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IN THIRTY VOLUMES:

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1750, IN FIFTY VOLUMES, DUODECIMO.

BY THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M.,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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I beseech you therefore, Brethren, by the Mercies of GOD, that you present your Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto GOD, which is your reasonable Service 235

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AN
E X T R A C T
FROM THE
Works
OF
THE REV. JOHN HOWE, M. A.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE.

THE LIFE
OF
THE REV. MR. JOHN HOWE.

MR. JOHN HOWE was born May 17, 1630, the 29th day of which month was remarkable for the nativity of KING CHARLES the Second, and which very year, a few months after, gave birth to ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON, with whom Mr. HOWE in his after-life had a particular intimacy. The place of his birth was Loughborough, in the county of Leicester; of which town his father was for some time Minister. I have heard his father commended as a person of singular piety; and his mother as a woman of distinguished sense.

He was settled in the Parish of Loughborough by ARCHBISHOP LAUD, and afterwards thrust out by the same hand, on the account of his siding with the Puritans, contrary to the expectation of his promoter. Great was the rigour that was at that time used in the Ecclesiastical Courts, by which as several were driven into America, and others into Holland, and other foreign parts, so was this worthy person driven into Ireland, whither he took this his son (then very young) along with him. While they continued in that country, that rebellion broke out, in which the poor Protestants, who were altogether unprovided, were so miserably butchered, and a great number of flourishing families ruined and undone. Both father and son were at that time exposed to very threatening danger, the place to which they had retired being for several weeks together besieged by the rebels, though without success. A very special Providence did upon this occasion guard that life

which was afterwards made so serviceable. Being driven from thence by the war, the father returned to his native country, and settled in the county of Lancaster; and there it was that our MR. HOWE went through the first rudiments of learning, and was trained up in the knowledge of the tongues.

He was sent pretty early to Christ College in Cambridge, where were then DR. HENRY MORE, and DR. CUDWORTH. The intimacy between DR. MORE and MR. HOWE continued till the Doctor's death.

He continued at Cambridge till he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then removed to Oxford, to Brazen-Nose College, in Michaelmas Term, 1648. He there also took his Bachelor's degree, Jan. 18, 1649.

Some time after he was elected Fellow of Magdalen College, after he had been made Demy by the Parliament visitors. He took the degree of Master of Arts, July 9, 1652. And by this time he had not only gone through a course of Philosophy, conversed closely with the Heathen Moralists, read over the accounts we have remaining of Pagan Theology, the writings of the School-men, and several systems of the Reformers, and the Divines that succeeded them, but had thoroughly studied the sacred Scriptures; and from thence drawn up a Body of Divinity for his own use, which he saw little occasion afterwards to vary from, in compliance with the schemes of others.

Some time after, by an unexpected conduct of Divine Providence, he was called to the stated exercise of his Ministry at Great Torrington, in the county of Devon.

He was but young at the time of his first settlement in that town, and yet even there his labours were blessed with great success. He had a numerous auditory, and a very flourishing Christian society under his care, and thought of no other, than of living and dying with them.

The public Fasts, in those days, returned pretty frequently, and were generally kept with very great solemnity. It was upon those occasions his common way, to begin about nine in the morning, with a prayer for about a quarter

of an hour, in which he begged a blessing on the work of the day ; and afterwards read and expounded a chapter or Psalm, in which he spent about three quarters ; then prayed for about an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for about half an hour. After this, he retired, and took some little refreshment for about a quarter of an hour, (the people singing all the while,) and then came again into the pulpit, and prayed for another hour, and gave them another sermon of about an hour's length ; and concluded the service of the day, at about four in the evening with about half an hour or more in prayer : A sort of service that few could have gone through, without inexpressible weariness both to themselves and their auditories ! But he had a strong head, a warm heart, and a good bodily constitution : And the more he spent himself in his Master's service, the more was he beloved by the inhabitants of the Parish.

While he continued his painful labours in this town, he kept up a good correspondence with the Ministers all over the country : But there was a particular intimacy between him and MR. GEORGE HUGHES of Plymouth, who had a greater interest and influence than most of the Ministers in those parts ; and he was married to his daughter, March 1, 1654. These two kept up a weekly mutual correspondence by Latin letters, and I have a memorable passage to relate as to one of them. MR. HOWE happened to have a fire in his house at Torrington, which might have been ruinous to his family, if a violent rain, which fell just at that time, had not contributed greatly to extinguish it. On that very day he received a letter from his father HUGHES, which concluded with this prayer ; *Sit Ros Cæli super Habitaculum vestrum* : Let the dew of heaven be upon your dwelling : A prayer, the seasonableness of which the good man could not apprehend at the time of writing ; but they could not but remark it, at the receipt of it.

Some time after, MR. HOWE having occasion to take a journey to London, was detained there longer than he intended. One LORD'S DAY (the last he designed to continue in town) he went to the chapel at Whitehall. CROMWELL,

who had his eyes every where, spied out MR. HOWE, knew him by his garb to be a country Minister, and sent a messenger to him to desire to speak with him when the worship of GOD was over. Upon his coming to him, CROMWELL requested him to preach before him the LORD'S Day following. MR. HOWE was surprised, and modestly desired to be excused. CROMWELL told him it was a vain thing to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no denial. When he had given him one sermon, CROMWELL pressed for a second and a third; and at last, after a great deal of free conversation, nothing would serve him, (who could not bear to be contradicted,) but he must have him to be his household Chaplain. MR. HOWE did all that lay in his power to get off; but no denial would be admitted. And at length (though not without great reluctance) he was prevailed with to remove with his family to Whitehall. In this difficult station, he endeavoured to be faithful, and to keep a good conscience. And it has been observed by several, that there was hardly any man that was in an eminent public station in those critical times, that was so free from censure, in the changes that afterwards succeeded. A plain argument of uncommon conduct and caution!

He embraced every occasion that offered, of serving the interest of religion and learning, and opposing the errors and designs, which at that time threatened both. Among many instances of his generous temper, I shall mention one, which was his seasonable service to DR. SETH WARD, who was afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Sarum, successively. In 1657, that Gentleman, who had succeeded MR. JOHN GREAVES some time before, as Astronomy Professor in the University of Oxford, stood Candidate for the Principalship of Jesus College, in the same University, upon the resignation of DR. MICHAEL ROBERTS. DR. WARD had the majority of the Fellows for him; but MR. FRANCIS HOWELL, of Exeter College, made an interest in CROMWELL, and obtained his promise for the filling up that vacancy. DR. WARD not knowing that matters had

gone so far, was for making an interest in the Protector too, and in order to it, applied to MR. HOWE, who, without making great promises as to success, readily offered to introduce him to the Protector, and do him what service he was able. Having obtained an audience, and they three being together, MR. HOWE gave CROMWELL a great character of DR. WARD, with respect to his learning, and signified how ill it would sound, if a man of his known merit should be discountenanced; especially when he had the majority of the Fellows on his side. CROMWELL replied, that DR. ROBERTS having resigned his Principalship into his hands, he had been informed that it was his right to fill up the vacancy; and he had given his promise to MR. HOWELL, and could not draw back. But immediately taking MR. HOWE aside, and discoursing him freely, he returned to DR. WARD, who continued waiting, and told him that he found MR. HOWE to be much his friend, and was upon his report of him disposed to give some tokens of his regard: And thereupon he pleasantly asked him, What he thought the Principalship of Jesus College might be worth? The Doctor freely told him what was the value of it, according to common computation. And therefore he gave the Doctor a promise, that he would allow him the sum that he mentioned annually. This was at that time reckoned a seasonable kindness: And the Doctor expressed his grateful sense of it to MR. HOWE, when upon the change of the times he became a greater man.

There were many others to whom MR. HOWE was very serviceable while he continued at Whitehall: And never was he known to be backward to assist any of the Royalists or Episcopalians in distress, if they were but persons of real merit.

Whilst he continued in CROMWELL's family, he was often put upon secret services; but they were always honourable, and such as, according to the best of his judgment, might be to the benefit either of the public, or of particular persons. And when he was once engaged, he

used all the diligence, and secrecy, and dispatch, he was able. Once particularly I have been informed, he was sent by OLIVER, in haste, upon a certain occasion to Oxford, to a meeting of Ministers there; and he made such dispatch, that though he rode by ST. GILES'S Church at twelve o'clock, he arrived at Oxford by a quarter after five. He so behaved himself in this station, that he had the ill-will of as few as any man, and the particular friendship of the great DR. WILKINS, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and several others, who were great supports of real piety and goodness in those times, and afterwards eminent under the legal establishment.

When OLIVER died, his Son RICHARD succeeded him as Protector, and MR. HOWE stood in the same relation to the son, as he had done to the father. He was still Chaplain at Court, when in October, 1658, he met with the Congregational Brethren at the Savoy, at the time of their drawing up their Confession of Faith. And though he meddled not with State affairs, neither then nor afterwards, yet he has often been heard to say, that he was in his judgment very much against RICHARD'S parting with his Parliament, which he easily foresaw would issue in his own ruin. I have been told by a friend, that discoursing once freely with MR. HOWE about the setting RICHARD aside, he intimated to him, that it was but a parenthesis in a public paper, that was the occasion of the great ill-will of the officers to him, which rose at length to that height, that nothing would satisfy but the pulling him down. And when the same person signified in a way of free discourse to MR. HOWE, that he heard RICHARD reflected on as a weak man, he with some warmth made this return: 'How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the Army by his Brother FLEETWOOD, he stood it out all night against his whole Council, and continued till four o'clock in the morning, having none but THURLOW to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that Parliament would be both his ruin and theirs?'

