 4, 5, 6, 11. & 1 Tim. 4 15. Math. 9. 37, 38. 1 Cor. 3. 9. Act. 14. 23. Tit. 1. 3. 1 Cor. 14. 26, 15, 16. 31, 33, 34, 35. Math. 15. 9, 13. Rom. 14. & 15. Act. 15. 28. 1 Joh. 4. 1. 2 Theſſ. 2. 2. 1 King. 22. 22, 23. 2 Cor. 11. 14, 15. Matth. 24. 24. Matth. 15. 2. 11. 13. & 12. 2. Luk. 13. 14, 15. Joh 4. 16. Luk. 9. 54. Act. 21. 36. & 22. 22. Rom. 10. 2. Prov. 1. 32. Jam. 5. 5, 6.

§. 22. *To theſe may be added,* 1. *The degenerating* of Religious ſtrictneſs, *from what God requireth, into another thing, by humane corruptions gradually introduced; as is ſeen among too many Friars, as well as in the Phariſees of old.* 2. *A degenerating of holy* Inſtitutions *of Chriſt, into another thing, by the like gradual corruptions, as is ſeen in the* Roman *Sacrifice of the Maſs.* 3. *The degenerating of* Church-Offices *by the like corruptions, as is ſeen in the Papacy, and its manifold ſupporters.* 4. *The diverſion of the* Paſtors *of the Church to ſecular employments.* 5. *The* diminiſhing the number *of the Paſtors of the Church, as proportioned to the number of ſouls: as if one ſchool-maſter alone ſhould have ten thouſand ſcholars; or ten thouſand ſouldiers but one or two officers.* 6. *The pretending of the* ſoul and power *of Religion, to deſtroy the* body or external *part: or making uſe of the* body or external *part, to deſtroy the* ſoul *and* power; *and ſetting things in oppoſition which are conjunct.* 7. *The preferring either the impoſition or oppoſition of things indifferent before things neceſſary.* 8. *An apiſh imitation of Chriſt by Satan and his inſtruments, by counterfeiting inſpirations, revelations, viſions, propheſies, miracles, apparitions, ſanctity, zeal, and new inſtitutions in the Church.* 9. *An overdoing, or being righteous over much, by doing more than God would have us, (over-doing being one of the devils ways of undoing) When Satan pretendeth to be a Saint, he will be ſtricter than Chriſt, as the Phariſees were in their company, Sabbath-reſt and ceremonies: and he will be zealous with a fiery conſuming zeal.* 10. *Accidentally, proſperity it ſelf conſumeth piety in the Church: if it occaſion the perditon of the world, the Church is not out of danger of it.*

Eph. 4. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. Rom. 8. 17. Eph. 1. 22. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13. Eph. 4. 15, 16.

§. 23. II. *The unity and concord, and harmony of the Church conſiſteth,* 1. *In their* Univerſal Adoption, *or* One Relation *to God, as their reconciled Father in Chriſt.* 2. *In the*

the one Relation they have all to Chriſt their Head. 3. *In the unity of the Spirit, which dwelleth and worketh in them all.* 4. *In their One Relation to the Body or Church of Chriſt, as its members.* 5. *In the unity of that Faith which ſtateth them in theſe relations.* 6. *In the unity of the Baptiſmal Covenant, which initiateth them.* 7. *In the unity of the Goſpel, (in the Eſſentials) which is the common rule of their faith and life, and the ground of their hope and comfort.* 8. *In the bond of mutual brotherly love.* 9. *In the concord of a holy life.* 10. *In the unity of the End which they all intend, and ſhall at laſt attain, (the pleaſing of God, and the heavenly glory.)*

Rom. 8. 9. & 10. 15, 17, 8. Gal. 1. 6, 7, 8, 9. Phil. 1. 17, 27. 1 Theſſ. 4. 9. 1 Pet. 1. 22. Eph 3 17. & 4 15. Heb 10 24. 1 Cor. 1 10. 1 Joh. 3 21. 1 Theſſ. 2. 4.

§. 24. *The* Means *of this* Unity *and* Concord *are,* 1. *All, as aforeſaid, which promote their holineſs. From holineſs is the centring of all hearts in God: and it deſtroyeth that dividing* Selfiſhneſs, *which maketh men have as many ends as they are perſons.* 2. *The learning and ability of the Paſtors, to hold the flocks together by the force of truth, and to ſtop the mouthes of cavilling dividers and ſeducers: When no gain-ſayers are able to ſtand before the evidence of that truth which they demonſtrate.* 3. *The holy lives of Paſtors, which keep up the love of truth and them in the peoples hearts.* 4. *By the paternal government of the Paſtors, ruling them, not by force, but willingly, and in fatherly love, and a loving familiar converſe with them.* 5. *By the juſt execution of Diſcipline on the impenitent, that the godly may ſee that wickedneſs is diſowned.* 6 *By the concord of the Paſtors among themſelves; and the prudent uſe of Synods or Councils to that end.* 7. *By the humble and ſubmiſſive reſpect of the people to their Paſtors.* 8 *By keeping up the intereſt and authority of the moſt ancient and experienced of the flock, over the young and unexperienced, who are the common cauſes of diviſion.* 9 *By the Paſtors avoiding all temptations to worldlineſs and pride, that they tear not the Church, by ſtriving who ſhall be the greateſt, or have the preeminence.* 10. *By godly Magiſtrates keeping their power in their own hand, and uſing it to rebuke intollerable falſe Teachers, and to encourage the peaceable, and reſtrain the railing and violence of Paſtors and parties againſt each other; and by impartial keeping the Church's peace.*

Phil. 2 4 11 2 Cor. 13. 14. Tit. 3. 5. Eph. 4. 3, 4, 5, 11, 15, 16. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12, 13. Tit. 1 9-11. Luk. 21. 15 1 Tim. 3, 4 5, 6. 1 Pet 5. 2, 3. Act. 20. 20. &c. 2 Cor. 1 24. 1 Tim. 5 1. Tit. 3. 10. 1 Cor. 5. Joh. 17. 21, 23. Act. 15. Heb. 13. 7, 17. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12, 13. 1 Pet 5. 5. Luk. 22. 24, 25, 27. 1 Pet. 5. 2. 3. 2 Chron. 19. 6, 7, 11. 1 King. 15. 13, 29. 2 King. 10. 17, 28. Rom 13. 3, 4, 5, 6.

§. 25. *Hence the cauſes of Church-diviſions are diſcernable.* 1. *The encreaſe of ungodlineſs and ſin, which is as fire in the thatch,*

2 Chron. 28. 23. Ezek. 18. 30. Num. 32. 23. 1 Tim. 3. 6.

Eph. 4. 14. 3 Joh. 9, 10. 1 King. 27. 24, 25. 1 Cor. 1. 11. & 3. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 5. 5, 12, &c. Tit. 1 10. 1 Thess. 5 12, 14. 3 Joh. 9.

Non qui justus aliquid facit, miser est; sed qui invitus. *Senec. ep.* 62.

Nullam violentum est perpetuum.

that ch, and possesseth all men with dividing principles, practices and ends. 2. *The disability of Pastors, over-topt in parts by every Sectary.* 3. *The ungodliness of the Pastors, which looseneth the hearts of the people from them.* 4. *The strangeness, violence, or hurtfulness of the Pastors.* 5. *The encouragement and toleration of all the most flagitious and impenitent in undisciplin'd Churches, which frighteneth men out of the Church as from a ruinous house, and tempteth them to an unwarrantable separation, because the Pastors will not make a necessary and regular separation.* 6. *The discord of the Bishops among themselves.* 7. *The peoples ignorance of the Pastoral power, and their own duty.* 8. *An unruly, fierce, censorious spirit in many of the young and unexperienced of the flock.* 9. *The Pastors striving who shall be the greatest, and seeking great things in the world, or popular applause and admiration.* 10. *The Magistrates either permitting the endeavours of dividing Teachers in palpable cases; or suffering self-seeking Pastors or people to disturb the Church.*

Jam. 4. 1, 2 Phil 2. 4 21. 1 King. 12. 31, 32. & 22 27. Rev. 13. 16, 17. 1 Cor. 12, 12, 28. Eph. 4. 7, 8, 13, 16. 3 Joh. 9. Matth. 15. 2, 3. 1 Tim. 3. 3.

§. 26. *But next to common ungodliness, the great causes of the most ruinating Church-divisions, are,* 1. *Wars and dissentions among Princes and States, and civil factions in Kingdoms; whereby the Clergy are drawn or forced to engage themselves on one side or other: and then the prevailing side stigmatizeth those as scandalous who were not for them, and think themselves engaged by their interest to extirpate them.* 2. *Mistaking the just terms of union and communion, and setting up a false centre, as that which all men must unite in. Thus have the* Roman *party divided themselves from the* Greeks *and* Protestants, *and made the greatest schism in the Church that ever was made in it:* 1. *By setting up a false usurping* constitutive Head, *the Roman Bishop, and pretending that none are members of the Church who are not his subjects, and so condemning the far greatest part of the Catholick Church.* 2. *By imposing an Oath and divers gross corruptions in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, upon all that will be in their communion, and condemning those that receive them not, and so departing from the* Scripture-sufficiency. *These two usurpations are the grand dividers.*

Act. 20. 30, 31. Rom. 16. 17. 1 Tim. 1. 19 Eph. 4 14. 2 Tim. 2. 16, 17, 23, 24, 25.

§. 27. *All Heretick also, (who speak perverse things against Christianity, to draw away Disciples after them) or Schismaticks, (who unwarrantably separate from those Churches in which they ought to abide, that they may gather new congregations*

gations after their own mind) are the immediate adversaries of Church-union and concord.

Rom. 14. 1 Tim. 6. 3, 4, 5. & 1. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Luk. 22. 24. 1 King 22. 27. Gal. 5 15.

§. 28. *So are the importune and virulent Disputations of contentious Wits, about unnecessary things, or matters of faction and self-interest.*

§. 29. *Especially when the Magistrate lendeth his sword to one party of the contenders, to suppress or be revenged on the rest, and to dispute with arguments of steel.*

Act. 15.

Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions, and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness. Lord Verulam Essay, 58.

§. 30. *The well-ordered Councils of Bishops or Pastors of several Churches, assembled together, have been justly esteemed a convenient means of maintaining the concord and peace of Christians, and a fit remedy for the cure of heresies, corruptions and divisions. And when the cause requireth it, those councils should consist of as many as can conveniently meet, even from the most distant Churches, which can send their Bishops without incurring greater hurt or discommodity, than their presence will countervail in doing good. And therefore the councils called General in the Dominions of the Christian Roman Emperours, were commendable, and very profitable to the Church, when rightly used. But whereas the Pope doth argue, that he is the constitutive Head of the whole catholick Church throughout the world, because his Predecessors did oft preside in those councils, it is most evident to any one, who will make a faithful search into the History of them, that those councils were so far from representing all the Churches in the world, that they were constituted only of the Churches or Subjects of the Roman Empire, and those that having formerly been parts of the Empire, continued that way of communion when they fell into the hands of conquerors, their conquerors being commonly Pagans, Infidels or Arrian Hereticks. I except only now and then two or three, or an inconsiderable number of neighbour Bishops. There were none of the Representatives of the Churches in all the other parts of the world: as I have proved in my Disputation with Mr. Johnson, and desire the Reader, who thinketh that his Reply doth need any confutation, but to peruse* Ortelius, *or any true Map of the Roman Empire; and* Myræus, *or any* Notitia Episcopatuum, *and withal the names of the Bishops in each Council; and then let him ask his conscience whether those Councils were true or equal Representatives of all the Christian world, or only of the Subjects or Churches of one Empire;*

Eph. 4. 14. 3 Joh. 9, 10. 1 King. 22. 24, 25. 1 Cor. 1. 11. & 3. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 5. 5, 12, &c. Tit. 1. 10. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 14. 3 Joh. 9.

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Act. 15.

Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions, and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness. Lord Verulam Essay, 58.

§. 30. The well-ordered Councils of Bishops or Pastors of several Churches, assembled together, have been justly esteemed a convenient means of maintaining the concord and peace of Christians, and a fit remedy for the cure of heresies, corruptions and divisions. And when the cause requireth it, those councils should consist of as many as can conveniently meet, even from the most distant Churches, which can send their Bishops without incurring greater hurt or discommodity, than their presence will countervail in doing good. And therefore the councils called General in the Dominions of the Christian Roman Emperours, were commendable, and very profitable to the Church, when rightly used. But whereas the Pope doth argue, that he is the constitutive Head of the whole catholick Church throughout the world, because his Predecessors did oft preside in those councils, it is most evident to any one, who will make a faithful search into the History of them, that those councils were so far from representing all the Churches in the world, that they were constituted only of the Churches or Subjects of the Roman Empire, and those that having formerly been parts of the Empire, continued that way of communion when they fell into the hands of conquerors, their conquerors being commonly Pagans, Infidels or Arrian Heretics. I except only now and then two or three, or an inconsiderable number of neighbour Bishops. There were none of the Representatives of the Churches in all the other parts of the world: as I have proved in my Disputation with Mr. Johnson, and desire the Reader, who thinketh that his Reply doth need any confutation, but to peruse Ortelius, or any true Map of the Roman Empire; and Myræus, or any Notitia Episcopatuum, and withal the names of the Bishops in each Council; and then let him ask his conscience whether those Councils were true or equal Representatives of all the Christian world, or only of the Subjects or Churches of one Empire;

Empire; with a few inconsiderable accidental auxiliaries: and if he smile not at Mr. Johnson's instances of the Bishops of Thrace, (and other such Countries) as if they had been out of the verge of the Roman Empire, at least he shall excuse me from confuting such Replies.

And since then Christ hath enlarged his Church to many more Nations and remote parts of the world, and we are not hopeless that the Gospel may yet be preached to the remotest parts of the earth; and an equal just Representative may become more impossible than it now is: Yet now such proper Councils are so far from being the cons[ervation] of the Church, (or the Pope as there presi[des] means of its Unity and Peace, that re[ally] are morally impossible. For, 1. Their dist[ance] Abassia, Egypt, Armenia, Syria, Me[sopotamia] and other parts, to those of Muscovy, Sw[eden] that it will be unlawful and impossible t[o] neys, and deprive the Church of the l[ong] long on this account. 2. It cannot be exp[ected] to perform the journey, and return. 3. The Princes countreys they live, or through whose dominions they must pass, are many of them Infidels, and will not suffer it, and many still in wars, and most of them full of State-jealousies. 4. When they come together, the number (of just Representatives, which may be proportioned to the several parts of the Church, and may be more than a mockery or faction) will be so great, that they will not be capable of just debates, such as the great matters of Religion do require: or if they be, it will be so long as will frustrate the work, and waste their age before they can return: when usually the cause which required their congregating will bear no such delays. 5. They cannot all speak to the understanding of the Council in one and the same language, (for all the commonest of Greek and Latine) God hath neither promised that all Bishops shall be able to converse in one tongue, nor actualy performed it. 6. Such a council never was in any Christian Emperours time; for they neither could, nor did summon all the just Representatives of the Churches in other Princes dominions, but only those in their own.

Isa 9. 17. Phil 2. 21. Act 8. 18 20. 1 Tim. 6. 10. 1 Joh. 2. 15. Gal. 5. 11. & 6. 12, 13, 14.

§. 31. The predominancy of Selfishness and Self-interest in all hypocrites, (that are but Christians in name, and not by true

true Regeneration) and the great numbers of such Hypocrites in the visible Church, are the summary of all the great causes of Divisions, and the Progrosticks of their continuance.

§. 32. Unity and harmony will be imperfect, whilest true Holiness is so rare and imperfect: And to expect the contrary, and so to drive on an ill-grounded unholy unity, is a great cause of the Division and distraction of the

Luk 22. 24. Act. 15. 39. Gal. 2, 12, 13, 14, 15.

[illegible] discord betwixt seve- [illegible] (not an [illegible] a Pro- [illegible] a Re- [illegible] to require [illegible], with [illegible]es.

Phil 3. 15, 16. Rom. 14. & 15. 1 Pet. 3. 15.

[illegible] against Uni- against Holiness; but [illegible] them as inseparable in point of Duty: And every tender Conscience should be as tender of Church-division and real Schisme, as of drunkennesse, whoredom, or such other enormous sins. Jam. 3. 14, 15, 16, 17.

Rom. 16. 17. 1 Thess. 5, 12, 13. 1 Cor. 1. 10. & 2. & 3. throughout.

§. 35. III. The extensive interest of the Church, consisting in the multiplication of Christians, is 1. Principally in the multiplication of the Regenerate-members of the Church-mystical: 2. And subordinately in the multiplication of Professed Christians in the Church Visible.

§. 36. It is not another, but the very same Christianity, which in sincerity constituteth a mystical member, and in Profession a Visible member of the Church (which is not two Churches, but one): so that all are Hypocrites who are not sincere.

Math. 28. 19. Mar 16. 16. Eph. 6. 24. 1 Cor. 15. 22. Rom. 8 9.

§. 37. The instituted door or entrance into the Church visible is by Baptisme.

Math. 28. 19.

§. 38. The Pastors of the Church by the power of the Keyes are Judges who are to be admitted by Baptisme, and to Baptise them: And the people are to take the baptized for Church-members, and in point of publick communion, to see as with their Pastors eyes (ordinarily): though as to Private converse they are Judges themselves.

Act. 2. 41, 42. Act. 8. 37, 38.

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§. 33. When differing opinions cause discord betwixt several Churches, the means of Christian concord is, (not an agreement in every opinion, but) to send to each other a Profession of the true Christian Faith, subscribed, with a Renunciation of all that is contrary thereto; and to require Christian Love and Communion on these terms, with a mutual patience and pardon of each others infirmities. Phil. 3. 15, 16. Rom. 14. & 15. 1 Pet. 3. 15.

§. 34. No Christian must pretend Holiness, against Unity and Peace; nor Unity and Peace against Holiness; but take them as inseparable in point of Duty: And every tender Conscience should be as tender of Church-division and real Schisme, as of drunkenness, whoredom, or such other enormous sins. Jam. 3. 14, 15, 16, 17. Rom. 16. 17. 1 Thess. 5, 12, 13. 1 Cor. 1. 10. & 2. & 3. throughout.

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See my Treat. of Confirmation,

§. 39. *Those that are baptized in Infancy, should at age have a solemn transition into the rank of adult members, upon a solemn serious owning and renewing of their Baptismal Covenant.*

Act. 8.37. & 13. 21, 22. Act. 2.41. Luk. 14.16, 18, 23.

§. 40. *God doth not require a* false profession *of Christianity but a true: But yet he appointeth his Ministers to take a* Profession not proved false, *as* credibly true: *Because we are no heart-searchers, and every one should be best acquainted with himself; and God will have every man the chooser or refuser of his own felicity, that the comfort or sorrow may be most his own: And a humane belief of them that have not forfeited their credit, especially about their own hearts, is necessary to humane converse.*

Phil. 1. 15, 16, 17, 18. Math. 10. 1. & 7.22, 23.

§. 41. *And God taketh occasion of Hypocrites intrusion,* 1. *To do good to the Church by the excellent gifts of many Hypocrites:* 2. *To do good to themselves, by the means or helps of Grace which they meet with in the Church.*

Mar. 16. 16. Act. 5. 13.

§. 42. *But the proper appointed place, which all that are not (at age) perswaded to the* profession *of true Christianity, should continue in, is the state of* Catechumens, *or* Audientes; *meer Learners in order to be made Christians.*

Rom. 9.6. Math. 13. 41, 42, 47. 10. 22.

§. 43. *The* Visible Church *is much larger than the Mystical (though but one Church) that is, the Church hath more* Professing *than* Regenerate *Members, and will have to the end of the World; and none must expect that they be commensurate.*

Math. 13. 36, 28. & 3. 12. Psal. 1. 4. Jer. 23. 28.

§. 44. *As a* Corn Field, *hath* 1. *Corn*, 2. *Straw and Chaffe, and* 3. *Weeds and stricken ears; and is denominated from the* Corn, *which is the* chief *(preserved) part; but the straw must not be cast out because it is necessary for the Corn; but the weeds must be pull'd up, except when doing it may hurt the Wheat; Even so the Church hath* 1. *Sincere Christians, from whom it is denominated;* 2. Close Hypocrites, *whose gifts are for the good of the sincere, and must not be cast out by the Pastors;* 3. *Hereticks and* notorious wicked *men, who are impenitent after due admonition: and these must be cast out, except when it may hazard the Church.*

Math. 13.28,29,30.

2 Tim.2.10. Joh.11, 52. 1 Tim. 2. 4.

§. 45. *The means of increasing the Church, must ultimately be intended alwayes to the increase of the Church mystical, for* Holiness *and* Salvation.

§. 46. *These*

§. 46. *These means are,* 1. *All the fore-mentioned means of* holiness: *for* holiness is the Church's glory; *the Image of God, which will make it illustrious and beautiful in the eyes of men, when they are sober and impartial; and will do most to win them home to Christ.* 2. *Especialy the great abilities, holiness, patience and unwearied diligence of the Ministers of Christ, is a needful means.* 3. *The advancements of Arts and Sciences, doth much to prepare the way.* 4. *The agreement and love of Christians among themselves.* 5. *Love to the infidels and ungodly, and doing all the good we can even to their bodies.* 6. *A spiritual, pure, rational and decent worshipping of God.* 7. *And the concord of Christian Princes among themselves, for the countenancing and promoting the labours of such Preachers, as are fitted for this work.*

Act. 2.44, 46. & 4. 32, 34. & 9 31. & 12. 24. Act. 9.15. 2 Tim. 2. 21. Act. 20. 20, &c. Joh. 17. 24, 25. 2 Tim.2.25. Joh. 4. 22, 23. 24.

§. 47 *The hinderances then of the Church's increase, and of the conversion of the heathen and infidel world are,* 1. *Above all, the wickedness of professed Christians, whose falshood, and debauchery, and unholiness, perswadeth the poor Infidels, that Christianity is worse than their own Religion, because they see that the* men *are worse that live among them. And,* 2. *the badness of the Pastors, (especially in the* Greek *and* Latine *Churches) and the destruction of Church-discipline, and impurity of the Churches hereupon, together with the ignorance and unskilfulness of most for so great a work, is a great impediment.* 3. *The defectiveness in Arts and Sciences.* 4. *The many divisions and unbrotherly contentions of Christians among themselves, either for Religion or for worldly things.* 5. *Not devoting our selves and all that we have to the winning of Infidels, by love, and doing them good.* 6. *A carnal, irrational*

Isa. 9. 17. 1 Thess. 5. 22. Rom. 2. 21, 24. 1 Tim. 6. 1. Tit. 2. 5. 1 Per. 3. 16, 17. & 4. 15. & 2. 12.

Read Joseph Acosta *of this at large. And* Thom. D. S. Jesu de convers. Gent.

1 Cor. 14. 2, &c. 7. 10, 11, 14, 16, 22, 23.

Read Bishop Billson *of Christian Subjection,* p. 526.

Vos æris tinnitibus & tibiarum sonis—— persuasum habetis

Deos delectari & affici, iraſque aliquando conceptas eorum satisfactione molliri. Nos inconvenien. ducimus, quinimo incredibile judicamus, eos qui gradibus mille genus omne virtutum perfectionis transierint summitate, in voluptatibus habere atque in deliciis esse res eas, quas homo sapiens rideat, & quæ non aliis videantur continere aliquid gratiæ, quam infantibus parvulis & trivialiter & populariter institutis. Hæc cum ita se habeant, cumque sit opinionum tanta nostrarum vestrarumque diversitas, ubi aut nos impii, aut vos pii; cum ex partium sensibus pietatis debeat atque impietatis ratio ponderari? Non enim qui simulachrum sibi aliquod conficit, quod pro Deo veneretur is habendus est rebus esse deditus divinis. Opinio religionem facit; & recta de Dils mens: ut nihil eos existimes contra Deos præsumptæ sublimitatis appetere. *Arnob. adv. Gentes l. 7. in Bib. Pat. Auct. To. 1. p. 60. Suppose these words spoken by us to the Papists.*

tional or undecent manner of worſhipping God: for they will contemn that God, whoſe worſhip ſeemeth to them ridiculous and contemptible. 7. The diſcords, wars or ſelfiſhneſs of Chriſtian Princes, who unite not their ſtrength to encourage and promote this noble work; but rather hinder it, by weakening the hands of the labourers at home. 8. Eſpecially when the very Preachers themſelves are guilty of covetous or ambitious deſigns, and under pretence of preaching Chriſt, are ſeeking riches, or ſetting up themſelves, or thoſe that they depend on. Theſe have kept under the Church of Chriſt, and hindred the converſion of the world till now.

Acoſta is very large and honeſt in this reproof and lamentation of the ſins of the Clergy.

§. 48. The attempts of the Jeſuits in Congo, Japon and China were a very noble work, and ſo was the Portugal Kings encouragements: but two things ſpoiled their ſucceſs, (which Proteſtants are not liable to:) 1. That when they took down the Heathens Images, they ſet them up others in the ſtead; and made them think that the main difference was, but whoſe Image they ſhould worſhip: And withall by their Agnus Dei's, and ſuch like trinkets, made Religion ſeem childiſh and contemptible. 2. But eſpecially, that they made them ſee, that while they ſeemed to promote Religion, and to ſave their ſouls, they came to promote their own wealth, or the Popes dominion; and to bring their Kings under a forein power.

Read Pet. Maffæus his Hiſt. Ind. & Epiſt. Jeſuit. & Hiſtor. Japon. & Chin.

The King of Terenate told Sir Francis Drake, We agree with you in Religion againſt the Portugals, that we muſt not worſhip ſtocks and ſtones. Fuller's Holy State in the Life of Sir Francis Drake, out of a M. S. of one of his company. What a ſcandal is ſuch Worſhip againſt the Chriſtian cauſe.

§. 49. The honeſt attempts of Mr. Elliots in New-England is much more agreeable to the Apoſtles way, and maketh more ſerious ſpiritual Chriſtians. But the quality of place and people, and the greatneſs of wants, doth hinder the multiplication of Converts. And higher attempts were very deſireable.

Act. 9. 31.

§. 50. The tranſlating of fit Books into the language of the Infidels, and diſperſing them, may in time prove the ſowing of a holy fruitful ſeed.

As for the grand controverſie of per ſe aut per alium, read Grotius de Imper. pag. 290, 291. [Nam illud quod quis per alium facit, per ſe facere videtur] ad eas duntaxat pertinet actiones, quarum cauſa efficiens proxima à jure indefinita eſt.]

§. 51. Proſperity uſeth greatly to encreaſe the Church extenſively, in the number of viſible members; and adverſity and perſecution to encreaſe it intenſively, by increaſing holineſs in the tried and refined: Therefore God uſeth to ſend viciſſitudes of proſperity and adverſity, like Summer and Winter, to the Churches, that each may do its proper work.

§. 52. Every true Chriſtian ſhould daily lament the common infidelity and impiety of the world, that the intereſt of true Chriſtianity is confined into ſo narrow a room on earth: and to pray

pray with his firſt and earneſteſt deſires, that more labourers may be ſent forth, and that God's Name may be hallowed, his Kingdom come, and his will be done on earth, that it may be liker Heaven, which now is grown ſo like to Hell. But yet to comfort himſelf in conſidering (as is before ſaid) that as this earth is to all the nobler world, but as one mole-hill to all England; ſo if God had forſaken all, it had been but as the cutting off a cancer from a man, or as the caſting away of the paring of his nails, in compariſon of all the reſt.

Therefore ſhould we long for the coming of our Lord, and the better world, which we have in hope. HOW long, Lord, holy and true, how long? Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly, *Amen*. For we, according to his promiſe, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs. 2 Pet. 3. 11, 12, 14.

Dr. Jer. Taylor of Repent. Pref. [I am ſure we cannot give account of ſouls of which we have no notice.]

Leg. Athanaſ. Patri. Conſtantine de neceſſaria Epiſcop. reſidentia.

Exod. 6. 12. Behold the children of Iſrael have not hearkned to me, how then ſhall *Pharaoh* hear me?

Ezek. 3. Not to many people of a ſtrange ſpeech, and of an hard language, whoſe words thou canſt not underſtand: ſurely had I ſent thee to them, they would have hearkned unto thee. But the houſe of Iſrael will not hearken unto thee, for they will not hearken unto me: for all the houſe of Iſrael are impudent and hard-hearted.

Octob. 16. 1666.

THE



THE CONCLUSION,

Defending the Soul's Immortality *against the* Somatists *or* Epicureans, *and other Pseudophilosophers.*

THough in this Treatise I have not wilfully balked any regardable objections, which I thought might stick with an intelligent Reader, about the truth of the things here delivered, yet those which are proper to the Somatical irreligious sect of Philosophers, I thought fitter to put here as an Appendix by themselves, that they might not stop the more sober in their way.

As to the *Subject* and *Method* of this Discourse, it consisteth of these four parts: 1. The *proof of the Deity*, and *what God is*. 2. Of the *certain obligations which lie upon man to be holy and obedient to this God*. 3. The proofs of *a life of Retribution hereafter*, where the *holy* and *obedient* shall be *blessed*, and the

Si vis Deorum speciem apprehendere, proprietates Animæ rationalis ultimæ cogita, & oppositas in perfectione Diis attribue. *Jamblic. de Myster. per Ficin.*

unholy and *disobedient* punished. 4. The proofs of the *verity of the Christian faith.*

For the first of these, (that there is a God) though I have proved it beyond all rational contradiction, yet I have dispatched it with haste and brevity: because it is to the *mind* as the Sun is to the *eye*, and so evident in all that is evident in the world, that there needeth nothing to the proving of it, but to help the Reader to a rational capacity and aptitude, to see that which all the world declareth. The common argument, from the *effects* to the *cause*, in all the *entities* and *motions* in the world, is undeniable. Whatsoever any Being hath, and hath not originally from it self, or independently in it self, it must needs have from another: and that other cannot act beyond its power, nor give that which it hath not either formally or eminently: Therefore he that findeth in the world about him, so much *entity* and *motion*, so much Intellection, Volition and Operation, and so much Wisdom, Goodness and Power, must needs know that all these have some cause, which formally or eminently, or in a way of transcendency, hath more it self than it giveth to others. I measured my endeavours about this subject, according as the occasions of my own soul had led me: among all the temptations which have at any time assaulted me, I have found those so contemptible and inconsiderable as to their strength, which would have made me doubt of the being of a God, that I am apt to think that it is so with others. And therefore in the review of this discourse, I find no reason to stand to answer any mans objections, against the *Being*, or *essential* Attributes or Properties of God.

* *When* Machumet *had taken* Constantinople, *and demanded of the Patriarch an account of the Christian faith*, Georg. Scholarius, alias Gennadius, *then Patriarch, wrote that brief summary which you may find in* Mart. Crusius *his* Turco Græc. l. 2. Hist. Eccles. p. 150, *&c. which very well openeth the mystery of the Trinity, and of Christianity, with seven reasons of it.*

And for the second point, (that we all owe to this God our absolute *Resignation*, *Obedience* and *Love*, and so that *Holiness* is *naturally* our duty) it doth so naturally result from the Nature of God and Man compared, that I can scarce think of any thing worthy of a confutation which can be said against it, but that which denieth the Nature of God or Man; and therefore is either confuted under the first head, or is to be confuted under the third.

* As for the fourth particular, contained in the second Tome, (the truth of the Gospel) I find not any reason to defend it more particularly, nor to answer any more objections

jections than I have done: for in proving the truth, I have proved all the contradictory assertions to be false; and I have answered already the greatest objections: and after this, to answer every ignorant exception of unsatisfied persons, against the several passages of the Scripture, would be tedious, and not necessary to the end of my design. And indeed I perceive not that any considerable number are troubled with doubtings of the truth of the Christian faith, in a prevalent degree, who are well convinced of those antecedent verities of the *Deity*, and of the *natural obligation* and *necessity* of *Holiness*, and of the *Immortality of the soul*, or of a *future life* of reward and punishment; and that live in any reasonable conformity to these natural principles which they profess. For when natural evidence hath sufficiently convinced a man, that he is obliged to *be holy*, in absolute *obedience* and *love* to his *Creator*, through the *hopes* and *fears* of another life; he is very much prepared to close with the design and doctrine of the Gospel, which is so far from contradicting this, that it doth but confirm it, and shew us the way by which it may most certainly be brought to pass.

And therefore my observation and experiences constrain me to think, that there is no point which I have insisted on, which so much calleth for my vindication, as the *third*, about the *Life to come*.

I know there is a sort of over-wise and over-doing Divines, who will tell their followers in private, where there is none to contradict them, that the method of this Treatise is perverse, as appealing too much to natural light, and over-valuing humane reason; and that I should have done no more but shortly tell men, that All that which God speaketh in his word is true; and that *propria luce*, it is evident that the Scripture is the Word of God; and that to all God's Elect he will give his Spirit to cause them to discern it: and that this much alone had been better than all these disputes and reasons: but these over-wise men, who need themselves no reason for their Religion, and judge accordingly of others, and think that those men who rest not in the authority of Jesus Christ, should rest in theirs, are many of them so well acquainted with me, as not to expect that I should trouble them

That Plato and Aristotle were of one opinion about the Soul, Mirandula *and* Marsil. Ficinus *upon* Priscians Theophrastus, de Anima, *have largely laboured to evince.*

them in their way, or reason against them, who speak against reason; even in the greatest matters which our reason is given us for. As much as I am addicted to scribling, I can quietly dismiss this sort of men, and love their zeal, without the labour of opening their ignorance.

Galen is known to speak many objections against Plato, *and the Soul's immortality: but in other places he speaketh do bitfully. And if really* Nemesius *had those words out of such a book of* Galen, *as he citeth,* de Ani. c. 2. p. 481. *he would then seem to have thought better of the Rational Soul.*

My task therefore in this conclusion, shall be only to defend the doctrine delivered in this fore-going Treatise, of the *Life to come*, or the Soul's *Immortality*, against some who call themselves Philosophers. For of men so called, it is but a small part who at all gainsay this weighty truth. The followers of *Plato* the Divine Philosopher, with the *Pythagoreans*, the *Stoicks*, the *Cynicks*, and divers other Sects, are so much for it, that indeed the most of them go too far, and make the soul to be eternal both *à parte ante*, and *à parte post*: and *Cicero* doth conclude from its *self-moving power*, that it is certainly eternal and divine: Insomuch that not only *Arnobius*, but many other ancient Christians, write so much against *Plato* for holding the soul to be *naturally immortal*, and assert themselves, that it is of a middle nature, between that which is *naturally immortal*, and that which is meerly mortal, that he that doth not well understand them, may be scandalized at their expressions, and think that he readeth the Philosopher defending the souls immortality, and the Christian opposing it. And though *Aristotle*'s opinion be questioned by many, yet *Cicero*, who lived in time and places wherein he had better advantage than we to know his meaning, doth frequently affirm, that he was in the main of *Plato*'s mind; and that the *Academicks*, *Peripateticks* and *Stoicks* differed more in words than sense; chiding the *Stoicks* for their schism or separation, in setting up a School or Sect as new, which had almost nothing new but words. Not only *Fernelius* (*de abditis rerum causis*) but many others have vindicated *Aristotle*, however his obscurity hath given men occasion to keep up that controversie. And if the book *de Mundo* be undoubtedly his, I see no reason to make any more question of his meaning; much less if that book be his which is entitled, *Mystica Ægypt. & Chald. Philos.* which *Aben Ama Arabs* translated out of *Greek* into *Arabick*, which *Franc. Rosseus* brought from *Damascus*, and *Moses Rovas Medicus Hebr.* translated into *Italian*, and *Pet. Nicol.*

Plotinus his last words were (*as* Porphyry *saith in his life*) [I am now returning that which is Divine in us, to that which is Divine in the Universe.]

