THE CHRISTIAN KNIGHT

Compiled,

BY SIR WILLIAM WISEMAN Knight,

FOR THE PVBLIKE WEALE AND HAPPI-nesse of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland.*

Robert Wiseman, a volunteer of this family, was killed at the siege of Buda.

EPHES. 6.

The Wiseman family was of Vennells-hall in Essex.

Induite vos armaturam Dei.

Charles Nice Davies 1826.

William Fit

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Good Reader,

Haue heard of a discourse the other yeare, betweene two Frenchmen, the one a Souldier, the other a Ciuilian against the vices of their times, and country. The Souldier was the Duke de Mercury, *a right noble, and valerous Captaine, late Lieftenant generall to the Emperour, against the Turk in Hungarie, and yet a great enemy to Duells. The Ciuilian was a Companion of his, and vndertooke against* coueting, *as it appeares by the Preamble following. And I am sorie wee haue no more of theirs, but the Preamble; since the times, and vices be as well ours as theirs. What the rest of their method was, I haue not seene, but by the qualitie of their persons, & by their learning we may imagine. The argument could not be but profitable, and I set downe, what I thinke probable to come neerest their meaning, and the good of our nation; and I speake English to English. For heere is first set vp the marke, or white, which wee must all shoote at, and is done in two Orations* Paranæticall *to heauen-ward, The one shewing vs our way thither, The other our happines, when we come there. Here are secondly discouered two potent impediments in our way, that hinder our sight, and leuell: and these are our* Irascible, *and* Concupiscible *parts. The abuse whereof is touched in two* Charges; *the one shewing the iniustice of* Duell: *the other our common iniustice in buying, and selling, and neglect of common good. And lastly, here be two* Homages, *or* thanks-giuings *to God.*

The one of a Soule truely conuerted, the other of one proceeding in his grace, with ſignes of both. There be many things here delightfull to be thought of, nothing hard to be done, and wee ſhall blame our ſelues moſt deſperately, if we haue not done. Read therefore I beſeech thee, and make vſe of It; which if thou doe, thou wilt finde much comfort; and if all doe, they will make as flouriſhing a common-wealth as euer was. There will ſcarce be any poore in it, or any vnquietnes. Kings will glorie in their Subiects, and Subiects in their Soueraigne, and all in each other, as it is in Heauen.

Farewell.

THE DVKE.

Fter the ceasing of our Turkish warres and twenty yeares peace concluded with *Acmath* king of Turkie 1608. our faces were all turned homeward, and my voluntaries not a few were impatient of idlenesse, seeking to bee dismissed for some other imployment. They had followed mee indeede many hundred miles out of France; for which I was not onely willing to listen to them, but also ready to gratifie them in some sort, with a finall testimony of my loue vpon our parting. I sent therefore for my Chaplaine to come to mee *Mounsieur Iohn Faber* Licenciat in Diuinity, to be aduised by him: who as hee was a man both learned, and discreete; so could hee best satisfie me in any thing I should desire. And when hee was come, none being with me then, but *Mr. Doctor Petroneus* my assistant, a Ciuilian of great vnderstanding, and *Lancelot Mott* my Comptroller, second of my Councell; Sir said I to my Chaplaine, wee haue a resolution to discharge our companies, and to licence our voluntaries, which you know are many in this towne of *Vienna*: for we loose but time in these parts, our busines being now at an end. We came not hither to chase the Stagge or wilde Boare, and nothing else you see is heere to bee done. A great many of them came freely to vs, and I would send them away with honour: howbeit, while I bethinke mee of our departure hence, and of our long separation that will bee, hauing beene heretofore so long accustomed together; I remember the saying of Christ, and I am touched with some part of his compas-

ſion,ſaying,*miſereor ſuper turbam*,& ſo ſay I in my affection
Mark.8. towards them,that I haue pitie ouer my company : and as Chriſthereupon did feed their bodies miraculouſly; ſo theſe that haue no corporall need, I would they were ſpiritually fed before their going ; that aboue all things in theſe dangerous times they may not faint in their way to heauen, & may be profitable in their countries where they are to goe. They are to me as children,&I know we ſhal not part aſunder,without teares on both ſides.I would haue them to doe well,& ſome inſtructions I wiſh they had with them,ſuch as your ſelfe thinkes beſt.Both is your authority among them ſuch as they will eaſily beleeue you ; and your learning and Methode ſuch, as they will delight to heare you,and beare it in mind. I haue beene often bold with you,as my inward friend , yet neuer ſo bold as to giue you your text.Neither will , onely thus much,I would entreate you againſt the feaſt following, which is now at hand , that ye will be ready to ſay ſomewhat againſt the enormities of our countrey by *anger*,and *auarice*. The one proper to men of warre,the other to men of peace : yet both to much vſed by both,and haue made our Country ill ſpoken of, and diſioyned many families with ciuill diſſention. I am well aduiſed what I ſpeake. There be in this citty diuers that may doe much in their countrey by their good example,and I doubt not will come to ſuch preferment there , as may amend many matters that are much amiſſe. Our ſingle challenge and combats there, are growne ſo common, and vpon ſo ſlight occaſions,fiue thouſand haue bene ſlaine vpon it in France alone within theſe twenty yeares, and ſo many pardons of record to be ſeene for it at this day : and againe, our grating is ſo extreame vpon the poorer ſort , that I know not what will come of it in the end , but the ruine of vs all. The commons will be glad of the leaſt quarrell againſt the rich, and daily factions betweene families will lay vs open to any potent enemy to doe vs wrong. But what ſhould I ſpeake thus to you , who know it as well as I. There bee thoſe that come to ſee vs euery day,right worthy perſons , and great friends ; but when they come home,they will bee

enemies

enemies I feare me; if they haue not ſome warning, and be not ſtored with the greater grace. Of the two vices I ſpeak of, I know not which is the cauſe of moſt iniuſtice: well I am aſſured, none doth iuſtice in the heate of anger, or coueting, more angry ſometimes for a ſmall matter then a great; will kill a man for ſpeaking of a word amiſſe, and will ſpare a man that pickes his purſe; will not ſpend three pence vpon a poore body, and will haue hundreds inſtore to circumuent a poore gentleman. All the world is miſled with theſe two vices, and were it not for theſe two, there would neede no Officers in a kingdome. I know no ſinne almoſt, but one of theſe is, I will not ſay the cauſer, but the very inforcer of it. Giue them I pray ſome effectuall warning of theſe, that their corporall fight may ſo match with their ſpirituall, as they may not periſh for want of inſtruction. Wherunto my Chaplaine: Sir ſaid he, your excellencie hath propounded very well, and your zeale no doubt proceedeth from heauenly grace. I ſhall not be wanting on my part to doe God and you ſeruice, and the fruites of your deſire ſhall be the performance of my vttermoſt. But by your graces fauour, ſince it hath pleaſed you to participate thus much of your minde vnto me, which belongeth ſpecially to my charge to be anſwerable vnto, yea forwarder to accompliſh ſo pious a requeſt, then you to propoſe: you haue giuen me bouldnes in this, to impart vnto you alſo my opinion, what I thinke beſt, and will be moſt fruitfull, if it ſhall pleaſe you to conceiue ſo. I will prepare my ſelfe (God willing) againſt your day, though it coſt me two daies in reſpect of my weaknes; not hauing yet recouered perfectly the blowe of a Halbard, that beat my Target to my head, and one of my ſides to the ground, which ſo impaired my ſtrength, that I cannot ſpeake much at a time. By Gods grace I ſhall ſet them in a ready way to heauen: but for me to diſcourſe of *Duellum*; where occaſion will be to ſpeake of honour, and armes, it little belongeth to my profeſsion, but more a great deale to men of honour, and approued valour, ſuch as you are. For although where men make conſcience of any thing, and reſort to me in priuate for my opinion, I

ſhall be furniſhed I hope to reſolue them: yet will it be little eſteemed from one of our ſort, to ſpeake all that ſuch diſcourſe will require. They that contemne Chriſt in ſuch a buſines, will ſooner contemne his ſeruants. Wee that be Cleargie men are accompted cowards, and daſtards, as I heard a knight ſay once of a Biſhop who had beene his Lord, and Maſter: he commended him for his vertues, and wiſedome; ſaue only that he was a Coward, for putting vp ſo eaſily a boxe on the eare from a Duke, and following his maſters ſteppes the Sauiour of the world. Truth is truth out of any mans mouth, and yet more aptly deliuered by one, then by another. When we perſwade in ſuch a matter, they tell vs we be *Prieſts*, and ſpeake like our ſelues, and are very ſimply conceited of vs whatſoeuer we ſay; yea when they be driuen to ſay with vs, they thinke againſt vs, and doe what they liſt, *Maius peccatum habent*. I ſpeake not this to flye the burthen of telling truth, whether it edifie or not: at their perill be it, if they receiue not the ſeede that is ſowne in their hearts. But Sir, it would beſt become your ſelfe ſuch a burthen as this, who are both a *Souldier* and a *Scholler*: we were both brought vp at a time, and ſtudents in the *Sorbone*. The eies of all men were vpon you euen then, to ſee honour and learning ſo vnmatchable in your perſon; a perfect vnderſtander of that you heard and read, and a perfect deliuerer of that you vnderſtood. You were but young, when you had paſſed your courſes of Philoſophie, and moralitie: and when your ripenes was readie for the harueſt, our common-wealth, had the reaping of your beſt fruites in the greateſt imployments both at home, and abroade. Thinke it not much to heare a little of your praiſe. I haue done before I haue begun. I haue heard you ſpeake very well at your board of many points concerning this controuerſie. I know none can ſpeake better then your ſelfe of it, if it would pleaſe you to appoint a time, and to beſtowe an houre or two that way: with this, my Comptroler applauded it exceedingly, and though your Chaplin, ſaid he, might doe it very well, and can doe much in that company to perſwade, yet none more fit then your ſelfe, a Chriſtian Soul-

dier

dier amongſt Chriſtian Souldiers and much more piercing it would be in their hearts, to heare ſo noble a ſword-man to ſpeake againſt the ſword, or *Mars* himſelfe to ſpeake againſt combate, whoſe honour is in fight: well ſaid I, ye will perſwade me anon to preach too : I will be aduiſed. But what ſay you to the other matter, which was *Auarice* :that, I hope you will ſpeake of. No truely Sir ſaid my Chaplaine, if it pleaſe Mr. Aſsiſtant to vndergoe that charge : who is both learned in our lawes, and of great eſtate himſelfe, and and euery way fitteſt, except his trouble. Not I Sir (truely ſaid he.) I thought as much, this is not the firſt time you haue glanced at mee : they be matters of conſcience, and conſequence, that muſt bee handled therein ; and are fitteſt for your charge. I pray do you your duty as my Lord hath mooued, and let me heare no more of this : I am no Preacher. Yee ſhall both command mee, (ſaid my Chaplaine) and I will not faile of my duty, if ye will haue it ſo : I doe but propound what I know, and am well aſſured would be beſt. The ſinne of *Auarice* ye ſpeake of, is crept ſo farre into the Cleargie, that our hearers bidde vs amend our ſelues firſt, before wee preach amendment to others ; and they giue vs a very deafe eare, whatſoeuer wee tell them vpon this Theame. To be a Preacher belongs not to your vocation : yet euery one ought to bee a Preacher if God Almighty bidde ſpeake : yea to ſhunne this charge when it may do good, is to bluſh at the Goſpell. And who can ſpeake more freely of this then you, who are furniſhed with all that nature and art can affoord ? who of your ſort better ſeene in Scripture or hiſtory then you ? who better acquainted with the Common Law, or Ciuill then you, hauing alwayes profeſſed the one of them to your great commendation ? who more nobly diſcended for a gentleman, better ſtated for land and offices, or that hath a more worthy offſpring to prouide for then you ? and if it were lawfull in any to be couetous, it were truely lawfull in you ; that haue ſo great a charge to care for, and feede ſo many mouthes : pretence of neede, or feare of neede, makes many couetous, and there is a kinde of neede that attends the greateſt. And

Rom. 1.

 therefore

therefore for a man of your qualitie not to bee couetous, who hath no end of expences ; or to ſpeake againſt couetouſneſſe, which is want to maintaine greatneſſe ; would be as rare to h eare,as imitable for example. The world wants many ſuch as you, that can as well ſpeake as doe. And although theſe Robes and Veluet gowne will not become a Pulpit, yet fit enough if it pleaſe my Lord for a great chamber. There bee many that giue the charge at a Seſsions,not better furniſhed then you for the peoples edifying : and it is no more but a charge that is required of you, although it bee in matters of much greater importance, and that touch more neerely the inward reformation: neither ſpeake I this to eaſe me of a burthen(as I ſaid before)who am born for burthens : for as *Dauid* ſaith,God hath laide his people vpon our necks ; and yet if ſuch a one as you can doe more with a word,then wee with ten, (pardon mee Sir I beſeech you) I know not how you will bee excuſed. But I ſay no more, your will ſhall be done. Well Sir ſaide my Aſsiſtant, ſince you bee in good earneſt, you ſhall not take offence at me : but what if I deceiue your expectation, and ſhall not performe ſo well,as the matter importeth. Surely Sir, ſaide my Comptroler, that was not wont to bee your fault ; and for my owne part, I muſt ſay what I thinke : I had rather heare but halfe from my Lord and you, concerning theſe matters, then the whole matter from another : for both in the one caſe, my Lord being a man of Sword and honour, it is not like but hee will reſpect what hee may the honour of gentlemen vpon falling out : ſo on the other ſide, your ſelfe beeing alſo noble, and of great expence, who muſt haue much comming in to beare your charge ; there is none will feare, or doubt partiality in you, to ſpeake againſt coueting or keeping, more then you muſt needes : but rather will extend your ſelfe as farre as you may, and your learning will giue leaue. Spirituall men ſpeake learnedly of their matters, and whatſoeuer yee bring vs, I ſuppoſe yee fetch it from their groundes : but if the temporall alſo, and men of action concurre with the ſame, as I know not well yet whether they doe or no ; and I would gladly learne : ſurely

Pſal. 65.

ſurely this will make a double barre againſt all impugners, that the euill diſpoſed will not haue a word to ſay, wee haue a gheſſe ſufficient what our Prelates will ſay. But ſince the motion hath beene made, and to my ſeeming very fitly: I ſhould bee a petitioner to you both, and many more yee ſhall haue if neede bee, that it may bee ſo. Wee are true *Iſraelites*, that had rather heare *Moſes* ſpeake then God almighty: whereat, when wee had laughed a little while; It is not vnuſuall with mee ſaid I, to ſpeake to my fellowes and followers; and yet it is more then I dare promiſe you, neither will, vnleſſe my Aſsiſtant doe as much: I will take a pawſing time, and if I can thinke of any thing worth your hearing, you ſhall know: and my Aſsiſtant vndertooke in like manner. And ſo beeing ready to depart, I tolde them that for teaching I would not intermeddle, but leaue them wholly to their Paſtours; whom I would exhort what I could, to beleeue and follow in all ſuch matters as I ſhould giue them in charge; and but a charge I would make of it. No more ſhall I (ſaid my Aſsiſtant.) And my charge my Lord (ſaid my Comptroler) ſhall be to put your Excellency to charge for the time, and to bidde them all welcome with the beſt cheere wee can make them. This was the end of our Parlance, and when the times came, we performed accordingly: whereof I haue heere ſet downe the dead letters; but whoſoeuer had heard my Chaplaine, would haue loued the world the worſe as long as they liued. My Aſsiſtant likewiſe deliuered it with much grace, and grauity: and my ſelfe did my good will. My Chaplaine began as followeth.

Exod. 20. 19

THE CHAPLAINE vpon Panis Viatorum.

THE FIRST ORATION.

Ight honourable, worſhipfull, and well beloued, yee are come hither (I perceiue) to heare ſomewhat for your edification: but I feare mee, you ſhall finde a ſouldier of mee, rather then a diuine: for ſo my many years employment in the campe hath made me; beeing a place of all others vnfit for ſtudy, and a mortall enemy to Muſes. My ſcarres ye ſee make mention of ſome wounds, and my blood hath teſtified my loue to you, that haue ſeldome failed to beare you company in your thickeſt perills, with target in one hand, and my booke in the other. I haue aſsiſted many a gaſping ſpirit in their *agony to heauen-ward*; where I doubt not now, but they ſee, and ſit with God for euer and euer: and you, whom his heauenly prouidence hath reſerued from ſlaughter, hee hath preſerued (ye muſt thinke) for his further ſeruice: if your ſword ruſt, yet your action may not, which muſt euermore bee doing, and working of your weale: ye haue peace now, and ye haue put vp your weapons; what then? peace giues reſt to temporall, and not to ſpirituall fight, we may neuer ſtand ſtill in our way to heauen: and thither I was wiſhed to exhort you to day by one, whoſe authority I may in no wiſe decline. I will do my beſt (God willing) to ſet you in your way; and in your way I

will leaue you : it will be no new matter I ſhall tell you, but what ye haue euery day cauſe to thinke of, and are able to teach others. Your yeares and daies haue beene long time neere death, as neere as Canon ſhotte; and daily death before your eies hath beene enough to mortifie you, and haſten you to another world. I ſhall not therefore be ouer tedious to you, that are ſo well prepared already: neither will I dazell your vnderſtanding with darke matters, nor weary your wittes with points of learning; but onely admoniſh you, what encounters ye are like to haue, and what glory will attend you, if ye be conquerours. This will be the laſt time wee ſhall all meete thus; and if I ſhall any thing ſay worth your hearing, I beſeeh you alſo let it be worth your following.

Quare appenditis argentum non in panibus, et laborem veſtrum non in ſaturitate. Eſay 55.

Intending therefore to exhort you, or rather to haſten you iu your way to heauen: I thought it fitte to lay before you the ſaying of *Eſay* the Prophet. *Why ſpend ye ſiluer* (ſaith he) and not in breads? your labour and not in ſaturity? A ſhort ſpeach, but full of miſtery: why ſpend yee ſiluer and not in bread, your labour and not in ſaturity or fulneſſe? we will ſpeake firſt of the firſt part, and afterwards of the ſecond: & as touching the firſt part, it is well enough known there is nothing more needful for the ſuſtentatiō of man, thē bread. It is that we pray for in our *Pater noſter*, as the needfulleſt foode, and moſt vniuerſall that is: kings themſelues cannot be without it; and the pooreſt haue it, though they haue nothing elſe: euery body loueth it; no one diſh, that euery body loueth; yet euery one loues bread. And beſides the loue we all haue to it, God hath giuen it this prerogatiue, that, as it is moſt neceſſary, ſo is it beſt cheape, and eaſieſt to come by. And therefore moſt iuſtly the Prophet cries out, ſaying; why ſpend yee ſiluer and not in bread? as who ſhould ſay; why ſpend ye money vpon trifles, your patrimony vpon paſtimes, and all the meanes you haue vpon merriments, and are content to ſit a hungred for them?

But

But what I pray you is this ſiluer, that men ſpend in this idle ſort? all that a man hath or can poſſeſſe in this world, may be drawne to two heads: the one is time, which how precious it is I neede not tell, but if it were ten times more, it were all too little to ſpend in our way to heauen. The other is our goods (that is to ſay) all we haue; whether they be of minde, as reaſon, witte, will, memory, learning, and ſuch like; or of body, health, ſtrength, actiuity, proweſſe, eloquence, or of outward fortunes, as riches, honour, pleaſures, and the like; all which is heere called *Siluer*, as in heauen all is gold. And this is the ſiluer the holy Prophet ſpeaketh of, when he asketh vs this queſtion after a manner of increpation, or in chiding ſort, ſaying: why ſpend yee all theſe things and not in bread? Apoc. 21.

But holy Prophet of God, ſhall I aske thee a queſtion? didſt thou euer know any that ſpent much, and cared not how much, and that much of it was not in bread? could hee liue without eating? did he not feaſt and make merry? and could this be done without bread? which if thou canſt not deny; why doeſt thou ſay they ſpend, and not in bread? I acknowledge thee Gods Prophet, and vpon this infallible word by thee deliuered I muſt build to day: thy thought muſt bee my theame, thy ſpirit my text as neere as I can. *Bread* was therefore heere but an allegory, or figuratiue ſpeech, and by it is meant the bread of life, or bread of the ſoule; as appeareth by that which followeth tending all to the ſoule, and not to the body, where hee ſaith ſoone after; *Hearing, heare me, and eate that is good*, and your ſoule, hee ſaith, not your body ſhall bee delighted with fatneſſe. And againe; *giue eare, and come to me, heare me, and your ſoule* (he ſaith not your body) ſhall liue, and I will make an euerlaſting league with you. The bread of the ſoule therefore is the bread hee ſpeakes of, and this onely bread is intended heere; the bread that nouriſheth vs, the bread that ſtrengtheneth vs; is not to ſinne, and perdition, but to heauen and happineſſe. This is the bread I ſay the prophet ſpeaketh of, and no man cares for; lets it lye moulding by him, and buyeth it not; is daily offered him, and hee daily re-

fuseth it; yea scornes the offerer or bringer of it for the most part.

But let vs enter a little further into the matter I beseech you, to find what this bread is, that wee may buy thereof, since it seemeth so necessary. Truely it is not hard to finde, if we would but contemplate our neede: if our bodies were hungrie, wee should know how to seeke, and where to buy: we forget not our dinner or supper, though stomacke we haue none; the time of the day will remember vs of it: and shall not our vprising then, and downe lying put vs in mind of our soules food for our spirituall good, and life euerlasting? Let vs stirre vp our zeale a little, and marke what this bread is, and what the worth of it. *Open* your hands and vnfolde your armes; that yee may bee ready to catch it, and hold it when you haue it.

This bread right worthy, is in two kinds answerable to our estates or liues in this world, and the world to come. And therefore he calleth it breads, not bread: the one sort of bread for distinctions sake, I call the bread of trauellers, *Panem viatorum*: the other *Panem angelorum*, the bread of Angels: which latter name, although it bee applied sometimes in the first sence, yet in this place for my better methood, and your better remembrance, I will distinguish from the other; and confine it onely to our estate in heauen, and to our food there. The first bread is that our soules doe feede on, while it is in *Via* in the way to heauen. And therefore I call it *Panem viatorum*; as Saint *Chrysostome* cals our life heere *Figuram viatorum*: The other is that it feeds on in the end of the way, when it comes to heauen, and must liue for euer. Of this last I shall speake last in time conuenient; of the first I shall speake first, and shall resemble it to the *Shew bread*, or bread of *Proposition*, that was giuen to *Dauid* to eate of, when he had beene weary and hungry, and was pursued by his enemies: and it was such as he might not eate, but with cleannesse of body, as the Scripture declareth.

Psal.77.

Hom.60.in Math.

Psal.101. 24.

1,Reg.21.

For the better vnderstanding whereof, and true applying it to our selues, we must know also that three speciall things

are

are comprehended in this bread of trauellers: the one is the word of God. The second all manner of vertues, and good habits in our soules. The third is Sacraments; all which may rightly bee called bread, and so sometimes are in holy Scripture. The word of God is called by *Christ*, *Panis filiorum* the bread of children. And the woman of *Canaan* calleth it the crummes that fell from the masters table. *Vertues* bee also called bread: sorrowe and teares for sinne is a great vertue. And holy *Dauid* calleth it bread: my teares haue beene bread to me day and night; and in an other place, *thou shalt feede vs with bread of teares.* An other vertue like to this is true mortification or pennance, which is signified in Scripture by this word *Ashes*. As king *Dauid* vseth it saying, that he eate ashes for his bread; as who should say, that ashes were bread to him: All which things and whatsoeuer else that comforts our soule, he may seeme to call by the name of bread, when hee imputes his drinesse of spirit to nothing else, but to the neglect of it, saying, I was withered like hay, and my heart was dryed vp, *Quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum*, Because I forgat to eate my bread.

Mat. 15, 16.
Psal. 41.
Psal. 79.
Psal 101.
Psal. 101.

Lastly For Sacraments, *Omnia Sacramenta* (saith S. *Austine*) All Sacraments that are done in vs by the ministery of Gods seruants, are meate to our bellie. And *Christ* calleth his supper by the name of *Bread*: saying, *Hee that eateth this bread shall liue for euer*, and preferreth it before *Moses* his bread, saying, that *Moses* gaue not bread from heauen, but my Father (saith he) giues you true bread from heauen. Note this word *true bread*: as who should say this were not true bread which wee eate with our meate; but rather a figuratiue bread, feeding onely the flesh: and the Sacrament the true bread that feedeth and sustaineth the soule, or principall part of man. And these three breads may well bee meant by those three loaues in the Gospell, which one came to borrow of his friend at midnight, and was importunate for. Whereupon Saint *Ambrose* asketh this question, and makes answer, *Qui sunt isti tres panes* (saith hee) *nisi cœlestis misterij alimentum*, What bee these three loaues, but the

Iohn 6.
Luk. 11.
lib. 7. in Luc.

Hom. 26. in Ioh. foode of heauenly misteries. *Saint Augustine* also calles these heauenly things bread, and telles vs the sweetnesse of it, such as is able to intice and force a mans heart to the loue of it, how little soeuer the world doth esteeme it. But to our purpose.

All these three may bee rightly called the bread of Proposition, as I saide; beeing shewne and propounded for all to buy of, and feede on, that bee yet as *Trauellers* before they come to their iournies ende. *The word of God* feedes vs with instruction: *Vertues* feede vs with imitation: *Sacraments* feede vs with grace and consolation. The word of God giues life, and motion to our soules: *Vertues* digestion: and *Sacraments* augmentation. The word of God with what reuerence it must bee handled; *Vertues* with what resolution they must bee imbraced; a *Sacrament* with what puritie it must bee receiued. I vndertake not now to teach: yee know or may know by your learned *Prelates*, to whom I remit you: onely of vertues I say thus much to you, because they are more within the compasse of your vnderstanding, and yee haue daily vse of them; that as they be many and very nourishing to your soules; so are they like flowers in your garden, oyle in your lampes, and corne to your Mill. A Mill will bee fired, and the stones fret out one another without corne in it: euen so doe our passions, they chafe vs and fret vs to nothing, if *Vertues* come not betweene. The flowers of vertue refresh and comfort the soule, and make it admirably sweete. The oyle of vertue makes the soule so bright and smoothe, that God may see his owne face in it, and acknowledge vs thereby to bee his true Image.

In particular haue wee taken away ones good name, or any thing else that is his? Let vs make a vertue of it by submission, and restitution. Are we angry at a disgrace done vs? Let vs not bee hasty of reuenge; but let vs bee glad if wee can, of such a tryall sent vs. Temperance of body, and chastity of minde, are great vertues and indeere vs to God. I may not omit humility and mildenesse, gentlenesse and affability, that makes vs the very childe that God tooke vp

Mat. 18.

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in his armes, and shewed him for a patterne for all the world to beholde. Fortitude or valour is likewise a singular vertue, without which almost there can bee no vertue; not humilitie nor obedience can want it, not the least pasion vanquished without it: my purpose is not to reckon vp all vertues, but onely to giue instance of a fewe. In one word, yee know all of yee when yee doe ill; shunne it and amend it: yee know what is vertue also, and when ye doe well, imbrace it and feede on it, it is your soules *bread*; and to feede on it hard, makes a fat soule.

These bee the bread you should buy, these the things you should spend your siluer on; make a houshold booke, and keepe account with your selues of your laying out, and expences euery day; which if they bee not in a good conscience of some of these vertues, or bee in a bad conscience of the contrary; yee will grow behind hand quickly, and your soules will be so poore, that ye will rid no way in your poast to *Heauen-ward*. I haue read of a noble *Romane* called *Sextius*, who neuer missed night, but would call to minde what hee had done amisse that day, and if any day were that he amended nothing in, he accoũted it vtterly lost; he learnt it I thinke of some seruant of God, and so may you looke on your compting booke euery night, and see what *Items* yee haue there, what chast thoughts, and how the contraries resisted; what patience, and how anger was resisted; how iust your bargaines and contracts? how yee pray and haue God in your minde first and last? how pittifull to the poore, how heedy for swearing, how for cursing, how for ouermuch eating and drinking, idle talke, and ribaldry, all which yee may doe in him that comforts you, (as S. *Paul* saith) if you put your good wills to it. The horse that carries you, must bee your good will: if your will bee ardent and zealous, hee neuer tyers: if it bee colde, hee holdes not out a day. The winde that launcheth you through the *Ocean*, must be your good will; the winde will bee alwaies as great as your will, and your will should bee euer as great as your hunger. Oh that wee might feele our soules hunger as sensibly as our bodies hunger; wee should

Senec. lib. 3 de ira.

Phil. 4.

then buy this heauenly bread much faster, and plye our soules oftner with these heauenly prouisions then wee doe. *Behold* the woorth of this bread our holy Prophet offers vs to buy.

But it may be, yee would gladly know why the Prophet calles these things bread, and not by some other name aswell, that may be as signifying for his purpose as this word *Bread*: Surely wee shall finde in Scriptures if wee marke it, that what we eate to sustaine our bodies with, is called sometimes by the name of *Bread*, as if there were nothing else before vs to eate but *Bread*, *Exod* 3. 2. *Kings* cap.9. and other like places; where to dine or suppe is called to eate *Bread*, and yet had they other things to eate besides bread. As wee see where *Abraham* intreated his three guests to come in and eate bread with him, and yet there was not onely bread, but hony, milke, and veale. And in the first of *Kings* where *Saul* accursed them that should eate bread that day; wee read what punishment came vpon them for *Ionathans* sake, for tasting onely of a hony-combe in his way, and touched no *Bread*. Loe heere, where hony also is vnderstood by *Bread*, as euery thing else may bee which wee eate, both for the generality, and likewise for the necessity of the foode of bread; since euery one must haue it, and nothing can bee eaten without it.

Gen.18.

cap.14.

All things therefore wee see that are foode, is called *Antonomastice* by the name of *Bread*, as by the worthiest name: and so of our spirituall food, if a man should aske why our Prophet calleth it bread, and not by some other name, as why doth he not call it *Clothing*, since we cannot come there without a *wedding garment*: why doth he not call it armour or weapons *arma nostra spiritualia*: we come not to heauen without fight, neither fight wee without weapons? why doth he not call it wings, since we cannot fly without wings? why doth hee not call it a ladder as it is called in *Genesis*, to clime to heauen by? why doth he not call it *Almes-deedes* a thing so much commended in Scriptures? why calls hee it not I say by none of these, since all these be so necessary for vs? truely the reason is plaine if we marke it.

Mat.22.

2.Cor.10.

Psal.54.7.

cap. 28.12

All

All these things that I haue reckoned, bee they neuer so fitte for vs, yet are they all without vs. *Cloathing* is for the out-side, weapons, wings, ladder, almes, or whatsoeuer els, are all on the outside of vs, and come not so neere our life, as bread doth: all other things doe no good without, vnlesse we haue bread within. Those things indeede doe furnish vs, but bread doth nourish vs; and therefore though other things be necessary, yet bread is most necessary or necessary of necessaries; and the word is vsed by the Prophet in a *supereminent* signification; as a man would say, this is locke and key, this is all in all, this the sinewes, this the marrow of all our good: and therefore all that *intrinsically* seruеth to our euerlasting weale, bee aptly called by this word, euen this *supereminent* word *Bread*. And as all our outward operations, and actions are nothing without bread, and inward sustentation of man; whereby he hath strength, and comfort in his doing, and can doe nothing without it: So if wee should deuise one word to call all things by, that we need, either in respect of the greatnesse of our neede, or the multiplicity of them; wee can finde no one word or name so fitte, or so significant as this word *Bread*: and for such is vsed, and made choice of in our *Pater noster* by God himselfe: where whatsoeuer we neede or pray for almost, wee are bidden to aske it by the name of *Bread*, giue vs this day our daily bread: that is to say, as holy fathers expound it, giue vs whatsoeuer will nourish vs, either body, or soule.

Are wee to pray for patience? we aske it heere by the name of *Bread*. Aske we sorrow for sinne? heere it is called bread. Aske wee feruor and deuotion? God vnderstands vs by the name of *Bread*. Aske we chastity and mortification? he giues it vs heere by the word *bread*. Aske we comfort, aske wee charity, aske we grace, constancy, or perseuerance to the end? all is included in this word *Bread*. All is bread, all is foode of soule, all makes it fatte, rich, faire, comely and beautifull, worthy of saluation, worthy of heauen, worthy of God. And therefore no maruell if the Prophet call these things *Bread*, since God so vnderstands them

in our daily forme of prayer, which hee gaue vs from his blessed mouth: *giue vs this day our daily bread.*

Now let no man aske me, how is patience bread? how are deuotion, charity, or any other vertue bread? this reason shall serue for all reasons, that Christ in effect hath called them so. Let vs goe buy and bestowe our money freely on it. Let vs be profuse, and prodigall vpon it: the more we spend this way, the more we haue; the more we wast, the greater our store; the more we wrestle, and exercise, the lesse weary; the faster we runne, the more in breath, as all they that prooue shall assuredly finde. And yet, if wee shall seeke a reason also why; these things, or how, or in what sence they are called *bread*; we shall not goe far for a reason to satisfie them that be curious: and it will not be vnfruitfull to vs neither, when we vnderstand it. Wee will go no further I say for a reason, then to the very nature of *bread*, and the properties thereof, as I will declare now vnto yee.

We touched in the beginning some properties of *bread*, and some others there are besides, which are also found in this *heauenly bread*: yea and much more in this, then in that. First bread feeds vs and keepes vs from perishing: so doth our heauenly bread feed vs and preserue vs from perishing eternally. I need not prooue it to you, it is well enough knowne; for as *bread* hath many alterations, before it come to make flesh; euen so it is with our ghostly *bread*. The first alteration of bread is in the mouth, by eating and chewing, the mouth of the soule is hearing, and reading. The second alteration is in the stomacke, where the meate is turned into a white substance called *Chylus*; the stomacke of the soule is deepe consideration, all pale, and astonished to thinke of the horrible danger it was in a little before. The third alteration is in the liuer, where our foode turnes to blood, and lookes redde; the liuer of the soule is shame, and confusion, blushing redde as fire, for that wee haue done wickedly. The last alteration is into flesh, and the flesh of our soule, is our good estate to God-ward; which hearing and reading consulted vpon, consideration resolued vpon, shame kindled, and sends the blood of grace from part

to

to part to consolidate. Grace clarifies our reason, giues life to our will, blowes courage into our heart, which is the seat of *vertues*.

The second qualitie of bread is to make purest blood. Other meates haue more mixture in them of choller, or melancholy that the blood is the worse for it. other studies, sciences, and high questions of learning though they feede the soule also; yet are they mixed lightly with elation, or emulation, as it is written, *Scientia inflat*; and therefore goe not so cleerely to the good of our soule, as our ghostly food doth. This bread our Prophet speakes of here, hath no such mixture in it: the word of God is wholy void of it, like a christall fountaine of a most fluent streame. *Vertue* were not vertue, if it endeauoured not the same: and the sacraments are the purest pipes from the side of our Sauiour, and cannot make other then purest nourishment. Will ye know what blood these make? *behold* Gods Saints from *Enoch* to the Apostles, and so downeward: wee may know their food by their complexions that were so white and redde in Gods sight according to his owne heart; the very pictures of vertue and grace: looke vpon the blood of Martyrs, how pretious it is in the sight of God, from *Abel* hitherto, and all ouer the world. The seede of man is made of the purest blood said *Pythagoras*, and God made choice of that blood, to sowe the field his Church withall in due season. 1. Cor. 8.

The 3. property of *bread* is to be loued of al: euery one loues not euery meat, yet few or none loues not bread: and so it is with our spiritual bread; euery body loues it, the very wicked loue it in a sort, though they seek it not: witnes themselues, if we aske thē. But there are 2. sorts of loue, the one fruitful, which sinners haue not, but may haue; the other vnfruitfull, which sinners haue, & will do them no good: imperfect loue it is I grant, yet loue it is; & so much our Sauiour may seem to imply, when he said loue God withall thy heart: as who should say it is loue, and they may loue God, though they loue him not withall their whole heart: *Premium virtutis honor*, it is vertues due to be loued, and honoured, though Mat. 22. 37

it be not alwaies imbraced. Our loue to vertue is commonly as childrens loue to bread, or I would it were but so in some; better to be but one step vp then none at all. Children will call and cry for bread, but if any thing else comes, they hide it, or cast it away. But what doe I speake of children, and those that bee sicke, or make strange of good life? they that bee whole and sound, or haue not lost all feeling, must loue the meanes of their health, and will not refuse it altogether; or if they doe, I holde their estate to be damnable.

There is yet a fourth quality or property of *bread*; which is easinesse to come by: and this accords also with our spirituall *bread*. It is easie to bee had both in respect of the meanes which euery one may haue that will, as also in respect of it selfe, that is euery where to be sold: our meanes is our money, and our money (as I said before) is our will, and thirsty desire after it: God asketh no other price of vs. Let no man complaine that he hath not where withall; our good God hath prouided enough for the poorest that is, to buy a kingdom; though not enough alwayes to buy a cow. If the businesse were a money matter, the poore could not bee vertuous, nor haue share in our heauenly foode. The
Mat 6. Gospell tels vs that where our treasure is, there is our heart: but I thinke it is true both waies; where our mind & loue is, there is our money: our loue is the best treasure, and wee may furnish our selues richly with it (if wee list) out of our owne Treasury. Haue wee no money? let vs coyne it out of our owne hearts, and wee shall finde plenty. Hee that hath least, hath a selfe to giue; and hee that hath most, can giue no more: and if wee would know who sells it vs, it is
S. Aug. God that sells, and God is euery where to take our price; hee is at euery occasion, and at euery neede of ours, to take our money. Come occasion of sicknesse, or mischance to vs, hee is at hand to sell vs patience. Come occasion of misery, or want in our poore neighbour, hee is ready to sell vs the *Bread of pitty*. Come occasion of quarrell or falling out, he proffers vs charity, so wee drawe our purse wide enough. Bee wee fallen into temptation? hee tenders vs strength e-

nough

enough to ouercome it. Are wee in sinne? hee meetes vs presently with remorse, if wee giue him but reason for it. These and a great deale more are the holy *Bread* hee giues vs at all needes, and all assayes, and hee meetes vs mercifully at our owne doore with all; wee neede not send so farre for it, as to the next market towne: and thus much for the fourth property.

Now to these I could adde a fift; and that is such a one, as a man would thinke were ill, yet is not ill, but onely with euill vsing it. There is no surfet so hurtfull to our body, as that of *Bread, Omnis Saturatio mala, panis autem pessima.* If the stomacke bee charged with any thing else but bread, it will recoyle and put it vp. Bread not so, but lyes clumping together like lead, neither digesting it selfe, nor suffering other thing to digest. And this is also manifest in our *Bread* of life; where pride or wearinesse beares downe our heart, and plunges it in time into the pit of *Apostacy.* Begins with zeale, and ends with coldenesse: begins with too much, and ends with too little: begins hotly, and hath not grace to holde out. Was *incrassatus, & dilectus*, and at length *recalcitrauit*, presumes in owne strength, and turnes vp the heele against God, and all goodnesse. Physitians say the finer the bread is, the more dangerous is the surfet. And euen so it is with heauenly foode, by our owne peruersenesse. And therefore this made *Angels Diuels* when they fell once, this lost *Saul* a kingdome, ouerthrewe *Salomon*, and a multitude since to our very dayes, without all remedy and cure. How many doe we know in the world, that knew Gods will, and were in good practise of it, yet now are giuen ouer and left to themselues. They left off first one good exercise, then another; and by little and little all, or very neere all: time and temptation brought them to it, and wearinesse of well doing. And this exceeds all other kinde of sinne, that happily may finde remedy when the passion is once ouer. This passion is neuer ouer, lyes heauy on the stomacke like dough: will neither voide vpward at the mouth, since they cannot forget what they haue heard and read; nor concoct in the liuer, since shame is gone that should giue it colour

Deut. 32.

and entertainment. Set all the *Aqua-vitæ* before them that is in the Gospell; they tooke a surfet of it once, and now will doe them no good. Set *Rosa-solis* before them, or waters of hottest spirit, all is in vaine: these were so lately their common drinke, that now at a neede, it will not warme their heart. They are growne to very *insensibility* by their owne pertinacity, and if God touch them not extraordinarily, they are past all recouery.

But by all these properties of bread, yee see now by reason, as before by authority, how fitly our heauenly foode is here called *Bread* by our holy Prophet. And our speech hath not bin onely of words and tearmes, but also of effects, and substance, and true woorth of it indeede. For first it nourisheth our soule as *Bread* doth our body. Secondly, it makes the purest blood, euen the blood of Martyrs and Saints. Thirdly, how it is loued of all that loue themselues as they should do, and giues honour to the possessours of it. Fourthly, how good cheape we come to it, *venite, emite absq; argento*
Esay 55. saith our Prophet in the same place: come and buy without money all ye that will buy; & almost euery occasiõ (we meet withall) sels it vs. Lastly, wee see how dangerous it is, and how ill fauoured wee looke in Gods sight, if wee leaue this dyet, and content our selues with worse. Wee grewe fatte and fedde daintily at his table, and if a fatte man fall, hee hath much adoe to rise againe. By all which wee may see as in a glasse, what manner of thing this heauenly foode is wee flye from daily, and list not buy. Foode I say in word, foode in worth; a worth not to bee valued by the worthiest things in the world; not by diamonds, nor yet by a diadem, and a whole diadem were well giuen for it, if it could not bee had without. All the world is so base and vile to it, that all together will not buy the least peece of true vertue.

And therefore amongst other our spirituall breads aforesaid, that nourish, feede, and beautifie our soule: I may not omit to commend vnto you heere most especially and par-
Ioh. 6. ticularly our *Sacramentall bread, the body and blood of Christ*, which hee gaue and spilt on the crosse for the life of the world; and which it may bee was principally intended by

our

our holy Prophet in this place. And I doe not commend it to you now for the praiſe of it, but for the the vſe of it; the one beeing beyond my power to performe worthily; the other beeing in your power to practiſe proffitably: ye haue price enough in your purſes, as I tolde you, and I would wiſh you to buy of it often. Let not once a yeare content you, which the Church doth binde ye to. once a moneth in act, and euery day in deſire, is little enough for thoſe, that know the ſweete of it. Little enough I ſay if wee haue a liuely faith, and haue taſted how good it is.

But woe bee to vs. Wee apprehend it not, and therefore wee buy it no faſter. Wee feele not the operation of it, and therefore wee neglect it. It is to bee lamented with many teares, how careleſſe wee bee and almoſt inſenſible in this point, as will ſoone bee ſeene by vs, if wee take not heede betimes. Wee are like to a ſea wall, that muſt bee alwaies repayring; which if wee be not by this holy Sacrament, we ſhall goe euery day decaying further from heauen; euery guſt of winde, and ſea will make a breach vpon vs, and euery little temptation will ſurround vs. It is Gods worke to repaire vs, and not mans. And if wee will bee vertuous by our ſelues, or honeſt of our ſelues, and thinke a Sacrament but an idle ceremony; the next newes will bee of vs, that we haue neither vertue at all in vs, nor ſcarce *common honeſtie*. All that be faithfull know what they receiue, but all take not delight in it, becauſe they know not the benefit of it: yea more then this, let vs call and cry to them neuer ſo loude, that they will taſte often of it, and try the good of it, as they will doe by ſome thing which is hard, or harſh enough to them at the firſt, but with vſe made pleaſing: yet in this *heauenly Bread* they will not doe it, nor force themſelues a whit to loue it, becauſe it pleaſeth not ſenſe.

This noble Sacrament hath many good things in it, and the Ancients haue neuer done praiſing it, and extolling it, euen out of their owne feeling. I haue read much, but I reade no Doctor like the Doctor of Doctors, Chriſt himſelfe, who beſt could tell what good wee receiue by it. Hee hath tolde vs in two words as much as ſhall bee needefull at

Ioh.6. this time, *in me manet, & ego in eo,* Hee that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, shall dwell in mee, and I in him. To dwell in him (saith Saint *Augustine*) is to be a peece, or member of him. To be in him, is to be one body with him. And as Saint *Chrysostome* saith, *non fide tantum, sed ipsa re nos suum corpus efficit,* He doth incorporate vs vnto him, not only by faith, but in very deede, as much to say; wee doe not onely thinke it, and beleeue it; but our very soule doth also feele it, and finde it to bee so, and glorieth in it, for that wee are made all one with so great a Maiesty.

Tract.27. in Ioh.

Hom.60.

Truely, there is no two can bee one, so, as wee with God, by this heauenly Bread receiued: not the neerest friends that are, not the greatest louers in the world, not Angels, and Seraphins; yet wee are one with God, by receiuing of God. What should wee feare? whom should wee dread on earth? The blessed Apostle saith, *If God bee for vs, who can bee against vs*: how much more may wee say it, if God be not onely for vs, but in vs: for so he saith.

Rom.8.

Et ego in eo, and I in him; which words Saint *Augustine* expoundeth also very well in the same place, how God is in vs. Hee tolde vs before, how we dwell in him: now he tels vs, how he dwels in vs. Hee dwels in vs, saith he, as in his temple, or place dedicated to his seruice: not content with stately temples and goodly buildings made with hand, walled with stone, couered with lead on the outside, with gold, and all that is pretious on the inside; large, faire, and wide, to receiue a multitude. Not thus content I say, but makes his chappell of ease in our hearts, his tabernacle in our breasts, his priuy chamber, or closset in our bosomes, to sit with vs, to conferre with vs, and as it were to solace with vs in priuate: *Et ego in eo.* How is this I in him? not in a generall sort as God is euery where; but in particular, as hee was in *Salomons* temple, when his *Arke* of Testimony was brought in. *Impleuerat domum domini gloria domini,* there wee reade a Cloude entred, and filled the house with glory. Heere, not a Cloude, or shaddowe this *ego in eo,* but the Sunne itselfe comes in, and filles vs indeede with glory.

3.King.7.

3.King.8.

These

These bee great matters I speake of, and wee may not slippe them out, nor let them slippe from vs lightly. To be all one with God, not with earthly kings; to be vnited with God, not with Angels, or Archangels; to be the temple of God, not a pallace for a Prince; to bee a resting place for Iesus, not a couch of golde for *Ashuerus*. Who can tell what glory this is to vs, what a priuiledge, what an aduancement in the sight of the whole heauenly warfare? euen greater then any Prince in the world can euer bestow on vs, though it were to set vs in a throane by him.

Et ego in eo, and I in him, saith God himselfe. Who can heare these words drowsily, as though they were but words, and belonged not vnto vs? many a horse knowes when his master is on his backe, and will shew it by his carriage: are not we better then horses? who can heare these quickening words, and starts not out of a dead sleepe? who heares *ego in eo*, and aspires not to haue that *ego* in him often, with often receiuing? and when he hath receiued, who can sinne wilfully that day, or soone after? *Elias* walked forty daies 3.Reg.19.8
in the strength of one loafe; how much more may we hold out in the strength of this heauenly morsell, vntill the next time wee come to receiue it? who cannot forget and forgiue, that carries the Lord of mercy in his bosome? who can wrong his neighbour in word or deede, and carries the rightfull iudge in his owne body? who can harbour an euill thought in his soule, that hath made his soule the altar of God? who can delight in vncleane talke, that hath made his mouth an entrance into this temple? who can thinke of nothing but buying and selling in this temple, that is the temple himselfe of him that made it?

Et ego in eo. How is God in vs? is it as a commer, and goer, and as a passenger onely? No: but as a dweller or inhabiter; for so the word *manet* signifies. As one in a manner that left heauen, to dwell in the world; hath left the world to dwell in vs. A noble possession keeper, a noble protector of all wee haue, if wee can hold him. By this being of God in vs, wee shall not looke to prophecy, or do miracles, or great wonders in the world, which are more

for others good, then our owne. But all that is ſure to better our ſoules, wee ſhall be ſure to haue. God will neuer ſee vs want happineſſe. Wee are poſſeſt of God with receiuing of God, and wee are often poſſeſt with receiuing him often. And if it be miſerable to be poſſeſt of euill and wicked ſpirits; how happy is it then to be poſſeſt of God, who brings all good things with him. And laſtly, if this temple of his, this body of ours do chance to periſh, or bee wronged, or ruined for his greater glory & our trial *in tribus*
Ioh. 2. *diebus Suſcitabit illud*, he wil build it again quickly much fairer then it was. There bee of you heere, that haue taſted the good of this *bread* of *Trauellers*, and often receiuing it; it hath made you hardy, and reſolute in your buſineſſe; and to ſuch as haue dyed in the field, it hath beene their *Viaticum*, as the fathers call it, to bring them to God. Such viaticum or voyage prouiſion God ſend vs neere our death, if we dye, on a ſuddaine.

Yee haue hitherto heard what neceſsity there is of this heauenly bread, and ſome part of the benefit of it, and what cauſe our Prophet had to cry out vpon vs as hee doth, for misbeſtowing what wee haue, ſo vily, and not vpon theſe *breads*, for heaping vnworthy things in this world, and neglecting the worthieſt, that will ſticke by vs for euer. If the Prophet were now liuing, and ſaw our groſſeneſſe in this behalfe, hee wonld thunder more plainely againſt vs, then he doth. *Behold* he is yet liuing in his writings and ſpirit. Let not the letter lye dead in the booke: take it and beate it in a mortar: Bruiſe it well, and powne it into ſpice, that the fragrancy of it may fill euery corner of your houſe: make a ſheafe of wheate of it, and thraſh it out for a griſt to ſerue at your board, and feede your ſoule.

It followes in the ſame place; *your labours*, and not in *Sa-*
Eſay 55. *turitie, or fulneſſe*. Now, ſince we haue done with the *bread* of *trauellers*; we ought of right to ſpeake next of the *bread* of *Angels*, (which was the other part of my deuiſiõ) before we leaue bread, & go to anew matter. Howbeit becauſe we haue reſerued this of Angels to be ſpoken of laſt; wee will breake order a little, and goe forward firſt with our Pro-

phets

phets owne words as they lye; and the other bread we shall finde oportunitie for (God willing) at an other time.

Why spend yee your siluer (saith hee) and not in bread; your labour, and not in saturity? Hee said before, your *Siluer*, now your *labour*. He said before, and not in *bread*; now and not in *Saturity*. Before he found fault with misspending our goods; now, for wasting our bodies, for so is to bee vnderstood this word *labour*, which is as much to say, as toyle of body and minde. Gods curse it was vpon *Adam*, that the earth and creatures should rebell against him; and nothing he should haue without labour, and toyle; *in labore comedes*; If thou wilt eate, thou must labour for it: and in the *sweat of thy brow shall bee thy* foode. He hath shewne before, how prodigally wee spend our substance vpon euery thing, but that wee should. Our will vpon selfe-liking; our wit vpon fancies; our vnderstanding vpon things fading, and transitory; our learning (if we haue any) vpon sensuality; our stile or tongue in setting foorth a lye, assoone as a true tale; our health in pastime and play, and all that we haue in idle vanities for the most part, with little respect of God, or of his holy seruice, for which onely we were created; insinuating vnto vs, that if it were not in *bread*, or in order to God, it must needs be in one of these. Now comes he to our bodies also, and the actions thereof; how we bestowe our strength, how our labour; how our hands and feete, how our sences: and finding them all no better bestowed then the other were; that is (to say) in hope of ease, and yet no true ease; in hope of pleasure, and yet no true pleasure; in hope of filling, and yet empty; in hope of *Saturity*, and yet no true *Saturity*; hee asketh this question as before of our money, and other outward things, so now of our *labours*, and cares of life, saying: why bestow yee all these things as ye doe, and not in *Saturity*?

Gen. 3.

Saturity yee must thinke is as much to say, as fulnesse of contentment: It is as much to say, as I haue enough Lord, *Satis est*, I aske no more in this life. It is written of holy *Ephraim* and others, that were much addicted to prayer and meditation; that they found such extraordinary com-

Luk. 22.
Plat. lib. 3.

fort therein ſometimes; that they brake forth into theſe words, ſaying; *Satis domine*, enough Lord; as much to ſay, as hold thy hand Lord, I haue enough. Let mee not haue heauen before I come there, I haue enough. And this is not onely their contentment, that are perfect; but it is ouery good bodies, that loues vertue, and delights in prayer, and although he haue not extraordinary comforts, nor can expect thoſe rare illuminations which ſome haue had: yet if hee vſe but an ordinary deuotion in his ordinary courſe of prayers, and reſigne himſelfe wholly to God; he ſhall finde (no doubt) ſo much quickening hope, that hee ſhall riſe from his knees very contentedly with *Satis domine*, and ſuch compleate ſatisfaction, as in his humility, and acknowledgement of his vnworthineſſe, hee would thinke is much more, then he could expect.

I confeſſe, and let this be our ground, that there is no abſolute content in this life, all our content, euen a Saints content vpon earth; is but in *enigmate*, or like the ſunne in a cloude vpon a gloomy day: and therefore holy *Dauid* ſaith,
Pſal. 16. *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua* he ſaith not Satior in the preſent, but Satiabor in the future tenſe: Signifying hereby; that there is no *ſaciety* in this life, no perfect filling, or ſaturity here; it muſt be in heauen, not here; it is in viſion of God, not in fruition of creatures; wee are here but in expectation, there in poſſesſion; here in hope, and promiſe, there in deede and performance; here in fight, there in victory; here like hunters, and ſouldiers, there wee deuide the ſpoiles. The ſouldier in his fore-age is glad of any thing he can get, and ſaith *Satis*. The faulconer likewiſe, or hunter, is well pleaſed for the time at a poore mans houſe, and ſaith *Satis* for it, as if he were at home in richer fare. And this is the beſt of our caſes here. Wee are all ſouldiers in
Iudi. 1. this *magno campo*, or great battle of the world. Wee are huntſ-men in this wilde forreſt, or chace of beaſts, and ſauages, our owne appetites, and inordinate deſires; which ſometimes wee kill, and ſometimes they eſcape our hands. But in the time of this our hunting, we are glad many times to meete with a fountaine in ſtead of a tauerne to coole our thirſt;

thirst; a little hope I say, in stead of a possession, a feruent thought now and then instead of a present imbrace: and this is *Satis*, and sweete to vs, vntill wee come home at night, that is (to say) in the end of our life, to our heauenly dwelling; where wee shall haue indeede, not onely our true *Satis*, but *Satis superq;*, and shall haue no end of enough.

I must confesse I say that the life of the vertuous in this world is in hunger and thirst, and in a longing after heauen: yea all their life is in defection, and fainting; for so saith Dauid, *concupiscit, & deficit anima mea in atria domini*, my soule doth lust, and faint withall, vntill it enter the house of God. Yet what of this? is there therefore no contentment in it? See I pray what hee saies in the very same place, and verse? My heart and flesh (saith hee) haue leapt for ioy, that I shall come to my louing God. Loe heere how he answers the matter himselfe; hee fainteth, and yet hee exulteth: he was ready to dye, and yet hee leapeth for ioy. And so in another place, *Mine eyes begin to faile mee*, while I hope in my God. See heere a notable *Sympathy* in an *Antithesis*, a concord as it were in a holy discord, a fainting and leaping both at one time, a defection and exultation both at a breath, a swounding and reuiuing all in a verse, all at an instant. So as, let our discomfort bee neuer so great, beeing for God, and in a longing after him: such discomfort can be no true discomfort, that is so full of comfort; no true dulnesse or heauinesse, that is so quicke with childe of so great hopes, or of so hopefull an inheritance.

Psal. 83. ibid. Psal. 68.

It farre exceedes the comfort of *Iacob*, who thought it little to serue seauen yeares for faire *Rachel*, beeing sure to haue her in the ende. Our enioying also lyes in our willes: Wee are as sure of it as wee are sure of our willes; fire and water cannot part vs, if wee loue and like. What is there in the world should beate vs from this hope? can tribulation? can pouerty, or any thing else? Yea, doe not crosses encrease our comforts, as water increaseth fire? These be the comforts that *Salomon* calles *Iuge conuiuium*, or all day feasting. How can wee bee sorrowfull in a feast full of harmony? To this content or saciety, doth Saint *Peter* invite you, saying *Sat agite*, that is (to say) *Satis agite*. Doe

Rom. 8. Prou. 15. 2. Pet. 1.

as much as lyes in you for your contentment, which ye may gather by him, can no where elſe bee had, but in a morall certainety of your vocation, and election, and your true concurring therewithall. This the comfort of comforts, and well head of true content, or higheſt toppe of our *Satis* in this life. What life can bee in ſorrow, that is indowed with this? and they that haue this, whatſoeuer they bee, or haue beene, may ioy and exult at all times. Let miſeries come like hayle vpon vs, yet can wee not bee vnhappy, as long as wee haue this. Let our eſtate for life bee what it will be, ſo we be ſure of our inheritance: our perpetuall hope of this, and our will ſtill concurring with our hope, is it that nouriſheth ſo, as, wee can aske no more in this life, wherefoeuer wee become; in paine or pleaſure, among friends or enemies, in ſleepe or awake, in trauell or at reſt, in plenty or penury, peace or warre, in buſineſſe or at quiet; ſtill our *Satis* attends vs, and wee carry content where wee goe, in tryumph about vs.

And theſe comforts if wee will imbrace them as wee bee offered them, are the earneſt pennies that tye vs to God, and him to vs, vnleſſe we goe from it firſt our ſelues. Theſe our claime to a future inheritance, or a poſſeſsion keeping againſt the diuell and his angels for the places they had, and loſt in heauen, and wee muſt haue after them. This the *Satis domine* that holy *Dauid* felt in his ſoule and ſpirit, ſaying, *Renuit conſolari anima mea, memor fui dei, & delectatus ſum.* So delighted hee to thinke of his part he had in God, that hee founde himſelfe vnable to holde the comfort of it. Now what comfort is there abroade in the world, that they will ſay to God *Satis domine* with the Saints aforeſaide; or *Renuit conſolari anima mea* with *Dauid*? is there any will ſay, Lord thou giueſt mee to much? Forbeare. Will they not ſay rather giue mee more Lord, I haue not enough? I haue no contentment yet for want of more? This is therefore that hearts eaſe, this is the contentment and ſaciety our Prophet ſpeakes of heere, and findes fault that wee labour and toyle as we doe, and not in this Saturity.

Pſal. 76.

My good friends, I haue tolde you in brieſe, what Satu-

ritie

titie it is, that hee meaneth, and is truely in Gods seruants, and no where else to bee founde. Will any man contend with mee, and say it is in the world; it is where riches are, it is where pleasures are, it is with kings and mighty folke? I cannot deny, but such persons haue contentment. They do what they wil, and their pleasures are prouided for them without their trouble. They are tyed to no rule, tyed to no law, keepe no houres, day nor night. If they bee sicke, the Physitian is at their elbowe. What should I speake of riches? they may wallowe in gold, if they will. What of faire houses and dainty gardens well sette, and planted with plumbes, and fruits of the best. None to contradict them in their desires, none to crosse them in any sort. I speake not of inferiour persons, whose content (it may be) is not, nor can bee so absolute as these. And yet as great content they may seeme to haue in their lesse, and meaner estate, as the other in their grand superfluities: yet few of them can say *Satis*, or thinke they haue enough, as deuout people can: but seeke for more, labour for more, are vnquiet for more the most of them, as if they had nothing: yea I haue knowne some confesse, that for wanting a little of their willes or wishes, it hath troubled them more, then if they had nothing. And of this there can bee no other true reason, but that they bee no true contentments, but false and deceitfull, as I could easily prooue, if my purpose were to insist on it.

This alone may suffice for this point, that the heathen Philosopher, who reached no higher then morality, sawe as much as I tell you, and founde no true contentment but in Philosophy, & wisedome, and in vertuous contemplation. In respect whereof, he contemned all basser matters; pleasures they held both counterfeit and foule. And if any man thinke them truely delightfull, the fault is in his corrupted minde (saith *Aristotle*) that lookes no higher. And *Plato* likewise will haue no true content in riches or pleasures, and they „ that fight and scratch for them, as they doe (saith hee) „ are like beasts that feede downeward and creepe on their „ bellies, and neuer looke vp as men should, towards their

eth. 10. dial. de rep.

true contentment. Thus ſaith hee; and he makes no reckoning of riches; and the greateſt pleaſures hee holdes but ſhaddowes of pleaſures, as a very ancient *Poet* was wont to ſay, whom he there auoucheth for this purpoſe thus.

Steſichorus

For Hellen faire, as Troians thought,
But not true Hellen, Troians fought.

And to this effect they all agree moſt conſtantly, not ſwaruing a iot one from an other, and by no other light, then by naturall reaſon; that there is no true *Satis* in any of all theſe; and therefore no maruell if it cannot bee founde among them that bee ſenſuall, and more then purblinde of Soule, as moſt people are.

And yet to come neerer our prophets meaning in this place, and to make a full benefit of it for our greater good; let vs ſearch a little further, ſince wee haue ſaid what Saturity it is hee ſpeaketh of heere, who and what they bee alſo that labour thus (as hee ſaith) without it, and who they bee I ſay that take ſo much paines, and haue not their fill.

Wee knowe a great many in the world, that as they haue not their fill greatly; ſo take they but little paines or labour for it. And therefore ſurely our Prophet meaneth not any of theſe, becauſe they bee not of thoſe that labour. They liue by other bodies labours, and doe nothing themſelues. They are idle and lazie, and will bee troubled with nothing, but looke that euery thing ſhould be put into their mouthes: whether our Prophet meanes theſe or no, I muſt giue them a touch by the way, becauſe they ſwarme ſo in our countrey. Oh how farre doe wee degenerate from our Anceſtours. Our nobility and gentry for the moſt part are corrupted with idleneſſe. Be it ſpoken without offence. Vnleſſe they be Magiſtrates, officers, or houſekeepers, ſtudents, ſouldiers imployed, merchants, tradeſmen, or husbandmen; I dare boldly ſay it, for the moſt part of them, they haue ſo litle care of beſtowing their time well, that they were better holde the plough then bee ſo nobly idle as they bee. They cannot tell at night, what good they haue done that day, as

euery

euery labourer can. But where idle company leades them, there they goe, there they play, there they wrangle or make merry, loose their time, loose their money and meanes, and make themselues businesse to shift for more. Most of our young folke make fooles of themselues, that are otherwise well enough indued.

Is it not a shame to see how intemperate they be of their dyet, how inconstant in their houres, how vnstable in their actions, how wauering in their gate, how new fangled in their apparell, how fond and wild in their conuersation, how affectat in their words, how heathen-like euery way, and ignorant in all Christian duties? one takes it of another like a disease; euery vpstart or countrey ladde will be as proude, and idle as the best, if hee come in place, and can holde vp his nose aloft, carry a fescue in his mouth, and answer not a word to any man without three or foure askings. Their exercise is to sleepe long, and to meditate on their mistresse till almost dinner time. Then to *Tobacco*, then to dinner somewhere, then to a play, or a Tobacco-house, or else in pilgrimage from one idle body to another. He spends his time rarely, if he take a viall in hand and sing to it; then to supper, then to gaming or Tobacco againe till midnight, or other like daliance vntill they be weary.

His bookes be *Amades*, or *Ariosto*, or an *Arcadia*, or if these be to high for him, *a play booke* or some such fancy as the world is full of, to while himselfe withall, for want of company. Much like my ladies dogge, that doth nothing but eate, drinke, and sleepe, or lye in a lappe. Sometimes he barkes, then to his cushion againe, then vp into the bedde, then downe againe to the fire, then whines to the lappe againe: so fares it with our idle folkes, void of learning, voide of resolution, voide of grace, or very little stored with it. Holding it most ridiculous to speake of Christ, or holy things, vnlesse it be to sweare by them: seldome praying but for a fashion, imitating *Angels* in nothing but in *celerity*, who shall say fastest: begin perhaps with *domine ne in furore* and within two or three snappes after, are at *valde velociter*. Quickly in bedde, long in rising, pru-

ning,and making ready, giuen to no good exercise, but ease and fatnesse vntill they bee gray and readie for a graue.