When a way was made to bring things back into the old channel, MR. HOWE returned to his people at Torrington, and continued his labours among them till the Restoration; at which time there was such a madness attended the universal joy, that it is a perfect wonder the nation ever in any measure recovered it.

The King being restored, made for some time more use than was usual of the Lords Lieutenants, and their Deputies, to keep the several Counties of the Kingdom in awe. Many were made offenders for a word, and the most cautious Preachers were accused and censured: Among the rest, MR. HOWE, though cautious as most men of giving disturbance to any, yet met with some trouble, in the year 1660, a few months after the Restoration; which appears to have been given him by persons that were desirous to do a pleasure to those who then had the ascendant.

He was informed against by JOHN EVANS and WILLIAM MORGAN, as delivering somewhat that was seditious, and even treasonable, in two sermons preached from *Gal.* vi. 7, 8, on September 30, and October 14. The information was given before MR. WELLINGTON, the Mayor, who took an engagement from MR. HOWE, and others, on his behalf, for his appearance at the next Sessions, to answer to that matter.

Before that time, some of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County (who were not willing the Magistrates of the several Corporations should be too powerful) sent word to the Mayor, that they could not be present at the appointed Session, but desired to hear the matter at another time, and prefixed a day for that purpose, to which the Mayor accordingly adjourned the Sessions, in compliance with their desire. And whereas MR. HOWE in open court demanded the benefit of the Statute of 1 EDW. 6, and of 1 ELIZ., to purge himself by more evidences than the informers; the Mayor administered an oath to one-and-twenty witnesses, who were judicious men, enjoining them, on his Majesty's behalf to declare the truth of the matter; and they all

cleared **MR. HOWE** from the guilt in the accusation ; and the Court accordingly discharged him.

One of the accusers soon left the town, and was seen there no more ; the other cut his own throat.

In 1662, the *Act of Uniformity* passed the two Houses of Parliament, though, as it was observed, with a very small majority in the House of Commons ; and it took place on August 24, this year. **MR. HOWE**, on that day, preached two very affecting sermons to his people at Torrington, and his auditory were all in tears. He consulted his conscience, and could not be satisfied with the terms of conformity fixed by the law ; some account of which he gave in his farewell sermons. He hereupon quitted his public station in the Church, and became a silenced Non-conformist.

However he continued for some time in the County of Devon, preaching in private houses, among his friends and acquaintance, as he had opportunity. Having preached at the house of a certain gentleman in those parts, and spent some few days with him, he at his return home was told, that an officer belonging to the Bishop's Court had been to inquire after him, and left word that there was a Citation out, both against him, and the gentleman at whose house he had preached. Hereupon he, the very next morning, took his horse, and rode to Exeter ; and lighting at the inn he usually called at, he stood a while at the gate, considering which way he had best to steer his course. While he stood musing, a certain dignified Clergyman, with whom he was well acquainted, happening to pass by, looked on him with some surprise, and saluted him with this question, ' **MR. HOWE**, what do you here ? ' To whom he replied, with another question : ' Pray, Sir, what have I done that I may not be here ? ' Upon which he told him, that there was a process out against him ; and that being so well known as he was, he did not question but that if he did not take care, he would be taken up in a very little time.

Among other discourse that passed, he asked him, Whether he would not go and wait upon the Bishop ? He said, he thought not to do it, unless his Lordship, hearing of his

being in that city, should think fit to invite him. Upon this, he advised him to call for a room, and wait there a little, and told him he would go to the Bishop, and let him know that he was there, and return to him again, and give him an account what his Lordship said. He accordingly left him, and soon returned, and brought him an invitation from the Bishop, who signified he would be glad to see him. Waiting on his Lordship, he received him with great civility, as his old acquaintance.

The Bishop presently fell to expostulating with him about his Non-conformity. MR. HOWE told his Lordship, he could not have time, without greatly trespassing upon his patience, to go through the several objections which he had to make against the terms of Conformity. The Bishop pressed him to name any one. He thereupon instanced in the point of *Re-ordination*. 'Why, pray Sir,' said the Bishop to him, 'what hurt is there in being twice ordained?' '*Hurt*, my Lord,' says MR. HOWE to him; 'the thought is shocking; it hurts my understanding; it is an absurdity: For nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure,' said he, 'I am a Minister of CHRIST, and am ready to debate that matter with your Lordship, if you please; and I cannot begin again to be a Minister.' The Bishop then dropping that matter, told MR. HOWE, as he had done at other times, that if he would come in amongst them, he might have considerable preferments, and at length dismissed him in a very friendly manner. And as his Lordship did not take the least notice to him of the process that was issued out against him, so neither did he say any thing of it to his Lordship: But taking his leave, he mounted his horse, and rode home, and heard no more of that matter, either with respect to the gentleman, or himself.

In 1665, when the Dissenting Ministers had been three years silenced, they were not a little perplexed in all parts of the kingdom, by the Act that passed in the Parliament at Oxford, by which they were obliged (under penalty of not being allowed, unless upon the road, to come within

five miles of any city, or corporation, or any place that sent Burgesses to Parliament, or any place where they had been Ministers, or had preached after the *Act of Oblivion*) to swear, ‘That it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that they would not at any time endeavour any alteration of the government either in Church or State.’ They were much divided in their sentiments upon this occasion. There were several among them, who reckoned this oath so insnaring, that they durst not take it: But it was at length taken in London, by DR. BATES, and others, to the number of twenty. It was also taken in Devonshire, by MR. HOWE, and others, to the number of twelve; and by some few in Dorsetshire.

Some time after, he was earnestly invited by a person of considerable quality into Ireland, and had generous offers made him. He accepted the motion with the greater readiness, and looked upon it as the more providential, because by this time he was reduced to straits, and his circumstances were but low; which is not at all to be wondered at, considering that he had for some years been out of any settled employment, and had but a small income, several in family, and a generous spirit. He set sail for Dublin in the beginning of April, 1671. While he was waiting for a wind at a town in Wales, [I suppose it was Holyhead,] they continued there a Lord’s Day, and found a large Parish Church, in which prayers only were to be read as usual, but no preaching was expected. The company that was with MR. HOWE was pretty numerous, and they were desirous to find out some private place by the sea-side, where he might preach to them. As they were walking along the sands, they met two men on horseback, riding towards the town, who proved to be the Parson of the Parish and his Clerk. The Clerk was asked by one in the company, whether his master preached that day? ‘No,’ said he, ‘my master does not use to preach, he only reads prayers.’ Upon which it was further inquired whether he thought his master would be willing to give leave

to a Minister that was in their company, who was going for Ireland, but waiting for a wind, to make use of his pulpit that day? He answered, 'He believed very willingly;' and they found it so, when the Clerk made the motion to him. Hereupon Mr. HOWE and the rest returned back to the town, and he preached that day twice to them in the church; and in the afternoon the auditory was very large, and seemed to be not a little affected. The wind not serving all the week following, the country all round those parts, took notice that neither the vessel nor the Minister was gone; and therefore on the LORD'S-day after, they came flocking into the town, expecting he would preach that day also. There was a prodigious multitude gathered together; and the Parson, who had had no thoughts about the matter, observing it, was in no small consternation. Preach himself he could not; for he had not of a long time been used to it, and he was altogether unprovided: So he sent his Clerk to MR. HOWE, and begged he would come and preach again; for that otherwise he knew not what to do, the country being come in from several miles round, in hope of hearing him. MR. HOWE having been much indisposed, was in bed, and in a great sweat, when he received the message; and that made him at first doubtful whether he had best comply. But considering with himself, that there was a plain call of Providence, and not knowing but much good might be done in such a place, where preaching was so uncommon a thing, and the people seemed so desirous of the Word of God, he sent word he would do it; cooled himself with as much speed as he was able, and went and preached with great life and freedom: And he told my informant, that 'he never in all his life saw people more moved, or receive the Word with greater pleasure:' He added, 'If my ministry was ever of any use, I think it must have been then.' Very soon after, the vessel went off, and he found no ill effects at all of the pains he took in such circumstances.

At length he had his whole family with him in Ireland, where he lived as Chaplain to the LORD MASSARENE in the

Parish of Antrim, and was received and treated with all imaginable respect. His great learning and Christian temper (together with that Lord's interest and influence) procured him the particular friendship of the Bishop of that diocese, who (together with his Metropolitan) without demanding any Conformity, gave him free liberty to preach in the public church in that town, every LORD'S DAY in the afternoon: And I have been informed that the Archbishop in a pretty full meeting of the Clergy, told them frankly, that he would have MR. HOWE have every pulpit (where he had any concern) open to him. And he manifested his truly peaceable and Christian spirit, both in his preaching and conversation, and was useful to many.

In 1675, upon the death of DR. LAZARUS SEAMAN, he had an invitation given him to come and fix in London, by a part of his congregation, and was earnestly pressed to accept of their call. There was some difference among them about the person in whom they should centre. Some were for MR. CHARNOCK, and others for MR. HOWE: And though they that wrote to him urged a variety of arguments and inducements, yet he could not so well judge of the matters alleged at a distance; and was thereupon prevailed with to take a voyage into England, and make a visit at London, that he might view and judge of things upon the spot. He upon this occasion, which created him a great many thoughts, in which he looked seriously upwards for guidance, committed some hints to writing, which have been preserved, and are here faithfully transcribed from an authentic copy.