Nicol. Castelinus into *Latine*, and *Patricius* thinketh *Aristotle* took from *Plato*'s mouth.

It is only then the *Epicureans*, and some novel *Somatists* that I have now to answer, who think they have much to say against the separated subsistence and immortality of mans soul, which I may reduce to these objections following.

I. *Matter* and *Motion*, without any more, may do all that which you ascribe to *incorporeal substances* or *souls*: therefore you assert them without ground. II. To confirm this, the bruits have *sense*, *imagination*, *thought* and *reason*, by *matter* and *motion* only, without immortal or incorporeal substances: therefore by sense, imagination, thoughts or reason, you cannot prove that man hath more. III. Forms are but *Accidents*, that is, Qualities, or the mode of matter, and not *Substances* different from matter: therefore it is so with humane souls. IV. The soul dependeth upon matter in its operations, and acteth according to it, and not without it: therefore it is material, and consequently mortal. V. No immaterial substance moveth that which is material, or is the principle of its operations: but the soul moveth the body as the principle of its operations: *ergo*. VI. If in our dreams the thoughts do operate only according to the accidental irregular motion of the spirits, and sometime be so unactive, that we do not so much as dream, then the soul is nothing but the said active spirits, or some material corruptible thing: but, &c. *ergo*. VII. Sense is a more perfect apprehension than Reason: therefore Bruits, which have sense, have as noble and perfect a kind of soul as man; or at least reason is no proof of the immateriality of souls. VIII. Sensation and Intellection are both but Reception, and and the soul is but a patient in them: *Ergo*, it is not a self-moving, and so not an incorporeal substance. IX. Nothing is in the understanding but what is first in the sense: *Ergo*, the understanding can reach no further than to sensible things: *Ergo*, it is it self of no higher a kind. X. Corporeal objects move the soul: *Ergo*, it is corporeal. For things material cannot work upon that which is immaterial. XI. If the soul were incorporeal, it would know it self to be so: but it is not only ignorant of that, but hath no true notion, but meerly negative, of immaterial beings. XII. That which

which is generated is corruptible: but the soul is generated, as is proved by *Senertus*, and many others. XIII. *Quicquid oritur interit*; that which is not eternal as to the past duration, is not eternal as to the future duration: but all Christians maintain, that the soul is either created or generated, and not of eternal duration, as to what is past: and all the Philosophers, or most who took it to be eternal as to future duration, went on that ground, that it was so antecedently. XIV. You give us none but moral arguments for the soul's immortality. XV. Nay, you confess, that the soul's eternal duration cannot by you be proved by any natural evidence; though you think you so prove a life of Retribution. XVI. The soul and body are like a candle, where oyl, and week, and fire, (which are all) are in *fluxu continuo*, and as there is not the same individual flame this hour as was the last, so neither have we the same individual souls: *Ergo*, they are uncapable of a life of Retribution hereafter. XVII. If the soul be a durable substance, (as we must confess no substance is annihilated) it is most likely to come from the *anima mundi*, or some universal soul of that orb or system of which it is a part, and so to return to it again, as the beams to the Sun; and so to cease its individuation, and consequently to be uncapable of a life of Retribution. XVIII. The *Platonists* who hold the souls immortality, (and some *Platonick* Divines too) have so many sopperies about its vehicles, regions and transmutations, as maketh their principal doctrine the less credible. XIX. If the soul should continue its individuation, yet its actings will be nothing like what they are in the body; nor can they exercise a memory of what they did in the body, as having not the material spirits and nerves, by which memory is exercised: and therefore they can have no proper retribution, especially punishment, for any thing here done. XX. The belief of the immortality of the soul doth fill men with fears, and take up their lives in superstitious cares for a life to come, which might be spent in quietness, and in publick works: and it fills the world with all those religious sects and controversies, which have so long destroyed Charity and Peace.

These are the Objections which I have here to answer.

OBJECT-

OBJECTION I.

Matter and Motion, without any more, may do all that which you ascribe to souls.

Answ. When nothing seemeth to us more false and absurd, than the matter of your objection; you cannot expect that your naked assertion should satisfie us without proof: and a satisfactory proof must reach to all the *noblest instances*, and must have better evidence than the bold and confident affirmations of men, who expect that their conceptions should be taken for the flower of reason, whilst they are pleading against the *reasoning nature* it self. And to what Authors will they send us for the proof of this assertion? Is it to Mr. *Hobs*? We have perused him, and weigh'd his reasons, and find them such as reflect no dishonour on the understandings of those, who judge them to be void of probability as well as cogent evidence. But after so smart a castigation as he hath received from the learned D[illegible]*ard*, (now Bishop of *Exeter*) and from that clear-headed Primate of *Ireland*, Dr. *Bramhal*, I hope it will not be expected, that I trouble my self or my Reader with him here. Is it to *Gassendus*? He writeth for the immaterial created humane soul himself. And Charity obligeth me not to charge him with prevarication, whatsoever to *Cartesius* or any where else he writeth, which seemeth injurious to this Doctrine. And if *Sorberius* number it with his honours, (*in vita Gassendi*) that Mr. *Hobs* could not sufficiently admire his works, *Qui Heroem nostrum nunquam majorem apparere pronunciabat, quàm in retundendis larvis, tenues in auras tam facilè diffugientibus, gladio imperviis, nec ictium clava excipientibus: ita enim sentiebat vir emunctæ naris de Meditationibus Cartesii & de illa Gassendi disquisitione, &c.* It was because he weighed not honour in an *English* ballance, nor judged not of an *English-man* by an *English* judgment, nor himself well perceived what was indeed honourable or dishonourable in his friend. If you send us to *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*, they are so overwhelmed with the number of adversaries that have fallen upon them, that it is a dishonour to give them another

The Platonists *opinion that the* Soul is all the Man, *and that* Animus cujusque *is* est quisque, *is incomparably more probable, and of honester tendency, than theirs that think the* Body is all the Man. Qui putant hominem esse ex Anima corporeque compositum, consequenter utile à justo sejungunt; Qui vero hominem esse animam conjungunt. *Proclus de Anim. & dæm. per Ficin*

What then will they hold and do, that think man is tantum corpus. *For as* Proclus *there saith, and* Cicero *oft, most Philosophers agree that vivere secundum suam naturam, is man's great duty and felicity: Therefore as men differ about man's* Nature, *they will differ about his* Duty *and felicity: They that think he is all Body, will describe his* work *and his happiness accordingly: a truth of sad and desperate consequence.*

another blow. Besides all the crowd of *Peripatetick*s, *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, even the moderate latitudinarian *Cicero* hath spit so oft in the face of *Epicurus*, that when *Gassendus* hath laboured hard in wiping it, he thought meet to let this spot alone. But because it is only this sort of men, that are the adversaries with whom we do contend, I will this once be so troublesome to the Reader, as to give him first some general countercharges and reasons, against the *authority* of these men; and next some particular reasons against the objected sufficiency of *Matter* and *Motion*, to do the offices which we ascribe to souls.

And, 1. When I find men dispute against *Man*, and reason against the *power of Reason*, I think *humane interest* alloweth me to be *distrustful* of their sophistry, and to yield no further than I have cogent evidence. If man's *soul* be his *form*, he denieth *man* to be *man*, who denieth him that soul.

2. I find Philosophers so little agreed among themselves, that it greatly diminisheth their authority and requireth a man who is just to his reason, to make a very accurate trial before he fall in with any of their opinions. Their divisions are sufficiently opened and aggravated by *Laertius*, *Cicero*, and many more of themselves; and contemptuously displayed by *Hermas*, *Arnobius*, *Athenagoras*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, and many other Christians. There are few things that *one* asserteth, but there are *many* to rise up against him and contradict it. They must better defend themselves against one another, before their authority be much reverenced by others.

3. I find the wisest of them so conscious of their ignorance, that they take most for uncertain which they say themselves; and confess they talk but in the dark: which made the *Pyrrhonians* and *Arcesilas* have so many followers; and *Cicero* with the *Academicks* so *over-modest* in disclaiming *certainty* and *confidence*, and writing by Dialogues with so much indifferency and wavering as they did. I need not send you to *Zanchez* his *Nihil scitur*, nor to our Mr. *Glanvil*'s *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, for satisfaction. The learned *Gassendus* his modesty is sufficient, who if he speak of *Occult Qualities*, will ask you, *What Qualities are not occult?* And if he speak of the magnitude and distances of the Stars, will

will tell you how little possibility of assurance is left to mortals, about those things which others with over much confidence have asserted. And about the case in hand, he could no better defend *Epicurus* against *Cicero*'s [*Hoc est optare, & provincias dare atomis, non disputare*] than by confessing [*Vere quidem id objici, sed eam tamen esse ingenii humani imbecillitatem, ut objici idem nemini non possit* —— *De ipsis principiis dicere nil aliud licet, nisi quod hæc ipsa, illa illo modo se habeant, ex suæ naturæ necessitate; cum ignoremus germanam causam ob quam ita se habeant; immo cum ea frustra quæratur, nisi sit eundum in infinitum.* §. 1. l. 3. c. 7. pag. 275. And ingenuously he confesseth, §. 2. l. 2. c. 3. p. 560. *Verum quicquid dicatur* (scil. per Cartesium & Epicurum) *hypothesis semper mera est, ac difficultas remanet, fierique nihil tutius potest, quàm profitendo ignorantiam, totum quem videmus rerum ordinem in arbitrium, summi opificis conferre. Dicere certe quod aliqui, solem* v. g. *idcirco hic potius quàm alibi esse, quia ejus naturæ ita exigat, id quidem vere dicitur; sed interim nil aliud est, quàm respondere ipsum quæsitum, & dissimulando ignorantiam, videri esse animi in causam optimam parum gratî.* Which is true and applicable to many other cases. And it is ingenuously confessed lately by the very ingenious Mr. *Samuel Parker*, [*I am lately grown such a despairing Sceptick in all Physiological Theories, that I cannot concern myself in the truth or falshood of any hypotheses. For though I prefer the Mechanical hypotheses before any other, yet me-thinks their contexture is too slight and brittle to have any stress laid upon them: and I can resemble them to nothing better than your glass drops, from which if the least portion be broken, the whole compages immediately dissolves and shatters into dust and atoms: for their parts which rather lie than hang together, being supported only by the thin film of a brittle conjecture, (not annealed by experience and observation) &c.* And upon the like reasons it is rejected by that eminently learned and industrious man, Dr. *Willis*, *de ferment. p. 3. At quoniam principia sua supponit potius quam demonstrat, docetque qualia figuræ elementa ista corporum sint, non quæ ipsa fuerint, atque etiam notiones inducit valde subtiles & à sensu remotas, quæque naturæ phænomenis quando ad particularia descenditur, non satis quadrant, hac insuper habita, &c.*

The truth is, as Fire *is* per essentiam, *a moving, enlightning, heating substance; so the soul is* per essentiam, *a Life or Vital Principle; and therefore, as* Porphyry *argueth, for the soul to die, is for life it self to die; or that which is* per essentiam *life, to cease to be what it is.*

Quibusdam qui ne ignem calere putant, nisi eum manu contrectarint, nihil credendum esse placet, quod supra progredientem naturam videatur. Multorum quoque studia tardantur, quod id credere noluit quod minus sub eorum cognitionem cadit: quæ errorum pravitas ex ingeniorum imbecilitate defluxit: siquidem cum sensuum angustiæ ex quibus hominum agnitio eruitur, in externorum sensilium genere versentur, satis notum esse debet, his tanquam compedibus intelligentiæ cursum retardari, divinaque capessere nequire. *Paul. Carteſius* 1 *Sent. diſ.* 9. *p.* 22.

4. And I find that the Philosophers that have rejected or vilified *Epicurus* and his way, have been very numerous; multitudes to a few, and of the most venerable names in the ages and places where they lived; and no one sect of them so vilified by the rest, as the *Epicureans* were by all.

5. I find also, that the most who in this age adhere to the *Epicurean* (or *Carteſian*) Hypothesis, are the younger sort of ingenious men, who have received prejudice against the *Peripateticks*, *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, before they did ever throughly study them; but reverencing more some person noted for much ingenuity, by his authority have been drawn to defend, what they scarce understand themselves. And that it is the *meer novelty* of some of these new-started notions, which maketh them so much followed; as *novelties in Religion* are with some young and wanton wits: and accordingly I expect, that ere long they will grow out of fashion, and die again before ever they come to have such supporters as the other Philosophy hath had.

6. *Respicere ad plurima*, to take in all that must be taken in, is the character of true wisdom. But I find that the *Epicureans* do *respicere ad pauca*; they look so much at things corporeal, that they quite over-look the noblest natures; and they reduce all to *Matter* and *Motion*, because nothing but *Matter* and *Motion* is throughly studied by them. And like idle Boys, who tear out all the hard leaves of their books, and say they have learn'd all when they have learnt the rest; so do they cut off and deny the noblest parts of nature, and then sweep together the dust of agitated Atoms, and tell us that they have resolved all the Phænomena in Nature.

7. And I find that they are very kind natured to their own conceptions, and take those for demonstrations, which other men think are liker dreams.

8. I perceive that they are deluded by taking the *vestigia* and *images* of things, for the things themselves. The *Intellectual* nature is the *image* of the *Divine*, and the *Sensitive* of the *Intellectual*, and the *Vegetative* of the *Sensitive*, and the *Fiery* of the *Incorporeal*. And when they can prove no more in any of the lower, but such an *image* of the higher, they would on that advantage confound them all; and would hence

hence conclude that Bruits are intellectual, and deny the differencing forms of all things.

9. I find that as they look so much at the Organ, as to over-look the Agent; and look so much at the *particles* of matter, as to over-look the different *natures* of it: so do they observe the second cause with so narrow a mind, as much to over-look the first: or when they have acknowledged that there is a God, they think they have done fair, though afterwards they consider not that interest of his in all operations, which their own concessions necessarily infer.

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Perceiving all these general Reasons to distrust this sort of Philosophers above others, though I resolve to be impartial, I cannot willingly be so fooliſh, as to over-look their disadvantage in the present cause.

II. The particular reasons which dissuade me from believing the *Epicurean* sufficiency of *Matter* and *Motion* are these following.

1. They all (with whom I have now to do) are constrained to confess an *incorporeal intellectual substance*; even that *there is a God*, and that *GOD* is such. *Epicurus* himself doth not deny it, yea, seemeth to speak magnificently of God, and in *honour* to him would excuse his providence from the minding of inferiour things. For, 1. They know that *matter* did not make it self; and *motion* is but its mode: and therefore *matter* cannot be made by its *own motion*. Its *being* is in order of nature before its *motion*. And *matter* is in it self so dull a thing, (and by the adversaries stripped of all *forms*, which are not caused by *motion*) that if it were said to be from *eternity* in its *duration*, they will confess it could be but as an eternal effect of some nobler cause. So that at the first word they grant, that *matter* hath an *incorporeal* cause.

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mode as must have a cause. And the passive *matter* yet unmoved, is supposed by themselves to be void of all antecedent moving power. So that they are all fain to say, that God made the *matter*, and gave it the first push. And so all *matter* and *motion* is reduced to a *first efficient*, who is *incorporeal*: And therefore an *incorporeal being* is acknowledged.

Read the Mystic. Ægypt. & Chald. Philos. *to prove that souls are not corporeal*; *and* Nemesius *and* Mammertus.

2. I meet with none of them who dare deny this God to be *an intellectual free Agent*; so that though it be granted them, that *intelligere*, *velle* be not in God the same thing *formally* as it is in man; yet is it something which *eminently* must be so called; man having no fitter conception or expression of it, than from these acts of his own soul. *Epicurus* will not make God defectively ignorant, impotent, or bad. When themselves divide all things into such as have *understanding*, and such as have none; of which part do they suppose GOD to stand? Things that are void of understanding, (formally or eminently) are below the dignity of things that have understanding. So that they confess there is existent an *incorporeal*, *intelligent*, *free Agent*.

If the soul be nothing but Matter *and* Motion, *then no man is the same this year as he was the last. For* Matter *is in fluxu continuo, as they object themselves anon: We have not the same flesh and blood to day which we lately had; and the* motion *of this instant is not the same with the* motion *which succeedeth in the next: So that no man's soul, and consequently no man, is long the same: and so (as I have said after) Kings will lose their titles to their Crowns, and all men to their lands, as being not the same who were born heirs to them. And there must be no rewards or punishments, unless you will reward and punish one for another's faults: And they need no more to fear the pain or death which will befall them, than that which befall their neighbour, because it is not the man that now is who must undergo it. Nor should any man have a wife or child of his own one year together. If they like not these consequents, let them either prove that Identifying* Matter *and* Motion *are permanent, or grant that some other permanent thing doth identifie the person.*

See this as the argument of Ammonius *and* Numenius, *prest by* Nemesius de Anim. c. 2. p. 477. Vid. & Cleanthis argumenta pro animæ corporeitate à Nemesio profligata ibid. P. 479 &c.

3. As they confess that this *intellectual Agent* is the first cause both of *matter* and *motion*, so they cannot deny that he *still causeth both*, by his *continued influx* or causing efficacy. For there can be *no effect* without a *cause*; and therefore when the cause ceaseth, the effect must cease. The material part of a *moral cause* may cease, and yet the effect continue. But that moral causation continueth which is proportioned to the effect. The Parent may die while the child survive: but there is a continued cause of the life of the child, proportioned to the effect. *Matter* is not an independent being. To say that God hath made it self-sufficient and independent, is to say that he hath made it a God.

Suppose

Suppose but a total cessation of the Divine emanation, influx and causation, and you must needs suppose also the cessation of all Beings. If you say that when God hath once given it a Being, it will continue of it self, till his power annihilate it: I answer, if it continue without a continuing causation, it must continue as an independent self-sufficient being. But this is a contradiction, because it is a creature; GOD is no *effect*, and therefore needeth no *cause* of subsistence: but the creature is an *effect*, and cannot subsist a moment without a *continued cause*. As the beams or communicated light cannot continue an instant, if there were a total cessation of the emanation of the luminary, because their *being* is meerly dependent: and they need no other positive annihilation, besides the cessation of the causation which did continue them. It was from one of *your own Poets* that *Paul* cited, [*In him we live, and move, and have our being, for we are his offspring.*] And nothing is more abhorrent to all common reason, than that this stone or dirt, which was *nothing* as yesterday, should be a *God* to it self, even one independent self-sufficient being, as soon as it is created; and so that God made as many *demy-gods* as *atoms*. We see past doubt, that *one* creature cannot subsist or move without *another*, on which it is dependent; how much less can any creature subsist or move without its continued reception of its *Creator's influx*. If you could suppose that for one moment there were *no God*, you must suppose there would be *nothing*. If I thought any would deny this, besides those inflated vertiginous brains, that are not to be disputed with, I would say more for the illustration of it.

Object. *But though matter subsist not without a continued divine causation, or emanation, or efficacious volition; yet motion may continue when all divine causation of it ceaseth: Because when God hath given it one push, that causeth a motion, which causeth another motion, and that another, and so* in infinitum, *if there were no stop.*

Answ. 1. If this were so, it must be on supposition of a *vis motiva communicata vel impressa*: for if there had been no such, the first motion would have not been, or all have presently ceased for want of a continued cause. As there is no motion *sine vi motivâ*, so none can be communicated, but

by the communication of that *force*. Action is not nothing: nor will be cauſed by nothing: As the *delapſus gravium* would preſently ceaſe, if we could cauſe the *pondus* or *gravity* to ceaſe; ſo is it in all other motions. If there be no *vis* or *ſtrength* communicated along with the motion, there would be nothing in that motion to cauſe another motion, nor in that to cauſe another. (And if it were by way of *traction*, if the cauſe ceaſe which is the *prima trahens*, all the motion ceaſeth: and ſo alſo if it be by way of *pulſion*) So that in *every motion*, there is ſomething more than *matter* and *motion*.

2. All motion (of things below within our reach) hath many *impediments*: and therefore would ceaſe, if the firſt cauſe continued not his powerful efficacy. It is tedious and needleſs to enumerate inſtances.

If the doctrine of Matter *and* Motion *only were true, there would never be any true miracles in the world, but all things go on from motion to motion as the firſt touch did put them into a neceſſity: whereas (however the world hath been deluded by many fictions, yet) many certain miracles there have been. Whether the removing of the mountain by faith mentioned by* M. Paulus Venetus, *l.* 1. *cap.* 18. *be true or not, and the non-diſſolution of excommunicate bodies in* Conſtantinople, *mentioned in* Mart. Cruſius *his* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Turco Græc. *l.* 2. *with multitudes of the like which moſt Hiſtorians have, &c. Yet certainly that there have been ſome ſuch, hath been fully proved unto many.*

3. The *moving power* of the nobleſt creatures, is not *purely active*, but partly *paſſive* and partly active, and muſt receive the influx of the higheſt cauſe, before it can act or communicate any thing. Therefore as ſoon as the firſt *mover* ſhould ceaſe, the reſt would be ſoon ſtop'd, though ſome active power was communicated to them. As we ſee in a Clock when the poiſe is down, and in a Watch when the ſpring is down; the motion ceaſeth firſt where it firſt began.

4. Can you conſtrain your reaſon to imagine, that God is the ſole principal active cauſe, for the firſt touch, and, as it were, for one minute, or inſtant, (while he cauſeth the firſt *motus*) and is an unactive *being*, or no cauſe ever after, (ſave only *reputative*, becauſe he cauſed the firſt.) This is to ſay, that God was God till he made the world, and ever ſince he hath done nothing, but left every atom or creature to be *God*. Is God ſo mutable, to do all for one inſtant, and to do nothing ever after?

5. The *infiniteneſs* and *perfection* of God fully proveth, that all continued motion is by the continuance of his efficiency. For it is undeniable, that he who made all things is *every where*, or preſent to all his creatures, in the moſt intimate proximity. And it is certain, that he cannot but *know* them all: and alſo that his Benignity maintaineth all their beings and well-beings; and therefore that he is not an *unactive being*; but that his *power* as well as his *wiſdom* and

and *Goodneſs*, is continually in act. How ſtrangely do theſe Epicureans differ from *Ariſtotle*? who durſt not deny the Eternity of the World, leſt he ſhould make God an unactive Being *ad extra*, from Eternity 'till the Creation? When-as theſe men feign him to have given but one inſtantaneous puſh, and to have been *cætera otioſus*, or unactive from Eternity.

Seeing then it cannot by ſober reaſon be denyed, that *God* himſelf is by a continued Cauſation, the Preſerver and intimate *firſt mover* of all things, it muſt needs thence follow, that *matter* and *motion* are ſtill inſufficient of themſelves: and that this is to be none of the Controverſie between us: but only whether it be any *created Nature*, *Power*, or *other Cauſe*, by which God cauſeth *motion* in any thing, or all things? or whether he do it by his *own immediate Cauſation alone* without the uſe of any ſecond Cauſe, ſave meer motion it ſelf? ſo that the *inſufficiency* of *Matter* and *Motion* to continual alterations and productions, muſt be confeſſed by all that confeſs there is a God.

4. It is alſo manifeſt in the effect, that it is not a *meer motion* of the *firſt Cauſe*, which appeareth in the *being* and *motions* of the Creature. There is apparently a tendency in the Creatures motion to a *certain end*, which is an *attractive Good*; and there is a certain *Order* in all motions to that end; and certain *Laws*, or *Guidances* and *overrulings*, to keep them in that Order: ſo that *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* do eminently appear in them all, in their beings, natures, differences, excellencies, order and ends, as well as *Motion* the effect of *Power*. 1. It is certain that God who is unmoved himſelf, is the firſt mover of all: 2. And if God were not unmoved, but by ſelf-motion cauſed motion, yet he exerteth *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* in his Creation and Providence, as well as *Motion*. 1. He that is *Infinite*, and therefore not properly in any place or ſpace, or at leaſt is limited in none, can himſelf by *Locomotion* move himſelf in none: which methinks none ſhould queſtion: And they that make the World *infinite*, or at leaſt *indefinite*, as they call it, methinks ſhould not deny the Infiniteneſſe of God: And they acknowledge no motion themſelves but Locomotion, or *migratio a loco in locum*. But ſaith *Gaſſendus*,

Vol. 1. pag. 337. *Et certè captum omnem fugit, ut quippiam quantumvis sit alteri præsens conjunctumq, ipsum moveat, si in seipso immotum maneat,* &c.—— *Itaq; necesse omnino videtur, ut cum in serie moventium quorum moventur alia ab aliis procedi in infinitum non possit, perveniatur ad unum primum; non quod immotum moveat, sed quod ipsum per se moveatur.* *Answ.* You gather from hence, that it is the *contexture of the most subtile Atomes which is the form and first mover in physical* beings. But you granted before, that God moved those Atomes, and also put a moving inclination into them. And atomes are *far* from being *unum* or *primum*. You said before [*sufficiat Deum quidem esse incorporeum, ac pervadere fovereq, universam mundi machinam.*] And if so, then *movere etiam* as well as *fovere*. Either you mean as you speak in confessing a God or not: If not, it is unworthy a Philosopher to dissemble for any worldly respects whatsoever. If you do, then, Is it beyond your capacity to conceive that *God being unmoved moveth all things?* or not? If *not*, why should it be beyond your capacity to conceive the same in a *second Order* of a *second spiritual being?* The reason as to *motion* is of the same kinde. If *yea*; then either you believe God is the *first Mover* or not: If not, withdraw your former Confession. If *yea*, what *Locomotion* (for you deny all other) can you ascribe to God, who is unbounded and infinite? what place is he moved from, and what place is he moved into? And is his motion *rectus vel circularis?* is it *one* or *multifarious?* or rather will you not renounce all these? 2. And as God *moveth* being *unmoved*, so he doth more than *move*: He moveth *Orderly*, and giveth Rules and Guidances to motion; and *moveth* graciously to the felicity of the Creature, and to a desireable end. A Horse can *move* more than a *man*; for he hath more *strength* or *moving power*: But he moveth not *so regularly* nor to such *intended ends*, because he hath not wisdom and benignity or goodness as Man hath. He that buildeth a House or Ship, or writeth such Volumes as *Gassendus* did, doth somewhat more than barely *move*, which a Swallow or a Hare could have done as swiftly: And he that looketh on the works of God, even to the Heavens and Earth as *Gassendus* hath himself described them, and seeth not the effects of *Wisdom* and *Goodness* in

in the *Order*, and *tendency*, and *ends* of *motion*, as well as *Power* in *motion* it self, did take his survey but in his dream: saith *Ballus* in *Cicero de Nat. Deor. l.2. p. 62. Hoc qui existimat fieri potuisse* (that is, for the World to be made by meer fortuitous motion of atomes, &c.) *non intelligo cur non idem putet, si innumerabiles unius & viginti formæ literarum, aliquo conjiciantur, posse ex his in terram excussis Annales Ennii, ut deinceps legi possint effici, quod nescio an in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere fortuna. Quod si mundum efficere potest concursus atomorum, cur porticum, cur templum, cur domum, cur navem non potest, quæ sunt minus operosa, & multo quidem faciliora? Certè ita temere de mundo effutiunt, ut mihi quidem nunquam hunc admirabilem cœli ornatum, qui locus est proximus, suspexisse videantur.* Where he brings in this passage as from *Aristotle*, that if we should imagine men to have lived in some Dungeon or Cavern in the Earth, and never to have seen the Sun or Light, or World, as we do, and if there should be a doubt or dispute among them, whether there be a God; and if you should presently bring up these men into our places, where they might look above them and about them, to the Sun and Stars, and Heaven and Earth; they would quickly by such a sight be convinced that there is a God. But as he truly addeth, *Assiduitate quotidiana & consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neq; admirantur neq; requirunt rationes earum rerum quas semper vident: perinde quasi novitas nos magis quam magnitudo rerum debeat ad exquirendas causas excitare.*

But I suppose it will be granted me, that the first *mover* doth more than *meerly move*, the effects of Wisdom and Goodness being so legible on all the World; but you'l say, that to do it *wisely* and to attain *good ends* by it, &c. is but the *modus* of action with the effect, and therefore *matter* and *motion rightly ordered* may be nevertheless sufficient to all effects. To which I answer, that the Creatures motion requireth not only that the Creator *move* them, but that he place and order them, and move them *rightly*, and that he remove and overcome impediments, &c. Therefore there is necessary in the first mover, both *Wisdom* and *Love* as well as *Power*: And neither his *Power*, *Wisdom* or *Love* are Locomotion in himself. And this much being proved, that in

every *motion*, there is Divine *Power*, *Wisdom* and *Love*, which is more than *matter* and *motion* it self, I proceed next to enquire,

5. Do you think there is any thing existent in the World, besides *matter* and *motion*, or not? As to meer site, and figure and other such order or modes of *matter*, I know you will not deny them to have now a being as well as *motion*. But is there no *different tendency* to *motion* in the parts of matter? Is there not in many Creatures a *Power*, an *Inclination*, or *aptitude* to *motion*, besides *motion* it self? Is there not a reason *à priore* to be given, why one Creature is more agile and *active* than another? and why they act in their various wayes? Why is *fire* more active than *earth*? and a *Swallow* than a *Snail*? If you say, that the different *ratio motus* is in some *extrinsecal* agent only which moveth them, you will hardly shew any possibility of that, when the *same Sun*, by the *same virtue* (or motion as you will say) is it that moveth all: And if it were so, you must go up to the first Cause, to ask for the different motions of those movers; when our enquiry now is *de natura moventium & motorum Creatorum?* If you say, that it is the *Ratio recipiendi* in the different *magnitudes* or *positions* of the parts of *matter*, which is the cause of different motions; I would know, 1. Whether this difference of *magnitude* and *figure* and *site*, being *now* antecedently necessary to different motions, was not so *heretofore* as well as now? If you say, No, you feign without proof a state of things and order of Causes, contrary to that which all mens sense perceiveth to be *now existent?* And who is the wiser Philosopher? he that judgeth the course and nature of things to be, and have been what he now findeth it, till the contrary be proved? or he that findeth it one thing, and feigneth it sometime to have been another without any proof? That which is *now* antecedently necessary to diversity of motion, it's like was so heretofore. 2. And then how could one simple equal act of God, setting the first matter into motion, cause such an inequality in motions to this day, if it be true that you hold, that only that which is *moved* or in motion it self can move? and that motion is all that is necessary to the diversity? 3. Either the first *matter* was made solid in larger parcels,

or

or all conjunct, or in Atomes: If it was made first in *Atomes*, then *Motion* caused not Division. If it was made *conjunct* and *solid*, then motion caused not *conjunction* and *solidity*. And if the *first division*, or *conjunction*, *site* and *figure* of *matter* was all antecedent to *motion* and without it, we have no reason to think that it is the sole Cause of all things now.

But surely *quantity*, *figure* and *site*, are not all that *now* is antecedent to motion. Doth not a man feel in himself a certain *Power*, to sudden and voluntary motion? He that sate still, can suddenly rise and go: And if you say, that he performeth that sudden *motion* by some *antecedent motion*, I answer, that I grant that; but the question is, whether by *that alone?* or whether a *Power* distinct from motion it self, be not as evidently the Cause? For otherwise the antecedent motion would proceed but according to its own proportion: It would not in a minute make so sudden and great an alteration. I can *restrain* also that *motion* which some antecedent motion (*e.g.* passion) urgeth me to? Surely this *Power* of *doing* or not *doing*, is somewhat different from *doing* it self. A *power* of *not-moving* is not motion.

And what is the *Pondus* which *Gassendus* doth adde to *magnitude* and *figure* as a third pre-requisite in Atomes? I perceive he knoweth not what to make of it himself. But in conclusion it must be no natural Gravity by which the *parts* are inclined to the *whole* in themselves, but the meer effect of *pulsion* or *traction*, or both. At the first he was for *both conjunct*, *pulsion* of the Air, and *traction* of the Atomes from the Earth: But of this he repented, as seeing *impulsionem aeris nullam esse:* and was for the traction of Atoms alone. (Than which, his Friends conceit of the pulsive motion of the Sun in its Diastole or whatever other motion, is the cause, doth seem less absurd.) But that man that would have me believe that if a Rock were in the air, or if *Pauls* Steeple should fall, the descent would be only by the traction of the *hamuli* of invisible Atomes, (or by the pulsion of Air and Sun conjunct) must come neerer first, and tell me how the *hamuli* of atomes can fasten upon a marble rock? and how they come to have so much strength as to

move that rock (which no man can move in its proper place) if there be no ſuch thing as *ſtrength* or power beſides actual motion? and why it is that thoſe *drawing atomes* do move ſo powerfully Earthwards, when at the ſame time it is ſuppoſed, that as many or more atomes are moving *upwards* by the Suns attraction, and more are moved circularly with the Earth? why do not theſe ſtop or hinder one another? and why doth not the Rock as well go upward with the aſcending atomes? And when the Rock deſcendeth, doth it carry down none of the aſcendants with it? As likely as for the deſcendants to carry down it. Are thoſe atomes that carry down the Rock, more powerfull than an hundred thouſand men, who could not lift it up at all; much leſs ſo ſwiftly? And why do not the ſame (partial) atomes, bear down a Feather, or the Birds that fly quietly in the air? And why feel *we* not the power of their motion *upon us?* How eaſily can ſome men believe any thing, while they think that their increaſe of wiſdom lyeth in believing no more than evidence conſtraineth them to? If *Gaſſendus* his inſtance of the Load-ſtone put under the ballance to increaſe the *pondus* of the Iron, prove any thing, it will prove ſomething more than a traction of the hooked atomes, even the traction of *Nature* that needeth no hooks.

Thoſe that fly to this ingenita diſpoſitio vel pondus, *will in other words grant that Nature, form or quality which they deny. And thoſe that grant nothing to move but former motion, muſt needs make ſome degrees of motion daily to diminiſh in the World, one thing or other ſtill ceaſing its motion;*

And mark, I pray you, what *Gaſſendus* granteth, when he ſaith [*Unum omnino ſupponere par eſt*, viz. *quantacunque fuit atomis mobilitas ingenita tanta conſtanter perſeverare*, ſo that, ſaith he, *they may be hindered from moving, but not from endeavouring to move and free themſelves from their reſtraint.* What need we more than this? or what more do we plead for? It is granted us then that when a moveable or active being is ſtopt from motion, it doth not thereby loſe its *mobile* or active nature or diſpoſition: And ſo, that it is not only *motion* that cauſeth motion; But that there is *in atomis mobilitas ingenita*, which continueth when the motion ceaſeth.

and all motion within our knowledge having ſuch conſtant impedition, that before this time we may think all things would have ſtood ſtill, if their opinion were true. If they ſay that the Sun or ſome ſuperior Movers renew the motion of things inferior, I grant it; But that it becauſe it hath a moving nature: For if they ſay, that the Sun it ſelf hath not the leaſt impedition to diminiſh the degrees of its motion, they ſpeak not only without any proof, but contrary to our obſervation of all things known, and to their own opinion, who make the Air impeditive to other motions, and the effluvia of other Globes to be impeditive to the Sun.

ceaſeth. You'l ſay perhaps, that he meaneth only a *paſſive receptivity* by which one thing is eaſier moved by an exterior cauſe than another. But you miſtake him: for he taketh not *mobilitas ingenita* only paſſively, but alſo actively, and therefore ſaith, that [*it endeavoureth to move and free it ſelf.*] And lib. 5. c. 2. he ſaith, [*Non motus ſed impetus, ab initio perſeverat; vel niſus perpetuus.*] which is as much as I deſire now. For then there is ſomewhat beſides *matter* and *motion*; even as *Impetus & Niſus*, which muſt alſo come from a *Power* which *per niſum & impetum* doth ſhew it ſelf.