Besides this, euery one hath his humour, and is ledde by the nose with it like a *beare*; giues way to all passions, and that is valiant with him. I haue seene some *Neroes* and *Vitellij* amongst them for spending, and ingurgitating. I thinke they would spend seauen millions(if they had it) in fewe moneths space,as the one of these did; or a thousand sorts of fish at a meale, and as many of foule as the other did, or be alwaies inuenting new pleasures, as both did, if it were not for very shame. For I make no scruple to iudge the worst of them by the abundãce of the heart, that breaks out at their tongues ends,and at their deboysht fashions vnrecouerable. But these be the worthiest, they may seeme to follow,and none else. They will seeme to be braue minded, and yet will follow the basest.

Suet.

They might learne if they pleased of that noble *Romane Sertorius*, to hate their owne vile conditions,and liue more like men. Hee was fellowe with Princes,though in banisht estate. And he was sought vnto by kings. It will disparage no man to follow him. *Metellus* refused single combate with him, and *Pompey* twice driuen out of the field: yet was he humble to all, deere to his followers, pittifull to his enemies, chaft of body, sober of carriage, and might not abide a dissolute body, that were alwaies talking of women, and wantonnesse. Another like to him was *Agesilaus a gracian Prince*, who although he were amorous, yet modest in word,and action; content with any mirth but impudicities; and if the contrary had beene offered,he gaue it a proud repulse,or a deafe eare. How many examples be there of such in our bookes, and how many noble christians both dead, and aliue,very imitable in this kinde. But ours had rather follow *Hanniball*; and so let them; for there was not a more worthy for all qualities belonging to a gentleman, nor any more sober or continent then he, or that tooke more paines, or that lesse loued idlenes then he. Our countrey men, many of them are great readers, and small followers.

Plut.

Iust.

lowers. They ſcorne to be ignorant of any thing, yet make no vſe of it, but lippe witte. I had rather ſee a ſtill practiſer, then a loud ſpeaker, that is ready to take the tale out of a mans mouth, whatſoeuer he ſpeakes of. Hee that reades much outwardly, and reformes little inwardly, is like one that delights in a pleaſant wood, and yet doth nothing when he is there, but make rods for himſelfe.

Fye vpon idleneſſe, the mother of ſinne, and effeminateneſſe both in high and lowe.

Queritur Ægiſtus quare ſit factus adulter?
In promptu cauſa eſt : deſidioſus erat. Ouid.

The queſtion was asked : why lou'd *Ægiſtus* luxurie?
Anſwere was made, *Becauſe* he liued idlely.

And therefore they that haue any goodneſſe, will hate to liue idlely. They ſhall haue time enough to bee idle in their graues; but while we be liuing let vs alwayes be doing. When *Eumenes* was ſo ſtraightly beſieged by *Antigonus*, that his people had no roome to doe any thing, they were affraide of nothing more then of idleneſſe; their enemy troubled them not ſo much without the walles, as idleneſſe within. But their worthy captaine prouided for them very well, deuiſed new exerciſes of ſtrength, and motion, ſuch as their little roome would allow of, either in his hall, or in ſome other corners. And ſome hee made ouerſeers of the reſt. The very horſes they would not let be idle, but kept them in breath, with hanging them in ſuch ſort, that they could ſcarce touch ground with their forefeete, and then belaboured them ſo with ſticke, and voice; that they ſweat, and groand againe. Others walked them, till they were coole. Others ground barley for them. There was not a gentleman that refuſed to doe any thing to keepe him from idleneſſe. Plut.

Idleneſſe is the corrupter of all good manners, no vertue hath poſſeſsion (ſaith one *Philoſoper*) where a man is not in ſome good action. Idleneſſe hath beene equally puniſhed heretofore with murther or theft. Others made it but ba- Plut. in mor.

nishment; others made it fineable. *Atheus persicus* made them worse then horse rubbers, that were idle. *Lycurgus* prouided so, that none could be idle; all persons had enough to doe in their place. Amongst the *Lucanes* in *Italy*, a man lost his money by the lawes, that he had lent to an idle, or a voluptuous body. *Amasis* likewise a most wise king who reigned foure and forty yeares ouer the *Egyptians*, made a law vpō paine of death, that euery man should once a yeare giue an accompt of his life, and actions, and how he maintained himselfe: and he appointed Pretours of purpose to take this accompt. This law did *Augustus* like so well of, that he made the like in Rome. And *Solon* long before him brought the same to *Athens*, to roote out of the citty vnprofitable weedes, that sucke out the iuyce and foyson of the earth, and bring nothing againe; take the fruite of it, and giue no fruite againe. The oxe feedes by vs, and giues vs his flesh to eate; the cowe feedes, and giues sweet milke for it; the sheepe feeds, aud giues vs cloathing to our backs; and our horse carries vs for his meate. Onely our idle bodies take all they can, giue nothing againe; and since they will not be their owne lawe, it is great pitty, that the law of *Amasis* is not amongst them.

in Licurgo. Strobeus ser. 42.

Plin. lib. 6.

Plut. in Sympo.

Sueto.

If I should tell you more stories in this kinde; happly I should please you, more then my selfe. It is not the *Roman* nor the *Grecian*, or *Spartan* that I seeke for: but the true Christian. Woe be to thee *Corozain*, as our Sauiour saith: so woe be to thee so idle a Christian whatsoeuer. For if Christ had walked the Egyptian streetes, if Christ had beene preached out of the Romane pulpits, if Pagans had had such a marke to shoote at, as wee in the eyes of our faith haue; had it beene said to them, *why stand yee heere idlely*, and haue a world of your owne to thinke of in heauen, which will not be had without thinking, and labouring? they would not haue needed such lawes as I speake of, nor would haue stood gaping so idlely about them, as we doe, and care not which end goes forward.

Mat. 11.

Mat. 20.

And therefore ô yee flower of our nation that are here together, the hope of your friends, & not the meanest portion

tion of your countries expectation. Whose ancestours were not idle when then they carried the lillies farre and neere, and extended your borders so wide, and large; nor idle when they defended your frontiers, built your cities, towers, townes, castles, and Churches without number; not idle in so many foundations, and noble monuments, which they haue left behind them to the glory of God, and honour of our nation; not idle when they bred you, and brought you vp to that you now bee. And your selues also not idle hitherto, either in your times of march, or dayes of truce. Nay, I know not whether any in the world were in better businesse then you; not scorning the meanest offices in the field, or campe; or about your owne persons, when yee had others to doe it for you. Yet somewhat ye would bee doing alwaies with your owne horse, or armour, or drying your owne powder, or accommodating your pike, or picking and pruning your petronell, obseruing euer so willingly your leaders voice; and seruing God continually in word, and thought. Let not this idle canker (I say) come neere your doores hereafter, or set any footing where you haue to doe. Flie it, shunne it, auoide it, as you would a house that hath the plague in it.

Take heede I beseech you of this vnprofitable idlenesse, that will bee ready to assault you when you come home. And beware no lesse of idle hangers on. I am very vnprofitable my selfe; but rather then I would bee as some are, I wish my selfe a stone, or a peece of wood, that somewhat might bee made of mee. There is not a sticke of wood, but will make somewhat. Either a bowe, or a bedde-staffe, or a toppe, or a tyle-pinne. But our idle bodies serue for nothing. They are neither good for God, nor the common-wealth, nor themselues. Not for God, but to practise his iudgements vpon. Not for the common-wealth, but to eate vp their prouision before it be spoiled, and to drinke vp their pots by yards, or dozens if that bee good. Neither are they for themselues; that put not out their wit, nor that they haue to the most, no, not to any aduantage for their eternall good. Knowing well enough that they may not

liue heere alwaies. One day the dolefull bell must ring out for them, their eye-liddes closed vp, their face cast ouer with a cloath, their body laid out vpon colde boardes, the soule wandring the whilest in a very strange countrey, darke and dismall, not a man or angell to speake for it, nor any to bid welcome, but a sort of mishapen and angry monsters.

Idlenesse will bee pittifully paid for at that day, and so ~~I so~~ I leaue them. If they haue nothing else to doe, let them be humble, and learne their *Catechisme* by heart againe; or goe to some heauenly broker, as they went in the gospell to Saint *Iohn Baptist*; or as they in the *Acts*, that came to the Apostles, to know what they should doe, or how they might put out with safety any hability they had. Yea the Scripture there sayes more. That they were *compuncti corde*, their hearts (as it were) bled within them, when they heard of their duties. Oh that your hearts would bleede likewise, though I bee but a worme that speake to you at this time, for lacke of a better. Yet I doe wish that this duty of yours were as deepely conceiued by you, as it deepely concernes you; to the end that yee aske alwaies as they did, *quid faciemus*, what shall wee doe? or what amends shall wee make for time past? how shall wee bestowe our selues hereafter? how shall wee spend our idle houres? how the forenoone, how the afternoone, that no more time may be lost? Truely it will not hurt a man to aske; neither will it bee troublesome to any friend that loues you, to resolue you. But yet if my counsell bee not pleasing to some, I would wish them yet, to doe as the great *Turke* doth, (I would it were the worst hee did) to professe some *mechanicall* art, to keepe him from idlenesse. This man maketh rings for bowe-men, his father made arrowes well. And if a gentleman can paint or limme, or imborder for his exercise, or haue skill of gardening, and planting either fruite or fuell, or make, or mend any thing that belongs to himselfe, or his horse, it will not disparage him.

Acts 2.

And this I speake the rather before you that be Souldiers, because your course of life I see is very actiue, or very idle. Your skill for the most part goes no further then *Mars*. Ye

haue

haue learnt nothing elſe heere ; and if *Mars* haue no imployment for you at home, yee will fall to worſe courſes; which I would bee loath to heare of any of you, and yet idleneſſe will diſpoſe you to it, whether ye will or no. Gray haires will grow vpon you quickly, and yee ſhall not know for what. Bethinke your ſelues ſuddainely what courſe yee will take, to paſſe your time proffitably, and to preuent the extreame euills that idleneſſe brings. The Philoſopher ſaith, there is no *vacuum in rerum natura*, from the top of heauen, to the center, there is nothing voide of ſome ſubſtance. And as the law of nature admits no emptineſſe, ſo let your manly nature allow of no idlenes, but fill it vp with good thoughts at the leaſt, to keepe out this idle *vacuum*. Ariſt. phi.

I haue ſtoode ſomewhat long vpon your idle folkes, and vpon idleneſſe, becauſe it is the bane of common-weales, and ruine of moſt houſes. And I would haue both publike, and priuate to take notice of their daily danger, which is ſooner felt then auoided. Yet theſe bee not they our Prophet ſpeakes of, as I ſaid before : for theſe bee but idle, and take no paines; *In labore hominum non ſunt*, they be no paine-takers, but eaſe-takers. And hee ſpeaketh of thoſe heere, that labour and are alwaies toyling about ſomewhat ; and whom it ſeemeth hee takes pitty of, in that they trauell, and ſweate about ſuch things, as giue no true contentment, or ſecurity at all to their ſoules. There bee two ſorts of theſe, that take paines, and care in the world without this Saturity. The firſt is of them that labour, and yet eate not at all, for all their labour. They feede not of our Bread aforeſaid, and therefore no maruell if they bee not filled. The more one labours, the further off from filling, if hee feede not. The other is of them that labour and feede, and yet they thriue not greatly, nor are filled. They taſte and feede (I ſay) of the Breads I ſpake of in my firſt part ; but they feed more ſparingly then they neede, hauing ſuch plenty before them. And theſe be thoſe our Prophet ſpeakes of properly; that take paines about many things, when one thing onely is neceſſary ; labour ſo much for Tranſitories, that they are the weaker for it to things eternall. Pſal. 72. Luk. 10.

The first sort surely comes not within his meaning in this place, beeing notorious sinners, and such as labour for wicked ends. Of whom it may bee said *iam iudicati sunt*, they haue Iudgement of hell vpon them already. And who bee these but extortioners, and wringers, that care not how they get, so they get. Who else? but the proude, contentious, and malitious persons, men and women. Who else? the backbiter, tale-carrier, and make-bate. Who else? drunkards and swearers, that doe nothing but fret, and chafe, and make a noise; quarrellers also, and lasciuious persons, & perpetuall gamesters. None of these be saued almost without a miracle. For they will not so much as taste of any thing that should do them good. If they would but taste, haply they might haue their fill at one time, or other. But they wil none of it, and so I leaue them also. It is neither these our Prophet speakes of, being in no way at all, no, not in the first step to Saturity: neither is it of idle bodies as I said before, because they labour not at all. It is the other sort onely (as I take it) that is here intended, and meant; whose endeauors are for the most part to honest ends, and their busines commonly not vnlawfull.

Such I say as haue a desire to be saued and vse meanes for it, but very coldely many times, and very confusedly. Coldly, because it is with feruour too little. Confusedly, because it is mixed, and interlaced, and ouerborne as it were with worldly contentments. Ye know, if drosse & filth get into our veines, the blood will soone be tainted with it, and cannot giue that nourishment it should; but turnes to bad humors, & bring vs to that plight, that although we feede with the best, yet we thriue not with the best. We looke like men that should bee hardy and strong, but we prooue like women in the greene sicknes. We looke pale and leane on it in Gods sight, and not worth the ground we tread on. When we pray and our mind is fraught with other things; when we come to the sacramēt, & put not away all rancor; what is this, but to sop our bread in the channell, or our meate in the dust of an olde post, or to eate rawe flesh, or to poure in water into our *Aqua-vitæ*. I will not say but here is labour, and care, and meanes also vsed

for

for the good of the Soule. But it can neuer bee fat thus, nor haue Saturity. It will liue, though it be wan and pale; it will breath, though it be sallowe and greene; it will goe forward though faintly; it will thriue a little, but not much.

Labor labori laborem imponit, as they say. One labour begets another in this world, one labour must follow, and perfect other, or else all is imperfect. There is labour in tilling, labour in sowing, labour in weeding, labour in reaping, inning, and thrashing it out; after this, it must be grounde, and set on our board. If any of these labours be missing, there comes no fulnesse, or saturity of it. It will be labour without saturity. What security haue husband men to mowe their grasse, and neuer make it; to reape their wheate, and to leaue it in the field to weather, and birds? What security finde merchants in loading, fraighting, launching, and putting into hauen, if they leaue all on ship board when they haue done, for euery body to steale, and bring them not into their warehouse? And this is that our Prophet speakes of here, our labour must bee *continuando*: he inueighes not here against notorious sinners, or damned crewes; Such as the world is full of, and the Scriptures are full against them in other places. But he Prophecies here against them, that are in their way to heauen, and make no more haste in it; will be put by with euery toy; goe forward one day, backward another; doe well one day, ill another; amend one day, fall to it againe an other; haue good meate before them, and eate no better of it: eate well perhaps, but heede not what they swallow with it. Sophocles.

They forbeare sinne what they can, but watch not their bad inclinations; are good to the poore, but reuengefull to their enemy, are giuen to fasting, and prayer, yet are wayward and testy to their liues ende. Others bee milde, but negligent withall; stout but stiffe withall, wise but opinatiue, forward but inflexible, obedient but against their wils; praise worthy but glorying in it. It will prooue *inutilis labor*. I feare me in the end. And their worke may turne to froth for all their labour in a great many; or else so full of trash, as the bloud of Christ can doe no more then wash

it away. There can be no vertue or goodnes in vs without labor, no patience or perseuerance without labor, no withstanding temptations, or praier fruitfull without labor; & if we labor in none of these, it is a signe that we hauenone of these.

Now what should I speake of zeale and feruour of deuotion, which ought to be our wings to heauen-ward? whether be these fledde? What wicked fiend, or accursed fortune of ours hath blowne them away? What coast, or forraine countrey hath rauished them from vs; that wee may goe seeke them, and fetch them home againe, and make much of them, when we haue them? and will this be done without labour also? I would to God we saw, what is yet to bee seene, and daily comes to our eares by merchants, and trauellers of the furthest parts of the earth? What loue and zeale those *Paynims* beare both young and old of both sexes to their gods, that are no gods. It would make vs ashamed of our extreame coldnes, and indeuotion to our true God; if we saw it. Yea what will they be, and how zealous, when they come to be conuerted (as it may be) since they are now so deuout to Idols or *Pago-des* as they call them, the handy workes of men? There were to be seene in the old testament, that offered their children to sacrifice in
Psal.105. their blind zeale. There bee now in the *Indies* that sacrifice themselues daily to please their god, and they thinke it no labour because we speake of labour, nor sticke at any paines that can bee, in their wicked seruice. Haply yee will not beleeue what I shall tell you, but there bee thousands liuing to testifie it: neither doe I speake it, as fit for vs to follow, yet not vnfit to make vse of; that we may learne to labour the good we may, by them that labour in euill which they may not.

Of certain they are there so full of deuotion, & the people of all sorts are so obsequious to their *Pago-des*; that the
Hist.Alex. king of *Cochine* not long since holden for a prudent prince, and a man of notable gouernment, left his gouernment wholly, and in habit of a poore man, went a fiue yeares pilgrimage, to visit all the *pago-des* of *India* al alone vnknown; where hee indured much misery and sorrow before his re-

turne,

turne,and yet ſuch comfort he tooke in it belike,that he began ſuch another voyage afterward,but died in it.

His ſucceſſour likewiſe that followed him,tooke after him vnfortunately. For being but of weake conſtitution, yet vſing great auſterity to himſelfe many houres in a day in his cloſet alone, with ſuperſtitious meditations, which were moſt hurtfull to his health, hee died within the yeare. Yet ſee his feruour. Vpon a day the gouernour of *Cochine* aduiſed him, and beſought him, to haue more care of his health, alleadging the Phiſitions opinions, that the long ceremonies,and much ſolitarineſſe, which he vſed for prayer, would quickly hazzard him, or coſt him his life. Howbeit the king ſet light by any thing hee could ſay; and told him further, that he made more reckoning of the leaſt of his deuotions to the *Pago-des*, then of an hundred thouſand liues; all which if he had them,he would ſpend in their ſeruice. There be ſome kings and great Lords in the countrey, that for the reuerence they beare to their *Pago-des*, they haue little ones of gold hanging at their forehead,and doe their deuotions to them at their times, with great humiliation. And to the end they may not forget it,they haue their pages of purpoſe,that haue nothing elſe to doe, but to put them in mind of their houres,and to name but the name of the *pago-des*, whereat the King will bowe himſelfe with great reuerence. In the night time alſo, theſe pages awake their maſters for the ſame cauſe.

But that which exceedeth all admiration is a terrible feaſt, which they hold at *Garcopa* a little from *Onor*, on a certaine day. And this is ſuch a dreadfull thing, that Chriſtians are forbidden to goe thither vpon paine of excommunication. On this feſtiuall day, there is an infinite concourſe of people to attend it. The *Pago-de* with certaine of the *Brachmans* comes forth in a chariot very richly ſet out, the wheeles whereof are tyred with Iron, as piercing and ſharpe as a razor. And as the chariot marches,there comes a number to offer their liues to the *Pago-de*, and caſt themſelues on their knees in the lowlieſt manner they can, vntill by little and little they lye flat on the earth, iuſt where the

wheele must come ouer them, and cuttes them all to pee-ces; and these bee holden for Saints, as our Martyrs are with vs.

In the other parts of *India* about the borders of *Choromandell*, of Saint *Thomas*, and in other places likewise, the *Pago-de* is carried vpon mens shoulders; where the *Brachmans* that carry it make as though the god will goe no further, and they not able to carry it further. And it may bee that the Diuell doth presse them so hard, that they cannot stirre indeede. Then come there many (that are neuer wanting at such a time) who stabbe themselues to death and there fall downe before it. And yet the *Pago-de* will not stirre, vntill the number be full, as the deuill or Brachmans would haue it. And then they goe forward to the temple againe, well loaden with the spoyle of those damned creatures both body and soule. Yet this they do, and thinke they doe their god seruice in it. And shall arise no doubt in iudgment against vs. Who know the true God, and yet are so spiritlesse, and dull in his true seruice, as we be.

There is no neede of sliceing, and wounding our selues as they doe; yet it will not hurt vs to leape out of a warme bedde sometimes for a *Pater noster* while, either to encounter an ill thought assayling vs, or to pray for them that haue no where to lye, or for them that be in danger that night by sea, or land, or if we chance to heare a passing bell. God forbid we should kill or misdiet our selues with ouer much care; and yet to pinch our selues a little for the poore, or for abating our flesh that it rebell not, are testimonies to our conscience that we feare, and loue God. Wee will not leaue our needefull businesse at randon; and yet we will take our times to talke with God in secret, or at publique praier and thinke long to be at it. If wee haue a charge, wee may not neglect it; yet well may we thinke, that any act of deuotion is more noble in it selfe, then the mannaging of a kingdome. Wee will not lye groueling a whole Sabboth till sunne sette, as many Iewes doe; yet let vs not thinke much to labour in our prayer with groaning as king *Dauid* did. And if we cannot doe it seauen times a day as

Psal. 6.
Psal. 118.

he

hee did, yet once a day or a weeke it were noble, and would profit vs much to pray so, as if wee should then dye.

It may bee, yee thinke I impose too much vpon yee now, when I thrust these things into matter of saluation. But mistake mee not I beseech you. I know yee bee stout men and valiant, and yee stand vpon your gentry, but if yee be not good men also (as I thinke ye are) all your stoutnesse is nothing. He is a stout man, that is a good man, and I shew you but some tokens how to know when yee are as you should be. It is true. Christ is our saluation and redemption. But how? *Fac hoc & viues*; somewhat there is must bee done on our part. And it will not be done without *Labour*. We must decline from euill, and doe good, and both these will cost labour. And if yee thinke these little things, that I haue spoken of; yee must remember with all, what the Holy Ghost doth teach vs: *Qui spernit modica, paulatim decidet*, they that set light by litle things, by litle shall decay. Neither are they so little, as they can be done without labour. If wee repent vs of our sinnes; is this all? Saint *Ambrose* tels vs, that hee knewe many repenters, but fewe that did the workes that belongs to it. If we fast, is this enough? our Prophet tels vs in another place, that our willes are founde in our fastings. *We labour* not to weede out our owne willes, nor to seuer our sowre leauen from that which is pure. God lookes not on the stoutnesse of our person, or highnesse of our worke, but on our lowlinesse and meekenes withall: and loues vs more for one act of Mortification, then if wee gained him thousands; yea although it were the whole kingdome of *Turkie*. One temptation well encountred, or passion ouercome, is more glorious in his sight, then all the conquests of *Julius Cæsar*, or the triumph of *Æmilius*. And this is the labour God requires of vs, and I exhort yee to. This the labour our Prophet speaketh of, and hath Saturity. And the want of this Labour brings that heauy sentence vpon vs, which fewe doe marke, or take note of. I beseech you marke what our Sauiour saith to this purpose. *Multi querunt intrare* (saith he) *& non poterunt*, Many shall seeke to enter heauen and cannot. What a saying is this, that many shall seeke to

Luk. 10.

Eccl. 9. 19.

Esay 58.

1. Cor. 5.

1. Reg. 16.

Luk. 13. 24

enter and cannot enter ? whom will not ſuch a ſentence terrifie, or not make him, or compell him to ſtirre about this buſineſſe, although he were halfe dead ? but what is the reaſon of this ſentence ? No other but this . They ſeeke and ſit ſtill. They goe forward,but mend no pace;the bridegroome is come, and gone the whileſt. They cannot abide to ſweate at it, or take paines. They cry *Domine,Domine*,and will not put out their hand. The Labour is not hard, yea the burthen light,and yet they will not lye vnder it. It is little more paines then to ſee a play : and yet they will not doe the one, when they doe the other daily. The Play-houſe doore is lowe, and narrow, and yet they ſticke not to ſtoope, and rend their cloathes with crowding. It is beſet with bils and halberds, and they may haue a knocke, and yet they feare nothing. They may looſe their purſes or ſomewhat elſe,and yet they will aduenture. It will coſt them money when they enter, and a great many ſit vneaſie for their money, or in danger of infection,and yet they weigh it not. Who *labours* for heauen thus ? who ſeekes heauen ſo laborioufly, feares no difficulty, ſcornes no diſgrace, ſets light by loſſe, or a blowe, biddes for the beſt place, and will haue no nay vntill they bee in it ? They that ſeeke heauen thus, ſhall bee ſure to enter. And they that ſeeke it not thus; the ſentence is ginen *non poterunt*, they doe but goe by, and looke at the place ; but they cannot goe in,as our Sauiour ſaith. And this may ſuffice for the ſecond point, which was *Labour and Saturity*, whereby to ſtirre you, and haſten you, in your way to heauen. There be two things belong to haſte. The one is to know the readieſt way : the next to looſe no time in our ſpeede, if the matter bee of importance. There is nothing imports vs more,then our heauenly inheritance.And I haue ſhewne the next way thither out of the Prophet *Eſay* by holy vertuous life, hearing,reading,and often receiuing,which I prooued to be vnderſtood by this word *Bread*, in reſpect of all the properties of *Bread* that are found therein. The worth of which bread hath beene declared vnto yee,as alſo what *Saturity* and true contentment is ; and who they bee that labour, and come ſhort of it. I haue not beene troubleſome

ſome to you, to inueigh againſt vanities, or loue of the world. Ye haue ſtore of bookes concerning that matter. I haue not declaimed of worldly contentments, how far they bee from true contentments; yea rather thornes, as our Sauiour calles them; or affliction of ſpirit as *Salomon* tearmes them. Euery ſermon yee heare is full of this Argument, whereunto I referre you. And therefore if yee ſhould like to loue them, or ſet your heart on them, beeing ſo baſe as they bee; in vaine yee haſten forward, that goe ſo cleane backward. In vaine yee flye vpward with ſo heauy a clogge at your heele; and in vain do I perſwade you to make haſte, that will not doe a way firſt, what will hinder you of your iourney? Haue ye riches? loue thē looſely, & part with them willingly, if neede bee. Haue yee pleaſures? vſe them moderately in godly feare. Haue ye honour, and preheminence? keepe watch with your ſelues ouer pride, and diſdaine; and let all that know you, make account of you, that yee bee as humble, as honourable. And ſo, if yee can carry your contentments in this ſort, as God bee the practicall ground, in whom alone is our true *Satis*, or contentment; then are yee vndoubtedly in your true, and perfect way to heauen, and nothing remaineth now, but that yee make haſte, and take comfort in it. Howbeit for that in our beſt actions, and endeauours, that we haue in our way to God; our ſpirits bee often times dull, and haue neede of quickening: for as it is written, our body corruptible weigheth downe our ſoule, and hindreth haſte exceedingly. It ſhall be our next and laſt point, that I will entreate of; to ſay ſomewhat of the ioyes in heauen; that may waken vs when wee ſlumber, remember vs when wee forget; and ſpurre vs forward to amend our pace, when wee begin to ſtand ſtill. But this I will reſerue vntill our next meeting. I will trouble you no further now.

Mat. 13. Eccl. 1.

Sap. 9.

FINIS.

THE SECOND *Oration.*

vpon Panis Angelorum.

Began the other day with *Bread*, and now I will end with *Bread*. I began with *Bread* of *Trauellers*. I will end with *Bread* of *Angels*. The best dish, I haue reserued for last; the bread the Angels feede on for euer. The other bread which wee haue spoken of, was a preparatiue for this bread, and this the reward of that: to sit at board with angels, to eate angels meate. Not the meate that was brought the *Israelites* by the ministery of angels, and perished; but that which angels themselues doe feede on, in sight of their maker. And how farre better is this, then to sit with *Princes*, or to be fellowes with *Potentates*? This is it must bee the reward of our Labours, this the *Saturity*, which nothing can be added vnto. The very reward, that holy *Moses* looked after, and now hath to his fill. As it is written, *Moses beheld his reward*. His eye was still vpon this reward, and so ouercame with ease the hardnes he sustained vpon mountaines, and rocks, for forty yeares together; and what he endured in all his time there, the tongue of man cannot expresse.

Psal. 77.

Heb. 11.

Hee was one that walked perfectly in the wayes of God

alwayes, and therefore was wotthy to talke with God face to face. *Mitissimus super terram*: not a milder, or an humbler that euer liued vpon earth. And yet the better to hold out through all afflictions to the end, *aspiciebat remunerationem*, hee was glad to looke at his reward; and to remember often, what he should haue for his paines in the end. S. *Paul* likewise had his eye that way, that he said, that all wee can suffer in this world, cannot deserue the glory, that attends vs in the world to come. But how did *Saint Paul*; or how did *Moses* know this? were they euer to see it? certaine it is, they had some illustrations more then other? because their loue of God was greater, and their paines in Gods seruice much more then others. The one was rauished into the third heauens; the other saw the back-parts of God, as the Scriptures make mention. By which I inferre, if such noble sparkes as these had neede of these comforts, and to reflect sometimes vpon their reward: How much more wee, that are of the latter brood, borne as it were in the wayne of the world, and comming short a great deale of their spirit and feruour; had we neede I say, to thinke one it often, and to beare continually the ioyes of heauen in our minde; yea, to keepe (if it might be) a true picture of them alwaies before our eyes, for feare of forgetting. For thus it is with vs. If we forget them, we are like to hazzard them, if we remember them, they are like to be our owne.

Rom. 8.

2. Cor. 12.

Exod. 33.

There be foure last things, that we are taught to beare in minde, and wee shall neuer sinne; whereof heauen is the principall. Death, iudgement and hell are very needefull also to be thought of, because it is good for vs to feare, aswell as loue. These indeede doe fill vs with feare and terror; but heauen filles vs with loue and ardent desire. Hell driues to God; heauen drawes to God. Hell whips vs with horror; heauen hales vs with beauty. Loue & feare are both of them profitable I say, but loue is more acceptable to God, because it is his owne prime, and originall quality, who dreadeth nothing, and all things dread him.

Deut. 32.

It seemeth (my deare louers and friends) yee looke that I should somewhat say of the ioyes of heauen, what they bee, and

and ſo it were fit, if I were able to performe it. But mee think when I enter into ſo great a matter, I am ſtricken on a ſuddaine with barrenneſſe, and know not how to expreſſe my ſelfe, or where to begin. For I muſt ſpeake of that, which I doe but wincke at a farre off, neither can I well tell, what credit I ſhall haue with you, to philoſophate vnto you of moſt excellent colours, which I neuer ſawe but darkeling. For if *S. Paul* could not tell vs that little which he ſaw, nor yet *Moſes*; nor, if any other Saint haue beene there, and come againe to life, as *S. Gregory* writes of one *Felix:* in Dial. much leſſe ſhall I be able, that neuer came neere that place, to delineate vnto yee any thing with my rude penſill, that ſhall bee worth your expectation. *Saint Paul* cals them *Arcana*, hidden miſteries, that are kept vnder ſeale from vs, and ſuch as we may not aſpire to knowe, vntill we come there; and much leſſe to tell, no not with the tongue of an angell. 2. Cor. 12. The beſt that I can bring you, will bee but a reflexion of a reflexion, or a peece of the Sunnes glory by night in the body of the Moone. And yet ſince ye are come to heare, and I haue vndertaken to ſay ſomewhat, I will bee bold to ſay what I knowe, and no more; I leaue greater miſteries to them, that are better learned.

Our reward in heauen (ſure) is admirably great: but what it is, or in what faſhion, that we may ſay it is thus and thus, no man can deliuer. Two things I knowe, and am aſſured of touching heauen, and heauenly ioyes; that is to ſay, the greatneſſe of them when we come there, and the neereneſſe of them while we bee heere: which may bee alſo no ſmall comfort vnto vs; and of theſe two I will ſpeake a little, after my wonted breuity, leauing the reſt to your good thoughts when I haue done. If your faith were like to his, that ſaid *iuſtus ex fide viuit*; wee ſhould feele this greatnes we ſpeake of before we come at it; our very ſoule would reioyce, and Abac. 2. Rom 2. triumph in it, before it could expreſſe why. If our faith I ſay were ſo liuely, and ſpringing as it might be, our tongues would not liſt to ſpeake, but our very deedes, actions, and behauiours, would ſhew heauen in our faces. Our very countenance would bewray heauen in vs. There is nothing would

disturbe vs, no anger disquiet vs, no passion distemper vs, no ill fortune beare vs downe; but as we shall bee when wee come there, so shall we begin to bee, while we be heere, constant, stout, resolute in all good purposes like *Elias* or *Elizeus*, or *Saint Iohn Baptist*, and a multitude of others after the new testament. But I shall speake more of this anon. Our faith and spirit is not of that *viuacity*, that theirs was of; nor haue we apprehensions of heauens delights, but by such *similies*, and resemblances, as we can make by visible things; by which we haue a ghesse, or estimate at the greatnesse we speake of, and yet come short of it by infinite degrees.

I cannot tell how to expresse this greatnesse better then by one word; a long word full of matter, and makes vp a verse alone. *Incomprehensibility*. The sum of our felicity. For we must know for a certainety, that the greatnesse of our reward, that is to say, of heauen, is incomprehensible of any mortall vnderstanding. But why so? doe wee not reade of some that haue seen e heauen, or paradise in a traunce, or extasie, and comming to themselues againe, haue told what they saw there? delicate green meddowes with siluer streams and golden sands in the bottome running through the midst of them; the bankes beset with violets, and primroses, that neuer partch with heate, nor perish with treading on; the weather temperate, alwayes *Aprill* with them.

Coole without cold, day without night,
Sunne full of shade, shade full of light.

Is not this comprehensible? gardens full of all sweeteflowers, daintily drest without mans labour, the rose without thornes neuer fading, pinckes and lillies of all fresh colours neuer decaying, spring and haruest comming alwayes together, blooming and bearing all at a time; nothing there but wish, and haue it, from the chirping bird of rarest feature, to the lowde organ, or musicke of the best harmony; these and such like haue beene reuealed to some good folk. Are not these also comprehensible? and yet we said, that heauen is incomprehensible.

We

We ſhall there behold the humanity of Chriſt & his bleſſed mother the glorious Virgin, whom to ſee in fleſh, wee could trauell the world round, if they were liuing; ſuch comfort wee ſhould finde of it. For, if that notable Law-maker of *Megapolis* thought long to dye, and tooke pleaſure to thinke, he ſhould then ſee *Pythagoras*, *Euclid*, and other famous men deceaſed: how much more pleaſure will it be to vs, to ſee *Ieſus*, whom we all ſerue and honour: whoſe name alone makes hearts to leape, and diuells to tremble, in power ſo triumphant, ſo ſweet and damiable in aſpect, and ſo alluring to all beholders, that we ſhall not look off on him, after wee come once to ſee him. And is not this comprehenſible? Circidas.

This heauen we ſpeake of was reuealed to S. *Iohn* in forme of a city, twelue thouſand furlongs in length, as many in breadth, and as many in height, all the twelue gates of it, were entire pearle, the ſtreetes paued with gold, and the walles of the ſame pure gold, and ſmoothe like chriſtall: on the bottome whereof, grewe all kinde of pretious ſtones, whereof twelue are named. It had no temple; for the temple was God himſelfe. Hee ſawe a Riuer alſo of liuing water, cleere as chriſtall, ſpringing out of the ſeate of God, and the lambe. This, and a great deale more he ſawe in ſpirit; and is not all this comprehenſible? Apoc. 21.

I gaue you the other day fiue properties of bread. Wherein I tolde you nothing aboue your reach, but yee might plainly vnderſtand them to bee in our bread of Trauellers. And I can make it as plaine to you, how they bee alſo as euident, and farre more certaine in our bread of Angels. The ſubſtance of our trauelling bread was the grace of God in word, and workes. The ſubſtance of our Angelicall bread is his grace alſo, not in faith, but in fruite; not in workes, but in reward. His grace is with vs heere but in hope, there, in certaine knowledge; heere in trembling, there in true poſſeſsing. Heere wee may fall againe, there, neuer. This grace of God in heauen, ſhall bee his eye of glory vpon vs alwaies. The maſters eye makes a fat beaſt, and the eye of God vpon vs inceſſantly, makes faire creatures, and not inferiour to Angels. And this was the firſt propertie to feede

vs, and nourish vs, *Qui pascit inter lillia*, He shall feede vs amongst Lillies and Angels.

The second property was to make purest blood in vs. We shall not looke like our earthly complexions. No grosse humours or drosse shall approch vs. How pure shall wee be? As pure as Angels. Our bodies like glasse transpârent, *Sine macula aut ruga*, All manner of spots will bee taken out of vs, and euery wrinckle made plaine. A third quality of bread was to be loued of all. And who shall behold that sparkling eye of God, and shall not be enamoured with it? *Vulnerasti cor meum in vno oculorum tuorum*, Our hearts will bee wounded with that alluring eye. It shall not bee like our loues heere, which are more in clayming, then in obtaining, and after a while wee care not for them. Beleeue me: not so in heauen. And all this is comprehensible.

Cant. 4.

Now what should I speake how common this bread is in heauen, which was the fourth property? This bread of Seraphins, ô how easily it is gotten, and without asking? Common I say, for euery one shall haue enough. Neither shall the commonnesse, or hauing without asking make the reward more vile. For euery one shall reioyce that another hath the same, or more then he. The fore-finger is graced with that the little finger weares.

I keepe still within compasse of your capacity. And to omit the fift property, which is not in heauen, where none can euer be at losse, or fall from good estate: I passe to a sixt property, which is in our Angels bread, and was not in the other. There is no doubt, but we shall haue our taste in heauen, as other our sences, but in greater vse and perfection. And if we could make a peece of bread to taste in our mouth of what wee list, like a peare, or pearmaine, a cherry, a plumbe, or a peece of marmalet, wee would thinke it an excellent thing. Behold, our Angels bread tastes of God; and in God is euery good taste. No amber or ciuet so sweete as hee, no conserue so preseruatiue, no codinik so delectable. Is not all this also comprehensible? How is it then that we say, heauen is incomprehensible?

And yet we must make our saying good, that it is indeed incom-

prehenſible. All our amplifying is nothing *abſque eo, quod intrinſecus latet*, All is nothing to that which is hidden, as the louer ſaid of his loue in the Canticles. It is hidden from vs moſt, that ſhall delight vs moſt. Fewe of all theſe are there, that I haue ſpoken of. Buildings, and walles of gold, no ſuch thing there; no greene meddowes, or ſiluer ſtreames; no muſicke, or melody, ſuch as euer we heard, or knew. All theſe bee baſe, to that wee ſhall finde there. And yet our ſences heere attaining no higher matter of pleaſure: theſe things are ſaid to bee there, that wee moſt deſire, and haue greateſt luſter heere. And which if wee finde not there, in theſe kinds, yet are we not deceiued; becauſe we ſhall finde them there in another kind wee know not of, fiue hundred times better, and without all compariſon greater. Cant. 4.

And this doe they that bee learned call *Theologiam negatiuam*. Becauſe all that we can ſay heere of heauen and heauenly things in the affirmatiue, wee may boldly deny and ſay, there is no ſuch thing there. For our bodies it is cleere, wee ſhall be bright, quicke, nimble, ſubtill, full of noble perfections, ſuch as we can aske no more. But for things without vs, how wee ſhall finde them, no man can iuſtly ſay. No ſuch light as wee apprehend, no ſuch mirth or feaſting, no pearle or pretious gemes there; no palace of pleaſure with Bricks or pauements of gold; no ſuch odours for the ſmell, or dainty notes to our eare; or guſtfull things to our pallat, as wee haue them heere. But on the contrary; if we ſay what is nôt there, that is euill and troubleſome heere: all that we may boldly ſay to be literally true. No afflictiō there, no feare of any thing, no ſorrow or lamentation, no weeping or wayling, nor any thing that can grieue. This fleſh of ours ſhall not bee heauy, lumpiſh, or drowſie, mortall, paſsible, corruptible, or ſubiect to torment, not ſo much as to a finger-ake. All this wee are ſure ſhall nôt be, and wee ſhall nôt haue; but what elſe wee ſhall finde there, or what heauen is in the affirmatiue, it is wholly concealed from vs, vntill wee come there. And therefore, as to our preſent knowledge, and to our now capacity; if wee ſhould take vpon vs to define, or deſcribe heauen what it is, I know not how to doe it Grana. de Symb.

then to ſay thus : Heauen is that which it is nôt ; and it is nôt that, which it is.

And with this agreeth a ſaying of Saint *Paul.* For whatſoeuer wee ſay or affirme of heauen out of the Scriptures, fathers, reuelations, or viſions that good people haue had, and I ſhould ſtand to recite heere till night : yet notwithſtanding he tels vs abſolutely, *In cor hominis non aſcendit*, It neuer came vp into our heart, and much leſſe into our tongue, to thinke or ſay, what it is. And to ſay the truth, it were a great imperfection in heauens perfection, that it ſhould be like any thing heere, or we in our mortality capeable of any thing there : more then this in generall, that it is a viſion of God, and that wee ſhall bee ſo delighted with this heauenly, and blisfull gaze when wee come there, that when wee haue beheld him inceſſantly as many thouſand yeares, as there be minutes of howres in a thouſand yeares; hee will ſtill bee as new to vs, as if wee had neuer ſeene him before ; and wee ſtill more thirſty after his diuine contemplation, then euer wee were of drinke after a hot daies iourney. Howbeit to ſay now what this felicity is, or rather in what ſort we ſhall apprehend God, or in what part, or power of vs this feeling pleaſure ſhall conſiſt, when wee come to ſee Chriſt, and glorified friends, we neither know, nor can know heere.

No doubt, the apprehenſion wee ſhall haue of him, ſhall bee in our vnderſtanding ſoule. But whether in ſuch ſort, as it is in other knowledges, or whether the difference will be *Specificall* or no, I know not. Wee heare of many delicate fruites in ſtrange countries, apples, peares, or plumbes, of moſt excellent taſte, and verdure. The outſides are deſcribed to vs, both for colour, ſhape, and bigneſſe. But none can tell vs the ſweeteneſſe, or delightfull reliſh of them within, vntill wee taſte. Onely this we know, that our ſenſe can iudge of them when we haue them ; and we ſhall neede no new addition to our ſenſes perfectiou to taſte them. But when wee come to ſo infinite an obiect as God is ; ſhall we not neede a new vnderſtanding thinke yee ? *Nouos cœlos, nouam terram*, and *ecce noua facio omnia*. God will make all

2. Pet. 3.
Apoc. 21.

things

things new. And ſhall not wee haue a new intellect alſo, to vnderſtand ſo new, ſo rare, and ſo vnſpeakeable a miſtery? but I leaue it. It is not for nothing, that he ſaith, *in cor hominis non aſcendit*. It neuer came into mans heart what God hath prepared there, for thoſe that loue him, as they ſhould doe heere.

And it is not onely the viſion of God, which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of here; but alſo of the particular ioyes, and accidentall glories, enſignes, and lawrels, that Saints ſhall haue giuen them there, after as their fight, and combate was here. To Martyrs ſuch a one, to confeſſors ſuch a one, to virgins, and other, ſuch as it pleaſeth him. Doctors, and Preachers, that labour to gaine ſoules, ſhall haue their peculiar cognizance of glory. And ſo ſhall Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates that gouerne well, and labour the publique good with their eye alwaies to God-ward. And all you that bee military, yee ſhall not want yours alſo, that feare no blowes, but are ready to execute for the good of your countrey. All which particular glories, what they ſhall be, and of what faſhion our liueries, or new kinde of veſture; or of what colour our enſignes, and lawrels in our hands, and a thouſand things beſides; and how ineſtimably delightfull they will be to vs, and gracefull in the ſight of others; neither eye hath ſeene, nor eare heard, nor hath it aſcended into the heart of man *quæ preparauit* ſaith he. He ſaith not *quod preparauit*. For God hath prepared many things for vs, according to our many vocations and diuers imployments wee receiued of his goodneſſe in this his Millitant Church.

And here I ſhall deſire you inſtantly to note well the words of this bleſſed Apoſtle, when he ſaith thus: *in cor hominis non aſcendit*, it aſcended not into mans heart, or came not ſo high as mans heart. Why did hee not ſay it came not downe, or deſcended not into mans heart, but aſcended not into mans heart? Are heauenly things belowe vs, that hee ſhould ſay, they aſcended not into our hearts? Chriſt aſcended into heauen. Heauen is aboue vs. *Ad te domine leuaui oculos*. When wee pray for any thing, we looke vpward, Pſal. 122.

and aske it from aboue. And when it comes to vs; it descends, and comes downe to vs, not ascends to vs; and yet the Apostle saith, it hath not ascended. The greeke word is ἀνέβη. *ascendit.* How can they ascend or come vp to vs, that are so farre aboue vs? this word me thinkes hath a mistery in it, and very fitte for our purpose, to shew the greatnesse we speake of.

There is no contentment in this world, but if it come to affect vs, and to possesse our heart, it ascends to our heart, and comes from belowe our heart; it comes from vnder vs, and for the most part, from vnder our very feete. We tread on them, and they are all vnder vs. Great lands and possessions, faire houses, parkes, and pallaces; they come all from vnder vs, and were earth, and clay first, before they came to this magnificence. Their furniture of silke arrasse, and beddes of gold; all that we carry on our backs, or decke our heads, or necks withall when we be at the richest with stone, and pearle, and coffers full of treasure, that are made so much of; whence comes all this, but out of barren earth, or the bottome of the sea, sought for, and tumbled out by the toyle of man from the bowels of the earth, that are so farre beneath vs. Againe, if our contentment bee in belly cheere, all comes likewise from the lowest elements. Nothing lower then the earth, and water, which they feede on, before they come to feede vs. And therefore if they come so neere our heart, as to be loued by vs; we loue that which is lower, and baser then our selues, and they must ascend a great height vnto vs, to be as high as our hearts.

Yea let vs goe to higher elements and so vpward to the toppe of *primum mobile*; let them be neuer so high aboue yet are they vnder vs by Gods ordination, who made them, to serue vs. And if we delight in them, & in the study of them as to contemplate their motions, and influences, and all their varieties, that are most pleasant to think on, and haue holden Philosophers all their liues time: all these may bee said, and are in the number of those that ascend to vs; our heart, and best part being Lord of them, and they our subiects, and inferiours. The consideration of starres, and planets

nets,with their brightneſſe, and beauty,pure ſubſtance, and greatneſſe, and the orbes they are carried in, the ſwiftnes of their motion without noyſe,their change without diſorder, their various aſpects without confuſion; all theſe and a great deale more come vnder the heart of man ;& though they appeare much higher then wee, that goe lowe by the grounde vnderneath them ; yet may they truely bee ſaide to aſcend to vs : yea all that God made in his ſixe dayes worke, be they neuer ſo rich, or excellent, neuer ſo high in their ſituation , yet are they beneath the ſoule, or thought of man, and are homagers to this little world of our vnderſtanding; and they cannot be ſo great, but our thought is greater, they cannot be ſo high, or tall, but our vnderſtanding will compaſſe them, and is higher and taller then they. Onely the ioyes of heauen are higher then our apprehenſion ; and therefore Saint *Paul* ſaith,they aſcend not into our thought,or heart,as all things elſe doe,becauſe we are made to aſcend to them,and vntill then, wee are not capeable of them,no not of the leaſt of them.

Behold here the greatneſſe of heauenly rewards,our heart, and minde, our ſoule, and vnderſtanding, that is capeable of all things,that are in the world;and all things aſcend to it, as to their commander ; yet knoweth it not the leaſt thing in heauen, as it is indeede. The witte of man doth pierce the moſt hidden and abſtruſe things that are in nature;and yet cannot faſten vpon the leaſt,and loweſt things aboue nature. It is a wonderfull thing, that there is almoſt nothing, that eſcapeth our knowledge, but is laid open by vs,& we can teach it them,that know it not. Who was there euer that went down to the center of the earth to take meaſure of it ; and yet wee can prooue by iuſt demonſtration , how many mile it is thither, and how many about the whole earth, and neuer ſtirre foote? Who was euer carryed ſo high as the Moone? who hath walked among the planets and firmament, to know their motions and diſtances one from another, the bigneſſe of the Sunne and Moone ; and their heights from the earth ? yet all this is knowne , and the profeſſors of that ſcience are ſo well acquainted

with the lawes, and rules of that *Celestiall* common-wealth, as if they bad beene borne and bredde there. Their yearely *Ephimerides* doe shew the certainety of their knowledge pointing vs to the very degree, and minute, where to finde a starre, or what time of day, or night an Ecclips will be, and how many points it will be darkened an hundred yeares hence.

It is not vnknowne to any, what a multitude of hidden matters are reuealed, and lye open to the Philosopher, and what an Anatomy hee hath made of nature, and naturall things. And not so contented, hath transcended nature, with his *metaphisicall* knowledge, and lets not God himselfe lye wholly hidden, but brings him out into light. Who taught *Aristotle* and *Plato* that God was eternall, infinite of greatnesse, infinite in power, the first moouer, one, and no more but one? But it is not my purpose to speake of all sciences that haue beene laboured, and perfected, by man, euery one of them so full of mistery, variety, and delight, as nothing more. Which although it greatly commend Gods goodnes and bounty towards vs, in that hee hath made out of dust, and ashes a creature so capeable, and piercing by his owne permission euen into his owne substance and nature: yet so hath he limited this knowledge of ours, that we are not able to imagine what he is indeede *Sicuti est*, nor how great the meanest thing that belongs to vs, and shall be ours in the world to come, if God makes vs worthy. We haue not only not seene or heard, but neither can we ghesse in thought, *in cor hominis non ascendit*, what it is.

If the least thing then in heauen be so great, what is all heauen? what is God, who is the summe and substance of all reward, and felicitie? We that be Christians, haue much more knowledge then heathens had. Our light of reason is doubled with our light of faith annexed therunto; by which wee both see more then we see with our eye; & what we beleeue, we beleeue more, then had we seen with eie. What seek wee more? We beleeue that heauen is truely great, and our reward vnspeakeably great. What seeke we further into the secrets of God, to know how? Let vs not be curious in

matters

matters not belonging to vs yet. Let vs not deſtroy faith with too much curioſitie? If God would condeſcend to giue vs a ſight of heauen, and of our glory there, we ſhould rather refuſe it with humilitie, then expect it with importuni-
„ tie. Wee ſhould rather ſay to him, *Satis domine*; thy pro-
„ miſe is aſmuch to me Lord, as if I were there to ſee it. It
„ is enough to me, that I knowe it is ſo. O let me not ſee,
„ vntill it pleaſe thee to call. This ſhould be our ſpeech to God; and much heede wee ought to take, that we diminiſh not his faith with leaſt doubt of his promiſe, or deſire to haue it prooued by ſence. Sence knowledge, derogats from faith knowledge. If we ſee it once, it is faith no more. And wee may offend in it ere wee bee aware. For hee that ſearcheth into Maieſtie, ſhall bee ouercome of glory. As Prou. 25.
much to ſay, as he that will enter into Gods counſell before hee be called; ſhall be puniſhed as *Phaeton* was; his owne pride will ouerthrowe him. This alone may ſuffice for the greatneſſe of our reward; yee apprehend it with faith, and that is enough, yea a great deale more, then any eloquence in the world can paint vnto you.

I omit therefore to ſpeake of many things beſides that would expreſſe this greatneſſe. As alſo of the many names, whereby it is called in holy writ, and ancient fathers: which would greatly teſtifie the greatneſſe of it. As where it is called *Mons pacis*, the Mountaine of peace, where no diſquiet or brabble can reach at vs; and that which *Princes* haue much adoe to performe with all their power and policie, is there done with eaſe. No warre or diſſention can approch this hill, where hearts and mindes are all one; one will in all, and there is not found a ſecond. It is called *Domus dei*, The Eccl 4.17.
houſe of God: Or if ye will, Gods court, and wee his cour- Pſal. 22.
tiers, or ſeruants in ordinary: or if yee will, Gods hoſpitall, and wee his olde ſouldiers, when age hath weakened vs, infirmity diſabled vs, and death put downe the barre, that we may fight no more. O happy they that can get a place there: where al ſit rent free; ſhal haueoile for their wounds, eaſe for cumber, pleaſure for their paine, and all things prouided for their hand, and can neuer ſay, this they want, or this they

Apoc.3. would haue more. Heauen is called alſo new Hieruſalem; and well may it bee ſo called. For olde Hieruſalem is in the enemies hands, while all good people groane, and will neuer linne grieuing (I feare) till God ſhall make them free of the new.

Mat.5. Mat.19. Luk.7. It is many times called *regnum cœlorum*, the kingdome of heauen, Let vs conſider of this world a little. A king and a kingdome are relatiues. And he that hath a kingdome muſt needes bee a king. What is a kingdome worth if a man ſhould buy it? or who hath price enough to buy a kingdome with? It is a rare fortune to riſe of nothing to be kings, and yet ſuch fortune ſome haue had. *Saul, Dauid, Ieroboam, Iehu, Darius*, aud diuers Emperours; and it is not euery ones fortune: yet may it be euery ones fortune to haue a farre greater in heauen; and it lyeth in his owne will. Hee may haue his crowne there, his robes and purple there, and thoſe more glorious there then we can imagine heere. And in this ſence Iac.3. S. *Iames* doth call vs heires of the kingdom that God did promiſe, & Rom.8. S. *Paul* doth likewiſe call vs heires of God, and ioynt heires with Chriſt; & more then this, he ſaith, we ſhall reigne together with him. For kings are not there, as they be heere; Homer illiad. where one crowne royall none can haue but one. *Non bona res multi domini rex vnicus eſto*, Two kings in a kingdome will neuer ſtand long. In heauen quite contrary. It is no diſgrace to a king to haue many fellowes. Yea Angels themſelues reioyce exceedingly, and Chriſt our Lord diſdaineth not to ſet vs by him, and to communicate his crowne with 2 Tim.2. vs. Saint *Paules* word is *conregnabimus*, We ſhall bee fellow kings with him; this were treaſon heere.

But wee muſt knowe, that by this word king are vnderſtood two great titles. The one of neceſsity; the other of honour: the one a title of paine, and charge, begotten of common good, for preſeruing of peace, and iuſtice among men; the other a title of honour, and greatneſſe, deſerued by themſelues, or their anceſtours, or both. In the right of 1 Pet. 2. the one, he carrieth a ſword *ad vindictam*; in right of the o- Apoc. 20. ther, he weareth a Crowne on his head as a conquerour. The 19. ibid.44. one needleſſe in heauen, where all be good; the other needfull

in heauen to despite the diuell, and them that be bad. And this kingly honour, no king hath more on earth, then soules haue in heauen; who acknowledge no superiour there but God, as kings doe heere. Onely, their crownes differ, the one is of gold, the other is of glory; they differ also not a little in there estates, the one is for life, the other for euer. 1.Pet.5.

And therefore in our creede it is called by another name, *Vita æterna*, or life euerlasting. Our estate in our kingdome there, is for life, but wee shall liue for euer. How farre better this then your fee simple heere, which yee say, yee haue for euer, yet cannot haue longer then for life, nor so long neither many times. And if they that follow you waste it, where is your fee simple. It may rightly bee called fee simple, a simple for euer. But ours not so; it will bee for euer; which no violence can wrest from vs, no rust or moth weare away, no time nor oldenesse wrinkle or disfigure, no sickenesse consume, no wrong hazzard, or misinformation call in question. Our estate there pure, perfect, and indefeazable, tyed to no condition, charged with no incumbrance, or feare of forfeiture. Subiect to no law like a king; no mans vassall, and doing no mans will, but our owne, and ours none of our owne, but Gods.

What an inexplicable greatnesse is this? and yet I cannot leaue it so: the more I haue said, the more me thinke I haue to say. But I will bound my selfe to one or two considerations more, and so ende for this point. I may not forget to tell you the price of heauen, and scarcity of buyers, that will giue any thing neere the worth of it. Both which but briefly considered will not a little aduance the greatnesse we haue in hand. By the price, that is giuen for a commodity, wee may ghesse at the worth of it. If a thousand pound bee giuen for a purchase, wee esteeme it at fifty a yeare. If a millió be giuen we esteeme it at fifty thousand a yeare. The price of heauen is set downe by a cunning surueyor of those matters, Saint *Augustine*, *Tantum valet, quantum es* saith he. It is as much worth, as thy selfe: that is to say, all that thou hast, and art. And so is it prized by the Sonne of God; who likened heauen to a pretious pearle, which a certaine Mat.13.

Ieweller finding, *Vendidit omnia sua, & comparauit eam,* hee sould all that hee had to buy it. Because it was worth all he had, he solde all, and bought it. Of all iewels there is none more excellent then an orient pearle. It is *culmen omnium pretiosorum* (saith *Plinie*) nothing more pretious then it. Both is it hardest to counterfeit; and there is nothing dearer, or higher prized then it. The *Queene* of *Spaine* had one giuen her at *Florence* was valued bygood Lapidaries at thirtie thousand pounds sterling. *Ferdinand Cortes* that conquered *Mexico*, had one at his eare valued at all the king of Spaines treasure, that had euer come from the *Indies* to that time. Which exceeded far the price of any *Diamond* that euer I heard of.

Lib.9.cap. 35.

Now if I should say, that this were the price of heauen; I should come short of it by farre. For the price of the poorest life is more then this. *Cuncta quæ habet homo, dabit pro anima sua*, A man will giue all hee hath for his life. Yet how many liues haue bin giuen, or ioyfully lost for this heauenly pearle by holy Martyrs? Is not this an admirable greatnes, that should be worth a mans life, euen a kings life and all his kingdome, if he be a king? For by this text, a life comprehends all. Yet all this is litle to that I can say more. What if I can prooue it to be worth the life of God himselfe? yea, what should I neede to prooue so manifest a truth, which all wee that bee Christians are bound to beleeue? I would wee could as sensibly feele it, as we truely conceit it. The life of God himselfe was giuen for it. *Adam* once had morgaged it, and made a forfeit of it, and our heauenly father sent downe a price for it, his onely Sonne to redeeme it. Ye are redeemed (saith Saint *Peter*) not with corruptible gold, or corruptible siluer, but with the pretious blood of the imaculate lambe. And this is *prætium magnum* (saith S. *Paul*). And well might hee call it a great price; for it is an infinite price: whereupon I inferre thus. To recouer our lost inheritance cost an infinite price; but an infinite price must bee for an infinite greatnes, therefore our inheritance must be of infinite greatnesse; then which, what is or can be greater.

Iob.2.

1.Pet.3.

2.Cor.6.

And if this be not enough to stir your affections towards it,

it, or to possesse you thoroughly of this greatnesse by the greatnesse of the price, that hath beene giuen for it: Rayse your imagination a little, and thinke with your selues; that yee see God in flesh. Thinke that his noble presence were in the middest of you. Beholde his person, beholde his face, and yee shall see the greatnes of heauen in it. In a little round glasse, ye may see the firmament aboue yee; and in the compasse of his face yee may see whole heauen. That ouerioyed face, with seeing heauens beauty; that euer sorrowed face, that his flesh might not come there yet. I am grieued saith he, till it come to passe. That auerted face from all worldly contentment; that scornefull face to all earthly promotion, which he neither had time to thinke on, nor yet thought worth his care, in respect of that greatnesse that was alwayes glittering in his eye. Luc. 12.

Gold to him shewed no brighter then Counters, hee would not touch it. Plenty with him no greater then the poore mans boxe; more then that, was distastfull. Pleasures to him no sweeter then blowes; nothing could drawe his eye from the Radient splendor aboue him. All his riches was in that sacred eye of his. No pleasure here belowe but among the poorer sort, to sit and conuerse with them. *Deliciæ meæ cum Filijs hominum*, His delight was among the sonnes of men, to shew them this greatnes, and to hold vp his finger to them. And like as he was, so were his Apostles, so his disciples, so his disciples disciples, and all their descendents in spirit, to this very day. *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi Filij*, As the parents looke, so looke their children. We see Christ in them, and heauen in Christ. Carnall children are like their parents for a discent or two, but spirituall children for euer. They neuer loose the countenance of their *Protoplast*, or the first shape, or fauour of their founder. As Christ looked so looke ours, As Christ conuerst so conuerse ours. *Nolite tangere Christos meos*. Wee may be bolde to call them another Christ, to see heauen in their faces, if our eye be not very naught. Prou. 8. Psal 44. Psal. 10.

But now I feare me I must change my song to speake of

the laſt point; which is the fewneſſe of Buyers. I began with a *Comedy* and muſt end with a *Tragedie*. But I will be the ſhorter. Yet ſomewhat I muſt ſay: and although it ſeeme contrary to ſomewhat I ſaid before; yet hath it an argument in it, of the greatnes wee ſpeake of. I tolde you euen now, that it is called your kingdome, *paratum vobis regnum*, A kingdome prouided for you, from before the beginning of the world. I tolde you it was euery bodies fortune that liſt, to be a king in heauen; yet heere I ſay it is almoſt no mans fortune, the number of them is ſo paſsing ſmall, that ſhall come there. Hardly one of the twentie or rather of fortie thouſand that ſhall be ſaued throughout the world. I thinke before Chriſt came, ſcarce one of a Million. The fault is their owne I graunt, that they be not kings; but the fault is ſo vniuerſall, that fewe can auoid it.

Mat. 25.

For the truth whereof, conſider with me a little, what multitudes haue beene in the world ſince the firſt age, and what multitudes haue died, and bin ſlaine in a day, or neere together, and none ſaued. Wee read of *Senacharibs* army one hundred foureſcore and fifteene thouſand ſlaine in a night, all heathens. *Cyrus* and two hundred thouſand of his ſlain in one battel, beſides his enemy *Scythiãs* neere as many more, all heathen on both ſides. Of *Perſians* two hundred thouſand ſlaine at one time by *Melciades* the *Athenian* Duke, beſides his owne, all heathen on both ſides. Of *Armenians* and others, three hundred thouſand foote, and horſe were ſlaine almoſt together by *Lucullus*, beſides his owne ſide, which was bloody enough, all heathen on both ſides.

4. Reg. 9.

Rex.

Plut. vit. Nauel.

Cæſar in perſon was at the killing of one thouſand thouſand, one hundred foure-ſcore and tenne thouſand, beſides a multitude of his owne, and beſides them that were ſlaine in the ciuill warres, which he was aſhamed to reckon, all heathens and Idolaters. *Alexander* in three battailes againſt *Darius* onely, ſlewe fifteene hundred thouſand, beſides what elſe were ſlaine of his owne ſide, all heathen people on both ſides. The ſtory of the Iewes ouerthrowe at *Ieruſalem* is well enough knowne; where were ſlaine of them and *Proſelites* together (beſides forty thouſand that went out before to

Rex.

Ioſep. de Bell. Iud. Baroni.

to flye Gods wrath) eleuen hundred thousand persons and aboue, whereof it was thought fewe or none were saued, but died obdurate. Latter histories relate vnto vs infinite battels of all heathens, and some of heathen, and Christians together. *Charles Martell* slew three hundred threescore and fifteene thousand *Sarazens* in a short space; and *Rhodericus* as many, and more. To say nothing of the terrible slaughters in our dayes, betweene *Turkes*, *Moores*, *Persians*, *Muscouites*, *Tartarians* and *Ethiopians*, and such like, all heathens without number, fighting one against another, none of them better then other, all striuing who should send downe most to their great Master, whom they serued. And they that escaped the sword, were neuer the neerer. They went the same way in the end, and dranke of the same cuppe. To say nothing also of them, that dye of the Murreine, plague or famine euery yeare; tenne thousand carried out of *Cayro* in a day of the plague, and many other like accidents that wee heare not of. Leo. Afer.

God died for all: but none haue the benefit of it, but his little brood of the elect: & these were *Israelites*, and Iewes before the incarnation, & Christians since the incarnation. But what? were all the Iewes saued? are all Christians partakers of this reward? though God cōfined himself most what to the Iewish nation in those dayes, and now to Christians; yet very fewe there bee either of them, or vs (in respect of them that miscarry) that shall bee partakers of this so rare, so noble, and so royall a reward. Heauen is not for Gods enemies, or cold friends. The Iewes were alwayes so cold of deuotion, so prone to sinne, so grumbling against God, and superiours, that he sware in his anger, they should neuer see his rest. Holy *Dauid* complained in his time how abhominable they became in their iniquities, there was none that did good, no not one, in comparison of those that were otherwise. And yet had they then a noble king ouer them, and worthy Priests to gouerne them, and guide them. Saint *Iohn Baptist* also in his time could scarce affoord them a faire word, but called them Vipers broode. Psal. 94. Psal. 13. Mat. 3. 12.