The paper is inscribed after this manner:—

Considerations and Communings with myself concerning my present Journey, Dec. 20, 1675, by Night on my Bed.

‘I. QUERY.—*Have I not an undue design or self-respect in it?*’

‘1. I know well I ought not to have any design for myself, which admits not of subordination to the honour of the

great God and my REDEEMER, and which is not actually so subordinated.

‘2. I understand the fearful evil and sinfulness of having such an undue design, that it is idolatry ; the taking another God, and making myself that God.

‘3. I find (through God’s mercy) sensible stirrings of hatred and detestation of that wickedness, and a great apprehension of the loveliness and beauty of a state of pure, entire devotedness to GOD in CHRIST, and of acting accordingly.

‘4. I have insisted on this chiefly in prayer to GOD, in reference to this business, ever since it was set on foot, that I might be sincere in it : And though I have earnestly begged light to guide me therein, so as that I might do that herein which is agreeable to the holy will of GOD, yet I have much more importunately prayed that I might be sincere in what I do, not only because I know GOD will pardon ignorance (unremedied by utmost endeavours) where he beholds sincerity, whereas he will never accept the knowledge of our duty, nor the doing what is in substance our duty, if that right manner of doing it, or principle whence it is done, be wanting ; but also from the higher esteem I have of sincerity, above all light and knowledge without it, and the greater excellence of the thing itself.

‘5. I have carefully examined what selfish respects I can have in this matter. Is it worldly emolument ? In this my heart acquits me in the sight of GOD. Is it that I affect to be upon a public stage, to be popular and applauded by men ? To this I say, (1.) That I do verily believe, I shall be lower in the esteem of the people in London, when I come under their nearer view. I know myself incapable of pleasing their genius. I cannot contrive nor endure to preach with elaborate artifice. They will soon be weary, when they hear nothing but plain discourses of such matters as are not new to them. Yea, and Ministers that now judge of me by what I have written, (when matter and words were in some measure weighed,) will find me when I converse with them, slow to apprehend things, slow to express my own apprehensions, unready,

entangled and obscure in my apprehensions and expressions : So that all will soon say, This is not the man we took him for. (2.) It displeases me not, that they should find and say this. I hope I should digest it well. (3.) I have found (blessed be God) that the applauses some have imprudently given me in letters, an occasion and means to me of deep humiliation, when my own heart hath witnessed to me, my miserable penury, and that I am thought to be what I am not. (4.) So far as I can find, I do not deliberately covet or desire esteem but for my work's sake, and the success of my work. Of applause I have found an inward abhorrence. I both know I have nothing but what I have received, and that I have received a great deal less than many think I have : Which I say with reflection on myself ; not to diminish the bounty of the Free Giver, from whom I know I might have received much more, if I had sought and used his gifts aright. All the design I can more vehemently suspect myself of that looks like self-interest any way, is, (1.) The improvement of my own knowledge, which I know there may be great opportunities for, if this journey should issue in my settlement in London. (2.) The disposal of my children. Yet I hope these things are eyed in subordination, and indifferently, so as not to sway with me against my duty.

‘ II. QUERY.—*Have I got a previous Resolution of settling at London before I go up ?*

‘ 1. I have a resolution to do what I shall conceive shall make most to the usefulness of the rest of my life, which resolution I ought never to be without.

‘ 2. I am seriously yet at a loss as to judging this case, whether in this country or there.

‘ 3. If I can find clearly it is my duty to return in order to continuance at Antrim, I shall do it with high complacency.

‘ III. QUERY.—*Am I not afraid of miscarrying in this undertaken Voyage by Shipwreck ?, &c.*

‘1. I find little of that fear, I bless God.

‘2. Nor is it that I think I have attained any eminent degree of grace, that I am not afflicted with that fear: Nay more than that, I acknowledge, to be delivered from such fear, is itself a great mercy, and gracious vouchsafement.’

‘3. I hope I am in a state of favour and acceptance with God, which I apprehend I owe to infinite rich mercy in the Redeemer’s blood. Great forgiveness I need, for I am a miserable sinful wretch: This I trust I have upon Gospel terms.

‘4. It is pleasant to me hereupon to think of going into eternity; of laying down the body of flesh and sin and death together; and of being perfectly holy, and associated with them that are so, in holy work and enjoyment.

‘5. To put off this tabernacle so easily, I reckon, would to me be a merciful dispensation, who am more afraid of sharp pain than of death. I think I should joyfully embrace those waves that should cast me on an undesigned shore, and when I intended Liverpool, should land me in heaven.

‘6. Yet I bless God I have no weariness of life, nor of his work in this world, if he shall yet please farther to employ me here.

‘QUERY.—*But am I not solicitous, lest if this should prove the Event, it will be judged a testimony against me, as to this present undertaking?*

‘1. It is an honest design I go upon. I have, as I said, no selfish design that overweighs me in it. I have no design to prejudice Mr. C——; I believe I shall do him no actual prejudice. Wherein I can justly befriend him, I go resolved to do it. If I can do any thing for the holding of the remainder together, without the neglect of greater work, I apprehend I shall do a just and needful thing: But should do nothing if I had opportunity, till I knew more. But,

‘2. To judge of the justice of a cause by the success, is a most unjust way of judging. Many a just business has miscarried. If I get well into the other world, such censures will be a small matter in my eye ; and they are not great now.

‘3. God will accept my sincere intentions, though I effect nothing.’

—◆—

Consolations to my Wife and other Relations, supposing they hear of my Death.

‘1. Whom or what have you lost? A poor creature that could never be of much use to you.

‘2. You are to consider me, not as lost in my prime, but as now I am sensibly under great decays, and not likely to continue long, except some means, hitherto not thought on, should have been tried. What a summer had I of the last! Seldom able to walk the streets; and not only often disabled by pain, but weakness. And what great advantage to you would it have been to see me die? I know not when I have had so much ease and health as in this journey.

‘3. God not only hath determined the thing, we must die, but all circumstances, when and where, and after what manner, and all wisely and well. Why should you be grieved, that He hath done well? Not only well in itself, but well for you, if you love Him?

‘4. You must ere long follow, and shall not be always in this world without me.

‘5. What there is of evil in this case, admits of remedy. Draw so much nearer to God, and cease from man: Mind heaven more, and your loss is made up.

‘6. I have, through the grace of God, preached immortal truth, which will survive, and may be to your advantage.

‘7. As to you who have dependence upon me for worldly concerns: I was never a good projector for the world; so the loss is not great. How many, dear to God, make a shift in a worse condition! Forget not the motto, “God

will provide." He that feeds ravens, and takes care of sparrows, will He not take care of you? Are you of his family, and will He not take care of his own? Instead of distrust and repining, give thanks. O bless Him with all your soul, that he hath revealed and given himself to you for an everlasting portion; and whose covenant is to be your God, and the God of yours.

'8. Let it be some satisfaction to you, that I go willingly, under no dread, with no regret, but with some comfortable knowledge of my way and end.'

With such thoughts as these did he undertake and pursue his voyage and journey. He arrived safe at London after having been five years in Ireland: And, upon mature consideration, he accepted of the call that had been given him, and settled there, and made a quiet and peaceable use of KING CHARLES'S indulgence, preached to a considerable and judicious auditory, by whom he was singularly respected; and he was much esteemed, not only by his brethren in the ministry among the Dissenters, but also by several eminent Divines of the Church of England, as DR. WHICHCOTE, DR. KIDDER, DR. FOWLER, DR. LUCAS, and others, whom he often conversed with, and that with great freedom and familiarity.

In the time of the Popish Plot, when things took a quite different turn from what they had done from the Restoration till then, and the city and whole body of the nation was full of dreadful apprehensions, he made it his endeavour among those with whom he had to do, to make the awful impressions which people were at that time under, serviceable to the purposes of serious religion: And in his conversation with the Clergy of the Established Church, or with persons of quality and distinction, he upon all occasions discovered a peaceable and healing spirit, often giving it as his sense, that an accommodation in matters between the Church and the Dissenters, would be the most effectual way to keep out Popery. And it has been the opinion of many, that a fitter season for an union could not well occur, than did then present itself. The House of Commons who sat

at Westminster in 1680, seem to have been of that mind, and therefore they brought in a bill for uniting His Majesty's Protestant subjects, and nothing was more commonly talked of at that time. And not being able to go through with it, they, before they rose, came to a resolution, that 'The Acts of Parliament made in the reigns of QUEEN ELIZABETH and KING JAMES, against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters;' and that 'The prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.'