And indeed, it doth not only overpaſs our Reaſon, but contradict it, that meer *ſubtilty* of matter, or *ſmallneſs* of particles, ſhould be all the cauſe of motion that is found in the matter it ſelf. Muſt we believe that an *Alcohol impalpabile* of Marble or Gold, if it could but be anatomized more, would be as moveable as fire; or would thereby turn to fire it ſelf: or as active as the Vital and Intellectual Creatures; yea turned to ſuch a thing it ſelf: If all matter was *Atomes* at firſt, then all was *fire*, and *all* was of *one kinde*, and equally moveable: And what hath made the difference ſince? And if you will feign that God made ſome parts Atomes, and ſome parts more groſs; or that he diſtinguiſhed matter *ab initio into Carteſius his materia ſubtilis, globuli ætherei*, and groſſer matter, why may not we better ſay, that the ſame Creator hath diſtinguiſhed matter by different *natures* and *powers*, which we finde them poſſeſſed of? And by what proof do you diſtinguiſh matter into thoſe three degrees, or ſorts, any more than into two, or four, or ſix, or ten, or ten hundred? who can chooſe but ſhake the head, to ſee wiſe Philoſophers thus impoſe upon the world? and at the ſame time ſay, It is the firſt duty of a man that would be wiſe, to believe no more than by evidence he is forced to? Yea, and at the ſame time to ſay, Theſe are but our Hypotheſes, which ſaith one, I acknowledge to be falſe, and ſaith another, I cannot ſay is true: and yet they are our foundation; and from theſe our Philoſophical Verities reſult; which muſt make you wiſe, who muſt believe nothing without proof. Alas, what is man!

And I would know whether they can prove againſt *Gaſſendus*,

ſendus, that *Impetus & Niſus vel conatus* is *ipſe motus?* when the heavieſt poiſe is at a Clock that ſtandeth ſtill, the poiſe doth not move; but it doth *niti vel conari*: Hold but a Weight of an hundred pounds of Lead in your hand, as immoveable as poſſible, I am of opinion you will feel that it doth *incline* to motion, though it move not. Is not this *inclination* then ſomewhat different from motion? If you tell me again of nothing but the inviſible tractive hooked atomes, I adviſe you to involve a thouſand pound of Lead in a ſufficient Caſe of Feathers, which it ſeems are charmed from the power or touch of atomes, and try then whether it be no heavier than the Feathers are? The ſame I may ſay of a Spring of Steel which is wound up in a ſtanding Watch, or other Engine. There is no proof of any motion: and yet there is a *Conatus* different from motion. You'l ſay perhaps that the particles in the Steel are all in motion, among themſelves: but when will you prove it? and prove alſo that they are ſo in the Lead or Rock that by Gravity inclineth to deſcent? and prove alſo that the particles are moved by an extrinſick mover only, and have no principle of motion in themſelves?

Moreover, what think you is the nature of all our *Habits?* Is there nothing in a *Habit* but actual motion? Suppoſe that you ſleep without a dream? or that a Lethargy intercept your intellectual motion? or that other buſineſs alienate your thoughts? Do you think that all your Learning is thereby obliterated? Or that you are after as unapt for your arts and trades as if you had never learnt them? Let a Muſician, an Aſtronomer, a Phyſician, try! whether they will not return more expert than an Ideot? what then is this *Habit?* It is not *actual motion* it ſelf? Elſe it would be totally extinct when the motion is but for an hour intercepted. If you ſay, that there is *other* motion in us ſtill, to renew it: I anſwer, why ſhould that other, (*e.g.* the motion of the Lungs or Heart, or the Circulation of the blood) make you an Artiſt the next morning, any more than your Neighbour, if that were all? You'l grant, I ſuppoſe, that a Habit is ſomewhat diſtinct from *Motion*, but it is the *Effect* of it only, and one of the *Phænomena* which we ſay that *matter* and *motion* are ſufficient for. To which

I anſwer, Do you deny that *a Habit* doth it ſelf conduce to *future motion*, or not? If not, it is no Habit: If yea, then as to *future actions* there is more than matter and motion needfull: and the Principles are more: And then what reaſon have you to contradict us, who finding ſome Principles in Nature which conduce to motion as much and more than Habits do, do aſſert ſuch Principles? And how know you that former motion proceedeth not from ſuch Natures, or Principles, when you confeſs that *later* motions do ſo? If you ſay that *Habits* are nothing but a *Curſus motuum*, as of water that by running in a certain Channell is inclined to run that way again: I anſwer, They are certainly ſomething that remain when the action ceaſeth; and therefore are an *Inclination ad agendum*, as well as a *curſus actionum*; And they are ſomething that are active Principles, and not only ſo many Channels which the Spirits have made themſelves in the brains and nerves: Otherwiſe the numberleſs variety of objects would ſo furrow and channel the brain that they would conſume it, (as *gutta cavat lapidem, &c.*)

6. And do you know what you oblige your ſelves to, when you undertake to ſolve all *phænomena* by *matter* and *motion* only? and how have you ſatisfied the ſtudious and impartial World herein? I hope you will not put off all queſtions that are put to you, with theſe ſame two general words only? when we ask you, what cauſeth the *deſcenſus gravium*, do not tell us, *It is matter and motion*: but tell us the differences in the *motion* or *matter* which cauſe this effect as different from others: What is the reaſon in *motion* that Fire aſcendeth? what is the reaſon that the *motus projectiorum* doth continue? why doth the Ant take one courſe, and the Bee another, and the Fly another, *&c.* what different motions are they that are the cauſe? what motion is it that cauſeth the Hen to ſit on her Eggs in faſting and patience, and to know her Chickens, and to cheriſh them till they are mature, and then beat them away? And ſo almoſt of all other Birds and Beaſts? What is the difference in motion that cauſeth one Creature to love this food, and another that; that one eateth Graſs, and another Fleſh? that every ſeed doth bring forth only its proper *ſpecies?* what are the differences in motion, which cauſe the difference

rence in odour, and taſte and virtue, and ſhape of leaves, and flowers, and fruits, *&c.* between all the Plants that cover the Earth? that all that come of one ſeed have an agreement in leaf, and flower, and fruit, and odour, and taſte, and virtue, *e.g.* Germander, Betony, Peony, *&c.* what are the different motions that cauſe all theſe differences? even in the very ſeeds themſelves? To tell us only in general that the difference is all made by *motion*, is to put an end to learning, and ſtudies, and to give one anſwer to all the queſtions in the world, and one deſcription of all beings in the world: You may as well tell us, that you ſalve all the *Phænomena*, to tell us, that all things are Entities, and made and moved by God. It is a fair advancement of Knowledge indeed, to caſt away and deny all the nobleſt parts of the world, and to tell us, that all the reſt is matter of various magnitude and figure, variouſly moved and placed. This is ſhort Philoſophy. And the particular ſpecifying differences, you do not, you cannot tell us, according to your Principles.

Gaſſendus, §. 1. *l.* 3. *c.* 2. denyeth the tranſmutation of Elements. Others of the Atomiſts tell us, that every Hour changeth the Elements, and that continual motion is continually turning one into another: And that Fire *e.g.* is but that part of matter which falleth under ſuch or ſuch a motion: And that the ſame matter which is Fire this moment while it moveth, is ſomething elſe the next when that motion ceaſeth: And that whatever matter falleth under the ſame motion, be it Stone or Earth, or any thing, it is preſently by that motion turn'd to Fire, as Fire may be into Stone or Earth. But that which we expect from them is, to tell us, *what motion* it is that maketh the different Elements? and what doth conſtitute them? and what tranſmuteth them, and not to put us off with two general words, when they boaſt of ſolving all the *Phænomena*.

We expect alſo to hear from them, how *Denſity* and *Solidity* come to be the effects of motion? And how the Coheſion of the particles of Gold or Marble, or Glew, is cauſed by the meer magnitude and figure of Matter, or by the motion of it, without any other material properties.

And they muſt give us a better account than they have yet done,

done, of the true cauſe of ſenſe in matter and motion. They know our argument, but I could never yet underſtand how they anſwer it. We ſay that *Nihil dat quod non habet, vel formaliter vel eminenter.* (All the objections againſt this *Maxim* they may find anſwered (beſides others) in *Campanella, de ſenſu rerum.*) *Atoms*, as *matter*, have no ſenſe: they ſmart not, they ſee not, they feel no *delight*, &c. *Formaliter* you will not imagine that they have ſenſe: and they cannot have it *eminenter*, being not above it, but below it; and ſhewing us nothing that doth tranſcend it, or is like it. And *motion* is no ſubſtance, but a mode of matter, and therefore hath it ſelf no ſenſe.

Object. *Doth not* Campanella, Teleſius, *&c. argue, that all things have ſenſe?*

Anſw. 1. Their fanaticiſms are no part of our Phyſical Creed. 2. They mean, when all is done, but this much, that there is ſome Image or Participation of Life in Inanimates, of Senſe in Vegetatives, of Reaſon in Senſitives,, and of Angelical Intellection in Rationals. 3. As it is ſaid in the *Myſtic. Ægypt. & Chald. Philoſ.* aſcribed to *Ariſtotle*, [*Et ſi quibuſdam videtur quod elementa habent Animam, illa eſt aliena adventitiaque eis. Cumque ſint viva, vita illis eſt accidentaria, non naturalis: alioquin forent inalterabilia.*] *l.* 12. *c.* 11. So the Stoicks deifi'd the fire, and made it Intellectual; but it was not as it is *matter*, but as they ſuppoſed it animated with an intellectual form. So many of the ancients thought, that the Angels were compounded of an *intellectual form* or *ſoul*, and of a *fiery* or *æthereal body*. But it is only the body that we are now enquiring of. Have *atoms* ſenſe? doth *matter feel* or *ſee* as ſuch?

Object. *We ſay not that all matter or atoms have ſenſe, but only ſome part of it, which by motion is ſubtilized.*

Anſw. Still *nihil dat quod non habet*; you grant then that *matter* as *ſuch* hath no ſenſe at all. Elſe the argument would hold *ad omnem*. And if it have none as *matter*, *motion* can give it none as *meer motion*; for motion hath not ſenſe to give. Let motion attenuate the matter, and ſubtilize it, it is but *matter* ſtill; and it can be no leſs than atoms. Therefore ſhew us how *materia ſubtilis*, or *atoms*, ſhould *feel* or *ſee*, becauſe of the *ſubtility* or *parvity*, and by its magnitude or groſs-

neſs loſe that ſenſe. Tell us *how* and *why* the change of meer magnitude and figure ſhould make a thing *feel* that felt not before. If you difference not *matter* by ſome *natural* difference of *forms*, or *properties* and *virtues*, you will never ſpeak ſenſe in proving ſenſe to be in *matter*, by meer atomizing it, or moving it. The alkohol of Marble feeleth no more than the ſolid ſtone; nor the air than the earth, for any proof that we have of it. The boys that whip their tops, and the women that turn their wheels ſo ſwiftly, that the motion ſhall not be diſcerned, yet put no feeling into either, though the motion be ſwifter than that of the heart, or lungs, or blood. What the learned Dr. *Ward* hath ſaid of this againſt Mr. *Hobs*, I refer you to peruſe, and excuſe me for tranſcribing it. *Scaliger*, *Sennertus*, and many others, have heretofore challenged theſe Philoſophers, to ſhew the world how *atoms* by *motion*, or elements by mixture, can get that ſenſe which neither *matter*, *motion* nor *mixture* have; but we can meet with no account of it yet worth the reading: not by *Carteſius*, not by *Regius* or *Berigardus*, not by *Gaſſendus*, nor any other that we can get and read. How unſatisfactory is it to tell us that *facultas ſentiendi & movendi, quæ anima ſenſitiva vulgo dicitur, eſt partium animalis in ſpiritus, nervos & alia ſenſoria, &c. talis attemperatio & conformatio, qua animal ab objectis variis motibus affici poteſt*; as *Regius*, *l.* 4. *c.* 3. *p.* 267. This is an eaſie ſolving of the Phænomena indeed. But *qualis eſt illa contemperatio? & quomodo poteſt contemperantia inſenſibilium, ſenſibile conſtituere? Nonne dat iſta contemperatio quod non habet?*

Sane ignis, aër, aqua, terra, ſuapte natura carent anima: & cuicunque horum adeſt anima, hoc vita utitur peregrina: Alia vero præter hæc nulla ſunt corpora. *Plotin. Enead.* 4. *l.* 7. *c.* 2. *p.* 457.

Perhaps you will ſay with him in *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* that by *this argument God muſt be a Fidler, becauſe he maketh men that are ſuch. Anſw.* By this argument no fidler, nor any other man, hath more wiſdom than God, or can do that which God cannot do: but becauſe God is *above* him in his skill, doth it follow that the names which ſignifie humane imperfection muſt be put on God? Can God enable a man to that which he is not *able* to do himſelf, and can he give that which he hath not to give?

Object. *None of the parts of a clock can tell the hour of the day, and yet all ſet together can: and none of the letters of a book are Philoſophy, and yet the whole may be a learned ſyſtem: and*

and no atoms in a Lute can make melody, as the whole can do.

Anſw. This is but to play with words. In all theſe inſtances the whole hath nothing of a higher kind in nature than the ſeveral parts, but only a compoſition by the contribution of each part. The clock telleth you nothing but *per modum ſigni*; and that *ſignum* is only in the *ſound*, or order of *motion*. And *ſound* and *motion* belongeth to the whole, by vertue or contribution of the parts, and is not another thing above them. And that the motion is ſo ordered, and that man can by it collect the time of the day, is from the power of our underſtandings, and not from the matter of the engine at all. So the book is no otherwiſe Philoſophy at all, but *per modum ſigni:* which *ſignum* is related to *mans underſtanding* both as the *cauſe* and *orderer*, and as the *receiver* and *apprehender*. So that the letters do nothing at all, but paſſively ſerve the mind of man. And ſo it is in the other inſtance: the ſtrings do but move the air, and cauſe the ſound which is in the ear: that this is *melody*, is cauſed only by the *mind* of man, who firſt *frameth*, and then *orderly moveth* them, and then *ſuo modo* receiveth the ſound, and maketh melody by the aptitude of his apprehenſion. If you had proved that Clock, or Book, or Lute do make themſelves, and order and uſe themſelves, and know the time, or underſtand or delight in themſelves, you had done ſomething. But by the deceitful names of *Philoſophy* and *Melody*, to confound the bare natural ſound and ſign, with that *ordering* and that *reception*, which is the priviledge of a *mind*, is unfit for a Philoſopher.

Moreover I expect from *Matter* and *Motion*, an account of *motions* great concomitants, that is, of *Light* and *Heat*. Miſtake me not, I am not undervaluing the effects of *motion*; I take it for a moſt noble and obſervable cauſe of moſt that is done or exiſtent in the corporeal world: but muſt it therefore be the *ſolitary* cauſe? I have long obſerved amongſt wranglers, and erroneous zealots in Divinity, that

Vid. Priſcian. in Theophraſt. *Proving that light is neither a Body nor a Quality*, c. 19. *But I find no ſatisfaction when he cometh to tell us what it is: Nor will I ſubſcribe to Ficinus, who (with other Platoniſts) ſaith,* [Cœleſte corpus primum luminis ſuſceptaculum incorporea vita & intelligentia regi à qua & Lumen habeat; cæteriſque tradat—— Si Lumen eſſe dicimus, Radios vitales cœleſtium oculorum in ſe vivacium, perque ejuſmodi radios cuncta videntium agentiumque videndo—non errabimus.]

most of their error and misdoing lieth in setting the necessary co-ordinate causes or parts of things as inconsistent in opposition to one another. It would make one ashamed to hear one plead, that Scripture must be proved by it self; and another, that it must be proved by reason; and another, that it must be by miracles; and another, by the Church; and another, by general History and Tradition, &c. As if every one of these were not necessary concurrent parts in the proof. Such work have we among poor deluded women and ignorant men, while the *Romanists* say, that they are the true Church; and the *Greeks* say, it is they; and the *Lutherans* say, it is they; and the *Anabaptists* say, it is they: as if my neighbours and I should contend, which of our houses it is that is the Town. And so do these Philosophers about the Principles and Elements. The *Intellectual nature*, which is the Image of God, hath notoriously *three* faculties, *Understanding*, *Will* and *Executive Power*; and men think that they cannot understand the one, without denying the other two: and the *fiery* nature which constituteth the Sun and other Luminaries, (and is the *image* of the *vital nature*) hath three notorious powers or properties, *Light*, *Heat* and *Motion*; and they cannot understand *Motion*, without making nothing of *Light* and *Heat*, or greatly obscuring and abusing them. Cull out into one, and set together, but what *Patricius* hath said of *Light*, and what *Telesius* hath said of *Heat*, (and *Campanella* after him) and what *Gassendus* and *Cartesius* have said of *Motion*, and cut off all their superfluities, and you will have a better entrance into sound Philosophy, than any one book that I know doth afford you*. I confess, that as *wisdom* must lead the *will*, and determine its

*Leg. Le Grand. Disfert. in Epicur. Philos. ad Gassend. & de communi rerum vivendi ratione ad Campanel. & de nominibus Dei soli attributis; *In which he taketh Atoms or indivisible particles for the first real passive matter, antecedent to the distinction of Elements*: but Fire (*called also* Spiritus Æthereus & Natura) *to be of a higher elevation, the Active informer, disposer and moderator of all matter*: *and* animated Fire, (*that is, the* Sun *and its emanations*) *to be the life and Ruler of the material world*: *And that this was the sense of almost all the old Philosophers*: *And that by their numerous names of* God, *they meant the* same thing, *as diversly operating*; *that is, the* Sun, Fire *or* Æther, (*which they took to be animated intellectuals*) *as considered in its various respects to mortals.*

Ut docet *Hermes*, Mens generalis habet pro corpore Ignem, & quasi Igne stipatur & circum vestitur νοῦς ἐξ ὑλικοῦ ἔχει σῶμα τὸ πῦρ; semper enim & necessario Ignis Æthereus & Mens Universalis sibi invicem comites assident; amboque ita affines nihil constituunt aliud quàm spiritum Igneum, Æthereum, lucidam, cœlestem, & divinum, tenebrosam hanc & informem immanis materiei abyssum complentem, illustrantem & animantem. *Idem ad Campanel. pag.* 80.

Vide quæ ex Mercur. Pimand. citat. pag. 79.

its

its acts *quoad specificationem*, and the *will* must set a work the same *intellect*, and determine its acts *quoad exercitium*; and the *active power* doth partly work *ad intra* in the operations of both these, and *ad extra* is excited by the *imperium* of the will; so that these *three faculties* (as *Schibler*, *Alsted*, and many others truly number them) are marvellously conjunct and co operative: Even so it is in the *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat* of the *active element*, or fiery or æthereal nature. I know motion contributeth to *light* and *heat*; but it's as true that *light* and *heat* have their proper, coequal and co-ordinate properties and effects, and that heat contributeth as much to *motion* at least, as motion doth to *heat*: indeed in one essence they are three coequal *vertues* or *faculties*, the *Vis Motiva*, *Illuminativa & Calefactiva*. And so vain is their labour, who only from *matter* and *motion* give us an account of *light* and *heat*, that I find no need nor willingness to be at the labour of confuting them. Call but for their proofs, and you have confuted them all at once.

And if no better a solution be given us of the nature of *Light* and *Heat*, what shall we expect from them about *Intellection* and *Volition*? do *atoms understand* or *will*? or doth *motion understand* or *will*? If not, (as sure they do not as such) then tell us how that which hath no participation of *understanding* or *will* should constitute an agent that doth *understand* and *will*? Set to this work as Philosophers, and make it intelligible to us if you are in good earnest.

7. But to proceed a little further with you, I take it for granted, that you confess that an *intellectual incorporeal being there is*, while you confess a *God*: and that this sort of being is more excellent than that which is corporeal, sensible and gross. I would next ask you, Do you take it for *possible* or *impossible* that God should make any secondary Beings, which are *incorporeal* and *intellectual* also? If you say, *It is impossible*, give us your proof. If *possible*, I next ask you whether it be not *most probable* also? You acknowledge what a spot or punctum in the world this earthly Globe is: you see here that *man*, whose flesh must rot and turn to dust, hath the power of Intellection and Volition: you look up to the more vast and glorious Regions and Globes, and I am confident you think not that only this spot of earth is inhabited.

Saith a new Philosopher himself, Ex speculis ustoriis certum est, calorem a sole ereari intensissimum, non acceleratione motus, sed coalitione radiorum.

Lumen species est inter omnes species sensibiles præ cæteris intellectualem speciem repræsentans: & in Intellectu est per causam; in cœlo per formæ plenitudinem; in igne per plenitudinem participationis; hinc derivatur in portiones. *Ficin. in Theophrast. de Anim. c.* 44.

Non ergo levitas & gravitas cauſæ primi motus ſunt, ſed qualitates ſunt elementorum; ſed tamen ut etiam hoc detur, quomodo ratiocinari, opinari, judicare, gravitatis & levitatis opera eſſe poſſunt; ſi non ſunt gravitatis & levitatis opera, neque elementorum ſunt: ſi non elementorum, neque certe corporum. *Nemeſius de An. c. 2. p. 484.*

inhabited. And ſurely you think that the glory of the inhabitants, is like to be anſwerable to the glory of their habitations. You make your Atoms to be inviſible, and ſo you do the Air and Winds; when yet our earth and dirt is viſible. Therefore you take not craſſitude, nor viſibility or ſenſibility, to have the preeminence in excellency. Judge then your ſelves whether it be not likely that God hath innumerable more noble and excellent creatures, than we ſilly men are? And will you reduce all their *unknown perfections*, or their known *intelligence* to *matter* and *motion* only?

Moreover, when you obſerve the wonderful variety of things, in which God is pleaſed to take his delight, what ground have we to imagine that he hath no greater variety of ſubſtances, but corporeal only? nor no other way of *cauſation* but by *motion?* when no man can deny, but he could otherwiſe cauſe the variety which we ſee, and fix in the creatures *ab origine* their differing natures, properties and vertues; what reaſon then have you to ſay that he *did not do ſo?*

And can you believe that the goodneſs of that God, who hath made this wonderful frame which we ſee, would not appear in making ſome creatures liker and nearer to himſelf, than *matter* and *motion* is?

But to talk no more of *probabilities* to you, we have certain proof that man is an *intellectual free agent*, whoſe ſoul you can never prove to be corporeal, and whoſe power of *intellection* and *volition* is diſtinct from corporal motion. And we have proof that there are ſuperiour *Intelligences* more noble than we, by the operations which they have exerciſed upon things below.

And what ſhould move you (who ſeem not to be overmuch Divine, and who ſeem to obſerve the order and harmony of the creatures) to imagine, that God doth himſelf alone, without any inſtrument or ſecond cauſe, *move* all the corporeal matter of the world? If you are ſerious in believing that God *himſelf* doth move and govern all, why do you queſtion, whether he make uſe of any nobler natures next him, to move things corporeal. And why do you againſt your own inclinations, make every action to be done by

by God alone? I doubt not but he doth all: but you ſee that he chooſeth to communicate honour and agency to his creatures. He uſeth the Sun to move things on earth. Therefore if you believe that corporeal beings ſtand at ſo infinite a diſtance from his perfections, you may eaſily judge that he hath ſome more noble; and that the nobleſt are the moſt potent and active, and rule the more ignoble: as you ſee the nobler bodies (as the Sun) to have power upon the more ignoble. Therefore to violate the harmony of God's works, and to deny all the ſteps of the ladder ſave the loweſt, is but an unhappy ſolving of Phænomena.

Nay, mark what you grant us: you confeſs God to have *Power*, *Wiſdom* and *Will*, and that he is incorporeal, and moveth all: and you confeſs that man hath in his kind *Power*, *Underſtanding* and *Will*; and is there any thing below that's liker God? If not, do you not allow us to take theſe facultics for *incorporeal?* and that thoſe are ſo that are higher than we?

8. And you ſeem to us by your Philoſophy to write of Nature, as the Atheiſt writeth of God; inſtead of explaining it, you deny it. What is *Nature* but the *principium motus & quietis? &c.* * And you deny all ſuch *principia*, and ſubſtitute only former *motion*: ſo that you leave no other *nature* but what a ſtone receiveth from the hand that caſteth it, or the childrens tops from the ſcourge which driveth them: or rather every turn is a nature to the next turn; and ſo the *nature* of things is moſtly out of themſelves in the extrinſick mover.

* So Lipſtorpius *in his* Specim. Philoſ. Carteſ. Deus in principio mundi materiam ſimul cum motu & quiete creavit—Unde communiſſima naturæ lex, &c. *vid.* pag. 37, 38. *So that* Nature *with the* Carteſians *is nothing at all, but God's firſt moving act at the creation: as if he cauſed motion, without any moving created principle: and as if* ſpirits *and* fire *had no more moving a* nature *or* principle *than clay; but only that* their matter *was either in the creation more moved by God, or ſince by a knock from ſome other mover, put into motion, by which accidental motion clay or water may be made* fire.

Leg. Petr. Mouſnerii, lib. de Impetu, & lib. 2. de motu naturali: *Where the nature of Motion is more exactly handled than by the* Epicureans *or* Carteſians; *though too little is ſaid* de vi moventis, *in compariſon of what is ſaid* de impetu mobilis. Leg. l. 2. pag. 76, 77, &c. de cauſa intrinſeca motus localis naturalis. Et pag. 78. *his ſeven Reaſons againſt* Gallendus *his doctrine of Gravitation by the traction of Atoms; and his confutation of all the extrinſick cauſes, viz.* Cauſa primaſola, aër, tetra: vis magnetica (vel per qualitatem diffuſam, vel per vim ſympathicam, vel tractionem filamentorum) virtus cœli pellens, detruſio per lucem, & generans (*And as eaſily may the* Carteſian *reaſon be confuted, which* Lipſtorpius *ſo magniſieth:*) *and the* Impetus innatus *is the reaſon which he aſſigneth*, pag. 80, 81, &c.

Vid. exceptiones Jo. Bap. du Hamel contra Carteſ. in conciliat. pag. 148, 151, 170, 209, 210.

And

And so you level all things in the world: you deny all specifick forms, or natural faculties and virtues. The Sun and a clod have no natural difference, but only *magnitude*, and *figure*, and *motion*: as if so noble a creature had no differencing peculiar nature of its own, nor any natural power or principle of its own motion, and so it moved but as a stone is moved.

Yea, you make all motion to be violent, and deny all proper natural motion at all: for that which hath no active principle of motion in its nature, hath no proper natural motion as distinct from violent.

Hereby also you deny all *vital powers*: you make a living creature and a dead to differ but in the manner of motion; (which whether you can at all explain, we know not) why may not the arrow which I shoot, or the watch which I wind up, be said to live as well as you? It hath matter and motion; and some inanimates (the Air and Fire) perhaps have as subtil matter and as speedy motion, as is in you. Why doth not the wind make the air alive, and the bellows the fire? In a word, you deny all Intelligences, all Souls, all Lives, all Natures, all active Qualities and Forms; all Powers, Faculties, Inclinations, Habits and Dispositions, that are any principles of motion: and so all the natural excellency and difference of any creature above the rest. A short way of solving the Phænomena.

Lastly, with *Nature* you deny the being of *Morality*. For if there be no difference of Beings, but in quantity, figure, motion and site; and all motion is Locomotion, which moveth by natural necessitating force, than a man moveth as a stone, because it is irresistibly moved, and hath no power to forbear any act which it performeth, or to do it otherwise than it doth. For if there be no *power*, *habits* or *dispositions*, antecedent to motion, but *motion* it self is all, then there is one and the same account to be given of all actions, good and bad, I did it because I was irresistibly moved to it, and could no more do otherwise than my pen can choose to write. There is then no virtue or vice, no place for Laws and moral Government, further than they may be tacklings in the engine which necessitateth: whatsoever is done amiss, is as much imputable to God the first mover, as that which is done well. If you shoot an arrow which killeth your friend, the arrow could not hinder it: if you make or set your watch amiss, though one motion causeth another, yet the errour of all is resolved into the defect of the first cause. They that killed *Henry* the 3. and *Henry* the 4. Kings of *France*, may say, that as the knife could not resist the motion of their hand, so neither could they the motion of the superiour cause that moved them, and so on to the first. No Traitors or Rebels can resist the power which acteth them therein, any more than the dust can resist the wind which stirreth it up. And so you see what cometh of all the Government of God and Man, and of all Laws and Judgments, Justice and Injustice, Right and Wrong. And how little cause you have to be angry with the Thief that robbeth you, or the man that cudgelleth you, any more than with the staff. But of this I refer you to the foresaid writing of Bishop *Bromhal* against Mr. *Hobs*, allowing you to make the most you can of his Reply.

We are certain by the *operations* of things, that there is a difference in their *natural powers* and *virtues*, and not only in their quantity, figure and motion. God hath not made only homogeneal undifferenced matter: there are plainly now exceeding diversities of natural excellencies, virtues and qualities in the things we see. And he that will say that by motion only God made this difference at first, doth but presumptuously speak without book, without all proof to make it credible, and taketh on him to know that which he knoweth that he knoweth not. Is not the *virtue* and *goodness* of things as laudable, as their quantity and motion? Why then should we imagine so vast a disproportion in the image of God upon his works, as to acknowledge the *magnitude* and *motion* incomprehensible, and to think that in *virtue* and *goodness* of *nature* they are all alike, and none is more noble or more like himself than a clod of earth? We see that the *natures* of all things are suited to their several uses. *Operari sequitur esse*, Things act as they *are*. There is somewhat in the *nature* of a bird, or beast, or plant, which is their fitness to their various motions. If only motion made that fire to day, which yesterday was but a stone, why doth not the strongest wind so much as warm us? or why doth it

it ſo much cool us? Why doth not the ſnow make us as warm as a fleece of wool? the wool doth move no more than the ſnow, and the matter of it appeareth to be no more ſubtil. Indeed *man* can give to none of *his works* a *nature*, a *life* or *virtue*, for the operation which he deſireth. He can but alter the magnitude, and figure, and motion of things, and compound and mix them, and conjoyn them: and theſe *Epicureans* ſeem to judge of the works of God by mans. But he who is *Being*, *Life* and *Intelligence*, doth accordingly animate his noble Engines, and give them *natures* and *vertues* for their operations; and not only make uſe of *matter* and *weight* where he findeth it, as our Mechanicks themſelves can do. Debaſing all the nobleſt of Gods works, is unbeſeeming a true Philoſopher, who ſhould ſearch out the *virtues* and *goodneſs*, as well as the *greatneſs* of them.

But I have been longer in anſwering this firſt Objection, than I can afford to be about the reſt, unleſs I would make a Book of this, which I call but the Concluſion. I will adde but this one thing more; That in caſe it were granted the *Epicureans*, that the ſoul is *material*, it will be no diſproving of its immortality, nor invalidate any of my former arguments for a life of retribution after this. To which purpoſe conſider theſe things.

1. That where *matter* is ſimple and not compounded, it hath no tendency to corruption. Object. *Matter is diviſible, and therefore corruptible, how ſimple ſoever. Anſw.* It is ſuch as *may* be divided, if God pleaſe, and ſo the ſoul is ſuch as God *can* deſtroy. But we ſee that all parts of matter have a wonderful tendency to *unity*, and have a tendency to a *motus aggregativus* if you ſeparate them. Earth inclineth to earth, and water to water, and air to air, and fire to fire. 2. All Philoſophers agree to what I ſay, who hold that *matter* is eternal, either *à parte ante*, or *à parte poſt*. For if *matter* be *eternal*, the *ſoul's materiality* may conſiſt with its *eternity*. 3. Yea all without exception do agree, that there is no *annihilation* of *matter* when there is a diſſolution. Therefore if the ſoul be a ſimple uncompounded being, though *material*, it will remain the ſame. This therefore is to be ſet down as granted us, by all the Infidels and Atheiſts in the world, that *man's ſoul*, what ever it is, *is not annihilated when*

when he dieth, if it be any kind of ſubſtance material or immaterial. And they that call his *temperament* his ſoul, do all acknowledge, that there is in the compoſition ſome one predominant principle, more active or noble than the reſt; and of the duration of this it is that we enquire, which no man doth deny, though ſome deny it to be *immaterial*. But this will be further opened under the reſt of the Objections. The reaſons of my many words in anſwering this Objection, I give you in the words of a late learned Conciliator, *Philoſophiæ Platonicæ explicationi diutius immorati ſumus, quod res maximas & cognitione digniſſimas complectatur. Habet id quoque præ cæteris, quod ad æternas & primitivas rationes mentem erigat, eamque à fluxis & perituris rebus advocatam, ad eas quæ ſola intelligentia percipiuntur convertat. Quæ quidem in re infinitum prope momentum eſt: Nam obruimur turbâ Philoſophorum, qui nimis fidunt ſenſibus, & nihil præter corpora intelligi poſſe contendunt. Atque ut mihi videtur, nulla pernicioſior peſtis in vitam humanam poteſt invadere, nihil quod magis religioni adverſetur.* Joh. Bapt. du Hamel. in Conſenſ. veteris & novæ Philoſ. Præfat.

OBJECTION II.

BY Senſe, Imagination, Cogitation, Reaſon, you cannot prove the Soul to be incorporeal, becauſe the Bruits partake of theſe; whoſe Souls are material and mortal.

Anſw. 1. It is eaſie for men, that ſet themſelves to ſay all they can, either with Mr. *Chambre* to extol the bruits as rational, or with *Gaſſendus* to talk of the whiſpers and conſultations of the Ants, or with *Teleſius* and *Campanella* to ſay that every thing hath ſenſe; or on the other hand with *Carteſius*, to deny all to a bruit which belongeth not to an engine. But our converſe with them doth teach all men to judge of their natures, as between both theſe extremes, unleſs by ſtudy and learning they learn to know leſs than they did before, and do but ſtudy to corrupt their underſtandings, and obliterate things that are commonly known. I doubt not but the Minerals have ſomething *like life*, and

the Vegetatives have ſomething *like* to *ſenſe*, and the Senſitives have ſomething *like* to *reaſon:* but it doth not follow that therefore it is the *ſame*. But this is ſo copiouſly written of by very many, that I ſuperſede my further labour about it.

2. If it were ſo, that the *apprehenſions* of a bruit might be called *Reaſon* or *Intellection*, yet the difference betwixt it and humane *Intellection* is ſo great, as may eaſily prove to thoſe that have their reaſons in free uſe, that they are ſeveral ſpecies of creatures, made for ſeveral uſes and ends. And none of the twenty Arguments which I uſed, are at all debilitated by this. If a bird have reaſon to build her neſt, and to feed her young, yet ſhe hath none to build Cities and Caſtles, nor to uſe Navigation, nor any of the Arts: much leſs to ſet up Government by Laws, and to write Syſtems of Philoſophy and other Sciences; and leaſt of all to enquire after God, the cauſe of all things, or to hope for bleſſedneſs in another life, or to eſcape a future miſery, or to be ruled in this life by the intereſt of another. Beaſts think not of God, nor of loving him, ſeeking him, pleaſing him or enjoying him, or of being judged by him. I know the perverſe wrangler will ask me, How I know this? And I can anſwer him no better than thus: As I know that a Stone doth not ſee or feel, or that my Paper doth not talk; becauſe they *manifeſt* no ſuch thing: And theſe are all operations which they that exerciſe, are apt to manifeſt; and things that in their nature are unapt to be long hid. *Campanella*, who hath written *de ſenſu rerum*, to prove Bruits Rational, and Plants ſenſible, hath yet in his *Atheiſmus Triumphatus* written more for the excellency of humane nature and the Souls immortality; than any Infidel can ſoundly anſwer.