Now to speake of Christians, that came after; although

Mat 20. the primitiue ſort of vs were more hotte, and zealous; yet Chriſt foretold vs for our better warning, that many of vs
Luk.13.23. ſhould be called, and fewe choſen. And in an other place being asked, *Si pauci ſaluantur*, whether but fewe ſhould be ſaued; he ſeemed to affirme it ſaying. Striue yee to enter the ſtreight gate. And euen ſo hath it prooued in all ages. They that were good, were alwayes fewe. In all the olde world, eight perſons onely were ſaued, the reſt were drow-
1 Pet.3. ned. What numbers haue there beene of heretiques, and yet are, that haue no part in the kingdome of heauen? and of thoſe that beleeue well, how many bee there that liue well? who delights in Gods ſeruice, or holds himſelfe to howers, and orderly life? who is there almoſt, that hath not one fault, to bring him to hell; and yet will not leaue it, vntill it leaue him? how many more be there that haue many faults, giue way to them all, ſwallow all, till all too late they repent them. The broad way they be in, they like well to go forward in, loue eaſe, loue ſecurity, neuer ſeeke more, and ſo dodge on till they die, and dye as they liued.

Very fewe there be indeede, and too too few that be cho-
ſen. Many runne in the furlong (ſaith Saint *Paul*) yet but
1.Cor.9. one gets the prize. And why but one amongſt many? hee inſinuates a reaſon a little after, that no man may deſpaire notwithſtanding, to get the gole if he will. His reaſon is for that ſcarce one amongſt many prepareth for the race, as ,, he ſhould. They be commonly ſo ſloathfull, and drowſie, ,, that they dyet not themſelues, they deny not their belly ,, all exceſſe, inure not their ſoules to daily practiſe, and ex- ,, erciſe in that heaueuly race; ſo as they runne, but vncertainely, and as it were beating the ayre. All follow vanities, the proiects of their owne hearts, and no man ponders, or conſiders deepely the greatneſſe of this heauenly gole hee runnes for, and therefore looſeth it.

Alas we cannot get trifles in the world without care. Yea all the care we can, we beſtowe vpon them commonly. But no man beſtowes on heauen the leaſt care, come of it, what will. It is an ill dogge they ſay, that is not worth whiſtling. The moſt make worſe then a dogge of heauenly feli-

city

city. They hardly beſtowe a ſigh on it from their heart in a long time. But it is not my purpoſe to ſhew reaſons why it is ſo, that ſo few be ſaued. It is enough that wee haue prooued it to bee ſo, euen amongſt the profeſſors of Chriſtianity. O greatnes of heauenly reward. Who ſhall attaine thy holy hill? Who ſhall be admitted to ſit with Angels? *Omne pærclarum rarum,* Euery thing that is excellent in this world, is alſo rare. If kings were common, and great perſons euery where, who could ſee their greatneſſe? Euen ſo it is of good folke, who are as admirable as rare, whatſoeuer men thinke of them. O happy lot, ô excellent reward. Thy excellency is ſeene by thy rareneſſe, and hard to come by. O worthy of worthies, that the world ſets ſo little by, and is not worthy of. How great art thou in thy height? How great in breadth, and largeneſſe? Thou art big in place, ſpacious in thy roomes, large in thy beautifull territories. The earth is little to thee. Hell is nothing to thee. Behold heere an admirable worke of God.

Heauen is aboue, neere God. *Hell* belowe neere the Center, as is thought. where moſt bee, the place is narroweſt to receiue them: where feweſt Soules bee, there is roome to ſpare. The number of damned ſoules is without number beyond thoſe in *Heauen*; and yet their place is infinitely leſſe then it in heauen. The way to hell is broad and wide, but narrowe and pinching when one comes there, eſpecially when they come to their bodies againe. Moſt woefull it is to thinke on, how they will lye thronging and crowding together for want of roome, like bricks, or tyles in a burning kill, not able or not allowed to ſtirre hand or foote, if they would neuer ſo faine, men and women, fatte and leane, little and great, hudling one vpon another confuſedly, without reſpect of age or ſexe, or any bodies ranke or place, which they had in this world: with *Heauen* all contrary. The way thither narrow, and ſtreight, and hard to paſſe it; but when one is there, and hath crowded through the little wicket; he findes a large field, and goes freely where hee will, without end or wearineſſe.

The nature of contraries is in cõtrary qualities; hell is litle

in eaſe, becauſe, there is no eaſe ; little in pleaſure, becauſe it is all in diſpleaſure; little in roome,becauſe it hath no roome for any repoſe. *Heauen* therefore muſt needs be great, faire, goodly,bright, beautifull,full of eaſe, full of repoſe,euery body would haue ; few will take paines for ; and therefore thouſands to one, ſhall not haue it, as I ſaid before. I doubt not but all men beleeue as much as I ; or any man can ſay of this *Angelicall* ſubiect. And I doubt as little, but they thinke it well worthy of their ſtudie and care, and of their paines and coſt, if coſt bee needfull for the obtaining of it. But what is the paines that belongs to it, that men, and women ſo ſhrinke at, and pull in their necks ? Is it loſſe of life,or limme? Not ſo,but in caſe of Martyrdome.
Mat.19. Is it to giue all to the poore ? Not ſo ; though *Chriſt* aduiſe it one,that ſought to be perfect. Is it to ſuffer burning, or paines of hell for it before wee come there ? Not ſo, and
Medit. yet Saint *Auguſtine* wiſheth it with all his heart, that hee might feele hell torments a good while together, to bee ſure to come thither ; and ſo doth venerable *Bede*. See what apprehenſion theſe had of *Heauens greatneſſe*.

What is then the let that ſtoppes them ? What the paine
Prou.26. that terrifies ? What Lyon in the way, that puttes men out of the way ? What ſpirit or hobgoblin skares them ſo, that they runne quite contrary, and ſcarce looke backe againe ? Surely, nothing elſe in the world,but a loathing,or wearineſſe of well doing. They thinke the paine nothing,if it were ſhort, but to perſeuere long in good courſes they hold it a cruell thing. They ſay in their hearts, they could endure much for a day, or an hower, ſo *Heauen* would come preſently, without tarrying too long for it. But to liue a long life, and all the while in Battell, all the while in withſtanding temptations, and allurements, and denying their owne willes; all the while expecting reward,and none comming ; it is more then fleſh and blood can beare, and they will not endure it. But how Daſtardly a thought is this ? How erronious, and wide from the matter ? That which they thinke ſo hard, is with practiſe eaſie. And that which they thinke is far off,is rather neere,as I ſhall prooue

vnto

vnto you now. I haue ſpoken hitherto of *Reward*, how great it will bee when wee ſhall haue it. Now hearken I beſeech you for the *Neereneſſe* alſo a word or two, according to my promiſe, and then I ſhall conclude.

Our *Sauiour* well foreſaw this weakeneſſe of ours, how weary wee would bee of well doing, if hee were not at hand to vs with *Reward*, he knew our proneneſſe to euill, and how ſoone wee were like to diſtaſt, and forgoe this *Bread of Trauellers*, if wee ſhould ſtay too long for our *Bread* of *Angels*. And therefore, before hee manifeſted himſelfe to the world, he ſent vs word by his fore-runner, and the firſt words his *Baptiſt* ſpake next to *Penetentiam agite*, were theſe: *appropinquauit enim regnum cælorum*, The kingdome of *Heauen* is at hand. A noble comfort, if wee haue faith to beleeue. *Veniens veniet & non tardabit* ſaith another Prophet, Comming hee will come, and make no delay. And in another place, *Ecce venio citò, & merces mea mecum eſt*, Beholde I come quickly, and my reward in my hand. Hee doth as mothers doe by their children, promiſe them to come quickly, that they may not thinke long; ſo heere, *venio citò*: mothers ſpeake it ſometimes in pollicy, but God ſaith it truely (as wee ſhall finde it) *venio citò*, I come preſently. *Non tardat Deus promiſſionem ſuam* ſaith Saint *Peter*, God is not ſlowe in rewarding vs; how can wee ſay then that hee tarrieth long, hee is farre off from vs, and ſcarcely thinkes on vs?

Mat.3. Abac.2. Apoc.3. ibid.22. 2.Pet.3.

It is a ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt, not to beleeue the Holy Ghoſt. And if wee will beleeue nothing but reaſon, very ſence and reaſon will tell vs as much. For it cannot be very farre off, that, wee feare rather is too neere. Who is there, that thinkes not or feares not, that death is too neere? for ſo ſaid the *Epicure*: *Cras moriemur*, Wee ſhall dye to morrow. And thus ſay they that would liue ſtill, and take their pleaſure, they are alwayes phyſicking, and guarding themſelues againſt death, which they feare ſtill is too neere. If death then bee neere, how is it that *Heauen* is not neere, which wee cannot haue, vntill wee dye? Why complaine wee, that *Heauen* is farre off, when the doore of *Heauen* is

Eſay.22.

too neere? Some anſwer againe, that death is too neere indeede, but it is alwaies in reſpect of our vnreadineſſe to dye onely. Well then, death and *Heauen* are neere. But it is wee that are farre off. Why ſay we then that *Heauen* is farre off, when it is our ſelues are farre off with our vnreadineſſe, not *Heauen* farre off with our happineſſe? Indeede it is true, if *Heauen* bee neere, and we runne from it, wee ſhall neuer come at it: and then no fault in *Heauens* neereneſſe; but in our farreneſſe. Where otherwiſe if death bee neere, *Heauen* muſt needes bee neere to them that ſhall haue it. Mee thinkes, this reaſon ſhould conuince them. For if death bee neere in our feare, why ſhould it not bee as neere in our hope? Wee confeſſe the one; therefore wee muſt confeſſe the other.

And yet I cannot deny but the Saints alſo in ſome ſence doe thinke it farre off, and ſhew ſome tokens of wearineſſe. But this is doubtleſſe out of a true longing after *heauen*, not out of a feare, that they ſhall ſtaye too long for it; out of wearineſſe they haue of the world, not out of wearineſſe of waiting and attending Gods pleaſure; out of their humility, and vnworthineſſe to come thither yet; not out of ſloath or preſumption that it is time enough yet: out of a thirſt they haue after God, whoſe face the *Angels* feede on; not out of temptation, and weakeneſſe as we doe, who, if our ſence be not pleaſed, wee bidde the ſpirit adeiw. In the one ſence Saint *Paul* ſaid, *Who* ſhall deliuer me from this body of death; and holy *Dauid*, When ſhall I come and appeare before the face of my God? And in another place, *Woe* is mee that my habitation is prolonged, thinking euery minute an hower, and euery day a yeare, vntill they were diſſolued, and were with *Chriſt*: in the other ſence, *Dixit inſipiens in corde ſuo*, The foole ſaid in his heart, there is no God. Or if hee ſaid it not, yet his actions ſay that, when he beleeues not Gods promiſes, but makes him a politician, to tell vs he is at hand, when we haue twenty, thirty, or forty yeares yet to liue, as many haue. No, no, hee deales not politikely, but faithfully with vs; and if wee ſee

Rom. 7.
Pſal. 41.
Pſal. 119.
Phil. 1.
Pſal. 13.

not

not his words to be true in this, we are blinde, and ſee nothing.

Holy *Dauid* ſaith the *daies* of man are threeſcore and ten yeares, theſe ſeeme great to children; but to our firſt fathers in the old teſtament this was no age. And if we ſhould now liue ordinarily ſo long, wee might haply haue ſome excuſe for our wearineſſe. But alas, what are theſe threeſcore and tenne yeares? They are nothing to ſpeake of, and ſo runne out. They that haue them thinke them quickely gone. Wee heare olde folkes confeſſe it, and why ſhould wee not beleeue them, when they ſay as they finde? we beleeue the *Sentinell*, what he ſees from a high tower, becauſe he is higher then we; and we beleeue the ſea-man what he diſcouers from aboue the toppe-ſaile, ſeeing farther then we. So ought wee beleeue our elders, and ancients, when they ſpeake what they haue prooued, and wee ſhall ſay the ſame, when we come to the ſame yeares. And they ſay no more, but what our *Patriarke Iacob* ſaid: *the daies* of my pilgrimage (ſaid he) are an hundred and thirtie; *little* and *euill*. Holy *Iob*, ſaid *breues dies hominis ſunt*, our dayes are but ſhort. And he asketh a queſtion thus: *nunquid non paucitas dierum meorum finietur breui*, Will not the few neſſe of my daies be ſoone ended? Marke theſe words few neſſe; and ſoone ended; and yet he had an hundred and forty yeares to liue after; and when hee ſpake it, hee was in extreame paine, when euery hower might ſeeme a day to him.

Pſal. 89.

Gen. 47.

Iob 14.

Theſe men I hope will be beleeued what they ſay. Compare now the Prophet *Dauids* ſayings to theſe: both ſpeaking from one ſpirit of truth. Holy *Iacob*, and *Iob* ſay, the daies of man are ſhort. Holy *Dauid* ſaith our *yeares* are threeſcore and tenne; therefore (I ſay) the time of threeſcore and ten are ſhort, and quickely gone, and conſequently our reward at hand. How will this argument bee anſwered? one tels vs, that all the earth as bigge as it is, and full of great kingdomes is no bigger then a pinnes head in compariſon to the vaſt and huge firmament; and we eaſily beleeue it, when the learned tell vs it, though our ſence doth

not reach it. And yet how little,or nothing,our pilgrimage is heere, euen his that liueth longeſt; a matter of ſo common experience, and which our owne infirmities,and dayly indiſpoſitions minde vs of; we perſwade our ſelues notwithſtanding that it is a long time, and neither will authority,reaſon, or warning by others, once mooue vs,or beate vs from this moth-eaten hold we haue of long life forſooth, and time enough yet.Three or fourſcore yeares are a long time with vs in Gods ſeruice; though ſhort enough in our deſires.

But let them be as long as men will haue them. Suppoſe threeſcore and tenne be great, and grieuous to holde out to the end withall in vertuous life. See whether God in this alſo,haue not done very much for vs,that we may haue no cauſe to alleadge againſt him, if we will make benefit of it. How many be there I pray, that liue to threeſcore and tenne. Doth euery man liue,till he be old? I will ſay more. Doth euery one liue to halfe thoſe yeares? I will be bolde to ſay; and I thinke I can prooue it, that halfe thoſe that are borne into the world, doe neuer come to fiue and thirty; yea more then this; hardly two parts of three, come to ſee fiue and thirty. And this I prooue two waies. Firſt by the many multitudes of them that dye betweene the cradle, and fiue and thirty. As appeareth by ſextons and Churchclarkes, whom I haue heard affirme,that they bury two of the yonger halfe which are vnder fiue & thirty, for one of the elder halfe,from thirty fiue to ſeuenty.Secondly & principally, by a ſuruey of houſholds, families, and towneſhippes throughout the land, be it in citty, towne,or country, and that in this manner.Deuide any of theſe into three; and ſcarce the third part is fiue and thirty. My ſelfe haue noted that two parts of three, are alwaies vnder fiue and thirty. Vnleſſe it be in princes houſes, and hoſpitals. If the family be nine perſons, ſixe of them be vnder; if fifteene, tenne of them be vnder; If there be thirty in a houſe,twenty at the leaſt are vnder;and ſo forward in proportion. Ye will ſay this may be true; not becauſe they bee dead, that ſhould make vp the number euen; but becauſe they marry

away,

away, or prouide themſelues otherwiſe, ere they come to that age. Well then. Follow them where they goe, and where they ſettle, they muſt be ſome where. Still yee ſhall finde all one, and the ſame proportion wherefoeuer they become. But to leaue theſe, and come to thoſe, that are entred the latter halfe of thirty fiue, and vpward; there, the oddes is much greater; an hundred to one, *Titleman* ſaith a thouſand to one, that they neuer ſhall ſee Seauentye.

Now what is become of all thoſe, that were once fiue and thirty with him? are they not all dead? but halfe a dozen, or not ſo many in a pariſh before they come to ſeauenty, or any thing neere it? yet thus it is in all places, and countries. There is a multitude of the younger ſort all of an age; but of olde folkes but a fewe, and almoſt none in compariſon. *And* therefore it is, I thinke that holy *Dauid* ſaid, *dies amorum noſtrorum in ipſis, &c.* The daies of our yeares (in themſelues) are threſcore and tenne; In themſelues they are ſo many: but in vs not ſo many, or in very fewe of vs. It is a time limited to vs, to which moſt fewe doe euer attaine. As if a man ſhould ſay, it is tenne mile to ſuch a towne to goe the next way ouer rocks, and places vnpaſſable; but the common way is twentie. In it ſelfe that is tenne, but to vs it is twenty. Euen ſo it is with mans age. There be that liue to thoſe great yeares, but ſo fewe, that a man needes not feare it, if he would not liue long; and it were folly to hope it, if long life be that he would haue. But my purpoſe is not to dwell vpon theſe points, which although they be true; yet I leaue them rather to your ſcanning at more leiſure vpon theſe grounds I haue giuen you; then to ſeeme ouercurious in a matter ſo ſerious, as now I haue in hand. Pſal. 89.

And yet I hope, this is not without fruite which I ſpeake of; For ſo much as euen in this the prouidence of God is ſeene ouer vs, and his tender loue to vs. His prouidence firſt, in foreſeeing our danger by liuing long. How many be there in the world, that wee haue knowne vertuous in their youth, and vitious in their age; in their child-hood tow-

ardly, in their middle age of good example; in their elder yeares declining, and at last vnrecouerable. Which *Dauid*
Psal.70. fearing in one place, prayes to God, saying: O forsake me not Lord, when I come to bee olde. And of this wee haue diuers examples in Scriptures, *Saul*, *Salomon*, *Ioas* and others; who of Gods especiall seruants, declined in the ende to bee Idolaters; or as ill. Gods loue also is heere to beseene tow-
Mat.24. ards his elect; for whose sake as hee will shorten, and abre-
Sap.4.11. uiate the whole world, and will hasten the end of it; so doth he in particular for many of his seruants, abridge much part of their time, that otherwise they might haue liued.

And albeit that many liue longer for their amendment or increase of grace, which is also his goodnesse, *Patientiam ha-*
2.Pet.3. *bet nolens aliquos perire*, saith S. *Peter*, he drawes out the time with many, that they may haue time to repent them: yet so it is, that God will haue vs see, and know, and take notice of it; what oddes there is against vs, that wee shall not liue long. Many signes in our body, that our time will be heere but short. Many spectacles before our eyes, and warnings on euery side by others harmes, or vntimely deaths. New diseases euery yeare, that will not let the bell stand; and sometimes horrible plagues, and pestilent agues, that seldome touch olde folkes, but pull downe the lustiest. What should I speake of consumptions, squinances, cough of the lungs; ptisickes, dropsies, pleurisies, collicke and stone, lethargies, appoplexies, and sometimes the sweating sickenesse, that playes sweepe-stake amongst vs, when it comes, and these come commonly of misdiet, or infection.

Besides this, the number is without number, that dye of age before they bee halfe olde: of age I say, because it is olde age with some vnder forty, with some vnder thirty, with some vnder twenty, or vnder tenne, if God will haue them liue no longer; who hath appointed euery one their bounds, which they may not passe: *Posuisti terminos, qui*
Iob.14. *præteriri non poterunt*. Hee calles it *terminos*, not one bound for euery man; but how many men, so many limites and bounds, no certainty of it but one, which is (once) as Saint
Heb.9. *Paul* saith, but not when. And of this there bee naturall

reasons

reasons also, besides Gods ordinance, which are the seuerall indispositions of mens bodies, as wee learne by *Aristotle*, *Galen*, and *Hipocrates*; the pooreneſſe of moyſture radicall in infinite perſons, and the ouer abundance of it, in others, which naturall heate is not able to maſter. The faults alſo in our firſt conception, and generation (which no man knowes of but God) make an end of vs quickly, when yonger yeares promiſe longer life. To ſay nothing of the *Maleuolous* influence of ſundry ſtarres the Lords of our natiuity; or of them, that keepe no meane in their youth, and kill themſelues with miſrule. *Plures occidit gula, quam gladius*, ſaith one.

Laſtly, the manifold names our life is called by, in Scriptures, and fathers, doe ſhew the brittleneſſe and vncertainty of it; as when it is called a bubble, that is come, and gone in the twinkling of an eye. It is called hay, greene yeſterday, and this day withered away. *Sicut fœnum dies eius, & tanquam flos agri ſic efflorebit.* Compared heere to a flower in the field, this day freſh, and challenging the Sunne for beauty, and faireneſſe; to morrow holding downe the proud necke, and no body lookes at it. It is called a ſmoake, a vapour, our face in a glaſſe, ſoone ſeene, and ſoone forgotten, a cherry faire, a ſhaddow, and as Saint *Auguſtine* calleth it, a ſhaddow by Moone-light, ſo much to ſay as a ſhaddow of a ſhaddow. What flowers of youth haue we knowne in our time; the hopes of their fathers houſe, and greatneſſe, now blaſted; and long ſince buried vnder the ſhaddow of death; and will bee quite out of minde. What beautifull Matrons haue we ſeene in our dayes, that poſſeſſed mens hearts with their vertues, and ſparkling eyes? They aroſe like a morning ſtarre to ſhewe themſelues in our *Horizon*, went downe againe in their prime, and riſe no more. To ſay nothing of our *Europe* worthies, whom our eyes haue ſeene to fall in our laſt warres like ſtarres in the firmament. But *ô fallacem hominum ſpem, fragilemq; fortunam*, ſaith *Tully*; ſpeaking of our vnſtable life, how greatly wee build vpon it, and yet *in medio curriculo* (as hee calleth it) wee are taken, and intercepted by death, when wee leaſt thinke it, in the middeſt

Pſal. 102.

Iac. 4.

Medit.

De orat.

of our course.

But thus wee see in fewe words, how neere our reward is; euen as neere as death. And if authority of Scripture will not serue, here be also reasons for it, and more might bee added, if neede were. *Qui non credit peribit*, And hee that beleeueth not this verity which hee sees testified with his owne eyes, how can hee bee thankfull, as hee should, for so great a benefit. Let life bee short or long with vs, it is allotted for our good, and the way to make vse of it, is to thanke God, that it is no longer. If a man make reckoning of the best things heere, and would liue still, to enioy them still; let him know hee must forgoe them in the ende, hee knowes not how soone. His delights must goe one way, and hee another. Let him make much of life; for when life is gone, his ioy is gone. But if a man haue a true feeling, and knowledge of himselfe, and of his life; and of the frailties of it, how full of sinne, and proneneſſe to sinne, how full of inticements and euill *prouocations*, and dulneſſe to any goodneſſe; what stormes, and afflictions to beate vs from God; what danger in prosperity to neglect God; what multiplicity of buſineſſe to forget God, or to make vs loue him leſſe; hee will thinke it a blessing of God, not to liue long, and will say with Saint *Paul*, *Mihi mori lucrum*, My death my gaine, and will ioy much in this posibility hee hath; this great posibility I say, to bee one of this number, that shall liue but a little while.

Phil. 1.

Heathens themselues, that had no light but naturall; yet saw they how good it was, to dye betimes. For when the good olde woman *Argia* was in haste to goe to the sacrifice as *Tully* telleth in his *Tusculan questions*, and her Coach-horses were out of the way; what did her two Sonnes *Cleobis* and *Biton*, but went in presently to strip and annoint themselues, and drewe her thither in stead of horses, in very good time. For which their act, she besought God to blesse them with the greatest reward that could bee giuen to men. And so hee did. For the next morning, after she had feasted them ouer night, and sent them well to bedde; shee found them both stone dead. *Their* guerdon of their *Piety* was shortneſſe

of

of life, as the greateſt good thing, that could betide them. And this no doubt doth many a good mother amongſt vs obtaine for her childe, when ſhee prayes for him, and thinks not that God will quit her ſo, though God doth know it to bee beſt ſo. Yea good king *Dauid* had not his prayers, when hee prayed ſo earneſtly for his childes life. God ſaw it beſt to take him away. And how much happier had it beene for *Abſolon* alſo, to haue dyed in his cradle, then liue to bee a Rebell. And to this purpoſe I haue heard a ſaying of *Fredericke* the third, that worthy Emperour, and it was much noted. That beeing asked once, what was the beſt thing God could beſtow on vs in the world, to be taken well out of the world ſaid hee: and yet hee taſted three and fifty yeares what it was to bee an Emperour, and to abound in peace, and in all good things. 2.Reg.12.

O what a benefite is this of God? What thankes doe we owe him for it? If a man haue a long way home in a hard winter time, and when hee comes to his Inne at night all moyled, and weather-beaten, (and muſt haue many ſuch dayes, before hee get home) ſhall finde himſelfe on a ſuddaine in the middeſt of his owne yard; his wife and family with lights at the doore to entertaine him, a good fire within to warme him, and change to ſhift him, will hee not ſtand amazed, and fall on his knees with wonder, that his iourney prooues ſo ſhort? yet this can no man expect, nor can it be done without miracle. A Merchant likewiſe, that ſets out from the Indies with goods of great price: the iourney long and tedious, and no leſſe perilous. If he paſſe through ſafe, hee is made for euer; if hee miſcarrie, hee, and his are vndone; and euery day breeds new feares. Howbeit in putting in at ſome Cape three thouſand miles hence, if hee ſhould finde himſelfe at that inſtant iuſt before *Calis* or *Douer*; could any tongue expreſſe his ioy? Yet this muſt bee alſo by miracle. And theſe good happes bee neuer heard of, though in our caſe it bee ordinary, and daily done without miracle. So bountifull is Gods goodneſſe towards vs, that trafficke here for *Heauen*.

Our ſelues bee this Merchant, or Traueller, that would

ſo faine bee at home. Wee trade heere for good habits, and the grace of God, more worth a great deale, then golde of *Ophir*, or *Heuilah*. Our care is heere but for ſafe arriuall through a maine of miſeries, and contradictions in our way. It is common with God, to harbour vs at halfe way. The better halfe (as I ſaid) are not gone halfe way, but they are at their long home firſt: or if not, yet is it all one to a man, if hee bee of reſolution. Deſpare, and faint hee will not, but hold it out to the end. We may not ſticke in a ſlough ſtill, without ſtirring a foote, becauſe we haue a great way home. Wee may not caſt our goods ouer boord, becauſe we know not when wee ſhall make vſe of them. Wee ſhall ſerue God ſtill, feare him ſtill, loue him ſtill, and attend his good pleaſure ſtill, in little and great, in wealth and pouerty, in faire weather and in foule. Wee ſhall not value inward riches, at leſſe then outward; *Heauen* at leſſe then the world; nor take more care for clods, then for glory.

If wee looke but for an Executor-ſhip, or to be ſome rich mans heire, wee are willing to obſerue him with all reſpect wee can; no duty, or ſeruice omitted if hee bee our better; no kinde of kindneſſe vnſhewne, if hee bee our equall; and this not for a moneth, or a yeare, but many yeares. And if it bee ſo, that wee thinke it long, yet waxe wee not weary ſtreight, or ceaſe to be reſpectfull, as long as wee haue hope. And if it were ſo, that a man ſhould be weary in ſuch a caſe, or ſhould neglect the inheritance that is ſo long in comming, and ſhould goe ioyne with an enemy, or looſe his poſſibility for a horſe, or a hawke in hand; ſhould wee not holde him vnwiſe? Yet thus it is with moſt of vs in matters of *Eternity*. *Heauen* wee would haue, but wee will not tarry for it. Wee holde it tedious to bee ſo long *Vertuous*, and in the meane time, wee giue heede to our paſsions, and our humors beare all the ſway with vs. On the one ſide of vs loue of *Carnality*, loue of ſoft and ſweete, loue of money and momentaries; on the other ſide choller, pride, enuy, rancor, and reuenge, and what not beſides, that the Diuell will ſuggeſt. I ſpeake of many things, but one of theſe is enough to damne vs, and to turne Gods face from vs for

euer;

euer; and all for lacke, of but a ſhort whiles perſeuerance. And this may ſuffice for the neereneſſe of *reward*. I prooued it before to be great, and nowe to bee neere, what can wee aske more.

The Concluſion.

I haue beene much longer, and I feare mee more troubleſome to you, then I intended. But the matter wee handle, is of greateſt moment, and is the onely thing we muſt relye vpon, and ſticke to for euer. All other matters are humane, and temporary, this euerlaſting, and Angelicall. This is the laſt diſh we muſt feede on, ſerued into our table with a couer, that we may not ſee it, nor taſte it, vntill the couer of our fleſh be taken away. What it is, I cannot deſcribe to you, in other ſort then I haue done. Well I know, it is the ſame, that Angels feed on. The ſelfe ſame, that *Cherubins and Seraphins* delight in. For as the damned haue the ſame food, and fire in hell, as our Sauiour telleth vs, that was prepared for the diuell and his Angels; ſo haue the *Saued* alſo the ſame fare, and are fedde with the ſame foode, that was ordayned for Gods Angels, and the *Cœleſtiall hierarchy*. And although we knowe not yet how, or in what ſort, or kinde, this feeding, nouriſhing, or exceeding pleaſure, ſhall affect vs; for as *Leo* ſaith, *niſi fides credat, ſermo non explicat*, it is better beleeued, then expreſſed; yet haue I opened vnto you after my poore manner, and giuen you a scantling of it, how *great* it is, both by the viſible things in the world (that are all nothing to it,) and alſo by the *greatneſſe* of mans vnderſtanding; which is able to conceiue all things in the world, but not the leaſt things in *heauen*. What is nôt in *heauen* I haue alſo ſhewne you. Nothing there to offend, or that can offend, a priuiledged place from all areſt of trouble, or of leaſt moleſtation, as by the ſeuerall names it is called by, and the price that hath beene giuen for it, and by the fewneſſe of *Buyers*, it may appeare, and I haue there alleadged. And in this abundance of com-

Mat 25.

pleate happineſſe, yea haue heard alſo, what eſtate wee ſhall haue, not for a yeare, or yeares, life, or liues, or to vs, and our heires: but to vs and our ſelues for euer. And leaſt haply we ſhould make voide our faith in any ſort with ouermuch *curioſity*, faith being no faith, if we beleeue not without eye knowledge: I haue importuned you, not to be too buſie in matters aboue your reach; as to know how, what, or when, and how long firſt. Which I haue laſtly prooued vnto you, not to be long, at the longeſt, and is moſt commonly as neere vs as we can wiſh. *Hoc modicum longum videtur, dum hic agitur*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, This little ſeemes long to vs heere, *Sed cum finitum fuerit, ſentiemus, quam modicum fuerit*; but when it is ended, ſaith he, wee ſhall ſee how little it was. And ſo no doubt we ſhall finde when we come once to that *heauenly Sanctuary*; that city of refuge; that hauen of all our hopes; where a hundred yeares ſhall ſeeme as nothing, if wee liued heere ſo long in feare of God, and vertuous life. *Verily* we ſhall wonder at our ſelues then, that we could thinke the time here long; beleeuing *heauen* as we did, to be ſo long in laſting, and ſo neuer toward ending. Whats a ſtones caſt of foule way, to a world of faire way? Is it to be ſtucke at. Whats a ſpoonefull of gaule, to a ſea of Roſe water? Is it to reckon of? For ſhame of our ſelues let vs thinke no time loſt, or long in Gods ſeruice. For if we doe, muſt we not looke to be puniſhed for it? and that by ſo much the more, by how much the more mercifull hee is vnto vs, in tempering as he doth our length of daies with ſo many delights, and pleaſing buſineſſe in the world; while either we recreate our ſelues moderately, ſleepe and reſt our ſelues temperately, conuerſe with others familiarly, beſtirre our ſelues in our vocation commendably, ſee the fruits of our labour not without comfort. We are not alwayes at our deuotions, not alwayes praying, reading, and mortifying our ſelues. Yea, the yeere it ſelfe which is the meaſure of our age, is alſo diſtinguiſhed for vs into ſeuerall ſeaſons. Winter comes but once a yeare. Then comes the ſpring bedeckt with violets below, and bloſſomes ouer head. Then the ſummer full of day-light and ripening ſunne. Then harueſt

Tract. 110. in Ioh.

ueſt with all inticing fruits to fill our mouthes, and hands full all the yeere long, till new come in; and euery ſeaſon hath his lawfull pleaſures. Which if we abuſed hitherto, or haue ſpent our time vnprofitably, or haue liued badly; ſo merciſull is God, that he will not exact of vs, to beginne all our time anew, as tradſemen doe by their apprentiſes; but will take the reſt for good payment, that wee haue to liue, though it be but a yeare, ſo we pray hard, and will yet reſolue to amend. Haply hee will content himſelfe with two houres in a day, or with leſſe, ſo it be with ſeruour. And this is not the tenth part of our life, nor eight houres of the day, as king *Alfred* vſed, notwithſtanding his warres, and common-wealth affaires. *What* cauſe haue we now to complaine? If we be weary of kneeling, we may ſtand or ſitte, if weary of ſitting wee may walke. *Iſaack* went into the fields to meditate. Againe when God ſends croſſes, hee interlaces them with promiſes, our vnhappineſſe hee delayes with comforts, our miſchances with aſſurance of his preſence, and aſsiſtance, if we forſake him not: *Rebus meſtis iucunda permiſcuit* ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*: And holy *Dauid*: What meaſure wee haue in ſorrowes, the like meaſure wee haue in comforts. All theſe helpes hee allowes vs againſt wearineſſe, all theſe fauours againſt tedioſuneſſe of life. In hell they would bee glad of the leaſt of them. Yet thus God doth by vs, as it were ſtealing away time from vs, that wee may not feele it, or thinke it long. Let no man ſay therefore hereafter, it will bee long firſt. I will thinke of theſe matters tenne or twenty yeares hence. No, let them not ſay I will begin to morrow; yea why not euen now?

Gen. 24.

In Mat. 8.
Pſal. 91.

Omnem crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum.

Saith an olde Poet,
Thinke euery day to be thy laſt.
Take hold of time, ere time be paſt.

Let vs learne of an *heathen*, what danger is in protracting and dallying with God: If we haue beene ſlacke, and mi-

ſtruſtfull of Gods promiſes hitherto, euen now let vs beginne, and turne ouer the leafe. I haue ſpoken many words to day; if any of them be to the purpoſe; I beſeech you let it not fall, or come againe emptie. Let vs make our confeſsion with holy *Dauid*, and ſay with him; *ecce elongani fugiens*, Not heauen farre off, but wee farre off with flying it, and making our ſelues ſtrange to it, with our guilty conſciences. Yea, although in reſpect of our ſinnes wee may cry with him otherwhiles, ſaying: *Ne reuoces me in dimidio dierum meorum*, Cut vs not off in the middeſt of our daies, before we amend; and in zeale of Gods ſeruice, *Non moriar ſed viuam, et narrabo opera domini*, I will liue ſtill, and will not die, but will tell the workes of God; yet in *via virtutis*, as there he ſaith, in the way of vertue, patience, and penitence in this life, it is profitable for vs to thinke of our ſhort life, and to make that our daily prayer and comfort, ſaying, *Paucitatem dierum meorum nuncia mihi*; Let mee alwaies haue theſe tydings in my eare, that my daies be ſhort, and ſoone at an end. And let vs not onely ſay it, but alſo thinke it, and hope it to be very true. Oh that we might amend hereafter, and ſpurre the faſter, that we may one day all of vs meete, and neuer depart againe. If any difficulty bee in it, it is all in the beginning. All our paines will be at the firſt. A little vſe will make it eaſie, and the hardeſt that is will breake no bones. It will breake a ſleepe indeed, to pray as we ſhould pray, and to force our willes at the firſt, to the rule of reaſon. Make haſt I beſeech you, for I haue ſhowne you the way. Let no impediment ſtoppe you, no time or temptation weary you in ſo important a buſineſſe. Waken your ſoules, that reaſon ſleepe not. Diet your bodies, that it rebell not. I ſaid before, *the iuſt man liues by faith*. So doe you. Stirre vp your faith, that it lye not idle in you without fruit. Let vs liue by faith, as louers liue by loue. Their loue is life to their thoughts, and fire to their affections. They will doe nothing againſt lawes of loue; they ply her with all the ſeruice, and good offices they can; the ground of their hopes is but a word, or a good looke, or halfe a promiſe from her. Can we not doe thus to God? It is but changing the ſubiect

Pſal. 54.

Pſal. 101.

Pſal. 117.

Rom 1.
Abac. 2.

iect, and it is done. Keepe your loue ſtill, be enamored ſtill. That which was to a creature, Let now bee to the creator, & then yee are right; hold your ſelues there, ſo it be to God. If nothing can pleaſe you but riches, and ſplendour, make vſe of your faith; and ye ſhall haue all contentment in him, that ye can deſire. If beauty delight you, reflect vpon your faith, and ye will neuer ſeeke other, then what yee finde in him. Your hope ſhall not be ſo weake, as louers hopes, vpon a word, or halfe promiſe. Euery leafe in the Bible is fraught with promiſes. She is your owne, what ſeeke you more, and if ye haue faith ſhe bringes all that is good with her. Doe as louers doe. Serue God and obſerue him, whatſoeuer ye haue in hand. Let your loue be t'one end of your thought. Marke what God loues in you, and doe it; note what he hates in you, & auoide it. Let him be alwaies maſter of your heart, to gouerne it; miſtreſſe of your loue, to command it, a moſt bountifull rewarder, ye ſhall finde him, and a moſt beautifull miſtreſſe, yet none ſo meane in the world, but may haue her; none ſo great in the world, but may goe without her. How can a man be idle, and haue ſo ſweet a miſtreſſe to ſerue? night, and day, hee cannot ſinne, in thinking on her. But I leaue all to your good practiſe, ye haue heard (worthy friends) all that one body can ſay in ſo ſhort a time, in words ſo fewe and in a buſineſſe, ſo aboue all meaſure neceſſarie, and I may not ſpoyle with tediouſneſſe, a matter ſo repleate with all pleaſantneſſe. Shall I aske you a queſtion, to make an end withall; yee ſhall not need anſwer me in words, but in thoughts. Is there any vnbeleeuer in this place? Can any man perſwade himſelfe he ſhall liue long, or that *heauen* wil be had without much care? or that worldly cares do not hinder it, and hazzard it exceedingly? Doe they thinke they haue no ſuch inheritance in *heauen* as I ſpeake off, *Locum nominatum dabit eis pater meus*, My father will giue them a place by name: or thinke they that the leaſt flower in *heauen* is not much more worth, then the faireſt bower on earth? that one glimps at Gods brightneſſe (if we might ſee it) would not dimme and damne the worldes greateſt happineſſe? that one peepe into *heauen* would not make our gold ſhew like leade, faire fields like a

desert, the bright sunne like a sparkle, beauty like the white skull of a dead body? if any such be heere as beleeue nothing but what they see, delight in nothing, but what the basest, dullest, and most vulgar delight in; I shall most humbly intreate them for the passion of Christ, and for the true loue they owe themselues, to informe themselues better, by them that be better learned. Let them not be sicke so dangerously and seeke after no remedy. But if it be so, as I haue no doubt but ye all beleeue mee, then tell me I pray; whether yee neede a spurre thither, that haue so faire a baite of it; whether yee neede a whippe, that haue so faire allurements to it; whether yee neede inuiting to your owne house, any bidding to your owne banquet, any inforcing to your owne possession or proper inheritance: which if yee neede, I doe not maruell much in this great opposition of flesh, and blood, which keepes you from seeing your inward marke; and which vntill yee see more perfectly, minde more readily, and aime at more feruently, as you doe at outward things; sure, it is not with you, as it should bee, and your present remedy is, to make a patterne of outward things, whereby to guide you to the inward. Who stumbles at a money-bagge, and needes be bidden take it vp? who hath a a good legacy giuen him, and needes perswading to goe fetch it? who is a hungred, and needes inforcing to fill his belly, hauing good meate before him. *Sence* furthers him in all this. And shall our faith be weaker then sence, to further vs to the contrary? *Sence* telles vs money is better then Gods mercy; itching pleasure better then *Paradice*; present momentaries better then future euerlastingnesse. And shall our faith lye dead the whilest. Take courage in God, and let not sence so preuaile against it; Let not idlenesse drowne it; passion ouerthrowe it; and filthy custome cut the throate of it. Let faith rather goe before, and other things come after. When we follow one by night, our eye is neuer off him, for feare we misse our way; euen so let vs looke to our faith-ward alwayes, that our sence seduce vs not in the darke of our vnderstanding. If at any time ye be feasting, or sporting, turne your eye now

and

and then inward, and remember the grand-feaſt preparing for yee aboue. Are yee in ſorrow, or heauineſſe; ſtirre vp your faith a little, remember *heauen*, and ſorrow will vaniſh like a bubble. Are ye at a royall maske, or other great entertainement? Thinke it all nothing to that is ready for yee in *heauen*, againſt ye come there. Haue ye loſt a friend or deare companion? Take the glaſſe of faith in your hand, and ye find an hundred for one more deare to you, then any can be vpon earth. Haue ye ſweetes at your noſe, or dainties in your taſte? Dwell not on them too long, but reflect them higher. Are ye tempted with diſloyaltie, or other diſobedience? Raiſe an *heauenly* thought, and it will vntempt you. Are yee in delight of harmony, the Waites perhaps at your windowe, to giue you the time of the day? Let this make worke for your faith, and quicken it, and make it eager after her *heauenly* harmony. Are ye melancholy at miſfortune, diſcontent with diſtreſſe, dazeled with gloomy weather, afflicted with reproach or obliquie? Repaire to your liuely faith; and it will baniſh all diſcomfort. Your field muſicke, and trumpets, that make you couch your lances, and your horſes ſtampe vnder you, let theſe be your alarums againſt your triple enemie, that baricado the way betweene you and *heauen*. Let your inward trumpet ſound with your outward, to ſpend your ſpirits, and animate your ſoules, againſt any proffer to beate you from heauen. Doe ye know what *heauen* is? that noble *heauen*; that golden *heauen*; that glorious and delightfull *heauen*; that euerlaſting *heauen*; where Angels becken you, and looke euery day for you, and will yee bee beaten from it? Doe yee know your right to it, the Ancientie of your title, and the price was giuen for it; and will yee bee beaten from it with any fire, or ſword, or haply with a lewd looke of an intemperate eye? Oh farre be theſe from your Chriſtian manhood; farre be it from your own ſelfe loue; far be it from your *baptiſme*, and grace of God in you. But mee thinkes I ſee *heroicall* ſignes in you: your faith leapes in your faces, your heart is in flames, and your ſpirit repleniſhed with reſolution, which giues great hope that the gates of hell will neuer preuaile a-

against you, nor stop you of your way, your way to heauenward I say, which I haue painted & pointed you vnto. Haste yee thither, and runne a pace, put wings to your willes, and out-strippe all impediments: I conclude with Saint *Paul*.

1.Cor.9. *Sic currite vt comprehendatis*, So runne, as yee may catch. So run, as ye may obtaine what ye runne for. Let no man say he is fatte, and pursie, and growne past running: For God

Esa.35. hath promised him the feete of a Stagge, if he doe but his

Abac 3. good will. Let no man say he is old, feeble and weake; and cannot breake ill custome, for he must know, that *Virtus in*

2.Cor.12. *infirmitate perficitur*, The weaker a man is, the greater is

Luc.15. Gods glory in the combate. *Christ* will take ye vp vpon his shoulders, and runne away with you, if you will but take the paines to get vp. *Sic currite*, so runne saith he. Almost all the world runnes backward, and yet they runne. But this is not *Sic currite*. Run yee forward I beseech you. There

Psal.11. be some also that runne about, yet runne, *In circuitu impij ambulant*, The wicked walke in a circuit: will yee knowe what this is? They that walke the way of *ambition* and *emulation*, They that walke the way of pleasure and delight, They that walke the way of riches, and ease, it is a great aduenture, they will neuer arriue at the happinesse we speake of, not that rich folke cannot come to heauen; but they that *seeke* riches, and lay to heape riches. Not, that men cannot winne *heauen* that haue pleasure; but they that seeke pleasure, and poure themselues out vpon it. Not, that kings, and princes, and honorable persons, Bishops, Archbishops, and such like haue no part in our *heauenly kingdome*; but they that aspire after greatnesse, aspire after kingdomes, and labour after Prelacye, and Sublimitie in the world: all these I say runne round in a circle, and waxe giddie withall. They are drowned in their owne desires, and cannot breath for it. They are borne so downe with their burthen on their backs, that it is impossible to make way. The word is (*ambulant*) they doe but walke, not runne; and to runne thus, is not *Sic currite*. Runne yee the next way be sure, and loose no ground. Some againe there be, that runne with the Hare as they say, and holde with the hound. They flye vice, and yet,

incline

incline to vice, flye one temptation and entertaine another; flye the act, and delight in thought. Oh this is not *Sic currite*. Long ſhall they ſo runne, and neuer catch. Wee are bidden ſo runne, as wee may obtaine. This word [runne] excludes all daliance, and delay. Wee muſt not ſtand at a ſtay, nor looke behind vs. This word [*obtaine*] includes perſeuerance, to holde it out to the ende. To runne therefore without wearineſſe, to goe forward ſtill without repentance; this is indeede *Sic currite*: this is to runne ſo as the Apoſtle will haue vs. The onely enemy to perſeuerance, is idle, vncertaine, and vnſettled life. Make your ſelues buſineſſe alwaies, that may bee good: and then let no alteration of time, or place hinder you; no hard fortune diſarme you; no fawning of any friends vnſtrengthen you. Let your word bee *Semper idem*. Hee that knowes yee now, and ſees you not againe of twenty yeares together; let him finde you the ſame, or better. Let all your neighbours report of your ſweetneſſe, all your acquaintance take example by you of much goodnes, and fetch fire at your *feruour*.

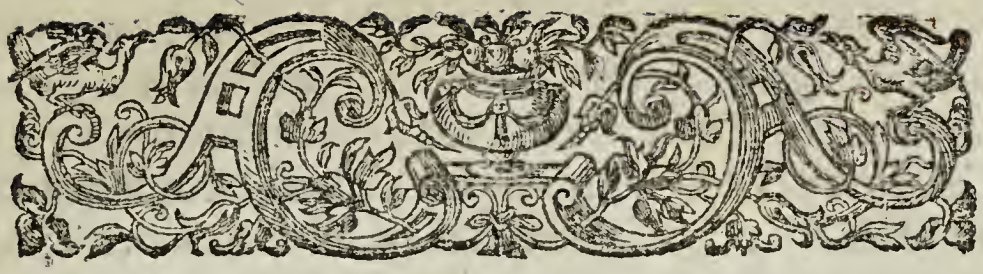
FINIS.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, *EDWARD* EARLE OF *Worcester.*

SIR, the place you haue for honour and armes, with my bounden duty together, haue mooued mee to dedicate to your Honor, this part of my labours: wherein I bring you not a grape of mine owne planting, or a Pome-deroy, or a Musk-million; but a posie of mine owne picking out of other mens gardens. My hope is, you will not looke into the meaneneſſe of my performance, but the merit of the ſubiect: wherein your ſelfe haue alſo laboured right nobly, and much more profitably would, if gentlemen as they bee true gentlemen, would become your true followers. To them I ſpeake in this little treatiſe, and not to you, but learne of you. And ſo with all humility wiſhing you health and longer yeares, I take my leaue of your Lordſhip.

All your good Lordſhips
to command

W. Wiſeman.



THE FIRST CHARGE
BY THE DVKE
against Duellum.

Ight noble audience, and fellowes at armes. I haue inuited you hither to day for your good company, which I can neuer be weary of: and partly also out of the aboundance of my heart, to impart vnto you somewhat, that may stead you hereafter, wheresoeuer yee become. Yee haue beene pleased ere now, to heare your *Generalls* voyce halfe an hower together. And it hath beene I thinke for your good. My words concluded then with commanding, but now with intreating, and mutuall *imbracing*. Men of peace may bee to seeke in time of warres. So you, that come newly from the warres, may bee to seeke of your carriage in time of peace. Yee were men of sort, and noble, the most of yee, before yee came hither. And yee haue lost no reputation by your comming, but shall returne into your countries (I doubt not) with much increase of honour. Honour in regard of your owne approoued valour. Honour in respect of the cause, and quarrell yee haue spent your time in, and much of your blood. For what more Honourable, then to fight against the great deuourer of *Christianity*, the vpbraider of *Israell*, and blasphemer of the Sonne of God, *Christ Iesus*? Yea, how much more honourable this, then to waste our *irascible* part vpon one another at home? Not onely to fight and kill, if we can; but when we haue done our worst, to beare malice, and deadly feud still, and some-

times, as long as we liue. A very bad vſe in our countrey. Euen family againſt family, and man againſt man, without all moderation. Thoſe whom God gaue his life for, we will take life from. Thoſe whom he ſuffered paine for, we would put to paine if we could, or to ſhame if we cannot. Thoſe who by generation, or regeneration, ſhould be our brothers, and all one with vs, all ſelected children of one God, and parteners of one bleſsing; we ſeeke to diſhonour by word, or deede, vpon euery light occaſion. We that ſhould beare one anothers burthen, and doe as we would be done to, we doe the contrary, heape coles one vpon another, deeme the worſt of euery bodie, as we liſt, neuer reflect vpon Gods Law, or mans Law, but how to wreake our anger, and make our humors therein both Iudge, and hangman.

Thankes be to God, our hand hath not bin hitherto in our neighbours bloud. We haue ſpent our anger, and fury, where it can neuer bee ill, or better beſtowed, vpon the grand-enemies of God, our new *Philiſtims*. Whom to ſtrike is duty, to kill is Honour, and to bee killed of them a ſacrifice. There to fight, wee are ſure is Gods battell; there to bee valiant, is true valour; there, feare wee no iniuſtice in the worſt wee can; nor neede to bee ouer ſcrupulous to thruſt our ſwordes in vp to the hilts. There to turne our backes is cowardize; there to bee afraide, is to bee white liuered; there, to ſhew pitty, were impiety; and they that ſhould bee fainting, or faulty therein, might be truely charged with diſhonour. The cauſe iuſt, and honorable; the quarrell Gods, not ours; commanded by lawfull authority, not by humane leuity. The honour ours, if wee winne; no diſhonour, if wee looſe, ſo we doe our indeauour.

There bee men, too fewe for ought I ſee, to bee imployed in that honourable ſeruice. And yet wee fight, and wrangle, and kill vp one another at home, and robbe the Chriſtian common-weale of their intereſt in vs, without mercy, pitty, or true manhood indeede, as I ſhall prooue vnto you. If our idle ſpirits at home did but ſee, what we haue ſeene, the inundation of hell-hounds, that haue come downe vpon vs by hundreds of thouſands at once, their noiſe of armour,

horſes,

horſes, and howling ; their pride, and fury againſt vs, the ayre filled with trumpet,fife,and drum,as if it were doomes day ; our voyce crying out the whileſt to God, and Chriſtians, to come helpe vs : men would not bee ſo idle and home-bredde, as they bee (for want of an enemy to poke and puſh at one another as they doe ; but would couet to fight where men fight, and dye where men dye, and ſhall haue glory, and renowne for it.

When yee come in your countrey againe, yee ſhall finde thoſe, euen ſuch as yee left behinde you,when you came hither ; that neuer ſawe army in their life, and yet will giue lawes of chiualry ; know not how to trayle a pyke like a ſouldier, and yet will braue a ſouldier to his face ; were neuer officers in the field, and yet if they haue beene at the Vniuerſity a while, and haue read a little of *Liuie*, or *Plutarks liues* ; and then come new to court, or Innes of court: they thinke themſelues ſtraight to bee *Scipioes*,or *Hannibals*, and fall to practiſing; and doe as they ſee others doe;learne to giue the lye brauely, or to vſe the fiſt, or poynard at the entring. It is the fault of youth,and of the times ; and there bee too many of them at this day, but I hope there will bee fewer. Yeares, time, and better knowledge of themſelues, and of their owne woorth,will bring them more diſcretion. Meane time, I would there were not ſo many alſo of iudgement ſufficient, and of elder ſort, that thinke it valiant to bee ſtirred quickly, a word, and a blow with them, or ſpit in his face, and in the field next morning, to kill or to bee killed. And this not onely they doe, but thinke it lawfull to doe,and thinke it baſe, and cowardly not to doe.

It is vndoubted, that Honour is a great ornament to him that hath it,and euery one ſeekes it in his degree,and ranke. And our countrey is as fruitfull of Honorable, and well indued perſons, as any nation in the world ; and as quickly it is ſeene by them, as ſoone almoſt, as they haue caſt off their long coates. And as well furniſhed yee ſhall finde them with matter fitte to ſupport their honour, when they come to yeares ; as either for manhood, valour, ſtrength, actiuity, or nobleneſſe of minde. All which as they bee vertues well

beseeming gentlemen, and men may doe much to vphold them; so is it a most vnworthy thing, and worthiest of punishment, that they should receiue blemish by any wrong.

The most of you (as I said before) are men of sort, and as yee haue all deserued well, and none of you the contrary: so is it necessary yee should maintaine your Honour in places where yee come. But how? In Honorable sort, without dishonour to God, or disgrace to your countrey, or Soueraigne. And it will be expected in these corrupted, and maleuolous times; yea God will aske it at your hands, beeing men at armes, and neuer yet touched with the least cowardize, no not when they haue beene fiue to one (I will not say ten to one) that yee should shew good example to your countrey-men; and that your actions should bee their instructions, your good experience their better learning, and your carriage their rule, that haue not such cause to know what you know, or not so well as you, in regard of the long time, and place, yee haue serued in, where questions of Honour haue daily risen, and were seldome suffered by superiours to come to blood, if they had authority to restraine them.

The world is full of wrangles, and the good, and patient are abused, and abased euery where. *Pride*, and disdaine haue filled all things with debate. One backbites, another is incensed; one doth vnkindly, another taketh it ill; one meanes well, the other mistaketh it; one giues a contumely, another deales a blowe; and in all these is wisedome required, to carry an euen hand. And because I would not wishe you to take so much wrong; nor yet to right your selues with any vnrighteousnesse: I thinke it good to let you knowe, and it is fit yee should alwaies remember your duty to God, and the world, and to forget your selues as little as yee can, in hot bloud, or in colde. By hot blood I meane all suddaine things, before wee can well deliberate. By colde I meane, when the heate is gone, but desire of reuenge remaineth. To the first belongeth iangling, brawling, blowes, foule speeches, and multiplying. To the second belong the dregges of the former, after they bee parted. The

first

first hath commonly present execution while the fire is yet hotte. The second hath time to pause; and if hee doe amisse, the fault is the greater. The first can neuer bee without offence in the cause giuer, whether it come of heate, mistaking, or scorne. For how can yee miscall one, or giue approbious words without sinne; neither is it without offence in the answerer, though not so great.

He is more then a man, or lesse then a man, that can put vp a contumelie on a sudden. And therefore it is written in *Ecclesiastes*: *Calumnia conturbat sapientem*, A disgrace, or contumely will trouble a wise man. S. *Paul* himselfe might seeme *humanum pati*, when he called him whited wall, that made him be smitten. What maruell then, if *Achilles* smote *Thirsites* for his foule mouth, though otherwise a man, that was not easily mooued. The best men will not soone giue cause. But *vir iracundus prouocat rixas*, A hastie man, or a chollericke sir will still be quarrelling, and prouoking; euer vrging, euer misconstruing, neuer without a caprich, or two in store. An other man as good as hee, will neuer doe it, but leaue it to scouldes in allies, and alehouses. Hee will alwaies keepe himselfe in compasse of manhood as neere as he can, and neuer debase himselfe to such vnworthy doings.

Cap.7.8. Act.23. Prou.15.

And there is a plaine precept for it, *Nolite prouocare*, If I may not vrge my childe, or seruants to anger, how much lesse my fellowe, or my better. The law giues fauour to man-slaughter, if he be prouoked. But there is not a greater infamy to a noble person, then to prouoke or to be accounted a quarreller. It is vnbecomming a woman, much more a man at armes. Quippes, girdes, flaunte, tauntes; farre be they from yee I beseech you. They are but seedes of scoulding, the scumme of a womans witte; though some women delight in it, and thinke it worth printing euery word they speake. Words breede quarrels, and of quarrelling comes blood-shedde. An old *Coronell* of ours reioyced on his death bedde; that hauing beene in many broyles in his life, and many times prouoked, he neuer gaue cause of quarrell by word or deed, and yet he would not turne his face from any

Eph.6.

man breathing.

To detract, or reueale a mans secret, if it be not against the state, or much hurtfull to his friend, is very vnworthy a gentleman, and breedeth much quarrell. A man of sort would be loath to be thought a blabbe, or tell-tale. It begins with idlenesse, and endes with damnation. *Granado* saith there be multitudes in hell for nothing else, but this. They say there would be no theeues, if there were no receiuers. And surely there would be no picke-thankes, or slanderers, if there were no hearers to delight in them. S. *Augustine* had written about his dining bord these verses:

Possid.

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,
Hanc mensam vetitam nouerit esse sibi.

This table them forbidden is,

In English thus

That of the absent speake amisse.

Nemo sine crimine viuit, No man liues without a fault. But he that proclaimeth it, is worse then he, *Abhominatio hominum detractor*, the backe-biter is holden abhominable; and to be shunned as a venemous thing. And for this cause onely it hath beene allowed in Italy, that the wronged should giue the wronger a *Cartella*, to fight with him. How iustly, I will not now speake. Neither speake I of the sinne to God-ward; which I leaue wholly to preachers. I touch it onely in point of dishonour, and as they be aspersions to reputation; which both the wronger is bound to recompence, and the wronged may iustly require. I touch them as they be make-bates, and leaue a staine behinde them in anothers coate, beeing slanderous, and scandalous to fame, and sooner raised, then remooued, if not repaired in time. *Conturbat sapientem*, It troubles a right wise body, to haue the lye, or a foule word giuen him, which we vse to our Page, or varlet. *Conturbat sapientem*, To haue a frumpe, or a scoffe, or a bore in the nose; much more a stripe, or a trippe at his heeles; and no maruell if it cost bloud, or sound blowes, ere they part. These matters

Prou. 24.

ters are holden as ſmall with vs, as they be common. But the Romanes held them very ſhamefull, and cenſors taxed the cauſe-giuer with *ignominie*, and ſhame, which they vſed not to any man, but vpon great cauſe, beſides loſſe of his horſe. Plut.vit.

To you my deere countrey men, and friendes (I muſt tell you) it is the principall ſcope of my ſpeech; that howſoeuer your ſudden occaſions of heate may carry you at any time ſomewhat further then vpon aduiſement you would, to breake the peace or bond of charity with any; and for which I can giue you no other rule, then the meaſure of Gods grace in you: yet vpon time of deliberation, and ſpace betweene; that is to ſay vpon cold blood, which was the other part I ſpake of, I doe wiſh much, and if I might I would command you, as we doe in the warres, that ye neither challenge your oppoſite into the field vpon any occaſion; or if ye be challenged; that ye doe not accept it. Being a thing, both heinous in the ſight of God to doe, and no leſſe then *hereſie* to thinke yee may doe. This may bee newes to ſome of you. But not ſo newe, as true. Euill faſhions driue olde folkes to *Schoole* againe. And the eldeſt of you is not too olde to learne, if any of ye be poſſeſſed with that peſtiferous opinion. That it is heinous, and ſinnefull, it appeares by this, for that it is againſt the lawe of God, of nature, and nations. If againſt the lawe of God, then *hereſie* alſo to holde it lawfull. This is in ſhort, but I will make it more plaine to you, becauſe it is a thing, yee muſt informe your ſelues in, and it is groſſe to bee ignorant of.

Single combate is honourable, if it bee in iuſt warre, or commanded by the *Prince*, or common-weale. As *Dauid* did againſt *Golias*, for auoiding of blood-ſhedde of many by the blood of one. Many in this kinde we finde in hiſtories, of one to one, or more to more, to weaken or diſcourage the contrary; and wee reade them willingly in our bookes. And God hath fauoured it ſo, that it hath ſaued the liues of many for the time. Wee haue alſo an ancient tryall for title of land, or appeales of felony by ſingle com-

bate, where matters bee so obscure, or otherwise carried, that common lawe or iustice can hardly decide them. And the forme is yet in vse, but seldome suffered by Magistrates to take effect, as sauouring more of heathenish times, when such customes began, then of Christian lenity, which thanks be to God hath almost worne it away. This kinde of combate also is needfull sometimes, and men be forced to it in defence of ones person, or purse, or honor, to auoide a bastinado, or such like disgrace. But this must be as the learned say out of Saint *Augustine, in delicto flagrante*, vpon assault, or a waite; and *cum moderamine in culpatæ tutelæ*, Intending onely their iust defence, and not otherwise. It must not be, if any meanes else be by flying backe, or stepping aside sayes the Lawe. But I holde it probable with others, that if one assault me, let him stand to his perill; he forces me to fight; I meete him not of purpose, nor vpon challenge, which I may not doe, nor any authority vpon earth can giue leaue to doe, nor scarce conniue with, against the law of God, thou shalt not kill.

Nauar.

Exod 20.

The learned hold, that by killing heere, is vnderstood murther. And this difference is betweene *killing*, and murthering, as betweene an act done of authority, and of our owne head. *Killing* is lawfull for Iustice, and for example. *Murther* alwaies vnlawfull, and damnable. And not onely the act of murther, but all that tends to the act is hatefull to God, and his Angels. Your *challenging*, or *accepting*, your prouiding weapons, and preparing them, your going out of dooers, and entring the fielde; the drawing of your sword, hitting, missing, wounding, maiming, killing or not killing; euery one of these is detestable, and abhominable; euery steppe you set forward in this businesse, is a steppe to hell, and irreuocable woe. And that this is true which I say, or shall say, I could bring you excellent authorities out of diuine writers, that handle these matters in particular, and purposely; in their titles of *Homicide, duellum*, and tempting of God.

But my purpose is not to reade you a lecture, or to make you any long discourse with vouching, or prooving. And if

yee

yee thinke me wrong, or that I grate ouer hard vpon any mans diſtemper, aske any that haue learning, and cure of your ſoules, and they will tell you as much, and will ſhew it you out of their bookes, if yee will beleeue them. And yee ought to beleeue them in their owne art, as yee will be beleeued in yours. You know beſt, how to vſe your weapon; they know beſt when yee may drawe it. And this was that Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* taught ſouldiers, and gaue them directions in, both for iuſtice, and charity, when they came vnto him, to know, what they ſhould doe. The Church liues now by the ſame breath it did then, and the ſpirit of the *Precurſor* periſhed not with his perſon. His doctrine, and directions doe ſtill remaine in the breaſt of our paſtours, with whom I haue conferred ere now, and haue read ſomewhat my ſelfe; and what I finde by ſome ſtudie, and conference, I willingly impart vnto you out of my loue. Euen that which hath coſt mee many howers, and daies, I lay before you, as court keepers doe, in an howers charge; both what yee muſt know in this buſineſſe, if ye be ignorant; and what ye muſt practiſe, and are bound to forbeare, when yee know it.