MR. HOWE had, about this time, an invitation from BISHOP LLOYD, to come and dine with him the next day. He was apprehensive it could not be without some particular design, that a Bishop whom he had not seen, or at least with whom he had no acquaintance, should desire him to come and dine with him. He sent his Lordship word, that he was engaged that day for dinner, but would not fail of waiting upon him afterwards. Hereupon the Bishop sent again, to let him know, that since he could not dine with him, he would not give him the trouble to come so far as his house, but would meet him at DR. TILLOTSON's, the Dean of Canterbury's. They met there accordingly, and the Bishop told him, that the reason why he desired a meeting with him was, to know of him, what he thought would satisfy the Non-conformists, that so they might be taken into the Church. MR. HOWE answered, that he could not pretend to say what would satisfy any besides himself; for that all had not an equal latitude in such matters. The Bishop hereupon pressed him to give his judgment, what he thought would satisfy the most; for, says he, 'I would have the terms so large as to comprehend the most of them.' MR. HOWE told him that he thought it would go a considerable way towards it if the law was but so framed, as that Ministers might be enabled to promote parochial reformation. 'Why,' says the Bishop, 'for that reason, I am for taking the Lay Chancellors quite away, as being the great hinderance of refor-

mation.' At length, they agreed upon a meeting the next night at seven o'clock, at DR. STILLINGFLEET'S, the Dean of St. Paul's. MR. HOWE proposed to bring MR. BAXTER along with him; but the Bishop would by no means allow of it. Then he proposed to bring DR. BATES, and was answered, that no man could be more proper. Accordingly DR. BATES and MR. HOWE went at seven in the evening to DEAN STILLINGFLEET'S, as had been appointed the day before. The Dean had provided a very handsome treat, but they found not the company they expected. They waited till eight, till nine, till near ten o'clock; but the Bishop neither came, nor sent, nor took any notice of the matter afterwards. And that very night (as they heard the next morning) the Bill of Exclusion was thrown out of the House of Peers, by a majority of thirty voices, fourteen of which were Bishops. And after this, there was no farther occasion for any talk about a Comprehension.

In 1681, the Dissenters were prosecuted with great violence both in city and country, and the severe laws that had been made against them some years before, as well as some that were made against the Papists in the reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH, were rigorously put in execution against them. Several of the Bishops concurred, and by influence from the Court, were prevailed with, to do their endeavour to push forward the civil Magistrate, and to sharpen the rigour of the ecclesiastical courts, in defiance of the votes of the House of Commons in their favour. This was generally thought a piece of court artifice, to play the Church of England against the Dissenters, and enrage the Dissenters against the Church of England, that they might not unite and see their common danger, but rather, by destroying one another, might make room for a third party, that lay behind the curtain, and watched an opportunity of the Duke's succession.

In 1682, things were much in the same state as the year before.

In 1683, there was an order made by the Justices of Peace at the Quarter-Sessions at Exon, against all Non-

conforming Ministers, allowing a reward of forty shillings to any person that apprehended any one of them, and declaring their resolution to put in execution against them the severest laws, and particularly that of the 35th of ELIZABETH, the penalties whereof are imprisonment, abjuration of the realm, or death. And BISHOP LAMPLUGH (who was afterwards Archbishop of York) required the order to be read by all the Clergy on the next Sunday after it should be tendered to them, on purpose (as was said) ‘that the care of the Justices of Devon, for the preservation of the public peace, might be fuller known, and have a better effect.’

In the year 1684, BISHOP BURNET owns, that the prosecution of the Dissenters was carried very high. “They were not only proceeded against for going to conventicles, (as he is pleased to call their private meetings for the worship of God,) but for not going to church, and for not receiving the Sacrament. The laws made against Papists, with relation to those particulars, being now applied unto them. Many were excommunicated and ruined by those prosecutions.”

Among other warm things which at that time came from the press, there was a letter published by BISHOP BARLOW of Lincoln, for the putting in execution the laws against the Dissenters: And this was written in concurrence with that which was drawn up by the Justices of the Peace of the County of Bedford, bearing date, January 14, 1684. In answer to this letter, MR. HOWE sent his lordship a free letter by the post, a copy whereof follows:

‘RIGHT REVEREND,

‘As I must confess myself surprised by your late published directions to your Clergy of the County of Bedford, so I not will dissemble, that I did read them with some trouble of mind, which I sincerely profess was more upon your Lordship’s account than my own, (who for myself am little concerned,) or any other particular person’s whatsoever. It was such as it had not been very difficult for me

to have concealed in my own breast, or only to have expressed it to God in my prayers for you, (which, through his grace, I have not altogether omitted to do,) if I had not apprehended it not utterly impossible, that some or other of those thoughts, (which I have revolved in my own mind upon this occasion, being only hinted to your Lordship, might appear to your very sagacious judgment, (for which I have had long, and have a still continuing veneration,) some way capable of being cultivated by your own mature and second thoughts, so as not to be wholly unuseful to your Lordship.

‘ My own judgment, such as it is, inclines me not to oppose any thing, either, 1. To the lawfulness of the things themselves which you so much desire should obtain in the practice of the people under your Lordship’s pastoral inspection: Or 2. To the desireable comeliness of an uniformity in the public worship of God: Or 3. To the fitness of making laws for the effecting of such uniformity: Or 4. To the execution of such laws, upon some such persons as may possibly be found among so numerous a people as are under your Lordship’s care.

‘ But the things which I humbly conceive are to be deliberated on, are, 1. Whether all the laws that are in being about matters of that nature, ought now to be executed upon all the persons which any way transgress them, without distinction of either? 2. Whether it was so well, that your Lordship should advise and press that indistinct execution, which the order (to which the directions of your Lordship refer) seems to intend; supposing that designed execution were fit in itself?

‘ I shall not need to speak severally to these heads: Your Lordship will sufficiently distinguish what is applicable the one way or the other. But I humbly offer to your Lordship’s further consideration, whether it be not a supposeable thing, that some persons sound in the faith, strictly orthodox in all the articles of it taught by our LORD JESUS or his Apostles, resolutely loyal, and subject to the authority of their governors in Church and State, of ‘pious, sober,’

peaceable, just, charitable dispositions and deportments; may yet (while they agree with your Lordship in that evident principle, both by the law of nature and Scripture, that their Prince and inferior rulers ought to be actively obeyed in all lawful things) have a formed fixed judgment of the unlawfulness of some or other of the rites and modes of worship enjoined to be observed in this Church? For my own part, though perhaps I should not be found to differ much from your Lordship in most of the things here referred unto, I do yet think that few metaphysical questions are disputed with nicer subtlety, than the matter of the ceremonies has been by ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT, CARTWRIGHT, HOOKER, PARKER, DR. BURGESS, DR. OWEN, &c.

‘ Now is it impossible that a sincere and sober Christian may, with an honest heart, have so weak intellectuals, as not to be able to understand all the punctilioes upon which a right judgment of such a matter may depend? And is it not possible there may be such a thing as a mental as well as a merely sensitive antipathy, not vincible by ordinary methods? Is there no difference to be put between things essential to our religion, and things confessedly indifferent on the one hand, and on the other judged unlawful; on both hands, but accidental? (Though they that think them unlawful, dare not allow themselves a liberty of sinning, even in accidentals.) If your Lordship were the *paterfamilias* to a numerous family of children and servants, among whom one or other very dutiful child takes offence, not at the sort of food you have thought fit should be provided, but somewhat in the sauce or way of dressing, which thereupon he forbears; you will try all the means which your paternal wisdom and severity think fit to overcome that aversion, but in vain; would you finally famish this child, rather than yield to his inclination in so small a thing?

‘ My Lord, your Lordship well knows the severity of some of those laws which you press for the execution of is such, as being executed, they must infer the utter ruin of them who observe them not, in their temporal concern-

ments; and not that only, but their deprivation of the comfortable advantages appointed by our blessed LORD, for promoting their spiritual and eternal well-being. I cannot but be well persuaded not only of the sincerity, but eminent sanctity of divers, upon my own knowledge and experience of them, who would sooner die at a stake, than I or any man can prevail with them to kneel at the LORD's table. What if there be considerable numbers of such in your Lordship's vastly numerous flock; will it be comfortable to you, when an account is demanded of your Lordship by the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls concerning them, only to be able to say, Though, LORD, I did believe the provisions of thine house purchased for them, necessary and highly useful for their salvation, I drove them away as dogs and swine from thy table, and stirred up such other agents as I could influence against them, by whose means I reduced many of them to beggary, ruined many families, banished them into strange countries, where they might (for me) serve other gods; and this not for disobeying any immediate ordinance or law of Thine, but because for fear of offending Thee, they did not in every thing comport with my own appointments, or which I was directed to urge and impose upon them? How well would this practice agree with that apostolical precept, "Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations?" I know not how your Lordship would relieve yourself in this case, but by saying they were not weak, nor conscientious, but wilful and humorous. But what shall then be said to the subjoined expostulation, "Who art thou that judgest thy brother? We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of CHRIST." What, if they have appeared conscientious, and of a very unblameable conversation in all things else? What, if better qualified for Christian communion in all other respects, than thousands you admitted? If you say, you know of none such under your charge so severely dealt with; it will be said, Why did you use such severity toward them you did not know; or urge and animate them to use it, whom you knew never likely to distinguish?

‘ A very noted Divine of the Church of England said to me in discourse, not very long ago, upon mention of the ceremonies, ‘ Come, come, the Christian Church and religion is in a consumption; and it ought to be done as in the case of consumptive persons, shave off the hair to save the life.’ Another (a dignified person) present, replied, ‘ I doubt not it will be so, in the Philadelphian State.’ I long thought few had been in the temper of their minds nearer it than your Lordship, and am grieved, not that I so judged, but that I am mistaken; and to see your Lordship the first public example to the rest of your order in such a course.