See Sir W. Rawleigh *Hiſt. l.* 1, *of Fire; making it certainly a thing unknown, and probably* quiddam medium *between things corporeal and incorporeal.*

3. And how prove you, that the Souls of Bruits exiſt not, after death? Of their Individuation we ſhall ſay more anon. But there is no part of their ſubſtance annihilated as you will confeſs: Nor any part of it abaſed below the ſame nature which it had in the compoſition: Only the conſtituting parts are ſeparated, retaining their ſeveral natures ſtill. All men that confeſs that Bruits are ſenſible, do confeſs that there is ſome one predominant part in their compoſition which is the principal cauſe of ſenſe: whether it be the fineſt Atomes,

Atomes, or the *materia ſubtilis* or *globuli cœleſtes*, or Elementary *Fire*, or *Ariſtotles quinteſſence* analogous to the cœleſtial Starry ſubſtance, or yet an incorporeal ſoul: whatever it is, it is not annihilated, nor the nature of the ſimple eſſence deſtroyed.

4. And here let me venture to tell you once for all, that I never found cauſe to believe that any mortal man, † is ſo well acquainted with the true difference between a *Corporeal* and an *Incorporeal* ſubſtance, as to tell us certainly wherein it doth conſiſt; and to lay the ſtreſs of this Controverſie upon that difference. I know what is ſaid of *Moles & extenſio, & partes extra partes*; of *diviſibility* and *impenetrability*; and ſo on the contrary ſide. But how much of this is ſpoken in the dark? Are you certain that no true matter is penetrable? (If you ſay, that which is ſo, we call not *Matter*, and ſo make the Controverſie *de nomine* only intelligible, I muſt paſs it by.) And are you ſure that no *matter* is *indiviſible?* And that no ſpiritual incorporeal ſubſtance is quantitative, extended, or diviſible? It now goeth for current that *Light* is a *Body*: And *Patricius* that ſo judgeth, doth take it to be indiviſible *in longitudine radiorum*, and to be penetrable; and that it can penetrate other bodies. And it's hard to be ſure that Diaphanous bodies are not penetrated by Light. I know *Gaſſendus* and others think that it paſſeth but through the pores of the Glaſs or Chryſtal: But I have heard of no Engyſcope that hath perceived pores in Glaſs. In Cloth they are certainly diſcernable, and large, and numerous, when yet the Light doth not penetrate it as it doth the Glaſs: *Gaſſendus* ſaith, the reaſon is, becauſe the pores of the Glaſs and other diaphanous bodies, are all one way, ſo that the Light is not intercepted by their irregularity: And he giveth us a proof of his opinion, becauſe that if you ſet white Papers on each ſide the Glaſs, there will be umbels on one ſide, and light reflected on the other. I

† *Hence it is that the wiſeſt Philoſophers differ in this point, whether any proper matter be found in the Soul of man.* Micrælius Ethnoph. l. 1, c. 13. p. 23, 24. *hath inſtanced in many that are for ſome materiality.* Eam ſententiam inter veteres probavit apud Macrobium, Heraclitus Phyſicus, cui anima eſt eſſentiæ Stellaris ſcintilla: & Hipparchus apud Plinium cui eſt cœli pars: Et Africanus apud Ciceronem, qui detrahit animum ex illis ſempiternis ignibus, quæ ſydera vocamus; quæq; globoſæ & rotundæ divinis animatæ mentibus circulos ſuos orbeſq; conficiunt celeritate mirabili: & *Seneca*, qui deſcendiſſe eam ex illo cœleſti Spiritu ait, & Plato ipſe, qui alicubi animam

vocat ἀυγοειδὲς ὄχημα, radians & ſplendidum vehiculum: Et Epicterus qui aſtra vocat nobis φίλα καὶ συγγενῆ ζῶια, amica & cognata Elementa: ipſeq; cum Peripateticis Ariſtoteles, qui eam quinta eſſentia conſtare & ἀνάλογον τῷ πέμπτῳ σώματι, in animabus ineſſe dicit. Inter noſtrates Scaliger quoq; vocat animam naturam cœleſtem, & quintam eſſentiam alia quidem a quatuor Elementis natura præditum, ſed non ſine omni materia. Eadem opinio arridet Roberto de Fluctibus, *&c.*

Lege rationes Carpentarii in Dec. 1. Exerc. 7. contra porositatem diaphanorum.

Dicit Plato universæ naturæ animam porrectam esse a centro orbis terræ usq; ad extremas oras cœli: Non ut *locum* ista notet porrectio, sed *extensionis quendam modum*, quem Mens & Ratio assequatur. *Nemes. de Anim. c. 2. pag.* 487.

have oft tried, and see indeed abundance of such umbels: But I as plainly see that they all answer the Squilts or sanded faults that are in the Glass (the bigger sort of which are all as visible as the shades). And surely all the rest of the Glass is not *pores*, or nothing! And if the pores lie all one way, how cometh it to pass, that a Glass of water, or a Ball of Chrystal is equally perspicuous *every way*. Look which way you will it is all alike: Therefore it must be every way equally porous. But I would know whether we have any atomes smaller than the body of Light, which thus penetrateth the Glass and Chrystal? I think they all make it the most subtile matter: And yet *Gassendus* thinketh that they are *Bodies* (and such as have their *hamuli* too) which flow from the Load-stone to the Iron: And if so, then those Bodies must be more penetrating than Light: For they will pass through a brick wall, and operate by their attraction on the other side, where no light can pass. And whether the Air be penetrable by Light, is scarce well cleared or understood. They that think there is no *Vacuum* I think (with *Gassendus*) can never prove that there can be any motion, unless the Air or some bodies are penetrable. Let them talk of a Circulation with *Cartesius* as long as they will, some body must *cedere* before the next can move: And no one can give way till the motion or cession begin at the utmost part of the coporeal world. My understanding is past doubt that there must be an *inane* or a *penetration*. And yet on the other side, I am satisfied that Entity is the first excellency, and that *something* is better than *nothing*. And therefore if Rarity be only by the *multitude* and greatness of interspersed *Vacuities*, and the rarity and subtilty of matter be but the scantness or smallness of its quantity in that space, then it would be but next kin to annihilation, and the rarest and most subtile matter would be *cæteris paribus* the basest, as being next to nothing. For instance, Sir *Kenelme Digby* telleth *Gassendus* from two accurate Computers, that Gold in the same space is seven thousand six hundred times heavier than Air: so that Air is in the same space seven thousand six hundred times neerer to nothing than Gold is; and the whole Air betwixt us and the Heavens hath interspaces that are vacuous, to the same proportion of 7600 to one: And

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to divide just in the midst: Another with *Gassendus* thinketh, that it's unlike to be true, that every part should be as much or more than the whole, and a point as much as all the Universe: And that if a point may be divided into infinite parts it is infinite in magnitude, and therefore bigger than the World: And is it any marvell, if *Indivisibility* then be an unfit property to know a Spirit by, when they are not agreed about it as to Bodies? Certain it is, that there is a *true Individuation* of Souls, and so a *numeral division* of them. That which is *your Soul*, is not your *Neighbours*. And it is certain, that created Spirits are not *infinite* as to extent. And what *Division* God can make upon them, is more than I can tell.

Scotus thinketh, that the subject of Physicks is not *Corpus naturale* but *substantia naturalis*; and so that Angels are moved *motu physico*. *Scaliger*, *Schibler*, &c. say, that Angels have *extension* and *figure*, that is, *extension entitative* distinct from *extension quantitative*. vid. Scalig. Exercit. 359. §. 4. The *termini essendi*, saith *Schibler*, being no other than are signified *per inceptionem, seu dependentiam ab alio & desitionem*: and that no Creature is *immense*, but hath *finitum adessendi* according to which it is *determinate* to a certain space. He saith, that Angels are finite, 1. *Essentia*, 2. *Numero*, 3. *Potestate*, 4. *Quantitate*, h. e. *non esse immensos*. And that they are *in spatio intelligibili*. He saith also Exerc. 307. *Unum primum est: alia dependent igitur. Ergo sua natura omnia præter unum sunt corruptibilia. Tametsi sunt Entia absoluta à subjecto & termino, non sunt absoluta à Causa.*

Damascene saith, de Orthod. fid. l. 2. *That God only is a Spirit by nature, but other things may be Spirits by indulgence and grace.*

† In Ficinus *his collections*, lib. de dæmonib.

The doctrine of *Psellus* † is too gross, and largely delivered by himself.

Eugubinus, *Niphus*, and *Vorstius*, were of the same minde, that Angels were Corporeal.

Augustine himself saith, that *Anima respectu incorporei Dei corporea est*: de Spir. & anim. c. 8.

Cæsarius in Dialog. 1. *p.* 573. B. P. saith, Ἀσώματοι μὲν οἱ ἀγγελοι καθ' ἡμᾶς σῶμα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς ἄυλος, ἢ πῦρ, ἢ κάπνος, ἢ ἀήρ. σώματα γὰρ ὑπάρχουσι λεπτὰ καὶ ἀυλα ἀξιῶ τῆς ὑμιν ἰμερίας καχύτητος. And he applyeth to them the Apostles words, *There are Bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial.*

Arnobius is a little too gross herein, and almost all the Ancients, especially the *Greeks*, that speak of that subject, take Angels for more subtile purer Bodies.

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And abundance of our writers of Physicks, Metaphysicks and Logick, do tell us, that Angels have *Materiam metaphysicam*, and in a certain sense may be called *corporeal*. And the summ of all is, when they determine the questions about their *locality*, *extension* or *quantity*, that they have their *ubi*, their

to divide just in the midst: Another with *Gassendus* thinketh, that it's unlike to be true, that every part should be as much or more than the whole, and a point as much as all the Universe: And that if a point may be divided into infinite parts it is infinite in magnitude, and therefore bigger than the World: And is it any marvell, if *Indivisibility* then be an unfit property to know a Spirit by, when they are not agreed about it as to Bodies? Certain it is, that there is a *true Individuation* of Souls, and so a *numeral division* of them. That which is *your Soul*, is not your *Neighbours*. And it is certain, that created Spirits are not *infinite* as to extent. And what *Division* God can make upon them, is more than I can tell.

Scotus thinketh, that the subject of Physicks is not *Corpus naturale* but *substantia naturalis*; and so that Angels are moved *motu physico*. *Scaliger*, *Schibler*, &c. say, that Angels have *extension* and *figure*, that is, *extension entitative* distinct from *extension quantitative*. vid. Scalig. Exercit. 359. §. 4. The *termini essendi*, saith *Schibler*, being no other than are signified *per inceptionem, seu dependentiam ab alio & desitionem*: and that no Creature is *immense*, but hath *finitas adessendi* according to which it is *determinate* to a certain space. He saith, that Angels are finite, 1. *Essentia*, 2. *Numero*, 3. *Potestate*, 4. *Quantitate*, h. e. *non esse immensos*. And that they are *in spatio intelligibili*. He saith also Exerc. 307. *Unum primum est: alia dependent igitur. Ergo sua natura omnia præter unum sunt corruptibilia. Tametsi sunt Entia absoluta à subjecto & termino, non sunt absoluta à Causa.*

Damascene saith, de Orthod. fid. l. 2. *That God only is a Spirit by nature, but other things may be Spirits by indulgence and grace.*

† In Ficinus *his collections*, lib. de dæmonib.

The doctrine of *Psellus* † is too gross, and largely delivered by himself.

Eugubinus, *Niphus*, and *Vorstius*, were of the same minde, that Angels were Corporeal.

Augustine himself saith, that *Anima respectu incorporei Dei corporea est*: de Spir. & anim. c. 8.

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their quantity and *extenſion* (which are the properties of *bodies*) *ſuo modo*, *vel modo metaphyſico*, as *bodies* have them *modo ſuo phyſico*; being not immenſe or infinite no more than bodies. (How far the name of Nature belongeth to them, ſee *Fortunius Licetus de natura primo-movente.*) And *Schibler* with others, maketh the difference of extenſion to be this, that Angels *can contract their whole ſubſtance into one part of ſpace, and therefore have not partes extra partes.* Whereupon it is that the Schoolmen have queſtioned how many Angels may ſit upon the point of a Needle?

For my part I profeſs, that as my underſtanding is fully ſatisfied by the operations and effects, that there are ſuch inviſible potent ſubſtances, which we call *Angels* and *Spirits*, ſo it is utterly unſatisfied in the common properties of *Penetrability* and *Impenetrability*, *Extenſion*, or *diſcerptibility*, and *indiſcerptibility* or *indiviſibility*, as the Characters to know them by. And as I think that *Materia* had been as fit a name as another, for that part or notion of ſpiritual ſubſtances which is diſtinguiſhed from their *form*, if Cuſtom had ſo pleaſed to uſe it; ſo I think that ſuch Subſtances as we call *Spirits* or *immaterial*, may be well ſaid to be compounded of *Metaphyſical* or *ſpiritual matter* and *form*, and this in conſiſtency with ſuch ſimplicity as belongeth to a Creature. And I remember not what apt word we have inſtead of *matter* to ſupply its place in Latine, which taketh not in the notion of the *Form*: For the word *Matter* ſignifieth no real Being, but only a partial inadequate Conception of Real Beings *quoad hoc*, which have all ſomething more which is eſſential to them. There is no ſuch thing exiſtent as matter without form or peculiar nature. And the *matter* and *form* are ſuch *partes intelligibiles* as can neither of them exiſt alone. Therefore as it is not fit to make too eager a Controverſie *de nomine materiæ, vel materialis*; ſo I think that it is little that we know of any *ſubſtances* at all, but what their accidents and effects reveal. Matter we know by the quantity, figure, colour, heat or cold, denſity or rarity, hardneſs or ſoftneſs, levity or weight, *&c.* And *forms*, or *differencing natures* we know by their *operations*: But that either *matter* or *form* is known to us immediately by it ſelf, and is the *objectum*

jectum ſenſus per ſe & immediatè, I cannot ſay by any obſerved experience of mine own.

Would you have me to go further yet? I ſhall then adventure to ſay, That as I feel no ſatisfying notion to difference the higheſt ſimple Being called Material, from the loweſt next it called *Immaterial*, but what is in and from the *forms*; ſo I think that it is too ſlippery a ground for any man to ſatisfie himſelf or others by, to ſay only that one is material and the other immaterial. *Matter* as I ſaid being but a *pars intelligibilis* or inadequate conception of a thing, is not to be a *Genus* in any predicament. And if *ſubſtance* expreſs the adequate *conception*, it muſt comprehend ſomething anſwerable to *Matter*, with that *differencing nature* called the *form*. And what name beſides *matter* to give to that part of the conception of a ſubſtance, which is contradiſtinct from the form, Philoſophers are yet but little agreed in: ſome name there muſt be when we ſpeak of any *created ſubſtances*: For the name of *ſubſtance* muſt not confound theſe diſtinct Conceptions: Therefore *materia metaphyſica vel ſpiritualis* is the term, that hitherto men are fain to uſe.

Moreover, it is the *form* that doth *difference* and *denominate*. How then can you ſufficiently difference *corporeal* and *incorporeal* from the *material* Cauſe, by calling one *Phyſical* and the other *Hyperphyſical*, or *Metaphyſical*? Doth any mans underſtanding perceive the true poſitive difference by theſe words? Is *Matter* as oppoſed to *Nihil reale*, and is *Ens creatum*, (or as it expreſſeth our half-conception both of *corporeal* and *incorporeal ſubſtances*) differenced ſo diſcernably or *toto genere*, *vel tota ſpecie*, without a *form* to make the difference? Doth *mole immunis & mole prædita* ſpeak a *formal* difference or not? If not, what place hath it *in arbore Porphyrii vel Gaſſendi?* And if it do not, you make the *matter* of *ſubſtances ab origine* differenced *in ſe* without any forms to difference them; that is the *Phyſical* and the *Metaphyſical* matter. But if thoſe words do expreſs a *formal* difference, you ſhould finde ſome other to expound them by: For ſure *mole prædita*, expreſſeth no *form intelligibly*: And *mole immunis* is but a meer negation of quantity.

Differences therefore that are fetcht from *matter* here (or the

the *material* part of ſubſtance) are hardly made intelligible: And we have ſo little acquaintance with ſpiritual ſubſtances in their naked *matter* (for unleſs you will take ὕσια which is better than ſubſtance) I know not how elſe to call it) that we ſpeak but by rote when we talk of *Indiviſibility*, and *unextenſiveneſs*, and *impenetrability* as the notifying differences; becauſe they are things beyond our underſtandings.

Is there a difference between *Intellectual* and *Spiritual* Beings among themſelves or not? Doubtleſs there is, as the caſe of Angels, Devils, and the Souls of men declare: Is this difference among any of them *ſpecifical* and *formal*? It is commonly ſo concluded, as between Angels and men. Is there then any *agreement* in *ſubſtance*, or in another *eſſential part*, where there is a formal difference? I know none that notifie the *other* eſſential difference of the *ſubſtance* of mens Souls and Angels; but they commonly confeſs that both are Spirits, not differenced *materially* otherwiſe than in *degrees* of *purity* and *dignity* (which how far it belongeth to the form I pretermit). But there can be no *ſpecifical* difference in the *matter* conſidered without that *form* which ſpecifieth. At leaſt *ſome agreement* there is; and of *Spirits* which are of *different forms* or *ſpecies*, there muſt be ſome *one name* for that in which they ſtill agree. If you ſay that it is in [*ſubſtance*] you muſt then take *ſubſtance* as we do *matter* for an *inadequate conception*, or only the *pars inteligibilis* of a being as without the *form*; But that is not the common acception of it; nor is it then fit for the place aſſigned it *in ordine prædicamentali*.

From all this I am not about to injure any mans underſtanding, by building my Concluſions upon any queſtionable grounds: I do but right your underſtandings ſo far, as to remove all uncertain foundations, though they be ſuch as ſeem to be moſt for the advantage of my Cauſe, and are by moſt made the great reaſons of the Souls Immortality. And it is not my purpoſe to deny, that as Angels are compounded *ex genere & differentiâ*, ſo the *generical nature* of Angels greatly differeth from the *nature of Corporeal* things: As God can make multitudes of corporeal Creatures, *formally* or *ſpecifically* different, of the matter of one ſimple Element only

only (as Air, or Fire) without material mixture; ſo he can either make an Element of Souls, either exiſtent *of it ſelf*, of which he will make Individuals, yea *ſpecies* formally divers, or elſe *exiſtent* only in the *ſpecies* and *individuals*, as he pleaſe. But then we muſt ſay, that as fire, and air, and water, do differ *formally*, as ſeveral Elements, ſo the *ſpiritual Element* or general Nature hath a *formal difference* from the Corporeal (called the Material). But hence it will follow, 1. That Angels and humane Souls have a double form (as ſome uſe to call it) that is, *Generical* as *Spirits*, which is preſuppoſed as the aptitude of their Metaphyſical matter, by which they differ from *bodies*; and *ſpecifical* by which they are conſtituted what they are, and differ among themſelves: (unleſs you deny all ſuch formal difference among them, and difference them only by *individuation* and *accidents*; as ſeveral drops or bottles of water taken out of the ſame Sea.) 2. And it will ſeem plain, that our *differencing characters* or *properties* between *Spirits* and *Bodies*, muſt be ſought for in their *different forms*, which muſt be found in the *noble operations* which flow from the *forms*, and not from uncertain Accidents. Therefore my deſign in all this is but to intimate to you, how *lubricous* and *uncertain*, and beyond the reach of mans underſtanding, the *ordinary characters* from *ſuch Accidents* are, and that its better fetch the difference from the *Operations*.

Saith *Georg. Ritſchel* Contempl. Metap. c. 6. pag. 40, & 43. *Difficile eſt rebus materialibus immerſis ſubſtantiam immaterialem concipere.*— *Et licet pro certo non conſtet an Menti Angelicæ omnis ſimpliciter Materialitas repugnet; certum tamen eſt elementarem noſtram ab illis abeſſe; atq; Divinam Eſſentiam ab omni eſſe materia ſecretam æterna ejus & immutabilis habitudo convincit, niſi per materialitatem ſortè ſubſtantiam intelligas.*— §. 15. *Dubium quidem nullum eſt immaterialem Mundum eſſentiarum varietate Intelligibilium æquè admirabilem & auguſtum eſſe, atq; Mundum corporeum videmus: ſed in quo illa conſiſtat diverſitas, bonis indicio certo non percipitur. Nimirum ſi præter te & lumbricum atq; ſcarabæum animal aliud nullum vidiſſes, audires autem eſſe alia innumera genera, diverſitate naturæ & forma penitus diſcrepantia, tum vagas quidem confuſaſq; de diverſitate vol-*

Porphyry de Occaſion. per Ficin. *holds that Anima quidam Medium quiddam eſt inter Eſſentiam individuam, atq; eſſentiam vera corpora diviſibilem, Intellectus autem eſſentia eſt individua ſolum: ſed qualitates materialeſq; formæ ſecundum corpora ſunt diviſibiles.*

vere cogitationes posses; non posses autem illas tot bestiarum, piscium, reptilium, avium, species suo vultu & coloribus signare: Ita quid spiritus sit immaterialis ex te capere, qui Mentem immaterialem habes, qualemcunq; notitiam potes, non potes autem in te perspicere in quo precisè illa varietas consistat.

To come neerer to the application of what is said to the present Objection. 1. The Souls of Men and Bruits, we see do not differ *in genere entis*, nor *in genere substantiæ*, nor *in genere principii vitalis*, nor *in genere sentientis*; 2. The *matter* of both, whether it differ as Metaphysical and Physical, or how, is much beyond our knowledge. 3. The great diversity of *Operations*, doth shew the great diversity of their *Powers* and forms, and inclinations. 4. This sheweth the diversity of their uses and ends for which they were created. 5. It is certain, that no substantial Principle in either of them is annihilated at death. The Souls of *Bruits* have the same *nature* after death as they had before, and the *Souls* of men have the *same nature* as before. They are not transformed into other things. 6. Therefore about both of them, there is nothing left of doubt or controversie, but only 1. About the perpetuated *Individuation*, 2. The *future Operations* (and so the *habits*); viz. 1. *Whether* the *Souls* of *men* or *bruits*, or both, do lose their *individuation*, and fall into some *Universal Element* of their *kinde?* 2. *Whether they operate after death* as now? There is nothing else about their Immortality that common Reason can make a question of. And for the *Souls* of *Bruits*, whether they remain *Individuate*, or return to a common *Element* of their kinde, is a thing *unknown* to us, because unrevealed; and unrevealed, because it is of no use and concernment to us. Our *own case* concerneth us more, and therefore is more made known to us by God. As will further appear in that which followeth.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION III.

HUman souls are but forms: and forms are but the qualities or modes of substances, and therefore accidents: and therefore perish when separated from the bodies.

Answ. The world of learned men do find themselves too much work, and trouble others with controversies about *names* and *words*, and especially by confounding *words* and *things*, and not discerning when a controversie is only *de nomine*, and when it is *de re*. And they have done so about *forms* as much as any thing. The word *form* is usually liable to this ambiguity: In *compounded beings*, it is sometime taken for the *active predominant part* or *principle*; and sometimes for the *state* which resulteth from the *contemperation* of all the parts. Which is the fittest to be called the *form*, is but a question *de nomine*. *Gassendus* himself confesseth this ambiguity of the word, and having pleaded that all *forms*, except man's *intellectual* soul, are but *modes* or *qualities* of bodies, and *accidents*. He addeth, *§. 1. l. 6. c. 1. Si formæ nomine spiritum quendam & quasi florem materiæ intellexeris, cujusmodi fere concipimus animam in equo, tum forma dici potest substantia, immo & corpus tenuissimum, quod crassius pervadat, perficiat & regat — At si formæ nomine intelligatur dispositio ac modus quo tam substantia illa spirituosior quam crassior reliqua se habet, & ad quam facultates actionesque naturales consequuntur tum posse Qualitatem censeri ac dici.* Whether the souls of *bruits* be only the *spirits*, or the *flos materiæ*, or not, it is granted by him, and by almost all men, that in mixt bodies there is one part more subtil than the rest, which is the most active, powerful, predominant part, and which doth *corpus pervadere, perficere, regere.* He thinketh that this is but that subtil matter which others call *fire*; but others thiuk upon the reasons before given, that it is a *superiour nature*, and that the *spirits*, or *fiery nature*, is but its neareſt instrument: Because no subtilty will make *atoms sensible* or *appetitive*, which in their proper nature have no such thing. But what ever becomes of the controversie, whether the animal principle in bruits be *material* or *immaterial*, it

Lege Plotinum de Anim. En. 4. l. 3. c. 391. sect. 26.

it is granted us, and is certain, that in all *mixed beings*, there is a difference of the conſtitutive parts: as the *fiery nature* (ſuch as the *Sun* is of) is *active* in compariſon of the other three Elements, which to it are *paſſive*; ſo the *vital principle* in *bruits* is *active*, *powerful* and *regent*, as to the reſt of the compounding parts. And it's certain, that the name of a [*form*] is by contenders taken, ſometime for that *regent active principle* or *ſubſtance*, (be it what it will) and ſometime for the *temperament* reſulting from all the parts. In Engines where there is no principle or part which is notably predominant, the name of the [*form*] is given to the *ordered conjunction* of all the parts. So in a *Watch*, the *ſpring*, though the beginning of motion, is not ſo fitly called the *form* of the watch, as the *order of the whole frame*. But in living things, there is more room for a competition between the *regent part* and the *temperament*, which of them ſhould be called the *form*. Now it is undeniable with all men, that both in men and bruits, that *regent principle* is a *ſubſtance*, and that the *contemperation* or *order* of the *parts* is but their *mode*, and maketh no other kind of being than *Ordo Civitatis vel Reipublicæ* is, which ceaſeth upon the diſſolution. And the *form* of ſimple beings, corporeal or incorporeal, elements or ſpirits, is neither *another ſubſtance*, diſtinct from the Phyſical and Metaphyſical *matter*; nor yet an accident or mode: but that peculiar *nature*, conſiſting in certain powers or virtues, by which, as eſſential to it, that being is ſpecifically differenced from others: which ſome call an eſſential quality, and ſome a ſubſtantial quality, and ſome a ſubſtantial form, becauſe it is the perfection and eſſential nature of the ſubſtance *in ſpecie*, and not another ſubſtance beſides it.

Thus *Burgerſdicius* (however in his Phyſicks he ſaith as others) in his Metaphyſicks, *l.* 1. *c.* 25. §. 6, 7, 9. ſaith, that [*Forma ſubſtantialis eſt quæ materiam complet eamque informat, atque ita conſtituit ſubſtantiam corpoream: Forma accidentalis eſt additamentum completæ ſubſtantiæ inhærens, & cum illa conſtituens Ens concretum atque unum per accidens.*] And he addeth that [*Forma ſubſtantialis non per ſe eſt ſubſtantia: ſubſtantia enim per ſe ſubſiſtit, &c.— Quid ergo erit ſubſtantialis forma? Nihil aliud quam ſubſtantialis modus.— Quia formæ debetur, quod res corporales tales res ſint, ideo etiam ex parte debetur*

ſubjecti quod ſint: Quia eſſe non poteſt concipi abſque tali aut tali eſſe, & tale eſſe eſt ipſius eſſe complementum.] And yet the ſame man ſaith, *i. id. l.* 2. *c.* 17. §. 13. *p.* 304. *Reſp Animæ vegetativæ & ſenſitivæ unitas quidem eſſe corpori ex elementis confecto, ſed mediante ſpiritu vitali & animali: Ideoque facultates earum animarum non eſſe temperationes primarum qualitatum, ſed ipſam ſubſtantiam animarum, quatenus ſpirituum ope elementari corpori aliigantur.*

If then you take the word [form] for the *order* of the parts, I ſay that *man's ſoul* is not his *form* in that ſenſe, nor is his *form* a *ſubſtance*: but if the *regent*, *predominant*, *active*, *vital*, *intekigent principle* be called the [form] ſo the *form* is a *ſubſtance*, and the *ſoul* is that *form*.

Here we muſt not confound *formam corporis*, *formam animæ*, & *formam hominis*. 1. The *form* of *Adam*'s body, before it had received a *ſoul*, was but the *contemperation* or *order* of all the parts, by which it was *apt* to receive a ſoul, and to be actuated by it, as *corpus phyſicum organicum*. 2. The *form* of the *ſoul* it ſelf, (*e. g.* in its ſeparated ſtate) is that *vis naturalis intelligendi, volendi & exequendi*, by which it is eſſentially differenced from all other kinds of being, (commonly comprehended under the name of reaſon alone.) 3. The *forma hominis*, taken for the *ſtate* of the *parts contemperate* and *ordered*, is that ſaid *ſtate* or *order*, and not the *ſoul*. But taken for the *vital*, *intelligent*, *regent part* or principle, it is the *ſoul it ſelf*. So that the ſoul is not the *forma corporis*, nor the *forma hominis* in the *one* ſenſe; but it is the *forma hominis* in the *other*: and its own *differencing nature* is its own *form*.

The like ambiguity there is in the word *Quality*, uſed in the objection. As I was never ſatisfied with the order or number of *Ariſtotle*'s ten predicaments, ſo eſpecially I never underſtood him in the predicament of Quality it ſelf. As it is a very hard thing to know what thoſe are that are by him, and commonly, called *Qualities*; ſo I think that *name* too general and defective to ſignifie the nature of them aright. And I ſuppoſed ever that his *forma & figura differ much more* from the other *ſpecies* of *Quality*, than moſt of the predicaments do from one another, (of which ſee *Burgerſdicius Metaph. l.* 2. *cap. ult. & Gaſſendus in Logic.*) Judicious Mr. *Pemble*, *de origine formarum*, pleadeth hard that *principia*

conſtitutiva are *materia (vel ſubjectum) & accidentia*; *& principium tranſmutationis* is *contrariarum qualitatum pugna*: that *forma, exceptâ humanâ, non eſt ſubſtantia, nec materialis, nec immaterialis, ſed accidens vel accidentium mixtura dictum temperamentum, & quod accidentia per ſe & immediate agunt, & non in virtute formæ ſubſtantialis.* That is, *Quod qualitates immediate hærent in materia, & à Qualitatibus immediate proſluunt operationes & operandi vires. Quod Qualitates omnes primæ,* (which he maketh five, *lux, calor, frigus, humiditas, ſiccitas*) *& aliquæ ſecundæ, tenuitas, craſſities, gravitas, levitas, fluor, conſiſtentia, creationis die primo exititerunt: Quod Qualitates omnes activæ generant ſibi ſimile, & ita ſui diffuſivæ & ſimilium generativæ ſunt, ut neceſſario materiam ſibi proportionatam efficiunt. Quod animæ vegetativæ in plantis & ſenſitivæ in brutis ſunt tantum temperamenta nobiliora qualitatum activarum in materia ſubtili, pura, ſpirituoſiore.*

Teleſius maketh the ſame principles (*materia, calor & frigus*) as to the chief; but he maketh *calor & frigus* to be *ſubſtances, vel formæ ſubſtantiales, & non tantum accidentia.* So that they that agree that it is *Qualities* that are the *active forms*, are never the more agreed what they are, nor what the word *Qualities* doth ſignifie. And what if by the word *Quality*, *Pemble* do mean the very ſame thing as many others do that call them *forms*, (when they ſpeak of *vegetatives.*) And what if by *ſubſtances*, *Teleſius* mean the ſame that *Pemble* doth by *accidents*. Is not the world then troubled with ambiguitie of words? He that will conſider them well may ſuſpect, that they mean as I conjecture. An active power or principle being the chief cauſe of operations, alterations and diſcrimination, is the thing that they all mean by all theſe names. And the followers of *Democritus*, eſpecially *Gaſſendus* and *Carteſius*, do not improbably argue that it is ſome *ſubſtantial being* which maketh that change or effect upon our *ſenſes*, which as *there received* is a *quality*. So that unleſs Mr. *Pemble* can better tell us what *lux, & calor*, are, than by calling them *Qualities*, he hath given the underſtanding no ſatisfaction at all. Much leſs when he nakedly aſſerteth, without any proof, that *ſenſation* doth not *ſuperare naturam primarum qualitatum*, that are none of them ſenſible themſelves. And when he hath no other anſwer to this argument, but that *non minus miranda ſunt in inanimatis*, which he giveth not one inſtance or word to prove. When *Ariſtotle*, &c. *Scaliger, Sennertus*, and abundance more, have ſaid much to the contrary.

I conclude, that for all that is here ſaid, and whether you call them our *forms* or not, (as you *may* or *may not*, in ſeveral ſenſes) *humane ſouls* are thoſe parts of man which are *ſimple, pure, inviſible, active, powerful ſubſtances*; and therefore being not annihilated, muſt needs ſubſiſt in their ſeparated ſtate.

OBJECTION IV.

Againſt the ſoul's dependance upon matter, the Platoniſts write excellently. Plato himſelf, and Plotinus, and Jamblicus, Proclus, &c.

THe *Soul is material, and conſequently mortal, becauſe it dependeth upon matter in its operations, and conſequently in its eſſence.*

Anſw. 1. I have proved already, that if you did prove the *ſoul material*, you had not thereby at all proved it *mortal*: (unleſs you mean only, that it hath a *poſſe mori vel annihilari*; which may be ſaid of every creature) for ſimple *matter*, which hath no repugnant parts or principles, hath not only a *poſſe non mori*, but an *aptitude* in its *nature*, *ad non moriendum*. Remember your friends that make the *world*, or *matter*, at leaſt, to be eternal. They thought not that *materiality* was a proof of either annihilation or corruption.

Anima per eſſentiam eſt mobilis ex ſe ipſa; ſed conjuncta corpori quodammodo evaſit etiam mobilis aliunde; ſicut enim ipſa ſua præſentia dedit corpori ultimum ex ſe movendi veſtigium, ſic & ipſa propter corporeum contubernium conditionis natam ſubiit mobilis aliunde. *Proclus de Anim. & Dæmon.*

Object. *If it be material, it muſt be compounded of matter and form, and therefore is corruptible.*

Anſw. True, if that *matter* and *form* were *two* ſeveral *ſubſtances*, and were one *repugnant* to the other. The *ſoul* and *body* are different *ſubſtances*; but the metaphyſical *matter* and *form* of the ſoul, being but the *genus & differentia*, are not *two ſubſtances*, much leſs *repugnant*; and therefore have never the more a tendency to corruption.

2. The *ſoul uſeth matter*, and dependeth no otherwiſe on it than its inſtrument. It doth not follow that a *man is a horſe*, becauſe he dependeth on his horſe in the manner of his riding, and his pace: nor that I am *inanimate*, becauſe in writing I dependion my pen, which is inanimate. If you

put *ſpirits* of wine into *water* or *whey*, as its vehicle to temper it, for a medicine, it doth not follow that the ſpirits are meer water, becauſe they operate not without the water, but conjunct, and as tempered by it. If the *fire* in your Lamp do not *ſhine* or *burn* without the *oil*, but in manner and duration dependeth on it, it doth not follow that fire is annihilated when the candle is out, or that it was but oil before: no nor that it ceaſeth to be fire afterwards, as *Gaſſendus* muſt needs confeſs, who holdeth that the Elements are not turned into one another, §. 1. *l.* 3. *c* 2. Fire ceaſeth not to be fire, when it goeth out of our obſervation.