The law of God is directly, you may not kill. And Chriſt addes a curſe to it, *Qui gladium acceperit, gladio peribit*, Hee that ſhall take the ſword in his hand, ſhall periſh by the ſword. *Virum ſanguinum, & doloſum abhominabitur dominus*, God will deteſt him, and holde him abhominable, that will ſteale the ſword out of the magiſtrates hand: for what is this *virum ſanguinum, & doloſum* here, the man of blood, in guile; but hee that ſteales reuenge, and rights himſelfe ſo as publike iuſtice ſhall not know of it? Yee ſee what the Pſalme ſaith of him. God will holde him abhominable. And in another place if I bee not much deceiued, wee are forbidden directly to doe it, with a grieuous curſe annexed thereunto by the Holy Ghoſt it ſelfe, the words bee theſe: *Cum audace non eas in deſertum*, Goe not out with an audacious body into the deſart, (ſaith hee) Goe not out alone as Duellers doe. For heere bee both parties touched very plainely as I take it. Firſt the cauſe giuer by

Mat. 6.
Pſal. 5.
Eccl. 8. 19.

this word audacious, or foolehardy; so called heere, *Quia quasi nihil est apud eum sanguis*, Because bloodshed (saith he) is as nothing to him. Likewise, the wronged by this word [*non eas*] Goe not thou, or bee thou not audacious as hee is. Goe not into the field with him. *Vbi non est adiutorium* " *elidet te*, God will giue thee ouer for thy temerity, that hee " shall kill thee, though thou bee a better man then he. Thou " hast withdrawne thy selfe from man, and God hath with- " drawne himselfe from thee. *Non est adiutorium*, How canst " thou speede well, that hast neither God, nor man on thy side? These Scriptures and many more, beeing so euident against it; I doubt not to adde, and inferre vpon it, that it is not onely sinne to doe, but also heresie to holde. What is *heresie*, if this bee not *heresie*? Wee neede not a councell to make it *heresie*, when Scripture is contrary to it, as blacke is to white. It is *heresie* to holde fornication lawfull, swearing lawfull, stealing lawfull, and so killing lawfull. And he that seeth not this to bee sinne, his opinion herein may well be his punishment for his sinne.

Haply they will distinguish and thinke it *heresie* with me for wilfull murther, but not for this. It is one thing to come behind a man, and kill him cowardly, another thing to goe into the field with him vpon equall tearmes, with like weapons, like health, and strength, to trie their fortunes by manhood; and this they will not be perswaded to be *heresie* in holding, or scarce sinne in doing. What shall a man dare " me, and thou me to my face (say they) and bid me meete " him if I dare; and shall I not dare to meete him without " *heresie*, or sin? *grace* they say helpeth nature, not distroyeth " it, and the nature of man is *gloriæ appetens*, desirous of honor, " and differs from a beast in nothing more, then in this. Take " honor, and reputation from vs, and take away our life. They " goe forward also, and tell of many worthy persons, that haue " lost their liues, thus for their honour; and it were impietie to " Iudge them of *heresie*, or damnation, beeing otherwise " known while they liued, to haue many good parts, and ver- " tues in them, which made them gratious in the world. Nei- " ther doe I hate my enimie say they, when I aske my due with "

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my ſword; no more then plaintifes and defendants doe in
their ſuites of law. They ſue for their goods, and wee for "
our honour. And then they fall to reckoning; what good "
hath come of it ſometimes, when the impoſtume of their 4
ſtomacks, and courages hath beene broken with ſome
blowes, they haue beene greater friends after, then euer e-
nemies before. And this is commonly the effect of their
Argument, the ſumme of all they can ſay. And it is no hard
matter to anſwer.

I will not ſpeake of the dead, they bee gone, and God
forbid I ſhould iudge them. Many braue men haue pittiful- 3
ly periſhed that way. And what time they had for repen-
tance, or how farre their ignorance might excuſe them, I
know not. Gods mercies doe ſo farre preuaile with his iu-
ſtice; that wee muſt leaue it to him. I ſpeake of thoſe, and
to thoſe, that be liuing. Neither like I that friendſhip they 4
ſpeake of, that comes of ſinne, like *Herod* and *Pilate* made Luk. 23.
friends by killing of Chriſt. Wee are forbidden expreſſely,
not to kill at all. How can they thinke that they may kill,
but it muſt bee *hereſie*? God ſaith they may not, they ſay
they may. Their diſtinction betweene wilfull murther, and
this, is ſomewhat, but not for this purpoſe. It ſhewes the 1
one ſinne to bee more beaſtly, and cowardly then the other,
not that the other is no ſinne; or not *hereſie* to hold ſo. They
may prooue aſwell fornication to be lawfull, ſo they meane
to marry after; lawfull to ſteale, ſo they meane to reſtore,
when they are able; lawfull to ſweare idlely all the oathes
of God, ſo they doe not forſweare; yet all this is ſinne to
doe, and *hereſie* to holde; and ſuch diſtinctions will not ſaue
it either from Gods law, or from mans. And for *graces* hel-
ping of nature; that is nothing to our matter. *Grace* helpes 2
nature in good things, not in badde. And it is blaſphemy to
vſe the word *grace* in that ſort, as to animate vs to ſinne, or
to breaking of charity, or to get honour ſo diſhonourably.

They ſay they hate not their enemy. I anſwer, they ſhall
not bee iudged by their ſayings, but by their doings. If they
doe the actes of hatred, their ſayings are but colours. Make
the beſt of their caſe, that they goe not to fight, that they

goe not to kill, but to defend if neede bee, and to shewe themselues onely, that they dare meete their enemy in the field, and bee as good as their word. If he draw (say they) I will drawe. If not, I haue nothing to say to him. I will neuer assault him. But this is too *mathematicall.* How many bee there that goe so into the field? and yet most of vs know two noble young gentlemen now dead; my Lord of *Digion*, and Count *La-vall.* This latter had beene somewhat wilde, but much reclaimed of late. These two had beene at high words, and comparisons, and *Digion* challenged him, and they mette next day accordingly with either of them a Page. *La-vall* threw off his cloake, and his rapier after it vndrawne; and tolde *Digion* hee would not fight. Why commest thou hither then said hee? because I „promised thee said *La-vall*, and my word slipt from mee „by chance. And yet I feare thee not (said hee) but I will „not displease God, for a better man then thou. Thou hast „done mee wrong, and I haue done thee some; and so hee „fell a dancing, with a turne and a halfe aboue the ground. *Digion* was angry, and tolde him hee would disgrace him, and make a boy of him, if hee would not fight. And therewithall came towards him with a light thrust. *La-vall* put it by with his dagger, and followed it quickly with a close. *Digions* foote slipt, and fell, and *La-vall* vpon him, saying: now I could send thee to the diuell: but thou shalt goe to "the *Bishop* first for absolution, and so gaue him a kisse on "his cheeke, and returned both friends, and did great seruice "heere against the *Turke* after that; where they lost their liues with as much honour as might bee, as the world doth know. But how many be there, that goe so scrupulously into the field as he did? And yet this going is sinfull, and vnexcuseable, and by God forbidden, though yee make the best of it yee can.

When God forbids murther, he forbids three things. The act, the intention, and all manner of concurring. The act is damnable, the intention of killing is damnable without act; and the least concurring that is, comes little short of it. And there be nine manners of concurring, as may appeare by

an

an olde disticke.

Iussio, consilium, consensus, palpo, recursus,
Participans, mutus, non obstans, non manifestans.

Here be nine words according to the seuerall waies of concurring either to murther, or any other notorious sinne; as the learned doe define. And it is *heresie* to defend the least of them. Ye would thinke *consensus*, and *palpo*, were but small matters; the one for consenting that a couple should fight, the other for animating, and incouraging them to fight, by praising it, and soothing them vp. These be the least, and yet very grieuous matters, and common-wealths, and lawes take hold of them in case of felony, or treason, and they are punished little lesse then principalls. Euen so in Gods court, the curious looking on, or negligence in parting, is inuolued in the same sinne, and censure. *Heli* was pittifully punished for wincking at his sonnes abuses, and not punishing them. *Consentientes, et agentes pari pena plectentur*, saies the lawe. And *Saulus erat consentiens neci eius. Saul* was as deepe in the murther of Saint *Stephen* for standing by, and keeping their cloathes, as others that stoned him. This is the lawe of consenters, this the lawe for counsellours, and abetters; this for flatterers, and incouragers, how much more then for acters, and deede-doers.

1 Reg. 4.

Act. 8.

More then this I haue knowne, where the partie could neuer be prooued to know or consent to murther, and yet hath iustly suffered for it. As it happened lately in *Tholosa*, where a great iustice was done vpon *Madamoiselle violenta*, a yong woman of good breeding, beautie, and comelinesse, if shee had bin honest. But shee was kept by two, a merchant, and an *Augustine* fryer. Who to colour their lewdnesse, put a husband to her. This husband deceiued their expectation, and sent her into the countrey twenty mile off, that he might haue her alone to himselfe. But this cost him his life. For he was murthered on an euening in the backeside of the towne as he was crossing the fieldes. The procurers, and one or two more were executed for it, and the poore woman for company, that knewe nothing, as I said.

The relation is newly come to my hands in print. Yee may reade it anon at your pleasure. And ye may not blame iustice for it; For she gaue the first cause her selfe: Her lewdnesse was cause of it. Though not *causa proxima*, yet as *causa remota*. Fighting and murthering are necessary handmaides, if not two of the daughters of luxury; and in so heinous a crime as this, will suffice to condemne their mistresse *ex presumpto*. And although the lawe be not so in other places for death; yet it is good cause of fortune any where without further proofe. Whereupon I inferre; that if this bee the lawe of consenters, yea of not consenters also in the case aforesaide; what shall a man then thinke of himselfe, that doth not onely know, but consent, not onely consent, but is the very instrument of killing and butchery?

Will it hold our Duellors any plea, that he meant not to kill; that he went but to saue his honour without killing if he could? that the worst he intended, was but to drawe blood of him? wil any of these quit him vpon trial of twelue men, or before God when hee comes to answere it there; where his enemy shall charge him with his blood, and perhaps with his soule, ô that will bee a dreadfull account. *Christ* bought it, the diuell stole it away, and this man was his instrument? Why should men of reason pretend to shift a crime off from them so sillily, as if God saw them not? the sworde his, the hand his, the quarrell his, not meeting by chance, but of purpose. The woūd giuē by him, wherof a man dies; and yet he meant not to kill. And what if he died not? before God it is all one; when he did his good will. Sinne is sinne, though not wholly accomplished. Say a man goes not to fight: Yet he goes where he is likely to fight, and he knowes he shall be put to it, is put to it, fights, hurts, kils, or not kils, all is one. He fares like one that thinkes no woman can tempt him, and is confident, and in this minde, goes idlely where lewd women be, is tempted for his pains, and goes not free. Is this no sinne, because his going was not to sinne? what folly were this to thinke so? He went where he was likely to sinne, and had no other likely cause of going; he had no other businesse there, but tryall, & temp-

tation

tation; euen so in our case. He hath no other businesse in the field, but vpon challenge. And the challenge was to fight, and fight ordained to killing.

And therefore, let no man say, it was against his will, that he fought, or killed; when it was not against his will to obey the challenge, and to come to the place. Let no man say he killed him, or, hurt him by chance: his foote slipt, and he ranne him through vnawares. Let it be so: yet he killed him willingly; because he came thither willingly. For had he not come vnlawfully, he had not vnlawfully killed. If a man be madde, and kill, he is not charged with it, because he was not willingly madde. But if a drunken man kill, he is charged with it, because he was willing with the cause, which was drunkennesse. And this the learned call *Volitum in causa*, Which is enough to make murther wilfull, though he could not be aware of what hee did in his drunkennes. Now see the case how it stands. I accept a challenge; I should not. I meet at the place of combat; I ought not: I am there assaulted; I may defend. I am like to be kild; I may kill, yet murther before God, and man, if I kill: why so? my distresse makes it lawfull to kill, rather then be killed. But being the whole authour of my owne distresse by comming, the killing is vnexcusable. If I had taken away the vnlawfull cause, which was my comming, there had neither beene killing, nor any such need. I am cause of my owne neede, when I needed not; cause of my owne distresse when God would not; guilty of murther therefore if I kill; guilty of my owne death (which is horrible) if I be killed.

It were not my part to terrifie you as I doe, if it stood any way with Gods will, to doe as the vulgar doe. I am a souldier as you are, and would not haue you touched with the least dishonour, or losse of any honour, that might iustly be saued. I protest vnto you, I know not with the feare of God how to abate yee one word of that I haue saide. I speake here but of the least sinne in this kinde, that is mixed with some feare, or scruple of conscience, if any such be amongst Duellors. I seldome heare of it. There be but few such examples. And if any be, yet I holde them not excu-

ſed, for my reaſons aforeſaide. What ſhould I ſpeake now of the commoneſt practiſe at this day? their bowe bent, their ſtomacke pent, till they be at it. Their doings bewray their intentions. They ſay, and ſweare ſometimes, that they will kill, or be killed. They ſearch one another to the skinne, that there bee no let of ſpeeding; runne at tilt one at another, to be ſure to ſpeede; two courſes make an end of one, or both. And if one of them chance to be ſcrupulous, how long will it laſt, if a wound begin to ſmart once, or the blood to couer their eies? how can theſe eſcape the vengeance of God, that goe to kill, or bee killed, and glory in it, when they haue done. He ſhall be prayſed of men for it; ſhall be called ſtout, a man of his hands, a braue man; and why? he hath killed two or three. So prophane we bee growne; not ſatisfied with doing ill, but we muſt glory in it. *Diabolus eſt homicida,* The diuell is a murtherer, and wee will bee next coſins to him.

1 Ioh.

Can any thing be more againſt God, then this? Is it not ſtrange in a Chriſtian, to thinke this honourable, or good, that diſhonours God ſo much? Bee there any heretikes in the world, if theſe be not heretikes? Be they not iuſtly excommunicated by holy Church, iuſtly forbidden buriall in Church, or Church-yard? and not onely they; but their abetters, ayders, and incouragers, and lookers on? ſo hatefull is it in the ſight of God, and the Church our mother; and ſo dangerous to the ſoules of the poore *Combatants*, that are all excommunicate in *terrorem*, euen to the ſtander by. The party ſlaine is forbidden buriall for two cauſes, vnleſſe he had time to repent him, and gaue good ſignes of it, and denied not his enemy forgiueneſſe. The one is, becauſe hee dies excommunicate: the other becauſe hee kils himſelfe, and is in caſe of *felo deſe*, by reaſon aforeſaide. Marke my words well I beſeech you, and be well aduiſed on the matter; eſpecially, if any of yee be of that opinion, ouerſwaied with the time. The more ye wade into the buſineſſe, the truer you ſhall find my words. Blinde not your ſelues with ill cuſtome. Let not the newneſſe of it, (if it be new) diminiſh the credite of it in your greene conceits. The lawe of God

I am

I am sure is not new, how new soeuer in our practise. What should I say more to Christians?

Yet somewhat I should also say of the lawe of nature, or nations; which was long before this. The law of nature was *quicunque effuderit sanguinem humanum, fundetur sanguis illius*, His blood shall be spilt, that spills the blood of another. This is the booke of Genesis. And if a man will haue a reason of it, a reason is there giuen. *Ad imaginem quippe Dei factus est homo*, He that kills a man, kills the image of God; Why should I spite him, or malice him? Hee is my owne Image, though neuer so hatefull in my eie; why should I strike him, except God bid strike, or the common weale? But note I beseech you the punishment annexed to it. Blood will haue blood. *Fundetur sanguis illius*, It shall cost him his life. And the Hebrew hath *per hominem*. As he killed a man, so a man shall kill him againe. That is to say the magistrate, or executioner, by *lex talionis*. And this hath beene the practise of all nations. No hiding would serue their turne, but they were mette withall at one time, or other, as heathens themselues haue noted, and haue admired Gods prouidence in it. And if some haue escaped, yet this breakes no rule, but among *Epicures*; who attribute all to fortune, while God (they thinke) is a sleepe, or neuer mindes vs.

Gen. 9.6.

ibid. 18.

Against whom I remember a graue saying of *Isocrates* in his Oration *de pace*; wishing them if they be wise, not to hope of impunitie, because some are not punished. For if „there be some that escape (saith he) yet the most doe „not. And therefore it were wisedome to prouide for that, „which is most common, and likely. And it is most fond „(saith he) when God is knowne to loue Iustice, to thinke „that hee cares not for the iust; or that the wronged shall „haue worse fortune then the wronger. Thus he. And tru„ly it is an olde tradition of the Iewes, that *Caine* himselfe, before euer there were Magistrates, could not escape this heauie iudgement, to be killed by man, although he had a marke set on him, that none should kill him. But such was Gods iudgement, as he could not auoide it. Blinde *La-*

mech slue him by meere chance. And this traditiō is affirmed in effect by scripture in *Lamechs* owne words, saying: *Occidi virum in vulnus meum: septuplum vultio dabitur de* Caine;
Gen. 4. *I haue killed a man to my owne wound, seauenfold reuenge will be giuen to* Caine.

Kings themselues, that are heades of magistrates, could
1 Reg. 22. not auoide this animaduersion. *Saul* for killing the foure-score Priests, lost his owne life, and his sonnes life, and a kingdome besides. *Dauid* lost his childe (when hee had
2 Reg 11. rather perhaps haue lost his life) for murthering *Vrias*. Queene *Iesabell*, and *Achab* both slaine, and seauentie of his sonnes for killing *Naboth*. And although our Duellors fault were not so cowardly, or tyrannicall as these: yet our Ancestours haue holden it a great vnhappines, to kill one by chance, or with least fault; and that many disasters belong to it, if they pray not the more earnestly all the dayes of their life. How much more then, if the chance were by notable negligence, as fencing, wrestling, throwing a stone at a dogge, and hit a childe, coyting ouer a house without warning to passengers. These, and such like, had a seauen-
Scholia Raym. fold curse, as it was vpon him, that killed *Caine*, though it were by casualtie. And hereof I thinke it was, that seauen yeares pennance was inflicted by the olde Church for such actes. Where now it is brought to one; besides imperiall lawes for the outward offence. How much more yet, if the chance were of an vnlawfull acte; but most of all, if of a bloody, or of a reuengefull minde, as it is with Duellors.
Psal. 54. King *Dauid* saith; their dayes shall be cut into halfe. *Viri sanguinum non dimidiabunt dies suos.*

But to returne to our matter; and to leaue the Scriptures, and Church lawes; because they be not altogether our profession, and the word, and the sword seeme contraries, and
1 Mat. they that be ill disposed haue no skill of it: For as *St. Hillarie* saith: *Sermo Dei carnalibus tenebræ sunt, & verbum Dei infidelibus nox est*, Scripture is darke to the carnall, and night to the vnbeleeuing: Let vs stirre vp therefore the light of nature in vs, and see what nature tells vs, and the practise of worthies, that is receiued, and commended of all. We reade

of

of noble heathens, that killed themselues; But they are not commended for it. Some others had other vices, and are condemned for it by good writers. But what they haue practised, and are commended for by the best, is likely to bee good; and what they vsed not, neither is written of them that euer they did, is likely to bee naught, and vnworthy the worthiest.

The trumpets of nature, and vertue, are *Philosophers, Poets*, and histories. These acknowledge no such tryall of manhood, when they discourse of fortitude, and magnanimity, the two vertues, that gentlemen so much ayme at. They talke of honour, ignominie, contumely, and disgrace. They will not haue a stout man put vp iniuries basely. They touch many particular behauiours belonging to him. His speech sober, without a word vnbeseeming; his actions aduised, without touch of temerity; his carriage graue, and staide, without leuity; in righting himselfe, not ouer hasty; if angry, yet not forgetting himselfe. They descend particularly, to tell how hee must goe, and with what composition of body, on horsebacke, or on foote, in all things worthy of themselues, and not a word of combate; vnlesse it were for their countrey, or common-weale. Yee shall not finde such an instance in *Plato, Plutarke, Seneca*; not in *Aristotle* the prince of Philosophers, and was himselfe a souldier also in the battell of *Corronea*. Not in all *Homer*, who was (as a man would say) the light of nature speaking, and the setter out of all heroicall vertues, in the practise of great *Princes*. His worke was *Alexanders* looking glasse, and was neuer out of his hand. *Tully* sayes, hee that can repulse an iniury and will not, offends as much as if hee forsooke his friends, and kinsfolke. But hee talkes of no repulsing by fight. He bids vs *pugna pro patria*, Fight for our countrey, but not for our priuate.

Arist. eth.

Strabo.

Many priuate grudges yee shall reade of vpon malice, and emulation amongst them. But wisely carried, and neuer breaking out to this enormity wee speake of. *Agamemnon* wronged *Achilles*, to take his mistresse from him, and some bitter words past betweene them for it; but neither blowe,

nor challenge. Many iarres betweene *Palamedes* and *Vlisses* alwaies, but no challenge. Some betweene *Fabius* and *Minutius*, betweene *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, and betweene *Cymon* and *Pericles*, *Pompey* and *Lucullus*, *Craterus* and *Ephestion*, *Castinus* and *Boniface*, *Bellisarius* and *Narses*. And of later times, when the Earle of St. *Paul* gaue the lye to the Lord Himbercourt; and the Duke of *Orleans* gaue the like to the Prince of *Orange*, all braue men, and knights of the field, and a multitude besides, which were tedious to recite; yet none came to challenge; but either they thought it enough, to haue giuen their opposite as good as they brought, or haue left reuenge to God, or iustice, or to mediation of friends, as cause required, or haue yeelded to time, person, or place, for their greater honour afterward; as *Achilles* and *Metellus* did; or tryed their valour against their common enemy, as *Valerius* and *Cecinna* did vnder the Emperour *Vitellius*.

Comines.

Suet.

And yet vpon accusation of treason in great persons, where other proofes bee not pregnant enough, as it was in *Richard* the seconds time betweene Hereford, and Mowbrey. *Dictis* writes of *Palamedes* that hee challenged all his peeres to fight with them one after another. But they would not, beeing all fellowes and collegues with him. No more would *Otho* Duke of Bauaria with his accuser *Egino*, though much vrged thereunto by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth; and yet the historie calles this Duke *Prudentia & rebus bellicis admirabilem*. But hee chose rather to lose his Dukedome, and so did. And yet I must tell you; as this Emperour was greatly blamed by his owne mother, a most worthy woman, and by all the Princes, except a few, who set him on to this iniustice: so can I not but maruell at two of our later Kings, the one of France, the other of England; the one so prudent and pious, as he was, that he gaue way so easily, to a combate betweene two noble gentlemen Sir *Iames Parker*, and *Hugh Vaughan* vpon a farre lesse quarrell then false accusation; wherein the knight was run through the mouth at the second course by fault of his helmet, and his tongue borne backe to his necke, whereof hee instantly dyed.

Naucl.

died. The other of France began his raigne with blood;giuing way to a combate between *Jarnac* and *Chastenroy*,vpon no great matter,but to grace his triumph with:where *Jarnac* though newly recouered of an ague, defeated the other at length,& killed him in the place. Neither of the kings much fortunate by it. The one was kild by *Mongomery* in like triumph at tilting after a short reigne : the other held not his crowne so void of feare,and iealousie, as other kings after him. And yet I maruell much more at other Princes of our time,who in their triumphs and iouiall feasts,allow of those dangerous and damnable sports of *Jogo de toro*, and *Jogo de Canna*,which commonly cost killing,& cannot be auoided. It is too like that *Romane* custome of fencers,& swordplayers,& those that knew not God. Who set their liues & blood to sale as *Liuie* saith,for pastime to their Lords, or in honor of some feast,or generals fortune; where they spared not at sharpe,to kill one another,if they could. And so they continued many hundred yeares;and was not quite abolished by Christian *Emperors* til the time of *Honorius*,as *Theod.* writes. Lib. 28. in Hono.

Yet nothing more frequent in histories then single fight, as that of *Patroclus* and *Hector*,*Hector* & *Achilles*, *Xanthus* and *Melanthus* for the kingdome of *Athens*, *Codoman* and another for the kingdome of *Armenia*, the three curiates and *Horaces* in *Rome*,*Tullius* & *Metius*,*Manlius* & a french man,an other french man and *Valerius*,*Alexander* & *Porus*, *Ferracutus* the *Sarazen giant* & *Rolandus*,and of later times between *Turkes* and vs, where thanks be to God they went euer by the worst. But all these were *iure belli* (as I said before)from contrary enemies. And of all the combates that *Marcus Seruilius* fought for life,& death, which were three and twenty,and he conquerour in all;I reade not of any to be with his compatriot, but all with publique enemies in lawfull warres. And that was neuer vpon their owne heads neither,but with consent of *Generals*, as we reade in *Liuie*. Yea though a man be challenged by name from the other side,as *Titus Manlius* was,and where it seemed reprochfull to haue refused it,yet it cost him his life the accepting of it. I will tell you the history.

Steph. in Aphida. Iust. Florus. Plut.in Emilius. Lib.7.

The lawe of armes is, that none ſhould fight in the wars out of their rancke, but by direction of the commanders. *Manlius* the father was generall againſt the Latines at Capua. The ſonne had charge of a troupe of horſemen, and was ſent to diſcouer the coaſtes of the enemy. Where comming within an arrow ſhot of the corps de-guard, which *Geminius Metius* a valiant knight had leading of, they fell to ſome big, and daring words, & the Latin challenged the Roman to breake a ſtaffe with him. Young *Manlius* his blood was vp at this, and thinking it a ſhame to him to refuſe him, hee aduanced himſelfe to the buſines; they ranne their horſes in full careere one againſt the other with ſpeare in reſt. *Manlius* with launce aloft glided ouer, and raſed the enemies head-peece. *Metius* gaue the other a light thruſt vpon his horſe necke with point of ſpeare. Then turning their horſes about, *Manlius* came firſt vpon him with a ſecond charge, and ſo redoubled the puſh, that hee pierced the others horſe between the eares, which put him to ſuch paine, that he neuer left rearing, and capring with his forefeete, and flinging downe his head till hee caſt his rider. Who as hee bare his ſpeare and ſhield, to raiſe himſelfe from ſo grieuous a fall, *Manlius* ranne him in at the throat and ſo through the ribbes ſtucke him faſte to the ground, killed him, ſpoiled him, carried the ſpoile away to his owne troupe, and had ſentence of death on him preſently for it, from his owne father, in liew of reward. The iudgement I grant was ſeuere. And the execution proſecuted with much compaſsion, and teares. Yet none could ſay but it was iuſt, and the puniſhment anſwerable to his fault. And of great example it was, to reduce broken diſcipline to the ancient rule, as it would among vs now, if gentle meanes would not ſerue. Some difference indeede there is in our caſes. Theirs was in time of warres, where challenges are lawfull. Ours in time of peace, where is no challenge lawfull. Yet in this they agree. There, they might not doe it without leaue of ſuperiours; heere much leſſe; yet if they haue leaue, I thinke it be leſſe ſinnefull.

And ſurely if we enter but into the cauſes of priuate combate;

bate; which are common ly two; there is neither of both that will make the act iustifiable. The one is reuenge, the other is reputation. And first for reuenge; which is common also to beasts and sauages, and is more in sauages then in men; and therefore men must not doe as they doe; so reuenge be, they care not how it be. Men I say must looke higher then so, and then they shall finde this cause to be no cause, vnlesse they will stand in defiance with all *ciuill gouernment*, and God himselfe, who tells vs plainely to the contrary, *Mihi vindictam* saith he, *et ego retribuam.* He reserues reuenge to himselfe, and to princes vnder him. And who is he, dares say againe, *Non tibi domine, sed mihi*, Reuenge is mine, and none of thine, I will right my selfe. And in another place it is saide, *Ne dixiris, vlciscar de inimicis meis*, Doe not so much as say I will bee reuenged of mine enemies. And therefore, if we may not say it, much lesse may we doe it. Reade all the ciuill lawes that euer were, and see whether the sword were put into the parties owne hand. It is tolerated in Italy as I said before, as the stewes be, to auoide further mischiefe, and no otherwise. As God did likewise by the Iewes, that were a nation of all others most reuengefull; he gaue some way to their stiffenesse, that *the next of kinne to the party slaine, might kill the killer when hee could.* But this was abolished by the comming of Christ. Neither was it permitted him to kill, vntill the people had giuen sentence; as it appeares by the text. Yea so farre was the lawe from allowing otherwise this priuate reuenge; and so heauily taxed it all manner of manslaughter; that if it were but chance medly, or in defence of ones selfe, a man was not freed from the rigour of it, if he were found out of sanctuary. To say nothing now, what vicinity reuenge hath with tyranny, and cruelty; which those are noted to haue most, that are most cowardly, as the most noble and learned king of England hath written of late most significantly for so few lines, where occasion was giuen his maiesty, to touch thereat; and thereunto I referre you.

Rom 12.

Prou. 20. 21

Aug. in Steph.

Num. 35. 19

Vers. 24.

Vers. 27.

Vpon the Pater noster. pag. 80.

And as touching reputation, which was the other cause of combate, and is proper onely to man, and which hee

thinkes is greatly hurt, if he be wronged and challenge not, or if he bee challenged and answere not, in both which cases, if he be not answerable: hee shall be deemed a coward. I little weigh what they say, that are carried away with a vice *regnant*, Corrupt iudgements are no iudges of honour.
Iudith. *Holofernes* his followers thought it a shame to let a faire woman passe them vntoucht. The vertuous thought not so. Yea: that alone is honour, which the worthiest thinke to be honour, as I shall shew anon. For this present I say no more but this. He that hath reuenge in his power, hath also iudgement of honour; let the vulgar say what they list.
Psal. 71. We pray for kings and magistrates thus. *Deus iudicium regi da, et iustitiam tuam filio regis*, For the king, that he may haue iudgement in choice of magistrates; for the magistrate, that he may haue will to doe vs right. *Da iustitiam tuam filio regis*. Who is the kings sonne but the magistrate, begotten of his greatnesse, and resembling him in power? We pray for him, yet we fly him when we haue done, and will be magistrates our selues. What, must we trouble Lawyers or Lords (say they) for euery blowe or word of disgrace? it shall neuer be said of me. This is it shall right me saith he, and clappes his hand on his hilt.

But what reason haue they to say it? if the matter bee great, the magistrate is ordained for it, to heare and determine. If it be small, why aduenture they their life for it, or seeke another mans? They scorne to doe as babes doe, to cry and complaine; yet will be worse then babes, to wrong themselues more then they be wronged. For if himselfe be killed, what extreame iniustice hath he done himselfe for a trifle. If he kill, he must hide his head for it, his friend may not receiue him til he be acquitted of it someway. The greatnesse of his penaltie shewes the greatnesse of his crime. And we see not whom we hurt, till we need him whom we hurt, which is our Soueraign. We wrong soueraignty to right our selues, and yet we seeke *Soueraigntie*, to restore vs againe.

I prooued before, that it was not onely a sinne to doe, but an heresie to iustifie. Euen so in this case betweene our *Soueraigne* and vs, it is not onely against nature to doe these things

things, but also against loyaltie, to thinke wee may doe it. I said it was *heresie* in respect of *religion.* Now I say, it is hurt to maiesty in point of subiection. As king *Alexander* might seeme to take it, who was no meane *Iustizer* in martiall affaires. For comming iust to a fray betweene two of his fauourites that were ready to bee reuenged one of another with swordes drawne : hee was in great anger, and tolde them they should both dye for it, or hee that gaue the cause, if they did it againe. And this not for killing, or drawing of blood, but onely for the disloyaltie, and contempt of maiesty, in the very attempt. And yet yee must vnderstand mee right. I doe not say it is treason. For it is not to the person of the Prince, or estate. They intend nothing against Maiesty, yet would mince his authority. They loue the state, but they would pull from prerogatiue. They allowe them to bee their Iudges, but not in all things ; no, not in the greatest, that belongs to their charge. What greater thing in the world then life, and honour ? There be diuers markes of *Soueraignty*, which none can haue but *Soueraignes.* And it is a great contempt in the Subiect to vsurpe them. As power of peace and warre, power of making lawes and abrogating lawes, power to make money and alter money, power to make noble and vnnoble, and such like. But the greatest of all, is power of life, and death ouer the subiect. Yet this the subiect will assume to himselfe in part, and quarter prerogatiue with his Soueraigne.

And is it maruell then if *Henry* the fourth of France haue made it treason by parliament, and haue stopt his eares to all offenders in this nature ? Or can wee finde fault with the lawes in England, that a Duellor killing, is equally punished with a theefe stealing ? A theefe commonly hath not friends to speake for him. But S. *Peter* puts them together; *Nemo vestrum patiatur vt homicida, aut fur.* A theefe steales for neede, the other killes for honour. If a man bee poore, yet hee must not steale ; if a man bee disgraced, yet hee must not kill. If either of both transgresse, the lawe makes no difference betweene them. Their paine is alike, therefore their fault alike.

Edict. 1602

1 Pet. 4.

Arguit esse rerum lex capitalis eum.

Their fault cannot bee ſmall,
whoſe paine is capitall.

No difference in puniſhment, therefore no difference in crime. No friend in parliament, hath mooued for altering the Law, either for one, or other, though the one bee the caſe of many a good gentleman. Whereupon as to this point, wee may boldely affirme, that your Duell, as it is vſed, and is equally puniſhed with greateſt faultes, ſo is it in his owne nature an euill thing, and tending to the greateſt euill. It is offenſiue to God, iniurious to Soueraignty, diſgracefull to the common-weale, and that which remaineth further to be prooued, to themſelues that bee the doers moſt of all diſhonourable.

It is no ſmall charge, I lay vpon Duellors; and it may be I bring a challenge vpon mine owne head for calling it diſhonourable. Yet ſince I haue partly prooued it by the baſeneſſe of the puniſhment (vnleſſe it bee ſo that they holde themſelues *Martyrs*) I hope they will pardon mee, if I prooue it further. For I haue not ſo many heades, as I would aduenture in making this good. Diuines do prooue it ſinfull, and I muſt prooue it diſhonourable. And this I ſuppoſe were eaſily prooued, if our greateſt ſouldiers, that haue beene, had written of this matter, that wee might produce their authorities. But it ſhall not neede. Their practiſe is a better teſtimony then any bookes. And yet wee may gather out of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who was himſelfe a noble ſouldier and *Hiſtoriographer*; what hee thought of this buſineſſe, when hee calleth priuate reuenge a vice. For, giuing a reaſon, why we are more reuengefull for a wrong, then thankefull for a benefit; he ſaith it is, becauſe reuenge is a vice, and *vitium in queſtu eſt* (ſaith hee) *gratia oneri*, Vice makes ſhew of gaine, though a man haue but his will of one; where thanks is a burthen, becauſe a man is bound to it.

And

And so *Polibius* another souldier, and an honourable person, companion with *Scipio*, in his second booke is so farre from our mindes in this; that hee calles it *nefas interficere ciuem*, A horrible thing to kil our countreyman any way. He commendeth single combate with a publike enemy, in his sixt booke, and extols the *Romanes* for vndertaking such challenges, but not *inter ciues*. Yea the practise of *Ætius* was quite contrary to ours; who although hee were the greatest *souldier* in the west, and a terrour vnto *Attila* whom hee draue out of *Italy* with losse of all his men: yet he fled his priuate enemy, and emulator at home, and thought it either iniust, or dishonourable; or both, to fight in that sort. And what doe wee reade of *Fabius Maximus* a great leader amongst the *Romanes*, when hee was bitterly prouoked by *Minutius*, and (as his friends thought) very intollerably; his answer was as I haue reade, that hee thought „ them more cowards that were mooued with floutes, and „ taunts, then they that flye their enemy. Loe heere what „ our grand Master saith, that wee ought not to bee mooued, and much lesse reuenge our selues with word or blowe. Which when such an one as hee hath saide, beeing no light headed man, but deepe of iudgement, wee must thinke his authority to be a reason sufficient.

Paul. Diac. lib. 14.

Naucl.

But the onely man of *Mars* that hath giuen his opinion freely though somewhat sparingly in this businesse; is a very late writer, but one who for wit and education could very well iudge of honour. And yet he spares not to set downe for perpetuall memorie; that no man in honour ought accept a priuate challenge, beeing a thing so opposite as it is, to Gods law, and mans. The law of man (saith hee) hath „ appointed the Haugman to second the conquerour; and the „ law of God hath appointed the diuell to second the con- „ quered so dying in malice. Whereupon hee concludes it to „ bee both foolish, and base, to accept of such challenge as is „ so basely accompanied. All which hee hath reasons for, if „ a man will reade him. And it is not without cause that hee calles it base, and Ruffin-like, since the nature of cowardize will approoue the same.

For what is cowardize, but an acte against reason; done for feare, in matter of courage. As to runne away at sight of drawne swordes, whereof hee had no reason, but his womanish feare. First wee haue prooued already single combate to bee an act against reason; and I will prooue it againe thus. It is an act against the ende of euery commonweale, which is peace; and therefore vnreasonable. It is an acte concurring with the inclination of beasts, if they could speake, and therefore vnreasonable. Wee see two dogges when they bee parted, they runne out of company to fight alone. And *Pliny* writes of a Lyonesse that roamed vp and downe the desart to encounter the Beare, that killed her whelpes. But yee will say, I may forbid you as well to eate and drinke, and defend your selues, because it is the inclination of beasts. Not so, yee must make a difference betweene actes that bee naturall which must bee, and no law is against; and actes of passion, which reason is alwaies against, vnlesse it bee in beastes that haue no reason. And therefore I prooue it thirdly to bee an act of passion, *ergo* vnreasonable. That fighting and reuenging be actes of passion, and stomacke, is prooued first *a contrarijs*. For the concontrary actes of patience, and forbearance, are actes of reason, as I will shewe anon by examples of the worthiest; *ergo, reuenge* must needes bee an act of passion. I prooue it againe thus. Passion commands reuenge; delights in reuenge, is eased with reuenge, as the olde *Satyre* saith.

Est vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa.

It doth vs good reueng'd to bee,
more then our life, or liberty.

How many haue killed themselues out of this passion; and for want of reuenge, *ergo* an act of passion, and vnreasonable. And to say no more it is prooued sufficiently by all their confessions that come to dye for it, or dye in their beds, as my selfe am witnesse, although their stoutnesse vntill then, would not suffer them to see it. But I must prooue it

now

it now to be an act of feare also, which was the other part of my definition. And which although it seeme hard to prooue, because there is no signe of feare that appeareth, yet if we finde any feare at all, it will suffice.

There is a feare, which is of death or maime. But this they haue not, no more then vnreasonable creatures haue, when they assault one another. There is also an other feare which is a feare of shame, and disgrace with the vulgar; and that is a base feare, but yet they haue it. They feare not what the best thinke, but onely what the vulgar, and most thinke. And were it not for this feare, haply they would not fight.

Quid non ausus erit, populi vitare cachinnos?

What is it, they dare not doe,
for vulgar feare, that longs thereto?

They feare more euery idle breath of a mans mouth, then losse of their life. They feare more what a shoppe-keeper sayes when they walke the streetes by him, then what a *Fabius Maximus* if hee were liuing. And this is that cowardly feare which God rebuked in *Ionas*, when he sent him to the *Niniuites*, to foretell their subuersion. But he would not go for feare of disgrace by it; regarding more what the common sort thought of him, then what God, or the people of God. *Ionas* was soone corrected for it; but people now a dayes will not see. They are ashamed, not to be vulgar, and feare where there is no feare, as *Dauid* said, which is the basest feare that is. Psal. 135.

This the dastardly feare that another Prophet exclaimes against, saying: *Nolite timere opprobrium hominum*. Feare not what the vuglar say, or thinke of you, that seldome thinke as they should thinke. For so the word *homines* here signifies the common or vulgar sort of men, be they *Noble*, or others. *So Christ* himselfe vsed it, *Quem me dicunt esse homines?* Whom doe men say that I am? and presently after but what thinke you, saith he? as who should say, you Esa. 51. Mar. 18.

Cap. 21. that are not of the vulgar, what thinke yôu of me? So in
Gal. 1. Saint *Luke, Eritis odio omnibus hominibus.* So Saint *Paul. Si hominibus placerem Christi seruus non essem.* If I should please men, that is to say the common sort of men, I were not *Christs* seruant. Must no man please God, but Saint *Paul?* none but *Apostles* and preachers? none fly the vulgar leauen, but these? Did not *Salomon* so take it also, when hee called the vulgar fooles, *Stultorum infinitus est numerus*? An other cals them *inconditum vulgus*, the vnseasoned or distempered vulgar. Others *ignobile vulgus*, the base conceited vulgar, and *insipiens vulgus*, the doating vulgar, that iudge not rightly of honour, or any thing?

The last part of my definition was [in matter of courage] And matter of courage is, where a man may, and is bound in honour, to vse courage. If I see my friend assaulted; here is matter of courage to defend him. If my master, or seruant be in danger, and I runne away, here is want of courage. If I see a gentlewoman abused, or disgraced in the streete, and I can right her with my sword, the defence is honourable; and a thousand things besides, wherein to bee fearefull, or shrinke away, is want of manhood, and courage, and the party to be charged in point of honour. But to say that that is honour or cowardize which the vulgar only thinke so, that, is (as our author saith) both foolish and base. And the king of France and Princes of the blood call it brutish madnes; & haue adiudged it no true honor. For who
Edict. of 1609. made the vulgar iudges of honour, that gentlemen should stand so in feare of their censures. Indeede if they were brought vp as gentlemen be, or gentlemen brought vp as they should be; their iudgement and opinion might iustly be feared; and stoute men would not dare to doe as they doe, for feare of true shame. But the ground of honour is horribly mistaken by vs, which is not altogether in boldnesse, or hardinesse, but as it is imployed in vertue, and true prowesse.

Who is there in the world, can tell vs what is honour, if he know not what is vertue? Is it honourable to haue ones will in euery thing? Honorable to be on fire quickely, or

giue

giue a scoffe readily, and to thrust into euery fray? these be gracefull things with a great many. But let no man tell me of honour in action, if it bee not for some vertue, that makes the motion. I holde *Hercules*, and *Theseus* honorable for strength of body, and durable nature, bestowed where it should be. I holde those souldiers honourable in times past, that wonne the crownes. One for entring first the enemies campe, called *Corona Castrensis*, another for scaling a wall first, another for bording a shippe first, and these were of golde; another of oake leaues called *Ciuica*, for rescuing a citizen, as *Socrates* did by his fellow *Xenophon*; another of greene grasse, which was best of all, and was giuen to *Publius Decius*, *Fabius*, and *Petreius* for some singular exploites, and raising of sieges. All bee honourable that doe honorable things; discouer treasons, saue blood from spilling, houses, and townes from burning with daunger to themselues. Honorable *Scipio*, *Hanniball*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Alexander*; Honourable all men at armes, Graue *Senators*, and counsellors most honorable of all, next vnto Princes, that rule the world in their chaire, and giue to all men their due. And these may be called heroicall honours. But the bounds of honour goe further then this. There is honour due to all kinde of Excellency. And in the meaner sort it is called praise. Each profession hath honour, or praise with it, euen to the meanest that is. And as euery one excels in the same facultie, so are they more noble, or more praise worthy then other.

Liui. 5.

Strabo.

Liui. 7.

Steph. text.

Now, which of all these doe our Duellors excell in, when they make challenge or answer? which of these vertues doe they shew in it? what innocent defend they by it? what good to the common? what duty to God, or man hath drawne them to it? Ye say honour is a vertue, and that yee fight for your honour. A faire Lady is precious, and yee fight for her loue. A satisfied minde is a good thing, and ye fight for obtaining it. And if you get any of these thus, yee say it is honourably gotten. Pardon me I beseech you, It is not honourably gotten. It may bee stoutly and hardily gotten, but not honourably. Ye abase honour, when ye apply

it thus. Friendſhippe is not friendſhippe, if it be to a traytour. Duty to ones father is no duty, if it be to ouerthrowe a city, or common-weale withall. We may ſay, there is mettall, and courage in a villanous action, and matter of honour in a rebell diſhonourably beſtowed, as it was in *Clodius*, and *Catelyn*. Will ye wound your ſelfe to ſhew a paſsion of loue? or ſtrike him that is next you to ſatisfie your minde? be theſe good meanes to get honour? and if it were good that we deſired, were it honourably gotten, to get it ſo giddily *per fas et nefas*? Say your meaning be good, yet the meanes muſt be lawfull, elſe the act is diſhonourable. And that this meanes is vnlawfull, I haue prooued already both by Gods lawe and mans law, and the light of nature. Chooſe which ye will ſtand to, it goes againſt you. Wine is pleaſing, & profitable out of a cup, but good for nothiug if you powre it on the ground. So courage is indifferēt to goodand euill; but neuer honorable with diſhonorable circumſtances.

Thinke not ſo baſely of your courage, as to ſpend it ſo vainely. Thinke not ſo meanely of your manhood, as to trifle it away in boe-peepe, and leaſt be-ſeene. Either ye be bad Oratours, that defend ſuch doings no better, or elſe your cauſe bad, that hath no other ground for it but vulgar errour; nor other authority for it, but a tumultuous plebiſcite (as it were) without a *Senate*. The breeding of gentlemen is ſuch (as I ſaid) or ought to be ſuch, as they ſhould neuer doe amiſſe for want of knowledge. Howbeit becauſe they be ignorant in theſe matters, and do not as they ſhould doe, but meaſure honour by hardineſſe onely, and thinke they haue found their helmet, when they finde but the feather, and ſeeke no further: hence it is that the common ſort doe ill alſo, when they (they ſee) doe ill, that haue better breeding, and giue no better example.

But I may not ſtand too long with ye vpon a point, or exceede the bounds of a charge, eſpecially when other things are to be ſpoken of, that are very conſiderable about this this ſubiect. For beſides the iniuſtice, and diſhonour of it, which by your good fauours, and patience I haue prooued, and will appeare more plainely heereafter,

wee

wee will ſee next, what manner of tryall it is ; to the end, that if it neither bee iuſt in itſelfe, nor the tryall reaſonable; wee may wholly exclude it from the ſocietie of men. The tryall many times is ſuch as a man would laugh at, if it were not ſo common, and many times vnhappy withall. Men be neuer ſouldiers vntill they fall out : and then euery country man is a caualeer. Young lawyers, and ſchollers bee ſouldiers ; the ſeruing-man, tradeſman, and artificer is turned ſouldier on a ſuddaine. They will bee honourable in an inſtant, if they come to ſee faſhions, and vpon their honours they will ſtand. The queſtion betweene them is for honour, or honeſty ; who belyed other, who wronged other, and was the honeſter man. And they muſt try it by that, which they haue no skill in for the moſt part. They flye to another mans trade, and runne away from their owne. No other tryall will ſerue but at ſharpe. That which is peculiar to men at armes for God, and their countrey ; they practiſe forſooth of their owne heades, and fall to thraſhing one another, chance it as it liſt. I hard a merry ſtory once, but it was true ; and a good iudgement vpon the caſe, by a knot of good fellowes, ſuch as ſerued the turne.

Beeing once at ſupper in my brothers houſe the Duke ; newes was brought vs, of a fray newly paſſed betweene two of the meaner ſort. The one I knew, his name was Pot, a bigge fatte fellow. The other was an Ale-man, of ſtature ſmall, but nimble, and deſperate. Theſe two fell out in a tauerne, and appointed meeting next morning at foure a clocke, in a cloſe at the townes ende. The Ale-man had pawned his dagger, and was driuen to goe out with his ſingle rapier, that ſtucke at his beds head, and came to the place appointed firſt. Anon after hee ſpied his fellow afarre off come tumbling ouer a mudde wall, with a tree on his necke to his thinking ; but when hee came neere, hee ſaw it was a long raile, ſharpened on the one ſide. But beſides this, hee had two weapons more vnder his girdle. A long reaching rod, and a whip made of a bedſtaffe. What (ſaies the Ale-man) doeſt thou think me an oxe, or a dog, or a breeching boy, that thou commeſt in this ſort ? and thou (ſaies

Pot) doeſt thou thinke mee a peece of beefe, that thou commeſt with a butchers pricke in thy hand ? I will lay you anon (ſyrra) ouer yonder blocke, and you ſhall feele mee as long as theſe laſte, and ſo lettes driue at him with his raile. Backe goes the Ale-man, till hee could goe no further; and then thought beſt to drawe his enemy into the middeſt of the field againe, and to runne round about him. Pot fearing hee would runne him in behinde, was driuen to turne round with him, till hee was almoſt turne-ſicke, and craued parley. But the Ale-man would none of that ; but ſpying his aduantage to come within him, Pot ſtrucke at him with a mighty blow, and brake his rapier all to peeces, and ſtucke his raile faſt in the ground. And while he was ſtruggling to get it out; the Ale-man ſteppes to him quickly, and twitches his whip from him, and laide at his legges withall. The other leaues his raile, and drawes out his rodde, laſhes him on the face, and almoſt cut off his noſe. The Ale-man finding his buttons couered with blood, takes the butte end of the whip, and the other the great end of the rodde, and here began a new battell ; vntill Pot reaching at him to catch holde of him, the Ale-man by chance, hit him right vnder the eare, and laid him aſleepe, and fledde. Next day in the afternoone, it was both their happes to meete at a blinde ale-houſe in an alley, and a new brabble towards, if company there had not ſtickled betweene them. They fell to vnripping of olde matters, and much adoe there was about wronging, and diſhonouring. Till ſome of the ſtanders by "tolde them : yee were both fooles (maſters) to deale with "weapons yee had no skill in. And if wee had beene of your "councell (ſaid they) yee ſhould haue both of yee met faſting "in a morning, with a dozen of pots a peece, well filled, and "haue tryed it out who ſhould ſtand longeſt. And with this, "they called for halfe a dozen freſh cannes, put both their honours in a pot, and made an ende of the quarrell. But to come to my purpoſe.

It is an olde ſaying, *quam quiſq; nouit artem, in hac ſe exerceat*, Let no man goe out of his element, or skill. Let merchants deale with merchandize, aud ſchollers with bookes: Cicero.

euery

euery man meddle with his owne profeſsion. It ſufficeth a man to bee honeſt, though not honourable. What ſhould a ſhoomaker goe try his honeſty in the field with a hatter, that challengeth him; but rather challenge him againe (as one did) to ſhewe him as good a Hatte, as hee can ſhewe a ſhooe. And this is manhood enough, if men bee not mad. What deformity were it in a gown'd man, or Alderman, or Iuſtice of peace, to become a cutter? *Cedant arma togæ.* So farre is it from cowardize to refuſe a challenge in that caſe. And what difference is there betweene theſe and other gentlemen of quality? All are bound alike for the peace, though all bee not ſworne to it, as Iuſtices are. If any ſort may doe it; the kings men may, and ſquires for the body, *Pentioners, guard*, and other neere his perſon; who ought to bee men of likely valour, or truſt, and to feare no man: and yet wee haue prooued, that they may not doe it, when the precept is generall that none may doe it. And Princes take it not well, when perſons ſo neere them be ſo highly carried away, as to tranſgreſſe ſo groſſely. Princes themſelues are ſacred, and hate blood, if it bee not to ſaue blood, hate effuſion, if it bee not to ſpare effuſion. And if they were Gods, to know mens thoughts; a bloody minde ſhould neuer approch our Sanctuary of peace, to ſtayne his houſe, and bring a curſe vpon it, where a bleſsing is due.

Laſtly, if any elſe bee, that may breake the peace, a ſouldier may, and men of honour, whoſe ſpeciall profeſsion is to handle armes, and to ſtead their countrey that way as occaſion ſerues. And yet there is no warrant for them to doe it. And wee reade how *Titus Quintius Criſpinus* a *Romane*, would not doe it of his owne head, though neuer ſo much prouoked, and challenged moſt reprochfully by *Badius* from the contrary army, where it ſeemed moſt diſgracefull to refuſe it. And although hee vndertooke him afterward and ranne him into the ſhoulder aboue his ſhield at the firſt career, and vnhorſt him, and made him runne away and leaue horſe, and ſhield behind him: yet this was vpon ſuite firſt, and with leaue of his Generall. Which hauing, he could not refuſe combate without cowardize; but not

hauing,to refuſe was honourable. And I tell it you for this.
Lib.25. That if *Criſpinus* could put vp ſo many reproches as *Liuie* ſets downe for order, and duties ſake in the warres ; is it not much more to bee done in peace ? if hee regarded not his priuate honour for the publike in warres ; ſhall wee beginne a ciuill warre (for ſo is your *Duell*) and preferre our priuate before the publike in peace ? if hee for thoſe due reſpects, would breake no peace in warres, ſhall wee bee ſo rude and vnreſpectiue towards the publike, as to breake peace in peace ? Is not the like obligation of ſubiects to ſuperiours in peace, as it is in warres, or not rather ſo much greater as they haue leſſe excuſe for it, and more blame if it bee broken ?

But to forbeare you a little, and to yeeld a little to ill cuſtome,and bad applyed courage ; becauſe yee ſhall not challenge mee, I will challenge you firſt. Let any man affoord mee a ſound reaſon, why ſingle combate ſhould bee a true tryall of honour, or honeſty ; as to ſay which of them was in the wrong, and which in the right ; or which more honorable, or valiant then other ; for that is all the queſtion betweene them ; not who hath more courage, but who hath more honour ; not who more deſperate, but who more wronged. That is it, they goe into the field for, to make their ſayings good vpon each others body. Will conqueſt fall out alwaies with him that hath right ? Doe the valianter alwaies goe away with the victory ? If this were ſo, it were ſomewhat. But when it is not ſo, they that thinke ſo, tempt God, and ſinne in preſumption ; which I ſhall prooue vnto you thus.

As all our actions while wee liue are humane ; ſo our tryalls vpon difference muſt bee *humano more*. Wee muſt not looke to heare God ſpeake,but by deputies and magiſtrates; we ought not expect miracles,nor bee our owne Iudge.Elſe why doe wee not fight for our lands and goods, as the law of Lombards was with ſhort ſtaffe and target. Why fight wee not with our treſpaſſour, but goe to lawe with him ? Before there were Tribunals, I maruell not much. But ſince there were lawes, and law-makers, and ciuill, and

orderly

orderly gouernment; our learned hold it *piaculum*, a very tempting of God, to waiue publique iustice, and to be our owne tryers. If one call mee villaine, theefe, traytour, bastard, or periured; hee shall pay deere for it in body, or purse. If hee slaunder mee otherwise of sinne, or crime; I haue remedy in court Christian. Wee shall not neede appeale to fire, water, or sword, as they did in olde time, when other iustice could not bee had. So *Tutia* fetched water in a sieue from *Tyberis*. And some haue floated aboue water, tyed hand, and foote. The Empresse to *Henry* the second, walked fifteene paces on hotte iron, as other haue done before her. And such an other like tryall there was litle more then a dozen yeares agone. in the East-Indies, in the kingdome of *Malabar*. Which because it is rare, and may be suiting to my argument anon; let it not bee troublesome to ye that I set it downe, as I finde it written.

One *Iacob*, and *Achar* his wife a faire conditioned couple of the towne of *Mangata* after some children had betweene them fell at a little variance vpon suspition he had, that she was not altogether chast. And this the good woman tooke so exceeding ill, measuring the depth of the wrong, by the height of her innocency; that she demaunded iustice of the heathen king, and would be tryed by fire. Forty daies she tooke to prepare her selfe with prayer, and deuotion. When the day of tryall was come, she also came. Thither came the king, and all his nobility, besides a number of Heathens, Moores, Iewes, and Christians not a fewe. Before whom a harth of fire beeing made in the front of the Church; she puts her selfe vpon her knees before the king, and lifting vp her eies to heauen, Lord Iesus Christ (saide she) our true God, that madest both heauen and earth; thou knowest the truth of my innocency. Make knowne I beseech thee to all this people heere, that Christian wiues if they follow thy commandements, commit no adulteries, nor falsifie their faithes, which they haue giuen their husbands. Shew to all these, that wee be not dishonest with any, or thinke of any thing more, then to accomplish thy Alexis.hist.

lawe, and to liue chastly with our husbands, in hope to haue children, and to increase thy faithfull. I adore thee my onely true God, and I keepe thy commandements. Then turning her eies to the king; Sir said shee, you that be our king; we are bound by the lawe of Christ, to render you obeisance. And here I sweare before you, and before all these, by the lawe of Iesus Christ our Sauiour, whom I worshippe; that I hane not onely not committed adultery, nor wronged my husband; but also haue not any thing thought against coniugall *chastity* which I owe him. And with this, she put forth her hands to one that laide greene leaues on them as their fashion is, and another tooke a red hotte Iron barre, and laide it on the thinne leaues, which she held fast, vntill it was turned blacke; and then they tooke it from her. The king, and as many as would, drewe neere, to view her hands, which they found vntoucht, and likewise the leaues vnscorcht. And the woman protested, she neuer felt any heate at all, such as was likely to hurt.

This ye may thinke, made a great astonishment amongst infidels, and ioy to Christians, when it pleased God to concurre with it as he did. Euen so againe for tryall by sword. Wee haue one notable instance amongst others in the Emperour *Henry* the thirds time; who tooke to wife a faire young Lady, the king of Englands daughter. She was accused of incontinency by a seruant neere the Emperour, a man of monstrous bigneſſe and Giantly stature, *As the German writer saith*. And there was no man durst vndertake the vertuous Ladies part, so much as to speake on her behalfe; vntill in the end, she challenged the Giant to fight with a boy of hers, which shee carried out of *England* with her. The time, and place was appointed. The onely comfort the Giant had in his wounded conscience, was the weakenesse of his enemy. His victory as hee thought was assured. But he was deceiued. God was greater then hee. For the boy aduentured so boldly, and with such a spirit towards him, not afraide of his bigge lookes, and scornes, and heauie blowes, (which would beare downe an oxe) that after a few boutes

Naucl.

Naucl.

boutes, he thrust him into the thigh, and wounded him so sore, that he could stand no longer. The *Emperour* at this was much confounded; and would haue had her againe. But he had more to doe for her second good will, then euer hee had for her first.

These and such like reserued tryals, wee heare, and reade of in case of extraordinary neede, and Gods particular fauour. Which euery one may not presume vpon as I saide. And to expect it of God, is to tempt God; and so is holden by the seruants of God, that are of learning and experience; as by the story I told you of the Indian woman, it may appeare. For although she escaped the fire marueilously; yet whether it was for her sake, or for conuersion of heathens vpon that occasion, God onely knoweth. And the Archbishoppe of Goa a very learned man, beeing then in the same towne by chance, about his visitation, would not onely not giue countenance to such a tryall with his owne presence at it, but rather misliked her that shee would take no other satisfaction when it was offered her; yea also when she came to him afterwards, hee tolde her plainely in the hearing of many; that it was not for her merit that God wrought this wonder; for we be all wretched and sinnefull creatures said hee, as long as we liue in this mortality. But it was for poore infidels, and heathens sake, that knew not the good of Christian marriage, nor how pleasing it is to God to holde onely to one (which was very grieuous to them) both in deede, and thought. By which words ye may see how little he accounted of this tryal; as of a tryall; although he gaue some way to it, because he would not abreuiate the hand of God amongst those blind infidels in an act, which otherwise he might thinke to be meere presumption, and tempting of God.

And this tempting of God is a greater sinne then we are aware of, and is so called, because we tempt him thereby to doe a miracle or extraordinary fauour vpon vs. As a *Iacobin Fryar* did a little before our age. Who standing in contention with a certaine *Franciscan in Florence*, challenged him to walke with him through a great fire prepared of

Guicciardin. Comines.

purpose in the market place, with the *Sacrament* in his hand. And this is called *tentatio expressa*, a grosse tempting. And the Magistrates punished him for such attempting. There is an other tempting also which is called *Tacita*; when a man intends not actually to tempt God, yet what he doth, he hath no reason for, but tempting of God, and meere presumption. As one that is deadly sicke, and will take nothing, aske him why? God will helpe saith he, when he sees good. A man may say to him againe, doe you looke for a miracle? and in this they offend God presumptuously in time of the plague; that goe so boldly to visit the sicke, as if it were but an ague, and this for no other cause, but to visit, or to shew their boldnesse, and to boast of it afterwards that this they haue done, and how little they feare death; or how ready they bee for God, more then others are. If they will needes tempt God, let them doe it where they hurt none but themselues; and they are ill aduised that animate them therein, without all manner of neede. A Bishop likewise, or other eminent persons offend heerein, that are notably slaundered, and will not stirre in it, but leaue it to God, hauing good iustice, and meanes for it.

The like of all lazie-bodies, that will take no paines for their liuing, saying God will prouide for them. Doe not all these tempt God? and say with him in the Gospell, Lord, Lord; but will doe nothing for themselues? And this *Tacit* or silent tempting comming alwaies of sloth, or pride, prouokes God much; beeing oftentimes ioyned with repining, and banding at authority, as the *Iewes* did against *Moses*, when *Moses* answered them againe, *Quid iurgamini in me, et tentatis dominum?* Why doe ye wrangle with mee, and tempt your Lord God? So *Iudith* to the priestes in *Bethulia*, *Qui estis vos, qui tentatis dominum?* Who are you that tempt God, when shee sawe them limite God to their lawes, and subiect him to their false feares, as *Duellors* doe? By which ye may see, it is no newe sinne I speake of. And wicked *Achaz* was so well instructed, as hee acknowledged it a sinne, when God,

Mat. 7.

Exod. 17.

Cap. 8.

God bad him aske a miracle, and hee ſhould haue it. But pretending holineſſe, hee ſaid no, I will not aske. *Non petam* ſaid he; *non tentabo dominum*, I will not ſinne in tempting thee; beeing holden euen then, a grieuous ſinne, and we cannot plead ignorance of it now. Eſay 7.

But to come neerer our purpoſe; our *Duellors* ſinne this way in the groſſer manner. And I appeale to their owne conſcience, whether I ſay not true. *Briefely* thus. They ſeldome regard the oddes, or inequality that is between them, no more then *Dauid* did againſt *Golias*, or *Alexander* againſt *Porus*, who was two cubites higher then hee: and yet the leſſer ouercame the greater, when it was an hundred to one againſt him in ordinary reaſon. *Dauids* victory indeede, is attributed to Gods reuealed aſsiſtance, which gaue him boldneſſe in his buſineſſe. But *Alexanders* onely to his fortune, as I ſhall ſhew you anon. They care not (I ſay) for oddes in their perſon, oddes in skill, oddes of experience. His enemy haply hath beene in many frayes; or may be as ſtrong as *Pompeys* man was, who mette with his challenger in the field without weapon, and brought him away into the campe with a finger: yet all is one to him. What argues this, but, (I will not ſay) a miracle, yet an admirable conqueſt? They preſume of ſetting fortune heere againſt nature, chance againſt reaſon. I aske whether this bee not true? It may bee, ſome are more wary or fearefull. But moſt commonly it is true. I aske them ſecondly what makes them ſo preſume? They cannot ſay their skill, if the other haue more, not their ſtrength if the other be ſtronger, not their courage when the other may haue as much. They cannot ſay their right, for that is the queſtion; neither can they ſay their fence for their body, for they goe not out like men, many of them; but more like ſauages without defence. Their onely fight at this day is with ſingle ſhort ſword. The knowledge whereof if it bee right, hath aduantage of any other. For hee hath a whole body to hurt, and but halfe a body to defend. But beeing ſo, that few haue true skill of it, it is both dangerous and ſpeeding, and hardly tolerable in a kingdome. I feare mee, they will come

ſhortly to the caſe of bodkins, or the Dutchmans ſtabbe or cut, with either of them a whitle, all vnbraced, and vntruſt, as if they went to a bacſide rather, then to a tryall of life, and death. How farre is this from the ancient doctrine of manners, or manhood, now corrupted wholly, by the vpſtart humours of a number of deſperates; who if it were a faſhion to ride out in the raine, and leaue their cloakes behinde them, no doubt they would follow it.

Yee thought much euen now, that I called it diſhonourable to challenge, or anſwer. But as they vſe it now; I may ſweare it is diſhonourable. For it is deſperate, therefore diſhonourable. What more deſperate then to bee careleſſe of ones life, when it is ſought; or to hazzard it for want of defence. They caſt vs their gauntlet when they challenge, and leaue it behinde them when they come to fight. Yee may learne of *Thucidides* (who was himſelfe a ſouldier alſo) that the right ſide of a man is to vſe his weapon with, the left to defend with. Ours goe to it like halfe men. The great Monarch of the *Aſſyrians*, hauing taken diſtaſt againſt many of his *Princes* and *Potentates*, ſent them a challenge thus: *That hee would defend himſelfe againſt them all*; ſhewing by this, that the chiefe part of a ſouldier is defence. Ours challenge alſo, but he that brings his mothers ſpindle with him, brings as much defence as they. Ye haue beene in fencing ſchooles, And the firſt thing yee learne is your wards and locks. Ours bring nothing to ward withall. If yee haue beene ſchollers, what learne yee there, but to defend, more then oppoſe? Hee is the beſt ſcholler, that defends his concluſions beſt againſt all that come.