‘ Blessed LORD ! how strange is it that so long experience will not let us see, that so very disputable matters can never be the terms of union so much to be desired in the Christian Church ; and that in such a case as ours is, nothing will satisfy, but the destruction of them, whose union upon so nice terms we cannot obtain : But we must, it seems, understand all this rigour to proceed from love, and that you are for destroying the Dissenters, only to mend their understandings, and because *afflictio dat intellectum*. I hope indeed God will sanctify the affliction which you give and procure them, to blessed purposes ; and perhaps *periissent nisi periissent* : But for the purposes your Lordship seems to aim at, I wonder what you can expect ! Can you, by undoing men, change the judgment of their consciences ? Or if they should tell you, We do indeed in our consciences judge we shall greatly offend God by complying with your injunctions, but yet to save being undone we will do it : Will this qualify them for your communion ? If your Lordship thinks still, you have judged and advised well in this matter, you have the judgment of our Sovereign, upon twelve years’ experience, lying against you : You have, as to one of the laws you would have executed, the judgment of both Houses of Parliament against you, who passed a Bill (to which perhaps you consented) for taking it away : You have (as to all of them) the judgment of the last House of Commons sitting at Westminster. If you have mis-

judged, or misdone against your judgment, I pray God to rectify your error by gentler methods, and by less affliction than you have designed to your brethren: And do not for all this doubt (any more for your part than my own) to meet you there one day, where LUTHER and ZUINGLIUS are well agreed. If I did think that would contribute any thing to the honest and truly charitable design of this letter, I should freely and at large tell you my name: And do however tell you, I am,

A sincere Honourer of your Lordship,

And your very faithful, humble Servant.'

In 1685, the Dissenters were run down universally, and hardly any one durst speak or write in their favour; and the prospects people had with respect to the public, grew every day more and more gloomy. MR. HOWE therefore having an invitation given him by the LORD WHARTON to travel with him, accepted it readily. He had so little time given him to prepare for his voyage, which he entered upon in the month of August this year, that he had not an opportunity of taking leave of his friends, but sent a letter to them from the other side the water, which was thus directed.

*To such in and about London, among whom I have laboured
in the Work of the Gospel.*

' MY most dearly beloved in our blessed LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, grace, mercy and peace be through him multiplied unto you.

' THAT I am at this time at this distance from you, is I am persuaded (upon the experience I have had of your great love and value of my poor labours) not pleasant to you, and I do assure you it is grievous to me, though I murmur not at the wise and holy Providence that hath ordered things thus: But it added to my trouble, that I could not so much as bid farewell to persons to whom I had so great endearments. Nor could I have opportunity to

communicate to you the grounds of my taking this long journey, being under promise, while the matter was under consideration, not to speak of it to any. And after the resolution was taken, my motion depending on another, I had not time for that, or any such purposes. The providence of God gave me the prospect of a present quiet abode, with some opportunity of being servicable; (and I hope as it may prove through his blessing, unto you, if I have life to finish what I have been much pressed to go on with;) which opportunity I could not hope to have nearer you, at least without being unreasonably burdensome to some; while I was designing service as much as in me lay to all. It much satisfies me that I have a record above. I am not designing for myself; that He who knoweth all things, knows I love not this present world, and I covet not an abode in it (nor have I when it was most friendly to me) upon any other account, than upon doing some service to him, and the souls of men. It has therefore been my settled sense a long time, to value and desire (with submission to Sovereign good pleasure) peace and quiet, with some tolerable health, more than life. Nor have I found any thing more destructive to my health than confinement to a room in a city air, which was much more healthful to me formerly, than since anger and jealousies of such as I never had a disposition to offend, have occasioned persons of my circumstance very seldom to walk the streets.

‘ But my hope is, God will in his good time incline the hearts of Rulers to favour such as cannot be satisfied with the public constitutions in the matters of God’s worship, and that are innocent and peaceable in the land; and that my absence from you will be for no long time, it being my design, with dependence upon his gracious Providence, in whose hands our times are, if I hear of any door open for service with you, to spend the health and strength which God shall vouchsafe me, in his work with and among you. In the mean time it will be not unacceptable to you, that I offer you some of my thoughts for your present help.

‘ I. I beseech you more earnestly endeavour to reduce the things you know to practice. Nothing can be more absurd than to content ourselves with a notional knowledge of practical matters. We should think so in other cases. As if any man should satisfy himself to know the use of food, but famish himself by never eating any, when he hath it at hand. And the neglect of applying the great things of the Gospel to the proper purposes of the Christian life, is not less foolish, but much more sinful and provoking to God.

‘ How high a contempt is it of the great God, so totally to disappoint the whole design of that revelation he made to us, to know the great things contained therein, only for knowing-sake, which he hath made known that we may live by them! And O what holy and pleasant lives should we lead in this world, if the temper of our souls answered the things we know! The design of preaching has been greatly mistaken, when it has been thought, it must still acquaint them who live under it, with some new thing. Its much greater design is the impressing of known things (but too little considered) upon the hearts of hearers, that they may be delivered up into the mould and form of the doctrine taught them, as *Rom. vi. 12*. And may so learn CHRIST as more and more to be renewed in the spirit of their minds, and put off the old man and put on the new. (*Eph. iv. 20*.) The digesting our food is what God now eminently calls for.

‘ II. More particularly, labour to have your apprehensions of the unseen world, and eternal things, made more lively and efficacious daily, and that your faith of them may be such as may truly be called the very substance and evidence of those things. Shall that glorious and everlasting state of things be always as a dark shadow with us, or as the images we have of things in a dream, ineffectual and vanishing, only because we have not seen with our eyes, where God himself hath made the representations of them to us, who never deceived us, as our own eyes and treacherous senses have done? Why do we not live as just now entering into the eternal state, and as if we now beheld the

glorious appearing of the great **GOD** our **SAVIOUR**? Why do we not oftener view the representation of the heavens vanishing, the elements melting, the earth flaming, the angels every where dispersed to gather the elect, and them ascending, caught up to meet the Redeemer in the air, ever to be with the **LORD**? What a trifle will the world be to us then?

‘**III.** Let the doctrine of the Redeemer be more studied, and of his mighty undertaking, with the immediate design of it, not merely to satisfy for sin by the sacrifice he made of himself, and so to procure our justification, but to redeem us from all iniquity, to purify us to himself, and to form us after his own holy likeness, and for such purposes to give his **HOLY SPIRIT** to us. Consider that our Redeemer is mighty, who hath such kind designs upon us; and that they will be carried on without interruption, and with discernible success, if we fail not as to what part, in subordination to him, belongs to us. How cheerfully should the redeemed of the **LORD** go on in their course, under such conduct!

‘**IV.** Endeavour that your faith may be stronger, more efficacious and practical, concerning the doctrine of Providence, and that the workings and events of it lie all under the management, and in the hand of the Redeemer, who is Head over all things to the Church: That therefore how grievous and bitter soever be his people’s lot and portion at any time, there cannot but be kindness at the bottom; and that not only designing the best end, but taking the fittest way to it. For can love itself be unkind, so as not to design well? Or wisdom itself err so, as to take an improper course in order thereto? Hereupon let not your spirits be embittered by the dispensation of Providence, whereby you are in so great a part deprived of the means of your spiritual advantage, which you relish most.

‘And to this purpose consider,

‘1. Our wise and merciful **LORD** (though perhaps such means might be in some measure useful to us) doth for the present judge, that his rebuking our undue use of them will

be more useful ; either in over-valuing his instruments, turning his ordinances into mere formalities, preferring the means of grace (as they are fitly called) before the end, grace itself.

‘2. Consider whether there be no disposition of spirit, to treat others as you are treated. The inward temper of our minds and spirits is so much the more narrowly to be inspected, by how much the less there is opportunity to discover it by outward acts. As to such as differ from us about the forms and ceremonies that are now required in the worship of God, would we not be glad if they were as much restrained from using them in their worship, as we from worshipping without them? And do not we think that would as much grieve them, as our restraint doth us? And why should we suppose that their way should not as much suit their spirits, and be as grateful to them, as ours to us? But we are in the right way, some will say, and they in the wrong: And why cannot any man say the same thing with as much confidence as we? Or do we think there is no difference to be put between controversies about matter of circumstance, and about the essentials of Christianity? Undoubtedly till those that count it more their glory to be called Protestants than to be good Christians, have learnt to mingle more justice with their religion, and to apply that great advice of our LORD’S, “Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do that to them;” and till they become studious of excelling other men, in substantial goodness, abstractedness from the world, meekness, humility, sobriety, self-denial and charity, and to lay a greater stress hereon, than on being of one or other denomination, God’s controversy will not cease.

‘I reckon it much to be considered, that after that great precept, “Grieve not the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD,” (*Eph.* iv. 30,) it immediately follows, “Let all bitterness, and anger, and wrath, and clamour and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice:” (*Verse 31* :) Plainly implying that the SPIRIT of GOD, that SPIRIT of all love, goodness, sweetness, and benignity, is grieved by nothing more than

by our bitterness, wrathfulness, &c. And it appears that the discernible restraint and departure of that blessed SPIRIT from the Church of CHRIST in so great a measure, for many foregoing generations, in comparison of the plentiful effusion of it in the first age, hath insued upon the growth of that wrathful contentious spirit which showed itself early in the Gnostic, much more in the Arian persecution, which was not in some places less bloody than the Pagan persecution had been before.