The nobleſt *natures uſe* and *rule* the inferiour. God himſelf moveth and uſeth things material, and yet is not therefore material himſelf. Yea, if *motus* be in *patiente & recipitur ad modum recipientis*, you may conjecture how far God's own operations upon the creatures may be called *dependent*, as to the *effect*, as being *ad captum & modum creaturæ*. And the Sun doth move and quicken all paſſive matter here below *ad modum recipientis*, with great variety through the variety of the matter; and yet it followeth not that the Sun is it ſelf ſuch paſſive matter.

3. The ſoul hath *operations*, which are not *upon matter* at all, though matter may poſſibly be an antecedent occaſion or prerequiſite. Such is the apprehenſion of its own intellection and volitions, and all that it thence gathereth of God, and other intellectual natures and operations, of which I muſt ſay more anon.

OBJECTION V.

NO *immaterial ſubſtance moveth that which is material, as a principle of its operations: but the ſoul moveth the body as the principle of its operations:* Ergo.

Anſw. 1. I have already ſaid, that if you proved the ſoul material, it would not prove it *mortal*.

2. As the *body* hath various *operations*, ſo it is moved by various *principles* or *powers*. As to *locomotion*, and perhaps *vegetation*, the *materia ſubtilis*, or fineſt *atoms*, as you will call it, or the *fiery matter* in the ſpirits, as I would call it, is an active being, which hath a natural power to move it ſelf and the reſt. But whether that motion do ſuffice to *ſenſation*, is undecided. But certainly there is another inward principle of motion, which *guideth* much of the *locomotive*, and over-ruleth ſome of the *natural motion*, by a *peculiar action* of its own, which is called *Intellection* and *Volition*, as I have proved before. When I go to the Church, when I write, or talk, the ſpirits are the neareſt ſufficient principle of the *motion* as *motion*: but as it is done in this *manner*, to this *end*, at this *time*, with theſe reaſons, it is from the intellectual principle.

3 And thus I deny the major Propoſition. And I prove the contrary. 1. God is the firſt principle of all motion in the world, and the firſt cauſe of material motion, and yet is not material. 2. What the lower and baſer nature can do, that the higher and nobler hath power to do, (*ſuppoſitis ſupponendis*) therefore if a body can move a body, a ſoul can do it much more.

But, ſaith *Gaſſendus*, *Cauſis ſecundis primum agendi principium eſt Atomorum varia mobilitas ingenita, non incorporea aliqua ſubſtantia.* ***Anſw.*** Angels are *cauſæ ſecundæ*, ſouls are *cauſæ ſecundæ*, animated bodies of men are *cauſæ ſecundæ*: prove it now of any of theſe (in your excluſion) if you can. But he ſaith, *Capere non licet quomodo ſi incorporeum ſit, ita applicari corpori valeat, ut illi impulſum imprimat; quando neque ipſum contingere, carens ipſa tactu ſeu mole qua tangat, non poteſt —— Phyſicæ actiones corporeæ cum ſint, niſi à principio phyſico corporeoque elici non poſſint —— Quod anima autem humana incorporea cum ſit, & in ipſum tamen corpus ſuum agat, motumque ipſi imprimat, dicimus animam humanam qua eſt intellectus ſeu mens, atque adeo incorporea, non elicere actiones niſi intellectuales, ſeu mentales & incorporeas. Et quum eſt ſentiens, vegetans, præditaque vi corporum motrice atque adeo corporea eſt, elicere actiones corporeas, &c.* And of Angels and Devils he ſaith, *That it is known by faith only that they are incorporeal, and perhaps God gave them extraordinary bodies, when he would have them move or act on bodies.*

To this I anſwer, 1. Who gave thoſe atoms their *ingenite mobility*, and *how?* You ſay that *captum omnem fugit ut quippiam*

quippiam aliud moveat, ſi in ſeipſo immotum maneat. If ſo, then it ſeemeth, that either God was moved when he moved atoms, or that he never moved them. How then came they to be moved firſt? But you confeſs that God put into them their mobility. You ſay, *De Deo alia ratio eſt, quoniam infinitæ virtutis cum ſit, & ubique præſens, non ullo ſui motu, ſed nutu ſolo agere & movere quidlibet poteſt.* If you think not as you ſpeak, it is unworthy of a Philoſopher; if you do, then it is ſtrange that you ſhould overthrow your own reaſoning, and excuſe it no better than thus. If the reaſon why incorporeal ſpirits cannot move bodies be that which you alledge, (becauſe only a body can be applied to a body to make impreſſion on it) then God can leſs move a body than man's ſoul can; becauſe his pureſt eſſence is more diſtant from corporeal groſsneſs than our ſouls are. At leaſt, the reaſon would be the ſame. And to ſay that God is every where, and of infinite vertues, maketh him nevertheleſs a Spirit: and created ſpirits (if that be enough) may have power or vertue enough for ſuch an effect. Doubtleſs if God move bodies, the ſpirituality of an agent hindereth not the motion.

2. But why ſhould it *captum omnem ſuperare*, that a *nobler* and more potent nature can do that, which a more ignoble can do? Becauſe I cannot know how a ſpirit by contact can apply it ſelf to matter, ſhall I dream that therefore it is uncapable of moving bodies? Clean contrary, I ſee that matter of it ſelf is an unactive thing: and were it not that the noble active element of fire, (which as a lower ſoul to the paſſive matter, and a thing almoſt middle between a ſpirit and a body) did move things here below, I could diſcern no motion in the world, but that which ſpirits cauſe, except only that of the *parts to the whole*, the aggregative motion which tendeth to reſt. The difference of underſtandings is very ſtrange: it is much eaſier to me to apprehend, that almoſt all motion ſhould come from the pureſt, powerful, active, vital natures, than that they ſhould be all unable to ſtir a ſtraw, or move the air, or any body.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION VI.

THe ſoul is in our ſleep either unactive, (as when we do not ſo much as dream) or acteth irregularly and irrationally, according to the fortuitous motion of the ſpirits: Ergo, *it is no incorporeal immortal ſubſtance.*

See in Ariſtæas Hiſtor. de 70. p. 879. the Kings Queſt. 19. about Dreams, with the Anſwer, how far Dreams are in our power.

Anſw. 1. I ſuppoſe the ſoul is never totally unactive. I never awaked ſince I had the uſe of memory, but I found my ſelf coming out of a dream. And I ſuppoſe they that think they dream not, think ſo becauſe they forget their dreams.

2. Many a time my reaſon hath acted for a time as regularly, and much more forcibly, than it doth when I am awake: which ſheweth what it can do, though it be not ordinary.

3. This reaſon is no better than that before anſwered; where I told you, that it argueth not that I am a horſe, or no wiſer than my horſe, becauſe I ride but according to his pace, when he halteth, or is tired. Nor doth it prove that when I alight, I cannot go on foot. He is hard of underſtanding that believeth, that all the glorious parts of the world above us, have no nobler intellectual natures than man. Suppoſe there be Angels, and ſuppoſe one of them ſhould be united to a body, as our ſouls are: we cannot imagine but that he would actuate it, and operate in it according to its nature; as I write amiſs when my pen is bad. The ſame I ſay of perſons Lethargick, Apoplectick, Delirant, &c.

OBJECTION VII.

REaſon is no proof of the ſoul's immateriality, becauſe ſenſe is a clearer and more excellent way of apprehenſion than Reaſon is; and the bruits have ſenſe.

Anſw. 1. I have ſaid enough to the caſe of Bruits before.

2. The ſoul underſtandeth bodily things, by the inlet of the

the bodily ſenſes: Things inco poreal (as I ſhall ſhew more anon) it otherwiſe underſtandeth. When it underſtandeth by the help of ſenſe, it is not the *ſenſe* that underſtandeth any thing. If Brutes themſelves had not an Imagination which is an *Image* of *Reaſon*, their ſenſe would be of little uſe to them. We ſee when by buſineſs or other thoughts the minde is diverted and alienated, how little ſenſe it ſelf doth for us: when we can hear as if we never heard, and *ſee*, and not obſerve what we ſee, yet it's true, that the more ſenſe he'peth us in the apprehending of things ſenſible, which are then objects, the better and ſurely ſooner we perceive them by the underſtanding. As the ſecond and third Concoction will not be well made, if there be a failing in the firſt; ſo the ſecond and third *perception*, (in the Phantaſie and Intellect) will be ill made, if the firſt deceive or fail them. But this proveth not either that the firſt Concoction or Perception is more noble than the third; or that Senſitives without Reaſon have any true underſtanding at all; or that Senſe, Phantaſie and Reaſon, are not better than Senſe alone. But theſe things need not much diſputing. If *Senſe* be nobler than *Reaſon*, let the Horſe ride the man, and let the Woman give her milk to her Cow, and let Brutes labour men, and feed upon them, and let Beaſts be your Tutors, and Kings and Judges, commit to them the nobleſt works, and give them the preeminence, if you think they have the nobleſt faculties.

OBJECTION VIII.

Read Priſcians Theophraſt de Anim. *with* Ficinus *Notes, which ſheweth how fart the Senſe is Active.*

Senſation and Intellection are both but Reception: The paſſiveneſs therefore of the Soul doth ſhew its materiality.

Anſw. A ſhort anſwer may ſatisfie to this Objection. 1. All created *Powers* are partly *paſſive*, how *active* ſoever they be. For being *in eſſe & operari dependant* on and ſubordinate to the firſt Cauſe, they muſt needs *receive* his influence, as well as exerciſe their own powers. As the ſecond wheel in the Clock, muſt receive the moving force of the firſt, before it can move the third.

2. It

2. It is an enormous error about the operations of the Soul, to think that *Intellection* yea or *Senſation* either, is meer Reception, and that the *ſenſitive* and *intellective power* are but Paſſive. The active Soul of Man (yea of Bruits) receiveth not its object, as the *mark* or *butt* receiveth the arrow that is ſhot at it. It receiveth it by a *ſimilitude of nature*, and by an *active attendance*, and *embracement*, yea by an active appetite *ſicut fœmina marem, vel potius ſicut eſuriens cibum*: Yea, it moveth towards its object, and meeteth it: It actively welcometh and improveth it: As I ſaid even now, a Scholar that in his ſtudies ſo far diverteth his thoughts, that he knoweth not that the Clock hath ſtrucken at his ears, and knoweth not what thoſe ſay that talk by him, doth ſhew that ſome active attendance is neceſſary to almoſt all perception. He that feeleth not that his underſtanding doth *agere* as well as *pati* (when he is ſtudying, reading or writing) is a ſtranger to himſelf. How oft have I read over many lines when I have thought of ſomething elſe, and not known one word that I have read? Is inventing, compounding, dividing, defining, *&c.* no action? I never felt cauſe from any experience of my own, to believe that I was a meer patient in any thought that was ever in my minde. Nay the Epicurean that ſuppoſeth thoughts to be but a dance of Atomes, called Spirits, doth think that thoſe atomes or ſpirits are notably active. *Carteſius* his *materia ſubtilis* is eminent in activity. Do you think that every dead Object which I think on with my eyes ſhut in the night, and ſo much more alive than I, and ſo much more active than my minde, that it muſt be accounted the ſole agent, and my minde the patient. They know little of a minde that talk in this ſtrain.

I know *Carteſius* telleth us, that *the eye* hath no *fire* or *light* in it, except perhaps the *eye* of a Cat or Owl. But if the ſtudy of *matter* and *motion* had left him any room for the conſideration of other things which he paſt over, he would by a little ſearch have found that the *eye* doth cloſe with its primary object, *Light*, by meer connaturality, becauſe it participateth of *Light* it ſelf, in its own conſtitution. It is *fire* in the *eye*, even in the viſive Spirits, which meeteth the fire or light without, and by union cauſeth

Senſus Principium mediaq; & finem ſentiendæ rei individuæ comprehendit, & Actio eſt, judiciumque perfectum, & in præſenti momento ſimul totus exiſtit, etſi non abſq; paſſione aliqua inſtrumenti ſenſus efficitur non tamen eſt hæc paſſio ſenſus; Quo fit ut patiamur & vigilantes & dormientes nec tamen perſentiamus. *Theophraſt. de Anim. ut ſupr.*

Lege Marſ. Ficinum de Volupt. c. 1. & 2. & 3, &c. Platonis dogma defendentem, ſcil. *Voluptatem eſſe Actum vel Motum.*

Priſcian in *Theophraſt.* de Anim. c. 13. *ſaith,* [Anima quidem cum ſit forma vivens & ſenſualis, agit circa illa quæ ſibi offeruntur. Vitaliter atque ſenſualiter: & quia eſt in corpore, uſq; ad certum ſpatium operatur.

that which we call ſight. And ſeeing that experience forced him to confeſs it of Cats and Owls, how could he think that all other eyes or ſight were quite of another kinde? Some men have been able to ſee in the dark, and had ſparkling eyes almoſt like Cats. The degree here differeth not the *ſpecies*. If this *materia ſubtilis* or *globuli ætherei* be *fire*, he might have allowed ſome of that to the viſive ſpirits in Man as well as in Owls. Saith *Ficinus* in *Theophraſt.* de Anim. c. 14. *Primum luminoſum eſt Cæleſte: Secundum eſt Igneum: Tertium inter compoſita quod quaſi fulget ut Ignis. Primum luminale eſt Oculus, præcipuè radioſus, in animalibus, quæ nocte vident; ſed alii quoq; oculi quamvis minus, ſunt tamen luminaliſ.*

† *See* Alcinous de doctr. Plat. cap. 18. *to the ſame purpoſe.*

Nemeſius † l. pro Immort. Anim. in Bibl. Pat. p. 505. approveth *Plato*'s Judgement, (*Plato inquit*) *per confuſionem ſplendorum res aſpici exiſtimat, ut id lumen quod ex oculis proficiſcitur aliquo uſque in aerem, qui ejuſdem eſt ſecum genus effluat. Quod verò à corporibus manat contraferatur, & quod in aere eſt, qui interponitur, facileq; diffunditur & vertitur, ſimul cum oculorum igne extendatur*]. *Et Galenus* (*inquit*) *de viſione cum Platone conſentit in 7o de conſenſ.* And he ſaith himſelf, that the *Sun ſendeth its light by the Air, and the light in the eye ſtreameth alſo into it; which is to ſeeing as the Nerves are to the Brain for feeling. Porphyry* ſaith, that *ſight is the Soul it ſelf diſcerning it ſelf in all things.* But if there were any doubt in the point of ſight (which is performed both by active ſpirits, and an active object, Light) yet methinks that when I *feel* a ſtone, much more when I meditate on a Mountain, all ſhould confeſs that my *ſenſe* and *intellection* is like to have more action than that Stone and Mountain. And if you ſay only that *Spirits* firſt moved move others, and ſo touch the Intellectual Organs, or Spirits, I have partly anſwered that before, and ſhall anſwer it more anon. We have great reaſon to aſcribe the moſt of action to that part which is moſt ſubtile, vigorous and active.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION X.

THat which things corporeal work upon, is corporeal: for it cannot be conceived how bodies can work upon that which hath no body: But things corporeal work upon the ſoul: Ergo, it is it ſelf corporeal.

Anſw. 1. I largely before ſhewed, that our uncertainty of the juſt conſiſtence of Metaphyſical *matter*, or *incorporeal ſubſtance*, doth make all ſuch arguings to ſound like dreams.

2. I have ſhewed, that *ſpiritual powers* receive not *impreſſions* as *dull matter* doth, by a meer *paſſive power*: but by an activity and outgoing, it *worketh* indeed upon that which it receiveth, much more than any ſuch matter can be ſaid to *work* on it: nay, *matter* doth not properly work upon it at all, but only afford it matter to work upon, and occaſion to exerciſe its active power. As the ſtone or tree doth not work upon the ſight, but the ſight by the help of light doth work upon it. As the *eye* can ſee a dung-hill, and yet be of a nobler kind, and God and Angels can know beaſts and worms, and yet be incorporeal. So man can *know* things *inanimate*, and yet be animate; and things inſenſible, and yet be ſenſible; and things irrational, and yet be rational; and things corporeal, and yet be incorporeal. And this by the activity and extent of its power, and not by any paſſive debaſing defectiveneſs at all.

OBJECTION XI.

THat is not incorporeal, which neither knoweth it ſelf to be incorporeal, nor hath any notion but negative of an incorporeal being: But ſuch is man's ſoul.

Vid. Paul. Carreſium in Sent. 1. Diſ. 1. p. 7. & Diſ. 2. p. 8. *That ſpiritual things are better known than corporeal, and of the knowledge of God.*

Anſw. 1. If the ſoul know not it ſelf to be an *immortal ſpirit*, what maketh almoſt all the world to judge ſo of themſelves? inſomuch that thoſe men that under pretence of Philoſophy deny it, are fain to ſtudy very hard, and take many years pains to blot out this light of nature from their minds;

minds; becauſe they cannot be ignorant of it at eaſie rates: The underſtanding will not loſe its natural light, nor ſuffer ſuch verities to be obliterated, but by a great deal of induſtry, and by the engines of abundance of falſe notions, which are ſought after to that uſe. As *Cicero* ſaith of the *Epicureans*, *They learn thoſe things, quæ cum præclare didicerunt nihil ſciant.* (Piſo de fin. 5. p. 204.) They learn diligently to unlearn the truth, that when they have learn'd much, they may know little.

2. Hath man no notion but *Negative*, of an *incorporeal being*. I ſhewed you before why the notion of *materiality* ſhould not be here uſed for a cheat or blind. But look back on what I ſaid even now, and you will ſee that as *Cartes* truly ſaith, we have not only *poſitive conceptions* of a *mind*, but the *firſt*, the cleareſt, and the ſureſt conceptions of it, in the meaſure that is fit for our preſent ſtate.

Queſt. 1. *Have you not a* poſitive conception *of Intellection and Volition?* If not, you are unfit for any controverſies about them, and cannot own your own humanity.

Queſt. 2. *Have you not a* clearer perception, *that you* think, *and* know *or* reaſon (either right or wrong) *than you have what that thing is that you* think *or* reaſon *about?*

Queſt. 3. *Have you not a* ſure and poſitive conception, *that* omnis actus eſt *alicujus actus, & quod nihil, nihil agit? and therefore that you are an* intelligent volitive being.

Queſt. 4. *Have you not a* poſitive ſure conception, *that* quicquid agit agere poteſt, *and that nothing doth that which it* cannot *do*; *and therefore that your* ſouls *are* beings *potentiated for* Intellection, Volition *and* Execution?

Porphyr. de occaſ. inq. *Anima eſt Eſſentia* inextenſa, immaterialis, immortalis, in vita habente à ſe ipſa vivere atque eſſe ſimpliciter poſſidente.

Queſt. 5. *Have you not a* poſitive ſure conception, *that you have a* natural inclination to theſe acts, *and a* pleaſure in them, *and that they are* natural *and* perfective *to you? and conſequently that your* ſouls *are* beings, *that have not only a* power, *but a* vis & inclinatio naturalis, *or a* power *that is* natural, *and* active, *and* inclined *to theſe* particular actings.

Queſt. 6. *Have you not a* poſitive ſure conception, *that the* end *and* higheſt objects *of theſe* acts *and* inclinations, *are things above ſenſe*, viz. your ſelves *or* minds *in the firſt place, and then the* things above you, *the* firſt Being, Cauſe, *and* Mover *of all*; *the* infinite Power, Wiſdom *and* Goodneſs, *who is*

OBJECTION IX.

THere is nothing in the Intellect which was not firſt in the Senſe, from which it receiveth all its knowledge by the Idea's of the Phantaſie; Therefore the Soul can reach no higher than to corporeal ſenſible things: Therefore it is but ſuch it ſelf.

Anſw. The Antecedent is falſe, and both the Conſequents. Had he limited his aſſertions to corporeal objects, I ſhould eaſily acknowledge to *Gaſſendus*, that *Omnis quæ in mente habetur Idea ortum ducit à ſenſibus. Et Omnis Idea aut per ſenſum tranſit, aut ex iis quæ tranſeunt per ſenſum formatur. Et quæ Idea propriis acquiritur ſenſibus perfectior eſt eâ quæ ex facta ab alio deſcriptione formatur. Qualis Idea rei, talis definitio.* But that theſe things will not hold true as he delivereth them univerſally, I think I ſhall make plain, and confute this Objection to the ſatisfaction of any one that knoweth himſelf.

Ortum ducere à ſenſu is an ambiguous phraſe: The ſenſe may be the *Occaſion ſine quâ non*, of that whereof it never had the leaſt participation *in it ſelf*. I deſire you but to diſtinguiſh between the *Intellects Object* and *its Act*, and thoſe Objects which it knoweth by the mediation of other extrinſick objects, and thoſe which it knoweth by the mediation of its own *Act*. Theſe differences are paſt all doubt. When the *eye* ſeeth theſe Lines and this Paper, the Light and Lines and Paper are each one thing, and the ſight of them is another. I ſee the Light, and thereby the Paper, but I *ſee* not *my ſight*: My *ſight* is not the object of my *ſight*: It may be ſaid, that the *Object is in my ſight*, but not that my *ſight* is in my *ſight*; Yet by *ſeeing* I perceive not only *what I ſee*, but *that I ſee*; and I perceive much more plainly *that I ſee*, than *what I ſee*. I may doubt of a thouſand objects which I ſee, *what matter, ſhape, or colour* they are of, but I doubt not at all of the *act* of *ſeeing*; that right or wrong ſome ſight I have, or that I ſee the Light: ſo is it with the *Intellect*. This *book* is one thing, and the *underſtanding it* is another thing. The book is the *object* of my *underſtanding*; but (at leaſt in

primò inſtanti) my underſtanding is not the object of my underſtanding; but by *underſtanding* I have an *immediate* perception that I *underſtand*. And (as *Carteſius* truely ſaith) the act of Intellection is more perceived than the object: I am more certain that I *think*, and *underſtand*, than I am of the nature of that which I *think* of and *underſtand*. If any ſay, that the act of *Intellection* is the object of another *Intellection*, becauſe *intelligo me intelligere*, and ſo that *intellectio non eſt tantum actus intellectus, ſed etiam eſt in intellectu*, and that the Intellect doth underſtand its own act *intuitivè* as ſome ſpeak, or by *reflexion* as others (though doubtleſs the firſt perception that I *underſtand*, is not by *reflexion*, but by that ſame act of underſtanding ſomething elſe) (as ſight doth not reflect upon it ſelf to get a perception that I ſee) I will enter no controverſie about any of theſe notions of the manner of our underſtanding our own act of Intellection, which doth not concern the preſent buſineſs. But it is moſt certain that *Actus intelligendi nunquam fuit in ſenſu*: when the *object* of Intellection did paſs through the *ſenſe*, the *Act of Intellection* did not: nor the *intellection* or perception of that *Act of Intellection*, did not: Nor the Intellection of the *common nature of an Intelligence*, which from hence I gather; nor the Intellection of *particular Intelligences* as Angels; nor my Intellection of *any mans Intellect* or intellectual act, whoſe nature I gather from mine own: Nor the conception I have of a *Deity* as the moſt *perfect intellect*; nor the perception which I have of my *own Volition* of my own felicity, or of the means thereto as ſuch, nor of the pleaſing of God, nor of another mans good: Nor my perception of the *nature of the will* hence gathered; nor my conception of the *Volitive power* in other perſons; nor my conceptions of the *Volitions of God*, of *Angels*, &c. nor my conception of *Intellectual* or *moral habits*, nor of the *Wills natural inclinations*! None of all theſe were ever in the Senſe; nor paſſed through the Senſe: ſome of them (which *Gaſſendus de Ideis* overlooketh) are without any Idea at all properly ſo called (as the firſt perception of the act of my own *underſtanding* and *will*, by *underſtanding* and *willing* other things; as we perceive that we ſee *non videndo Ipſum viſum, ſed alia videndo*): And that Idea which we have

have of all the reſt, is fetcht from this perception of our *own acts*, and not from any thing which ever was in the ſenſe: The Soul by knowing it ſelf, doth gather the knowledge of all higher intellectual beings, which is its moſt conſiderable worthy knowledge. I hope I have given you inſtances enow; and plain enough, and you ſee now what truth there is of *nihil eſt in intellectu quod non fuit prius in ſenſu*.

D' *Orbellis* diſtinguiſheth *Knowledge* (largely taken) into *ſenſitivè & intellectivè*: and both of them into *Abſtractivè & Intuitivè*. *Knowledge Intuitive* is of an *Object as it ſelf preſent*, when a thing in its preſent exiſtence, is the moving object of knowledge. *Knowledge Abſtractive* is when the *ſpecies* of the thing doth move us to know the thing it ſelf: and that whether the thing it ſelf be preſent or abſent, and have exiſtence or not. The example of *Intuitive ſenſitive* knowledge or perception which he giveth, is the *Eye ſeeing Colours*. The inſtance of *Abſtractive ſenſitive knowledge* is, as the *Phantaſie imagineth colours*: The inſtance of *Intuitive Intellective Knowledge* is, the *Saints ſeeing* the *glory* of *God* in Heaven, and he might have inſtanced in many other things: The inſtance of Abſtractive Intellective Knowledge, is the underſtandings Knowledge of the *Quiddity* of Colours by means of the ſpecies. To which may be added, that *Abſtractive Knowledge* is either *per ſpeciem propriam*, or *per ſpeciem alienam*: In this life the Soul knoweth its own acts either *Intuitively* or by an act, if poſſible, yet *neerer* to its *eſſential power*, that hath no uſual diſtinguiſhing name. It knoweth its *own powers*, *inclinations*, *and habits*, neither by a knowledge, in proper and ſtrict ſenſe, *intuitive* or *abſtractive*: For it is not by a *proper ſpecies*, but it is its *natural innate* power of diſcerning this Principle, that *quicquid agit poteſt agere quod agit*; by arguing *ab actu ad potentiam & naturam*. But in the large ſenſe as *Carteſius* uſeth the word, this may be called, an *Idea*. The minde knoweth God and Angels, and other mens Souls, in this large ſenſe alſo by an Idea, but not *per ſpeciem propriam, ſed alienam*, that is, not by a *ſpecies* of God and Angels, but by an Idea borrowed from our own Intellections and Volitions. But this is not an Idea that ever paſſed through the ſenſes: and

Gaſſendus might have thought on it, whether it be not an *Idea in the Intellect*, if not *without* the *phantaſie*, at leaſt *over and above* the *Idea* in the *Imagination*, when he denieth that there is any ſuch Intellective Idea's.

2. But what if there *had been* nothing in the intellect, but what paſſed through the ſenſe? it would no more thence follow that the intellect is no more *noble*, *ſpiritual* or *immortal* than the ſenſe, than it will follow that the King is no better than his Porter, becauſe none cometh to him till he let them in; or that the *animal ſpirits* are no more noble than the *teeth*, or than the natural heat; or the third concoction is no more excellent than the firſt, becauſe nothing cometh to the third concoction, but what was maſticated, ſwallowed, and paſſed the firſt and ſecond concoction. Of which, before.

3. And even by the help of things ſenſible, *Epicurus* can reach the knowledge of inſenſible *atoms*, and *Carteſius* of his *ſubtil matter*, and *globuli cæleſtes*: why then by things ſenſible may we not reach the knowledge of *ſpiritual* ſubſtances and powers?

Yet after all this, I am much of their mind, who think that it is not actual knowledge that is born with us; nor is there any true Idea or picture of any thing innate in our underſtandings; and I think that if *per poſſibile vel impoſſibile*, you ſuppoſe a man born without any one ſenſe, that he would have had no actual knowledge at all, (though that is uncertain.) Becauſe as if I had not *ſeen* any thing objective, I ſhould not have perceived that I could ſee; ſo if I had never known any other object, I could not have known what it is to know: and other objects have no way, that I know of, to the intellect, but through the ſenſe: (Though what the active ſpirits would have done upon the phantaſie, I cannot poſſibly underſtand.) But all this only concludeth, that the ſenſes reception is the way to the intellection of things ſenſible; and that it was a neceſſary *occaſion*, *ſine qua non*, to the perception of our *own intellectual act*, becauſe thus neceſſary to the *act it ſelf*: But not that any *Idea* of our *own Intellection*, or any of *all the things* fore-inſtanced, was received through the ſenſes.

OBJECT.

is your Maker *and your* End? *If you find no ſuch thing*, The Lord have mercy on you, *for every honeſt man may find it.*

Queſt. 7. *Have you not a* poſitive ſure conception, *that ſuch as the* Operations *are which flow from the* eſſential powers *or* faculties, *ſuch in* nobility, *and* excellency, *and* nature *is the* ſubſtance *thus potentiated and acting.*

All theſe are clear, undeniable, poſitive conceptions of the *ſoul*; which ſet together are thus much, that [*The Mind or Soul of man is a noble Eſſence, above the reach and nature of ſenſe, naturally potentiated and inclined, as an active being, to intellection, volition, and ſeeking after things celeſtial and everlaſting, eſpecially God himſelf, his ultimate end.*] All this is *poſitive*, *clear* and *ſure*. And you would think this enough, 1. If you did conſider what *Lud. Vives* ſaith, that *God hath given man a ſoul to uſe, rather than* accurately *to know*; or to *know* ſo far as is neceſſary to *uſe*. As your child may have the uſe of his knife, or clock, or watch, or cloaths, without knowing what metall they are made of, or how to compoſe and make the like, as long as he can but do that with them which is neceſſary to their uſe. Often ſaith *Seneca*, *Neceſſaria ignoramus, quia ſuperflua didicimus.* 2. If your minds were not by ſenſe deluded and captivated to ſuch fixed idea's of things corporeal and groſs, as to over-look all other beings, and meaſure all *ſubſtance* by ſuch groſs idea's. 3. If you well conſidered, that you know in any reſpect little more of things corporeal, and in ſome reſpects much leſs. Let us ſee wherein it is that you know more: either as to the ſenſible or inſenſible parts of ſuch beings. As for the *ſubſtances* as ſuch, you confeſs they are but *per accidens*, the objects of ſenſe, and that as ſtripped of their accidents you have no poſitive true conception of them. And as for the accidents, you are no whit agreed either *what they are*, or *how many*. Of all things you are moſt unanimous in that of *Quantity*, *moles*, or *extenſions*; but what a poor kind of knowledge is it, to know that this or that is *quantum*, and not to know *what it is* that is *quantum*. What light, colour, ſapor, odor are, and what all the ſenſes that perceive them, you are as much diſagreed as if this age had been the firſt that had debated it. The ſame I may ſay both of *Qualities* in general, and of all other in particular, except *figure*, which

properly belongeth not to the predicament. Of all the reſt there is the like diſagreement; even *time* and *place*, which truly are *nothing* but *entia rationis*, are debaſed by you in the firſt place, and are two of *Gaſſendus* his four predicaments. About the number either of *principles* or *elements*, there is no agreement; no nor what any one of the elements are: Who hath told us what is the form of *earth*, or *water*, or *air*, or deſcribed them otherwiſe than by their qualities? And then differ you as much about thoſe qualities. Who hath told us any thing of the *naked matter* or *form* of *fire* (ſuch as the Sun and Luminaries are)? any otherwiſe than by its *acts*, and *powers* or vertues of *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, as we deſcribe to you the *ſoul* of man. And if you go to the inviſible part of matter, it would make a man rather *ſick* than *wiſe*, to read men *provincias dare atomis*, as *Cicero* ſpeaketh; and to think with what bold unreaſonable fiction they *number them*, as ſhaped and figured; and figure and ſhape them to the uſes which they have feigned for them, and then uſe them and conduct them, and vary their motions, as confidently and ſeriouſly, as if they had given us any proof of any of this, and indeed expected to be believed. Nay, we muſt know how the *corners* of atoms (pardon the contradiction) came to be filed or worn off by motion, and ſo reduced to greater ſubtilty. And *Gaſſendus*, after all the fabrick which he buildeth upon atoms, ſaith, [*That atoms have not of themſelves a moving force, but from God's firſt motion.* §. 1. c. 8. p. 280. *Non quod Deo neceſſe fuerit creare ſeorſim atomos, quas deinceps in partes grandiores, grandioreſque ex his, mundus conſtaret, compingerit; ſed quod creans materiæ maſſam, in corpuſcula exolubilem, atque adeo ex corpuſculis tanquam minimis extremiſque particulis compoſitam, concreaſſe illi ipſa corpuſcula cenſentur.* ib. So that they know not indeed whether God created *matter* firſt in *atoms* disjunct, or in more large and bulky parts: and ſo whether *motion* did *divide groſſer* and *greater parts* into atoms, or whether it coagulated atoms into greater bodies. But the ſum is, that they only affirm, that what ever bodies God made, they are diviſible into *atoms*, that is, into parts by man indiviſible. A great myſtery ſure, that the whole is diviſible into ſmaller parts! And what the nearer is any man by this, for the diſcerning

diſcerning of any of their wild hypotheſes? In a word, God hath given man knowledge for his benefit and uſe, to the ends of his being and life: and ſo far as we have uſe for it we may know all things about us; but to humour our wanton fancies he is not obliged. And becauſe we have more uſe for the faculties of our ſouls, than for fire and water, or any outward thing, he hath given us the *firſt* and *ſureſt* knowledge of them; whatſoever ſelf-contradicting *Somatiſts* ſay, to depreſs this knowledge, and advance that knowledge of Bodies, which their own diſagreements do confute. Sure I am, if that be a probable opinion which hath divers learned men for it, almoſt all things are probable in Philoſophy: and if that be *improbable* which hath multitudes of learned men againſt it, almoſt all things are improbable.

OBJECTION XII.

THat *which is generated is corruptible: but the ſoul is generated*: Ergo, *&c.*——

Anſw. 1. If by [*corruptible*] you mean that which hath [*à poſſe perire*] or a *certainty* of periſhing, if God uphold it not, I grant it of the whole Creation. But if you mean that which in *its nature* is ſo *fitted* to *diſſolution*, *periſhing* or *decay*, as that God ſeemeth to *intend* it to ſuch an end; or muſt *miraculouſly preſerve* it, or elſe it will periſh; or that which *eventually will periſh*, then we muſt not ſo eaſily diſmiſs you.

2. The word [*generated*] is of ſo great ambiguity, and *generation* it ſelf a thing ſo little underſtood by mortals, that this *reaſon* doth but carry the controverſie into the dark, and argue *ab obſcuriore & minùs noto*; which is the way of a wrangler, and not of one that would reveal the truth. Either *generation* is the production of ſome new *ſubſtance*, not exiſtent before ſo much as in its *matter*; or it is only the *compoſition* of pre-exiſtent ſubſtances. If it be the later, then you may prove the poſſibility and probability of the diſſolution of the frame, and ſeparation of thoſe ſeveral ſubſtances. But you will confeſs your ſelves, that each part re-

taineth its proper nature ſtill; and that if one were a more noble and active element than the reſt, it is not annihilated, but remaineth ſo ſtill without debaſement. Therefore if their opinion were true, who hold the pre-exiſtence of that purest part of man which we call his ſoul, (either in a common element, or individuate) no reaſon can think that the diſſolution doth any more than ſeparate the parts of man, and return that ſoul to its pre-exiſtent ſtate; where ſtill it will be as noble a creature as it was here.