Lib. 5.

Iudith. 1.

Take away defence therefore, and take away manhood. A man may refuſe you with honour, if yee barre defence. For the fight is not like a man, but like a beaſt without defence. And yet verily it is a wonder, to heare our *Duelliſts* talke among themſelues. By God hee killed him brauely ſay they; I ſay ruffinly, without defence. Hee killed him manfully, I ſay caſually without defence. Hee killed him valiantly, I ſay fearefully without defence. All night-feares would haunt my ſoule, if I ſhould kill a man ſo. For though

I had

I had my selfe no more defence then hee; yet my sin would bee the greater, the more way I gaue chance, to tyrannize without defence. Duell is sinfull euery way, but without defence, it is a sinne against nature. So farre is it from honour, one naked man to conquer another, without defence.

Archidamus the Lacedemonian Duke gaue his men this rule; that when they went to fight, they should prepare themselues as if they feared, and fight as men that dared, and how is this preparing, but by defence? *Homer* commends a sword-man, by his defence, not by his offence, *Bene loricati Achiui*, his bright armour, brigantine, or coate of plate. Hee commends a fighting man thus, *Galea galeæ, clipeus clipeo*, Helmet to helmet, or buckler to buckler, not poynard to poynard, or wastcoate to wastcoate, as our carpet knights doe. The old Greekes gaue them punishment that went into the field, not without sword or launce, but without buckler or shield. The *Romanes* likewise appointed euery one after their quality, what to haue for their defence, howsoeuer their weapons were. The best and ablest had their siluer buckler, and head-peece of steele, their curat also, and steele bootes. The second had the same, all sauing the curat; and instead of a buckler, they had a shield. The third had like the second, but no bootes. The fourth or meanest that bare armes had their target, and might not goe out without it. They made reckoning of a mans life, and that a man was but a man; his skin is not of a Lyon, or of dagger proofe. And so should euery man thinke of himselfe. And if hee bee a gentleman, his scutchion of armes that makes shew of a shield, doth put him in minde how to goe into the field; or at leastwise not like slingers, and carters, that come behinde the campe, and can reach to no higher fence, then their fortunes. If our losse bee no more then of a dogge out of the way, wee may fight like dogges. But men, I would haue to fight like men, and they are bound by nature to it, as sure as they can for the part defensiue, howsoeuer they bee for the offensiue, as it is in the warres; and why not? Now what is it then, that makes them so bolde, and yet so naked? Surely it must needes be

Thucid. lib. 2.

Iliad. 13.

Dionis. Hali. lib. 4.

this, that they presume to haue God on their side, if it be any thing; and so (to my former saying) they tempt God. Or if it bee as they say, their fortune they stand vpon, they tempt their Lady fortune, which is very deceitful. And they doe not as we do in the warres. We will not hazzard our selues vpon a notable disaduantage; and it is no dishonour to refuse battell in that case, vnlesse wee cannot mend our selues, and bee driuen to it perforce.

Now lastly; supposing equality, and that there is no oddes betweene them; but that the one is as strong, valiant and able as the other; although the iniustice of the tryall seeme better cloaked, yet it is tempting of God notwithstanding. For they cannot deny the sword to be one of the three trials extraordinary. They may not vse triall by fire, nor by water, therefore not by sword without tempting of God. For though a man expect not a wonder in conquering his enemy, as by fire, and water hee doth; yet tempteth hee God in one of these two waies. One is in presuming of Gods fauour in a wrong if he haue wronged his enemy. The other is in seeking Gods fauour inordinately, though hee haue right on his side. Hee will challenge God forsooth to right him with an extraordinary tryall, which I prooued the sword to bee, and spoiles his cause by it. For so it may bee said of him.

Victrix causa deo placuit, sed victa Catoni.

Victory due to the cause, no victory, as it is handled.

As if a man should giue me a Iuell, and I go picke his locke, or his pocket for it. Would this bee well taken? Haue I not lost a friend by it? This kind of presumption is towards God as vngodly, as the other to man most vnmannerly. And I shall wish you to take heed, and enquire of it further; for it will stand yee much vpon.

And yet to giue you this also, and to free you from an audacious presumption; which I can by no meanes doe: yet I may not allowe this tryall to be a tryall indifferent, and reasonable,

reasonable, but false, vncertaine, and deceiuable, as I prooue to ye thus. There is no man can make a tryall certen, whose issue is chance. But the issue of combate is chance, therefore the tryall vnreasonable. That the issue is chance, it appeares by the many casualties that combate is subiect vnto, if his foote slippe, or sword breake, the sunne, wind, or dust, in his eies, or if his breath faile him, hee is gone. Neither is a man alwaies in best practise for his defence. *King Porus* looked aside a little, hearing his men in tumult behinde him, and *Alexander* tooke aduantage of it, and ouerthrew him. And to goe no further then my former examples; *Valerius* tooke like aduantage of a Rauen that flittered in the french mans face, and ouerthrewe him by it. And yet these vncertaineties our Duellours make no reckoning of, weighing their honour in their humour, at no more in a manner then a throweat crosse and pile, or a caste at mum-chance. Liuius lib. 7

The insufficiency of this tryall is also seen, by the little esteeme is made of it by the whole body of iustice. King, Councell, Iudges, Magistrates, and all the graue heads that are in the world. All that ye haue yee holde by their wisedomes, and iudgements, the cloake on your backe, and your sword in your hand. Yet they holde such conquests of yours as nothing. They will not condemne the conquered for the worser man, or commend the conquerour for the better man, or that he who hath the day, hath alwayes right on his side, as commonly he hath in iust warres, and so is noted by *Pomponius Lætus*. But in single fight it is often contrary. As we may see in *Corbis*, and *Oswaes* case, two principall men of Spaine while *Scipio* lay there; who would haue *vmpered* the matter betweene them for the principality of Ibes. But they were both resolued; no tryall but combate, either take all, or loose all. The apparant right was in *Oswa* who stood vpon his spirit, and flourishing youth. The other was both older, and stronger, and stood vpon his *skill*. Much preparation was on both sides, and great concurse of people, and friendes. But the stronger obtained the victory, and the younger paide deere for his leuity. Like case In compendio. lib. 28. Liuie. 7.

wee finde in king *Henry* the sixts time of England, how *William Cartur* was trayterously appeached for a traytour by his own seruant, and in combate was slaine by him in Smithfielde, the seruant carrying away the victory, and the Master the honesty, as it was deemed and pittied by all that knew him. And it was not long, that the seruant could escape the iudgement of God for it, being hanged soone after for another fault.

Neither will such conquests be so much as an euidence in any court of audience. As for example, one cals me theefe, or baseborne. I challenge him the fielde, and am ouercome, and he goes away with my sword. After this, I bring my action of slaunder. Hee pleades conquest by battell, and shewes my sword for a testimony, with other witnesse besides. Yet all is nothing. I shall haue dammages against him notwithstanding. But I leaue these matters vnto yee, to bee better considered of; as also the humours of men, from whence this vnciuill businesse proceedes. Greene heads commonly without ripenesse, courage without knowledge, good mettall ill applyed, good signes ill impolyed; and to put all in a word, the greatest aduenture that is, for so small a prize; as appeares by the fruites of it, which are two.

First a cruell repentance, if euer wee come to repent vs, but especially if death followed. Wee must remember one day, or at sometime or other, when wee set alone, and thinke of things past, that hee was our brother, whom we maliced, or supplanted so. Hee was partaker of one Christendome with vs; Like flesh, one countrey, the same language with vs. Perhappes hee was our friend and louer in his heart, howsoeuer he might be ledde by humane errour, and peraduenture our kinse-man, or allie for any thing we know, or care for in our passion. If euer we come to remēber our selues, we shall rue it most pittifully, and with the bowels of extreamest compassion. Alasse for pitty, that we cannot take warning one by another; yea that euer we should weare a sword, and vse it no better. How many bee there that perish thus of cold iron in this iron age? how wanton

bee

be they with their weapons, after they get a little fence, and are not at quiet, till they haue sheathed it in their brothers bosome, or lye breathlesse, and speechlesse vnder the surgeons hands? They passe a tryall indeede; but whereof? Truely, in my opinion of the greatest misery, and most comfortlesse desolation that may bee. *Victus perijt, luget victor*, As the olde Oracle went, neither of them honourable by it, both of them miserable, and who can tell which more? Whether he that is by this time God knowes where, or he that suruiues; and though he bee in his right minde, yet cannot make amends, or bemoane it sufficiently.

The second fruite if we may call it so, is an abhominable blindnesse of heart, which they bee growne vnto. Let vs speake but of one or two of their lawes, that they liue by, and dye by. Our young *Solons*, and *Lycurgusses*, what bring they? Or from whence? Not from the Athenians, or Egyptians; not from the *Romanes*, or *Lacedemonians*; and much lesse from good Christians. Their first law is good, and is but for a shewe; to colour the rest. And that is this, ye must doe wrong to no creature liuing. But they keepe it ill. For if they carry a spleene against one; they will giue him a iustle, or a scorne, or somewhat else that the other will not take, and raise a brawle presently. The second is if yee happen to wrong one, or that the other take it for a wrong, it is base to cry him mercy for it, or yee must doe it coldely, or rather stand to it, and iustifie it, and adde wrong to wrong, and word vpon word to the defiance. No place left for curtesie, but a curteous scoffe. A third is, if one throwe duste or salt in your face, or disgrace you in any sort: if yee be not a cowe, ye are bound to challenge him.

the Lawes of Duell.

A fourth is, that if a man doe not answere his challenge, the other may stabbe him, or pistoll him for it, wheresoeuer he meetes him. Lesse then his life cannot satisfie the disgrace. What a horrible law is this? How inhumane? And yet there bee other as ill as these; but they agree not all in a tale. I omitte to speake of their satisfactions; as what is due for the lie giuen, what for a blow

with a fist, what with a cudgell? The satisfaction must be greater then the wrong alwaies, else no satisfaction, or rather no satisfaction will serue, vnlesse the party thinke it so. And it comes to this in the end; that he must be his owne iudge. For if he thinke it not satisfaction enough, all his friends must not quiet him. These matters I shall desire you to examine with the lawe of God, and with the professours of the same. And let no man make a puffe at it, if hee bee a man indeede, and not a very Canniball.

There is an eternall lawe, which to aime at, is all our duties, and to swerue from is frailty; but to make lawes against it is plaine Apostacie, or as I saide before, meere blindnesse of heart. For what should I call it else, when they forget God so much, forget nature, forget all ciuility and humanity? A gentleman is so called of gentlenes, and sweetnes to all. The opposite of rudenes, surlines morositie, and hard to please. And as they be towards man, so are they to God-ward; that is to say contemptuous and base. If the king commaund a man that hee fight not, or if a man bee bound wi th his friend to the good behauiour, and be challenged; he will refuse for feare of forfeiture, or offending man, and they hold it no cowardice. But when the king of kings forbiddeth, and his angels are our sureties, as it is written, God hath giuen them charge of vs; wee neither listen to God, nor Angell, but turne our backes to them most rudely, and therefore they turne their backs to vs, and we speed ill fauouredly with it in the end.

Heb. 1.
Psal. 90. 11.

Neither doth it helpe the iustice of our cause, to fly our countrey for tryall, as many doe.

Cœlum, non mores mutat qui trans mare currit.

It saues them a penaltie, but helpes no fault, beeing both of one allegeance, which if it were seuerall, the sinne were only to God. As it hapned in the time of King *Edward* the third, betweene a gentleman of *Cyprus*, and the bastard of France,

France, both hired souldiers to the king of Armenia. One of these had charged the other for taking money of the turkish enemy. And beeing to try it by combate before some competent Iudge, that were indifferent to them both: They both agreed to goe ouer into England, and to bee iudged by the king there. They would not bee their owne iudges as our Duellors are; nor steale reuenge as we doe; nor wrong their Soueraignes, as they had done, if they had beene of one allegiance. But the matter being great betweene them, they prepared themselues for all tryals of chiualry, on horse-backe, and on foote, and submitted themselues to the honourable censure of the worthiest Prince in those dayes, who iudged it for the Frenchman, after a long combate. Edward 3.

Yee talke of daring, and what a trouble it is to a man of spirit, to be dared to his face in any thing. And why should it trouble you, so hee cannot out dare you in true honour. Neither is hee the best man that dareth most; *Fortis non est qui nihil timet* (saith *Aristotle*) Most valour goes not by least fearing. Yea a man must feare as well as dare, if he be a true souldier or professour of armes. *Vulneribus didicit miles habere metum*. And yet is not this to bee rightly called feare in him, but a necessary care of himselfe, as farre as may stand with honour. The truth is, hee is most valiant, that can, and will, and will what ere hee can, due circumstances considered. If your enemy will dare you to the diuell, must yee dare to goe with him? And I haue prooued it to bee little better. If your enemy can clime a tree like a squirrell, or swimme like a dogge, or haue other actiuities, that you haue not; as to ride a wilde bull, or cloze with a Beare, or bee so desperate as to runne vpon his swords point, or leape into a well; will yee answer his challenge in any of these for your life, though hee dare you, and dare you againe? And yet I cannot deny it to bee a great deale of courage (if a man were not drunke) to dare so.

I knew two gentlemen fell out on an euening, and they must try it presently by starre-light, with either of them a knife in their hand, and had almost killed one another if they had not beene found in the fact, and parted. Did any

man commend them for it, or not rather laugh at them ? I heard of Sir *John Wallop* an hardy knight of England, who when hee was olde, was challenged into the field by his enemy. And it was no dishonour to refuse it, and our Duellors will not deny it, but will blame the challenger rather. But the olde knight did challenge him againe to bee bound in a chaire against him ; as hee should bee also, with a case of Pistols in their hands, and so to try it. But the other refused (our Duellors will say) with honour enough. For, may not, and can not, are both in a ranke of things that are not to bee done. Why should a man dare then to doe that he may not without defence, more then that hee cannot without knowledge, or ableness to performe.

It is pittifull, that men dare so, and haue God against them. I know well, wee dare euery day against God, when soeuer wee sinne wilfully. Wee presume vpon long life, and therefore wee dare. But to dare him so neere death, and in an act, that tendes to death, I holde it most desperate, or like vnto one, that pickt a pocket as hee was going to the gallowes. But whether goes hee ? hee goes where he may dye, though man good enough ; and his other sinnes may deserue it, though this were none. What more ? He goes where none that feares God will goe with him to giue him countenance. No spirituall man will associate him, to giue comfort at his death, or dare bidde him God speede in so speedy a way to hell. Hee shall haue many no doubt of his owne spirit, that will accompany him, and animate him in naughtinesse ; but no man of God to pray for him, or God to take his prayer. Let his cause bee what it will bee, right, or wrong. If it bee right, hee spoyles it with ill handling ; if it bee wrong hee sinneth doubly. It is base to wrong any, but more base to stand in it.

Yee aske mee then, what remedy for gentlemen to right themselues, if they bee wronged, or dishonoured. I answer, my purpose is not to giue remedy to remedilesse humors, but to shewe vnto yee, that what yee thinke is remedy, is no remedy, and what yee thinke is honour, is no more but courage. For, yee must distinguish of it thus. There is honour without

without courage, and that is harmeleſſe ; there is courage without iuſtice, and that is honourleſſe, or honours ape; and there is honour and courage together ; and that is true valiantneſſe, as I haue ſaid ſufficiently before, and well becomes an honourable perſon. They that haue breeding, will chooſe the beſt of theſe I doubt not. And as for righting ; verily in the law of armes, and chiualry, wee acknowledge no ſuch lawes as your Duellors talke of, but onely one, which is to doe no creature wrong. An other law we haue like to this, neuer to be our owne Iudge. For this we hold to bee childiſh and baſe. Neither is it for a mans honour, to bee ſo ill neighboured, or ill friended, that hee will not bee iudged by any, but by himſelfe. Let theſe two lawes be well obſerued, and men will quickly doe right, or be righted. For it is not vnmanly for a man to aske pardon, where hee hath wronged, ſo it bee not for feare ; neither is it honourable for a man on the other ſide, to aske vnreaſonable ſatisfaction, or to aske ſatisfaction where there needes none; as if a blowe were but proffered onely, and not giuen, as *Aſtyochus* did by *Hermocrates*.

What is fit ſatisfaction for the lye giuen, or what for other diſgraces ; what is a iuſt repulſe of a wrong, and when the burthen of honour is truely caſt vpon the iniurer, your Marſhals can tell beſt, who are beſt acquainted with this new diſeaſe. New maladies haue new medicines. If a man haue the lye put vpon him, and he ſtrike him for it, I thinke hee ſhould bee ſatisfied. If he take a blow, and giue another, what would hee haue more ? for this was *Moſes* law, *Oculus pro oculo, dens pro dente*, An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. And muſt wee haue two for one ? No wee may not, for what ſayes the law more ? *Qualem inflixerit maculam, talem ſuſtinere cogetur*, What contumely hee hath giuen, the like hee ſhall bee made to vndergoe. A diſgrace for a diſgrace, a blowe for a blowe, or an humble ſubmiſsion for an vnworthy aſperſion. And yet with vs, theſe be no ſatisfactions. We will haue more then the law, we will haue his blood rather. And where the law ſaies *cogetur* ; whereby the magiſtrate is appointed to right vs ; wee ſay no, wee will right

Leuit. 24.

Verſ. 20.

our selues. What a presumption is this, to teach God almighty what is iust? Againe, there is much quarrelling about women. If two fall out about a corruptible mistresse, they must goe fight for her loue, and know not why. Were it not much more honour, to doe as *Lester* and *Liques* did of late? The more they loued the selfe same mistresse, the more they loued one an other. Yea when *Liques* had obtained her, and married her one morning, and was taken by *Lester* the same day in a skirmish neere Saint *Omers*; and shee sent vnto him to send him to her againe out of hand; hee obeyed her voice, as the voice of his generall, and sent him away the same night with honour. And why should not all men doe the like? but snarle at one another, like a couple of mungrels, more for lust, then for loue. In a word.

If yee will haue of me any remedy, I must speake out of Gods law, or no law. And then I say if one haue done me a despite, that the law will not remedy; yet by Gods law, I may not bee his executioner. Neither neede I salute him, or speake to him, or mooue cap to him, vntill hee haue satisfied mee. I may deny him all points of friendship, though no point of charity. Hee hath lost my good opinion of him, which otherwise I owed him. He hath lost my loue, and good will, and the loue of all that loue me. Is not this reuenge enough thinke yee? but yee will laugh at mee now, all you that know not the worth of loue, and good will. I protest vnto you, if I had wronged one in word or deede, it would be to me the greatest paine that could be. For both must I make him amends, and also I am bound to seeke him, if I haue any Christian blood in mee. If thy *Brother haue ought* against thee, that is to say, be wronged or thinke him wronged by thee; *goe thou and be reconciled to him.* Loe heere. I must goe seeke him where hee is. But I leaue this to preachers, who tell vs, and agree in this; that the wrong doer is bound to seeke the wronged for his loue, and that with all the good tearmes hee posibly can. And wee haue many examples of Princes that haue done the like.

Mat. 5.

A prince

A Prince will not wilfully loose a subiects good will for a peece of his kingdome. As we reade of *Alcibiades* the Athenian Duke, who gaue to *Hypponicus a Senatour* a blowe on the eare, in publique place. But being come to himselfe, he grieued at it much, and went to seeke him next day at his house, offered himselfe to be whipt, beginning to strip; and so insinuated into his fauour againe, with due satisfaction, that *Hypponicus* soone after made him his sonne in law. King *Agrippa* likewise hearing of one that thought ill of him for somewhat, was not quiet in minde, vntill he had spoken with him, and wonne him, made him sit downe by him, argued sweetely with him, reconciled himselfe to him, and so sent him away. Who will holde these men for base, or not truly honourable, and not true esteemers of loue or good will? Onely thus much I will adde. Hee that is so rude or vnsociable, as to wrong one, and neither seekes reconcilement, nor cares what any man thinkes of him, like *Mounsieur Orguiles*, whom we heard maintaine, that hee had rather haue his neighbour to be his enemy, then his friend; such as these (saith *Morus*) haue more neede of pitty then reuenge, they are halfe way poore soules in hell already.

Neither doe I weigh the common obiection, that our enemy will set light by vs, and double vpon vs iniuries in these maleuolus times, if he feare no more but losse of our loue. Whereunto I answer, I will prouide my selfe against wrong as well as I can. And yet if he feares me not, it shall be to me no dishonour, or harme; no more then if a Beare doe not feare mee, I will see to it, that he shall not bite me. But must I challenge or answere the fielde to euery one, that baites mee, or scornes mee? So I might set vp a bulring, and play the Bull my selfe, when I haue done. In a word, I dare approoue no sauing of honour by fighting, nor any remedy that way. And as touching challenge, I can allowe of none at all; but to summon him to the court of honour (if they be gentlemen, and beare armes) to answer it at their perill. And the sentence there may be as great satisfaction to the wronged, and disgrace to the iniurer, as

that of the Censour of *Rome* was. Which Romane gentlemen stood in more awe of, then of fire or sword. And this is all I can allowe you, and no more. My reason is this For eyther the wrong is prooued, or not. If prooued, then no combate, as all agree, because there is meanes for ciuill satisfaction. If not prooued, as to say the lye was giuen you, but you cannot prooue it, conquest cannot prooue it, except it speake true alwayes, which no man will say.

Howbeit for a perfect remedy, or preuenting rather of the cause, I would wish that we were so wise as to withstand beginnings, and to temper our heate, that there might bee no brawles at all. For it is a rule in armes, that he who forbeares ill words, can neuer haue the lye giuen him iustly, nor the burthen put vpon him to challenge. Detraction behinde ones backe, and contumely to ones face, are principal bellowes to these combustions. Or to speake more inwardly to the busines, I find most commonly mens thoughts in *Duell* before their bodies are. Enuy and pride in them
„ fill their heads with comparisons. I as good as he, I more
„ wise or worthy, I more valiant or hardy, or of better de-
„ sert then hee. And this is mentall *Duell* which breakes out into act vpon small occasion.

They say comparisons are odious, and yet they vse them as though they were gracious, and that is childish. For it beganne with childe-hood, and shonld ende at manhood. *Quanto maior es, tanto te geras submissius*, the greater we be, the more kinde, and humble we ought to bee. And we that bee Christians haue great helpes for it, ouer that heathens haue. And yet haue heathens also giuen vs excellent examples heerein; and it is good for vs to learne of them, if wee will not learne of *Christ*. Wee may learne of *Fabius Maximus*, as I said before, not to regard what men say of vs, so we deserue it not. Wee may learne of noble *Antigonus*, who ouerhearing some of his followers, talking their pleasure of him in the next roome, came out suddainely vpon them with a staffe in his hand, and badde them get them further out of his hearing, and then talke what they list. Why tooke he not reuenge? We may learne of *Philip* of

Macedon,

Macedon, who contrariwise, would not part with *Nicanor*, although he were tolde that hee was ill tongued, and spake not well of him. I must looke to my selfe (said he) that I „ haue no fault, and he will haue little to talke of. So saide *Tiberius* before hee fell to tyranny. When complaint was made of certaine libels cast out against him; Wee must „ haue patience (said hee) tongues and thoughts are free; „ I will doe nothing heereafter, but what I can account for; „ and if they shall hate me notwithstanding, I can but hate „ them againe. And like to these was our *Lewis* the twelfth, who was so quallified in this kinde; that he renued the old custome in plaies, and enterludes, to point at mens faults. with quippes, and ieastes before their faces (which is death in *Venice*) and would not himselfe be spared, no more then others.

And to this effect said *Phocion* that noble Duke of Athens that he had no enemy; nor could hate any man. For if a man should wrong him vndeseruedly, he was his owne enemy, and not his: and if deseruedly, it was a warning to him to amend. I would to God wee had the minde to learne of him; for he was full of visedome, and manly fortitude. He helde it base to keepe reuenge in his breast to any priuate person. In so much as going to dye, one asking him what he would haue to his sonne; nothing (said hee) but that hee „ reuenge not my death. And of the same minde was *Vespatian* the Emperour, as great a souldier as hee was, hee would take no reuenge of priuate enmity. For beeing thrust out rudely (before he was Emperour) out of *Neroes* presence by an vsher of the chamber, with these words; get you out, „ get you out with a vengeance, what doe you heere: This „ vsher comming afterward to him when hee was Emperour, to craue pardon of him to late; hee gaue him no more but his owne words againe, saying: get you out with a venge- „ ance, what doe you heere. This is base to our young masters now a daies, that must beare no coales in no sort.

And what doe we reade of *Lycurgus* long before these? when *Alcandar* had maliciously put out his eye with a cudgell; did hee thinke of reuenge? no contrary; he tooke

him into his seruice, and hee became his louingest seruant that euer he had. A strange thing, that heathens should practise the Gospell before they heard of the Gospell. Yea more strange, that God requires no more of vs, but what our light of nature shewes vs the way to. And most strange of all, that we who know the Gospell, set so light by it, will not heare of turning to'ther cheeke, or of rendring good for euill; neither doe I vrge them to it now; and yet these *Pagans* ledde them to it, by their owne practise, and example.

Mat. 5.

Was it want of courage thinke yee, that *Cæsar* would put vp a wrong in an instant? As when he gaue his voice for *Memmius* to be *Consull*, that called him all to naught but a little before, was pleased with *Catullus* in an instant; and badde him to supper, who had defamed him with libels? and who could take more temperately those biting speeches of *Cecinna* then he? Where was courage? where was reuenge? Where letters of defiance? What reuenge tooke our *Constantine*, when one was brought before him, that had stabbed his picture on the face? This was all he did. He called for a looking-glasse, and finding there that his face was neuer the worse for it, hee let him goe without punishment.

These vertues in those great *Princes* were admirable. And although I doe not commend them in all these things, in regard they were publique persons, and might lye open to contempt by it, if they should vse it: yet are they of great example to priuate persons, not to thinke so loftily of themselues as they doe, when such as these, and so farre aboue them in honour and worth, could forget their greatnesse, and policie, for loue of these vertues, and in hatred of reuenge. It is commended in *Cotys* king of *Thracia*, that finding himselfe so weake as he was in resisting anger, hee shunned occasions of it, though it were but to a seruant. For which cause hee brake once a number of costly drinking-glasses, that were giuen him for a present, saying: hee had rather be without them all, then be angry with his man for breaking but of one. Yet much more commendable it had

beene

beene, if hee had ſpared the glaſſes, and watched his anger better : which wee that be Chriſtians may more eaſily doe then he, by helpe of grace, which he had not.

Gentlemen ſhould beſtow ſome time, their idle time I meane, vpon morality and laudable hiſtories, that they may ſee and make choiſe of the worthieſt actions, and imitate *Princes* if they will. *Princes* I ſay, that were not greater (ſome of them) in their outward conqueſt ouer others, then in their inward ouer themſelues. How much better ſhould they imploy there time thus, then vpon loue bookes, and poems of idle ſubiect, which haue multiplied, and ſwarmed of late towards the end of the world, to light a candle before the diuell, and to intoxicate mens heads with matter of impertinent fiction, and ſuch as Duellors are moſt beholding vnto.

For to ſpeake a word or two of the originall of this vice before I leaue it ; how it ſprung, and grew to this greatneſſe : I take it, it comes two manner of waies. One, by ſome likeneſſe it hath to vertue ; And *Similitudo mater erroris* ſaith *Galen*, All the world is deceiued with *Similies*. Pride is like magnanimity, and therefore men bee proud ; enuy like iuſtice, and therefore men be ſpitefull ; gluttony like naturall appetite, and therefore men bee rauenous ; letting of money like land letting, and therefore men bee Vſurers. So Duell vpon priuate quarrell, like combate vpon our countries command, and therefore they will fight, when their humours command. The other is a multitude of idle bookes and ingenious deuiſes as I ſaid, but much naughtineſſe in them, to invegle the minde of man, and wrie our vnderſtanding quite on t'oue ſide. Such as *Amades*, and *Arioſto*, *Valentine* and *Orſon*, and the knight of the Sunne ; that are full of theſe challenges, and brauadoes, and ſuch like vnchriſtian ſtuffe, which ſome of the Authors haue repented them of ſince, and ſo haue profeſſed at their dying day. Theſe and ſuch like, men teare, and weare with continuall reading. Euery one will haue one of theſe, or a play booke in his hand, and what men delight in, they are made like vnto.

An other way how Duell comes in, may be our badde inclinations alwaies to make good ill, and to corrupt any thing that is good. Religion slides easily into superstition, deuotion to scrupulosity, honor to insolency, ciuill manhood into ranke, and wilde manhood; as hearbes, apples, and flowers doe, which for want of culture, and kindly mould, degenerate in time to weedes, and wildings. The true soyle where manhood growes, is lawfull hostility, or iust defence; for want of which, and through idlenesse together in peaceable countries, it growes ranke, and rammish, and workes vpon it selfe for lacke of the true subiect. Like fire, that cares not what it burne so it burne somewhat; or like a ston'd-horse, that for want of a Marrow falles a kicking, and leaping his fellowes, to vent his courage.

But to speake more historically; the very beginning of Duellum, and the lawes thereof came first out of the North if wee beleeue *Bodinus*. The *Scythians* first, a strange people, and of large dominions, who liued all vpon sword, as olde histories make mention, and doe yet at this day. *Iniurias illatas raro iure, sed ferro vindicant*, saith *Munster*, They seldome right themselues but by sword. And this was so agreeable with their horride nature; that *Anacharsis*, their owne countrey *Philosopher*, was killed by them for attempting to alter it. After these, the olde Germans, as *Tacitus* reporteth, The magistrate (saith hee) determines nothing either „ in publike, or priuate, but by sword. And as this people not knowing God, or his lawes, ouerranne the South with many notable incursions; and hath left a print of it yet in old Imperiall lawes: so carried they their fashions with them, and infected all countries with their inciuilities, which would neuer bee quite abolished to this very day. And this is such „ an iniustice (saith my author) as I know not a greater; that „ a weake body cannot bee righted of any wrong, but hee „ must fight for it, though it be with his farre ouer match.

In Meth.

Italians and *Spaniards*, the one diuided into *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, the other in *Moores* and *Natifes*, were also much to blame in this businesse. And from them it came ouer the mountaines to vs, and wee as forward therein as our masters.

ſters. All bordering countries likewiſe, that liued moſt vpon ſword, rapine, and ſpoyle, as profeſſed outlawes, infected the inlandes in time with their diſorders, and outlawe ſoueraignty, as the nature of man is, prone to learne that which is euill. But what is the ende of it ? See whether it were of God or no. Thoſe nations haue almoſt left it now, and are fallen to worſe, to priuy murthers with long needels, and poyſoning, where they beare grudge; and ſo ſhall wee alſo if wee bee let alone, and a man ſhall not know who hurt him. All artes and ſciences are come at this day to the toppe. Nothing almoſt can bee added. Euen ſo it is with the malice of man, as by this very ſinne is eaſily ſeene. One thing it is to ſinne of frailty as I ſaid, or vpon ſuddaine occaſions, where mans reaſon hath no time to diſcourſe: but to ſay wee doe well, and are bound to doe it, where we doe ill and will doe it againe, is to forget God quite, and to reſigne our intereſt wee haue in our Chriſtendome, or ſhall haue in his kingdome.

There be lawes againſt this vice in ſome places. But what ſhould there neede lawes to men of honour and armes, who ought to bee their owne lawes, and other mens. Lawes be needfull to thoſe of ruder faſhion. But bee not you like thoſe feeble women the *Miletian virgins*, who neuer left killing their owne ſelues, vntill an act paſt againſt them to bee carried out naked when they were dead, for euery man to looke on. Yee haue but one life, and yee haue it not for your ſelues alone, but for many: your friends, and kinsfolke, and countrey haue part in yee, ſaith *Cicero*. Nay, what ſaith Saint Auguſtine ? *Quid tam non tuum, quam tu ?* What ſo little thy ſelfe as thy ſelfe ? As who ſhould ſay, others haue more in thee then thy ſelfe. How vnworthy is it then to aduenture thy ſelfe ſo vnglorioufly ? Your neighbours, and countrey-men haue part in yee, why ſhould yee robbe them of yee ? Your kindred haue intereſt in yee, why doe yee depriue them ? Your Soueraigne may neede you, why deny you him his due, and hazzard the beſt blood yee haue in obſcurity ? Will other men riſe of your blood thinke ye, when yee are gone ? how baſely doe yee thinke of your

Plut. apoph

ſelues in your higheſt conceits.

A man is borne for many, yet wee will ieopard our ſelues to doe good to no body. One man may kill many in his countries defence ; yet wee will bee lauiſh of our life in hope to kill but one, and him as good a member (it may bee) as our ſelfe. And what doe wee in this, but worke againſt our ſelues ? If a man poſſeſſe any thing, there is none but will haue as much as hee can for it before hee depart with it. Onely our life ſhall wee ſet ſo little by, as to aduenture for little, or nothing ? Doe we not know the worth of our life, and what a iewell it is ? how neuer to be had againe, when once gone ? how ſoone forgotten ? how little care of vs when we be dead, and put into a hole, to reuenge our quarrell ? euery one is not *Patroclus*, who had an *Achilles* to reuenge him. It hath beene comfort to many, that their death ſhould coſt many deaths. *Epaminondas* died ioyfully of his deadly wound, when hee heard that hee had wonne the field. Wee neither winnne field, nor ſhield by it, but content our ſelues with a little fearefull honour, which is no honour. Wee little remember, that our life is all our ſtocke ; and what merchant will aduenture all at once, to make but owne of owne. If I kill, I kill but one, if I be killed alſo, I looſe two. What is gotten by this ? if a man had many liues, hee might hardly ſpend one idlely. Hauing but one life then, and to ſpend it ſo prodigally, I would thinke he had too much of one.

And I cannot but here (while I thinke of it) digreſſe a little from the matter, although not much. And great *Princes* I hope will not blame me, if I remēber them of an intolerable abuſe of their *Iraſcible* part, if they take not heede. And their fault therin is the greater, and commoner, the more abſolute their authority is, where no man is to controle them in the power that is giuen them by Gods aſsignment. They are appointed by God, or rather put in truſt to bee his *vindices ad iram*, Reuengers for God to execute his wrath vpon thoſe
Rom. 13. that bee euill, and wrong doers, *ijs qui mali ſunt*. I ſpeake not of the power they haue ouer their ſubiects, which is meant directly in this place; but of that they haue ouer their equals in other countries, if they or theirs be wronged & may right

themſelues

themselues by the sword if cause require. It is seldome seene, that right is on both sides. And therefore how many battels we reade of, or heare of, so many wrōgs most cōmonly, yea so many massacres, or wilfull murthers on t'one side, which is horrible to thinke, that it should be amongst Christians.

Some goe to it with as slender pretences as may be. Some with iustice enough, but vniustly. Our *Charles* the eight will neuer be forgotten, who ranne through *Italy* like a fury for recouery of *Scicilie* and *Naples*; set townes and people on fire where he came; robbed Churches and profained them, rauished women, and cutte their throates when they had done. In a towne of *Tuscane* where they had nothing to do, but to passe it through; yet spared they not man, or woman, poore innocent people, till they had slaine seauen hundred of them. How farre was this from *Charles* the wise his grandfather, a most peaceable and powerful *Prince*. *Charles* of Burgundy likewise had the name of a worthy Prince; yet not to be excused for the malice he bare to them of *Leodes*, where he made his souldiers carry firebrands in t'one hand, and their swords in t'other throughout his army. He left not a stone of their walles one vpon an other, to wreake his will on them for a very small cause. And against the Switchers soone after, what outrage committed he, where he hung fiue hundred captiues at once without all redemption, brake promise foulely with those of Granson, demanded of his subiects a sixt of their goods, but they would not yeelde him a penny, vnlesse he would come home, and leaue those idle, (they might haue said) pernicious warres. And to goe no further then our next neighbours, what a diuelish fight was that betweene the Switchers, and some of the *Cantons*, because they would not leaue their league with *Austria*? They grew to that rancour, and mortall feud, that when they had vanquished them in a sore battel, they were not thus content, but made stooles, and tabels of their dead bodies to sit on, and feast vpon. And that which is more, they opened their breasts, and drunke their blood to one an other, and pulled out their hearts, to teare them with their teeth. Would ye thinke this were in Christendome? I giue but a few examples in stead of ma-

ny, and am aſhamed to tell, what hath hapned neerer our time.

The like not read of ſcare in all the Bible, that faithfull were againſt faithfull. Yet with vs daily, Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, and ſuffer their faith to ſleepe the whileſt. There want not prelates, and clergie-men, to forward Princes in ſuch buſineſſe, and to ſowe pillowes to euery bedde. There want not hiſtories great plenty to extoll their doings, and magnifie their names, for executing brauely vpon their owne tribe, and alliance without all reſpect of nature, and pitty. He that kils moſt is extolled moſt, ſaith one. A Chriſtian is but a dogge to him, if he be angry. And if a Prince be of quiet diſpoſition, and peaceable, and thinkes he hath enough of his owne to gouerne in peace, and feare of God, as *Numa* and *Salomon* did; they count them ſcarce worth writing of, becauſe there be no battles nor conqueſts in his time. Where contrary, they ſhould thinke him wiſe, for ſparing, and not ſpending ſo much treaſure, and blood vpon that which they cannot keepe no longer, then they be ſtronger, and haue no more title to moſt commonly, then is ſealed with an edge on their next neighbours fleſh. It is a wonder to ſee, what paines and eloquence our writers beſtow in this kinde, to ſet forth the glory they thinke, but indeed the ſinne and ſhame of their countries, if it were not apparantly iuſt, and honourable, which they tooke in hand.

Ezech. 19.

Pom. Let.

We reade in the booke of *Iudges*, how ten tribes fought againſt one, which was *Beniamin*. The quarrell was iuſt, the reuenge approoued of God, for a horrible crime committed in *Beniamin*, and the whole tribe ouerthrowne by them, except a few. Yet when they had done their worſt; *doluerunt*, they were pittifully grieued at it, and *penitentiam egerunt*, their ſorrow was expreſſed in deedes, and care to make them amends, as it their appeares. They vaunted not of their valour, nor made bragges of the blood they ſpilt, but lamented with teares, and with wringing of hands for that was paſt, and could not now be recalled. How many Princes haue wee knowne in Chriſtendome, that haue

Iudg. 21.

ſhewne

ſhewne much ſorrow for twenty or forty thouſand ſlaine on a day of the ſame tribe themſelues were of, and bought with the ſame blood? Yea, haue they not made tryumphs and bonefires for it, when they came home, and *Te deum* ſung in Churches for them, when they had more neede of a *miſerere*?

There haue beene thrice fiue hundred yeares ſince the comming of Chriſt, and the fourth is begunne. In the firſt fiue hundreth began our greateſt *Monarchies*. In the ſecond they grew Chriſtian, and were of great example. In the third they beganne to neglect religion, and to preferre their owne ends, pulling from each others greatneſſe, and abiding no equals, which cauſed much warre. What will become of this fourth fiue hundreth, we know not yet. But if the reſt holde out like the firſt of it now laſt paſt, we muſt looke for a generall reuolt from God and all goodnes, 2.Theſ.2. our ſinnes deſeruing it, and our contempt of his lawes. I pray God my feare prooue greater then the euents. I haue read an old prophecy, that *Europe* ſhall burne, and it hath prooued true in this laſt age. The rather through difference of opinions, and thoſe both great, and many in matter of Religion. By reaſon whereof ſo many haue beene ſlaine in a few daies ſpace, as would haue driuen the Turke out of *Hungary*, *Walachia*, *Tranſiluania*, and out of all *Germany* home to *Conſtantinople*; and in a few yeares ſo many of our Chriſtian brethren haue beene ſlaine by our fire, and ſword, as would haue wholly vncrowned him, and caſt him out of all commerce with vs, beyond the Caſpian ſea, from whence he came.

I ſpeake not of older times then this laſt hundreth, wherin it had beene better (if it were Gods will) that *Flanders* and *Netherland* had beene vnder water, *Milan* ſwallowed of the earth, *Naples* flat with the ground; then ſo many liues had beene loſt about them, and ſo many ſoules either damned, or indangered by them: the turke looking on the while, and laughing at vs; giuing praiſe to his Mahomet, and crying, bleſſed be our confuſion. The day is now come I thinke, which Chriſt foretold vs, that malice ſhall abound, and cha-

Mat.24. rity waxe cold. It could not elſe be, that wee ſhould bee ſo ready to ſtrike our brother or neighbour as we doe vpon ſo ſlight occaſions moſt commonly, or not ſo great as *Beniamins* was, and dye vnrepentant for it. It is no new ſaying; but begotten of long obſeruation in moſt countryes, and ages, eſpecially, in former times, and for this onely ſinne.

Ad cereris generum ſine cæde, et ſanguine pauci.
Deſcendunt Reges, aut ſicca morte tyranni.

Few kings or tyrants dye faire death,
But ſome misfortune ſtops their breath.

I liſt not illuſtrate it with examples, what vntimely deaths haue followed Princes for it. Or if not death, yet cruell rending of their kingdomes, or tranſlating them out of their lyne to ſome worthier then themſelues, and ſometimes to
Pſal.67. their enemy. *Diſſipa gentes quæ bella volunt* ſaith king *Dauid*, Let them be confounded that ſeeke warres. And the Emperour *Martianus* who had beene a warriour all his dayes; yet this was his ſaying: let no man haue warre, that
» may liue in peace. *Pax vna triumphis innumeris potior*, ſaith
» an other.

And yet I would not haue them looſe what they be truely Lords of, nor put vp incroachments, and vnworthy diſgraces, for which they may honourably right themſelues, if ſome things concurre. For firſt the cauſe muſt be iuſt, and ſo reſoluedby reuerend men. Secondly (if long out of poſeſſion) that it coſt not more then it is worth. And thirdly, how like they be to holde it, when they haue gotten what they would. Our *Phillip de Comines*, who was in the bo-
lib.1.c.16. ſomes of many great Princes addes this alſo; that where
» there are many Princes of equall degree, and cannot agree:
» if they will be ſure to doe well, they muſt alwayes haue ſome
» ſuperiour amongſt them, to aduiſe them, and ouerrule
» them in matter of quarrell, and anger between them. What a thing is it, that two Princes both of them wiſe, ſhould

leade

leade their armies into the field, and inuade one another so boldely, and bloodily as they did, and knew no cause why, but the cunning of contriuers, and make-bates, as the same author affirmeth of his owne knowledge. Who sheweth also what deceits they haue vsed, and striuen who should deceiue the other most in their accords, with more then *Punicke* fraudes, murthers, and paricides, when they gaue scope to their humours, and would be ruled by none? The danger whereof is so great to them, and to their posterity, that hee exhorts them in his fift booke more like a Diuine, then a Statist; to thinke of hell often, and of the torments there. I say no more; but humbly wish them to reade it, out of the booke it selfe, and marke it well, as the Emperour *Charles* the fift I thinke did, for the booke was neuer out of his hands. And yet it is no more then *Ecclesiasticus* aduises them, *Memento nouissimorum, & desine inimicari*, Remember the last things, and thou wilt haue no minde to make warre.

Lib. 3. cap. 3

cap. 28.

cap. 18.

Lastly, touching this point of warres, if wee beleeue Diuines; a demand of recompence must precede for sauing of blood-shedde, before the enterprise be vndertaken. Against *Turkes* and heathens, wee neede not bee so scrupulous, so touch bee kept with them, and the law of armes. If a king goe personally against infidels, it is impious to trouble him at home, before he returne; though some haue practised it, and defeated good enterprises by it, to the sorrow of Christendome, and the enemies great aduantage. I cannot but wish, and pray, that God would touch the hearts of Princes with zeale of propagating the name of Christ; and if they loue wars, to shew their valerous minds where they may shew it, and not broyle in ciuill discord, aud aduance broken titles, and vengeance at home, while the bounds of Christendome in *Europe* grow narrower, and narrower. But what hope of making Christians, if they haue no scruple of killing Christians? I will returne to my matter againe. As Princes haue care of many liues, that they be not lost, or cast away: so ought Subiects not to be prodigall (as I said) of their owne life, or their neighbours, though neuer so enemy to them.

Psal.8. God hath made vs little lesse then Angels, as wee reade in the psalme, and the world hath beene in trauell with vs, fiue or sixe thousand yeares, to bring vs forth for Gods seruice, and our countries. And what seruice haue I done, to kill or hurt my brother, or but to aduenture my selfe for a shaddow? What honour gotten by mayming him, or drawing blood of him, which euery beast can doe better then I? Yea, what if he deserued ill of mee? What if he deserued death by wronging mee, and that hee fall into the hands of iustice for it? The sentence which graue Iudges pronounce not without heauinesse, shall I goe, and preuent with triumph? That which Gods people behold not without teares, shall I execute with vaunting? and therefore as my case is, the Psalme is changed in me; and I haue made my selfe so farre off from *Angelicall*, that I am little better then a diuell, if I dye in that estate. O how great wee be in our owne sights, and yet how pleased to aduenture our selues abiectly, and to deserue ignominiously in the last act we doe?

This one life which God bestowed on vs at length before the world were quite ended; is it not a dreadfull thing we should waste so idlely, spend so carelesly, and end so desperately? That which our worthy friends had care to leaue vnspotted to vs, vntouched with infamy, vnstained with wrong doing, memorable some of them for their countries good, honourable for their deserts, and dying in Gods fauour; shall wee alone bee foolish, and vnworthy, and as we ledde our life vnprofitably, so shall wee leaue it I know not how? that which King, Councell, and communalties haue care of to preserue with peace, shall we frustrate with a giddy fancy, and finish with a fatall blow? That which God and nature haue conspired to produce with consent of stars, firmament, and all heauenly influences, shall we rashly bring to nothing with a bloody thrust? That which our noble ancestours haue holpen to bring to light for their honour, and to inrole in their descent, shall wee vnrole with some base attainder, or patch vp with a purchased pardon, which none will thinke honourable, but our selues?

What will the world, or they that know vs, say of vs?

Surely

Surely no better then thus; we haue good riddance of him, or I would wee had; hee was but a quarreller. What will Pagans say, if they can speake for laughing, to see vs quell one an other as wee doe? What will our Soueraigne say? Hee would neuer haue beene our friend, that was not his owne, farewell hee. What would his anceftours call him, if they knew him, but an abortiue, vnprofitable, one that came for naught, and is gone for naught? But aboue all wee should feare the iudgements of God, what hee will say of vs. Sorrow, and vnluckinesse goe with him, *because he would not know the way of peace.* Nay, what will himselfe say if hee dye out of Gods peace? Woe is mee, woe is mee, I sought honour, I finde horror. Tell mee now I beseech you, what worth is your enemy of? how dangerous a person? what monstrous Gorgon or infectious Dragon doe ye make him, that yee dare vndergoe all these censures for him, from God and his worthy creatures; and hauing but one life, will boldely ieopard it in such a quarrell?

Esay. 14. 19

Psal. 13.

The Conclusion.

BVt I will make an ende. I haue laide before yee after my fashion, what my selfe doe know to bee true, and many by corruption of times are ignorant of. I say little of the hurt our countrey hath by such enormities. The State will looke to that, and prouide lawes according. King *Arthur* forbad it his knights particularly; and so did *Alfonsus* to his knights of the bande, that they might not hurt, or touch one another for any thing: which they would neuer haue forbidden, if it had beene honourable. Whatsoeuer Lawes bee, it is the mindes of men, that I would haue reformed in this matter of heate, that lawes may bee obeyed for conscience, not for feare. To which purpose I haue shewne yee, how comely and necessary it is for all sortes to carry passion euen. How pleasing to God, agreeable with nature, and gratefull to all that are well minded. As also I haue illustrated with examples of some great persons, that haue

Bocas. lib. 8.

beene bitten behinde their backs, or to their faces, and haue not taken it for disgracious, as wee doe. And in this point of hot blood, I haue insisted the more, because it is the ground. And if this bee well tempered in the beginning, much euill is knockt on the head by it, and wee shall neuer goe so farre, as to bee our owne reuengers, or to erre vpon colde blood, which yet was the principall subiect of my this dayes charge. I haue tolde yee of the commonnesse of the fault, and how sinfull, and not onely sinfull, but hereticall. Inquire of it. I haue prooued to ye how opposite it is to the law of God, of nature, of nations, which S. *Paul* cal-
Rom. 1. 32. leth also the iustice, or law of God; and how neuer practised by the worthies of the world, scarce read of in histories, not acknowledged by ancient Poets, or commended any where by morall men, yea accounted plaine cowardlines by *Fabius Maximus*, and much lesse to be entertained & vsed by Christians: whom I haue prooued to be little better then *felo de se*, if they dye in it, and are iustly forbidden all Christian buriall; and the spectatours, and abetters, are subiect to censure for it. Inquire of these points further, if they be not so. I haue told you my opinion likewise touching honour, and praise of men, and wherein it consisteth truely, and how not to be sought for out of the compasse of a mans owne profession. Euery man professeth not armes, & as little wit is in accepting, as manhood in tendring of such a challenge, vnlesse they be sword-men. Which if they be, yet to these also I deny the liberty of single combate vpon priuate quarrell; beeing neither honourable, what God forbiddeth, nor loyall to Prince or countrey, what mans law disauoweth, nor the tryall indifferent, that stands vpon chance, without necessitie force vs. Besides that, I prooued it to bee a tempting of God directly, which how great a sinne it is, I haue also said, and I hope ye will not forget. Although for your better assurance, I would wish yee to take your better information when ye may, of those that bee learned in diuine lawes, and humane. Who I suppose will auouch as much as I haue saide; and will further beare me witnesse, that I tye not your honour to syllables, or your haughtie spirits to words of art; but haue done what I can out of my

my loue, to free ye from *Sathans tyranny* in this kind; against whom and his workes, and all his powerfull deceites, I professe my selfe a perpetuall enemy. For I haue lastly told yee what blindnesse of heart this sinne hath brought vs vnto, and what badde lawes come of it, such as it is a shame should come from Christians. The originall of it also, and the strength it is growne vnto, hath beene opened vnto ye. And finally what a benefit it is of God, to giue vs a liues time in the world, and all the meanes to conserue it in health, peace, and good estate; and yet how vnthankfull we bee in departing with it, or but hazzarding it for a trifle. What God made not without great wisedome, and counsell, wee will vnmake for a toy or a caprich of our owne. We will goe steale a glory by our selues, and the first steppe we make, is into the bottomelesse pitte of hell. There is nothing remaining, but that ill custome preuaile not with you, which beares a mightie stroake in the actions of men. Ill custome I say, that goes handsomely dect in flowers of honour, the more likely to deceiue; and maketh such impression in mens mindes, that it will not away with beating. Their arguments are, I will not, I cannot, I will be hanged first, the deuill take me first both body and soule. For if they speake soberly, they bring vs nothing at all, that is greatly worth answering. Some will vrge me with *Eleazar* 2. Mac.
in the *Machabes*, who lost his life to auoide disgrace, or scandall to his name. I answer, it is one thing to suffer death by Martyrdome, an other thing to be an actour in it, by fighting, which may not be. For howsoeuer the disgrace be, it is either past, or to come. If past, it is reuenge to fight, and reuenge is absolutely vnlawfull in a subiect. If to come, we fight for nothing. For that which is to come is not yet; vnlesse it were vpon assault, as I said before. Secondly if they alleadge the booke of *Kings*, where *Ioab* entertained the challenge of *Abner*, twelue to twelue, and fought it out. I answer, they were of seuerall allegeance, and in case of iust warre. *Dauid* had then no more but *Iuda* vnder him; the rest followed *Isboseth* the son of *Saul*, whom *Abner* then serued: and I often haue tolde you the diffe-

rence betweene iust warre and priuate combate. And if ye thinke this a distinction of my owne, without warrant, because it is somewhat new to ye: reade the third of *Kings*, where king *Dauid* calleth it the blood of warre in peace, to reuenge your selues by sword; and gaue iudgement accordingly vpon *Ioab* that hee should dye for it. Thou shalt not suffer him (saith hee to *Salomon*) to dyè in peace; because he hath spilt the blood of warre, or blood (that may not be spilt but in warre) in time of peace. And what is it the *Duellor* spils, or would spill, but his fellowes blood? When? in time of peace. Some there be haply, that thinke it to be sinne, to fight thus, because all that be godly thinke it. Yet their errour is, that they thinke it excusable. And that out of Saint *Pauls* owne words, not vnderstanding the scripture, where he saith: *Let no temptation take holde of ye, but humane*: that is to say, a mans temptation, a tēptation belonging to a man, and not to a beast; a temptation of dishonor, which beasts are not capable of, & therfore may seem to be excepted or wincked at here by this word *humane*. I answer, howsoeuer it may lessen the fault of the wronged, more then of him that wrongeth for point of offence; yet nothing it makes for their purpose. For I neuer heard that place vnderstood of such grosse and vulgar temptations; but rather as Saint *Augustine* expounds it, of such as the godlier sort commit by mentall detracting, or suspition sometimes without cause, and such like. Called *humane*, because it is not diabolical, as *Lucifers* was of pride or malice; *humane* because it is not of beasts (as ye say) frō lust or from reuenge; *humane*, because it touches at humane infirmity, and puts vs in mind that we are but men, the best of vs. *Humanum dico propter infirmitatem*, saith Saint *Paul* in an other place. I call it humane saith he, because of our infirmity, by the which the best that are, fall seauen times a day, and cannot therefore be meant by Duell, which commonly comes of pride, anger, or base vulgar feare; and is neuer seuered from contempt of lawes. And it is ridiculous to say as some say, that if their manhood were knowne once in a combat or two, they would doe so no more. Like the woman, that tryed her chastity

2. Reg. 1.

1. Cor. 10.

Esa. 14.

Rom. 6.

Prou. 24.

chastity so long, till she wounded it. But where doe they liue (trow yee) that thinke so? No mans house on fire neere them, to shew their courage in? No occasions of manhood neere hand in defence of some innocent that is in danger of robbing or beating? Nothing neere them to make their valour and spirit knowne, but they must goe into the fielde to make it lesse knowne of all true esteemers? They vouch the authoritie of *Francis* the first, for satisfaction of the lye giuen. But that makes nothing for priuate Duell; which both that Prince was much against, and in his owne case refused, if we beleeue *Surius*. Yea, none more against it, then our *Henry* the fourth, a Magnanimous Prince, who now liueth. As by his rigorous edicts against this enormity which I touched before, it may appeare. What else our Duellors can say for themselues, I knowe not. *Marshall Biron* was to be commended for his valour and fortune otherwise, but not for his three to three combate with *Mounsieur Cerancy*, where his side slew the other side, and was driuen to liue basely for it, till his father got his pardon, but God neuer gaue him a quiet minde after. Hee sought to witches and sorcerers, and in the end aspiring to be Duke of *Burgundy*, a base Burgundian strok of his head. Neither are the two combats of late between *Don Philippin*, & *Crequi* in any sort to be followed. For although they were of contrary allegeance, noble personages & stout warriors both of them; the one bastard brother to the *Duke of Sauoy*, the other a Baron of France: yea though the Duke himselfe out of passion inforc't his brother to it the second time, where they fought desperately in their shirts, and *Philippin* was runne through and stucke to the ground: yet the Duke perceiued quickly that he had done amisse, and sent after him with speede, to bring him backe againe, when it was too late. Neither durst any man there bury him in Christian buriall, as great a man as he was. What further authoritie they can hammer out of diuilesh custome, is all they haue. Good customes are laudable; but *Malus mos abolendus est.* Custome may not make sinne lawfull, or make it lesse, but rather greater saith *Ramundus*. Lesse seene I grant, and therfore more dan-

gerous, as we ſee by many examples. How comes any vice to reigne as it doth, and to dance vnſeene, but by daily ill cuſtome? Hath not vſury gotten vp to ſuch an height of ill cuſtome, that many cannot ſee the iniuſtice of it; yea maintaine it to be lawfull? and that is hereſie. How common are dreadfull oathes by ill cuſtome; ſo as the ſwearer neuer thinkes of it, but rather ſweares that he ſware not. So of drunkenneſſe, ſo of ribauldry and ribauld plaies, where the people laugh not ſo faſt; but the diuell out-laughs them. What ſhould I ſpeake of dicing, tabling, and carding at this day in ſuch exceſſe, either for long ſitting at it, or greatnes of the game; night and day, nights and daies ſpent in it, forgetting health, nature, iuſtice; looſe their time, gaine loſſe and ruine their eſtates. Why ſo? Want they witte? Not, ſo. They doe as others doe. Gallants teach it them, and they teach others. Cuſtome makes it familiar, and all paſſeth cleere with vs vnder colour of company keeping, and nothing elſe to doe, and I doe but as I will be done to. And therefore you, that be ſouldiers, or men of ſpirit, no maruell, if ye be deceiued alſo in your kinde. Euery man is taken and tript in his owne humour. Yee know what belongs to fight, but not alwaies when yee may doe it, and when not. Remember ſtill the ſaying of the Athenians, *Nullum inhoneſtum vtile.* *Themiſtocles* told *Ariſtides* a way how to conquer the Lacedemonians, and to bee reuenged on them. *Ariſtides* related it to the Senate out of the pulpit. But becauſe it was not honourable, they would none of it. So ſay I. Is there ſinne in it? then not honourable. Is there no way to quit our ſelues, but to ſtrike God almighty? Remember in your aſſaults of anger, what *Philip* of *Macedon* ſaid to *Demochares* the Athenian Oratour, when hee tolde the king, it would pleaſe the Athenians well if hee would goe hang himſelfe. *Seneca* ſaith, the king was not mooued with it, nor touched him for it, as hee might; but „ willed him goe aske his maſters that ſent him, which was „ *more honourable, to giue thoſe words*, or to take them? An anſwer moſt worthy the father of *Alexander*. But let vs ende where wee began. My deare louers and friends, let

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vs neuer be so hotte, as to forget to be Christians. And let vs bee also Christianlike. And whatsoeuer fault wee haue, as who hath not; yet let vs hate no man, no, not our enemy; but pitty him, and inwardly loue him for his loue, and Pitties sake, who gaue his hearts blood for his mortall enemies. His loue brought him from heauen to earth; and your loue must bring you from earth to heauen. Our learned say, and I beleeue it well, There is no vertue such as this, to indeere vs to God; nor any thing the diuell bestirs him more in, then to breake in sunder the linkes, that chaine vs together. Let vs be wise in this, or in nothing. Say, we be suddenly mooued to breake amity or peace: Yet let it not bee much, or if much; yet *Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram*, Let not the sunne goe downe in your wrath. It will not ill become a redde scarfe, and a plume of feathers, to heare the trumpet of God speake. Let not the sunne go downe in your anger saith Saint *Paul*. As who should say, when ye lye downe, lay downe. What must ye lay downe? Lay downe your weapon, lay downe all malice and hatred. More then that. Lay downe anger, and all thoughts of reuenge. So farre be it from yee, to thinke of challenge, or answer in that kind. Vanquish your selues, ouercome your selues, shewe your selues Gods men, and conquer your selues. If ye were hotte in the day, bee coole at night. If yee were hasty when time was, yee haue respite to thinke on it, double not your folly with a new daies sinne. The sunne is downe, yee must thinke no more of it. Haue yee vowed reuenge? Haue yee tenne times vowed it? The sunne is downe, yee are bound to breake your vowe. Aske your learned, if it be not so? Euery time you goe to pray they will tell you, yee must lay aside quarrels. Forget and forgiue if yee will bee heard of God. Especially, at two times, and then it is sacriledge they say, or sinne against the holy Ghost, to keepe a quarrell in your breast. The one is when yee goe to receiue the Sacrament. The other in any likeli-hood of death; be it by seruice, or sicknesse, as yee may learne also by the heathen aforesaid *Phocion*. Let Duellors looke to this at their perill, that goe to dye, or

Eph. 4.

may dye, and carry so bloody a mind with them in steade of a winding sheete. Let vs not be harder hearted then *Pagans* in the new Orbe, where the Lords, or Naires would
Mat. 9. stab their seruants dayly vpon their least miscarriage towards their Masters. They leaue it now, rather then loose the Church-rites. Euen so must we do by rancour and reuenge. We may not carry such baggage to Church with vs. If yee bee wronged, I denie ye not to right your selues by law, or other meanes lawfull; and if lawes releeue you not, I wish they might. But this I must tell you. Ye may not looke to haue all that is wrong to be righted heere in this world, or not so suddenly as your heat, and hastinesse many times expects. If all things were right heere, there were no matter
2. Cor. 6. of patience in this life. Saint *Paul* was content with good fame, and badde. The testimony of a good conscience was to him sufficient. And ye are no better then *Scipio*, and *Coriolanus*, that died in banishment by malice of their enemies. Some are kept from lands, some from goods, or good name, and shall not be righted till Doomse-day. And yet if a man haue patience; the case is very rare, but he may bee righted heere. But it may bee yee are in haste, ye cannot stay the Magistrates leisure, nor your friendes. And what will ye do if ye be sore hurt? must ye be whole in haste, or not at all? will ye giue time to your Surgeon for your curing, and none to the Magistrate for your satisfying? Bee not to earnest, and hotte in your parly. Be not furious as some be, nor giue euill words. A lauish tongue was neuer graft on a noble hart. I haue noted, that the worthier the persons be, the sooner they be at one. And *Cæsar*, when he perceiued his mortall enemy *Caluus* but a little inclining to peace, he preuented him streight, and wrot vnto him first. But I make an end. Set God before yee I beseech yee. Let it not be *nobis vtile*, that is *turpe deo*. And yee may know the foulnesse of your fault alwaies by your vnwillingnesse to be aduised in it by any reuerend man. I haue beene long; but it may be for your profite, if ye escape a scourge by mee. Haply yee will one day say with King *Dauid*, *Congregata sunt super me fla-*
Psal. 34. *gella, et ignorabam.* When ye shall see your fault, and seeke to

amend

amend it ; God will drawe the vaile from before your eyes, and ſhewe you the whippes, that were readie for yee, if yee had continued in this errour. But yee haue time now to conſider of it. Once againe remember S. *Paul, Sol non occidat.* Is the Sunne downe ? Cry truce to anger, truce to reuenge. Free your ſoules from paſſion, and vnquietneſſe. True honour bee your ground. Weare no colours but of God, and your Prince, and relye vpon them boldely. So ſhall yee bee as truely honourable, as yee bee duely obſequious. *Iacta ſuper dominum curam tuam*, Caſt your care vpon God, and your countrey ; and they will protect your honour, and defend your fame, and will not ſuffer yee to goe to your graues with the leaſt diſgrace. Pſal. 54.

FINIS.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR *FRANCIS BACON*

KNIGHT, BARON OF VERVLAM, LORD HIGH Chancellour of England.

SIR, you are the highest Iusticer in this land, or next the highest. And therefore this peece of my labour if it be worth so much, I thinke fit to dedicate to your Honor. In this garden of English iustice you are a principall gardiner, where euery subiect should be a weeder; to pull vp that by the roote, which makes you endlesse worke. This roote of Auarice *is not so great but the compasse of a heart containes it. The biggest man hath no bigger plat to weed in: and yet your Lordsh. findes to your paines, that it is not done, and perhaps neuer lesse done. You can doe no more but cut it downe as it growes hurtfull: yet vp it comes againe like* Hydraes *heads. If I can weede it in my selfe, which I cannot well say; and can shew an other how, which I dare say: let no man despise an admonishing brother, that speakes in Gods name, and his countries, & vnder your Lordships correction. My proiect I doubt not will be well pleasing, if it want not well handling. So, wishing you all the blessings of the Patriarke* Ioseph, *I humbly take leaue of Your Lordship.*

All your good Lordships
to command

W. Wiseman.

THE SECOND CHARGE BY THE CIVILLIAN AGAINST AVARICE.