‘O the gentleness, kindness, and compassionateness, of the truly Christian Spirit, as it most eminently appeared in our LORD JESUS CHRIST himself! And “if any man have not the SPIRIT of CHRIST, he is none of his.”

‘And how easy and pleasant is it to one’s self, to be void of all wrathfulness, and vindictive inclinations towards any other man? For my own part, I should not have that peace and consolation in a suffering condition, as through the goodness of GOD I have found, and do find in being conscious to myself of no other than kind and benign thoughts towards them I have suffered by, and that my heart tells me I desire not the least hurt to them that would do me the greatest; and that I feel within myself an unfeigned love and high estimation of divers, accounting them pious worthy persons, and hoping to meet them in the all-reconciling world, that are yet (through some mistake) too harsh towards us who dissent from them: And in things of this nature, I pray that you and I may abound more and more.

‘But again, as I would not have your spirits embittered, so I would not have you discouraged, or sunk in dejection. “The LORD will not cast off his people, because it hath pleased him to make them his people.” (1 Sam. xii. 22.) I do not mean those of this or that party, but who fear GOD and work righteousness, be they of what party soever.

‘As I often think that saying of an ancient, (CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS,) that he counted not that philosophy, which was peculiar to this or that sect, but whatsoever of truth was to be found in any of them; so I say of Christ-

tianity, it is not that which is appropriate to this or that party, but whatsoever of sincere religion shall be found common to them all. Such will value and love his favour and presence, and shall have it; and he will yet have such a people in the world, and I doubt not more numerous than ever.

‘And as the bitterness of Christians one towards another chased away his SPIRIT, his SPIRIT shall vanquish and drive away all that bitterness, and consume our other dross. And as the apostasy long ago foretold, and of so long continuance in the Christian Church, hath been begun and continued by constant war against the SPIRIT of CHRIST, the restitution and recovery of the Church, and the reduction of Christianity to its primitive state, will be by the victory of the SPIRIT of CHRIST over that contrary spirit. Then shall all the enmity, pride, wrathfulness, and cruelty, which have rent the Church of CHRIST, be melted down; and with all their great impurities, besides earthliness, love of this present world, and prevalence of sensual lusts, be purged away, and his repairing work be done in a way grievous to no one, whereby those that are most absolutely conquered will be most highly pleased; “not by might or by power, but by the SPIRIT of the LORD.”

‘In the mean time let us draw nigh to GOD, and he will draw nigh to us. Let us more study the exercising ourselves to godliness, and take heed of turning the religion of our closets into spiritless uncomfortable formalities.

‘To that blessed and faithful GOD I commit you; and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified.

‘And, as I hope I shall without ceasing remember you in mine, so I hope you will remember too in your prayers,

Your sincerely affectionate,

Though too unprofitable

Servant in CHRIST,

‘JOHN HOWE.’

In the course of his travels with this noble Lord, MR. HOWE had the satisfaction of seeing divers noted places, and conversing freely, not only with a number of learned Papists, but several Protestant Divines, both Lutherans and Calvinists, and making a variety of remarks for his own use: And in the mean time, he was often not a little affected with the melancholy tidings of the advances they were making in England towards Popery and slavery, which he most heartily lamented, as well as the hardships which his brethren met with in particular. And not having any encouragement from the posture of affairs to return home, he at length in the year 1686, settled in Utrecht. He took a house, and resided there for some time, and had the EARL of SUTHERLAND and his Countess, and some English gentlemen, together with his two nephews MR. GEORGE and MR. JOHN HUGHES, boarding with him. He took his turn of preaching at the English Church in that city, with MR. MATTHEW MEAD, MR. WOODCOCK, and MR. CROSS.

They kept frequent days of solemn prayer, on account of the threatening state of affairs in their own country: And MR. HOWE generally preached on the LORD'S Day in the evening in his own family. And there being several English students then at the University, in order to their being fitted for future usefulness, MR. HOWE was pleased to favour some of them with hearing their orations and disputations in private, and giving them his particular instructions and advice, which some have owned to have been of no small advantage to them.

Among others by whom he was visited while he continued at Utrecht, one was DR. GILBERT BURNET, afterwards Bishop of Sarum, who also preached in the English Church there, and very frankly declared for occasional communion with those of different sentiments. He and MR. HOWE had a great deal of free conversation, upon a variety of subjects; and once discoursing of Non-conformity, the Doctor told him, he was apprehensive that it could not subsist long; but that when MR. BAXTER, and DR. BATES, and he, and

a few more were once laid in their graves, it would sink and die, and come to nothing. MR. HOWE replied, that must be left to GOD; though he at the same time intimated that he had different apprehensions; and did not reckon it to depend upon persons, but upon principle, which when taken up upon grounds approved upon search, could not be laid aside by men of conscience. The best way, he said, to put an end to Non-conformity, would be by giving due liberty under the national settlement, and laying aside needless clogs, that would give occasion to endless debates. Were this once done, there would be no room for a conscientious Non-conformity: But that without it, they could expect no other than that as some passed off the stage, others would rise up and fill their places, who would act upon the same principles as they had done before them, though he hoped with a due moderation and temper towards those of different sentiments. And the event has showed, that he was herein in the right.

While MR. HOWE continued in Holland, the late KING WILLIAM, who was at that time Prince of Orange, did him the honour to admit him several times into his presence, and discoursed with him with great freedom: And he ever after retained a particular respect for him.

I well remember also, that he himself once informed me, of some very private conversation he had with that Prince, upon his sending for him, not long before his death. Among other things, the King then asked him a great many questions about his old master OLIVER, as he called him, and seemed not a little pleased with the answers that were returned to some of his questions.

In 1687 KING JAMES published his Declaration for liberty of conscience, upon which the Dissenters were freed from their fetters, and were allowed the freedom of worshipping GOD in public, in their own way. MR. HOWE's flock in London, earnestly pressed for his return to them according to his promise, and he readily complied.

But before he left Holland, he thought it proper to wait on the Prince of Orange, who received him very graciously.

He signified to his Royal Highness, that he was returning for England, at the solicitation of his friends, who were impatient of his absence, now he was in a capacity of public service among them. • The Prince wished him a good voyage, and advised him, though he and his brethren made use of the liberty granted by KING JAMES, yet to be very cautious in addressing; and not to be prevailed with upon any terms, to fall in with the measures of the Court, as to taking off the penal laws and test, which was the thing intended, but which would have fatal consequences; and to use his utmost influence in order to the restraining others, which he readily promised; and he was as good as his word.

Upon his return into his own country, which was in May this year, he was gladly received by his old friends and brethren, and with joy, (though not without an aching heart, considering the apparent danger of the public,) returned to the free exercise of his ministry. He was thankful for a little breathing time afforded, and endeavoured to improve it to the best purposes, and to preserve himself and others from the snares that were laid for them.

Meantime, the King went on with his design, and nothing would satisfy him, but his Declaration for liberty must be read in all Churches. The Bishops meeting together for consultation, were convinced that their concurring in this step, and sending the Declaration to all their Clergy, and requiring their reading it publicly to the people, would be an owning the *dispensing power*: And therefore they drew up a petition to his Majesty, in which they desired to be excused. This petition was called a libel, and they were sent to the Tower for presenting it.

Mr. HOWE being at this time invited to dinner by DR. SHERLOCK, the Master of the Temple, accepted the invitation, and there were two or three other Clergyman at the table. After dinner, the discourse ran mostly upon the danger the Church was at that time in, of being entirely ruined. The Doctor, freely, but pretty abruptly, asked MR. HOWE, what he thought the Dissenters would do, supposing the preferments

of the Church should be made vacant, and an offer should be made of filling them up out of their number? And who knows, said he, but MR. HOWE may be offered to be Master of the Temple? MR. HOWE, told the Doctor, that these were things that were altogether uncertain: But that if it should so happen, he could not pretend to answer for the conduct of the Dissenters, among whom there were several parties, that acted upon different principles; that he could answer for none but himself: And that he thought for his part, if things should ever come to the pass he mentioned, he should not balk an opportunity of more public service, provided it was offered him upon such terms as he had no just reason to except against: But then he added, that as for the emolument thence accruing, he should not be for meddling with that, any otherwise than as an hand to convey it to the legal proprietor. Whereupon the Doctor rose up, embraced him, and said, that he had always taken him for that honest man he now found him to be.

When these fears were all blown over, and an happy Revolution brought about in 1688, and the PRINCE of ORANGE was come to St. James's Palace, the Dissenting Ministers waited on him in a body, and were introduced by the LORDS DEVONSHIRE, WHARTON, and WILTSHIRE; at which time, MR. HOWE, in the name of the rest, made an handsome speech to his Majesty.

Soon after the Toleration Act passed, MR. HOWE published, 'Humble Requests both to Conformists and Dissenters touching their Temper and Behaviour toward each other, upon the lately passed Indulgence.'

It is there moved,

'1. That we do not over magnify our differences, or count them greater than they really are. I speak now (says MR. HOWE) of the proper differences which the rule itself makes, to which the one sort conforms, and the other conforms not. Remember that there are differences on both parts, *among themselves* incomparably greater than these, by which the one sort differs from the other. There are differences in doctrinal sentiments that are much greater. How uncon-

ceivably greater is the difference between men good and bad ! Between being a lover of the blessed God, the LORD of heaven and earth, and an enemy ! A real subject of CHRIST and of the Devil ? Have we not reason to apprehend there are both of these on each side ? It has been an usual saying on both sides, that they were (in comparison) but little things we differed about : Let us not unsay it, or suffer an habit of mind to slide into us, that consists not with it. Though we must not go against a judgment of conscience in the least thing, yet let us not confound the true differences of things, but what are really lesser things, let them go for such.