But if *Generation* do produce a *ſubſtance de novo*, which did no way pre-exiſt, then it is either a *corporeal ſubſtance*, or a *ſpiritual* or *incorporeal*: which ſoever it be, can you give any reaſon *why this ſhould periſh* at the diſſolution, any more than if it had pre-exiſted? If the *nature* of it be the ſame, why ſhould not the *duration* be the ſame? one of the two you will confeſs it, either a *corporeal ſubſtance* or an *incorporeal*, if it be at all a ſubſtance: and you confeſs that no *ſubſtance* is annihilated, or periſheth, otherwiſe than by diſſolution of parts. If the reaſon of your *major* be, becauſe the thing generated hath a beginning, and did *oriri de novo*, ſo did all *matter* and *ſubſtances* that be created. Or if you ſuppoſe them all from eternity, yet do but ſuppoſe them to be created and have had a beginning, and yet to be the ſame as *if they had been eternal*, and you will ſee that there will be the ſame reaſon to prove their continuance, as long as their *nature* and their *dependance* on *God* are both the ſame.

But it may be you will form your objection better, and ſay, that *Generation produceth no new ſubſtance, but only a compoſition, order and temperament of pre-exiſtent ſubſtances: But ſouls are generated:* Ergo, *They are no ſubſtances, but the order or temperament of pre-exiſtent ſubſtances.*

Anſw. I never ſaw any thing like a cogent proof of the *major*: and moſt Chriſtians think you can never prove the *minor*.

A *ſubſtance* may be called *new*, either becauſe it is made of *nothing*, as in *creation*, or becauſe it ariſeth to its natural ſtate of perfection *ex ſemine vel naturæ fœcunda*, where it was only *virtually* and *ſeminally* before.

Before you can prove your *major* even in the firſt ſenſe, you muſt be better acquainted with the *nature* of God, and of

of Spirits, and of Generation, than you are: I cannot imagine what ſhew of proof you can bring to prove, that univerſally no generation cauſeth a ſubſtance totally new, unleſs you will go to Scripture, (which you believe not) and plead from *Geneſ.* 1. that *God then ended all his works, and therefore doth create no more.* But, 1. He may cauſe them totally *de novo*, without ſuch a creation as is there ſpoken of: for he may by a ſtabliſhed Law of Nature adjoyn his producing influx to the act of a creature, (ordinarily) and ſo difference it from that proper creation. 2. No man can prove that God hath there ſaid one word to aſſure us, that he will never create any thing hereafter. Cannot a workman look on his houſe, and ſee that it is well done, and ſay, I have finiſhed it, without obliging him never to build another, nor to make any reparations of that as there is cauſe? May not God create a new Heaven and Earth? may he not create a new Star, or a new Plant or Animal, if he pleaſe, without the breaking of any word that he hath ſpoken? For my part, I never ſaw a word which I could diſcern to have any ſuch ſignification or importance. The argument from *Geneſ.* 1. is no better than theirs, who from Chriſt's *conſummatum eſt* do gather, that his death and burial which followed that word, were no part of his ſatisfactory meritorious humiliation.

On the contrary, there have been both Philoſophers and Divines, who have thought, that God doth *in omni inſtanti*, properly create all things which he is ſaid to conſerve: of whom the one part do mean only, that the being of the creatures is as dependant on his continual cauſation, as the life of the branches is on the tree: but that the *ſame ſubſtance is continued*, and not *another daily made*. But there are others who think, that all creatures who are *in fluxu continuo*, not *per locomotum*, but *ab entitate ad nihilum*, and that they are all but a continual emanation from God, which as it paſſeth from him tendeth to nothing, and new emanations do ſtill make ſuch a ſupply, as that the things may be called the ſame; as a River, whoſe waters paſs in the ſame Channel. As they think the beams or light of the Sun doth *in omni inſtanti oriri & feſtinare ad nihilum*, the ſtream being ſtill ſupplied with new emanations. Were it not for the over-

throw of individuation, perſonality, rewards and puniſhments that hence ſeemeth to follow, this opinion would ſeem more plauſible than theirs, who groundleſſly prohibit God from cauſing any more new beings.

But though, no doubt, there is *unto* all *beings*, a continual emanation or influx from God, which is a continued cauſation, it may be either *conſervative* of the being firſt cauſed, or elſe *reſtorative* of a being continually in decay, as he pleaſe: for both ways are poſſible to him, as implying no contradiction; though both cannot be about *one and the ſame* being, in the ſame reſpect, and at the ſame time. And our *ſenſe and reaſon* tell us, that the *conſervative* influx is his uſual way.

2. But it is commonly, and not without reaſon, ſuppoſed, that generation produceth things *de novo* in another ſenſe: not *abſolutely*, as creation doth; but *ſecundum quid*, by exalting the *ſeminal virtue into act*, and into perfection. New individuals are not made of *new matter* now created; but the corporeal part is only pre-exiſtent matter, *ordered*, *compounded* and *contempered*: and the *incorporeal part* is, both *quoad materiam ſuam metaphyſicam, & formam vel naturam ſpecificam*, the exaltation and expurgency of that into *full and perfect exiſtence*, which did before exiſt *in ſemine virtuoſo*.

When God had newly created the firſt man and woman, he created in them a propagating virtue and fecundity: this was, as it were, *ſemen ſeminis*: by this they do firſt *generare ſemen ſeparabile*: which *ſuppoſitis ſupponendis*, hath a fecundity fit to produce a new *ſuppoſitum vel perſonam*; and may be called a *perſon ſeminally* or *virtually*, but not *actually*, *formally* and *properly*: and ſo this perſon hath power to produce another, and that another in the ſame way. And note, that the ſame *creating word*, which ſaid, *Let there be light*; and, *Let us make man*; did ſay alſo to man, as well as to other creatures, *Increaſe and multiply*: not, [*create new ſouls* or *bodies*] but by generation, [*Increaſe and multiply*] which is the bringing of many *perſons* out of two, and ſo on, as out of a *ſeminal pre-exiſtence* or virtual, into *actual formal exiſtence*.

He knoweth not the myſteriouſneſs of this wonderful work of God, nor the ignorance of mankind, who knoweth not that all *generation* of *man, bruits* or *plants*, hath much that

that is to us unſearchable. And they that think it a diſhonour to a Philoſopher, not to undertake or pretend to render the juſt cauſes of this and all other the Phænomena in nature, do but ſay, *I will hide the diſhonour of my ignorance by denying it*; that is, by telling men that I am ignorant of my ignorance, and by aggravating it by this increaſe, and the addition of *pride, preſumption* and *falſity*.

This much is certain, 1. That whatſoever diſtinct parts do conſtitute individuals, which are themſelves of ſeveral *natures*, ſo many ſeveral *natures* in the world we may confidently aſſert, though we underſtand not whether they all exiſt *ſeparatedly*, or are found only in conjunction with others.

2. We certainly find in the world, * 1. An intelligent nature; 2. A ſenſitive nature; 3. A fiery, active, vegetative nature; 4. A paſſive matter, which receiveth the influx of active natures; which is diſtributed into air, and water, and earth.

* *The* Platoniſts *method of progreſſion is thus ſummed up in* Plotinus Ennead. 4. l. 3. p. 384. *and out of him by* Ficinus, [Sicut ærîs ſummum primum omnium ignitur, ab infimo ignis, ſic cœlum ſummum corpus primo animatur ab anima quæ eſt ultimum Divinorum: Ipſum Bonum eſt quaſi Centrum: Mens, lumen inde emicans; & permanens: Anima, Lumen de Lumine ſe movens: Corpus, per ſe opacum illuminatur ab anima; ſed Animæ in cœlo, ſecuræ illuminant; ſub cœlo non ſine curâ.

Eſt utique aliquid velut *centrum*; Penes hoc autem circulus ab ipſo *micans*: Præter hæc & alius circulus, Lumen de lumine: ultra hæc inſuper non amplius Luminis circulus, ſed jam Luminis indigus alieni, propriæ lucis inopia. *Inqu. Plot. ibid.*

3. The moſt active nature is moſt communicative of it ſelf, in the way of its proper operations.

4. We certainly perceive that the *Sun* and *fiery nature* are active upon the air, water and earth, which are the paſſive Elements. And by this activity in a threefold influx, *Motion, Light* and *Heat*, do cauſe the ſenſible alterations which are made below; and ſo that it is as a kind of life, or general form, or ſoul to the paſſive matter.

5. We alſo find that *Motion, Light* and *Heat*, as ſuch, are all different *totâ ſpecie* from *ſenſation*; and therefore *as ſuch* are not the adequate cauſes of it. And alſo that there is a ſenſitive nature in every animal, beſides the vegetative.

6. Whether the vegetative nature be any other than the fiery or ſolar, is to man uncertain. But it is moſt probable that

that it is the same nature, though it always work not to actual vegetation, for want of prepared matter. But that the Sun and fiery nature is *eminenter vegetativè*, and therefore that vegetation is not *above* the nature of *fire*, (or the Sun) and so may be an effect of it.

7. In the production of *vegetatives* by generation it is evident, that as the *fiery active nature* is the *nearest cause efficient*, and the *passive* is the matter and recipient. So that this *igneous nature* generateth as in *three* distinguished subjects, three several ways. 1. As in *Parentibus & semine*, into which God *ab origine* in the creation, hath put not only a *spark* of *the active virtuous fiery nature* in general, but also a certain *special nature*, differencing one creature from another. 2. The Sun and superiour globes of the fiery nature, which cast a paternal, though but universal influx, upon the foresaid *semen*. 3. The *calor naturalis telluris*, which may be called, as Dr. *Gilbert* and others do, its *soul* or *form*; which is to the seed as the *anima matris* is to the infant. And all these three, the *fiery nature* of the *semen*, of the *Sun*, and of the *calor naturalis telluris*, are *generally* the same: and by their agreeableness do meet in co-operation for generation.

8. Herein all three as conjunct are the cause of *Life*, as Life, the *Sun*, the *seed*, and the *calor telluris*, communicating conjunctly what in their natures they all contain: that is, an active nature, having a power by *motion*, *light* and *heat*, to cause vegetation and its conjunct effects. But the *calor & motus solis*, and the *calor telluris*, are but *universal causes* of life as life: but the *virtus seminalis* is both a cause of life *in genere*, and a *specifying cause* of this or that sort of Plants *in specie*: the reason why *e.g.* an Oak, an Elm, a Rose-tree, and every plant is what it is *in specie*, being to be fetch'd from the *seed alone*, and the Creator's will.

9. Though the *seed* be the *chief* or *only specifying cause*, (why this is *Adeantum*, and that *Betonica*, and that *Calendula*, &c.) yet the *Sun* and *Earth*, the *universal causes*, do contribute much more to the life as life, than the seed it self.

10. This *fiery*, or *solar active nature*, is so pure, and above the full knowledge of mortals, that we have no certainty at all, whether in all this *generative influx*, it communicate to vegetatives from it self a *pre-existent matter*, and so draw it

it back to it self again by circulation) or whether it do only by the substantial contact of its active streams, cherish, and actuate, and perfect the *substance* which it findeth *in semine & materiâ passivâ*; or whether *per influxum virtutis*, it operate only by that which is commonly called *Quality*, without any communication or contact of substance.

11. In all this operation of the *Solar* or *fiery nature* in generation, it is *quid medium*, between the *passive matter* and the *animal nature*, and is plainly an *image* of the *animal nature* and its operations: so like it, that it hath tempted many to ascribe all animal operations only to the *Solar* or *fiery nature*, and hath caused wise men to doubt whether this nature be to be numbred with things corporeal or incorporeal; and to place it between both, as participating in several respects of both.

12. If the *sensitive nature* be really above, or specifically different from the *fiery*, we may, in what is said, conjecture much at the order of the generation of things sensitive, *viz.* by a three-fold cause co-operating, *one specifying*, and *two universal and cherishing*. The *specifying* is the *virtus seminalis maris & fœminæ* conjunct, and of neither alone, (the same God which bless'd the single seed of a plant with the gift of multiplication, bless'd only the conjunct seeds of male and female *animals* with that gift:) The superiour universal cause is either some *anima universalis ejusdem naturæ*, or God *immediately*. By an *Anima universalis* I mean not an *anima totius mundi*, but of that *superiour vortex* or part which this earth belongs to. Either this is the *Sun*, or some *invisible soul*. If it be the *Sun*, it is not by its *simple fiery nature* before mentioned; because *sensation* seemeth to be somewhat *totâ specie*, different from *motion*, *light* and *heat*: and then it must prove that the *Sun* is compound, and hath a superiour *form* and *nature*, which either *formaliter* or *eminenter* is *sensitive*; and that *by this* it is that it *animateth* inferiour sensitives. But of this we mortals have no certainty: It seemeth very improbable, that a worm or flie should have a nature superiour to any that the *Sun* hath: but probabilities are not certainties: there are things highest and things lowest in their several kinds. But remember, that if it should be the *Sun*, it is by that nature superiour to *fire*,

by which it doth it: The *maternal universal Cause* of the *sensitive life* is the Mother. Whether the *spirits* of a *sensitive Creature* have more in them than the spirits of a Plant; and do more by nutrition, than cause Vegetation; whether they nourish *sensitive Life* as such, is doubtfull: But if they do so, they be but an *universal* and not a *specifying* Cause; that is, the Cause of Life as Life, but not of the *vita bovis, equi, canis, felis, aquilæ, qualis*. And therefore if the late-discovered trick of passing all the blood of one *animal* into another, be prosecuted to the utmost tryal, possibly it may do much to the advantage of Life and Sense as such; but never to the alteration of the *species*, to turn a Dog into a Swine, or any other sort of Animal.

13. Whether the *sensitive* nature be most refined-corporeal, or totally incorporeal, is past the reach of man to be assured of.

14. The foresaid difficulty is greater here than in the Vegetative Generation, *viz.* Whether in the multiplication of *sensitive souls*, there be an addition of substance communicated from the Universal Causes? or a greater quantity or degree of matter (physical or metaphysical) propagated and produced into existence by generation, than there was before? It seemeth hard to say, that a pair of *Animals* in *Noahs* Ark, had as much matter or substance in their souls as the millions since proceeding from them: But whether such souls have quantitive degrees? or by what terms of gradation the souls of millions are distinct from one? besides the *number?* or whether God in the blessing of multiplication, hath enabled them to increase the quantity of matter which shall serve for so many more forms? are things which we cannot fully understand.

15. In the like manner we may rise up, and conceive of the Generation of Mankind. We are sure that he hath an *intelligent nature*, much nobler than the *sensitive*. And we know that *homo generat hominem*: And we know that in his Generation there is an *Universal Cause*, and a *specifying Cause*: (for though there be but one *species* of men, yet there are *more* of *Intelligences*; and that one may have an *Universal Cause*, producing that and other effects, and an Univocal special Cause.) We know that because he is Generated, the *specifying*

specifying Cause, is the fecundity or propagating power of the Parent, generating a *separable seed*, which *seed* (in conjunction as aforesaid, *& suppositis supponendis*) is *semen hominis*, and is *man seminally* and *virtually*, but not *actually*: that is, Hath both Passive and Active Power, and virtue, by reception of the influx of the *universal Cause*, to become a man. The universal inferior or feminine Cause, is the Mothers Body, and Soul, or the whole Mother, in whom the Infant is generated and cherished. I call it *Universal*: For it is only the *semen* that specifieth: And therefore by a false or bruitish *semen* a woman may produce a Monster. The *Universal Paternal* Cause is certainly *GOD ut prima*, and it is probable also *ut sola*: For he made Mans Soul at first by that immediate communication, which is called *Breathing it into him*: And the *Intellectual* nature (though specified into *Angels* and *Men*) is the neerest to GOD that we have any knowledge of: And therefore Reason will not teach us to look to any intermediate universal or superiour Cause; because there is no created *superiour Nature* to the *Intellectual*: And it's absurd to goe to the Inferior to be the Cause of the superior. If any will needs think, that under God, there is some *Universal Intellect* (not of the whole Universe, for that's plainly improbable, but of our Systeme or Vortex,) they must take it to be some *Angelical Intelligence*, as *Aristotle*, or the *Sun*, No man can prove either of these to have any such office. And for the *Sun*, it is certain that it is not possible, unless it self be an *Intelligence*: And though to humane Reason it seem very likely, that so glorious a corporeal Nature as the Sun, should not be destitute of as noble a *form*, as a lump of Clay, a humane body doth possess, that so there may be a proportion in Gods works between the nobility of matter and form; yet all this to man is utterly uncertain; nor doth any man know whether the Luminaries are animated with either *sentient* or *intelligent* Souls, or not. He that most confidently asserteth either, and scorneth the Contradicter, doth but tell you, that he is ignorant of his ignorance. But if it should prove true, as many of the Fathers thought, and *Mammertus ubi supra* asserteth, that Angels have fiery Bodies which they animate, and so that the Sun is animated with an Intelligence, it would

not follow that as *fiery* or as *ſenſitive*, but only as *intellective*, it were a ſubordinate univerſal Cauſe of compleat *humane Generations*, and that *Sol & Homo generant hominem*; (ſave only *quoad Corpus*, which is but *ſecundum quid.*) But that *God* is the *Univerſal Cauſe* is unqueſtionable, whether there be any *ſubordinate* or not.

16. And here it is no wonder if the doubts ariſe which were in the caſes of the forementioned *Generations*. Whether *God* as the *univerſal* cauſe produce new-metaphyſical matter for new forms? Whether millions of Souls ſince generated, have not more ſuch metaphyſical matter, than the ſoul of *Adam* and *Eve* alone? How Souls may be ſaid to have more or leſs ſuch *matter* or *ſubſtance*? Whether he educe all Souls *è virtute & fœcunditate primarum*, by giving them a power without any diviſion or diminution of themſelves, to bring forth others by multiplication? and ſo cauſe his Creature to participate of his own *fœcundity*, or power of cauſing Entities, *&c.* But ſuch difficulties as theſe, which ariſe not from uncertainties in Theology, but are the meer conſequents of the imperfection of humane Intellects, and the remoteneſs, depth, and unrevealedneſs of theſe myſterious works of God, ſhould turn no man from the holding of other plain revealed truths. As that *man generateth man*; that God is the chief *ſpecifying Cauſe* by his firſt making of man, and giving him the power and bleſſing of propagation, which he ſtill maintaineth, and with which he doth concurre: That Man is the ſecond ſpecifying Cauſe in the exerciſe of that power of Generation which God gave him. That God is the chief *univerſal Cauſe*; and to the production of an *Intellectual nature* as ſuch, doth unſpeakably more than man. That the mother as cheriſhing the *ſemen utriuſq; Parentis*, is the *maternal univerſal Cauſe*, &c. We know not fully how it is that one Light cauſeth a thouſand, without *diviſion* or *diminution* of it ſelf: and what it is that is cauſed *de novo*. It is eaſie to ſay, that it is but the *motion* of one part of the atomes or *materia ſubtilis* moving another, which was all pre-exiſtent: But few men that can ſee through a ſmoke or duſt of atomes, will believe, that the Sun and other fiery bodies, which ſhew themſelves ſo wonderfully to us by *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, have no peculiar *Nature*, *Power* or *Virtues*

Virtues to cauſe all this, but meer magnitude, and figure: And that thoſe Corpuſcles which have ſo many hundred degrees of magnitude, and figures, ſhould not fall into as many hundred ſuch Bodies as we call Elements, rather than into *two* or *four*.

Suppoſe (which we may *ad verum exquirendum*) that there were no more Fire in the Univerſe than one *Candle*: It having the ſame nature as now it hath, that Candle would turn Cities and all combuſtible matter into Fire. But of the Generation of man *quoad animam*, I *referre* the Reader to *Sennertus* his *Hypomnemata* (to omit all others)

And now I would know what there is in Generation that ſhould be againſt the Immortality of the Soul? will you ſay, it is becauſe the Soul hath a Beginning? I have anſwered before, that ſo have all Creatures: Is it becauſe it proveth the *Soul material?* 1. If it did, I have ſhewed that you your ſelves hold a perpetuity of matter: 2. But it *doth not ſo*. If you ſay, that *Incorporeal Spirits generate not*: I anſwer, That is but a naked, unproved aſſertion. If you ſay, that Angels do not: I anſwer, that 1. that is not becauſe they are *unable* or *unapt* if God thought it fitteſt for them: nor 2. can any man prove *de facto* whether they do or not. Chriſt ſaith, *They marry not*: but he ſaith not, whether they at all propagate their *ſpecies* or not: I know the negative is taken for certain; and I ſay not that it is not true, but that it is not *certain* nor at all known, and therefore an unfit ſuppoſition to argue from, againſt the Immortality of the Soul. And I muſt confeſs, that for my part, as I have oft read, *Formæ ſe multiplicant*, and that the Fire can more multiply or encreaſe it ſelf than Earth, and as I know that the more noble any Nature is, the more like it is to God, and therefore more *potent*, more active, more fecund and productive; ſo I ſhould farr rather think that the Angelical Nature can propagate it ſelf than the Humane, if God had not told me the later, and ſaid nothing *pro* or *contra* of the former. And therefore make no doubt, but if it do not, (which no man knoweth) it is not becauſe things material are more able; but for other reaſons unknown to us. Whether becauſe

Nemeſius de Anima (*which goeth under the name of* Greg. Nyſſen.) *while he endeavoureth to prove the pre-exiſtence of Souls, doth thus peremptorily conclude* [Si animæ ex ortu ſiunt mutuo, ratione providentiæ fiunt, & caducæ ſunt ut cætera quæ ex propagatione generis oriuntur: ſi ſunt ex nihilo, Creatio hæc eſt, neq; verum eſt, ceſſavit Deus ab omnibus operibus ſuis: Non ergo nunc animæ fiunt: *But there is no appearance of a juſt proof in any thing that he ſaith, againſt either of the Opinions which he oppoſeth.*

not follow that as *fiery* or as *ſenſitive*, but only as *intellective*, it were a ſubordinate univerſal Cauſe of compleat *humane Generations*, and that *Sol & Homo generant hominem*; (ſave only *quoad Corpus*, which is but *ſecundum quid.*) But that *God* is the *Univerſal Cauſe* is unqueſtionable, whether there be any *ſubordinate* or not.

16. And here it is no wonder if the doubts ariſe which were in the caſes of the forementioned *Generations*. Whether *God* as the *univerſal* cauſe produce new-metaphyſical matter for new forms? Whether millions of Souls ſince generated, have not more ſuch metaphyſical matter, than the ſoul of *Adam* and *Eve* alone? How Souls may be ſaid to have more or leſs ſuch *matter* or *ſubſtance*? Whether he educe all Souls *è virtute & fœcunditate primarum*, by giving them a power without any diviſion or diminution of themſelves, to bring forth others by multiplication? and ſo cauſe his Creature to participate of his own *fœcundity*, or power of cauſing Entities, *&c.* But ſuch difficulties as theſe, which ariſe not from uncertainties in Theology, but are the meer conſequents of the imperfection of humane Intellects, and the remoteneſs, depth, and unrevealedneſs of theſe myſterious works of God, ſhould turn no man from the holding of other plain revealed truths. As that *man generateth man*; that God is the chief *ſpecifying Cauſe* by his firſt making of man, and giving him the power and bleſſing of propagation, which he ſtill maintaineth, and with which he doth concurre: That Man is the ſecond ſpecifying Cauſe in the exerciſe of that power of Generation which God gave him. That God is the chief *univerſal Cauſe*; and to the production of an *Intellectual nature* as ſuch, doth unſpeakably more than man. That the mother as cheriſhing the *ſemen utriuſq; Parentis*, is the *maternal univerſal Cauſe*, &c. We know not fully how it is that one Light cauſeth a thouſand, without *diviſion* or *diminution* of it ſelf: and what it is that is cauſed *de novo*. It is eaſie to ſay, that it is but the *motion* of one part of the atomes or *materia ſubtilis* moving another, which was all pre-exiſtent: But few men that can ſee through a ſmoke or duſt of atomes, will believe, that the Sun and other fiery bodies, which ſhew themſelves ſo wonderfully to us by *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, have no peculiar *Nature*, *Power* or *Virtues* to cauſe all this, but meer magnitude, and figure: And that thoſe Corpuſcles which have ſo many hundred degrees of magnitude, and figures, ſhould not fall into as many hundred ſuch Bodies as we call Elements, rather than into *two* or *four*.

Suppoſe (which we may *ad verum exquirendum*) that there were no more Fire in the Univerſe than one *Candle*: It having the ſame nature as now it hath, that Candle would turn Cities and all combuſtible matter into Fire. But of the Generation of man *quoad animam*, I *referre* the Reader to *Sennertus* his *Hypomnemata* (to omit all others)

And now I would know what there is in Generation that ſhould be againſt the Immortality of the Soul? will you ſay, it is becauſe the Soul hath a Beginning? I have anſwered before, that ſo have all Creatures: Is it becauſe it proveth the *Soul material?* 1. If it did, I have ſhewed that you your ſelves hold a perpetuity of matter: 2. But it *doth not ſo*. If you ſay, that *Incorporeal Spirits generate not*: I anſwer, That is but a naked, unproved aſſertion. If you ſay, that Angels do not: I anſwer, that 1. that is not becauſe they are *unable* or *unapt* if God thought it fitteſt for them: nor 2. can any man prove *de facto* whether they do or not. Chriſt ſaith, *They marry not*: but he ſaith not, whether they at all propagate their *ſpecies* or not: I know the negative is taken for certain; and I ſay not that it is not true, but that it is not *certain* nor at all known, and therefore an unfit ſuppoſition to argue from, againſt the Immortality of the Soul. And I muſt confeſs, that for my part, as I have oft read, *Formæ ſe multiplicant*, and that the Fire can more multiply or encreaſe it ſelf than Earth, and as I know that the more noble any Nature is, the more like it is to God, and therefore more *potent*, more active, more fecund and productive; ſo I ſhould farr rather think that the Angelical Nature can propagate it ſelf than the Humane, if God had not told me the later, and ſaid nothing *pro* or *contra* of the former. And therefore make no doubt, but if it do not, (which no man knoweth) it is not becauſe things material are more able, but for other reaſons unknown to us. Whether becauſe

Nemeſius de Anima (*which goeth under the name of* Greg. Nyſſen.) *while he endeavoureth to prove the pre-exiſtence of Souls, doth thus peremptorily conclude* [Si animæ ex ortu fiunt mutuo, ratione providentiæ fiunt, & caducæ ſunt et cætera quæ ex propagatione generis oriuntur: ſi ſunt ex nihilo, Creatio hæc eſt, neq; verum eſt, ceſſavit Deus ab omnibus operibus ſuis: Non ergo nunc animæ fiunt: *But there is no appearance of a juſt proof in any thing that he ſaith, againſt either of the Opinions which he oppoſeth.*

God will have this lower World, to be the *Nidus vel Matrix Cœlorum*, and the Seminary of Heaven, and all multiplication to be here, or what it is, we know not.

But if it be on the other ſide concluded, that the whole ſubſtance of a Soul doth proceed directly and immediately from God, it doth make no great alteration in this caſe, or any of the coincident caſes about humane propagation: if you conſider, 1. That it is impoſſible that there ſhould be any *ſubſtance* which is not totally from God, either immediately, or mediately: And that what is ſaid to be *mediately* from Him, hath in it as much of his Cauſation as if there were no *medium*: For God is not a partial Cauſe, but a total *in ſuo genere*; and he is as *neer* to the effect as if there were no ſecond Cauſe. 2. That the *Somatiſts* themſelves ſay, that in the Generation of Plants and Animals (which they ſuppoſe to be totally Corporeal) there is not the leaſt degree of *ſubſtance* produced *de novo*, and therefore there is none, but what was totally of God, and the Parents do but cauſe inſtrumentally the uniting of matter præ-exiſtent. Therefore if in the Generating of Man, the Parents do but inſtrumentally cauſe the uniting of *ſubſtance* which is totally from God, though not præ-exiſtent, it little differenceth the Caſe as to the conſequents. 3. Eſpecially conſidering that what God doth, he doth by an eſtabliſht Law of Nature: As in his making of the World he made the Sun a *Cauſa Univerſalis* conſtantly to ſend forth the emanation of Light, Heat, and moving force upon paſſive matter, and thereby to produce effects diverſifyed by the preparations and reception of that matter; as to ſoften Wax, to harden Clay, to make a Dunghill ſtink, and a Roſe ſmell ſweet, to produce a poyſonous and a wholſom Plant, a Nightingale and a Toad, *&c.* and this without any diſhonour to the Sun: So if *God* the Father of Spirits, the Central efficient of Souls, have made it the original Law of Nature, that he will accordingly afford his communicative Influx, and that in Humane Generations, ſuch and ſuch Preparations of matter, ſhall be as Receptive of his emanations for ſuch and ſuch Forms, or ſpiritual ſubſtances, and that he will be herein but an *Univerſal Cauſe* of *Souls* as Souls, and not of Souls as clean or unclean; and

and that this ſhall depend upon the preparation of the Recipient (whether it be the *Body*, or a ſenſitive foregoing Principle) (ſtill keeping at his pleaſure, as a Voluntary Agent, the ſuſpenſion or diſpoſe of the effect), this would make no great alteration, neither as to the point of original ſin, nor any other weighty conſequent.

OBJECTION XIII.

OMne quod oritur interit: That which is not eternal as to paſt duration, is not eternal as to future duration: But the Soul is not eternal as to paſt duration: Ergo.

Anſw. I confeſs this argument will prove that the Soul is not mortal *ex neceſſitate ſuæ naturæ*, without dependance on a Voluntary preſerver. And therefore *Cicero* after moſt other Philoſophers, who uſeth the *Major* for a contrary Concluſion, miſtook in this, that he thought the Soul was as *natural* an Emanation from God as the beams or light is from the Sun: and therefore that it was naturally eternall both *à parte ante & à parte poſt*: which made *Arnobius* and other Ancients argue as much againſt the *Platoniſts* Immortality of the Soul, as againſt the Epicureans Mortality, ſo that (as I ſaid before) one would think that they were heretical in this point that doth not make them well. But it is only this *natural Eternity* which they confute: And when the Philoſophers ſay, that *Omne quod oritur interit*, they can mean, or at leaſt prove no more but this, that it is not *Everlaſting ex neceſſitate naturæ*. But yet 1. It may be in its *nature fitted* to be perpetual. 2. And by the will of the Creator *made perpetual*. Every Creature did *oriri de novo*: and yet every one doth not *interire*.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION XIV.

Would you see Physical Arguments for the Souls Incorporeity and Immortality? Among a multitude that have done it, I desire you to read Plotinus, En. 4. l. 7. *of the Immort. of the Soul; whose arguments I pretermit, because I would not be tedious in transcribing that which is already so well written (abateing their peculiar Conceits.)*
Vid. & Savonarol. l. 1. c. ult.

Among all your Arguments for the Souls Immortality, there are none but Morall ones.

Answ. Morality is grown so contemptible a thing, with some debauched persons, that a very argument is invalidated by them or contemned, if they can but call it *Moral*. But what is *Morality* but the *modality* of *Naturals*? And the same argument may be *Natural* and *Moral*. Indeed we call that a *Causa Moralis* oft-times which doth not necessitate the effect: And yet sometimes even moral Causes do *infallibly* and *certainly* produce the effect. But *causation* and *argumentation* are different things, and so is an *effect* and a Logical *consequence*. Will you call the consequents of Gods own Wisdom, Justice, Veracity, Goodness, &c. uncertain as coming from a *Morall Cause*? The Soul is an Intellectual free agent, and adapted to Moral operations; And this is its excellency and perfection, and no disparagement to it at all. And if you will better read them over, you will finde that my Arguments are both Physical and Moral: For I argue from the Acts or *operations* of the Soul to its *Powers* and *Nature*; And from its *Acts* and *Nature* to its ends, with many such like, which are as truly Physical *media*, as if I argued from the nature of *Fire* and *Earth*, that one if not hindered will ascend, and the other descend. And *other men* have given you other Arguments in their Physicks and Metaphysicks.

OBJECTION XV.

You seem to confess that you cannot prove the endless duration of the Soul by any Argument from Nature alone; But only that it shall live another Life which you call a Life of Retribution.

Answ. I told you, that a great probability of it, I thus prove: God hath made the Soul of a Nature not corruptible, but

but apt to perpetual duration: *Ergo*, he thereby declareth his will, that he *intendeth* it for perpetual duration: because he maketh nothing in vain, either for substance or quality. It may be some other will think that this argument will inferre not only a *probability* but a *certainty*.

And if you go back to your objection of *Materiality*, I now only adde, that *Aristotle* and his followers, who think that the Heavens are corporeal, yet think that they are a *quinta essentia* and simple, and incorruptible, and therefore that they shall certainly be everlasting: And he taketh the the souls of Bruits to be *analogous to the matter of the Starrs*; and so to be of that everlasting *quinteffence*: And can you in reason say *less* of *Rational Souls*?

2. It is sufficient, that I prove by natural evidence a Life of Retribution after this, which shall fully make the miserable ungodly ones repent tormentingly of their sin, and fill the righteous with such Joyes as shall fully recompense all their labour and suffering in a holy life: And that I moreover prove that *duration* of this life, and all the rest, by *supernatural evidence*.

OBJECTION XVI.

Both Soul and Body are like a Candle in fluxu continuo; *and we have not the same substance this Week or Year as we had the last, there being a continual consumption or transition and accretion:* Ergo, *being not the same, we are uncapable of a Life of future Retribution. Will you reward and punish the man that is, or the man that was?*

Answ. It is a foolish thing to carry great and certain Truths into the dark, and to argue against them *à minus notis*, from meer uncertainties. As to your simile, I confess that the Oyl of your Candle is still wasting, so is the wick; but not that *new* is added to make it another thing, unless it be a Lamp. I confess, that the *lucid fume* which we call the flame is still passing away. But whether the *fiery Principle* (in *its essence* not *visible*, but only in its *Light*) be not still the *same* till all the passive matter be consumed, is more

than you know. So also if you argue from the Vegetative life of a Tree: Whether the *same Principle* of Vegetation (enlarging it self) continue not to the end to individuate the Tree, though all the passive Elements (Earth, Water, and Air) may be *in fluxu* and a transient state? It is certain, that some fixed Principle of Individuation there is, from whence it must be denominated the *same*. The water of the hasty River would not be called the *same River*, if the Channel which it runs in were not the same: Nor your Candle be called the same Candle, if some of the first Wick or Oyl at least did not remain, or the same fire continue it, or the same Candlestick hold it. And what is it in the Tree which is still the same? or what in the Bird that flyeth about, which is still the same? when you have searched all, you will finde nothing so likely as the vital Principle, and yet that *something* there must be.

2. But doth not the light of Nature, and the concurrent sense and practice of all the World confute you? and tell you that if you cannot understand what the Individuating Principle is, yet that certainly some such there is and doth continue. Why else will you love and provide for your own Children, if they be not at all the same that you begat, nor the same this year as you had the last? Why will you be revenged on the Man that did beat you, or hang the Thief that robbed you, or do Justice on any Murderer or Malefactor, seeing that it is not the same man that did the deed? If he transpire as much as *Sanctorius* saith, and his substance diminish as much in a day as *Opicius* saith, certainly a few dayes leave him not the same as to those transitory parts. Surely therefore there is something which is still the same. Else you would deny the King his title, and disoblige your selves from your subjection, by saying that he is not at all the same man that you swore Allegiance to, or that was born Heir of the Crown. And you would by the same reason forfeit your own Inheritance. Why should uncertain Philosophical whimsies besool men into those speculations, which the light and practice of all the world doth condemn as madness. But arguing *ab ignotis* will have no better success. Of the individuation of Bodies in the Resurrection I spake before†.

† *The summ of their Reasons, who think that Bodies at the Resurrection are Identified only by the Souls identity, you may see in* Thom. Whites Theolog. Institut. To. 2. li. 3. Lect. 4. p. 839. 340.