THe noble Philoſopher, and Statesman *Plutarke* hath ſuch a ſaying: that luſt, ſelfe-loue, and cupidity do prouoke much anger in vs, and breede in our boſomes a neaſt of Bees. As much to ſay: they put ſowre in our ſweet, gall in our pleaſure, a ſting in our hony; and our beſt contentments worldly are ſubiect to a frette. And to prooue his words true as touching luſt; what gall it is mixt withall, wee neede not ſeeke ſo farre as the deſtruction of *Troy* for the rape of *Helena*, and the warres that were made for loue of her. Wee haue examples enough at home, of thoſe that haue loſt their liues, and limmes for women. And for the other part which is *Couetouſneſſe*, or *Cupidity*; and what matter it giues for anger, and vnquietneſſe; we may well perceiue it, both by courts of iuſtice, that are full of quarrelling for *thine*, and *mine*; and alſo by them that haue more then they can ſpend; yet reſt not ſo content, but ſtill will be adding more water to the ſea.

De ira cohib.

Of anger or the part *Iraſcible* (right worthy friends, and gentlemen of great hope) it pleaſed my good Lord to ſpeak very nobly yeſterday; and there is nothing to bee added, though all be too little that can be ſaid, if the *concupiſcible*

alſo be not well qualified, and made to know it ſelfe. Of this therefore it comes to my courſe to ſpeake to day, though very vnable for it: and where the laſt daies charge was to quench the fire of anger with coole water; now ſhall it be my endeauour to pull away wood from it alſo, and all combuſtible matter if I can, that there may bee nothing to kindle it.

And it will no doubt be worth my labour; ſince there is nothing hurts vs more then *anger*, nothing ſtirres vp anger ſooner, then euill guided *Concupiſcence*, whereof I ſhall now intreate. And yet of *luſt* and *luxurie*, which is t'one halfe of it, I will not ſpeake, thoſe being ſuch knowne ſinnes, and hauing ſo little excuſe for them, that their apparant deformity doth ſhew it ſelfe ſufficiently, without my labour, and your trouble at this time. And they that are entangled with this vice, if they would refraine it as well, as they know it well to be ſinne; they would not (ſure) bee farre from the kingdome of heauen. My charge ſhall be to you, the other part called *Couetouſneſſe*, a deſire of other mens; in latine *alieni appetentia*. And not of all that neither, as of vſury, theft, or vniuſt bargaines, by cheuance, practiſe, coſinage, or deceit, ſuch as lawes doe puniſh and take note of. All theſe are likewiſe ſo manifeſt to a mans owne conſcience, that he needes no other tutor, then himſelfe to inſtruct him, nor yet an heauier iudge then himſelfe, to condemne him.

My purpoſe only is to ſpeake of one thing, and that is the deſire we haue of too much, which is called *ſuperfluum*; the vnſtinted deſire (I ſay) of more by much, then is ynough, or competent to our eſtate. And for this, as there is no law againſt it, nor can well be, but ones owne will; ſo the will is *commonly in infinitum*, if there be meanes to feede it. It is true, there is no law againſt this, and therefore we muſt be our owne law; the euill of it being as dangerous to our ſoule, as it is vnmarked: and yet we run on with it as moules doe vnder the earth, vntill we be catcht in a ginne, and lye ſweating in our moulten mettall for it in hell, ere we be aware. God requires it therefore, that we ſhould be our owne law, and that we be carefull herein. The nature of common

good

good requires it. *Charitie*, and brotherly loue in that we be euen Christian, doth also require it, and challenge it at our hands. For otherwise how come publike weales to allow of priuate possessions; how doth God restraine his hand from the *common good*, to the good of a few; if he put not a trust in those few, as in his faithfull stewards, to dispence his bountie, and deuide it againe when they haue it; and to dispose it to his fellowes, as cause, or neede requireth.

Gods is the earth, and the fulnesse thereof. And when God made vs, he gaue it vs to liue of. *Terram dedit filijs hominum.* Psal.23. Psal.113. He gaue it not at the first to one, more then to another, but to the sonnes of men indifferently. And as he gaue them the earth, so he gaue them the fulnesse withall, that euery one might haue full ynough, and no more. And the earth is a large field, and was alwaies able to feed them all that liued on it, and more. And so *common-weales* began with equality, and equall distribution of outward fortunes, and none to haue more then other. *Noe, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet*, had all betweene them, and their posteritie after them. The *Israelites* had there *partage* in the land of *promise per funiculum distributionis*, part & partlike, as it is written in the *Psalmes.* And that which they had thus, the law was so *carefull to preserue equalitie*, that they could not *morgage*, or sell the same, but it must *reuert againe* to them in the yeere of *Iubilie. Euen so amongst gentiles a while*. And when this *equalitie* was broken, they laboured still to restore it, and reduce it if it might be, as by the practise of all estates throughout the world, and the consent of law-makers *accordingly*, it may appeare. Such as *Bocharis, Licurgus, Draco, Solon, Romulus*, all tending to this, *to cut of superfluum in many*, and to helpe *pouertie* in the most, who haue bodies as well as the best, and must haue maintenance as well as the rich, and are the Maior part of the common-wealth, yea the principall strength of the same. Psal.77.

For the taking away of extorsion, oppresion, and misery in the multitude, and that all sorts might liue in comfort, and their *Common weale* happie, and prosperous; they laboured in the *beginning to bring it to equalitie*, thinking nothing so fit for their purpose, as that. And *Licurgus* herein went

further then the reſt,or elſe had better fortune. For in what eſtate hee left the Lacedemonians, in that they continued fiue hundred yeares after, no nation ſtronger, or more inuincible then they. But when gold and ſiluer came in againe, which hee had vtterly baniſhed ; they loſt both valour, and greatneſſe together (as is noted by good authors) and they were no better then other men. When they fell to gathering, and heaping once,equality was gone, and the ſtrength of the *Comminaltie* was diſſolued with anguiſh and care. For like as the ſtreame of a riuer goes quietly away without noyſe, and ſeekes the leuell without murmure, if it haue no ſhelues to trouble it vnderneath, nor narrowneſſe of the bankes to ſtoppe the courſe of it : euen ſoe it is with the ſtreame of a common-wealth. The channell are the commons,or vulgar ſort, who are eaſily mooued, and runne not euen towards their happineſſe, if the bankes on both ſides, which are lawes, and magiſtrates, ſtand not firme to them, and haue not care to keepe them in their ancient boundes, with paring and ſewing them, as they ought, where *golden ſandes* lye clottering in heapes to gull them vp.

Equality I muſt ſay had beene good amongſt vs, if it were poſsible to holde. But it is indeede ſo like to heauen, that earth cannot holde it long. It hath ſuch affinity with *Angelicall* perfection, that it will not well reliſh with humane corruption. And therefore in vaine they ſought to eſtabliſh it in any worldly Eſtate. Saint *Auſtine* beganne a courſe of equality or community with ſome of his companions, before hee was a perfect Chriſtian ; but it helde not long; his deſigne was diſſolued. Euen ſo thoſe Law-makers, they began well, but it would not continue. The ſequell of ſubſequent ages tels vs, that they conſumed themſelues the moſt part of thoſe great wiſe men,with vnprofitable labour. If mindes bee contrary,how can poſſeſsions bee agreeable? If affections bee oppoſite,how can effects conſpire in equall tearmes ? And yet I holde well with their ground,and moſt certaine it is, equality there muſt be one way or other,elſe no common-wealth can ſtand. And this equality I ſeeke for, which heathens could not,and we muſt finde,that are Chriſtians,or no people in the world.

A thing

A thing which our great maſter of conſcience Saint *Paul* exhorted, and directed the *Corinthians* vnto, for diſpoſing their abilities to them that were in neede, *vt ſit equalitas*, that there may bee equality ſaith hee ; as vpon occaſion I ſhall tell you anon, when I ſhall ſpeake of *Superfluum*. For there is a rule of conſcience, which among the vertuous is inſtead of a law, and in liew of equality, and that is this ; to cut away *Superfluum* in all men. Keepe your lands, keepe your poſſeſsions to yee, bee they neuer ſo great, or more then others haue ; yet put your *Superfluum* out of your handes, and others are euen with yee, that haue leſſe. Put not away what yee neede, but what yee neede not. Doe but imploy it well what yee may nôt holde, and all will be well. This way and no other, will ſoone make equality ; euen that which our Law-makers haue ſought for, and could not attaine. 2.Cor.8.

The *Spartans* would haue all men bring in there money, and to deuide it amongſt many. But when rich men liked not that, they baniſhed money quite; *gold and ſiluer* made no payment, but lumpes of yron in liew of them, fiue pound of ours in their new coyne, was a horſe load. And as long as this held, there was *equalitie*; but when ſiluer came in againe, *equalitie* went out, and could tarrie no longer. The *Romanes* to auoide inequalitie, and extraordinary greatneſſe in ſome, ouer other ſome, which they ſaw was by incroaching, and buying vp all, that others would ſell ; whereby ſome grewe mightie, and the greater part in miſery ; they made this law : that none ſhould haue more then fiue hundred acres at once. For ſo much was thought enough for the beſt man in *Rome* to ſpend in his houſe by the yeare. The law was good, but it held not. And *Licinius Stolo*, that made it, brake it, and was in *premunire* for hauing a thouſand. Their *leges agrariæ* alſo were without number, but their *couetouſneſſe* brake them. By *Cæſars* law a will was not good, where nothing was giuen in *common* ; but this beeing forced, and inuoluntarie, it came to little purpoſe, and the Emperour *Antoninus* was driuen to aboliſh it, and left it altogether to mens good willes. Plut.in. Lycurgus. Liuie lib.6. lib.7.

Other *countries* haue other lawes to fetch it away againe, what others draw to them, and hold so fast when they haue. And those be, to rate mens possessions for *contribution* to the poore, and other publike *charge*, as they did also in *Rome*. Yet this doth but little good neither in most places. Rich men fauour one another, and *conceale* there estates; and so hardly comes any thing from them, and with so euill a will, that it can haue no blessing, and the poore especially haue little certaintie of it, but chuse rather to trie their fortunes abroad with begging, then like to attend an vncertaine curtesie at home. Many lawes might be reckoned in this kind, but none like the law of conscience, for true working, and benefite, both to ones selfe, and others; and to *conscience* it must be left, when all is done. Which law, because it cãnot be done before it be knowne, and is most necessarie to bee alwaies in vse, and fresh in your memorie: I will open it briefely vnto you, and exhort you to it in the end; crauing nothing of yee for it in liew of my paines, but your best attention.

Heb. 13. Diuines whom we ought to follow in matter of conscience; *ipsi enim peruigilant*, these be they that watch for vs, and haue charge of our soules, that we may doe the best, or not the worst for want of instruction: they tell vs many things, that are good for vs to know, if we desire to bee secure of our safety, and profitable to others. They tell vs first, we must loue God aboue all things, and this not with loue composed of words, but inward, reall, and effectuall; breaking out *per actum elicitum*, as they call it, as fire out of a flint, by expresse word, or thought, that may testifie to our selues, our inward feeling. Some such touch had the Heathen Philosopher, when he cryed out in a sweet admiration, Plato. saying: *O ens entium, miserere mei*, Haue mercy vpon mee ô thou maker of all things: as if hee had seene what hee in Cant. 4. in the *Canticles* saw, when he said; *All faire art thou my loue, there is no spotte in thee.* Or what King *Dauid* saw in *Ionathas* (which is by interpretation the gift of God) saying 2. Reg. 1. he was to be loued more then the loue of women. Or when Psal. 6. he saide in the *Psalmes*; *How admirable is thy name ouer all*

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the earth. And in another place: *How inticing thy tabernacles ô my Lord : my heart doth leape to thinke on thee, and my flesh exults after my liuing God. When shall I come and appeare before the face of my God*: and such like. Some writers holde, that if a child doe dye after vse of reason, and neuer raised to God-ward any act of loue, either little, or much; he can hardly be saued. And their breeders are infinitely to blame that put them not to it. For if nothing on our part do bring vs to heauen, but loue; and this loue be so cold in a capable creature, as neither inward eie of faith can mooue him, nor howerly benfites can stirre him to loue the bestower; how can such a spirit aspire, where God hath to doe?

2.King.1. Psal.6. Psal.83.

They tell vs next, we must loue our selues next. And in our selfe, are two things conteined. Our soule, and our body. Our soule we must esteeme aboue all creatures, and we must not aduenture the losse of it for ten thousand soules. Our third loue is to our neighbour, both body, and soule. His soule I must loue more then my life, and goods; especially if I be his pastour, and haue charge of him *ex officio*. His life also I mây preferre before my owne out of friendship, if not out of charity. And so I may loose my life for him, or in defence of the weake, or innocent body; and this is a great vertue, but we are not alwaies bound to it. Wee are taught also, how to loue our parents, wife, children, & which more, if it come to be shewne, as in case of necessitie. There is a loue and care due to seruants, that they want no necessaries; to masters that wee faile them not in our duty, or charge. They teach vs to loue our benefactours, both bodily, and ghostly, and which more, if it may not be done to both alike. There is a iustice, and truth in all these. And it is not idle to aske, and know our duty in all. And yet these latter may seeme more curious then necessary; but I come to greater matters, and more neere to our purpose.

They shew vs further our duty to the publique, and where the common good is to bee preferred before priuate; and where it is in our wils to preferre it or not. And first for life, or member, if twenty doe assault mee, I may kill them

all rather then be killed; ſo it be in my iuſt defence, and not againſt lawfull authority. And yet if a man be ſo charitable, they do e not deny, but he may ſuffer himſelfe to bee killed, rather then kill. Whereof there haue beene noble examples, though very few now adaies. And therefore men are deceiued when they thinke they are bound to kill rather then be killed. It is not ſo. They may kill, but they are not bound. Yea on the other ſide, if he that aſſaults mee vniuſtly bee a publique perſon, as the king, or any of his children, I am bound to flye him, as *Dauid* did *Saul*: but if he follow me ſo hard, that I muſt kill or be killed, I am bound to looſe my life, and it lyes not in my choiſe. So of a Biſhop, or ſome other eminent perſon, whom the Common-wealth cannot ſpare; if one boate will not holde both, I am bound to ſlippe out, and leaue my ſelfe to God. Yea they ſay further, if my life be ſought maliciouſly in France, and I flye into England for ſuccour, and there is like to be warres for mee, or breach of amity betweene Princes: although the State may not deliuer mee, for that were *tradere iuſtum ſanguinem*; Yet am I bound to render my ſelfe to my enemies before publique peace ſhould be broken, or any league in hazzard for mee. Such high regard muſt be had of publique good, that a mans priuate is almoſt nothing to it. And with this we ſee how the law of nature concurres. *Heſione* was commended for it, and ſo was *Curtius* the Romane, for expoſing themſelues as they did; the one to bee deuoured of a monſter, the other to be ſwallowed horſe and man in a gaſhfull pit, to ſtoppe the plague, that was then in their citty.

They teach vs alſo touching goods and poſſeſsions, or any worldly thing we haue, that tendeth to our being, or well being: they be all either *neceſſary*, or *ſuperfluous*. Neceſſaries a man muſt not be negligent to prouide. And it is lawfull for vs to loue them ſo farre forth, as we cannot bee without them, no more then without life. And theſe be in two ſorts, as either *neceſſaries* of life, meate, drinke, warme cloathes, which euery one muſt haue, the pooreſt that is: or *neceſſaries* of eſtate that a man was borne to, or lineth in.

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As if he be a yeoman, thus; if a knight or gentleman, thus; if a nobleman, thus; and the greater the persons are, the more things are necessary, which to the inferiour are excesse. And all these may haue a proportion in our loues. We loue a new hatte, or garment, a faire gowne, or handsome cloake, or what else is fitting for vs to weare within our compasse or degree. Wee loue a good dish, and competent fare, proportionable to our meanes. And euery man knowes what is meetest for him, and best suting to his ability; euen that the ciuilest sort of his ranke doth vse with *decency*, and without ostentation, or incroaching vpon the rankes aboue him, eyther man or woman.

A great many delight, yea too too many in excesse, but such loue is naught, and vicious. The backe and belly haue made much worke for Parliaments, and Lawyers euery where. It is an old fault, and the Lacedemonians so preuailed against it, both for diet and wearing, that the subiect neuer exceeded. The Romanes likewise had many lawes about expences, called *sumptuarie*; as the *Æmilian*, and *Licinian* lawes, what they should spend ordinarily, and what vpon *Calends*, and festiuall dayes. By the lawes *fannia*, and *didia*, principall men were bound to spend but so much in meate, and no more, besides hearbes, bread and wine, and that must be of the same country, and no other. To say nothing of the *Anthian* lawe, that was made to barre suppers, and other lawes without number, which their outrage of excesse gaue occasion of. There was also the law *Oppia* for apparrell, especially for women, that they might not exceede in their settings out, nor be carried in litters. Yet *Solon* would not haue them walke the streetes in solemnitie out of coach; neither might they weare in their eare aboue seauenty graines. Their excesse ye must thinke was very strange, and monstrous, that caused these lawes; and there be many statutes in our daies for wearing, but no reformation. I know no good comes of them, saue that they argue vs of our pride, and giue vs a learning what is fitte for euery one to weare. Other fruite I see none of them, neither force I much.

I ſpeake onely of the law, that ſhould be within vs, the law of a good conſcience, which is, to know, and doe, and to cutte off exceſſe in all. It ſhewes a weakeneſſe of minde, and pooreneſſe of ſoule, that powres it ſelfe out ſo exceſſiuely vpon outward vanities, and pride. For what is it els? they would be great, and are not great, they would bee Queenes, and are not Queenes, yet leaue no ornament for Queenes, but their crowne. I haue heard of a lawyers wife that came before Queene *Elizabeth* in a gowne, and kyrtle of needle work, ſet forth with ſtrawberries, and peſcods of ſilke, and ſiluer. The Queene asked her name; which when ſhe had tolde her, the Queene laught at her, and called her Queene N. I cold giue our women ſome good examples to imitate, which were better then any lawes, if they will. But as the cauſe of this exceſſe is meere pride, and want of witte, ſo the nature of it is, to be worſe for counſell. Themſelues would be all others patternes, and will haue no *paragon*. Yet men ſhould bee wiſer then they, though womens doteries doe befoole them too much. For what women delight in, they muſt weare, and draw women the rather to vnderpeere them. But my purpoſe is not to amend all in others, that haue faults ynough of my owne to amend. Yet theſe things fall within compaſſe of my charge; and where they be, they muſt be amended betimes, or deerely paid for.

All other exceſſes, in hunting, hawking, feaſting, and diſportes, which haue little reſtraint by law, belong all to my *argument*; being as they are, *Cupidities* inordinate, and vndoing loues, if they draw vs to much coſt, and to waſt our eſtates. The eſtate of all men is much regarded and fauoured by learned *Juriſtes*, and *Caſuiſtes*, and therefore they hold two or three things hereabouts, that would be noted. As firſt for almes, that although the precept be generall to all, for *giuing* to the poore, and needie, that are neere them: Yet this is onely vnderſtood, if a man haue *ſuperfluum*. It muſt be out of ſome aboundance, or *ouerplus* that a man hath. He muſt not weaken his eſtate with giuing; which if he doe, it is ſinne. For if *Charitie* bids, yet iuſtice forbids, vnleſſe the neede be extraordinarie: for vertues are not

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contrary, but complying with each other, if they be true vertues, and vſed with diſcretion. My meanes is a thouſand crownes a yeere, and I haue wife, children and family to maintaine in frugall ſort, not denying the reuerſion of my table to the poore. This is my daily charge, and of this I may not diminiſh to giue *larger almes*. And if I go further, it is indiſcretion, and *vicious*. Exceſſe in vertue is a vice, how much more in euill things.

They hold further, if I be in debt, or decay by loſſe, or want of ſome *prouidence*, which all haue not alike: I am bound to pay *Creditors* aſſoone as I can without notable impayring of my eſtate, and not before: and the *Creditour* is bound to ſtay for it, if there be no fraud in me or intention to deceiue, nor need in the money lender; or if there be, yet they diſtinguiſh of neede. For there is *grauis neceſſitas*, and there is *extrema*. Extreame neceſsitie is of life; as if both of vs want meate and clothing, and I owe him as much, as will buy but one of vs our dinner, ſo as one of vs is like to ſtarue; I am not bound to pay it him. For the vſe of all things is common in extremities, and the law of nature they ſay muſt be prefer'd before the law of nations, and propertie. Yet this caſe is rare, but in a ſiege, or famine.

The caſe of great neceſsitie (which is the other ſort of neede) hath beene ſomewhat more common; as if *creditour*, and *debtour* be both in like danger of arreſt, the one if he be not paide his owne, the other if he paie. Some ſay the debtour muſt paie, ſome ſay he is not bound. I thinke he is bound if he borrow it *gratis*, but this caſe alſo is not often, that both neceſsities alike ſhould meete ſo iuſt. The common caſe is, that the debtour cannot paie ſuddenly, and the *creditour* is able to ſtay for it. This is the caſe that troubles many, and wrings the multitude, as we ſee by daily examples. All our learned hold, the *creditour* muſt forbeare, and haue patience, *patientiam habe, omnia reddam tibi*, as he in the Mat. 18. Goſpel ſaid to one that he owed money vnto, and becauſe the *creditour* would not forbeare, he was deliuered to the tormentours. The *Sauiour* of the world might ſeeme to call it a choaking ſinne, *Tenuit, & ſuffocauit eum*, he arreſted his

fellow,and choked him vp in a Iayle,and yet as his caſe was, he had ſome reaſon to doe as he did, and to importune his owne debtour for his owne, being himſelfe in neede, and in danger to his Lord for a great deale more. But my purpoſe is not to proue my *concluſions*,which would aske much time; but onely to informe you of theſe verities; which your learned can inſtruct you in, better then I, if you be as ready to follow them in all your doubts, as they will be ready to *guide* you, and *gouerne* you.

Take heed I beſeech you, and you cannot be too heedy of this kinde of ſinne. For though lawes were made for the rich,and this was not alwaies law, that all extremitie ſhould be vſed but *hanging*,for recouerie of debts; no *ceſſio in bonis* will ſerue but a mans fleſh, and not a groat ſometimes left him to releeue himſelfe and a poore familie with;which yet the law of nature and nations prouideth for, that a mans perſon ſhould not want out of his owne goods; and yet notwithſtanding, I would not blame lawes or policie for it, if there were ſtore of *conſcience in lenders*,or if lenders would lend *gratis*, as they haue done: Yet remember ſtill the old ſaying,that extreame right is extreame wrong. Is there no meane amongſt Chriſtians? For want of a Tyrant to raigne ouer vs,ſhall we tyrannize one ouer an other,or haue power in our hands to do it,if we liſt? If our goods be in our hands, let vs vſe them as we may; if they be out of our hands,let vs get them in as we neede;but let it be done with all Chriſtian lenity;let no choaking or throtling be heard of amongſt vs which will hurt our poore brother,and doe vs no good.

Math.18. The Lord I ſpake of in the Goſpel, had to do with a debtour, that was able to pay, yet gaue him day to make money: we deale with many that be nôt able, and haue nothing to helpe them with but their labour and paines, and yet we caſt them in priſon, take all their meanes from them,and allow them nothing to keepe them. I ſaid before, if there fault were fraud, *fraus nemini patrocinabitur*: there is no reaſon to ſpare them,that liue by practiſe and coſening. And yet we are not ſo *ſcrupulous* altogether, but that we may deceiue our deceiuer. If one ſteale from me priuily,or deceiue

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mee ſubtilly, or extort from mee vniuſtly, I will ſteale, and wring from him if I can, and doe him no wrong in it.

Fallere fallentem, violat neque ius neque gentem.

Prouided alwaies, this bee done without ſcandall, and that we haue no other remedy at hand. But as the caſe of common debtors is, that haue no fraude at all in them, and grow behinde hand not by riot or vice, but for want of heede, or beſt aduice; the difference is very great. All that ſhoote come not neere the marke. Some bee fortunate, but more are vnfortunate. Some their good nature hurtes, ſome their negligence, ſome bee ruled where they ſhould not, and falſe hopes deceiue many, without either malice, or euill minde; and may rightly ſay by their outward fortunes, as *Dauid* ſaid by his inward, *ad nihilum redactus ſum, & neſciui*, I am waſted and conſumed to nothing, and was not aware. Yet ſuch as theſe wee puniſh heere, as if they had coſened vs; and if wee durſt bee ſo bolde, we would not ſpare the greatneſſe of any man. Pſal. 72.

Wee are at loſſe by ſuch I grant, but why then did wee truſt? what hope of gaine drewe vs to it? or if not gaine, yet all things wee know are in aduenture; nothing certaine in this world. Wee looſe by ſea, and ſay nothing; we looſe by land, and cannot helpe it; wee looſe by friends and kinſfolke many times, and looke for no amends; wee are ſubiect to loſſe daily, and more to loſſe, then gaine. And why haue wee not patience then with one that is poore, and not ſo wiſe in the world, or not ſo thriuing as wee? Wee are bound ſometimes to pardon when wee can right our ſelues. Why forbeare wee not then, when reuenge will not right vs? For what is it elſe but reuenge in vs when wee bee ſo greedy? It is not ſeeking our owne by it, which will hardly bee had that way, and therefore what can wee make of ſuch violent courſes, but reuenge? and there wee bidde them lie till they rotte.

O let vs not ſtand ſo high vpon the ruffes of our fortunes, or coffers thoroughly lined: let vs not conteme our debtors,

left haply wee contemne our betters. God blesseth not all alike to the world. Who can tell what will betide the best of vs in time to come, or any of ours ? Wee are no better then one of the sons of the Prophets in the fourth of *Kings*, who dyed in debt, and his children seized, and like to bee sold for it : and yet *vir timens Deum*, Hee was a man that feared God. It is no signe of *reprobation* to owe money, but not to pay when wee haue it. *Mutuabitur peccator & non soluet*, The sinner indeede will borrow and not pay, and is worthily punished. But how many doe we know, and could name, that haue beene sunke ere now, and shrunke in their fortunes ; which yet with liberty haue risen againe to giue contentment, and could neuer haue done it in prison ?

cap.4.

Psal.37.

If reuerend antiquity had foreseene the hardnes of hearts, and conscience that now is ; they would neuer haue giuen way to such Lawes as they did, that one should tread another vnder foote as they doe. The person of a man hath bin much more precious of olde, then now it is, and still is in *Spaine*, especially if he be a gentleman. It was not subiect to restraint for debt, no not for debt to the king, but by later lawes. And though Emperours also had like law for recouering their debts with more speede; yet *Constantine* tooke it away quite, so as none could haue their persons touched but for felony, or contempt of maiesty, or magistrate. And thus it was in the best common-wealths that euer were, the *Egyptians*, the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, *Romans*, *France*, *England*, and others. And the noble king *Seruius Tullius*, gaue a reason of it, who set the olde law on foote againe, that creditours should goe no further then mens goods, and lands. For why should
" they loose liberty (said he) who preserue the common liber-
" ty with their liberty? And yet much ado there was about it after that, for the space of two hundred yeares. Creditors as they preuailed in credit with great men (which they did too much in our countrey, or in time of peace, when there was no neede of men) got lawes against debtors, sometimes to imprison them, sometimes to make them serue for their money. Which held a great while, till that foule matter fell out between the vsurer *Papyrius*, and his poore bondman young

Baronius tom.3.

Liuie.8.

Publius,

Publius, whom he had so torne with whips, and rods for not yeelding to his *abhominable voluptuousnes*: that the matter being knowne, there was present order taken by publique decree, that none should be in prison, or in bondage againe to *Creditours*, for time to come.

I heare of some now adaies, whom we haue knowne of good merite in their time, some of them walking the streetes continually in danger of arrest, and some that suffered long imprisonment, fiue, seauen, tenne, and some twenty yeares for no greater fault then misspending themselues when they had it, and no man I see takes compassion of them. Much better it were for them, to haue all their paines at once, and their *Carcasse* deuided amongst the *Creditours*, as of old it was among the barbarous; then so to languish in ineuitable misery, beeing stript out of all meanes. And what is this but reuenge vnder colour of iustice. They say nine hornets kill a horse, and two vndoe a man. That is to say the ale-wife and a baylife; or if he bee a gentleman, the vsurer and a sergeant. How much better is it in *Scotland* and *Venice*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, and many other places, where men bee set free at the yeares ende, if they prooue vnable; and the *Creditour* in some countries beares the charge of the *Prisoner*. Better *in Gran Cayre* the head city of *Africke*, where the prison-keeper paies the debt, if he take in a prisoner that is not able. The roote of all this is extreame couetousnesse; which hauing lost the sword, would beate a man to death with the scabberd. Iustice hath denyed her the one, yet lets her tyrannize with the other as heauily as shee can. But I will proceede with our greater matters. Leo. Afr.

Two things more our pastours teach vs as touching *our estates*; the one is of our bettering it, the other is of our carriage in it towards the *Common*. In both which there is a great deale of iustice to be followed, and much iniustice is practised, that lies vnseene. And first for amending our meanes, they holde it a thing to be good, and lawfull, but that we are not bound to it. I holde it a sure way to bee alwaies mending it a little, if wee can, without abating our outward *Countenance*, or necessary charge. If it so increase

and in ſuch wiſe, as hoſpitality increaſe withall, it is commendable and vertuous ; if otherwiſe, it is naught. It is ſnudging and niggardly and vnworthy a gentleman, or man of ſort. And to this end I approoue their opinions, that ſpend but halfe in houſe-keeping ; that is to ſay, in meate, drinke, and wages : and of the other halfe, by that time we be competently cloathed, and haue paid our duties to the King, Church, Poore, and other neceſſaries, to furniſh and better our ſtocke, there will be but little left for much idle expence.

Neither am I forgetfull of children or of beſtowing them when they come to age; which is alſo a neceſſary duty, and worth our care. Some exceede in it, and ſome come ſhort. To giue great portions with one daughter, & little with the reſt, is not as it ſhould be. Some there be that ſtraine themſelues ouer farre, to match them ouer high. *I am no Solon.* But out of the ſoueraignety that a man hath ouer his children, it were good he made two lawes to himſelfe, and if they were binding, it were all the better. One is neuer to giue aboue a yeares reuenue with any daughter ; and this were enough to marry them honeſtly, if not honourably. It is a ſufficient proportion, if pride be not ; but where pride is, a great deale more is too little. I would not haue them ſo ſtrict as *Solon*, or *Lycurgus*, who allow no portion at all for women, more then their cloathes, and ſome other neceſſaries. The other law ſhould be for ſonnes ; neuer to pay the ſonnes debt, that were rioteuſly ſpent, hauing meanes ſufficient allowed him, and ſuch as he did accept. Or elſe the lawe of *Claudius* were good among vs, and the like was made by *Veſpatian*, to auoide all bonds, eſpecially of intereſt, which any ſhould make, or enter into, who were at their fathers finding or liuing in houſe with him. This would be a great preſeruation of houſes, and a ſtoppe to young men for *running riot* ; nor would there be ſuch cheating vpon them as there is vpon preſumption of payment. Good nature is againſt this, as it may ſeeme; but leſſe good nature to ruinate ones houſe with vnlooked for leakage. Some prodigall child will be againſt me alſo. But we reade not

Plut. vit.

Tacit. li. 11
Suet.

Luc. 15.

not in Scripture that hee ſpent any more but his owne, his father paid no debts for him.

Increaſe of our eſtate is many wayes, and euery way vicious, if we looke not into it narrowly, and be not ſomewhat furniſhed with good counſell, and conſcience. For auoiding of which danger, it is good for a man to informe himſelfe of truth, and iuſtice in euery buſineſſe; and he that flatters himſelfe heerein, thruſts a ſword in himſelfe, and ſets on fire his owne houſe, though hee liue not to ſee it. They that grow rich on a ſudden, ſhall want bleſsing in the ending. And it is very ſuſpicious that they come not *rightly* to it, vnleſſe it be by merchandiſe, or offices. Land and mony can ſeldome doe it ſuddenly without wrong, and iniuſtice. It were wiſedome neuer to purchaſe without ſtore of *Superfluum*. It were charity to lend firſt (if the man be poore) before we buy his land of him. But we haue no precept for any of theſe. A man is bound to neither; and therefore I leaue it. Yet charity and iuſtice exact of vs, that we defraud no man of his full price in the purchaſe. Hee is driuen to ſell; and when he hath ſolde, hee neuer comes to it againe. God forbid we ſhould beguile him of aught, or make vſe of him ſo farre, that in ſtead of lending him, we ſhould worke vpon his neede. Prou. 20.

The learned make three prices of euery thing, which they vſe to call *ſummum medium*, and *infimum*. The higheſt, loweſt, and middle price; each price exceeding other by one at the leaſt for land: as if twenty be the moſt, eighteene the leaſt; the middle price muſt bee nineteene yeares purchaſe. Heere they tell vs, wee are bound to giue him eighteene for his land: and no leſſe; and the other may take twenty, and no more. I ſpeake after the ordinary courſe of things. For times and circumſtances may be, vpon occaſion of warres, ſcarcity of mony, or fewneſſe of buyers; and the contrary of theſe make it deare. Ordinarily, there bee two notable faults in buying and ſelling.

The one is in the buyer, the other is in the ſeller, and both proceede of griping, and couetouſnes; and men muſt looke to anſwer for it in an other world, howſoeuer they

doe vaunt themselues of their fortune heere. I speake of no darke matters, but what euery one may know, and shall haue no excuse for, when God shal one day charge thē with blood-sucking one of another. We are bidden to doe what
Mat.7. we will be done to, that is to say, wee must nôt doe, as wee will not bee done to. The law of nature teacheth vs, how abiect and base it is, and I may say *vnchristian-like*, to lye vpon aduantage as we doe one of another. There is a saying
Cap.27. in *Ecclesiasticus : Qui quærit locupletari angustabitur peccatis*, Hee that striues to be rich, shall be pinched with sinnes. And he compares the buyer, and seller, to a poast in a stone wall that cannot stirre for the stones that sticke so close round about it : euen so (saith he) stands *Couetousnesse* betweene buying, and selling, that can hardly stirre any way for sinning, and pinching our brother. I pray thinke of it seriously, it is no idle thing I tell you of.

The fault of the buyer is, to giue but the one halfe for it, or three parts of foure at the most. Heere is a whole quarter purloyned from the owner. Hee denies not the profite of it, hee mislikes not the tenour, or assurance, or honesty of the seller. But his reason is, I haue bought for twelue, I
» neuer gaue more then fourteene. A bad reason; I haue done
» naughtily, therefore I will not amend. I haue holpen to
» vndoe some, therefore I will vndoe more. But if hee wisht
» his sonne would sell so, he would not leaue him a foote. An
» other reason. He was as willing to take my mony, as I to giue it. True. And so it is with him, that giues forty in the hundred. A third reason. Land may fall to a low rate, but when? All the mynes are discouered, and set on broach to the world; people increasing, neuer more, and land they must haue of them that haue it. No warres likely, peace round about vs. And if they should sell againe, what they buy so good cheape; these would be no reasons. They will not sell for eighteen, that they bought for thirteene. But the true reason is, the sweet they haue by vnlawfull gaine. Ten in the hundred at the least, & most cōmonly interest, vpon interest now grown so cōmon, & *tirannising* almost euery where without controle : that who is there almost that hath mo-

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ny,and will buy land,where he ſhall not ſee his mony again, in eighteene, or twenty yeares as hee muſt not, if hee doe iuſtly. Where contrary, the vſurer dubbles his hundred in ſeauen yeares all ſaue fiue pound,two ſhillings ſeauen pence. And in twenty yeares, he ſees it fiue or ſixe times double. His hundred is made ſixe hundred, fourteene ſhillings,eleauen pence. His thouſand comes to ſixe thouſand,ſeuen hundred,twenty ſeuen pound,nine ſhillings, eleuen pence. And if it come in halfe yearely,or quarterly,it is more. But this is his rate and rule, or no bargaine with him. Hee is not in neede himſelfe, and to'ther is, and muſt haue it at any rate, bee it neuer ſo vnconſcionable. Baniſh therefore this monſter, or common-wealths worme, and twenty pound land wil be worth twenty years puchaſe I doubt not. Where vice reigneth,vertue ſits without dores;and land beares no price, nor fiſhing to the ſea ſhortly where vſury domineers.

The ſellers fault is to take double for it if he can;thinking euery thing ſo much worth as a man will giue for it. Which is not ſo. The price of land is certaine within a little ouer, or vnder,as I ſaid before, though it bee not ſo of ſtone and pearle. But the iniuſtice of this is, when I make a man pay for his commodity ouer and beſides the higheſt price. It is worth but twenty at the moſt, and I make him pay thirty, or fiue and twenty for it, becauſe it lyes handſomely within him, or is ſo neceſſary for him, that hee cannot bee without it: all that I take aboue the higheſt ordinary,they tell vs is vniuſt, and ſubiect to reſtitution. For I make him pay twice for it. Once for the full value, another for his commodity. As if I ſhould make a ſicke body pay double for a partridge; one for the value,another for the wholeſomneſſe of it. This muſt needes bee extorting,and vicious; proceeding alwaies of couetice,or malice, and yet is growne ſo common, that men will not heare the contrary. To this may bee added Monopolies, or ingrocing of needefull commodities into one or a few mens hands, to make them dearer. Likewiſe to buy or ſell with ſimple or vnexperienced perſons,who know not what they buy or ſell,yet are no fooles. The rule is this. They may buy for the leaſt of the three; and they may ſell

 againe

againe presently for the best of the three, and make gaine of it, but more then this will not bee warranted with good conscience.

The fault of both buyer and seller is this, that they ioy and glory in their doings. It is their daily study, and they take a pride in it. And what doe they glory in? Euen that which will worke them a great deale of woe. Happy is that man, that buyes as hee will sell, and sels as he will buy. This is the glory a good body should take; and not in pinching and pulling from his brother. *Mendaces filij hominum in statêris,* There is complaint made to God of vs, what ill measure wee keepe to our brother. King *Dauid* calles vs lyars in our *weights*. We buy with one weight, and sell with another. Is this meant by none but bakers, and butterwiues thinke yee; and not much more by other matters, that sinke mens estates, and make them *groane*. Why should the poore bee defrauded a penny of the full worth, when if a rich man sell, hee will haue more then hee, by tenne or twenty in the hundred.

Psal. 61.

Aristides, who for his singular iustnesse was called the *Iust*; defined *iustice* thus: not to desire any thing that was another mans. So farre was hee from taking, or seeking; that he would not so much as couet another mans. And how farre are wee from this, who are coueting still, euen when wee cannot haue? *Biblius* was so afraide of this *coueting* humour, that hee would not stoope at a purse, or any thing else hee found, for feare of beeing tempted. *In generall* it is good in buying and selling, to keepe euen betweene the pious or least price, and the rigorous or highest price, as your *Aristides* will aduise you, if yee will aske. I will not perswade you to do as *Hermes Ægyptius* did, a great wise man, both learned and rich. Some thinke it was hee that *apologied* for Christians to the Emperour *Adrian*. It is written of him, that hee would neuer buy, but he would giue too much rather; and would not sell, but hee would take somewhat vnder. The like wee reade of *Quintus Mutius* long before him, who although hee were heathen, yet in compassion of the sellers neede, hee gaue them more for their

houses

houses or lands which hee bought, then they would aske.

If wee that professe Christianity were all of his minde, wee would busie our heads no doubt, with better matters, and more worthy of our selues, then how to make gaine still by anothers harme; neither doe I speake this to put scruples in your heads, which I am farre from, and I omit them of purpose. They be matters of great moment which I minde you of, and as much as your soules are worth; no lesse I say, then the breach of one whole commandement, the last of the ten, *Thou shalt not so much as couet thy neighbours goods*, and this doth binde vs as much as the other *nine*. Howbeit, wee passe it ouer lightly, as if it were nothing; being in very deede the summe and ground of all *Iustice* betweene man and man. In other *precepts* the act; here the desire onely is forbidden, as either to desire an other mans, who is not willing to depart with it, as *Naboth* was not; or to haue it for lesse then it is worth, as the *Common case* is at this day. And both these are directly against the Commandement, *Thou shalt not couet*. And therefore he that drawes from his neighbour in this manner, sinneth doubly; that is to say, in *coueting*, which is a sinne alone by it selfe, and also in acting, which is against the eighth Commandement.

Exod.20.17

3 Reg.21.

It is also against the generall precept of louing our neighbour as our selfe, which euery man is bound vnto. For *Qui non diligit manet in morte*. It is damnation I say, not to loue our neighbour as our selues. And who is he that thinkes he loues a man, and doth what he can to pull him on his knees? The learned tell vs, there bee foure degrees of loue, which if wee haue not, or haue none of them, it is a signe that wee haue no loue. The first they say is *liquefaction*, that is to say, a melting, or a relenting heart towards our brother. The second is a delight we haue to be where we loue. The third is a heauinesse to bee from our loue. The fourth is feruour, or a burning loue. And although it be not giuen to euery man to haue these three last, which are delight, longing, and feruency: yet none can loue without the first, or least degree, which is a relenting, or compassion ouer our brother, when wee see him in distresse, and sell for neede. Surely, if this

1 Ioh.3.

Aquinas. 1. 2æ. q.28.5.

bee loue, it is a congealed or frozen loue, which is contrary to melting loue. It is a colde loue, which is contrary to feruent loue. Yea, it is no loue at all; or if it bee, it is the diuels loue, who loues vs to deuoure vs, and ſwallow vs downe his throat. What we giue our brother too little, would haply ſet him vp againe, and doe our ſelues no hurt. And yet wee loue him ſo, that wee haue no feeling in vs of the leaſt commiſeration towards him.

Howbeit the corruption of the time ſo concealeth this iniuſtice from vs, and hath bredde ſuch blindneſſe in our hearts with continuall *coueting*, that it is now growne from a ſinne, to a very diſeaſe. I know ye ſcanne vpon my words, and I doe not maruell. What? ſhall I not buy as good cheape (ſay you) and ſell as deare as I can? nothing freeer then gift; if a man will giue mee his land, I will take it. But how many giue their land, that ſell for neede? Ye may not deceiue your ſelues, nor bee Iudges in your owne caſe. I exhort you to repaire to them that haue skill. And this is the whole ſcope of my ſpeech. Beleeue not me, but beleeue them at your perill. We will not robbe, nor ſteale, nor ſcarce tell money on a Sunday; and ſo long wee thinke all is well with vs. But wee will ſeeke a bargaine to day, that ſhall gaine vs fiue hundred, or a thouſand to morrow; and this is iuſt with vs, becauſe it is no *vſury*. How farre is this from the nature of bargaining, to doe as we doe. The very word of bargaining biddes vs barre gaine, and take but a penniworth for a penny. The Merchant aduentures dangerouſly for that hee gets; but this man without aduenture at all, if hee meete with an honeſt man, and his Lawyer bee not aſleepe. Yet thus much hee gets, and will get as much more next day if he can, by one bodies neede, or other. O where bee the bowels of charity, that we can ſleepe quietly in our beds, and our poore brother vndone by vs? Saint *Paul* cals it eating one another. The cry of it reaches vp to heauen, yet will it not reach to our eares. Yea more then this; men praiſe our fortune for it; and wiſhe it were theirs: and I ſhall not haue ſuch fortune ſaith one; and I ſhall neuer haue ſuch lucke ſaith another. A ſweete peece of lucke; when we

Gal. 5. 15.

canno

cannot rise so fast, but a hundred of others go down as fast. Haue care of it I beseech you; I giue it you in charge, that ye may not be vnfurnished at the counting day, nor others by your examples.

Now as concerning the things that are bought and solde; we must thinke the principal thing that is to be had for mony, is land. Nothing more worth a mans mony, or more truely valuable, or profitable, then good land. Store of land makes great men. Greatnesse of lands makes kings great. *Terra mater omnium*, The earth is mother, and matter of all things. Whence comes all our sustenance but from crop, and vintage; whence our strength and complexion, but from maid-sweete in greene meddowes, and three leau'd grasse? bagges of mony will not bring foorth a rose; nor heapes of gold make cherries. And where goe we for shade in a parching day, but to the greene wood? where fetch we fire in cold weather, but from the same? whether goe wee to see our hawke flye, or follow our hounds, but to hill, and vale, and stubble field? galleries, and great chambers will not serue our turne. Land fils markets with dainties and necessaries. Land furnishes the sea with shipping to carry out, and bring in. Fish is fatte with that comes from land, and the the foules of the aire, with all their variety, are homagers to land for all their feature, and food. If a man haue all the riches and Iewels in the world, what are they good for, but to buy land withall? when wee bee dead, wee shall need land, and nothing else but land. *Abraham* was rich of gold, and siluer; but gold, and siluer would not haue buried him, if he had not bought land for it.

Wee reade in Scripture when God would make his people blessed, hee promised them land; knowing nothing so great a blessing in this transitory world, as land. *Pulchritudo agri mecum est* saith he, the beauty of the field is mine to bestow. Land he promised them, and land hee gaue them, to euery one some; as I saide before. What possession is there, that yeelds vs thirty, sixtie, yea an huudred for one but land, by Christs owne words. And therefore I marueil not at *Naboth* in the booke of *Kings*, that hee parted Psal. 9.

ted with life rather then his land, though it were to pleasure a King.

And I speake not this, that men should loue land too much, or desire more of it then onely competent. Neither is any thing so good; but we must loose for God, or sell to pay true debts, that euery body may haue their owne. But to set land at naught, or to sell it with losse, and to spend it riotously when we haue done, in play or misrule, without order, or honesty, as many doe now adaies; is there witte, or grace in it? Is gaudy apparrell more worth thy mony, then land? Dice and cards if they were of gold, are they more precious in thy eye then goodly lands? will thy mistresse maintaine thee when all is gone; or is the soking vsurer more worthy thy patrimony, then thy fathers child? No. As nothing so worthy price, as land, so let nothing hold vp the price like land, if we will be good to our selues, or to the cõmon, as may be easily demonstrated. To be short, there wil be alawies some that sell. And it is free for all to buy that can; vnlesse it be crowneland; Church-land, or the poores. Thus much for the best possession, which is land.

Now for other things that are bought and solde; I must giue you to vnderstand, that there is in this no smal iniustice & ignorance abroad in the world. The ignorant make scruple where none is, for buying honours, and offices. And the *Couetous* make a tush at Church-lawes, if they prooue against sence and profit. *Symony* they dare not auouch, but to buy and sell aduousons, and right of Patronage, eyther appendant, or in grosse, or to extort pensions or anuities from incumbents, they thinke it no sinne. There bee also that will not buy a benefice; but they will giue well to another, that shall procure it them. To take a gratuity it is lawfull, so it be without pact; but to frowne at the gratuity, if it bee not bigge enough, is no better then *Simony*. To giue money for a spirituall seruice, otherwise then by way of almes to the poore, as for praying, preaching, christning, or such like, it is holden abhominable; yet not vnlawfull to giue or take for ones paines, and trauell in such businesse; or to giue yearely stipends for weekely or monethly

duties.

duties. For though no ſpirituall function bee valuable with price; yet ones labour and tye to it is.

Moreouer to with holde our tithe, as it is a ſinne well knowne, and to take more then is due, is alſo very vniuſt; ſo doe I hold it very infortunate, and ominous to our eſtates (if I may ſo ſay) to bee niggardly in this duty, or to giue the worſt we haue. For God muſt needes be ſparing to vs, and pinching in his bleſsings, if we be pinching to him, and thinke all too good, that goes that way. And to ſpeake my conſcience, although in ſome ſort againſt my ſelfe; I know not how two things be warrantable about this buſineſſe, and yet are very common among vs. The one is in paying *Cuſtome*, or compoſition tithe, when tithe in kinde is worth twenty times more. For though tithe in kind were little more worth when ſuch cuſtome beganne, and the people fewer to bee taught; yet now, the world being riſen to a higher rate, more people to be inſtructed, tenne, or twenty for one; the clergie likewiſe increaſed, rents, and profites alſo raiſed, and all commodities at the deareſt; a poore paſtour muſt haue no more but a noble or tenne groats, as he had then, for that which is worth at this day a great deale more. There is a maxime in lawe, that a cuſtome to pay nothing is a void cuſtome; and what is it then to giue little better then nothing; twelue pence perhaps for an angell, vnleſſe our Clergie had the priuiledge to buy all things for their mony at old rates.

The other iniuſtice is in paying nothing at all; and there be thouſands that doe not. Men of trafique, art, and trade, rich, and thriuing, who haue neither corne, or cattle, nor fiue acres land to pay tithe for, if it be a houſe, it is all. *Abraham* paid it *Melchiſedecke* of all hee had, euen of that which fell vnto him by ſpoile of his enemies. The like wee reade the Grecians did to their *Painym* gods, as *Thucidides* and *Iuſtine* write of the *Spartans*, *Crotoniates*, and *Locrines*; and *Liuie* of *Furius Camillus*, to *Apollo Delphicus* by the light of nature. *Iacob* vowed to God all manner of tithing, not of this commodity, or that, but of all he poſſeſſed. Not that a man ſhould giue of that which lies by him;

Heb.7.
Lib.20.
Thucid.
lib.3.
lib.5.
Gen.28.

but onely of the increase, which comes of mony, or goods imployed in any lawfull negociation. For so saith Saint *Chrysostome*, who freeth not the very tradse-man, or artificer, nor Saint *Augustine* the souldier or merchant from this bond of Tithe, if he get any thing by it, though it bee by nothing else, but by buying, and selling. For it is God who giues the increase of both alike, and must therfore haue his part in both alike. The law cannot say what this man, or that man gaines, and therfore leaues it to mens consciences. And they are called priuy-tithes, which many good men haue vsed ere now, and I lay no bond vpon you; but wish you to inquire of them that be learned; that you may not be found vnthankfull when yee shall bee summon'd before your grand benefactour.

Hom. 43. in Cor. Ser. 1. de domin. 12. 1. Cor. 3.

Now for temporall offices, I am rather to note the vulgar ignorance, then dissuade any thing. When we see great offices bought and solde, which we cannot haue our selues; wee make a nodde at it commonly, and cry *Omnia venalia*, as if they were Church offices. Indeed where Iudges doe sell Iustice, and lye open to bribes, there is *Omnia venalia*. And so if they deny Iustice, or delay Iustice for mony, or if they be partiall, and accept of one person more then another, we may iustly say *Omnia venalia*. But there be two sorts of offices. The one of iudgement, the other of execution. This latter there is no question of, being meere temporall, and of profit certaine, and therfore valuable for mony, as house and land are. And such be all vnder officers of court, or of Iustice, especially if they be for life, or to ones heires. And many of these kinds are sought for, more for countenance and credite, then for fee, or profit. For as *Comines* saith, some haue giuen so for them, that they haue not seene their mony againe in fifteene yeares.

Lib. 1.

Offices of iudgement also are in a sort valuable. For although the Emperour *Seuerus* were very seuere herein, and remooued them from their places when he came; yet it was rather for their deere buying of offices, which made them subiect to bribes, then otherwise. For when a fauourite of his did thinke to preuayle so farre with him

him as to keepe his office ſtill, telling him that it coſt him deare; yee therefore thou ſhalt looſe it ſaide hee. They that buy deare, muſt ſell deare. And hee would allowe him no more but one yeares profit, and away. The learned ſay it is not onely lawfull for the common-wealth to take money in ſuch caſes, but alſo neceſſary. Lawfull becauſe they take it not for doing iuſtice; but for the profits belonging to it, which is the common-wealths to beſtow, and which they may take to themſelues, if they liſt. Neceſſary alſo for increaſing the common treaſury, which ought not to bee neglected, where lawfull meanes will affoord it. Yet ſo notwithſtanding, that care bee had of a worthy choiſe, and moderation bee vſed, that they pay not too much for it; both in regard of their yeares commonly, which will not let them hold it long; and likewiſe of their charge, that they be not diſabled by it, to giue countenance to their place, and to maintaine hoſpitality. Haply, the ſumme of two yeares profit will not hurt them; and after that rate tooke King *Henry* the ſeauenth of England, of the Lord Chiefe Iuſtice in thoſe dayes, which I heare was fiue hundred markes.

Laſtly for buying and ſelling honours, the queſtion is not ſo much of the iniuſtice in beſtowing, as folly in the ſeeking. And therefore I will giue it but a touch. Honour was ordained for a reward of merit; and merit is either of act, or fortune. If it bee of act; as for valour, or vertue; honour is due without money by iuſtice diſtributiue. If merit of fortune, as fauour, birth, riches; it is no new thing to purchaſe honour or armes, as due to their fortunes, by iuſtice commutatiue. And this is called by *Bartolus* a ciuill honour, being the Princes to beſtow, where and when hee will, and vpon what motiue hee will, and for money if hee will, to enable him the better for thoſe that merit in act. Yet ſo notwithſtanding, that the better the motiue is, the more honour to the receiuer. The fault or folly is as I ſaid, to ſeeke it without merit at all, or to wrong others that are better then themſelues. The olde rule is alwaies true, *Malo eſſe quàm haberi*, and thus much for leſſer honours. Of greater honours I ſay nothing. For as men are more in

view of the *Prince*, whence honour comes; ſo better note is taken of their merit. And wee may not doubt but they are well deſerued of a prudent *Prince*, wherefoeuer wee finde them to bee beſtowed. But I leaue this matter, and goe forward with our dregges of *auarice*, if any thing bee to bee ſaid elſe.

No doubt there is more to be ſpoken of, then I meane to trouble you with. *Contracts* for money, ſtocke, or cattell, let out together, or apart, are infinite. Wherin the learned diſcouer to vs much corruption, whether with ſauing, or looſing the principall; whether with aduenture, or without, in nature of pawne, or morgage, or abſolute, by direct bargaine or condition, or billes of exchange. In theſe and many other, are many ſhiftes, and deuiſes for profit extraordinary, which paſſe for *currant* daily, yet are vnlawfull, and lyable to reſtitution. Wherein I doe not particularize, for holding you too long. But wee may know them partly, and ſhall haue cauſe to doubt them, and to inquire of them, by the greatneſſe of the gaine; and ignorance will not excuſe vs, when it is groſſe. And two things make it groſſe. One is if it bee like ſinne, or extorſion for the exceſſiue gaine: as to get a commodity for fiue, that is worth tenne; why ſhould not a man doubt, and aske in this caſe? The other is when wee haue ready meanes to informe our ſelues by thoſe that bee learned, and will not; but liue cloſe, and worke by our ſelues. Wee aske our ſelues whether we bee able to deale with it or no; wee aske Lawyers for our title, and ſecurity. And where ſhould wee ſeeke for the right, and iuſtice of it before God, but of Diuines? whom God calles his *Angell* by the mouth of his Prophet; and ſaieth, wee muſt aske his Lawe at their mouth; *Et legem requirent ex ore eius.* And wee ſhould neuer aduenture vpon any thing that our *Charity* doubts of, without their counſell. Who are as ready at hand for our ſpirituall good, as others are for our temporall. Yet if it bee ſo that doctors doubt of the caſe, yee may practiſe whether ye will; though indeede the ſafeſt opinion be the beſt for vs.

Mal. 2.
Ier. 18.

If it pleaſe you to liſten to them ſeriouſly, remembring alwaies

alwaies what ſnares hang about you, as thicke as yceſickles in the chill of your *Charity* : beleeue me,ye will finde much good of it. They will helpe you in the very game you play at, that yee may not bee vndone by it. But they will not allow you to play away aboue the twentieth part of your commings in by the yeare. More then this they hold waſtfull, or *auaricious*. Not that they know iuſt when it begins to bee ſinne, but by ſome notable decay it makes in your eſtate ; and therefore will put a conſcience in you to waſte no more. If the twentieth part bee ſpent, there bee but nineteene left. If another part,or t'one halfe bee ſpent, there is but ſo much left,and ſo much weaker yee grow to doe your ſelues good, or any of yours ; and yee muſt come to ſell land for it,which they will by no meanes allow. They holde it little leſſe then damnable to play away ſuch a deale in a night, as many doe ; or to haue other ende of gaming,then for good companies ſake, or paſsing away the time. And if yee intice one to play that hath no skill, or winne of a ſeruant his maſters goods, or of a wife her husbands money, or of a childe that which is his parents, without conſent or conniuence : all yee get thus,is none of yours,but muſt bee reſtored.

They giue vs a caueat likewiſe againſt *Alchumy*, or *chymike* art, for the knowne idleneſſe of it, and the apparant hurt to mens eſtates, that haue followed it, and ſpent long time in it ; whereof nothing hath come but ſmoake,and expence, and fruitleſſe effects. It is a wonder to tell, what gold and ſiluer it hath coſt, to make *gold* and *ſiluer*,and how many haue bin conſumed by it. Whether it were the charge of workemanſhip,or coſening in vndertakers,or Gods curſe vpon the *auaricious* attempt, eſpecially of late yeares, ſince common experience hath prooued it idle, and the cenſure of Diuines hath declared it ſinnefull : which of all theſe is the true fault I know not. But if they bee true profeſſours of it, they come to beggery in the ende : which our prouident paſtours would not that wee ſhould fall into. This art hath beene much vſed in the kingdome of *Fez* ; where they were very skilfull both in making the *Elixer*, and multiply- Leo.Afer.

ing of mettall. But they turned in the ende to coyning, and loſt both their hands for it, by which marke they haue beene commonly knowne.

Two ſayings more our learned haue to Lawyers and Atturnies, and all their appendants, vnder the degree of Iudges. For of Iudges and Clergy men I can ſay little, or rather nothing. They are Gods vpon earth. The one may ſay *Si mei non fuerint dominati*, If I winke not too much at *Ophni*, and *Phinees* in my place; but haue an eye to their abuſes, that daily preſſe the poore ſubiect, *tunc immaculatus ero*, Then ſhall I bee vnſpotted. The other, if they ſeeke not their owne, but the good of their flocke, both ſpiritually and temporally; what can wee aske more? But of Counſellors, and Aduocates it is required; that firſt, and foremoſt they take not exceſsiue fees, nor fee at all, but what they doe ſomewhat for. In a late Parliament of France, they were limited what to take, and no more: which thing ſo diſpleaſed them, that they gaue ouer their practiſe three or foure hundred of them at once, and men could haue no lawe for their money, vntill they were brought backe againe with a deuice. It may ſeeme by *Tacitus* that the Romane Lawyer tooke no fee, vntill hee had wonne the cauſe. Which made them I thinke more carefull of their matters, and better ſtudied. For their Clyents cauſe was now become their owne, and they would follow it no doubt, though their Clyent were aſleepe. Neither durſt they very eaſily entertaine a bad cauſe, for feare to haue nothing for their paines. Onley their fault was in taking exceſſiuely, hundreds of poundes for a fee, and ſometimes thouſands, vntill they were ſtinted by the Emperour *Claudius*, to take but a hundred markes at the moſt, or thereabouts.

Pſal. 81.

Pſal. 18.

1. Reg. 2. 16

1 Cor. 13. 5

Lib. 11.

An vnworthy thing it is that Lawyers ſhould neede Lawes. *Dignus eſt operarius mercede ſua.* If they bee learned, they deſerue more, and their deſert muſt bee anſwerable to their paines. I ſay no more but this. There be many of knowne conſcience, and graue, of whom I would wiſhe the younger ſort to learne *conſcience*, as well as Law. But the ſecond fault is the greater in my opinion, and that

1. Tim. 5.

is their entertaining, and aduiſing of bad cauſes, or cauſes of ſmal moment. For bad cauſes, I haue known ſome learned men that would giue no counſell with vſurers, or bargaines of vnlawfull gaine. Likewiſe for ſlight matters, and trifling quarrels, that ſtood more vpon will, then reaſon; I haue knowne others, that would not be of counſell with ſuch, nor take their mony by any means. But what the *centumviral* authority was in *Auguſtus* his time, to viſit *courts* of iuſtice, and cull out all triuiall actions, and to force men to an end whether they would or no; theſe haue practiſed before hand, that they might neuer come ſo far, as to trouble a court. *Bleſſed be the peace-makers.* And this belongeth principally to men of law. So farre be it from them to waite vpon euery mans paſsion for a little gaine; and to boulſter vp mens idle humors with calumnious billes, and anſwers, and ſmothing of lies, more like to ſophiſters, then men of grauity; and all for what will yee giue mee. Hee that aides the euill in their deſires, is *particeps criminis.* Bee hee counſeller, or courſiter, Sheriffe, or ſheriffes men, who execute for vſurers, or quarrellous buſie-bodies: Your Deuines will tell you, (not I) that they ſin as well as the parties, and are bound to reſtore. Mat. 5.

The like may bee ſaide of executors to vſurers, and to wrong doers. They be ſubiect to reſtitution as the teſtator was, if they exact, or execute in right of his wrong. To you I may ſpeake it; but to them, I doe *ſurdo canere.* It is in vaine to tell them of it; the world is become *vncapable* of this verity. And of all the multitudes that offend heerein, I can name but one that made conſcience of it. For when they die, they leaue all to ſuch as themſelues, that will not part with a groat, howſoeuer it were gotten. Yet one I knew, who was executor to ſuch a one, and refuſed to adminiſter, but for mee. For I asked him whether hee knew what hee did, or no? Or whether hee had not power in him now to „ right many? Right ſaid he? Who can tell when all will bee „ righted whom he hath wronged. He is damned, if any bee „ damned, and I will not meddle with ill gotten goods. The „ more to blame you, (ſaide I) you ſpeake not according to „

„ knowledge. How know you that he is damned, who dyed
„ of ſo good a mind, as to make you executor, that wants
„ neither knowledge, nor will to make all euen, that hee hath
„ done amiſſe. And therefore I tolde him, he ought, and muſt,
„ and ſo he did, and made ſuch a reſtitution as hath not beene heard of in France.

I may not ſtand to vnrippe all things. Yet one thing more I may not omitte. The law of eſcheates is very beneficiall in this kingdome, both to king, and meane Lords, and requires in vs much conſcience to free vs from iniuſtice. Our greedineſſe after eſcheates is very ſinnefull, eſpecially vpon matters of life, and death. For in wiſhing the effect, which is *felons goods*, we wiſh the cauſe alſo, which is *felony*, or *treaſon*. Our paſtours tell vs, it is not good for vs to take all we may by law. But as we be Lords, ſo muſt wee bee *Chancellours*, and haue our eye ſtill at equity, and brotherly compaſsion. He that will take all, is bound to keepe wife, and children ſometimes more then his owne; or elſe prouide for them otherwiſe. For though their meanes be gone, yet they muſt bee fedde. I ſpeake not of open ſinnes in this kinde, as when a man ſhall prie into other mens doings, euen their owne free-holders, and tennants, for loue of that they haue, and not for iuſtice. The rule of Saint *Auguſtine* is, that when we be iudges ouer our brethren, we muſt condole with them. *Congemiſcat* ſaith he, *et ad pariter conandum ſe inuitet*, Wee ought to ſigh together with them, and to ſtirre our ſelues to amendment, by that in them was amiſſe.