‘ 2. Let us hereupon carefully abstain from judging each other’s state GOD-ward upon these differences : For hereby we shall both contradict our common rule, and ourselves. When men make conscience of small and doubtful things on the one hand and the other, about which they differ, blessed GOD, how little conscience is made of the plainest and most important rule not to judge one another for such differences ! (*Rom.*, xiv. 3, 13.) Why, of all the parts of that holy book, is this chapter only thought no part of God’s word ? Or this precept so variously enforced in this chapter, and so awfully : “ But why dost thou judge thy brother ? Or why dost thou set at nought thy brother ? We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of CHRIST. For it is written, as I live, saith the LORD, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to me.” (*Verse* 10, 11.) Is it a light matter to usurp the throne of CHRIST, the judgment-seat of God ? Yet how common has it been to say, Such an one conforms not ; it is not conscience but humour ? GOD forgive both. Had they blotted *Rom.* xiv. out of their Bibles ? It is plain, by the whole series of discourse, that it is the judging of men’s states, and that by such small matters of difference, that is the thing here forbidden. Some few things contained in this chapter, as to “ receive one another,” (as Christians, or such whom GOD receives,) notwithstanding remaining doubts about small matters, and not determining such doubted things in bar to the doubter ; (*Verses* 1, 2, 3 ;)

and "not to lay stumbling-blocks in each other's way," (*verse 13*,) 'not to do the doubted thing with a mind still unsatisfied, (*verse 5, 23*,) not to "censure," either him that does or forbears; not admitting an hard thought of him or less favourable, than that what such an one does, he does to the LORD, and "what the other forbears, he forbears to the LORD." (*Verse 6*.) These few things, I say, put in practice, had taken away all differences, or the inconvenience of them long ago. And we shall still need them as much as ever.

'3. Let us not value ourselves upon being of this or that side of the severing line. It is Jewish, yea Pharisaiical, to be conceited, and boast ourselves upon externals, and small matters, especially if arbitrarily taken up; and is itself an argument of a light mind. Though I cannot sincerely be of this or that way, but I must think myself in the right, and others in the wrong that differ from me; yet I ought to consider, this is but a small thing, a point compared with the vast orb of things needful, and that ought to be known. Perhaps divers that differ from me, are men of greater and more comprehensive minds, and have been more employed about greater matters; and many, in things of more importance, have much more of valuable and useful knowledge than I. Yea, and since these are not matters of salvation we differ about, so that any on either side dare considerably say, He cannot be saved that is not in these respects of my way; he may have more sanctifying knowledge, more solid goodness, more grace and real sanctity than I; the course of his thoughts and studies having been by converse and other accidents led more off from these things, and perhaps by a good principle been more deeply engaged about higher matters: For no man's mind is able equally to consider all things fit to be considered; and greater things are of themselves more apt to beget holy and good impressions upon our spirits, than the minuter and more circumstantial things, though relating to religion, can be.

'4. Let us not despise one another for our differing in these

lesser matters. This is too common, and natural to that temper that offends against the foregoing caution. Little spirited creatures valuing themselves for small matters, must consequently have them in contempt that want what they count their own excellency. He that hath nothing wherein he places worth-belonging to him, besides a flaunting peruke and a laced suit, must at all adventures think very meanly of one in a plain garb. Where we are taught "not to judge," we are forbidden "to despise" or set at nought one another upon these little differences.

5. Nor let us wonder that we differ. We are too apt to think it strange, that such a man should conform, or such an one not conform. There is some fault in this, but which proceeds from more faulty causes. Pride too often, and an opinion that we understand so well, that a wrong is done us, if our judgment be not made a standard to another man's. And again, ignorance of human nature, or inconsiderateness rather, how mysterious it is, and how little can be known of it; how secret little springs there are that move this engine this way or that! Have we not frequent instances in other common cases, how difficult it is to speak to another man's understanding! Speech is too penurious, not expressive enough. Frequently between men of sense, much more time is taken up in explaining each other's notions, than in proving or disproving them. Nature and our present state, have in some respects left us open to God only, and made us inaccessible to one another. Why then should it be strange to me, that I cannot convey my thought into another's mind? Is it unchristian to censure, as before, and say, Such an one has not my conscience, therefore he has no conscience at all: And it is also unreasonable to say, Such an one sees not with my eyes, therefore he is stark blind. Besides, the real obscurity of the matter is not enough considered. I am very confident an impartial and competent judge, upon the view of books, later and more ancient, upon such subjects, would say, there are few metaphysical questions disputed with more subtlety, than the controversies about Conformity and Non-

conformity. Blessed be God that things necessary to the salvation of souls, and that are of true necessity even to the peace and order of the Christian Church, are in comparison so very plain.

‘6. Let us not be offended with one another, for our different choice of this or that way, wherein we find most real advantage. Our greatest concern in this world, and which is common to us all, is the bettering of our spirits, and preparing them for a better world. Let no man be displeased, (especially of those who agree in all the substantials of the same holy religion,) that another uses the same liberty, in choosing the way most conducing in his experience to his great end, that he himself also uses, expecting to do it without another man’s offence.

‘7. But above all, let us with sincere minds, more earnestly endeavour the promoting the interest of religion itself, of true reformed Christianity, than of this or that party. Let us long to see the religion of Christians become simple, primitive, agreeable to its lovely original state; and each in our own stations contribute thereto all that we are able, labouring that the internal principle of it may live and flourish in our own souls, and be to our utmost diffused and spread unto other men’s. And for its externals, as our rule will bear, gradually bend towards one common course, that there may be at length no divided parties at all.’

It seems necessary I should add somewhat upon another subject, which also made a great noise in the latter part of this good man’s life, and that is a business of *occasional Conformity*.

MR. HOWE had all along from his first quitting his Church, upon the taking place of the *Act of Uniformity*, carried himself with great calmness and moderation, and had openly declared for this *occasional Conformity*; and it was the same also as to a number of his brethren.

About this time he wrote a letter to a person of honour, partly representing the rise of *occasional Conformity*, and

partly the sense of the present *Non-conformists*, about their yet continuing differences from the established Church.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ IT is well known to such as have understood the state of religion in this kingdom, since the beginning of the Reformation, that there have been very different sentiments about the degrees of that Reformation itself. Some have judged the Church with us so insufficiently reformed, as to want the very being of a true Christian church; and wherewith they therefore thought it unlawful to have any communion at all. Of whom many thereupon in the several successive reigns, withdrew themselves into foreign parts, for the enjoyment of the liberty of such worship, as they judged agreeable to the Word of God. There have been also no inconsiderable numbers, that though not entirely satisfied with our Reformation, were less severe in their judgment concerning the constitution of the established Church; that is, did not judge its Reformation so defective, that they might not communicate at all with it, nor so complete, but that they ought to covet a communion more strictly agreeable to the Holy Scripture; and accordingly apprehended themselves to lie under a two-fold obligation in reference hereto.

‘ 1. Not by any means totally to cut themselves off on the one hand from the communion of the established Church, in which they found greater and more momentous things to be embraced with great reverence and complacency, (namely, all the true noble essentials of Christian religion, not subverted as among the Romanists by any contrary doctrines,) than could be pretended to remain the matter of their disapprobation.

‘ 2. Nor, on the other hand, to decline other communion, which to the judgment of their conscience appeared, in some considerable circumstances, more agreeable to the Christian rule, and to their experience, more conducing to their spiritual advantage.

‘ Which latter judgment of theirs (whether itself justifiable or no, we are not now considering) hath been with many so fixed and inflexible, that in several successive reigns, great numbers of such persons, who we had no reason to apprehend had any thought totally to abandon the established Church, yet thought themselves obliged besides, to seek and procure opportunities for such other communions, even with extreme peril, not only to their estate, but to their very lives.

‘ They could not therefore but think both these sorts of communions lawful, namely, whereto they might adjoin, but not confine themselves.

‘ It is not indeed to be thought that the judgment and practice of such men, can be throughout approved by our Reverend Fathers and Brethren of the established Church, as neither can we pretend it to be so universally by ourselves. But we are remote from any the least suspicion, that persons of Christian temper, can suffer themselves to judge or censure men of this sentiment, as being for this single reason, men of hypocritical minds; but that they will rather think it possible their understandings may be imposed upon, so as this may be the judgment, in the whole, of a sincere, though misinformed conscience.

‘ For when they apprehended this church, having all the essential parts of Christian religion, has not, by adding some disputed things, that are not pretended to be any parts of it, thereby unchurched itself, but that they may hold communion with it; yet they do not see that they ought to appropriate their communion to it, so as to refuse all other communion, where the same essentials of Christian religion are to be found without those additions.

‘ However, among those that are not entirely in every punctilio of this church, it hath not any so firm friends, or that are so nearly united in judgment and affection with it, as men of this sentiment.’