OBJECTION XVII.

IF *the Soul be a substance, we must confess it not annihilated: But it is most like to proceed from some Element of Souls, or Universal Soul, either the* Anima Mundi, *or rather the* Anima Solis, vel hujus systematis: *And so to be reduced to it again, and lose its individuation, and consequently to be uncapable of Retribution.*

Answ. 1. That the *Soul* which we speak of is a *substance*, is past all controverlie: For though, as I have shewed, there is truely an *order* or *temperament* of the parts, which he that listeth may call the *form*, the *life*, the *soul*, or what he please; yet no man denyeth but that *there is* also some one part which is more *subtile*, *pure*, *active*, *potent*, and *regnant* than the rest; and this is it (whatever it is) which I call the Soul. We are agreed of the Thing; let them wrangle *de nomine* who have nothing else to doe.

2. That this substance (no substance else) is not annihilated, as I have said, is past dispute.

3. Therefore there is nothing indeed in all this business which is liable to Controversie, but this point of *Individuation*, which this Objection mentioneth; (and that of *action* and *operation* following.) And I must confess that this is the only particular, in which hereabouts I have found the temptation to error to be much considerable. They that see how all waters come from the Sea, and how Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, have a potent inclination of union, and when the parts are separated, have a *motus aggregativus*, may be tempted to think it a probable thing, that all Souls come from, and return unto a Universal Soul or Element of which they are but particles. But concerning this, I recommend to the sober Reader these following Considerations.

1. There is in Nature more than a probability that the *Universe* hath no *Universal* Soul (whatever particular Systems or Globes may have). For we finde that *Perfection* lyeth so much in *Unity*, and as all things are *from One*, so as they go out *from One*, they go into Multiplicity, that we have great cause to think, that it is the *Divine Prerogative*

Read Plotinus in Enead. 4. pag. 3 (Ed. Basil.) de dividuatione Animarum. As also the following pages, prove that our Souls are parts of the Anima Mundi. Et sect. pag. 377. Quomodo animæ differant: quomodo sint immortales in forma propria restantes?

Read the Note in the Margin of the last Leaf.

to be *Unicus Universalis*. He is the *Unicus Universalis* in Entity, Life, Intelligence, &c. As he hath made no one Monarch of all the Universe (no nor of all the Earth) nor no one Head of all the Church, that is not God (whatever the *Roman* Vice-god say) nor hath given any one a *sufficiency* hereto; (whatever a self-Idolizer may imagine of himself;) so he hath not given away or communicated that Prerogative, which seemeth proper to the Deity, to be an *Universal Minde*, and consequently an *Universal* Parent, and King, yea more, to be *Omnia in Uno*. Having no sort of proof that there is any such thing, finding it so high and Divine a Prerogative, we have little reason to believe that there is any such thing at all in being.

2. If you mean therefore no more than an *Universal Soul* to a particular Systeme, or *Vortex* in the World, that *Universal* will be it self a *particular Soul*, Individuated, and distinct from other Individuals. And indeed those very Elements that tempt you, might do much to undeceive you. There is of Fire a *specifical* Unity, by which it differeth from other Elements; but there is no universal aggregation of all the parts of Fire. The Sun which seemeth most likely to contend for it, will yet acknowledge, individual Starrs and other parts of Fire, which shew that it is not the whole. The Water is not all in the Sea: we know that there is much in the Clouds, whatever there is elsewhere (above the Clouds). We have no great cause to think, that this Earth is *Terra Universalis*: I confess, since I have looked upon the Moon through a Tube, and since I have read what *Galileus* saith of it, and of *Venus*, and other Planets, I finde little reason to think that other Globes are not some of them like our Earth. And if you can believe an *Individuation* of *Greater Souls*, why not of *Lesser?* The same reasons that tempt you to think that the Individuation of our Souls will cease, by returning into the *Anima Systematis vel Solis*, may tempt you to think that the *anima systematum* may all cease their Individuation by returning into God (and their *existence* too.)

3. If this were left as an unrevealed thing, you might take some liberty for your Conjectures. But when all the Twenty Arguments which I have given, do prove a continued

tinued Individuation and Retribution, it is deceitful and absurd to come in with an unproved dream against it, and to argue, *ab ignoto*, against so many cogent arguments.

4. And we have proved supernatural revelation to second this, which is evidence more than sufficient to bear down your unproved conjectures.

5. If it had been doubtful whether the souls *individuation* cease, (and nothing of all the rest is doubtful) yet this would not make so great a difference in the case as some imagine; for it would confess the *perpetuity of souls*, and it would not overthrow the proof of a Retribution, if you consider these four things.

1. That the parts are the same in union with the whole, as when they are all separated. Their *nature* is the same, and as *Epicurus* and *Democritus* say of their atoms, they are still distinguishable, and are truly *parts*, and may be *intellectually* separated: the same individual water which you cast out of your bottle into the sea, is somewhere in the sea still; and though contiguous to other parts, is discernable from them all by God. The *Haecceity*, as they say, remaineth.

2. That the love of individuation, and the fear of the ceasing of our individuation, is partly but put into the creature from God *pro tempore*, for the preservation of individuals in this present life. And partly it is inordinate, and is in man the fruit of his fall, which consisteth in turning to SELFISHNESS from GOD. And we know not how much of our recovery consisteth in the cure of this *selfishness*; and how much of our perfection in the cessation of our individuate affections, cares and labours. Nature teacheth many men by Societies, to unite as much as possible, as the means of their common safety, benefit, and comfort: and earth, water, air, and all things, would be aggregate. Birds of a feather will flock together. And love, which is the uniting affection, especially to a friend who is fit for union with us in other respects, is the delight of life. And if our souls were swallowed up of one common soul, (as water cast into the sea is still moist and cold, and hath all its former properties, so) we should be still the same; and no man can give a just reason why our sorrows or joys should be altered ever the more by this.

3. And God can either keep the ungodly from this union for a punishment, or let them *unite* with the *infernal* spirits, which they have contracted a connaturality with; or let them, where ever they are, retain the venom of their sin and misery.

4. And he can make the Resurrection to be a return of all these souls, from the Ocean of the universal nature, into a more separated individuation again. I only say, that if it had been true, that departing souls had fallen into a common element, yet on all these reasons, it would not have overthrown our arguments for a life of full retribution. God, that can say at any time, [This drop of water in the Ocean is the same, that was once in such a bottle] can say, This particle of the universal soul, was once in such a body, and thither can again return it. But the truth is, no man can shew any proof of such a future aggregation.

And to conclude, the Scripture here cleareth up all the matter to us, and assureth us of a continued Individuation yet more than *Nature* doth, though the *natural evidences* before produced are unanswerable.

And as for the similitude of *Light* returning to the Sun, it is still an arguing *à minus noto*: we know not well what it is: we know not how it returneth: and we know not how the particles are distinguishable there. They that confess souls to be *indivisible* (though the individuals are all numerically distinct) must on the same ground think that two or many *cannot* by union be turned into *one*, as they hold that *one* cannot be turned into *two*, or into several parts of that one divided.

OBJECTION XVIII.

THe Platonists, *and some* Platonick *Divines, have so many dreams and fopperies about the soul's future state, in aerial and ethereal vehicles, and their durations, as maketh that doctrine the more to be suspected.*

Answ. 1. Whether all souls hereafter be incorporate in some kind of bodies, which they call vehicles, is a point which

which is not without difficulty. A sober Christian may possibly doubt, whether there be any incorporeal simple essence in a separated existence besides God alone. Those that doubt of it, do it on these grounds. 1. They think, that absolute simplicity is a divine incommunicable perfection. 2. They think that Christ is the noblest of all creatures; and that seeing he shall be compound of a humane *Soul* and *Body*, (though glorified and spiritual) to eternity, therefore no Angel shall excell him in natural simplicity and perfection. 3. Because it is said that *we shall be equal with the Angels*: and yet we shall, (at the Resurrection) be compounded of a soul and body. 4. Because it is said, that *He made his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* 5. Because the ancient Fathers, who first thought Angels to be subtil bodies, were confuted by those (as *Mammertus* forementioned) who asserted them to be *fiery bodies*, animated with incorporeal souls. 6. Because they read of the Devils dwelling in the *air*, as one *cast down*: therefore they think that he hath an *aery body*, instead of an *ethereal* or *fiery*. 7. Because they see the Sun so glorious a creature, in comparison of a body of flesh: therefore they think that the symmetry and proportion among God's works requireth, that *bodies* and *forms*, or souls, be suitable. 8. Because they know not what else becometh of the *sensitive soul* of man, when he dieth; which they take to be but a *subtil body*: and therefore think it goeth as a body or vehicle with the rational soul. 9. Because they mistake that difficult Text, 2 *Cor.* 5. 1, 2, 8. think by the 7 and 8 verses, that it speaketh of the instant after death; and thinking by the first and second verses, that (as *Beza* and most think) it speaketh of a celestial body as our cloathing, and not of a meer state of glory to the soul.

Plotinus *his* E
4. de Anima,
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tomists.

I name their reasons, that you may be charitable in your censures; but the truth is, they talk of unrevealed or uncertain things, which do but trouble the heads of Christians to no purpose, who may live better, and speed better, by following the naked precepts of Christianity, and hoping for such a glory as Christ hath plainly described, without prying into that which doth less concern them to be acquainted with.

2. And

2. And Satan knoweth that *over-doing* is one way of *undoing*. Thus men on all extremes do harden one another. As in theſe times among us it is notorious, that the men of one extreme in Church affairs do harden the other, and the other harden them. And as Fanaticiſm riſeth from the diſliking of ſenſuality and prophaneneſs; incautelous, and ſenſual and prophane men run into hell to avoid fanaticiſm; even ſo the bruitiſh groſsneſs of the *Somatiſts* driveth ſome Philoſophers into *Platonick* dreams, and the *Platonick* ſanctions harden the *Epicureans* in a far worſer way. *Lactantius*, *de ira Dei, cap.* 13. thinks, that *Epicurus* was moved to his opinion againſt Providence, by ſeeing the hurt that good men and Religious endure from the worſer ſort here in this world. But why ſhould you run out on one ſide the way, becauſe other men run out on the other? why do you not rather argue from the doctrine in the *ſober mean*, that it *is true*; than from the *extreams* that the truth is falſhood? When reaſon will allow you to conclude no more than that thoſe *extremes* are falſhood. But ſurely I had rather hold *Plato*'s *Anima mundi*, or *Ariſtotle*'s *Intellectus agens*, and his *moving Intelligences*, than *Epicurus* his *Atoms* and *motion* only. And I had rather think with *Alexander Aphad.* that *omnis actio corporis eſt ab incorporeo principio*; yea, or the *Stoicks* doctrine of *Intellectual Fire* doing all; than *Gaſſendus* his doctrine, that no incorporeal thing can move a corporeal, or that Atoms and their motion only do all that we find done in nature.

When I look over and about me, I find it a thing quite paſt my power to think, that the glorious parts above us are not repleniſhed with much nobler creatures than we. And therefore if the *Platoniſts*, and the ancient *Platonick* Fathers of the Church, did all think that they lived in communion with Angels, and had much to do with them, and that the ſuperiour intelligences were a nobler part of their ſtudies than meer bodies, they ſhall have the full approbation of my reaſon in this, though I would not run with them into any of their preſumptions, and uncertain or unſound conceits.

Saith *Æneas Gazæus*, *pag.* 778. when he had told us that *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Plotinus* and *Numenius* were for the paſſing of

of men's ſouls into bruits, but *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* were againſt it, and thought that they paſſed only into men, *Ego quidem hac ipſa de cauſa filium aut famulum ob id quod commiſerint peccatum puniens, antequam de ipſis ſupplicium ſumam, præmoneo, ut meminerint ne poſthac unquam in eadem mala recurrant. Deus autem quando ultima ſupplicia decernit, non edocet eos qui pœnarum cauſas, ſed ſcelerum memoriam omnem tollet? vide pag.* 382. For this reaſon and many others, we aſſume not their conceit of the ſoul's pre-exiſtence, and think all ſuch unproved fancies to be but ſnares to trouble the world with. We think not that God puniſheth men for ſin in another world, while he totally obliterateth the memory of the other world and of their ſin: When he hath told us that *In Adam all die*, and *By one mans diſobedience many are made ſinners*, and *ſo condemnation paſſed upon all*, *Rom.* 5. Nor will we with *Origen* thus tempt men to look for more ſuch changes hereafter, which we can give them no proof of. Nor will we diſtribute the Angelical Hierarchy into all the degrees, which the *pſeudo-Dionyſius* doth; nor with the *Gnoſticks*, *Baſilidians*, *Saturninians*, *Valentinians*, and abundance of thoſe antient Hereticks, corrupt Chriſtianity with the mixture of fanatick dreams, about the unrevealed Powers and worlds above us, either *worſhipping Angels*, or *prying into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen*, (and are not revealed) *vainly puft up by his fleſhly mind*, (*or without cauſe puffed up by the imagination of his own fleſh*, as Dr. *Hammond* tranſlateth it) *Col.* 2. 18. Nor will we make a Religion with *Paracelſus*, *Behmen*, the *Roſicrucians*, or the reſt, deſcribed by *Chriſt. Beckman*, *Exercit.* of the Philoſophical whimſies of an over-ſtretch'd imagination. And yet we will not reject the ſaying of *Athenagoras*, *Apol. pag.* 57. *Magnum numerum Angelorum & Miniſtrorum Dei eſſe fatemur, quos opifex & architectus mundi Deus Verbo ſuo tanquam in claſſes ordinavit centuriavitque, ut elementa, cœlos, mundum, & quæ in mundo ſunt, viceſque & ordinem omnium moderarent.* Though we may adde with *Junilius Africanus*, that [*Whether the Angels meddle with the government of the world of ſtabliſhed creatures, is a difficult queſtion.*]

OBJECTION XIX.

See Plotin. Ennead. 4. l. 3. p. 185. *shewing, that in separated souls Reason is so powerful, that it ex tempore conceiveth all things propounded by the Intellect; and that souls in Heaven converse without voice, but demons and souls that are in the air converse by voice.*

IF *the soul do continue individuate, yet its actings will not be such as they are now in the body, because they have not spirits to act by: And as* Gassendus *thinketh, that the reason of oblivion in old men, is the wearing out of the vestigia of the former spirits, by the continual flux or transition of matter; so we may conceive that all memory will cease to separated souls, on the same account: and therefore they will be unfit for Rewards or Punishments, as not remembring the cause.*

Vid. Porphyr. de occasion. de Passionibus Animæ & corp.

Answ. 1. If *Gassendus* his opinion were true, men should forget all things once a year, if not once a month, considering how many pounds of matter are spent every 24 hours. And why then do we better, when we are old, remember the things which we did between nine or ten years old, and twenty, than most of the later passages of our lives, (as I do for my part very sensibly.)

2. What is *mans memory* (for with bruits we meddle not) but *scientia præteritorum?* Is not *remembring* a *knowing* of things *past?* surely we may perceive that it is; and that it is of the same kind of action with the *knowing* of *things present*. And therefore we may make not *memory* a third faculty, because it is the same with the *understanding*.

3. We have little reason to think, that the surviving soul will lose any of its *essential powers*, and grow by its change not only *impotent*, but *another thing*. Therefore it will be still an *intelligent power*. And though remote actions and effects (such as writing, fighting, &c.) are done by instruments, which being removed we cannot do them without; yet *essential acts* are nothing so, (which flow immediately from the essence of the agent, as *light*, *heat* and *motion* of the *fire*:) If there be but *due objects*, these will be performed without such instruments: Nor will the Creator, who continueth it an active intelligent power, continue it so in vain, by denying it necessaries for its operations. There is like to be much difference in many respects, between the soul's actings here and hereafter: but the acts flowing from its essence immediately, as *knowledge*, *volition*, *complacency*, (called

(called *Love*) and *Displacencie*, &c. will be the same. How far the soul here doth act, without any idea or instrument, I have spoken before. And the manner of our acting hereafter, no man doth now fully understand: But that which is essentially an *intellectual volitive power*, will not be idle in its active essence, for want of a body to be its instrument. If we may so far ascribe to God himself such Affections or Passions, as the ingenious Mr. *Samuel Parker*, in his *Tentam. Phil. l. 2. c. 8. p. 333*, &c. hath notably opened, we have no reason to think that *scientia præteritorum* is not to be ascribed to a soul, when it is separated from the corporeal spirits.

Plotin. ubi supr. p. 391. sect. 26. *sheweth, that Memory is more pertinent to the soul than the body, and oft without the body.* Et sect. 29, &c. Et c. 31, 32 *the difference between the sensitive and rational memory.* Et l. 2 *he sheweth, that the soul in heaven forgetteth these trifles, not through ignorance, but contempt.*

Or if the soul out of the body were as liable, as it is by diseases of the body while it is in it, to the loss of memory, yet all those arguments which prove the Life of Retribution hereafter, do fully prove that God will provide it a way of exercise, and prevent all those hinderances of memory, which may make his Judgment and Retribution void. Again, therefore I say, To argue *ab ignotis* against clear evidence, in matters that our own everlasting joy or sorrow is concerned in so deeply, is a folly, that no tongue can express with its due aggravations.

OBJECTION XX.

THe belief of the immortality of souls doth fill men with fears, and draw them to superstition, and trouble the peace of Kingdoms by unavoidable sects, in the prosecution of those things which are of such transcendent weight; when otherwise men might live in quietness to themselves and others, and in promoting of the publick good.

Sicille (*Strato*) Deum opere magno liberat, & me timore: Quis enim potest cum existimet à Deo se curari, non & dies & noctes divinum numen horrere? & si quid adversi acciderit, (quod cui non accidit) extimescere ne id jure evenerit. *cic. Acad. quæst. l. 4. p. 44.*

Answ. This is the maddest objection of all the rest; but in our days there are men found that are no wiser than to make it. I have answered it fully in divers popular Treatises, as that called, *A Saint, or a Bruit*, &c.

1. The greatest and best things are liable to the worst abuses. Thus you may argue against Reason, that it doth but fill mens brains with knavish craft, and enable them to do mischief; and to trouble the world; and to live themselves

in cares and fears, &c. Upon many such reasons, *Cotta, in Cic. de Nat. Deor.* doth chide God for making man a rational creature, and saith, he had been happier without it. And were it not for this wit and reason, we should have none of these evils which you have here now mentioned. Why then is not reason as well as Religion on that account to be rejected?

On the same reason, Philosophy and Learning may be accused, (as it is with the *Turks* and *Moscovites*.) What abundance of sects, and voluminous contentions, and tired consuming studies have they caused? witness all the volumes of Philosophers and School-men.

On the same account you may cry down Kings, and Civil Government, and Riches, and all that is valued in the world: for what wars and bloudshed hath there been in the world for Crowns and Kingdoms? what hatred and contention for honour and wealth? If you could make all men swine, they would not stir for gold or pearls; or if they were dogs, they would not fight for Kingdoms: and if they be blind and impious worldlings, they will not be zealous about Religion, unless to *dis-spirit* it, and to reduce it to the service of their fleshly interest, (which is the hypocrites zeal.) No man will contend for that which he valueth not.

But, 2. Consider, that though dogs will not fight for Crowns, they will fight for bones, and some times need men of reason to save them off. And though swine fight not for gold, they will fight for draff, and burst their bellies if they be not governed. And though unbelievers and Atheists trouble not the world to promote Religion, they set Families, Towns, and Countries, and Kingdoms together by the ears for their worldly self, and fleshly interest. Enquire whether the wars of the world be not most for *carnal interest*, (even where Religion hath been pretended:) and hearken in *Westminster-hall*, and at the Assizes, whether most of the contendings there are such as are caused by Religion, or by the love of the world and of the flesh. And where Religion seemeth to be a part of the cause, it is the Atheists and ungodly that are commonly the chief contenders; who think it not enough to hope for no life to come themselves, but

but they cannot endure other men that do it, because they seem wiser, and better, and happier than they, and by their holiness gall their consciences and condemn them.

3. The extremity of this objections impudency appeareth in this above all; that it is most notorious, that there is no effectual cure for all the villanies of the world but true Religion; and shall the cure be made the cause of that disease? 1. Read and judge in Nature and Scripture, whether the *whole matter* of Religion be not perfectly contrary to the vices of the world. Will it trouble Kingdoms, or disquiet souls, to love God above all, and to honour and obey him, and be thankful for his mercies, and to trust his promises, and to rejoice in hope of endless glory: and to love our neighbours as our selves, and to do no injustice or wrong to any: to forbear wrath and malice, lust, adultery, theft and lying, and all the rest expressed in this treatise. 2. Is it not for *want* of Religion that all the vices and contentions of the world are? Would not men be better subjects, and better servants, and better neighbours, if they had more Religion? Would not they lie, and deceive, and steal, and wrong others less? Do you think he that believeth a life to come, or he that believeth it not, is liker to cut your purse, or rob you by the high way, or bear false witness against you, or be perjured, or take that which is not his own, or any such unrighteous thing? Is he liker to live as a good subject or servant, who looketh for a reward in heaven for it, or he that looketh to die as a beast doth? Is he liker to do well and avoid evil, who is moved by the effectual hopes and fears of another life, or he that hath no such hopes and fears, but thinketh that if he can escape the Gallows there is no further danger? Had you rather your servant, that is trusted with your estate, did believe that there is a life to come, or that there is none? Nay, why doth not your objection militate as strongly against the thief's believing, that there will be an Assize? For if the belief of an Assize did not trouble him, he might quietly take that which he hath a mind to, and do what he list: but this fills his heart with fears and troubles. 3. Compare those parts of the world (*Brasil* and *Soldania*, &c.) which believe not a life to come, (if any such there be) with those that do, and see which

belief

belief hath the better effects. 4. What is there of any effectual power, to restrain that man from any villany which he hath power to carry out, or policy to cover, who doth not believe a life to come. 5. And if you believe it not, what will you do with Reason, or any of your faculties, or your time? How will you live in the world, to any better purpose, than if you had slept out all your life? What talk you of the *publick good*, when the denying of our final true felicity, denyeth all that is truely Good, both publick and private.

But so sottish and malignant an objection deserveth pity more than confutation. Whatever Religious persons did ever offend these men with any reall Crimes, I can assure them, that the Cure had been to have made them *more Religious* and not less; And that the true Belief of a Life to come, is the end, the motive, the poise of all wise and regular actions, and of Love and Peace, of right Government and obedience, and of justice, mercy, and all that is lovely in the world.

An OBJECTION about the Worlds Eternity.

HAving said thus much about the point which I thought most considerable, I shall answer an Objection about the Worlds Eternity, because I perceive that it sticks with some.

Obj. *We finde it the harder to believe the Scripture, and the Christian Doctrine, because it asserteth a thing which* Aristotle *hath evinced to be so improbable, as is the Creation of the World within less than 6000 years. When no natural reason can be brought to prove that the World is not eternall.*

Answ. 1. It is you that are the affirmers, and therefore on whom the natural proof is incumbent. Prove if you can that the World is eternal. Were it not tedious, I should by examining your reasons shew that they have no convincing force at all.

Vid. Paul. Certef. in a Sect. d. 1. p. 30, 31.

2. There is so much written of it, that I am loth to trouble the Reader with more. I now only again referre the

the Reader to *Raymundus Lullius*, desiring him not to reject his arguments if some of them seem not cogent, seeing if any one of all his multitude prove such, it is enough.

3. I now only desire that the Controversie between the Christian and the Infidel may be but rightly stated. And to that end do not charge Christianity with any School-mans or other confident persons private opinions, nor suppose Christ or Scripture to determine any thing, which they do not determine. 1. Christianity and Scripture do not at all determine, whether the whole Universe was created at the same time when this our Heaven and Earth was: But only that the Systeme or World, which we belong to, the Sun, and Moon, and Starrs, and Earth were then created. Nay, a great part of the ancient Doctors, and of the most learned late Expositors on *Gen.* 1. do expound the Heavens which God is said to create as being only the visible Heavens, and not including the Angels at all. And others say, that by [*In the beginning*] is meant *ab initio rerum*, and that the *Heavens* there meant being the Angelical Habitations, and the Earth as without form, were both *ab initio rerum* before the six dayes Creation, which began with the making of Light out of the pre-existent Heavens or Chaos. I think not this opinion true; but this liberty Christian Doctors have taken of differing from one another in this difficult point. But they utterly differ about the time of the creation of Angels (on *Gen.* 1. and on *Job* 1.) and consequently whether there were not a World existent, when *this World* was created.

2. Or if any that seeth more than I, can prove the contrary, yet it is certainly a thing undetermined by Scripture and in the Christian Faith, whether there were any Worlds that had begun and ended before this was made: That God is the maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible, is most certain: But whether this Heaven and Earth, which now is, was the first which he hath made, is a thing that our Religion doth not at all meddle with. They that with *Origen* affirm, that there were antecedent worlds, are justly blamed on one side, not for speaking things false, but *things uncertain* and unrevealed, and, for corrupting Christianity by a mixture of things alien and doubtfull. And those

Some think, because they read much in Plato *of the making of the World, that his opinion was not for its eternity; but I doubt they are quite mistaken.* Alcinous in lib. de doct. Plat. *saith too truely,* [Cum vero mundum Plato genitum inquit, haudquaquam sic eum sensisse credendum est, ut aliquod olim temporis ante mundum præcesserit; Verum quia semper in generatione perdurat, indicatq; substantiæ suæ causam præstantiorem. Animam præterea mundi, quæ semper extitit, haud officit Deus; sed ornat: eâq; ratione eam facere nonnunquam asseritur, quod excitat eam, & ad seipsum ejus mentem velut ex profundo quodam somno convertit, *&c.*

thoſe who affirm that there were no antecedent worlds, are as much culpable on the other ſide, if not more, on the ſame account and upon further reaſons. On the one ſide, we know that God needeth nothing to his own felicity, but is perfectly ſufficient for himſelf; and that he createth not the World *ex neceſſitate naturæ* as an agent which acteth *ad ultimum poſſe*. And on the other ſide we know, that though he hath a *Goodneſs* of ſelf-perfection, unſpeakably more excellent than his *Benignity* as *Related* to *man* (not that one Property in God is to be ſaid more excellent than another in it ſelf, but that *quoad Relationem* there is an *infinite* difference between his *Goodneſs* in Himſelf, and his *Goodneſs* only as *Related* to his *Creatures*, and meaſured by their intereſt), yet we confeſs that his *Fecundity*, and *Benignity* is included in his own *Goodneſs*; and that he delighteth to *do Good*, and is communicative; and that he doth Good *ex neceſſitate voluntaria, ex naturæ perfectione*, without coaction; it being moſt neceſſary that he do that which his Infinite wiſdom ſaith is beſt: (which made *Th. White de Mundo* ſay, that God did *neceſſarily make the World, and neceſſarily make it in time, and not* ab æterno, *and yet all this moſt voluntarily, becauſe he doth neceſſarily do that which is beſt in the judgement of his Wiſdom.*) And we deny not that if a man will preſume to give liberty to his Reaſon to ſearch into unrevealed things, that it will ſeem to him very improbable, that he who is *Actus purus*, of Infinite Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and who now taketh pleaſure in all his works, and his delights are with the Sons of men, ſhould from all Eternity produce no Creature till leſs than 6000 years ago; when a thouſand years with him are but as a day; and that he ſhould reſolve to have Creatures to all Eternity, who as to future duration ſhall be ſo like to Himſelf, when from all Eternity he had no Creature, till, as it were, five or ſix dayes agoe! Chriſtians are apt to have ſuch thoughts as theſe as well as you, when they look but to rational probabilities. But they hold that all theſe matters, whether there were antecedent worlds, and how many, and of what ſort, and of what duration, whether this was the firſt, are matters unrevealed, which they ought not to trouble the world or themſelves with prying into, or contending about: And they finde

finde that they are unfruitfull ſpeculations, which do but overwhelme the minde of him that ſearcheth after them; when God hath provided for us in the Chriſtian Faith, more plain, and ſure, and ſolid, and wholſom food to live upon.

3. And if it be unrevealed in Scripture, whether before this there was any other World, we muſt confeſs it unrevealed whether there were any emanant or created Entity, which God did produce from *all Eternity* conſidered *quoad durationem* only. For the Scripture ſaith no more of one than of the other. And if there were *one moment* (dividing Eternity only imaginarily) in which there had been *nothing but God*, we muſt equally confeſs an *Eternity* in which there was nothing but God: becauſe Eternity hath no beginning.

4. But Chriſtianity aſſureth us of theſe two things, 1. That certainly there is no Being beſides God but what was created, produced or totally cauſed by Him: And that if any Creature were eternal as to duration, yet it is *after God* in *order* of *being* as *cauſed by Him*, as the *ſhadow* is after the *ſubſtance*, and as the beams and light are after the Sun; or rather as the leaves would be after the life of the Tree, if they were conceived to be both eternal: One would be an eternal Cauſe, and the other but an eternal Effect. 2. It is certain, that this preſent World containing the Sun, and Moon, and Heavens, and Earth, which are mentioned *Geneſ.* 1. is not *from Eternity*. And indeed Reaſon it ſelf doth make that at leaſt very probable, as Revelation makes it certain. Which will appear when I have opened the Philoſophers opinions on the other ſide.

2. Among your ſelves there are all theſe differences, (and ſo we have ſeveral Caſes to ſtate with you). 1. Some think that this preſent Syſteme of *compounded beings* is from Eternity. 2. Others think, that only the Elements and Heavens, and all ſimple Beings are from Eternity. 3. Others think that *Fire* or Æther only as the Active Element is from Eternity, or the incorruptible matter of the Heavens. 4. Others think that matter and motion only were from Eternity. 5. Others think, that only ſpiritual purer beings, Intelligences or Mindes were from Eternity, and other things pro-

Lumine naturæ non conſtat quod Angeli facti ſint in tempore, & non fuerint ab æterno: Nam imprimis per lumen naturæ cognoſcimus, exemplo Solis & luminis, effectum poſſe coævum eſſe ſuæ cauſæ: unde nulla repugnantia eſt, ex parte Dei vel ex parte Creaturæ, ut hæc ſit Deo coæva. *Schibler Met. de Angel.* *See alſo* Durandus Ariminenſis, Aquinas, Pererius, Suarez, *&c.*

produced immediately by them. 6. And there have been thoſe Heathen Philoſophers, who held that *only God* was from Eternity.

Among all this variety of opinions, why ſhould any one think the more doubtfully of Chriſtianity, for denying ſome of them, which all the other deny themſelves? Is it a likely thing that any individual mixt body ſhould be eternall, when we know that mixt bodies incline to diſſolution? and when we ſee many of them *oriri & interire* daily before our eyes? And if Man and Beaſt as to each individual have a beginning and end, it muſt be ſo as to the *beginning* of the ſpecies; for the ſpecies exiſteth not out of the Individuals, and ſome individual muſt be firſt; (And as Bp. *Ward* argueth againſt Mr. *Hobs*, If the World be eternal, there have infinite dayes gone before, *e.g.* the birth of Chriſt: and then the whole is no greater than the parts, or infinity muſt conſiſt of finite parts.) The Heavens and the Earth therefore which are *compounded beings*, by the ſame reaſon are lyable to diſſolution, as man is; and therefore had a beginning. So that the truth is, there is no rational probability in any of your own opinions, but thoſe which aſſert the Eternity of ſome Simple Beings, as *Matter* or *Intelligences*, or an *Anima Univerſalis*. Now conſider further, that if ever there was a moment when there were no Individuals, or mixt Beings, (but only ſome univerſal Soul or Matter) then there was an *Eternity* when there was nothing elſe: (For Eternity hath no beginning): And then will it not be as ſtrange to your ſelves, to think that God ſhould from all Eternity delight himſelf in *Matter* unformed (if that be not a contradiction) or in an *Anima ſimplex & unica*, without any of all the variegated matter, and beings which we now finde beſides in Nature, as that he ſhould eternally content himſelf with Himſelf alone? If all individuals of compound beings were not from Eternity, what was? Either the Egge or the Hen muſt be firſt: (as the old inſtance is.) If you will come to it, that either *Anima unica*, or *Atoms* unformed were eternal, why ſhould not God as well be without theſe, as be without the *formed Worlds*?

Read in Bib. Pat. *the diſpute of* Zachary Mitilene *with* Ammonius *and a Phyſician about the Worlds Eternity.*

How nearly the Manichees *opinion agreed with the* Platoniſts, *ſee in* Nemeſius de Anim. *pag.* 487, 488, &c.

What ſhall a preſumptuous minde now ſay to all theſe difficulties? why return to modeſty: Remember that as the Bird

Bird hath wit given her to build her neſt, and breed her young as well as man could do it, and better, but hath no wit for things which do not concern her; ſo man hath reaſon for the *ends* and *uſes* of reaſon, and not for things that are not profitable to him; and that ſuch looks into Eternity about things unrevealed, do but over-whelm us, and tell us that *they are unrevealed*, and that we have not one reaſon for ſuch employments.

And what is the end of all that I have ſaid? Why to tell you that our Religion doth not only ſay nothing of former worlds, but, 2. that it alſo forbiddeth us to ſay, Yea or Nay, to ſuch queſtions, and to corrupt our minds with ſuch preſumptuous ſearches of unrevealed things. And therefore that you have no reaſon to be againſt the Scripture on this account; for it doth not determine any thing againſt your own opinion, if you aſſert not the eternity of this preſent world or ſyſtem; but it determineth againſt your preſumption, in medling with things which are beyond your reach.

And withall it giveth us a certainty, that as in one Sun there is the *Lux*, *Radii & Lumen*; ſo in one God there is *Father*, *Son*, and *holy Spirit*; *eternally exiſtent and ſelf-ſufficient*; which quieteth the mind more than to think of an eternity of an *Anima* or *Materia*, which is not God.

All this I have here annexed, becauſe theſe Philoſophical ſelf-deceivers are to be pitied, and to have their proper help: And I thought it unmeet to interrupt the diſcourſe with ſuch debates, which are not neceſſary to more ſober Readers, but only for them who labour of this diſeaſe: and I know that when they read the firſt leaſe of the book, which proveth that man hath a Soul or Mind, they will riſe up againſt it with all the objections which *Gaſſendus*, Mr. *Hobs*, &c. aſſault the like in *Carteſius* with, and ſay, *You prove not this Mind is any thing but the ſubtiler part of Matter, and the temperament of the whole:* To whom I now anſwer, 1. That it is not in that place incumbent on me, nor ſeaſonable to prove any more than I there aſſert. 2. But I have here done it for their ſakes, more ſeaſonably, though my diſcourſe is entire and firm without it.

And I deſire the unbelieving Reader to obſerve, that I

am ſo far from an unneceſſary incroaching upon his liberty, and making him believe that Chriſtianity condemneth all thoſe conjectures of Philoſophers which it aſſerteth not it ſelf, that I have taken the liberty of free conjecturing in ſuch caſes my ſelf, not going beyond the evidence of probability, or the bounds of modeſty: and that I think them betrayers of the Chriſtian cauſe, or very injurious to it, who would intereſs it in matters with what it medleth not; and corrupt it, by pretending that it condemneth all the opinions in Philoſophy which themſelves are againſt. Nor am I one that believe that Chriſtianity will allow me that zeal, which too haſtily and peremptorily condemneth all, that in ſuch points do hold what I diſlike. I do not anathematize as Hereticks all thoſe, who hold thoſe opinions which either *Stephanus*, or *Guilielm. Epiſc. Pariſienſes* condemned in their *Articul. Contra varios in fide errores:* though I think many of them dangerous, and moſt *very audacious.* e. g. *Quod intelligentia motrix cœli fluit in animas rationales, ſicut corpus cœli influit corpus humanum: Quod ſcientia intelligentiæ non differt à ſubſtantia ejus. Quod intelligentia ſola voluntate movet cœlum: Quod omne quod non habet materiam eſt æternum. Quod intellectus non eſt forma corporis niſi aſſiſtens: Quod anima ſeparata non patitur ab igne: Quod anima ſeparata manet animal vivum*, &c. I can more charitably bear ſuch opinions than thoſe that ſo ſeverely then condemned them. Though yet I think that in this age, it is one of the devils chief deſigns, to aſſault Chriſtianity by falſe Philoſophy.