Much like to theſe are moſt informers, and promooters, who liue vpon forfeitures, and ſpoyle of others. I would haue them know their ſinne, and ſaue their ſoules. I would haue them bee ſeruants of iuſtice, and not of curſed lucre. Their wages is commonly a third part, but they make it more then the whole many times. Worſe then theſe are thoſe who vnder colour of *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, Fall to ſearching *records* for olde attainders, and ſleeping recognizances, to intitle the King, or themſelues, and to trouble the ſubiect, ſo farre forth; as hee knowes not whether hee

haue

haue any thing of his owne, or no. But ſee their conſcience. For I ſpeake onely of the abuſe. If it be ſo, that they find for the ſubiect, they ſay nothing. The Scripture bids vs diſquiet no man, *neminem concutieritis*, Liue not vpon thy brothers ſpoile. But what ſaith hê? I will not ſpare my father, if I can get by it. *Non eris criminator, nec ſuſurro in populo*, Thou ſhalt not raiſe a crime, or a whiſper among the people. Let them looke to it and inquire whether this bee not meant by them; and whether theſe bee not the *Publicanes* the Scripture ſpeaketh of, when it ioyneth the *Publican* alwaies, and ſinner together. A publican is called *a Publicando*, that is to ſay of *confiſcating*; as we reade in *Daniel*, *Domus veſtræ publicabuntur*, Your houſes ſhall be confiſcate, and theſe be the inſtruments of it. Many Princes, when they haue come to their eſtates, haue laide their firſt animaduerſion vpon ſuch as theſe, and haue driuen them out of their *Dominions* with many ſtripes. *Titus* moreouer to the ende there might be no vſe of them at all, made theſe two lawes. One was, becauſe there were many lawes for one thing, therefore if a man had beene ſued vpon any one of them, he ſhould neuer be touched for the reſt. Another was, that if the *anceſtour* were once dead, and a few yeares paſt, the heire ſhould neuer be charged with old matters.

Luk. 3.

Leuit. 19.

Mar. 2. Luk. 5. 7. 15 Cap. 2.

Herodian. Suet in Tit. Domit.

I could inlarge my ſelfe much further vpon this ſubiect, if I would open the iniuſtice of euery *particular* eſtate. But partly, they may all be reduced to ſome of theſe I haue ſpoken of; and partly are touched in the penall lawes of euery countrey, which are giuen in charge at aſsiſes, and ſeſsions, for all men to take notice of, that will liue by a law. And therefore let this ſuffice to make you ſee your danger, and the neede yee haue to aduiſe with ſome body; and often to aske about your priuate affaires, before your account growe too great, and your clogge too heauie, in the ſight of God. And how doe yee know but theſe may be the ſecret ſinnes, which the Prophet teacheth vs to pray that we may be clenſed of; yet cleaue ſo cloſe to our loue, and are ſo warranted by the practiſe of the richer ſort, that when we ſhould looke at our fault, we

Pſal. 50.

looke quite ouer it, and cannot finde it of our ſelues? *Ignorance* is the mother of ſinne. If I haue brought you out of the one, ye may auoide the other with more eaſe. And thus much in briefe, for our priuate eſtates.

Now for our *carriage* towards the *common*, wherein a great part of our duty conſiſteth, and is much-what forgotten, or neglected: I muſt haue a word or two. Where I cannot forget that noble ſaying of *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*; that more we owe to our countrey, then to our owne life. As he approoued right well by himſelfe, and all his actions. I haue tolde you, what your learned thinke belongeth to a good Chriſtian: now heare what they ſay becommeth good citizens, or common-wealths men. That is to ſay ſuch as are good to the common, loue the common, delight in common good, and preferre the ſame before their priuate, as I will briefely ſhew you. Yee haue heard what they thinke of life; how little it is to bee regarded in reſpect of common well-fare. Euen ſo they tell vs of our goods, and eſtates, and giue vs one rule in ſtead of all; which I beſeech you to marke whether it be not of God, and moſt worthy our following. *In all worldly things* (ſay they) *which we are bound to wiſh to the common, and to our ſelues, we are bound to preferre the common before our ſelues.* They do not ſay we may prefer; but we are bound, and ſinne if we doe not.

2.2 æ.q.26. 3.

Out of this rule come diuers noble concluſions, and fitte for euery man to know. I will remember you of ſome few in ſtead of many. I may preferre my ſelfe before the common to this houſe, or that manner, becauſe I am not bound to wiſh theſe things to the common. I may ſaue my owne horſe from drowning before the kings horſe, if other danger inſue not, but loſſe of a horſe. It is a common caſe to defende our right againſt the King in lawfull ſort, and to hedge in our groundes from the *purlieus*, if wee haue right ſo to doe, though his game haue reſtraint by it. Otherwiſe, it is of his houſe, or palace where hee dwelleth, which I am bound to defend with loſſe of my owne houſe in danger of fire. If my ſtore-houſe adioyne to the publique *granary*, I muſt ſaue this

before

before my owne. My ſingle dammage muſt not weigh with the publike ; I am bound to ruine mine owne houſe, to ſtoppe a fire from going further. All ſtatutes and by-lawes made for common good, wee are bound to obſerue. And there is a curſe due to wilfull breakers, as is to them that digge vp dooles. Some thinke they ſatisfie with paying the penalty. But lawes were not made for the penalty, but for conformity, that all may draw by a line. Lawes intend not the puniſhment of a few, but the good of all. And therefore all that bee of one common-wealth, muſt haue one ſpirit, and the ſame the Law-makers had. They ought not to ſet light by lawes, nor break them as they liſt, ſo they bee not ſpyed. Yea more then this, we ſhould rather worke our ſelues, and bee ſtill deuiſing for common good, and for them that come after, though wee liue not to ſee it.

But it is a wonder to ſee, how *croſſe* and *contrary* wee be on this behalfe. As if lawes belonged not to vs, when they bee made ; or if wee keepe them, it is more for feare, then loue of the common. What a flouriſhing common-wealth ſhould wee now haue, if lawes had beene as duely obſerued, as grauely prouided. Or how would it yet flouriſh, if wee would yet begin, and leaue to bee children in this kind ? Where one makes conſcience to keepe a good law, twenty breake it ; and then as good no law. There is none will take benefit ſooner then wee, of a high way mended, or a bridge new builded, or repayred. But when wee come to *contribute*, wee drawe backe ; or if they fetch grauell for it out of our grounds, wee reſiſt, and ſweare, wee will bee euen with them another time. How far is this from common-wealthsmen, or good men either ? I will approoue it, hee loues not God, that tenders not common good to his power. *Aquinas* ſaith, (and other Diuines after him) *Impoſſibile eſt quòd homo ſit bonus, niſi ſit bene proportionatus bono communi*, Hee cannot bee a good man, that is not in good proportion to common good. That is to ſay, that rates not himſelfe, and rankes not himſelfe for common good, in proportion to his meanes. And our nation hath beene accounted moſt zealous

Aquinas. 1. 2æ. q. 92. 1. ad 3.

in this kinde, though few care now, but for their owne time.

Leo Afer. Wee may learne of *Moores* and *African merchants* another while; who I heare are so forward for common good, that wee scarce haue the like of them now adaies amongst Christians. Yea who so opposite to God herein, as wee that be Christians?

1 Cor.9. Saint *Paul* saith, *Omnia omnibus factus sum*, I am become all things to all men. What would hee haue done if he had

Col.3.11. beene rich? Hee that made himselfe common to all mens

Eph.1. seruice, should not his purse haue beene common also to the common good? Christ himselfe was *omnia in omnibus*. And surely he that was so liberall of his blood, that all of vs haue part in it; would hee haue beene sparing of his goods towards vs, if hee had profest to possesse much? would hee haue preferred himselfe before the common, or taken from commons as wee doe, without amends to the poore? Wee

Ser.2. are made like to God saith *Leo*, that wee may haue in our selues a patterne how to imitate him; yet see how different wee bee from God heerein, who was all for euery body, and wee nothing for any body, but our selues. The very Sunne (I thinke) that shines to all, we would ingrosse to our selues if we could, and make rent of it. How doe we imitate Christ in this? and yet wee doe in this, as we doe in all. We make our selues strangers to his Lawe in all things. Wee carry his imitation in our hands to reade of; but wee haue it not in our hearts to make vse of. Verily, if it were no more, but for imitating of God, and of Gods knowne seruants; and though ability were not great in vs, yet our good will wee should shew in this duty, and our inclining that way in what wee can. The common-wealth should not bee so ready to aske of vs, as wee ready to giue. Common-good not so ready to require our seruice, as wee ready to proffer, and performe, and glad that wee may stead it in any sort. And this hath beene the practise of our fore-fathers, and ancestours, that haue gone before vs, as by the publike workes they haue left behind them, and our Chronicles are full of, and euery townesship can giue testimony, it may appeare.

And this if wee cannot doe after the best imitation; yet

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me thinke we ſhould doe it for our honor, and reputation, as Saint *Auguſtine* tels the *Romanes* did. *Priuatas res ſuas pro re communi, hoc eſt pro repub. & pro eius ærario contemſerunt*, They deſpiſed their owne for the publike good, and common *treaſury*. And all their induſtry was, (if they were good) *vt ærarium eſſet opulentum, tenues res priuatæ*, That their *treaſury* might be rich, though their priuate were poore enough. And with this agrees *Saluſtius in catelinario*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his fourteenth booke. Lib. 5. de ciu. cap. 15.

And the contrary of this, was baſe, and odious in thoſe daies; eſpecially in great perſons; who ſhould bee others examples, as that one inſtance may ſerue inſtead of many. Where *Valerius Ruffinus* was put from the ſenate by the Cenſour *Fabritius*, for buying eight ſcore ounces of plate to his priuate vſe. And thus it held (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) vntill *corruption* came in, and brought in with it the contrary, *publice egeſtatem, priuatim opulentiam*, Weakeneſſe of common treaſury, and greatneſſe of priuate eſtates. Heere began forgetfulneſſe of God, and of his bleſſed imitation; forgetfulneſſe of honour, and of all good order; which will not haue the head to ſtand at curteſie of the hand or foote; or the common to bee at the mercy of the priuate, vpon euery neede or occaſion: but rather the contrary, as they that will reade, and marke, ſhall ſee; that the richer the common was, the richer were euer the commons; vnleſſe it were vnder *Tyrants*; and the richer that *Princes* were out of their prouidence, without cauſe of exacting, the richer were the ſubiects, or at the leaſt, leſſe wanting. Aug. lib 5. de ciuit. dei. cap. 12.

It is for euery ones good that the common good thriue; and for this good, wee bee all borne officers. No reaſonable *creature* is exempted from this bond. His ſword in time of warre, his purſe, or other abilitie in time of peace. The pooreſt can haue no excuſe, as farre as in them doth lye; much leſſe they that be of meanes. Who although they be not ſo wholly for the common, neither is it required as the Romanes were: yet moſt pittifull it is, if not ſinnefull, how hardly any thing comes from them, either for towne charge at home, or for the Church, or King. Touching all which

as it were our part to bee ſo forward of our ſelues, as wee ſhould neede no rating: ſo they that be learned holde, that when it comes to rating, wee may not hide our eſtates to leſſen our charge, or to lay the more vpon others; which is a common ſinne amongſt vs. And when it comes to paying, it is done ſo vnwillingly, and vnreadily, as if they had mighty wrong in it. I knew a merchant of late, whoſe ability was inferiour to none, his good will was leſſe then moſt mens. I haue heard officers complaine of him, how much they had to doe, and how often they haue attended him for a marke charge, and could neuer get it of him, till they were ready to diſtraine a fatte oxe for it, and then hee turned to his man, and bid him pay the knaues.

It is a ſhame to tell what ſhifts we make to put of taxes, and ſubſidies when they come, bee they neuer ſo needfull. Diuines tell vs two things about them. One is on the ſubiects part, a readineſſe to performe. The other on the Taxers part, that it bee not out of couetouſneſſe, but of neede. And if of neede, yet it muſt bee regarded; that the burthen light not vpon the poorer ſort, as the taxe of ſalt did, which *Philip de Valoys* impoſed, making euery man pay as much as the rich. Or to lay tribute vpon country neceſſaries, which wee cannot bee without, or vpon ſeruants wages, or labourers earnings and ſuch like. And if a taxe be doubtfull, whether it bee iuſt or no, or not certaine, wee are bound to pay it, and the publike is to bee preferred (ſome ſay) though other ſay no; that *melior eſt conditio poſſidentis*, as it is in other caſes of doubt, betweene party and party. But my purpoſe is not to trouble you with doubts, and queſtions. Lyſten I beſeech you to knowne truths, which learned men of the beſt, doe all agree vpon, and will reſolue you in.

And becauſe wee ſpeake of publike eſtates, and priuate; it is to bee deduced out of the grounds aforeſaid, that both common and priuate, are to attend their Soueraignes eſtate; beeing a thing the whole good of a kingdome dependeth on, as much as may bee. And therefore where they holde it dangerous to our ſoules, to haue much lying by vs, as I will ſhewe you anon: Yet otherwiſe in kings, to bee rich and

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well ſtor'd with treaſure, it is both honourable and neceſſary, & they can hardly haue too much. They muſt *multa poſſidere*, that muſt *multa impendere*, as one aduiſed *Cõſtantine*. So manifold be the charges that preſſe them daily, ſo infinite the pipes, that ſucke ſtill, and drawe from their ceſterne, to make it dry: eſpecially in this age, and theſe times, when all things are at the higheſt; and the wiſeſt that are, and that liue moſt prouidently haue ſomewhat to doe to keepe out of debt. Kings much more in their *Chaos* of occaſions, which the ſubiect neuer feeles, nor thinkes of, vntill the Soueraigne bee in debt, and their aide bee required for contribution. Nauar. Pom. Lec

It hath beene an old prayer amongſt vs; that wee may liue out of debt, and deadly ſinne. But a vaine prayer, if our ſelues put not to it our helping hand, and the beſt indeauour wee can. Wee are bound to pray it for our ſelues, wee are bound to pray it for the common. And particularly for the head of the common. For ſoule buſineſſe as I ſaide before, wee muſt preferre our ſelues before all men. And therefore my rule was, in all temporall good, wee muſt preferre the common. Peace and proſperity which are temporall bleſsings, wee muſt wiſh to the common, before our ſelues. *Pouertie*, and debt are temporall euills in all; but in Princes moſt intolerable. And therefore a kings eſtate heerein muſt bee preferred before our owne, whenſoeuer it happens. There, muſt euery mans hand, and heart worke together; there muſt duty, and loue contend which ſhall out-ſtrippe the other; there muſt we apply our wittes, their our abilities, euen for Gods loue, if wee owed our Prince none. How much more if he bee mild, and clement, and one according to our harts, good to all, hurtfull to none. And in ſo doing, wee doe good to our ſelues; the King of heauen will reward vs, though kings of earth neuer heare of our names.

And I ſpeake it the rather to informe your conſciences againſt this eating euill of the weſt. For it is hardly matched all ouer the world beſides. That which heathen princes compell, and commaund, we haue much a doe to be in-

treated. That which out of Christian knowledge wee are bound to offer, we make dificultie to be drawne to. That which our tenants doe for vs most readily, though it cost them their best cowe in their yard, to vphold their Landlord at a neede; we thinke much to do to him, that is Landlord to vs all. We should teach heathens obedience, and they teach vs. It is absurd to see how we bee haled to common good. We were yesterday rich, and made our brags. To day when we come to be assest, we are poore, and make beleeue we haue nothing, or not a foote of free-hold; as one of the richest subiects in our nation I heard say once, when he was charged with a couple of launces.

O how sparing would such men bee of their bodies and
lib. 2 5. blood (saith *Boccace*) if their country should need it, that
„ are so neere themselues in their worldly pelfe. They stretch
„ themselues farre to bestowe their daughters magnificent-
„ ly, rather then ciuilly, and to furnish a bride chamber for a
„ Prince, rather then for a priuate body. They spare for no
„ cost to set out themselues with sattens and silkes, their
„ wiues with bracelets, an borders of gold, and pearle. Their
„ horse with trapping, and furniture of the best. Their
„ hawkes, and hounds shall want no cost of keeping, and
„ manning, yet can they finde nothing for the common.
„ Fooles, that we are, what will become of vs if the com-
„ mon weale be in shipwracke? What will great kindred a-
„ uaile, if the common-wealth faile? How will peace bee
„ maintained, wrongs righted, or priuate good secured? Who
„ will there be to giue vs iustice, *Quis dabit iura, si publicum*
„ *cessabit subsidium*; Take away common aide and subsidie,
and take away all owner-shippe from all men. Thus farre he, and more to like effect. It is absolutely against duty, and policy, to doe as we doe, and God will plague vs for both at once. That it is against duty, I haue tolde you already, and if ye will aske your learned, they will tell you
1. Pet. 2. much better, *regem honorificate*. What honour is it wee doe him, or our selues, to deny him publique aide, or to shrinke in our heades, or to make such beggarly suites as we doe, to be discharged?

It

It is alſo againſt policy; for wee muſt allow them to bee Kings, and full of *Prerogatiue*. Both Gods law, and mans law giues it them. They are *patriæ parentes*, and what the childe is bound vnto towards his parents, we are bound as much to our Princes, and they ſay more. And therefore if we forget our ſelues towards them, when occaſions bring them behinde hand, and they are loth to vrge our vnwillingneſſe: can we blame them, if they doe what they can out of their *prerogatiue* Royall, to helpe themſelues? In places where Kings haue no lands, yet they liue like Kings, by their prerogatiue: and if they haue lands alſo, yet they looſe no prerogatiue though they vſe it not alwayes, but at a neede. And moreouer, if ſubiects bee vnkinde, they ſpoile their Princes, and will make them doe many things, that they may, and would not; take all forfeitures and eſcheates, cloſe their hands to all pardons and immunities, incloſe forreſts, and chaſes, and all their waſtes to themſelues, giue eare to all informers, and promooters, that ſhall any way intitle them, and that which is worſt they will make them ſell and alienate the reuenues of the crowne: which is ſo vnfitting a thing to a kings eſtate, that ſubiects ought to take notice of it, and make meanes rather for his releefe. Much leſſe ought they to robbe kings, and pull from kings; eſpecially if they bee officers in any ſort. It is next to ſacriledge, and robbing of Churches, to ſupplant a King. A kings officer had neede to be one of his ioynts, if it might be. For nothing ſo conſolidates the greatneſſe of a king, as truſtie, and true officers; and nothing ſoooner ſinks the ſame, then to bore holes in his ſhip. Remember I forewarne you, if yee chance to beare office.

If a king be poore and vnable, can the ſubiect be ſecure? Is he not a prey to his enemies, and we with him? Or doe we not know by our ſelues, and our owne debts, how immenſe will his be quickely, if they be not quit betimes? Hee that ſees a king in debt, ſees but halfe a king, to that he is, and would be if he were free. His bounty is ſtopt, his rewards ſtopt, and much grace ſtopt, that would flowe like baulme from him towards his ſubiect; and many a good thing vn-

performed by him, that would helpe and inrich many. If a king be in plenty, all the care hee hath, is, that his ſubiect may haue alſo plentie. But if otherwiſe, all his care will bee for himſelfe, and all the good a king can doe is hindred, or rather buried before it be hatcht. I cannot ſpeake too much of the ſores that doe enſue the indebted eſtate of kings. Our flouriſhing France had a coſtly tryall of it once or twiſe in my memory, and was in great hazzard by it, if timely ayde had not come. Her head-ach made her cry heartily, *caput meum doleo, caput meum doleo*; and if God had not helped her when time was, ſhe could not haue beene raiſed againe without miracle.

4.Reg.4.

Two great faults I note in the ſubiect about this affaire. One is an vnworthy tergiuerſation, or backwardneſſe in him towards the common good, with a baſe conceit he hath, that all is too much that goes that way, neuer reflecting vpon his duty to God, and his countrey, nor to the eaſe of thoſe that bee not ſo well able as hee. Hee will lay all vpon his tenants if hee can, and haue all his rents come in cleare to him. And the richer they be, the further off moſt of them, as may bee ſeene by their carriage. The other fault is delay; where if that were done at the firſt, which muſt be done at the laſt, when it is growne double and trebble with lingering; it would haue beene much better; where now it is ſcarcely ſeene. Intereſt increaſeth, and new charges grow, before the olde bee diſcharged; and by that time one ſubſidie bee paide in, two more will not ſuffice. Which puniſhes alſo the ſubiect more, then had hee drawne his purſe wide, and cleared all at the firſt. And therefore I commend them of *Vtica*, when *Iulius Cæſar* came, and impoſed a great matter vpon them, to bee paide at ſixe payments in three yeares; they made him anſwer out of their loue, or height of minde, that they would pay all downe, and ſo they did the ſame day. I thinke three hundred perſons paide all.

Naucl.

Once well done, is twice done. But as matters be handled, tenne times done is ſcarce once done. Before the king ſhould ſell land, or diminiſh his eſtate; who would not make the hundreth

hundreth part of his meanes, and giue it him downe, rather then make an euery yeares charge of it, as wee doe, and the king not much the better by it? And this would quit a million or two ſuddainely for once in a kings life time, and doe no man hurt. And how much better this, to giue part rather then all, or halfe, or a third part of ones Rents, as they did to *Ladiſlaus* king of *Boheme*, and *Hungary*; and as in extremity wê are bound, though God defend it ſhould bee needed. But I haue read of the like in other countries; namely once in Rome, vnder the Conſuls, *Leuinus* and *Marcellus*, when there was not a man from the higheſt to the loweſt, who brought not into the treaſury all his golde and ſiluer hee had; and left themſelues little elſe, but what they wore on therr belts and buckles, and rings on their fingers. An other time, they of *Marſeiles* did the like vnasked, to aide the Romanes at a need, and left not themſelues a peece of golde, either in publike, or priuate.

Liuie. 26. Florus. Iuſt. 43.

Neither is it fit for vs to iudge the State at our pleaſure, when matter of burthen is propounded, our *Soueraigne* being wiſe, and bearing conſcience towards vs. They ſitte neere the Sunne, and know what muſt bee, better then wee. They are wiſe, and more experienced then wee, and their part is in the burthen, as well as ours. It belongs to vs to liſten willingly, and performe gladly. *Hilarem datorem diligit deus*, God loues a cheerefull giuer, and bleſſes him no doubt accordingly. And the reaſon why our anceſtours thriued better then wee, and liued more plentifully, Saint *Auguſtine* imputeth to this, *Quia deo decimas, regi cenſum dabant*, Becauſe tithes they paid to God, and tribute to the king. Others pay alſo at this day, but they doe it not willingly, and God regards more what the heart doth, then what the hand doth.

2. Cor. 9. Hom. 48. de Sanctis.

And therefore whoſoeuer bee Iuſtices, or Aſſeſſours on the bench; our loue and conſcience muſt bee of the *quorum*. Let mutiny and turbulency finde no place with ingenuous ſpirits. Chriſt himſelfe made meanes to contribute to ſuperiours for our example, hauing himſelfe neither lands, nor goods. And ſo would wee, if we had but loue in vs. A dead

horſe is no horſe; no more is dead loue any loue. And where ſhould wee ſhewe it more, then to our Prince, in whom all cauſes of loue concurre together moſt commonly? Some weare their kings in their hat, ſome in a iewell about their necke, and wee ſet vp his picture in our eye where we eate, and drinke; we praiſe him, and ſet out his vertues, and run out to ſee him, and bidde God ſaue him, as if wee had neuer ſeene him before. Wee pray for him in priuate, and publike; and hee is all our glory till wee come to part with any thing; and then the king knowes not mê ſay they; I ſhall neuer haue thankes of him, I haue children and charge, the king had more neede giue mee. Some ſay it, ſome thinke it, and wee ſee not who lookes on the whileſt. Euen he that iudgeth both ſubiect, and Soueraigne, and will not ſuffer his annointed vnreuenged of any indignity. But I will goe forward.

I come now to your *Superfluum* I ſpake of. A thing that is not ill in it ſelfe, if men doe not loue it too much, and ſeeke it not ſo eagerly as they doe. I will tell you in a word what your Paſtours thinke of it, and then conclude. The ſcripture bids you; *If ye haue much, giue much. Abundanter tribue.* If yee haue little, giue little, but let it bee *volenter*, willingly. Chriſt ſaith, we ſhall be damned for not doing ſome things. Which all the fathers vnderſtand to be the workes of *mercy*, both ſpirituall, and temporall. The ſpirituall are comprehended in theſe verſes.

Tobit 4.

Mat. 25.

Aduize, reproone, good comfort giue,
Beare with him, pray for him, and forgiue.

All which ſixe, as well temporall perſons, as ſpirituall, are bound to doe; eſpecially the ſecond, which is brotherly correction. No man may forbeare to admoniſh his neighbour of his offence, if yee bee not more likely to doe hurt by it, or bee likely enough to doe him good, and no body elſe will.

Which rule alone I muſt tell you, when I well conſidered; it made mee the bolder to aduenture on this daies charge,

charge, though better becomming other manner of persons then my selfe, if they were at hand. But beeing so that my happe aboue others hath beene heere to speake about such businesse; although I haue no cause to admonish, or touch in particular any one for the enormities aforesaide; yet by the way of præmonition I giue a brotherly warning to all, (as by this rule I thinke my selfe bound) that they fall not into the same. For according to this rule I finde it written in another place, *vnicuiq; mandauit Deus de proximo suo*, euery man hath charge in charity ouer his neighbour. That is to say, either by preuenting euill before it come, as I doe now; or by correcting euill if it bee past, which I haue no cause in any of you. And this I holde to bee the chiefe, or onely spirituall worke, that all persons alike are bound vnto. But as for temporall workes which was the other part of my diuision, wee are bound to more. And therefore for our better memory, they are put into verse thus. Eccl. 17.

Feede, visit sicke, redeeme out of thrall,
cloath, harbour harbourlesse, giue buriall.

All set downe by our Sauiour himselfe, but the last, which is buriall: and all these or most of them wee must doe vpon paine of hell fire. *Ite in ignem eternum* saith hee, Goe yee into euerlasting fire. For yee visited me not, ye cloathed me not, &c. Mat. 25.

Of spirituall workes more then I haue said, I say nothing; they belong to Diuines and Preachers; who are the best instruments with learning, and spirit, to mannage our soules. Of corporall workes also I haue not much to say, more then of the instrument and meanes for them, which is *gold* and *siluer*; and which we either haue, or lay for more then they, and therefore are bound to doe them more then they. For there is not a corporall worke except that of visiting, but requireth some charge, and outward ability. Euery body cannot redeeme prisoners; yea who make prisoners but rich folke. An hundred dye in a yeare sometimes out of one prison, as many ready to starue without shirt to their backe, or

bread to eate. Many are ashamed to begge, or to complaine and bring in their winding sheet when they come in, vnable to buy necessaries, and much lesse to pay debts. But this is their manner of redeeming prisoners, to lay them faster if they can, or to abridge them any comfort, that a prison may affoord. Let rich men and prison-keepers take heede of this, if euer they looke to prosper with that they haue. For if any should perish thus through their wilfullnesse, it is murther before God; and if they want maintenance, they are bound by this precept to maintaine them. The rich men (I say) for deteining the vnable, if they think them so. Prison keepers for looking no better to their hospitalls; for euery Iaile is an hospitall, as well as a prison. And if begging will not serue, they must finde them bread, and drinke at least, or giue vp their office.

God will charge vs one day, that wee did not some of these things, which wee were able to doe, and had good meanes for. *Unicuique mandauit Deus*, as I said before. And [*mandauit*] implies a duty. It is not as we will, but wee are bound to it; as it appeares by the penaltie which is laid vpon it. Else why should wee be damned for not doing, if we were not bound to performe? I would haue you to vnderstand these matters rightly, beeing the maine point of my this daies charge, which I haue, and am to deliuer you. Ye haue one notable errour amongst you, that if yee haue hundreds, or thousands lying by you, you thinke all is your owne, that is left at the yeares ende; and if the world doe follow you a little, yee thinke God loues you streight, and ye beginne to follow it. Then comes in hourding, and heaping, and loathnesse to depart with it. And this, because it is not vsury, or theeuery, and we come well by it; wee thinke it all our owne, when it is not. Remember that saying. *Qui festinat ditari, non erit innocens*, Hee that hasteneth to bee rich, can hardly bee innocent. For eyther hee comes not well by it as hee should, or vseth it not well when hee hath it, or thinkes all to bee his owne, and forgettes his Stewardship.

Prou. 28.

We thinke all to bee our owne I say, and so it is against

all

all men but God, and the poore. If the poore want, it is none of ours. Howbeit, such be the times, and so far be we growne from the true conceipt of this duty, that wee commonly make but a tush at it. They knew it better in the *primitiue Church*, then now we doe; as appeared by the voluntary contributions, and often gatherings for the afflicted, and them that wanted. They were called *Collectæ*, and were paid most readily without long asking. But afterward as deuotion grew slacke, Bishops were driuen to send out their warrants to compell them to charity. And in these latter times, there be temporall lawes to inforce vs to so needfull a worke. Wee are driuen to pay by the acre, and yet it comes full hardly from vs for want of true knowledge of our bond on this behalfe. Which necessary knowledge, euen so necessary as any can be, I would resuscitate as it were, and raise againe in our soules, and spirits, that wee may not perish for want of this loue, and pious affection. Which God himselfe not counselleth but commandeth, not requireth but exacteth, not aduiseth but strictly chargeth vs, that it doe not decay in vs, but bee alwayes burning.

Saint *Iohn* saith there is no loue in vs, if we haue the substance of the world, and will see our brother want. Beholde heere a flat iudgement against vs, and yet wee thinke our selues secure hauing store by vs, and will not part with it. We cân helpe, and will not, wee haue the substance of the world, and yet wee will see him want. Yee haue heard already, that whatsoeuer our profession be, wee must not be ashamed of the Gospell; our *Glory* must be in Gods holy word. We are biddē to loue one another. Saint *Iohn* the diuine of diuines saith plainely, *Wee loue not*, if wee haue the substance, and powre it not forth. And what followes then but losse of our soules. It is not I that giues the censure, but the written word giues it, and it will not be auoided. If wee keepe our substance to our selues, we loue not, if we loue not we shall not liue. And this S. *Iohn* himselfe saith, he writes vnto them, to the ende they may not sin. What *glory* now in your *superfluum*? what glory in your abundance? what glory in your substance, if it be prouided you to damne you?

1. Ioh. 3.

1. Ioh. 2. 1.

Let vs come now to our deuines, and beſt expoſiters. And ſee whether thêy will helpe vs? No. They ſing all one ſong. The word of God is eternall, ſooths no man, is ſubiect to no mutation. It was ſo in the beginning, and muſt be ſo to the ending. They tell vs firſt out of the *prophecy* of *Scripture*, that the poore *we ſhall haue alwayes with vs*. And there be reaſons for it, beſides *authority*. The firſt reaſon is naturall. For the poore come neereſt the nature, and faſhion of the firſt age, when all were in equality, all cladde alike, all in like buſineſſe of husbandry, and bodily labour, without diſtinction of nobility and popularity, riches and pouerty, as was moſt *congruent* to the law of nature; and ſo haue continued from age to age to this very day, the trueſt patterne of our primitiue eſtate, or golden world. And therefore we may not contemne them, or thinke their eſtate ſhamefull. For it is no ſhame to be poore (ſaid *Pericles*) but to be idle, and doe nothing whereby to liue.

Mat. 25.

Thucid. 2.

An other reaſon is the corrupt nature of man, who ſtriues to drawe all to him, and would leaue his fellowes little, if he could. Like them that play at dice, where one gettes all with his fortune or falſhood, and leaues the reſt pennileſſe. A third reaſon is morall, or politicall. For the poore are profitable, and were it not for them, wee ſhould doe our worke our ſelues. Alſo many of theſe be weake, lame, blind, aged, or ſickely, and cannot worke. A fourth reaſon is ſupernaturall. For if there were no poore, there would not be ſuch matter of charity, or ſuch ſtore of it, as there is dayly amongſt vs. And charity is one of the Theologicall vertues commended to vs often in Scriptures, and without which we know not whether we loue God or no. For it is a notable ſigne that we loue God, when we loue the poore for God.

In which reſpect, not to deny the poore alſo their due commendation, and to acknowledge the good wee receiue by their meanes; there needs no other teſtimony of it, then the promiſed bleſsings belonging thereunto, out of holy writ. *Beatus homo*, Bleſſed is he, that lookes vpon the poore, » and needy; God will deliuer him in the euill day. God will » keepe him from his enemies, and will help him, at his houre

Pſal. 40.

of

of death. These be high benefits. And in another place, *Qui diuidunt propria ditiores fient*. Loe here a temporall blessing also. They that distribute of their owne, shall be richer by it. Pro. 11.
And in another place; he that giues to the poore, shall neuer want. Prou. 28.
Besides this, which is greatly for the glory of pouerty, God makes himselfe free of their company when hee names himselfe among little ones, saying; what yee haue done to these little ones, ye haue done to me. And what yee haue nôt done to these little ones (whom hee called needie before) ye haue not done to me. Mat. 25. „ „ „

Verily, the poore in some sort may bee compared to a Merchants ship, that is kept most part vnder water. And the more ye put into it at your launching, the more profite yee make at your landing. They are like a fatte soyle about a citty, called in the scripture, *soyle* and *manure*, the more *siluer* yee sowe in it, the thicker it comes vp againe. *They that sowe in blessings, shall reape in blessings.* The Prophet *Esay* compareth pouerty to a furnace of fire, because it dryes vp the marrow of a man with care, and thought, and scorches the very intrailes of him with extremity of want: this fire also, the more meate yee hang on, or lay downe before it, the better ye shall fare, when ye come to sit. Psal. 112. 2. Cor. 9. Esay 48.

I say nothing heere of the good of poore mens prayers, which God is inclined to heare in all our business. *Non spreuit, neque despexit deprecationem pauperis*, God despises not the poore bodies prayer. *Oculi eius in pauperem respiciunt*, his eyes are fastened on the poore. Yea as the poore doe liue by the rich, or should doe; so the rich doe liue by the poore, or may doe; that is to say, by their good prayers. For the rich giue earthly foode out of their aboundance: and the poore giue heauenly foode out of Gods ordinance; who hath made them our entertainers in his kingdome (as silly as they seeme heere) to receiue vs, and welcome vs to those heauenly tabernacles, when wee come there. Neither doe I speake what wee loose by them, if wee neglect them. For *qui despicit deprecantem, sustinebit penuriam*, Hee that despiseth him that askes of him, what is his reward? hee shall come to be poore himselfe, he, or his in the end. Which Psal. 21 & 101. Psal. 10. Luk 16. Prou. 28.

I wiſhe with all my heart that euery good body would take heede of, before they come to make proofe of. The poore we ſhall alwaies haue with vs. And this is our firſt ground.

An other ground is, that this want of theirs muſt be ſupplyed out of our *Superfluum*. For it is written *quod ſupereſt date*, Giue of that which remaines to you ouer and aboue your neceſſaries. So, *qui duas habet tunicas det non habenti*, If you haue two coates, giue to him that hath not. *Et qui habet eſcas ſimiliter*, Doe the like by your meate, giue of that you haue to ſpare. And this is not a counſell, but a precept, as may appeare by S. *Iohn Baptiſt* in the ſame place. Where if wee doe not theſe things, hee compares vs to a tree, that beares no fruit, and muſt therfore be cut down, and throwne into the fire. And which to preuent, he that hath two coates (ſaith he) let him giue one. And for this cauſe Saint *Auguſtine* tels vs plainely. *Res alienæ poſſidentur cum ſuperflua retinentur*, All that we haue more then enough, he ſaith directly is none of ours. He chargeth vs in a manner with ſtealth, and theft, if wee keepe our ouerplus from the poore. So Saint *Chryſoſtome*, and Saint *Hierome* interpret the words God, and Mammon. Wee may not ſerue God and goods gathering (ſay they) more then wee neede. And pretence of neede will not ſerue. To the hourder alſo it was ſaid, this night ſhall thy ſoule be taken from thee, *quia ſibi theſauriſauit non deo*, becauſe he heaped for himſelfe, and not for God; that is to ſay, not for the poore.

Luc. 11. Verſ. 40.
Luk. 3. ibidem.
in Pſal. 47.
Luk. 12. verſ. 20.

And yet in this, your paſtours fauour you in what they may; and doe not tie you to the ſupplie of euery need, that *occurres*. For they diſtinguiſh of time, perſon, and place. In time of *Scarcity*, and dearth, more care is required, then when there is more plenty. For perſon and place, *our country man* muſt be preferred before a ſtranger, our kinſeman before an other not of kinne, our owne pariſh before an other pariſh, and this by law of neighbourhood, and vicinitie. And in all theſe, regard muſt bee had of them that bee of Gods houſholde, or houſholde of faith, before them that bee without, by Saint *Pauls* own rule. Laſtly they diſtinguiſh of

Gal. 6.

Superfluum

Superfluum, as they did before of neceſſaries. For as there bee neceſſaries of nature, for keeping one aliue onely, with broken meate and patcht cloathes; and neceſſaries of eſtate, which are cloathes, and dwelling conuenient: ſo bee there alſo ſuperfluous of nature, when a man hath more then will ſuffice nature; and ſuperfluous of eſtate, and perſon, when hee hath more then hee hath preſent neede of for his eſtate, and perſon.

A poore man for example hath meate, and torne cloathes about him, but not to keepe him ſweete, and wholeſome; here is nature ſerued, but no *conueniency*. An other hath *conuenient* cloathing and abode, but wantes worke, or meanes to ſet vp trade; heere is another neceſſity ſupplyed, but not the third, for he muſt not liue idlely. The firſt is moſt-what ſupplyed at euery mans dore out of their *Superfluum* of nature. And if they cannot ſupply it otherwiſe, they muſt make *Superfluum*, and eate leſſe, rather then a poore creature ſhould ſtarue at his dore. The ſecond is a great neceſſity alſo, and muſt bee ſupplied out of ſome little *Superfluum* of our eſtate; and ſome haue giuen their cloakes off their backes at ſuch a neede, and haue beene greatly bleſt for it. The third which are ordinary neceſſities, they holde we are not bound to ſupply, vnleſſe wee haue ſome ſtore of *Superfluum*. So as if wee haue more then enough for our ſelues, wee are bound to ſupply thoſe ordinary neceſsaries in thêm, whom wee ſee, or heare doe neede. *Idcirco te voluit abundare Deus* (ſaith *Leo*) *vt per te alius non egeat.*

This is the doctrine which your learned vpon very good grounds doe holde, and teach. And when they ſpeake thus of *Superfluum* or ouerplus, their meaning is of that onely which we poſſeſſe ouer and aboue that which is needefull to our moſt decent eſtate we liue in. All that, they ſay we cannot call ours, and it muſt not bee retained, but it muſt bee imployed in ſome good and pyous vſes, or to ſupply the ordinary wants of others. Neither doth this bond of ours ariſe they ſay, out of the neceſsity of the poore onely, as in almes it doth, where the neede is extreame; but out of the very nature of *Superfluum*, and Iuſtice diſtributiue; whereof 2 2 x. q. 32. ad 5.

By this onely title wee become dispensers, because it is more then we neede our selues. And so much Saint *Augustine* insinuateth vnto vs, both by the place aforesaid; and also in another place, saying: *tibi superflua, domino necessaria.* As who should say because thou needest them not thy selfe, they are God almighties, who hath infinite vse of them in his members. Many a younger brother borne to little or nothing, would bee thy champion, or beadsman, for a little of that which thou couldest spare. Many a poore gentleman decayed by losse, or misfortune, would hold vp his hands day and night for thee. Some ruinated house might rise againe by thee, and giue thee the stile of her founder, and rayser. Much euill is in the world, and many badde courses attend good natures through onely want; which a cast of thy pittifull eye might easily helpe to thy eternall comfort. And if any of these workes bee too great for vs, hee will not aske so much of vs, but onely in proportion to our abundance; and by no other title, but of our abundance.

Tract. 50. in Ioh.

And it standeth greatly with naturall reason, if we marke it. For as the waters of *Nilus* doe ouerflowe, and diuide themselues once or twice a yeere vnto all the vallies, and meddowes thereabouts, to make them fruitfull out of their abundance; euen so it is where *superfluum* is, and where plenty ouerflowes the bankes of our owne neede, it is made for the leuelling, and making vp of lowe places; and poore mens wants either publike or priuate, are but channels, and trenches to direct it, and leade it where it should goe. And no doubt, but if God out of his Lordly power ouer vs, should but vse the ministery of an Angell about this so needfull a leuell; his iustice would fetch it out againe, as fast as we hold it, that euery man and woman might haue enough, and yet the owner neuer want it.

God did the like once, as we reade in *Exodus*, and it had beene our case right, if *Manna* there had beene money, and and not meate. For he that gathered most of that *Manna*, had vse of no more, then he that gathered least; and he that gathered least, had as much as he. Wherein God shewed vs then, in a figure, what hee would nôw haue vs to doe with

Exod. 16. 18

our

our money. He ſhewed it vs then indeede by miracle. But this miracle in the old law, Saint *Paul* would haue vs ſupply by *conſcience* in the new law, to make this equalitie between rich, and poore, as I touched in the beginning. The thing which he requires of vs, is this, and no more; *voluntas prompta ſecundum id quod habet*, *A readie will* (ſaith he) according to that we haue. This is the *conſcience* he requires of vs, and commands. And as it was with them that gathered *Manna*, He that had moſt, had not *Superfluum*, and he that had leaſt; wanted not, *Qui multum habuit non abundauit, & qui modicum, non minorauit* this is Saint *Paules* owne alluſion: euen ſo it muſt be with vs. Our will is the miracle muſt do it, to make a leuell betweene the poore, and vs. Our readie will is it that muſt deuide it. Our compaſsionate heart muſt be Gods Angel heere, to diſtribute it, before it come to ruſt. 2.Cor.8.14 ibid.

For as Saint *Baſill* and S. *Ambroſe* ſay very well; If they that abound, were not bound, to beſtow it againe vpon them that are needie, and poore; God were vniuſt in his diuiſion of things amongſt vs, to giue ſome more then ynough, and to ſome nothing, or leſſe then ynough, when all had ynough in the beginning, and none had more then other, but all was common. And of this minde I verily think, there is not a couetous man in the world but would be of, if he came to taſte once what pouertie is; whereupon the learned argue thus: No man can ſay that God is vniuſt; therefore no man can ſay, that this is his owne, if it be more then ynough. Not that any man can take it from him perforce; for that were villanie, and theft; but that the owners are bound to diſpence it, or diſpoſe it, where there is neede. Ser.ad diuites auaros. Ser.81. Aquin.q.66 art.7.

Farre be it from God to be vniuſt. For though he giue too much one way, yet he makes it euen an other way; Like to a tender father, who leaues all he hath to the eldeſt, with charge notwithſtanding, that he be a father to the reſt, and that his brothers, and ſiſters want not: who notwithſtanding, if they chance to want, and the eldeſt forget himſelfe; yet the father did his part, and woe be to the elder. Euen thus it fareth with euery rich man. I ſee no difference. *God*

giues a purse in his hand, and a precept in his heart with it, I was naked, I was hungry, I was harbourlesse, or friendlesse, and in a word, I was poore, and *comfortlesse*, and yee looked not at me. These be his yonger brothers, that must not want by him. And therefore looke what wee swell by Gods gift, wee come downe againe by his law. How much the gift raiseth vs, the law curbeth vs. And many a worthy body in the world, hath beene most glad to bee ridde of the one, that hee might bee eased of the other. Like honest receiuers, and collectours for the king; who to quit themselues of care, and cumber, haue been content to loose their fees, and to resigne to others. Now what could God doe more for this *equalitie* but make a law? what can Princes and policie doe, but innact, and command. And if men will not obserue, whose fault is it? God giues not mans Law, but conscience-Law, the greatest binder that is. And we reade it euery day in our poore brothers and sisters forehead, that we may not forget it. And therfore if we will not do it, at our perill be it.

True it is, this law hath beene better knowne to our consciences then now it is, and yee should seldome haue heard of coffers, and bagges full, when one was dead. And good people would haue lamented, and wept ouer them that dyed so, as we are wont to doe ouer them, that kill themselues. Hence come so many *væs* from godly people against rich folke, and hourders, that scrape, and rend, and are pittilesse. Hence groanes, and plaints of many a *pious person* for there friends, and kinsfolke, that leaue no better comfort behind them, then such a damnable signe. And therefore Saint *James giues* vs warning of it aforehand. *Agite nunc diuites plorate vlulantes; Now weepe ô yee rich folke*, and howle in your myseries, which yee cannot auoyd. Yee heape anger against your selues in the latter day. And he telles vs the cause of this anger; which is keeping of *Superfluum* by vs. For thus hee concludes his inuectiue. *The ruste of your golde, and siluer shall bee witnesse against you*, saith hee. And how comes this rust, but of long lying by vs? Behold heere an other Iudgement against hourding. Yee hard an other euen now out of Saint *Iohn*.

Iac. 5.

Ibid. v. 3.

A third

A third iudgement may bee deduced out of Saint *Paul*; where he calleth it Idolatry to be a hourder. His words are *auarus, quod est idolorum seruitus*. And I call this word *auarus* in this place an hourder in english, because it is meant by hourders, and Scripture hath no proper word for hourding but *auaritia*. Theft which is a kind of couetousnesse is called *furtum*. Vsurers are properly called *Fenoratores*; extortioners are heere called *Rapaces*. Euery one of these hath his proper name but hourding; which is heere therefore called by the generall name *auarus*, for want of another word. And to this interpretation S. *Pauls* comparison leades vs very fitly, when hee cals it Idolatry. For an Idoll is set vp and stirres not, no more does their mony. An idoll is commonly made of mettall, so is there mony of golde, and siluer. The keeping and holding of it is called heere Idolatry in respect of the much making of it, or hiding of it, as *Rachel* did, that none may come at it but themselues. It is idolatry in regard of the honour done to it, which is due to God. For though they knowe it is not God, nor dare adore it for God; yet they loue it altogether, as they should loue God; that is to say, with all their heart, with al their soule, and leaue to God but a little.

Eph. 3. 5.

Luc. 7.
1. Co. 5. 11.

It is called idolatry also in the other sence. For when God comes in place, the idoll *Dagon* fals to the ground. Euen so when grace comes, hourding breaks her neck. Then swelling bags begin to leake, and massie heapes fall in peeces. The mettal melts as the heart melts, till all be deuided into portions, & goe where it should goe. Some such examples there be of true repēters, though very few; but many more might be, if men were not made hard like mettall, with looking at mettal; as the *Liuonians* were turnd to wolues, with oftē gazing at wolues. S. *Paul* makes no better of these horders, thē excōmunicate persons. For he wil not haue vs conuerse with thē, nor so much as eat in their cōpany. They be rightly called, *auari quasi eris auidi*, or mony gripers; *auari quasi amari*, for their bitternesse toward the poore; *auari quasi auersi*, they turne their backs to a body, that lookes poore, and thinne on it. And yet because they wrong none in getting,

1. Reg. 5.

1. Cor. 5. 11.

they will not ſee their fault in keeping, and are in danger therefore of damning.

Gen.14. Howbeit, there is none of theſe iudgements, that euer touched holy *Abraham*, who was *diues auri, et argenti.* For he kept a great houſe, and releeued many with it. Three hundred and eighteene the Scripture ſpeakes of, that were fighting men, beſides women, and children, all bredde and brought vp ſaith *Ioſephus* in his owne houſe. Theſe touched not *Dauid*, who heaped ſuch a maſſe of treaſure for the houſe of God, which his ſonne was to builde, and he might not. Theſe hardly touch Princes, or noble men of great expences as I ſaide before; nor Magiſtrates, or Prelates, who haue great riches, if they be good men withall, and as ready to poure it out againe, as faſt as it came in, to the reliefe of many. Neither touch they any other, bee they neuer ſo rich of Gods bleſsings, ſo they be humble withall, and thinking ſtore to be a burthen, will take aduiſe, and be gouerned, where they ought, and are directed.

lib.1.ca.11 1.Par.28.

If a man haue a yeares reuenue lying by him, the matter is not great, and it may be fitting for him. But to haue many yeares gatherings moulding by him, I neuer yet heard or read of any good man, but one; and him it neuer did good either dead, or aliue. And that was *Narſes*, Generall to *Iuſtinian* for the weſt. Hee is touched with no fault but hourding. For he was otherwiſe a man both humble, and valiant, and no badde man to the poore. Hee left ſo much wealth in a ceſterne vnder ground, that it could not be carried out in many dayes after it was found. But the *Emperour* made a good worke of it; for hee gaue it almoſt all away to the poore. And therefore I commend *Beliſarius* much better, who was the other Generall for the eaſt at the ſame time, and ſawe the beſtowing of his huge riches himſelfe vpon ſuch as were of deſert, and other pious vſes, and hoſpitals for the poore. Our nation and countrey alſo hath beene, and ſtill is as much beholding to ſuch benefactours as any; and their names are memorable in townes, and citties where they abide. But eſpecially thoſe I ſay, that doe what they will doe in their life time, and not

at their death onely, when they can holde it no longer themselues.

This *argument* (my good friends) may seeme as to you, but vaine, who I know are little troubled with this kinde of sinne. And yet ye haue good meanes when ye come home to rise and raise good fortunes. But the due consideration of tempting riches of the one side (which wee must dearely answer for if we haue them) and of pinching pouerty on the other side, which but few care to comfort, or affoord a good looke on; doth teach vs to pray thus, and it ought to be al our prayer. *Diuitias et mendicitatem ne dederis mihi, sed tantum victui meo tribue necessaria.* As one should say, Lord let not me be rich, nor clog me with *Superfluum*; neither let me be in beggars estate, nor distract me with want, or misery, onely giue me necessaries, and I aske no more. If riches come, I haue but an office of charge by it, and more care I must haue to bestow them well, then haply they be worth. If I be poore, I cannot pray quietly for thinking of my wants. Giue me a meane therefore betweene both (Lord) that I be not tempted to deny thee (as it is said) in the same place, *ne illicear ad negandum.* And it may bee I shall deny thee with hourding, if I be rich; or with stealing, if I be poore.

Prou. 30.

ibid. vers. 9.

And thus when our Pastours teach vs, we must not think they ieast with vs, but shew vs the right way we must walke to dye securely. There calling is to know what is good for vs better then our selues, and what is right and equity in all things. This law of conscience I say is it, that makes all euen, which neither *Solon* nor *Lycurgus* euer knew of, to imprint in mens mindes. And which if they had, or that the Spirit of God had come within the element of naturall vnderstanding; *Philosophers*, and *Oratours* would haue vrged vs to this, as well as they. And yet many of them haue practised the very same, in their course of life, iust as ours doe teach vs. They contemned riches, or poured them out when they had them, content with ynough and no more. Such as *Crates*, *Anaxagoras*, *Zeno*, *Philoxenus*, and all the rest almost; not one of them rich, or that sought after it.

Demonax would take no care for meat or drinke, but when he was hungry he went in, where he saw the next dore open, & took a pittãce. Your excellent Poets, *Homer*, *Ennius*, *Plautus*, *Martiall*, and others, who had wits to command riches; yet were they poore men, *content* onely with inward *contentment*, let outward things go. And to come neerer our word, *Empedocles* thought nothing more Honorable, then contempt of *Superfluum*. The same said *Chilon* one of the seauen wise. *Possesse no more then yee neede* said he.

And of this opinion might seeme to bee the greatest worthies, almost that euer were, if they were not ouer *ambitious*. Such as *Cimon* of Athens, *Phocion*, *Aristides*, *Lamachus*, *Epaminondas*, *Fabritius*, *Menenius*; who either refused alwaies what was giuen them, or deuided their massie spoyles amongst there countrymen that wanted; and left not many of them so much as would bury them, but were buried at the common charge. And among these, *Epaminondas* aforesaid, I know not whether he were a greater Souldier, or Philosopher, but we finde him a great louer of pouerty; one that would neither borrow of any, nor take of gift, except it were for others neede. Hee thought most basely of couetousnesse, or hourding; and saide so vile a thing as it, could neuer take such roote in vs, but by ill education. Hee giues vs also a *medicine* for it. The same (saith he) that is good against raging lust. Let vs barre our selues sometimes of lawfull pleasure, and we shall auoide vnlawfull the better: euen so said he of *Couetousnesse*. We must forbeare lawfull gaine sometimes if wee will not bee tempted of that's vnlawfull. Wee must not bee alwaies listening after bargaines; which if we bee, he held it impossible to be iust, and vertuous. And by this meanes hee brought *Pelopidas* the Duke of Thebes, a maruellous rich man, to be a great contemner of riches, and an imbracer of pouertie. Whereby he raised many worthy men, and releeued numbers that wanted, and made the common to flourish out of his *superfluum*, although he had children of his owne.

Such an other was *Scipio* the patterne of all militarie prudence, and honour; who had the treasure of many nations

nations to diſpoſe of, yet left no more when hee dyed, then three and thirty pound weight of ſiluer, and two of golde. Yea what left *Pericles* behinde him, more then what his father left him, notwiſtanding his forty yeares greatnes among the Athenians? What left *Cato minor*? what *Phocion*, who might haue beene the richeſt in Athens, if hee would haue taken what was offered him by *Alexander*, and others? But hee would not, no not ſo much as for his children, or family. And I haue heard the like of an Engliſh *Chancellour*, who out of all his offices, and ſuperfluities that had paſſed his hands, he made vp his hundred marke a yeare (which his father left him) but an hundred pound to leaue to his heire. I ſay nothing of *Plato*, *Plutarke*, *Seneca*, whoſe workes are extant, and breath out nothing but contempt of that, which wee ſtriue to rende ſo much one from another.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the Tuberones in Rome; all gentlemen of a noble houſe, but decaied; yet liued moſt contentedly ſixteene couple of them together, vpon one little farme, with much pouerty and paines taking, and neuer ſought for more. No more did *Marcus Regulus*, or *Quintus Cincinatus*; the one content with poore ſeauen acres to keepe his wife and children with; the other with foure; neither cared they for more; & this with good husbandry they thought ſufficient. To whom I could adde a friend of mine at this day, a younger brother of the beſt gentlemen in our countrey, but of ſmall meanes. It would doe one good to ſee him vndergoe ſo merrily his great charge of wife and children. He was driuen to doe all things almoſt himſelfe. He was their Cater, Nurſe, Chamberlaine, Schoolemaſter, and whatſoeuer elſe was to bee done, hee did it, either within dores, or without. His onely ſtudy was, and a worthy ſtudy, to play the good husband, and keepe within compaſſe. But I returne to my matter.

Againſt this doctrine, which Diuines are ſo cleare in, ye will obiect, that there is no ſuch bond as I ſpeake of, for giuing to the poore, becauſe ye are not bound to beſtow thoſe things on your ſelues; and therefore much leſſe to giue to others. Yee grant it is good to giue, but yee are not bound.

I anſwer, the conſequence is falſe. For although I may be bolde with my ſelfe, yet I may not bee bolde with another. If one owe mee money, I may refuſe to take it, though I neede it. But if I owe to him, I am bound to pay. Alſo I may refuſe to eate if I will, but I may not deny my ſeruant to eate. Againe, if my ſelfe be defamed, I neede not alwaies ſtirre in it. But if I defame another, I muſt right him. And therefore that argument holdes not.

Yee obiect againe, if that bee true of Saint *Auſtine*, that wee may not keepe *Superfluum*, then alſo we may not get it, nor receiue it: but wee may receiue it, therefore wee may keepe it. I anſwer. The caſe is like waifes, and ſtrayes, which belong to the Lord againſt all men, vntill the owner come to challenge them; and then they bee none of the Lords. Euen ſo it is with *Superfluum*. It is our owne, and wee may take it, keepe it, and prouide more vntill occaſion doe come to imploy it, and no longer. And yet it may bee alſo, that
Gen.18. we are not bound to ſeeke occaſions, as *Abraham* did, who went abroade to meete ſtrangers of purpoſe, and to bidde them come in to eate and drinke with him. Or as they of
Luk.24. *Emaus* did in the Goſpell, who compelled the traueller to goe in and eate with them. And yet God ſo bleſſed them for it, that hee made them worthy to talke with him face to face: the one with the bleſſed trinity, as ſome expound that place; the other with Chriſt glorified, as wee reade in
Gen.18.13. *Geneſis*, and in the Goſpell of Saint *Luke*.
Luk.24.

Laſtly yee obiect, and yee will not bee anſwered, but tell mee I ſpeake againſt my ſelfe, and againſt nature. What (ſay you) are we not neereſt our ſelues? Haue we not wife and children to prouide for, which God hath ſent, and wee muſt keepe, and leaue behinde vs ſo prouided for, as may be anſwerable to our eſtate, and honour? Is it ſinne to gather and lay vp for them, which will not bee without care; and care will not doe it, if wee bee ſo charitable, as to ſpend it as it comes in? Is it a ſinne to purchaſe, build, or amend our eſtates? Indeede I muſt confeſſe, I ſpake euen now of bettering our eſtates, rather then abating; which cannot bee well done, but out of *Superfluum*. For to borrow much for

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it, will prooue diminiſhing inſtead of amending, as my ſelfe haue tryed to my coſt ere now, when I was ſo wiſe as to leaue my eſtate to others wits, and fortunes, while my ſelfe had more minde to higher ſtudies. But to ſatisfie you further in this point, I ſhould referre you ouer to your learned maſters, who are *parati ad ſatisfactionem omni petenti rationem*. It belongs to vs to beleeue, and not to diſpute. I am no Diuine, but onely an inſtructed Chriſtian, as you and all may be, that will aske, and learne. 1 Pet. 3.

Howbeit, if yee will take ſuch ſatisfaction as is to mee ſatisfaction; it may pleaſe you to accept it, vntill a better come. There bee many iuſt occaſions of ſpending our *Superfluum* beſides the poore. I will giue inſtance onely of a houſe; which a man may want, and were no more then fitting for his eſtate, but hee hath it not. They hold it a ſinne to weaken his meanes, and ſell much land for it, as it were to make a rich coate for one that lyes a dying, or is ſicke of a conſumption. If his *Superfluum* will doe it, he may doe his minde in it. Many poore ſhall haue worke, and reliefe by it, and if hee keepe a good houſe after for the poore, and not a ſhew of a houſe, for the world to gaze on, as ſome haue done; his conſcience will bee the better ſatisfied, and the world in him, that God is not forgotten, but hath his part in it.

There is no queſtion made, but a man may purchaſe what hee will out of *Superfluum*, ſo the lawes of loue bee kept to his neighbour, which I ſpake of before. Hee muſt not gripe him by no meanes, nor worke vpon his neede, but giue him the full worth. A gentleman ſtands in more neede ſometimes then a poorer man in ſhew. And it may bee a deede of charity to buy of him, if lending will not ſerue. And wee ſhall neuer be charged with it for hourding. But I muſt tell you more what they hold, and itis a caueat to all *purchaſers*. They muſt not put themſelues vpon the *taint* ſo, as to ſhut vp doores, or abate ſaile for it a yeare or two after; but the more they purchaſe, the more they muſt ſpend, either in their houſe, vpon increaſe of an honeſt retinue, or vpon the poore elſewhere; fiue perſons more for euery hundred

pound land purchaſed,were not much. If *Craſſus* had gotten it as well, as hee ſpent it well what hee got, hee had beene a right good man. Hee kept a Legion ſome whiles together at his owne charge,beſides other good workes of his. How much more ſhould Chriſtians doe the like. They may purchaſe warily ; but they muſt ſpend it liberally. They may heape, but not hourd ; like, but not loue too much. And the greater meanes one hath, the more in ſtore for them that want.

They bee miſers that purchaſe, and ſpend no more ; lurchers to the common; they abuſe the law of *Superfluum*,and the bleſſings of God beſtowed on them. Yet how many bee there of theſe that wee could reckon ; who liue at the ſame rate now,as they did many years ſince,when they could not ſpend the tenth nor twentieth part. They keepe neuer the more ſeruants,ſet neuer the more on worke, feede no more mouthes, giue no more to the poore, or contribute to the common much more then they did. And what a world ſhould we haue,if there were many rich, and euery rich man ſhould doe ſo. Either men muſt periſh, or ſeeke ſome where elſe where to dwell. Wee may iudge of a whole countrey by a little countrey towne, of fortie, or fifty houſes, with land to them all, and one man buyes them out, and diſpeoples the village. What becomes of the poore the whileſt, who liued there wholly vpon reliefe, haply ten,or a dozen ? No doubt hee is bound to keepe them, out of his increaſe. They muſt bee part of his purchaſe,or appurtenances ; yet will not ſpend two pence the more for it,but poſtes them ouer to the ſhire, if he can, to begge their bread. Would not many ſuch townes in a countrey conſume a countrey ? and is it not happy that prouiſion was made for it betimes in later Parliaments ? Let there not be a beggar amongſt you, ſaies the Law of God. And there is a bleſsing annexed to it from Gods owne mouth. As who ſhould ſay, Diuide your abundance among them,euery one in his tribe,ward,or pariſh, that there may be no beggar,or vagrant perſon among you. For without this diuiſion, there will be ſtore of them, and Statutes will not ſerue the turne.

Deut. 15.

I aſſeſſed

I assessed therefore euery hundred pound a yeares increase at keeping fiue poore bodies, or setting them on worke, besides his houshold. Whether I exceede or come short in this reckoning, I must refer it to your iudgements, and experience. Our doctours intermeddle not so farre, but leaue it to mens consciences, so they make a true conscience of it. But if ye thinke that I grate too much vpon you; *Mementote dierum antiquorum*, call to mind the ancient daies, when there were not such store of poore, as now there be to bestow their *superfluum* on. But in lieu thereof, what a nũber of Churches, & Chappels were then built, euery three miles walke doth testifie; besides Bishopricks, and houses of religion, free-schooles, hospitals, bridges, almes-houses, & other works of charity euery where to be seen, with lands to most of them all. Which if it be well pondered, and how largely they powred out their *superfluum* in those daies; the proportion I speake of, will not seeme great to make vp this equality. It is hard to make a rule in this busines, if conscience do it not. But very probable it is, if a man spend halfe his reuenue in houſ-keeping, & among the poore, and leaue nothing of it at the yeares ende, hee will haue little to answer for in that; and the remainder will not be much. But not to spend halfe that way, not a quarter, not a fift, or a tenth part, as many doe not; thât they hold to be execrable in the sight of God, and intolerable in a common-wealth. Deut. 32.

Neither is their any sence or husbandry in it, to hord & lay vp for children, which made such a flourish in the contrary argument at the first. There is no sence I say, for the portion will not grow bigger with locking vp. Not good husbandry, when Scripture it selfe aduiseth vs to put it out to bankers or other lawfull gaine, and not to hide it or dig it into the ground; *Opportuit te committere pecuniam meam nummularijs.* And so no doubt it would bee both surer to them that shall haue it; and also more auaileable to them, then if it lay cankering all the while in a corner to look one. Mat. 25.

But the thing I should haue spoken of at the first, I may not omitte to speake of last. And that is, how to know *Superfluum*, and when we haue it. For the true deciding where-

of, I thinke wee ſhall neede a iudge. For if men bee their owne iudges, they thinke they haue neuer enough, much leſſe too much. Witneſſe their owne complaints, if we talke with them ſeriouſly about this buſineſſe, though they bee neuer ſo rich. And I thinke they ſay truely in reſpect of their want of that they intend, and would compaſſe; but falſely, in reſpect of our duty to God, and bond to the poore. *Couetouſneſſe* is a moſt vile paſsion, and couetous perſons are neuer out of it. The angry body is not alwaies angry. The ſpitefull body not alwayes enuious. The vicious, and gluttonous bodies are not alwayes ſo. Theſe haue a time to ſee their faults, beeing as it were in a tertian, or quartan, the other allowes no intermiſsion, but is in a cotidian till he dye. And being alwayes therefore in his paſſion, he cannot iudge rightly of himſelfe. Hee knowes not his owne way, or worke ſo well as an other, or as himſelfe either, if his fitte would giue leaue. Which yet, becauſe it will not, he can hardly iudge right, but partially without a good friend to helpe him.

And this is *Plutarkes* rule, not mine. That when wee are doubtfull, whether wee doe well or ill, and whether we mend or impaire, and we cannot goe out of our ſelues as Paynters doe from their worke a while, to iudge the better of a fault when they come to it againe: heere (ſaith he) wee had need conuent our ſelues before ſome friends, or friend, and aske their opinions what is amiſſe, and would be amended in vs. A golden rule, and more worthy a Chriſtian, then a heathen. And if we follow it, we could neuer erre. Neither can any man want ſuch a friend, if he be humble, or as curious for his ſoules health, as he is for baſer things. But what is he that knowes not his owne ſtore, and expences; or how few there be, that fare the better by him? Let him thinke with himſelfe whether he would not ſpend leſſe if he could with honeſty. Let him call to mind, how many mens lands, and inheritances he holds, whereof euery one fedde many, and hee feedes not one the more? Can hee ſee this, and know this, and thinke hee hath not *Superfluum?*

De ira cohib.

Or

Or if he neuer were purchaſer; yet hee cannot but know how much comes in to him, more then he ſpendes, welfare all good tokens. His bagges make mention, if hee haue eyes to ſee them. Hee is well ynough ſighted, to iudge of his neighbours, what euery one is worth. And can he not ſee himſelfe much better? He will ſay, ſuch a one is but a poore man, or not the man he is takē for. Such a one is well to liue, and before hand. Such a one is a neere man, and hath thouſands, or a thouſand to ſpare; and yet doth not know, what himſelfe hath to ſpare? His coſt vpon iron cheſts, and double dores, and lockes moſt curious; doe not all theſe point him to his *Superfluum*? his feare of robbing, his heart now and then miſgiuing, or his minde ſtill running on it, with a perpetuall audit in his braine; doe not all theſe vſher him daily to the mint of his treaſure; and can hee not yet ſee, or thinke, that he hath *Superfluum*? There is none ſo blind, but may ſee it if he will, though many bee ſo ſelfe-louing, that they liſt not to heede it.

And of this, my comming is to heede you, and to aduiſe you my deere louers, and friends, that when yee come to haue more ſtore of Gods bleſsings, ye may make a bleſsing of it, and not abuſe your ſelues, abuſe God, abuſe his holy word, as all that be couetous doe; who haue nothing ſo frequent in their heart, and ſoule, and it is all the Scripture they practiſe, *Noli eſſe iuſtus multum*, Be not ouer iuſt, and, *Omnia traham ad me ipſum*, I will draw all to my ſelfe, and my fellowes ſhall haue none. As who ſhould ſay all were borne beggars to make him great; all mens fortunes ordained to raiſe his fortunes. And it is not out of time, that I aduiſe you thus. It may be no time fitter then euen now, that the world goes diminiſhing euery day from God, and all goodneſſe; and ſtands a great deale more vpon will and pride, then it hath done eſchewing counſell. As euery man thinkes it aduantageable for him, ſo goes right and wrong with him, and hee will bee his owne iudge. Time hath beene, that theſe cloaked, and coloured ſinnes haue not beene ſo common, as now they are. Either people haue beene more ſingle-hearted, or eaſier to be inſtructed then

Eccleſiaſtes 7.17.
Ioh. 12.

they be now; and had more care of the world to come, and how to gette thither, then to ſit deuiſing with themſelues how to make themſelues great here, and let heauenly things come after at leiſure. But let vs leaue the reaſon to God. Once we finde his word to be true, *Diminutæ ſunt veritates a filijs hominum,* Truthes are clipt and diminiſh't from the ſons of men; and the ſons of God (if we bee ſo) muſt reſtore them againe. If we will aske, we may finde. And wee haue the ſame oracles we had, the ſame ſpirit to teach vs, and to ſet on foot again that primitiue iuſtice, if we wil imbrace it.

Pſal. 11.

Couetouſneſſe is a moſt venemous thing, contagious, and vnneighbourly, fedde onely with ſelfe-loue, a moſt baſe and vnworthy loue, and I haue giuen you rules againſt it. *Prodigality* alſo, and *Riot*, are naught; and I haue told you, what a ſinne it is to waſte ones eſtate wilfully, and how ye may auoide it with frugality. Both ſorts are very ſinnefull. For the couetous body perſwades himſelfe, that all the *Superfluum* hee hath, is no more but needefull. The prodigall makes no more of his needfull, then if it were *ſuperfluum*, and ſo poures it out waſtfully without wit. The ſweet mean is betweene both, which there is no difficulty to practiſe with the helpe of God, and your cheerefull indeauour.

To which end, I haue told you many things which a couetous eare would be loath to heare at the firſt, vntill he do deepely conſider what will become of things at laſt. And yet if I haue any thing ſaid, more then your learned wil approoue; let it be as vnſaid. I haue laid before you but their concluſions; which if ye ſhall doubt of, your pious ſcrupuloſitie for better reſolution, knowes whether to repaire. Out of my loue I would haue you iuſtly informed, and as it were catechiſed in matters of iuſtice, as ye are wont to be in your points of faith. For which cauſe, I haue ſpent ſome time with you; but I deſire no more credite, then what your learned will affirme. I told you there muſt be equality wherefoeuer there is good gouernment; euen betweene king and ſubiect reſpectiuely, and betweene rich and poore. Yea, there can be no ſtable gouernment, where this is not well lookt into, as it hath beene in the beginning of all common-wealths.

To

To ſome belongs more, to ſome leſſe, euery one muſt haue neceſſaries to their eſtat; which if they haue not, they ought to be ſupplied. And the ſupply makes as iuſt an equality, as if al had alike. If one haue mony, and another haue wares, they are equall. If one be poore, and another ſupply, they are equall. If one haue ſubſtance, and another deſire it not, they are equall: it is all one to haue (ſaith *Seneca*) and not to deſire to haue. For equality conſiſteth not in hauing alike, but not wanting alike. If wants bee ſupplyed, all is equall; if not ſupplyed, there is a fault, that muſt bee amended. Yea; where knowne want is, and no ſupply; ſome mans pinching will ſmart for it in the world to come; and none haue cauſe to feare it ſo much, as they that haue *Superfluum*. No law to pull it from them, but the law of conſcience as I ſaid, which to obſerue is to make all euen; and nôt to obſerue, is to prouoke Gods diſpleaſure, who is Lord of all; and no more is to bee done in it, then heathens can in the buſineſſe. Epiſt. 120.

And therefore I haue gone with you by degrees, to rectifie your conſciences; as how yee ſhould loue your ſelfe, and how your neighbour. Your ſoule firſt, his next. Your owne life firſt, his next; vnleſſe hee be a publike perſon, or very neceſſary to the common-weale. Your goods, and fortunes likewiſe, how to bee vſed frugally, yet charitably, without hurting your ſelues, or your ſoules. I might haue ſaid how bountifull alſo for gifts, and benefits to followers, and fauourites, according to their deſerts, and your abilities; elſe it will ſoone be ſinne, and ſinke mens eſtates with ouermuch good nature, ere they bee aware. And this is more to bee pittied, then any thing; beſides the offence to God-ward. Likewiſe how yee may purchaſe, and what conditions for buying and ſelling without wrong, or exaction. Saint *Pauls* rule is the beſt; *nequis ſupergrediatur, neque ſuperueniat in negotio fratrem*, Let no man ouer-reach or circumuent his brother in any buſineſſe. Of your charity remember it. I might haue ſaid the like of lending; which is as good a deede, and a man is as much bound to doe, as to giue, if it bee with aſſurance. *Iucundus homo qui miſeretur, & commodat*. Holy *Dauid* ſaith it made him merry to lend, and yet 1 Theſ. 4. Pſal. 111.

hee had no intereſt for it. I might haue ſaid ſomewhat alſo of ſetting, and letting, where men bee of opinion, that they may doe what they will. But they may not. You muſt not racke it to the moſt, and ſtand to no hazzard. It ought not to trouble a man, if his tennant haue a penniworth for his money, or for fauour. The Lacedemonians neuer raiſed Rents, yet liued moſt happily. It is good for you to follow ſome worthy bodies, and to do as they doe, that are knowne to bee of the beſt conſcience.

I haue not omitted to ſay ſomewhat of our duty to the common, and of the greatnes of this bond, and of the cheerefulneſſe and alacrity wee ought to entertaine it with, ſorry that our hand is not in euery publike worke, though no body ſaw it, but onely God. To the king eſpecially; who as hee is great by law, ſo ſhould hee be greater in our loue, and haue part with vs in all, but in grudge and contradiction. So farre bee it from vs to magnifie him in words, and minnifie him in workes, as they doe to *Conquerers* and *Tyrants*. And laſtly I come to your *Superfluum*, whereof I haue ſhewne you ſome deformities, and what a monſter it would prooue in a common-wealth, if lawes did not reprooue it ſomewhat, and conſcience more. And yet I haue beene briefe vpon the point; the matter requiring more perſwaſion, then inſtruction, more eloquence, then arguments, and more grace in the hearer, then tongue in the teacher. For why?

Goods if they bee good, they haue wrong to be kept in. *Omne bonum eſt ſui communicabile*, The nature of good is to doe good, and to impart it ſelfe to others, if man doe not hinder it. The ſprouting ſprings are not content with their owne fulneſſe, and to ſerue the neighbourhood with pailes full and tankardsfull, but ſend the reſt immediately to poore Millars, and Fiſhermen, and make riuers nauigable for the vſe of man. The liuer not content to feede it ſelfe with blood, packes away the ouerplus all the body ouer, euen to fingers, and toes, as farre as it can goe. Yea, golde and ſiluer not ſatisfied with their owne riches, and brightneſſe; nor pretious gemmes with their luſter, and vertue, where they lye in ſea coaſtes, or deſart mountaines; but offer themſelues

to

to mans induſtry, whoſoeuer will fetch them. *Gaoga* and *Tambuco* furniſh *Africke* with millions. *Mexico* and *Peru* repleniſh *Europe* and *Spaine*; and the *East Indies* releeue *Aſia* with richeſt ſtone, and mettall. It is againſt nature to keepe good things in. Yet wee, by corrupt vſage ſmother vp all in corners, that none may bee better for them. If one may doe it, all may doe it. And what if all ſhould doe the like? what if all were hourders? ſhould wee not thinke them *Caterpillers*? Leo. Afer.

Say it were not money wee hourded, but that wee bought vp all the beefes and muttons in markets, all the corne, and graine that comes there; and all other commodities that come in for mans prouiſion: would not townes and countries cry out on vs? and is it not all one, to hourd vp euery mans prouiſion, and to hourd vp that which men ſhould buy it with? If all ſhould hourd vp corne as one did, a countri-man of ours, who ſolde no corne but in deare yeares; ſhould they not bee murtherers to the multitude, and quellers to their owne ſoules? The man was rich, and had alwaies three yeares corne in barnes, and ſtackes before hand. His farme was his owne, rich ground all of it. The fourth yeare, vpon a Whitſune-eue, he walked vp a hill, and ſaw the countrey full of goodly corne, and came home to the good woman his wife, and tolde her he was vndone. Why ſo ſaid ſhee. It is likely to be a plentifull yeare againe ſaid hee. Marry thankes bee to God ſaid ſhee, many ſuch yeares God ſend vs. But hee went into his barne, and hung himſelfe, and ſo had dyed if chance had not beene. The hourder doth ynough for his part, that no man ſhould haue either money, or wares. *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Syracuſa*, taught a citizen how to imploy his money better then ſo. For hearing of much treaſure hee had hidden in the ground, he ſent vnto him to bring it him; which hee did. But hee brought not out all. And that which hee left, hee beſtowed preſently vpon houſe and land in the countrey. Which when the Tyrant alſo heard of, hee ſent for him, and gaue him his money againe, ſaying to him: ſince thou knoweſt how to vſe money, take thy money againe, which is made to vſe, and not to lye

lye by one; and ſo diſmiſſed him. Glad was he that he learnt ſo good cheape. But woe be to the country that knowes not how to vſe riches, vntill a Tyrant teach it them.

True riches is to haue ſtore of neceſſaries, wherewith to feede many, not ſtore of *Superfluum*, that no body may touch. Golde and ſiluer will not feede as they lye, nor coſtly furniture with gazing on. It will bee long before any of theſe will giue vs a breakfaſt, though neuer ſo goodly to behold. And therefore it was thought but rude and childiſh in *Telemachus*: who when he came vnto *Neſtors* houſe, and ſaw it ſtored with wine, meate, prouiſion, and entertainement for all commers, and howſhold-ſtuffe in great plenty; hee neuer commended him for the ſtore of all neceſſaries. But when hee came to *Menelaus* his houſe, where was plenty of ſuperfluous things: the romes bright with copper, gold, and alchumy; and pillars of great magnificence: he was ready to adore, ſaying:

Odiſſes. 2.
Plut. Mor.

Talem intus Iupiter (niſi fallor) olympius aulam
Poſſidet; attonitum ſic me veneratio tentat.

Ioues Bower I thinke can ſhew no more;
So am I tempted to adore.

As if pompe were more neceſſary then life; or Superfluity more commendable in a fewe, then ynough for all.

The Concluſion.

NOw let me not holde you ouer long. As I profeſſed in the beginning, to ſay nothing of open ſinnes, but of theſe cloſe, and cloaked ſinnes, which are ſinnes notwithſtanding, and full of iniuſtice: ſo haue I ſaid no more then nature teacheth vs, as well as law diuine; what a monſter *Cupiditie* is, and how groſſely it miſleades vs, and how contrary to it owne ſelfe, more then other Cupidities

are.

are. I beganne with *Plutarke* a heathen wise man, and I will ende with him. Hee tels vs plainely that no Cupidity so fighteth with it selfe as this of riches doth. All other desires, are more for vsing then possessing. This contrary more for possessing, then vsing. Wee desire not meate, to absteine from it, we desire not wine to forbeare it, wee desire not warme cloathes to lay them vp: but when wee haue eaten wee are satisfied, when wee haue drunke wee haue enough, when our gowne is on, it is cumber to put on more; and if wee haue our pleasure at any time, we haue done with it soone. Onely riches when wee haue them, our thirst is not alaide; wee still desire more. The more we haue the more we couet, *Semper auarus eget*; new rents, and new commings in asswage not our appetite while wee liue; but the medicine increases the disease. To this wee may adde. What hinders vs more in our iourney to heauen, then this vntoward Cupidity? what stoppes vs to doe iustly with our neighbour, friend, or brother, but Cupidity? what makes vs grate vpon him, and draw what we can from him, but this? what blindes vs so that we see not our debt to the poore, but this? for so the Scripture cals it *debitum*, a debt, *Declina pauperi aurem tuam, et redde debitum tuum*, render thy debt to the poore. Who can abide to heare this? ye will say they be lewde folke now a daies, and vnthankfull, and it is no charity to giue them. How then? I talke not of giuing them, I speake of debt. It is our abundance as I said before, and not their goodnesse, that makes it theirs. If they be badde, they must liue to amend, God sends raine vpon the iust, and vniust; and our debts we must pay both to good, and badde; whereof this debt is one to the poore, howsoeuer cupidity blindes vs, and casts a vaile ouer our eies, that we cannot see it. Poets faine *Cupid* blinde: euen so is Cupidity. It couereth our vnderstanding, turneth reason awry, it strengtheneth passion weakeneth iudgement, rayseth pride puts downe pitty, fireth enuy cooleth charity, preacheth parsimony hateth hospitality, is open handed to take close fisted to giue, no, not to himselfe; robbes the king of that is his, the subiect of his, the

In his Moralls.

Eccl. 1. 4.

Mat. 5.

common of theirs, nor willingly giues any body their own. We may call it in a sort a sinne against nature, that beareth such a sting against it selfe, and owne honour. O thinke not lesse of it because it is lesse seene. The more hidden a sinne is, the more dangerous. I haue discouered vnto you many a sinnefull practise to day, which it may bee yee haue not heard of. Contemne them not I beseech you. For such as these will damne a man, when euill custôme
2.Reg.24. biddes him bee secure. That sinne of *Dauid* in numbring of his men, how soone would he haue seene it, if the Prophet as it is thought had not tolde it him first? and yet this ignorance escaped not punishmẽt, his kingdome was plagued for it; seuenty thousand lost their liues at a clappe. And
1.Reg.15. how would *Saul* haue acknowledged his sinne, in sauing the best things of *Amaleck* to serue God with as he thought, if *Samuell* had not stept in with due reprehension? and yet pretence of reason was no barre to Gods iudgement, that fell out heauy vpon him. Long before that, Gods seruant *Moyses*, how had hee knowne his offence of conniuence
Num.20. with the peoples contradiction, if God had not admonisht him presently before it grewe greater? Or the Patriarke
Gen.38. *Iudas* his iniustice to *Thamar*, vntill shee had shewne him his Ring, and staffe, and then he said, *Iustior me est*, The har-
3.Reg.13. lot was iuster then he. Long after this, the man of God, who was sent to ouerthrowe the altar of *Ieroboam*, and foresaw the things that hapned three hundred yeares after, yet knew he not the thing that was present, which was his owne sinne of light beliefe; vntill knowledge came to him accompanied with punishment, whereof a Lyon was both messenger, and executioner. It is no rare thing amongst sinners, not to see their fault, vntill they be told of it. Saint *Bernard* complaineth of himselfe, that he hath set vp a vice for a vertue sometimes. Now what thinke yee I pray you of all these, and what of your selues? are ye stronger and better sighted then they? might yee not bee deceiued all this while in your courses, as well as they? and if we haue a plague or plagues in our country, may it not be for some of these hidden sinnes, though there were no other? And

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may not the good bee punished for the badde, as they were in *Iosuaes* dayes, for the sinne of onely *Achan*? yea, may it not be for these enormities alone, that God doesthreaten to set the earth in an vproare, and to make the dwellers thereof to wring their hands, for vsing the poore so hardly, for buying them out with siluer, and making vse of their neede? How much better is it therefore for vs to take warning by these, and to furnish our selues in time with sufficient knowledge, especially where ignorance will no way excuse. *Omnis via viri recta sibi.* The Spirit of God foretels vs as it now prooues, that euery one thinkes hee is in the right, when he is not, nor is like to bee, where he is his owne iudge, and partiality holds plea. I tolde you *Plutarkes* rule; wee must summon our selues before our friend, or friendes in doubtfull businesse, and Scriptures accord with it. *Væ soli,* Woe bee to one alone. For if his witte and selfe conceipt once giue him a fall, who can raise him againe? We liue in miserable blindnesse heere in the world. For while we be in sinne, wee haue no other light but sinne. *Lucerna impiorum peccatum,* We haue no other torch-light to goe before vs, but ill custome; a darke dazeling light, and therefore haue neede of one to leade vs by the hand. *Cœcus amor,* our loue blindes vs. *Cœca libido,* our dayly likings, and holding affections blinde vs. *Concupiscentia transuertit sensum sine malitia,* saith *Sapiens,* Wee are so vsed to our appetites and iniustices, and make them so bold and wanton with vs euery day, that wee sinne, and thinke not of it. And therefore woe be to a man alone without a guide, or admonisher. It is not good for a man to be alone sayth God himselfe. *Faciamus ei adiutorium,* Let vs make him a helpe. For, *Viri non est vt dirigat gressus suos*, saith holy *Ieremy,* It belongeth not to a man to gouerne himselfe. And therefore let vs make him a helpe. And what helpe? Not an angell, not a God to conuerse with him; but *simile sibi,* Such an other as himselfe; a sinner like himselfe, a frayle man like himselfe, a man. It is for our humility, that God will haue man to comfort man, none but man to counsell man, and will not haue vs looke for illu-

Ios. 7. Amos 8.

Prou. 21. "

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Ecclesiastes 4.

Prou. 21. 4.

Sap. 4.

Gen. 2. Ier. 10.

ſtrations from heauen in euery doubt, as they did in olde time, when all was darkeneſſe, and very fewe to gouerne vs. God ſhines vpon diuerſe diuerſly. And his grace hath put more wiſedome and grace into one, then into another, to furniſh them that lacke. The Scripture cals them, *Senſatos. Cum videris ſenſatum, euigila ad eum,* When yee ſhall
Eccl.6. ſhall finde an vnderſtanding man, or a learned man, giue eare to him. Weare downe his threſholds with often comming, and liſten to him, as it is written in the ſame place,
ibid. *Gradus oſtiorum eius exterat pes tuus*, ſaith he. And King *Dauid* tels vs in another place, where he ſpeakes to God, ſaying: *Tu paraſti directiones*; That God prouided directions
Pſal.98. for euery one that will aske. Yea more then this, if wee aske not, it is a ſigne (I thinke) that God is angry with vs. For ſo he ſpeakes of a ſinner, that *Secundum multitudinem iræ ſuæ non quæret*, It is according to the greatneſſe of
Pſal.9.25. Gods anger, that a ſinner will not ſeeke, or aske. And therfore why doe men aske no oftner then they doe, or follow them no better? or why doe they not weare downe their threſholds with comming, and going, as they are bidden? And I ſpeake not this to hourders onely, but to young men, and ſpenders alſo; who daily vndoe themſelues for want of directions. I neuer knew any man waſte himſelfe, that was ruled by ſuch. And of all the vnthrifts that euer I heard of, I neuer knew any, that was ruled by ſuch. They will be ruled by cheaters, & thoſe that prey vpon them, but not by ſuch. They will liſten to them that humor them, but not to them that pitty them, and wiſh them all true wealth. Both ſorts neede counſell, I know not which more. Whether he that will waſte all with ouer laſhing; or hee that ruines many with ouer-keeping. You ſtand yet indifferent betweene both. But which way ſoeuer you incline; bee neuer your owne iudges, but liſten. Bee fearefull alwayes to endammage any man, and at ſuch times eſpecially I wiſh you to be aduiſed moſt, when yee haue moſt aduantage, or are likely to gaine moſt. There be that perſwade you to contempt of the world; I entreate you onely that it contemne not you, when it hath tumbled you into the lake. To them

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it belongs, to ſhew you the ficklenesse, and deceit of it; I doe but wiſhe you to imprint it in your minde. Your preachers tell you, how and what yee muſt hourd; *theſaurizate vobis theſauros in cœlis*, Heape treaſure in heauen; I doe but admoniſh you of your ſinne againſt nature, and the abuſe of your good meanes, which God hath lent you. Thêy tell you how hardly things are gotten, how ſoone loſt, and how little they deſerue of vs, for all our much making, and will not ſo much as accompany vs to our graue: I ſay no more then what *Leonidas* tolde you, when *Xerxes* wrote vnto him to come on his ſide, and hee would make him much greater then euer hee was. But hee wrote vnto him againe. If thou kneweſt ô *Xerxes* what the goods of this life are, and how little to bee eſteemed, thou wouldeſt not ſeeke as thou doeſt for others mens. This yee will thinke was well ſaide of a king, a ſouldier, a heathen. Wee ſhould know better then hee, what theſe things are. What bee they better the beſt of them, then a penny in a paile of water, ſeeme great, and are not; fire in ones boſome, burne more then warme; a wagge, or wanton much cockered and loued, and loues not againe? when wee dye, they are as readily another mans as ours, who tooke all the care to get them together. Let vs learne of a heathen for very ſhame, if not for charity, nor loue of Chriſt, to eſteeme as little of theſe outward things, as they doe of vs. That is to ſay, to make vſe of them, and no more; or at the leaſt, not to prize them ſo, as to lye cankering by vs long. If yee like to goe light, and free from burthen, heape not burthen vpon burthen; which if ye doe, yee will hardly keepe euen, but one ſinne or other will ouertake you, and giue you a fall. *Qui pauca requirunt, non multis exidunt*, ſaith our *Philoſopher*, They that ſeeke little, offend little; therefore they that ſeeke much, offend much; and what they get ill, will prooue ill, doe what they can. What will it auaile a man to circumuent his poore brother, and to get by him (as they ſay) by right or wrong? I haue tolde you, it is wrong, if hee get it ſo; and it muſt bee repaired ere yee dye. If learned men bee learned, and haue not beſtowed all their time in vaine; if God haue promiſed

Mat. 6.

them his ſpirit to direct you; if they bee not very cyphers, and dumbe ſhewes onely; and furthermore, if God hath gi-
Eph.4. uen them our ſoules in charge, for their knowledge and grace; and wee as much bound to heare them, as the Iewes
Oſe 4. were to heare theirs in the olde law; who helde it the grea-
Ier.17. teſt ſinne that was, to diſobey them in any thing: and laſtly, if wee bee not very *Atheiſts*, and enemies to all religion; thêy bee the men wee ought to beleeue in the caſes aforeſaid, where wrong, or iniuſtice may in any ſort bee doubted. The very attempt and throught of wrong, is wrongfull, much more the accompliſhing. And beleeue mee they will none of them prooue as they promiſe, but deceiue vs moſt pittifully in the end. I haue known & ſeen it in many. If God loue them, hee will neuer let them thriue with it long; but either they ſhall looſe it quite, that they get ſo, or ſhall haue more vnquietneſſe, and trouble with it, then it is worth. If God loue vs not; wee may thriue with it iollily for a time, and ſome of our poſterity after vs for our greater plague. God giues the wicked alſo their deſires, but it is in anger, not in mercie ſaith Saint *Auſtine*. And then, what are wee better for Snnne-ſhine, if hee that made the Sunne frowne on vs. Wee ſauour not now adaies of the ancient piety, and Chriſtian feeling that hath beene. Men and women haue thought it burthenſome to their conſciences, to keepe any thing wrongfully. It lay heauily on their ſtomacks like raw fleſh, when they had done amiſſe. And if they were of any reſolution to God-ward, they would not touch, nor come neere that was none of their owne. Whereof wee haue a noble example of *Conſtantine*, who forbad the tribute of *Curtizans* to defile his coffers, as they were wont. And our Chriſtian *Tiberius* whom I named before, would none of *Narſes* his maſſie treaſure. Hee knew not how it was got, that was ſo euilly kept. And the ſame Prince before he came to bee Emperour, beeing made Maſter of the Pallace, and declared ſucceſſor to *Iuſtinus*; whoſe wife *Sophia* that couetous Empreſſe had gotten together ilſauouredly great heaps of treaſure: this worthy man when hee found it, hee poured it all out, and ſent it packing to the poore. Whereat

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when the olde Empresse was angry, and asked him what he meant to bee so lauish of that shee got together with such labour, and anxious care for her husband; ô said hee, the „ Exchecker I hope shall neuer neede such ill gotten goods. „ And his words prooued true. For there was neuer Prince so rich and fortunate in all things, that euer I read of, as hee was afterward for the time hee raigned, which was seauen yeares. And who more infortunate then *Brennus* the french Duke after hee had spoyled Temples, and robbed Churches of their treasure, saying; the gods had neede giue vs, and not wee giue them. And was there any in the world, more „ vnhappy then *Cæpio Seruilius*, and his partners, after the spoyle of the Temple of *Tholousa*, where they had infinite treasure, ynough to haue made them all for euer? but as *Liuie* noteth, none of them all prospered, but miserably dyed. *Cæpio* himselfe, was ouerthrowne by the *Cimbrians*, was turned out of his Consulship, as neuer was any before him; his goods confiscate, was tumbled headlong downe the staires, and dyed in yrons, hauing beene happy enough before, and triumphed ouer the *Cilicians*. But this is the iudgement of him that searcheth all things, and winkes at them still that doe naughtily, vntill hee sees his time, to come vpon them with vengeance. And what hath a man gotten when hee hath rent and scrap't together what hee can? many a cappe and knee it may bee, for his fortune; for it was but his fortune. Many a secret curse that hee dies not yet; for they haue no hope of him to doe much good, while hee liueth: many a nodde hee gets besides at his manner of rising. For such a one is vndone by him saith one, and yet he was no interest man. Hee hath much to answer for saith another, and yet hee neuer tooke forfeiture, or solde to daies. Hee hath beene hard to the common saith one; yet hee would hoyse vp his fellowes saies another. The king is the worse for such as hee, saith one; but it is more then the king knowes, saith another. Thus they play vpon the poore penny-father. But hee shall not want some also, that will praise him, and commend him, to bee a very kinde man to his friend; so it cost him nothing, saith another. One com-

mends him for a good *Iusticer*; hee will not come in danger of lawe, saith another. I haue seene him giue well to the poore, saith one; so it bee well seene, saith another. Hee is very wise saith one; *to haue and holde*, saith another. Hee was continent of his body, saith one; hee saued by that, saith another. So euery vertue of his hath a spunge with it, and euery vice a pensill. Fewe thinke well of him heartily, no not they that faine would. And when hee comes to dye, what laughing teares follow, and blackes of ioy, not of mourning. And heere begins his wofull pageant. If all his golde were in his carkasse, hee would haue as many houndes about him, as a dead horse, or as there bee tormenters about his beggarly soule. His conscience torments him, and wounds him, that euer hee was so carking for that he should neuer haue with him. His memory tortures him, to thinke of his cares, and what a slaue hee was to them, and is not the better of a pinne for them now, but the worse. His feare affrights him, that they that haue all, will bee deceiued with it, as hee was. Hee feares his wife will come to him shortly, or his childe, or some body else whom hee loued; and this torments him extreamely. The diuels floute him instead of comforting him; and those whom hee wronged, haue neuer done accusing him to his thinking. His wits confound him, and rende his heart in peeces with cruell distractions. His throate hoarse with crying, skrieking, and hellish groanes. Hee would faine get out by him that came in last, but impossible. All his fellowes so grisly and gashfull, that it is a hell alone to see them. If a man were amongst Turks, or Cannibals, hee might haply finde some face of gentler aspect, then other, to ease his heart, and make his moane vnto; there not so, all insociable villaines. No friende, or olde acquaintance there to befriende him. No not brother, or sister, but to take him by the throate, and spit fire in his face. It bootes him not to lye still, he is so full of paine. It helpes him not to stirre, for being made to lye still. No kinde of hope hath accesse, but is bar'd, and double bar'd from him. It were some comfort vnto him, if he could not thinke at all. All thoughts are lashes to him

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with an iron whippe. See how the poore wretch is changed. To thinke of golde, is to thinke of a toad. To thinke of them that haue it, and care little for him, it wrings him to the guttes. To remember the pleasures he had in walkiug ouer his grounds, makes him as melancholy as a mad man. To thinke of heauen lost for a trifle, so like an Asse as he was, he knawes his flesh from his bones. Alasse, how short I come of his dreadfull estate with my slender imagination? But surely when such a soule reflects vpon such a misery, hee frettes and grieues, and wrings his hands so pittiously, that a heart of brasse would melt to beholde it. But all in vaine. Hee would faine imagine it a dreame, but that is idle. He wishes hee were in some dungeon full of ordure, in a stinking prison full of irons, in a shipwracke at sea, in the bottome of a deepe well, or in an ouen full of flames; yet all this in vaine. Wishes doe no more but torment more. He curses God to his face, he curses his parents, and progenitors; he curses all flatterers, and them that soothed him vp; hee curses himselfe most damnably, that had but one sinne, or euill disposition to take heede of, and set so light by it. He findes it now, that he saw and would not see, knew and would not know, hee might haue askt, and would not stoupe for it, because he liked his owne waies. Poore wretch, forlorne, miserable, and forsaken wretch. If he were in life againe, what would he doe? hee could tell how to vse the matter, better then hee did. Which I pray God, we may learne to doe by his wofull example, if we saw him. It is not land, or mony, or goodly things, or faire glozes, that would damne him againe, if he were aliue againe. He was not so griping, as he would now be giuing. He was not so vpon aduantage, as he would now giue aduantage. He was not so ready to rend frõ a man the one halfe, as now to render foure fold; not so sparing then towards common good, as now more for the cõmon, thẽ for his priuat; not so proud then of his fortunes, as now humble & affable; not so large then, as now scrupulous; not so auerted then from the poore, as now compassionate and tender ouer the poore, and rather delighting in them.

This day let all men aſſure themſelues, will one day come, and will not bee long, but they ſhall ſee how fooliſh they were for all their ſeeming wit; how little for all their greatnes; how poore, and ragged for all their hourding, & ſcraping together; how full of lip-labour all their praiers, & how courſe their conceits in heauenly affaires. More ſhall they ſee vnder a ſilly winding ſheete, then vnder a Cannopy of gold; more in the dumpes of their euerlaſting melancholy, then heere in the height of their iolitie. But all to late after finall impenitence. O that any teares of ours, or ſobs of endleſſe lamentation might giue them eaſe, but they will not. I ſpeake no more of them; my heart doth bleede, that any of theſe woes ſhould fall vpon any one. But it hath beene, and will be. Yet thankes be to God, and truely let vs reioyce, and clappe our hands, all we that are yet liuing, and are not as yet in that dolefull pitte. There is no wrong but we may yet right. And it may be, there is yet no wrong but we may preuent. Let vs be wiſe betimes, and learne by other mens harmes. Wee eſpecially that profeſſe our ſelues of Gods houſhold; and let vs accuſtome our ſelues to bee ſcrupulous, and to doe nothing without counſell. It will trouble vs much to reſtore againe, when we haue wronged. Wee finde by experience they will bee damned firſt (as wiſe as they are) before they will heare of it. To thinke all ours, that we force from a body by law, or might, it is folly. To doe otherwiſe then we will bee done to, is little honour, or honeſty. To ſooth our ſelues with ill cuſtome, where nothing warrants, but ill cuſtome, is to cozen our ſelues, and make ſport for the deuill. Now let vs caſt vp our eyes to heauen, if we be not caſt-awaies, and deſperate. Let not a little mony damne vs, or hope of gaine gaine-ſay vs, when we knocke at heauen gate. Nay why ſhould wee hazzard our beſt part ſo, or put our heauenly portion in aduenture for it. What reaſon haue wee to looſe a certenty there, for an vncertenty heere? Why ſhould we looſe a thouſand poundes ſure our owne, for an hundred halfpence not ſure our owne, or how long we ſhall haue it? away with it. Let it not taint our cheſts, and canker our ſoules. Put

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it not together with that is well gotten. In ſtead of giuing, or lending where neede is, let vs not take another mans without need, and which no neede ſhould compell vs vnto. He that hath leaſt, hath enough of that little to anſwer for, though he heape not on himſelfe more, by wreſting from others. If yee will be patient, and milde, and void of all paſsion; if ye will free your ſelues from enuy, and anger, which I told you in the beginning is ſo neceſſary for vs; and laſtly, if ye will goe light to heauen when ye dye, and will be alwayes ready for it when God ſhall call; away with your clogge of cupidity: let it approach your heart no more; but be indifferent to all things, whether ye haue them or no, and aſſure your ſelues ye ſhall gaine in the end by it. *Magnus queſtus pietas, cum ſufficientia,* Better a little with content, then a great deale to trouble our braines withall at our laſt gaſpe: a little with true honeſty, then a great deale with prophane cupidity. Will rich men and ambitious bodies giue credence to S. *Paul,* who tels them wherein true gaine conſiſteth, and how they ſhall get it? Religion, pietie, and feare of God; theſe make profite ſaith hee, and gaine vs great matters. Let theſe bee the plaine ſong to all our deſcant, theſe the commanders of all our buſineſſe. O that we had the faith of *Tobias.* We lead ſaith he a poore life. Yet what was his comfort? We ſhall haue many good things (ſaid he) if we feare God. Where is our faith now, is it aſleepe? See how Saints agree. *Magnus queſtus* ſaith one; *Multa bona* ſaith an other. We ſhall haue many good things without hurting, or wronging any. O that we could looke out of Saint *Pauls* eye, when he called it, *Magnus queſtus.* What were the riches he ſaw, when he ſaid it? what purple robes? yea, they exceeded all purple. What golde, and ſiluer? no treaſure comparable. What pearle or precious thing? no pearle or iewell comes neere it. What ſaw he then? what inamoured his Eagles eye? what fil'd vp his heart ſo, that hee left no corner in it for worlds glory, or mony-bagges? What content tooke *Tobias,* who had wife and children to prouide for, and many childrens children? yet none of theſe baſe things could fa-

1. Tim. 6.

Tob. 4.

ſten on him. His *Multa bona*, were in heauen; not *vnum bonum* on earth. His thoughts were high reachers, as lowely as he was: a little was enough heere. What a world-skorning word is that of Saint *Paul*, *Cum ſufficientia?* What he meant by it, he explaines himſelfe in an other place; *Habentes alimenta, & vnde tegamur, his contenti ſimus*, If wee haue
1. Tim. 6. enough to feede vs competently, and to couer vs conueniently to our eſtates we liue in, (for ſo is his meaning) what ſeeke wee more? why climbe we higher? what neceſſity to make our ſelues great? what neede lace vpon lace, ſilke vpon ſilke, diſhes after diſhes, and a thouſand curioſities more then meere decency? Saint *Paul* loued it not, nor would haue vs to loue it. For hee ſpeakes not this to prieſts, and religious onely (ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*)
lib. 3. cont. Vittup. but in generall to all that liue in the world. Now how will your *Superfluum*, and this ſufficiencie agree? how will thoſe lime twigges comply with your winges, when yee ſhall come to vſe them? But I will conclude with a iudgement, or a ruled caſe; ruled by God himſelfe in Saint *Lukes* Goſpell. *Quam difficile qui pecunius*
Luk. 18. *habent in regnum dei intrabunt?* How hardly ſhall they enter the kingdome of God, that haue ſtore of mony? for hee ſayth not *pecuniam*, but *pecunias*; not money which wee cannot bee without, but monyes, or ſtore of mony, which keepes vs out. This is it, that makes it hard, or impoſsible. It is our ſelues that make it hard. Heauen is hard enough of it ſelfe to come by, yet wee forſooth muſt make it harder. Our vnfortunate coueting hath giuen vs ſuch a law, that it is almoſt impoſsible to come there. Halfe our wittes are imployed in this world, to make all things elſe eaſie. Our ſhooe muſt be eaſie for pinching vs, our ſaddle eaſie, our horſe eaſie, our garment, our armour eaſie, that we may beſtir vs; our ſtaire eaſie to get vp. Arts, and ſciences alſo we make eaſie with compendiums, the ſtudy of the law with abridgments. If we be to run, we throw off, we lay not on more. Onely in our way to heauen ſtill, where we ſhould goe lighteſt of all, we clogge on moſt of all, and for want of a Camels bunch

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on our backe,we tye vs on one,as like it as we can,that wee may paſſe through the ſtreights with more difficulty.Naked wee were borne into the world, that wee may runne the lighter; yet wee heape impediments vpon vs, to make vs heauier. Hearken you that bee rich,and delight ſo in gathering. Liſten to your iudgement. *Quia diues erat,* Becauſe hee had much,and ſtore of *Superfluum* by him, and imployed it not; therefore it was impoſsible that hee ſhould bee ſaued. Now who would hourd after this? or who would not bee afraide of it? This is the gnawing worme of our ſoules, the bane of all good workes; the damme of deadly omiſsions,the very diuell in a hutch. Is there any man here that would be rich with theſe conditions? Let not the rich man tell vs, that hee is not rich. Let him tell God ſoe. Let him not tell mee,that hee keepes it for good purpoſes, this or that,or what it will bee. Let him tell God,and his friend ſo,and deceiue not himſelfe. Euill keeping is almoſt as dangerous,as euill getting; and if yee halte with God in your pretences, looke for no better then fire and brimſtrone. I ſpeake my deare friends to them that bee rich, and holding; and not to you,but by the way of preuention; and to driue into your ſoules this holy feare before hand,which I ſee but very few haue.Shew your graceand courage in withſtanding this euill. I loue you all deerely, and I haue done you the vttermoſt of my loue. My ſelfe yee ſee am decaying, and growing out of the world. Yôu haue a long time to liue yet,and to giue good example. After a few dayes haply,wee ſhall neuer ſee one another more. Yet if wee may meete in *Heauen*, that onely is my deſire,and my heart is inflamed with it.

ibidem.

FINIS.

THE FIRST HOMAGE OF A SOVLE TRVELY CONVERTED, WITH SIGNES THEREOF.

LOrd it grieued thee (no doubt) to ſee our ſinnefull eſtate ; and not ſo much our acts of ſinne, as our miſerable corrupted will, from whence they came. This drewe thee from thy heauenly throane, to an earthly habitacle,not onlyto pay our debts, but alſo for our example, and imitation of life. But woe be vnto vs; we endeauour night and day to ſhame thee our louing maſter if wee could,by doing, and willing the cleane contrary. By how much the more, I vnworthy wretch of all others am bound to thy greatneſſe ; for that yet at length, before all hope be paſt with me, thou haſt giuen mee in part to know my ſelfe. That is to ſay,where I was,and whether thou haſt now led me,and out of what darkneſſe. I ſee it now,thy ſelfe mercifully ſhewing it vnto me.Heretofore I haue not ſeene; my owne will blinding me.Bleſſed Lord, ſince my conuerſion vnto the,I know my fault, and ſee the cauſe of it. *I haue thought my ſelfe conuerted vnto thee,before I was indeed.*

True conuerſion is to turne to thee, and from ſinne, and the ſame ſo to deteſt,as to deſire any thing to ſuffer, then to commit againe. Secondly to haue a watchfull eye ouer our temptations,and euill motions. Thirdly to call to thee effe-

ctually for grace,and ſtrength.And fourthly in that ſtrength not to doubt, but to reſiſt them manfully as faſt as they come. Wee practiſe commonly the contrary,and giue the bucklers to our enemies, as thinking our ſelues too weake for ſo many aſſaults; and ſo we be without thee.But in thee and in a perfect reſolution to ſerue thee, and to renounce ſinne; my Lord I finde mine enemies euery day weaker,and weaker,not in my owne ſtrength,but thine in me.

I know thou canſt not abide a coward,or that caſteth difficulties in thy ſeruice; but if our hearty endeauours be with thee, thou ſupplieſt with ſtrength, and neuer ſuffereſt vs to take the foyle. Bleſſed Lord,thou haſt let me ſee now,what hindered my ſight before my conuerſion; euen that which blindeth others,yea, multitudes, that are not yet conuerted vnto thee.That is to ſay,things ſeeming good and faire,that tended to perdition. And beeing no more gracious then others, I haue vſed my ſelfe-loue to command, and ſelfe-will to iudge ſo long,that I could not take their maſterie from them without much rebellion;and haue beene therefore contented to thinke that good or ill, that my humor ſaid was good or ill.And this by ill cuſtome hath made a law in me ſo far forth,that I haue not only thought as they informed me, but alſo I haue verily beleeued whatſoeuer they ſuggeſted.

Which notwithſtanding,it hath pleaſed thy goodnes, to ſhew me their tyrãny very palpably.And that firſt in others, whom I haue ſeene in wretched bondage vnto them, and to their owne appetites.Not but that my ſelfe was in the like, or greater;but becauſe we ſpie a fault ſooner in another,then in our ſelues,and they were a glaſſe to ſee my ſelfe in, how monſtrouſly I haue blinded that light of reaſon ere now which thou haſt giuen me,and I had almoſt loſt,and became like a beaſt;vntill thy grace reſtored me,when it was a thouſand to one againſt me.

My reaſon inſtructeth me,that no creature well ordered is gouerned by it ſelfe. The ſoule much leſſe,among ſo many hidden enemies;ſince in heauen where is no enemy,no ſoule is guided by it ſelfe.My reaſon telleth me,that none is ouerthrown but by ſelf-rule.And we confeſſe it in greater crimes,

wilfull

wilfull murther, incests, robbery, & the like; because they be more notably punished in sight. In lesse we cannot see it so well, because they are more qualified & mingled by the deuil, & il custome, that they may poison the more cunningly.

My reason, & experience teach me, that the deuill hath nothing to work vpon, but our will, & is a most subtill perswader. And therfore if I haue no more wil, or wit, but my own, it is impossible to stand against him. And very likely it is I am not as I should be, when I do nothing all the day long, but my own wil, nor am angry or melancholie at any thing, but my own will crossed some way or other; which perhaps was thy sending, and then I should be glad.

My reason instructed with reading, and hearing, hath taught me, that I cannot haue heauen heere, and in the world to come. And yet my shunning at griefs, and crosses, and againe my labouring, and laying for temporall emoluments, tell me to my face, that I haue sought nothing but my heauen heere, howsoeuer I haue looked vpward in my prayers towards thee for a fashion.

My reason, and grace, how little soeuer it be, dareth not deny but thou art truth. And thou hast said, *The way to heauen is narrow, and fewe doe finde it.* And yet my life and actions doe make it seeme broade. Rather I am to suspect that I am out of the way, by the broadnesse of it: and am in my reason to doubt, and aske, that I may be set in my right way, and not to rest vntill I be in it. And it is hard to finde. First, because I neuer went it. Secondly, because I vse not to aske it. I aske not, because commonly I thinke not of it, hauing found by the way goodly meddowes, and fine earthly things, or at the least the desires of them; that haue holden me distracted, and busied one way or other, vntill I want day almost to goe any further. Mat. 7. 14.

Moreouer I cannot but listen, and beleeue them, that haue trodden this path before me. The practise and authority of thy knowne Saints, that (being sometimes as I was when I doubted so little of my selfe, and as euery one is at this houre, that is not yet conuerted) confesse how maliciously, they were ouer borne by their own will, euen to per-

dition; and yet saw it not, no more then I did then; followed their owne likings as I did then; thought they did enough as I thought then, counted others ouer scrupulous as I did then, if they had much care of their conscience; and all this thy Saints haue found as soone as they cast off the yoake of their owne wils, and had giuen their names to thy holy seruice.

From which time being afterward thy speciall seruants, and I hearing, and reading their true opinions, what they thought of themselues, when they were as I was, and thought my selfe so sure: good God, what reason had I to thinke my selfe safe, and not rather to aske the way of some skilfull body, and forsweare this closenesse to my selfe as long as I liued. Thy noble Doctor Saint *Augustine* sheweth me, that when I thought or perswaded my selfe that I went forward daily vnder the sailes of my own will, I went iust backward. For so saith this Doctor hee did, and yet thought verily that he went forward.

Med. „ I trusted (saith hee) sometimes in my owne power, and
„ when I meant so to runne, where I thought I should stand
„ most, euen there I fell most, and was cast behind hand, and
„ not forward; and that which I thought verily to catch,
„ went further and further from me. But now I know thou
„ hast illuminated mee. Because what I thought I could most,
„ that could I alwaies least of my selfe. I had a will, but I wan-
„ ted ability; I had ability, but I wanted will; because I
„ trusted in my owne strength. But now I confesse vnto thee
„ my Lord God, father of heauen and earth, that a man shall
„ not growe strong in his owne strength; nor foolish pre-
„ sumption of any flesh vaunt it selfe before thee. And in ano-
„ ther place, he saith: I thought I was somewhat, and I was
„ nothing; I said I would become wise, and I became a foole;
I thought I was wise, and I was deceiued. Thus farre and much more to that effect hath this Doctor.

How much more then may wê say it, that liue abroade, and haue to doe with the world? where euery thing distracteth vs from thee, euery toy dulleth vs, delights darken, cares oppresse, and much busines confoundes our vnderstanding

ding, and disableth it wholly of it selfe, to iudge what is best for vs without a Doctor.

And yet I cannot deny (my Lord) but true it is that shamefully and blasphemously we beare our selues in hand that we are ruled by thee, when yet wee haue nothing else in vs but a bundle of concupiscences, and desires, that tend not to thee, but daily pull from thee. As couetousnes, and pride, vncleane life, and ribauldry, hatred, and emulation, brawling, swearing, drunkennesse, and epicurisme, and some worse then these; which the dooers of them do daily father vpon thy blessed will. Not by saying that those acts be thy will; but by saying, or thinking they doe thy will daily, when yet these bad fruites, and none but these growe vpon them more, and more, with little or no amending at all. Whom when I see notwithstanding to be holden wise, yea in all ages some such graced in the world for their naturall gifts, and fortune, which thou hast bestowed vpon them; what a mirrour is this, that thou hast giuen mee to see my selfe by, as I said in the beginning, and to fly selfe-gouerning as a mortall enemy.

Lastly, from my cradle in a manner thou hast taught mee how corrupt our nature is, how proane to euill, and apt to follow our selues, and our owne wayes. And hereupon we wish when we be young, that we were growne to be men; hoping then, that we shall rule our selues, and doe what we list. And when we haue our wish, and the bridle in our own hands, what haue we gotten? euen that which in our childhood, and weake iudgement, and before we had fully the vse of reason, we desired, and thought a very good thing; euen that our corrupt nature loueth, and imbraceth most, to rule our selues. Which my vnderstanding then must needes conclude. If so desired of children, of corrupt nature, of those that bee most weake, and imperfect; *ergo* childish; *ergo* an imperfect thing, and tending to corruption of body in bodily things, and of soule in soule busines. Againe, if so desired in childhood, and corrupt nature, *ergo* to be resisted and subdued in mans estate, and reasonable nature, as well as other childrens toyes, that we blush to vse

when we be men.

Which when I haue done the contrary; that is to say, maintained it and nourish't it in me, by seeking, and plotting my desires, though not in childish things, as children vse to doe, yet in other things answerable to my yeares, and estate, and haue shunned alwaies to be ruled or heare counsell to the contrary: I had iust cause therefore in my light of reason, to misdeeme and suspect my actions, both to be childish in the respect of the originall of them; and also wicked in respect of the discretion and other abilities, which thou gaueſt me to discerne it withall.

But now my Lord God, and king of eternall Maiestie, I know thou hast illuminated me (as thy seruant Saint *Augustine* saith) because I see, I can doe nothing of my selfe; which either I saw not before, or would not see. And although no sinner can at all times perfectly assure himselfe of thy fauour whilest hee liueth: yet some comforts or *tokens* as it were *earnest-pennies*, it pleaseth thee to bestowe vpon vs, whereby with humility wee may beleeue and bee perswaded that wee bee in thy fauour, and assuredly hope, that we be conuerted vnto thee. And that by nothing more then by the alteration of our wils, and desires, which wee feele, and finde by thy grace, ouer that wee did before our conuersion. And hee that hath not this feeling, and hath beene a sinner, can hardly thinke himselfe truely conuerted, no more then a sicke body can recouer, but he must feele it, and can tell when he began to amend. And by this feeling and alteration that I finde in me, I hope I am conuerted vnto thee, and haue ioy, and comfort in it; not presuming in my owne merit, but humbling my selfe in thy greatnesse, that hast made mee partaker of so great a benefite.

And to thy onely glory, and my poore comfort, I often call to mind how it is with me now, and how heeretofore when I was all alike without alteration, and felt my selfe neither better nor worse at any time. And although selfe-loue in me hath made me been carelesse, as yesterday, and the day before, so this day, and the same this yeare, that

I was

I was the yeare before, and many yeares before that, without finding any difference at all in mee, but that if I were well now, I was well then; if well then also now; and at this stay I kept many yeares together at an euen water, but indeede ebbing; and marked not that none can stand at a stay in thy seruice, but *qui non proficit, deficit*; and that shall euery one feele in themselues, if they flatter not themselues. All this while I say, I could not think my selfe truely conuerted vnto thee; because I could not remëber, or make estimate, when I began to alter from my wonted desires, or sinnefull estate. Leo.

I began not my conuersion with hearing of sermons onely, and little care to follow them; or with reading good bookes, and liking or commending them onely, which was but for a fashion. I began not with outward receiuing the *Sacrament*, which we were wont to doe at a certen age, and are worse and worse for it, if wee take not heede. I began not with inward security that all was well with me, because I felt no resistance in me. For this was indeede no true security, but a blindnesse, and punishment for sinne, bredde by custome; like those that liue in an ill ayre, and care not to goe out of it, because they are vsed to it.

All these were to me no arguments of my conuersion. But contrariwise, that I was all this while in the cloudes, and darkenesse of selfe-conceit, and selfe-liking. It was my very great fault, and I confesse vnexcuseable; that beeing so well indued by thee, as I was, and so quicke of sight otherwise; I would be so grossely misledde by my enemy where he listed; vntill it pleased thee of thy infinite goodnesse to pull in my scattered thoughts, and madest me see his deceits that blinded me; gauest mee a heart to bee pennitent and sorowfull, grace to bee thankfull, care to be watchfull, and courage to feare no blowes that I might receiue from any aduersity or prosperity in time to come.

Hoc signum posuisti in nubibus, This is the first signe or mark which thou did'st put in the clouds of my soule. Euer since I haue had a detestation of sinne more or lesse, and a desire to know my sinne. Since that time also I haue beene afraide to trust my owne iudgement againe in matters of my soule. Gen. 9.

Mee thinke I heard thee say to mee: *fili, sine consilio nihil facias*; and, *peccator homo vitabit correptionem*, I know right well that custome in sinne maketh vs thinke wee sinne not, when we sinne. And therefore I haue doubted my selfe, and asked such as haue thy spirit, and know more in these matters then my selfe.

Eccl. 32.

After this it hath pleased thee secondly to nourish my poore endeauours with gladnesse, much like to them that are lightened of a heauy burthen.

Thirdly, when of frailty I haue fallen againe at any time; thy mercy towards mee hath not giuen mee ouer, but hath touched me inwardly with some heauines, and anger against my selfe, till by thy ordinary meanes I haue beene restored againe to good estate.

More then this, thou hast giuen me a fourth *token*, which is to examine my thoughts, wordes, and deedes many times in a weeke. Especially in those things I vse to offend in most; that by often contrition, and sorrow for them, I may be the readier for thee, and not altogether vnprouided if thou shouldest call me any time vpon the suddaine.

For all which good *signes*, and *loue-tokens* of thy thine, I humbly thanke thee, and beseech thee to continue to my liues ende.

Amen.

THE

THE SECOND HOMAGE OF A SOVLE PROCEEDING IN GODS GRACE,

with ſignes thereof.

My Lord God, by thy gifts we are illuminated, & carried vpward; by thy light and leading we goe higher and higher, & make aſcents in our hearts, and ſing vnto thee a *canticle of degrees*, or *ſong of parts*. Behold the degrees, or ſteps thou haſt made in my ſoule. O that thou couldeſt beholde them in me, as thy gracious goodnes hath intended them to my vndeſeruing ſelfe. Thou haſt ſhewed me much, and I haue followed little. Thou haſt inſpired often, and I haue imbraced ſeldome. Thou haſt proffered great things, and I haue not bin anſwerable. Thou haſt often dropped on my marble heart, that it might be made hollow and capeable of thy hony dew, at the leaſt wiſe in ſome ſmall meaſure, and quantity.

Small, and very ſmall it is indeed by my owne fault, as thou doſt know, and my ſelfe bewaile; yet ſomewhat it is, whatſoeuer it is. In reſpect whereof I am to reioyce in it, being thy gift, and therefore good, although in leſſe meaſure then thou haſt meant it me, yet more a great deale without compariſon, then I could euer deſerue. I reioyce, and praiſe thee, becauſe thou haſt done great things vpon mee. All creatures praiſe thee in their creation, for which they be *Homagers* to thee of duty, and *Tributaries* of endleſſe thankes. Men much more, and I aboue all, do praiſe thee, or ought to praiſe thee,

and I much more then numbers, doe owe vnto thee all that can be due by a ſubiect to his Prince, by a child to his parent, by a loſt childe, or caſt-away to a pittifull father, by a captiue, or gally-ſlaue to a mercifull redeemer, by a ruefull and vnhappie firebrand of hell, to a moſt ſweete, and bountifull Sauiour. Euen whatſoeuer a creature can posſibly owe vnto his Creator, all that I doe owe vnto thy Maieſty.

If I ſhould reckon the things that haue made me indebted to thy greatneſſe, it would aske an infinite labour. For thy benefits haue no end, nor am I able to expreſſe the greatneſſe of the leaſt of them. Howbeit for ſo much as the commemoration of benefits receiued, is both a thankfullneſſe to a benefactour, and a ſtirrer of duty, and deuotion in the receiuer; I cannot but often remember to thy glory, and my poore comfort, how I haue beene loſt, and how thou haſt found me; being found, I was ſlacke, and thou diddeſt put me forward; vſing firſt my ſelfe-loue to pricke mee inwardly with feare of eternall damnation; and after a while vſing my feare to fly ſinne, and to ſeeke thee; by ſeeking thee to know thee, and by knowing thee to bee acquainted with thee in ſome ſort; by acquaintance with thee to fall in loue with thee; and with loue of thee to contemne all but thee; firſt a litle, then more; euen according to my grace with thee, and my poore endeauours.

And theſe bee the *degrees*, or *ſtaires* that a good will hath made in my ſoule. Feare firſt draue mee till I came at loue; and when loue had the maſtery, it draue away feare. Feare frighted me for doing ſinne; thy loue vrged me to loathing of ſinne. For who ſeeth thee, and knoweth thee, that art truly brightneſſe, and deteſteth not ſinne, that is true deformity, fowleneſſe, and diſhonour? Happy the feare that feareth to offend thee, but how much happier the loue that delighteth in pleaſing thee? for both I humbly thank thee, and for continuing in both, I thanke thee more. Many haue both for a time, and are at loſſe againe at an other time; riſing and falling with the tide of their paſsions, and faring like thoſe that hazzard all vpon the vncertaine dice, and haue mony in

their

their purſes at one time,and none at an other.

With mee likewiſe it hath beene ſo ere now. But now I hope in thy grace not ſo. Yea, though my frailties,and many imperfections doe daily humble me in my owne eyes;yet thy grace makes mee bold to ſay, that thy feare, and loue hath now gotten ſome ſtrength, and taken roote in me. The which thou haſt ſhewne vnto mee, as to other thy ſeruants, by ſome *ſignes*, and *tokens*, that thou giueſt vs, to encourage vs the more in thy ſeruice. And theſe are daily amendment,or care of amendment,and all thoſe graces,& ſtrength, that follow thereof. Which are ioy and quiet of mind in thy ſeruice;obeying thee without repining,loſſe without grudging, hauing chaſte thoughts without corruption, patience without murmuring, humility without affecting, feare without ſcruple or diſpaire, truth without doubleneſſe,and ſuch like.

But in particular I haue notedtheſe things following,which I account not onely *ſignes*, but alſo exceeding great benefits of thine. And which it behooueth euery ſoule that hath them, as well to be mindfull of,to be thankfull; as of his ſinnes, to be penitent,and ſorrowfull for them.

The firſt and greateſt is, a great good liking I haue to be rather ſubiect, and vnder in a meane ſort,if it pleaſed thee ſo, then to be ouer others in the beſt ſort that can be in the world. Knowing well my owne exceeding weakenes, and inſufficiencie to gouerne others, that haue ſpoyled my ſelfe well-neere with gouerning but one:and alſo ſeeing that gouernment hath alwayes multiplicity of buſines,& buſines cannot be without many negligēces,which (vnles thy grace be maruellous great)doe turne thy face from vs daily more and more, and put vs quite from our byas to heauen-ward. Eccli.28.

An other benefite it hath pleaſed thee to beſtow on mee, which is a deſire, and loue I haue to bee alwaies reading, or hearing talke of thee, either in ſermons, or otherwiſe, if my ſpare time and vocation doe permit me; which if it doe not,it contents me yet to thinke of thee often. And this thy benefite hath in mee alſo two more with it, which I ſhould not miſſe for any thing.

The first is, that I regard not the stile, or eloquence of one, or other, but the sence, and spirit of the writer, or preacher; thinking it euer an argument of great imperfection in me, to heare him for the stile, or tongue, and to bee left to nouices rather, that know not yet what thy seruice meaneth; or rather to *Indians* and *Ethiopians* that are drawne to know thee first with trifling things, as rings, bels, & looking-glasses, that pleased them, and made them first to loue thy seruants, and by little and little to listen to them, and afterward to beleeue them, and to acknowledge thy truth. Neither doe thy seruants, and preachers (though greatly, and diuersly indued by thee with nature, and art) vse to affect eloquence in their preaching. Or if they doe, it is but to serue our vicious, and curious eares, that will not be drawne to thee without many words, and deuices, and much perswasion. All messengers are alike to me, that come with tydings from thee: let them stut or speake plaine, all is one to mee, so they tell mee true. My loue doth easily supply all defects that may be.

The second is, that when I heare a vertue commended, I thinke not streight, that I come neere the perfection of it. Or when I heare a vice, or notorious sinne inueighed against; thy mercy is such towards me, that I thinke not streight of such, or such a one to be touched, but onely my selfe, either in act, or will, if thy grace had not letted me; or else I am mooued therby to compunction for my former life past, or for others in generall, that are yet intangled in the same sinne.

It is also another great benefit of thine, that of thy goodnes thou putteſt me often in mind of my owne weaknes for perseuerance, or constancy in resisting sinne, or temptation, as of my selfe, but only by thee. And to that end I often pray to thee still for more grace, and further supply of thy gentlenes towards me. And in receiuing any grace of thee, I am alwaies humbled by it in respect of thy free bounty & liberality and my owne vnworthines, that can no waies deserue it.

O my Sauiour I cannot think of these thy benefits so great, without blushing; that euer thou shouldest bestow them so freely vpon so poore a worme of the earth, & so vngratefull a creature, as I haue beene, and am. And yet not heere an end

of

of thy benefits. Which the further I wade into, the further (me thinke) I am from an end. Yet two or three more (with thy leaue) I cannot but speake of, because they are comforts also, and *tokens* to me, that I am in thy grace. Grant I beseech thee, that I may be thankefull.

I hâue beene soon angry ere now, and long in pleasing. And that either through strength of my passion, and little heede how thou frownedst vpon me all the while; or els for that I thought it vnworthy of a high mind to be soone pleased without much mediation first. And so (as the deuil would haue it) I haue made two or three sinnes of one. But now through thy grace most chiefely, and my owne endeauour, and watch (which is also thy grace) I haue in a manner killed the heart of this infirmity; and doe prepare my selfe against it at the first encounter, when occasion is. If I happen to be disgraced, disdained, or flouted, none of these (I thanke thee) disturbe me within; or if they doe, thy grace is with me by and by, to amend my selfe by it in somewhat, or to pitty them that wrong me without cause, or thinke it sent me for my tryall, or mortification.

I find that the Philosophers had these vertues also; but I perceiue it was for pride much-what, & praise of men. And they thought it a high degree of vertue, if they had done a fault to goe into the market place, and publish it there, and to lay themselues open to euery mans reprehension. But this to do, as it may be scandalous, so I see it not practised by any of thy seruants. And yet if it be done, *magistro, et fratri*, (as S. *Hierome* saith) I holde it not good to conceale any thing eyther done, or intended. I seeke not praise of men, but simply to please thee. And I can take a reprehension in good part, though told me in the worst manner.

The Philosophers haue another opinion, that hee that profites in vertue, shall neuer dreame they doe ill, no more then a beast (they say) will goe out of the way he is vsed to, although he be turned loose, and the reines on his necke. But this I know by thy grace is no certaine *signe*. For the enemy when he cannot fasten on vs waking, will delude vs sleeping, yea and make vs beleeue we sinned when wee did not, if wee

gaue no prouocation to it waking, which we muſt labour to auoide.

In all my contracts, bargaines, & promiſes, I am very ſcrupulous of my words, that they prooue true. And I vſe to aske much counſell, if there be any likelihood of iniuſtice. I thanke thy goodnes for it; I haue as much care of this, as I haue of the title I deale withall; eſpecially towards my inferiours.

One common infirmity I am carefull to preuent. And that is ingratitude, a churliſh and vnmannerly ſinne; that raignes both in court and countrey. I had rather lye faſt for debt, then be ingrate. It is worth a mans ſtudy to ſatisfie where one is beholding; and rather to my inferiours, and equals, then to my betters, though neceſſary to both.

One miſerable gulfe I haue eſcaped by thy grace, which I beſeech thee of thy goodneſſe to continue to my liues ende. And that is *aptneſſe to take ſcandall.* Hee is halfe way in hell, that will be ſoone ſcandalized. All the world is full of *ſcandals.* It is called *ſcandalum puſillorum*, Scandall of the weake. If I ſee a Saint do naught, yet by thy grace I will not do naught; but looke to my ſelfe the better for it. No abuſe of religion ſhall weaken my faith. The thing abuſed I like neuer the worſe for the abuſe, but the better. Being the diuels doing, to raiſe ſcandall on that which is good, to take that which is good away. If Church-men excommunicate for money, and abſolue for money, and take more of a rich man, then of a poore; is the Church of leſſe authority for their abuſe? I cannot thinke with my ſelfe, what corruption can ſcandalize me. And this is thy grace, with many others daily growing on me. And which thou knoweſt I ſpeak not to my praiſe, but to thine, that art the giuer. Thou giueſt both *velle, & perficere.* I endeauour, though but weakely ſometimes; performe it thou, for thy mercies ſake, and and make me ſtill ſtronger and ſtronger. *Amen.*

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