Nor do I here preſs you with the authority of a Hermes, Zoroaſter, *or* Orpheus, *as knowing how little proof is given us, that the writings were theirs which are fathered on them: and giving ſome credit to* Porphyry *himſelf, who in the life of* Plotinus *telleth us, that there were then* [Ex antiqua Philoſophia egreſſi hæretici, Adelphii Acylinique ſectatores, qui Alexandri Lybici Philocomi, Demoſtrati, & Lydi plurimos libros circumferebant, & revelationes quaſdam Zoroaſtris, Zoſtriani, Nichotei, Allogenis, Meſi, aliorumque ejuſmodi palam oſtendentes, & deceperunt multos, & ipſi decepti jam fuerant: ——Ego vero Porphyrius argumentationibus multis oſtendi, librum Zoroaſtri ab illis inſcriptum adulterinum novumque eſſe, & ab eis confictum qui ſtruebant hæreſin: ut inſtitutiones ſuæ eſſe Zoroaſtris veteris crederentur. *And hereupon* Plotinus *wrote his Book againſt the* Gnoſticks.

Pretend not then your by-opinions to prejudice you againſt Chriſtianity in the main: much leſs againſt thoſe natural verities, which all wiſe, and ſober, and honeſt Philoſophers are agreed in. When *Xenocrates, de morte,* (tranſlated by *Ficinus*) had in the name of *Socrates*, told *Axiochus* what *Gobrias* told, of an *inferiour* place whither ſouls went at death, and of their judgment, and of the torment, *Ubi homines impii omniformibus ſuppliciis cruciati perpetuæ punitione vexantur,*

vexantur, he diſclaimeth the impoſition of the belief of ſo much, but ſelects this certainty, *Ego ratione coactus hoc ſolum plane firmiterque cognoſco, animam omnem immortalem exiſtere, & eam, quæ pura ex iis locis abierit, ſine triſtitia vivere; Quamobrem ſive ſurſum ſive deorſum tendas*, Axioche, *beatum fore te oportet, ſi modo pie ſanctèque vixeris.* N.B. And he holds to this, [*Non in mortem, ſed in ipſam immortalitatem migras: neque bonis privaberis, ſed integra bonorum poſſeſſione frueris: nec voluptates mortali corpori mixtas percipies amplius, ſed omni prorſus triſtitia vacuas: Illuc inquam proficiſceris ex hoc carcere liber, ubi quieta omnia, & à triſtitia ſenectuteque ſemota. Ubi exultatio ſancta, vitaque malorum neſcia, & tranquilla pace nutrita, naturam rerum ſpeculans, & arcana Philoſophiæ contemplans; haud ſane ad turbæ theatrive gratiam, ſed ad perſpicuæ veritatis objectum.*]

If you are not wiſe enough to be Chriſtians, why will you not be as wiſe and honeſt as the better ſort of Heathens? Muſt we have ſo much adoe to reaſon debauched hypocrites and apoſtates, to that which nature taught ſo many, who yet did but in part improve it? Believe this much which a *Xenocrates* or *Socrates* could teach you, and live accordingly, and you will not be blinded and deceived with ſo many beaſtly luſts, which hinder your belief, and will drown you in perdition. Or rather come to Chriſt, who will better cure thoſe luſts than *Socrates* or *Plato*, or any Philoſopher could do. But alas, *Epicurus* had more Court and Country diſciples than the manly ſort of Philoſophers, however the wiſe men vilified him in the Schools: And his Apoſtles, while they contemn the doctrine of incorporeal ſpirits, do ſo often animate themſelves with thoſe corporeal ſpirits, which the hearers of Chriſts diſciples thought they had *drunk in, Act.* 2. That they are more fool-hardy and pot-confident than their wiſer adverſaries; and get that with audacity, that I ſay not impudency, which others loſe by humble modeſty: for (ſaith *Cicero, de fin. l.* 2. *p.* 100.) *Eſt tanti Philoſophi tamque nobilis, audacter ſua decreta defendere.*] And his doctrine ſo befriendeth ſin, that ſin will befriend it; and then it is not like to want entertainment. For as *Cicero*, ibid. *Qualis eſt iſta philoſophia, quæ non interitum afferat pravitatis, ſed ſit contenta mediocritate vitiorum? ——In magnis interdum*

dum versatur angustiis, ut hominum conscientia remota, nihil tam turpe sit, quod voluptatis causa non videatur esse facturus. Deinde ubi erubuit (vis enim est permagna naturæ) confugit illuc ut neget accedere posse quidquam ad voluptatem nihil dolentis.--Luxuriam non reprehendit, modo sit vacua infinita cupiditate & timore. Hoc loco discipulos quærere videtur, ut qui Asoti esse velint, Philosophi fiant.

I have cited more out of *Cicero* than any other in this Treatise, and yet when I think how far our Apostates are below him, seeing they despise the words of Christ, I will once more use the words of *Cicero*, to convince them, shame them or condemn them. Tuscul. Qu. l. 1. pag. 229. [*Quorsum igitur hæc spectat oratio? Quæ sit illa vis & unde sit intelligendum puto. Non est certe nec cordis, nec sanguinis, nec cerebri, nec atomorum: Anima sit animus, ignisve nescio:* (He doubted whether the *Platonists* or *Stoicks* were in the right) *nec me pudet ut istos fateri me nescire quod nesciam: Illud,* ☞ *si ulla alia de re obscura, affirmare possem, sive anima, sive ignis, sit animus, eum* jurarem *esse divinum.* N. B. (*Cicero* dare swear that the soul is divine, though he doubt of the immateriality: and our Apostates deny both.) And reciting its operations, he saith, p. 239. *Prorsus hæc divina mihi videtur vis, quæ tot res efficiat ac tantas. —Vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse; ergo animus, qui, ut ego dico, divinus, ut Euripides audet dicere, Deus est: & quidem si Deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem est animus hominis. —Sin autem est quinta quædam natura ab Aristotele inducta primum, hæc & Deorum est & animorum. —Animorum nulla in his terris origo inveniri potest: nihil enim est in animis mistum, atque concretum, aut quod ex terrâ natum atque fictum esse videatur: nihil ne aut humidum quidem, aut stabile, aut igneum: his enim in naturis nihil ineset quod vim memoriæ, mentis, cogitationis habeat; quod & præterita teneat, & futura provideat, & complecti possit præsentia; quæ sola divina sunt: nec invenietur unquam unde ad homines venire possit, nisi à Deo. Singularis est igitur natura quædam, atque vis animi sejuncta ab his usitatis notisque naturis: Itaque quicquid est illud quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cæleste & divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est: nec vero Deus ipse qui intelligitur à nobis, alio modo intelligi potest, nisi Mens soluta quædam, & libera, segregata ab omni con-*

cretione mortali, omnia sentiens, & movens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno; hoc è genere atque eadem è naturâ est humana mens. (So that though he suspected it to have some pure materiality, it was but such as he thought God had, and consisted with its eternity.) *Ubi igitur aut qualis ista mens?* (scil. *Deus*) *ubi tua, aut qualis? potesne dicere? An si omnia ad intelligendum non habeo, quæ habere vellem, ne iis quidem quæ habeo, mihi per te uti licebit? Non valet tantum animus, ut sese ipse videat: At ut oculus, sic animus sese non videns alia cernit.---*

Page 226. he saith of them that plead for the souls mortality, [*Præclarum nescio quid adepti sunt, qui didicerunt se, cum tempus mortis venisset, totos esse perituros. —Quid habet ista res aut lætabile aut gloriosum? sed plurimi contra nituntur, animosque quasi capite damnatos morte mulctant: neque aliud est quidquam cur incredibilis his animorum videatur æternitas, nisi quod nequeunt qualis* animus sit vacans corpore *intelligere, & cogitatione comprehendere: Quasi vero intelligant qualis sit in ipso corpore! quæ confirmatio! quæ magnitudo! qui locus.--- Hæc reputent isti qui negant animum sine corpore se intelligere posse: videbunt, quem in ipso corpore intelligant! Mihi quidem naturam animi intuenti, multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multoque obscurior, qualis animus* in corpore *sit, tanquam alienæ domi, quam qualis cum exierit, & in liberum cælum, quasi in domum suam venerit. Si enim quod nunquam* vidimus, *id quale sit intelligere non possumus. Certe & Deum ipsum, & divinum animum corpore liberatum, cogitatione complecti non possumus.——*

Page 225. *Atque ea profecto tum multo puriora, & dilucidiora cernentur, cum, quo natura fert, liber animus pervenerit— Cum nihil erit præter animum, nulla res objecta, impediet, quo minus percipiat, quale quidque sit; Quamvis copiose hæc diceremus, si res postularet, quam multa, quam varia spectacula, animus in locis cælestibus esset habiturus.——*

Page 210, 211. *Ipsi majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc à nobis profecti in cælum reperientur: —multi de diis prava sentiunt; id enim vitioso more effici solet: omnes tamen esse vim & naturam divinam arbitrantur: nec vero id collocutio hominum, aut consensus efficit: non institutis opinio est confirmata; non legibus; omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est. — Hæc ita sentimus naturæ duce, nulla ratione, nullaque doctrina: Maximum vero argumentum est naturam ipsam de*

de Immortalitate animorum tacitam judicare, quod omnibus curæ sunt, & maxime quidem, quæ post mortem futuræ sint. N. B. — Abiit ad deos Hercules: Nunquam abiisset nisi cum inter homines esset, eam sibi viam muniviſſet. Quid in hac Republica tot tantosq; viros ad Rempublicam interfectos cogitasse arbitramur? Iisdemne ut finibus nomen suum quibus vita terminaretur? Nemo unquam sine magnâ spe immortalitatis se propatria offerret ad mortem.—— Nescio quomodo inhæret in mentibus quasi sæculorum quoddam augurium futurorum; idq; maximis ingeniis, altissimisq; animis & existit maxime & apparet facillimè: Quo quidem dempto quis tam esset amens, qui semper in laboribus & periculis viveret?

This maketh me think of *Augustines* saying, *Si anima mortalis est, Epicurus in animo meo palmam habet.* Confess. l. 6. c. ult.

Quod si omnium Consensus (inquit Cic. ib.) naturæ vox est, Omnesq; qui ubiq; sunt consentiunt esse aliquid quod ad eos pertineat qui è vita cesserunt, nobis quoq; idem existimandum: Etsi, quorum aut ingenio aut virtute animus excellit, eos arbitramur quia natura optima sint, cernere naturæ vim maxime; verisimile est cum optimus quisq; maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid cujus is post mortem sensum sit habiturus. Sed, ut deos esse natura opinamur, qualesq; sint ratione cognoscimus: sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu omnium nationum. N. B. Qua in sede, qualesq; sint, ratione discendum est.

Pag. 232. Hæc igitur & alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel Effector, si hæc nata sunt ut Platoni videtur, vel si semper fuerint ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis & muneris? sic mentem hominis, quamvis eam non videas, ut Deum non vides, tamen ut Deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus, sic ex memoria rerum & inventione & celeritate motus, omniq; pulchritudine virtutis vim divinam mentis agnoscito. In quo igitur est loco? — Ubi sit animus, certe quidem in te est. Quæ est ei natura? Propria puto & sua. Sed fac igneam, fac spirabilem! Nihil ad id de quo agimus: Illud modo videto: ut Deum norit, etsi ejus ignores & locum & faciem: sic Animum tibi tuum notum esse oportere, etiamsi ejus ignores & locum & formam: In animi autem cognitione dubitare non possumus, nisi planè in physicis plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis admistum, nihil concretum, nihil

nihil copulatum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cum ita sit, certè nec secerni, nec dividi, nec decerpi, nec distrahi potest; nec interire igitur. Est enim interitus quasi discessus & secretio, ac direptus earum partium, quæ ante interitum junctione aliqua tenebantur. His & talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsivit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus supplex fuit, adhibuitq; liberam contumaciam, à magnitudine animi ductam, non à superbia: & supremo vitæ die de hoc ipso multa disseruit, & paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi è custodia, noluit: Et cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in Cœlum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaq; disseruit; Duas esse vias, dupliceſq; cursus animorum è corpore excedentium: Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se totos libidinibus dedissent—— iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a Concilio deorum. Qui autem se integros castosq; servavissent, quibusq; fuisset minima cum corporis contagio, sesq; ab his semper sevocassent, essentq; in corporibus humanis, vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos a quibus essent profecti reditum facilem patere. — Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim Dominus ille in nobis Deus missu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis; ne ille medius fidius vir sapiens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit: nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant.

Pag. 227. Licet concurrant Plebeii omnes philosophi (sic enim ii qui à Platone & Socrate, & ab illa familia dissident, appellandi videntur) non modo nihil unquam tam eleganter explicabunt, sed ne hoc quidem ipsum quàm subtiliter conclusum sit, intelligent. Sentit animus se moveri: quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi sua, non aliena moveri: nec accidere posse, ut ipse unquam à se deseratur: Ex quo efficitur æternitas.

I have been tedious, and will therefore only adde his application, Pag. 233, 234. Tota Philosophorum vita, commentatio mortis. Nam quid aliud agimus cum à voluptate, id est à corpore, cum à re familiari, quæ est ministra & famula corporis, cum à Repub. Cum à negotio omni sevocamus animum?

Quid inquam tum agimus, nisi animum ad seipsum, advocamus? secum esse cogimus? maximeq; à corpore abducimus: secernere autem à corpore animum, nec quidquam aliud est quàm emori discere. Quare hoc commentemur, mihi crede; disjungamusq; nos à corporibus, id est, consuescamus mori. Hoc & dum erimus in terris erit illi cœlesti vitæ simile. Et cum illuc ex his vinculis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum: Quo cum venerimus, tum demiq; vivemus: Nam hæc quidem vita, mors est, quam lamentari pessem, si liberet.

And how the Somatists were then esteemed, he addeth, [*Catervæ veniunt contradicentium, non solum Epicureorum, quos equidem non despicio; sed nescio quomodo, doctissimus quisq; contemnit.* And among Christians they will never recover their reputation.

I know that some doubting Christians are ready to say as *Cicero*'s Auditor, who saith, that he had often read *Plato*; *sed nescio quomodo dum lego assentior; cum posui librum, & mecum ipse de Immortalitate Animorum cœpi cogitare, assensio omnis illa elabitur.* But this is because the truth is not sufficiently concocted, nor the conjoyned Frame of Evidences entirely and deeply printed on the minde; and so diversions alienate the minde from the just apprehension of some of those Evidences which it had formerly had a glimpse of, and leave it open to the contrary suggestions. He that is surprised when his Prospective Glass or Telescope is not with him, will not see those things which by their help he saw before. And the remembrance of former convictions in the generall, will hardly satisfie a man against his present different apprehension, though he be conscious that he had then more help than now. I have found my self a far clearer apprehension of the certainty of the Life to come, and of the truth of the Gospel, when I have come newly from the serious view of the entire frame of convincing Evidences, than I can have at other times, when many particulars are out of the way, or much worn off my apprehensions.

These passages I have cited out of Heathens, to convince or confound those that under the Gospel, with their hearts, tongues or lives, deny those truths which the light of Nature hath so far made clear. Remembring both those Symbols

bols of *Pythagoras*, *De rebus divinis atq; lumine ne loquaris, & de Dii rebusq; divinis, nihil tam mirabile dicitur, quod non debeas credere*: and his Verse (translated by *Ficinus*),

Corpore deposito cum liber ad æthera perges,
Evades hominem, factus deus ætheris almi.

Alcinous reciting *Plato*'s reasons for the Immortality of the Soul, *cap.* 25. mentioneth seven reasons, 1. *Anima cuicunq; adest*, Vitam affert, *utpote illi* naturaliter *insitam: Quod vero* vitam *præstat, mortem minime suscipit: Ergo immortale existit*, 2. *Anima cum per corporis sensus ad illa quæ sensibilia sunt descendit, angitur & turbatur; nec similis esse potest illius cujus præsentia turbatur.* 3. *Anima ipsa natura corpori dominatur. Quod autem natura sua regit, & imperat, divinitati cognatum: Ergo anima Deo proxima immortalis est*, &c. And because it may be objected, that by the first reason, the Souls of Bruits would be immortall, he answereth that, but so doubtfully and darkly as is not worth the reciting. But though *Alcinous* incline to the negative (of the Immortality of the *Animæ brutorum*) *Porphyrius* is peremptory for the affirmative, upon the supposition of their rationality.

The Stoick Philosophers bear also as full a testimony against the Athiest and the denyers of humanity, as the rest: For though *Cicero* thank them for nothing, and rebuke them for denying the Souls eternity, and giving us but *Usuram, ut cornicibus*, a longer and not an everlasting life, yet some of them seem to be of another minde, and the rest rather think that the Souls of men will participate in the World's periodical revolutions, than be at all annihilated or deprived of felicity. The paucity of their writings which have come down to us, and the malice of the Epicureans with whom they were at the greatest odds, did make them represented as if they had held more unreasonable opinions, and been more sowre and inhumane than indeed they were. And some who of late times condemn them for that in which they agree with the doctrine of Christ, do seem to mean Christianity, while they exclaim against the severities of Stoicisme, and mean the

Church while they name but the *Porch*. Certainly, if *Cicero* himself, who is offended with their schisme, do represent their opinions aright, and if we may judge of the rest by his speeches of *Cato*, and by the writings of *Seneca*, *Epictetus* and *Antonine*, and if *Barlaam* hath truely collected their *Ethicks*, there were no men that spake and lived so like Christians, who were strangers to Christ. He that would see the difference between them and the Epicureans, let him but read the *Præloquium* before his *Antoninus* of Mr. *Gataker* (that man of admirable Learning, Humility, and Piety, not to be named without love and honour, nor *in this Age* without tears): Of *Antoninus* himself he saith, [*Certè quæcunq; Dominus ipse Christus in concionibus collationibusq; suis Historiæ Evangelicæ insertis* [*de malâ cogitatione etiam abstinenda, de affectibus vitiosis supprimendis, de sermone otioso non insuper habendo, de animo cum primis excolendo, & ad imaginem divinam effingendo, de beneficentia simplicissime exhibenda, de injuriis æquanimiter ferendis, de admonitione & increpatione cum moderatione cautioneq; accuratâ exercendis, de rebus quibuslibet, adeoq; vitæ ipsâ, cujusvis rei ratioq; poscit, nihili habendis, de aliis denique pleriſq; pietatis, charitatis, æquitatis, humanitatis, officiis quam exquisitissime obeundis exequendisq;*] *præcepta dedit; apud nostrum hunc eadem, perinde ac si illa lectitasset ipse, in dissertationum commentationumq; harum congerie insperſa passim, nec sine vehementia et vivacitate insigni quæ in præcordia ipsa penitus penetret.* — *Lector quivis sedulus advertet, ingenuus agnoscet.*

The sum of their doctrine, different from the *Epicureans*, he thus reciteth, (and by citations copiously proveth) [*Numen cœleste rerum humanarum curam gerere; nec universi tantummodo, sed hominum etiam singulorum, & rerum quoque singularum; rebus humanis præsto esse, generique humano, non ad bona vere sic dicta duntaxat, sed & ad vitæ hujus commoda, & adminicula suppetitias ferre. Deum itaque ante omnia colendum; ad omnia invocandum, per omnia cogitandum, in omnibus agnoscendum & comprobandum, de omnibus laudandum & celebrandum; huic uni in omni negotio simpliciter obsequendum; ab ipso quicquid obvenerit animo prompto ac lubenti excipiendum atque amplexandum, nihil melius, nihil convenientius,*

tius, nihil conducibilius, nihil opportunius, aut tempestivius, quàm id, quicquid existat, quodipse voluerit, existimandum: quocunq; ducere visum fuerit, citra tergiversationem aut murmurationem, sponte sequendum; locum stationemque quemcunque is assignaverit, strenuè tuendum, enixè tenendum, etiamsi mortem millies oppetere oporteret.] *Hæc de Numine Stoici & erga numen affectu.*

De homine & officiis — [*Hunc & coli tus diligere & curare & sustinere, injuriaque omni (ut quæ impietatis etiam notam inurat) abstinere; & beneficentia prosequi, nec sibi soli genitum censere se, aut vivere, sed in commune bonum ac beneficium, cunctis pro facultate viribusque semet exhibere, re ipsa, reique bene gestæ conscientia, (nec hac etiam ipsa quadantenus reputata) citra vestem, aut mercedis spem commodive proprii intuitum, contentum agere; à beneficio uno præstito ad aliud transire, nec unquam benefaciendo defatisci; sed vitæ telam, tanquam vivendi fructus hic sit; benefactis singulis invicem continenter annexis, ita totum pertexere, ut nusquam interveniat hiatus ullus vel minimus; beneficii loco, quod benefecerit habentem; sibique profuisse existimantem, si alii cuiquam usui esse poterit; nec extra se proinde quicquam vel laudis humanæ, vel lucelli, aut aucupantem aut expetentem: Ad hæc nihil mentis cultu antiquius, nihil honesti studio potius aut pretiosius habere: ab eo denique quod officii sui esse norit, nulla vel vitæ, nedum alius rei cujuspiam, cupidine abducendum, nulla mortis cruciatusve illius, ne dum damni aut detrimenti formidine abigendum se permittere.*] *Hæc Stoicorum præcepta sunt* ——

When will the whole tribe of the *Epicureans* ever give the world such a Prince as *Antonine*? who taught the world, that a Prince should be a Philosopher, and that self-government, and a well-ordered mind and life, is the first point in the government and well-ordering of the Common-wealth; and that Monarchy may be so used, as to consist as well with the peoples intereſt and liberty, as the most accurate *Venetian* Democraty: The only hurt that ever he was charged to do being this, that he lived so well, that he seemed somewhat to hinder the succeeding lustre of Christianity, even in *Constantine* and *Theodosius* themselves.

And as for the *Stoicks* great doctrine of *Virtues self-sufficiency*

Whether God or our selves, Virtue or Pleasure be chiefly to be loved?

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Even in Friendship *with Men, it is commonly said, that we must have* more *respect to our* friend *than to our selves. And therefore* Cicero *pleadeth, that* Epicurus's *opinion is inconsistent with true* Friendship. *However that stand, I am sure in our* Love to God, *we must love him more for* himself, *than for our own ends and benefit. Therefore it is, that I distinguished* Love *before, from* Obedience *as such, as being somewhat more excellent, and the final grace. And* Proclus (de Anim. & Dæmone) *discerned this distinction, when he saith,* [Belli finis est justitia: pacis autem aliud quiddam excellentius bonum, Amicitia, *scil.* atque unio Finis enim universæ virtutis est ut tradunt Pythagorici. Aristotelesque confirmat; ut omnibus jam factis amicis, justitia non ulterius egeamus, quando, viz. sublatum fuerit, *Mum, & Non-meum*] *And if this be true of the Love of man, Much more of the Love of God. Which they also may do well to consider of, who most fear the cessation of that Individuation of souls, which consisteth in the distance that now we are at: For though doubtless there will continue an Individuation, yet* Union *is so much of the felicity, perfection and delight of souls, Union, I say, with God, as we are capable, and with one another, that we should rather be afraid lest we shall not be near enough, than lest too much nearness should confound us.*

to *felicity*, which *Plato* and *Aristotle* also own against the *Epicurean felicity of Pleasure*, it is undoubtedly a very great and sacred Theological verity: But it implieth a higher truth, which I have vindicated in this Treatise, *viz. That man hath an ultimate end above himself, and that God* (for all that he is perfect, and can receive no addition of felicity) *is both his own and our end*, (though *intendere finem* is not spoken univocally of God and man) *and that his Goodness as essential in himself, and as his own perfection, is, in the order of our conceptions, much higher than his Benignity or Goodness, as related to the good of man.* I have read some late self-esteeming Writers, (who love not to be named by way of opposition) who have undertaken the defence of the *Epicurean* heresie, that *Pleasure* is formally both man's felicity, and his ultimate end: but their reasonings for it are not half so handsome and adapted to deceive, as the discourse of *Torquatus* in *Cicero, de finib.* is; which indeed may seem very plausible, till *Cicero*'s excellent Answer is compared with it. It is a fair pretence to say, That a good man is pleased with nothing but that which is good, and that true pleasure is to be found especially in virtue, and that temperance and chastity should be more pleasant, than excess and luxury; and yet that the best men, when they do any great and excellent work, do therefore do it because it pleaseth them. But the truth is, that *Bonum qua bonum est objectum voluntatis*; *good* and *appetibile* are the same: it is first *good* because it *pleaseth us*, but it *pleaseth us*, because it is esteemed by us to be *good*. And the greatest *good* should greatliest please us, because it is first the greatest good: And as God in himself is infinitely better than any delight or felicity of ours, so is he therefore to be more the object of our delight. And as the good of the world,

or

or of Kingdoms, or of thousands, is better than the pleasure of one individual person, so should it be *better loved*, and more *delighted* in. For if Good as Good be appetible and delectable, then the *greatest Good* must have the greatest love and pleasure. And nature it self telleth us, that he that would not rather be annihilated than the world should be annihilated, or would not lose his life and honour, to save the life, and honour, and felicity of King and Kingdom, is no good member of Civil Society, but a person blinded by selfishness and sensuality. Therefore man hath something above himself, and his own pleasure, to seek and to take pleasure in. How far you can congruously say, that you *take pleasure in your pleasure*, and so make your own pleasure the object, yea, the only ultimate object of it self, I shall not now stay to enquire. But certain I am, that though our *love*, which is our *complacency* in the beloved *object*, is our *actus finalis*, yet is it not the *objectum finale* to it self; but *God* himself, the infinite Good, is that *final Object*; and the *Publick Good* is a more noble and excellent object than our own. And though it be truly our *felicity* to *love God*, yet we *love him not chiefly* because it is *our felicity to love him*, but because he is *chiefly Good* and *Lovely*; and then in the second instant, we love our own love, and delight even in our own delights. Indeed the *sensitive life*, as such, can seek nothing higher than its *own delight*: but the *rational life* is made to intend and prosecute that end, which reason telleth us *is best*, and to prefer that before *our selves*, which is *better* than *our selves*. And therefore the *Epicurean* opinion, which maketh Pleasure our highest end, doth shew that the Sect is sensual and bruitish, and have brought their reason into servitude to their appetites and lusts. And nature it self doth abhor the notion, when it is brought into the light; and will hear him with some horrour who shall speak out and say, [*God is not to be chiefly loved for himself, nor as he is best in himself, nor as my ultimate objective end, but only to be loved next my self, as a means to my felicity or pleasure, as meat, drink, ease, and sport, and lust are. And virtue or holiness is not to be loved chiefly for it self, that is, as it is the Image of God, and pleasing to him, but as it conduceth to my pleasure.*] As *Cicero* excellently noteth, there is a great deal

of

of difference between these two; [*To love vertue as vertue, and so to take pleasure in it because it is vertue*;] and [*To love virtue for pleasures sake, more than for its own*:] For he that doth so, must say as *Cicero* chargeth *Epicurus* plainly to say, that *Luxury is not to be discommended if it be not unpleasant*: for the *end* is the measure and rule to judge of all the *means*. If pleasure as pleasure be best, then to him that so continues it, to live more *pleasedly* in whoredom, and drunkenness, and theft, and murder, than in godliness and honesty, it will be better so to do: And *virtue*, and *lust* or wickedness, will stand in competition only in the point of pleasure. And then, which think you will have the greater party, and what a case would mankind be in? I am perswaded, that the well studying the excellent discourse of *Cicero* on this point, and the reasons which the *Stoicks* and the rest of the Philosophers give against the *Plebeian Philosophers*, (as *Cicero* calleth them) may much conduce to help many Divines themselves to a righter understanding of the same controversie, as in Theology they have otherwise worded it, *Whether God or our own felicity be most to be loved?* (And yet without running into the fanatick extreme, of *separating the love of God and our selves, and calling men to try whether for his glory they can be willing to be damned.*) Only when you read the Philosopher saying, that *virtue in* and *for it self* is to be *loved* as our felicity; elucidate it by remembring, that this is, because that vertue in it self is the Image of God, and by our *felicity* they mean the *perfection of our natures*, in respect of the end for which we were made. And that as the excellency of my *knife* or *pen* (yea, or my *horse*) is not to be measured by their *own pleasure* but their *usefulness to me*, because I am their *end*; so is it, as to man's perfection, as he is made for God, and related to him, (for all that he hath no need of us, seeing he can be pleased in us.) Thus this Philosophical controversie is coincident with one of the greatest in Theologie.

Though I have displeased many Readers, by making this Treatise swell so big, by answering so many objections as I have done, yet I know that many will expect that I should have made it much greater, by answering, 1. Abundance of particular objections from Scripture-difficulties: 2. And many

many discourses of several sorts of persons, who contradict some things which I have said. But I supersede any further labour of that kind, for these following reasons.

1. It would fill many volumes to do it, as the number and quality of the Objections do require. 2. Those that require it are yet so lazie, that they will not read this much which I have already written, as esteeming it too long. 3. They may find it done already by Commentators, if they will have but the patience to peruse them. 4. I have laid down that evidence for the main cause of *GODLINESS* and *CHRISTIANITY*, by which he that well digesteth it, will be enabled himself to defend it against abundance of cavils, which I cannot have time to enumerate and answer. 5. The scribles of self-conceited men are so tedious, and every one so confident that his reasons are considerable, and yet every one so impatient to be contradicted and confuted, that it is *endless* to write against them, and it is *unprofitable* to sober Readers, as well as *tedious* to me, and *ungrateful* to themselves. To instance but in the last that came to my hands, an *Inquisitio in fidem Christianorum hujus seculi*, (the name prefixed I so much honour, that I will not mention it.) *Page* 3. he calleth *confidence in errour* by the name of *certainty*, as if every man were certain that hath but ignorance enough to over-look all cause of doubting. Page 13. *He will not contend if you say, that it is by divine faith, that we believe the words to be true which are Gods; and by humane faith by which we believe them to be the words of God.* He saith, that *Faith hath no degrees: but is alway equal to it self: to believe is to assent, and to doubt is to suspend assent*; Ergo, *where there is the least doubt, there is no faith; and where there is no doubt, there is the highest faith*; Ergo, *Faith is always in the highest, and is never more or less: And yet it may be called small when it is* quasi nulla, (that *quasi* is to make up a gap) *in respect of the subject, or at least hardly yielded; and in regard of the object, wherein few things are believed.* Page 26. He maketh the *Calvinists* to be *Enthusiasts*, (that is, *Fanaticks*) *because they say, that they know the Scripture by the Spirit*: (as if *subjectively* we had no need of the Spirit, to teach us the things of God; and *objectively* the spirit of miracles and sanctification were not the notifying evidence or testimony of

the truth of Christ.) The same name he vouchsafeth them that hold, *That the Scripture is known by universal tradition to be God's word, and every mans own reason must tell him (or discern) the meaning of it.* And he concludeth, that *if every one may expound the Scripture, even in fundamentals, then every man may plead against all Magistrates, in defence of murder or any other crime, as a rational plea; and say, Why should you punish me for that which God hath bid me do.* As if God would have no reasonable creature, but bruits only to be his subjects. As if a man could knowingly obey a Law, which he neither knoweth, nor must know the meaning of; and is bound to do he knoweth not what. And as if the Kings subjects must not understand the meaning of the fifth Commandment, nor of *Rom.* 13. *Honour thy father and mother*; and, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, and not resist.* Or as if Kings must govern only dogs and swine, or might make murder, adultery, idolatry and perjury, the duty of all their subjects when they pleased, because none must judge of the meaning of God's Law by which they are forbidden: or as if it were the only way to make men obedient to Kings and Parents, to have no understanding that God commandeth any man to obey them, nor to know any Law of God that doth require it: or as if all our *Pastors* and *Teachers* were not to be so useful to us as a sign-post; nor we were not to learn of them or of our Parents any thing, that God either by nature or Scripture ever taught us: or as if a child or subject, who is required to learn the meaning of his Ruler's Laws, to judge of them *judicio privatæ discretionis*, were thereby allowed to mis-understand them, and to say that they command us that which they forbid us; and because the King forbiddeth us to murder, he alloweth us to say, You proposed it to my understanding, and I understand it that you bid me murder, and therefore you may not punish me. As if he that is bound to judge by a bare discerning what is commanded him, and what forbidden, were allowed to judge, *in partem utramlibet*, that it is or it is not, as please himself. As if when the King hath printed his Statutes, he had forfeited all his authority by so doing, and his subjects might say, *Why do you punish us for disobeying your Laws, when you promulgated them to us as rational*

rational creatures to discern their sense? Will it profit the world to write confutations of such stuff as this? or must a man that is not condemned to Stage-playing or Ballad-making, thus waste his time? Do the people need to be saved from such stuff as this? If so, what remedy, but to pity them, and say, *Quos perdere vult* Jupiter *hos dementat, & si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.*

And yet to do no more wrong to the Scriptures, than to Councils, and Bulls, and Statutes, and Testaments, and Deeds, and Bonds, he concludeth, *Of all writings whatsoever, that by the meer words of the writer you cannot be certain of his sense; though they be common words, and you take them in the common sense.* So that if any doubt arise about my words, if I resolve it by writing I cannot be understood; but if I spake the same syllables by word of mouth, it would serve the turn. As if no man could be sure of the sense of any Law, or Testament, or Bond, or Covenant, which is committed to writing, nor of any exposition of them, if once it fall under Pen or Press. As if God's writing the Ten Commandments had left them unintelligible, in comparison of his speaking them. Then farewell all Historical certainty. Hath every single Priest himself any assurance of the sense of the Council, the Canons, the Popes Decreetals and Bulls, but by the way of writing? And so the poor people must, instead of the Church, believe only that Priest that orally speaketh to them, though he have no certainty of the matter himself. If this doctrine be made good once, it will spoil the Printers trade, and the Clarks, and Courts of Record, and the Post-Office too.

But, *page* 51. he maketh the *consent of the universal Church to be the only sure communication of Christian Doctrine in the Articles of Faith; yea, the consent of the present age concerning the former:* (But how the consent of the whole Church shall be certainly known to every man and woman, when *no writing can certainly make known any mans mind*, is hard to tell a man that expecteth reason.) And that you may see how much the subject of this Treatise is concerned in such discourses, he addeth, that *If the Church had at any time been small, its testimony had been doubtful; but* (saith he) *it testifieth of it self that Christians were never few*, and therefore it is to

be believed. But we will have no such prevaricating defence of Christianity. The major is the Infidels erroneous cavil, the minor is a false defence of the faith. The Church never said that Christians were *never few*: it hath ever confessed the contrary, *that once they were few*; and yet it hath proved against the Infidel, that *its testimony was not doubtful*, having better evidence of their veracity than numbers.

You may perceive by these strictures upon this one discourse, what an endless task it would be to write confutations, of every man that hath leisure to publish to the world his opinions, which are injurious to the Christian verity. And therefore no sober Reader will expect, that I or he must be so tired, before he can be satisfied and setled in the Truth.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

FINIS.