‘ The last thing he published, was a Discourse of *Patience*, relating to the expectation of *future blessedness*, which

came out in 1705. And this was what he now had particular occasion for. For having employed his time, strength and interest in the most valuable services, he by this time was wasted with several diseases, which he bore with great patience, and a resigned submission to the will of his heavenly Father. He discovered no fear of dying, but when his end drew near, was very serene and calm. He seemed indeed sometimes to have been got to heaven, even before he had laid aside that mortality, which he had been long expecting to have been swallowed up of life.

It was observed, that in his last illness, and when he had been declining for some time, he was once in a most affecting, melting, heavenly frame at the communion, and carried out into such a ravishing and transporting celebration of the love of CHRIST, that both he himself, and they who communicated with him, were apprehensive he would have expired in that very service. And though nature was considerably spent in him, yet was there somewhat even in the manner of his dying that was remarkable, and worthy of observation.

In his last sickness, he conversed freely with such as came to visit him; and they were many of all ranks. Among the rest, RICHARD CROMWELL, (who was now grown old, and had lived many years retired from the world, since the time when Mr. HOWE was his domestic chaplain,) hearing that he was going off the stage, came to make him a respectful visit, and take his farewell of him before he died. There was a great deal of serious discourse between them. Tears were freely shed on both sides, and the parting was very solemn, as I have been informed by one that was present. Many elder and younger Ministers also frequently visited him, and he was very free in discourse with them, and talked like one of another world, and that had raised hopes of that blessedness there, which his heart had long been set upon.

Having been very bad one evening, and being by the next morning unexpectedly recruited, he was visibly cheerful: which being taken notice of by those that were about

him, he said, he was for feeling that he was alive; and yet he was most willing to die, and lay that clog (as he called his body) aside. He told his wife, that though he loved her as well as it was fit for one creature to love another, yet if it were put to his choice, whether to die that moment, or to live that night, and the living that night would secure the continuance of his life for seven years to come, he would choose to die that moment. Being at last quite worn out, he finished his course with joy, April 2, 1705, and was translated into the calm and peaceable regions of the blessed above, where nothing but perfect charity and serenity reign for ever.

He was interred in the parish church of St. Allhallows, Bread-street; and his funeral sermon was preached April 8, by his fellow-labourer, Mr. JOHN SPADEMAN, from *2 Tim.* iii. 14.

Some time after his decease, MR. GEORGE HUGHES of Canterbury, wrote to DR. GEORGE HOWE, the eldest son of his deceased uncle, desiring an account from him of what manuscripts MR. HOWE had left behind him, or any particularities that were fit to be communicated to one so nearly related to him, and that had so great value for his memory. The Doctor returned him an answer in the following words:

‘ SIR,

‘ I AM EXTREMELY concerned that some time before my honoured father’s decease, I was utterly disabled to reap the advantage myself, and communicate it to friends of the large memorials he had collected of the material passages of his own life, and of the times wherein he lived, which he most industriously concealed, till his last illness, when having lost his speech, which I thought he would not recover, he surprisingly called me to him, and gave me a key, and ordered me to bring all the papers, (which were stitched up in a multitude of small volumes,) and made me solemnly promise him, notwithstanding all my reluctance, immediately to destroy them, which accordingly I did: He

has left me no other of his writings, but his short sermon notes, excepting some passages in the frontispiece of the Bible he used in his study, which I here transmit to you, and know it will be very acceptable.

I am,

Your sincerely affectionate Kinsman,

And humble Servant,

‘GEORGE HOWE.’

The transcript from the blank page in MR. HOWE’S Bible, which the foregoing letter refers to, was in these words following, which were written with his own hand.

December 26, 1689. *Quum diu apud me seriò recogitarem, præter certum et indubium assensum rebus fidei adhibendum, necessarium insuper esse vivificum quendam earundem gustum et saporem, ut majori cum vi et efficacia in ipsissima cordis penetralia sese insererent; ibidemque altiùs infixæ, vitam eo potentiùs regerent; neque aliter de bono DEUM versus statu conclusum iri, sive sanum judicium posse ratum haberi; cumque pro concione, 2 Cor. 12, fusiùs tractassem, hoc ipso mane ex hujusmodi somnio dulcissimo, primò evigilavi: Mirum scilicet a superno Divinæ Majestatis solio celestium radiorum profluvium in apertum meum hians-que pectus, infusum esse videbatur.*

Sæpius ab illo insigni die, memorabile illud pignus Divini Favoris, grato animo recolui, atque dulcedinem ejusdem iterum atque iterum degustavi.

Quæ autem, October 22, 1704, id genus miranda DEI mei benignitate, et suavissima SPIRITUS SANCTI operatione percepi, omnium verborum quæ mihi suppetit copiam, plane superant! Perquam jucundam cordis emollitionem expertus sum, fuis præ gaudio lachrymis, quod amor DEI per corda diffunderetur, mihi que speciatim donato in hunc finem SPIRITU suo.

For the sake of such readers as understand not the Latin tongue, I shall add a translation of these memorable passages.

‘December 26, 1689. After I had long seriously and

repeatedly thought with myself, that besides a full and undoubted assent to the objects of faith, a vivifying savoury taste and relish of them was also necessary, that with stronger force and more powerful energy, they might penetrate into the most inward centre of my heart, and there being most deeply fixed and rooted, govern my life; and that there could be no other sure ground whereon to conclude and pass a sound judgment on my good estate God-ward; and after I had in my course of preaching been largely insisting on, "This is my rejoicing, the testimony of a good conscience," &c. (2 Cor. i. 12.) This very morning I awoke out of a most ravishing and delightful dream; a wonderful and copious stream of celestial rays, from the lofty throne of the Divine Majesty, seemed to dart into my open and expanded breast. I have often since with great complacency reflected on that signal pledge of special Divine favour vouchsafed to me that noted memorable day; and have with repeated pleasure tasted the delights thereof. But what of the same kind I sensibly felt through the admirable bounty of my God, and the most pleasant comfortable influence of the HOLY SPIRIT, on October 22, 1704, far surpassed the most expressive words my thoughts can suggest. I then experienced an inexpressibly pleasant melting of heart, tears gushing out of mine eyes, for joy that God should shed abroad his love abundantly through the hearts of men, and that for this very purpose mine own should be so signally possessed of and by his blessed SPIRIT.

His introduction to his last Will and Testament is peculiarly solemn, and a noble confession of his faith. It runs thus:

'I, JOHN HOWE, Minister of the Gospel of CHRIST, in serious consideration (though through God's mercy in present health) of my frail and mortal state, and cheerfully waiting (blessed be God) for a seasonable unfeared dissolution of this my earthly tabernacle, and translation of the inhabiting spirit, into the merciful hands of the great God, Creator, LORD of heaven and earth, whom I have taken to be my GOD, in and with his only-begotten SON, JESUS

CHRIST, who is also over all GOD blessed for ever, and my dear and glorious REDEEMER and LORD: With and by the HOLY SPIRIT of grace, my light, life, and joy; relying entirely and alone upon the free and rich mercy of the FATHER, vouchsafed on account of the most invaluable sacrifice and perfect righteousness of the SON, applied unto me, according to the Gospel-covenant, by the SPIRIT, for the pardon of the many seriously repented sins of a very faulty fruitless life, and the acceptance of my person, with my sincere, though weak desires and endeavours to do Him service in this world, especially as my calling, wherewith He hath graciously honoured me, did more particularly require, in promoting the welfare and salvation of the precious souls of men.'

I know not how to close my account of this excellent person without adding somewhat as to his character. I am far from thinking MR. SPADEMAN at all exceeded, when he represented him as one, who had 'received from the FATHER of lights, so great a variety of both natural and Christian perfections, that he was not only a shining light and ornament of his age, but an inviting example of universal goodness. That GOD gave him an uncommon skill in the word of righteousness; and that he had peculiar advantages for understanding the Oracles of GOD; a large fund of natural endowments, improved by super-added preparatives unto the study of the Scripture; a rich treasure of human learning, particularly a thorough knowledge of Pagan Theology, by which he was enabled to descry the shortness and mistakes of human reason, which faculty he well understood to use in subordination unto Christian faith, whose mysteries he was able to free from the objections of cavillers. He took care to wash the vessel, that it might be receptive of Divine communications. And to these he added unwearied diligence, humility, and prayer, which was the delight and solace of his whole life. He unfeignedly sought GOD's glory, and the good of the souls of men. He was impartial and faithful in reprovng of sin, without respect of persons; easy of access, and condescending to

the lowest; and indeed became all things to all, that he might gain the more; and ready to assist all the necessitous and distressed, that he had opportunity of doing good unto. He was furnished with fortitude of mind, able to encounter the most grievous sufferings; and an eminent example of truly Christian patience, under very sharp afflictions. And he finished his course with uncommon joy; and few ever more experienced a Divine peace and serenity of mind, at the nearest approaches of death.

As to his person, he was tall, and exceeding graceful. He had a good presence, and a piercing but pleasant eye; and there was that in his looks and carriage, that discovered he had something within that was uncommonly great, and tended to excite veneration. His intellectual accomplishments were eminent. He was one of great abstractedness of thought, a strong reasoner, and one that had a very penetrating judgment, which carried him as deep into a subject, as most men that ever handled it. He had bright natural parts, and they were greatly improved by study and experience. He had an admirable way of thinking upon any subject that offered; and many times very surprising turns in discoursing upon it.

His ministerial qualifications were singular. He could preach off-hand with as great exactness, as many others upon the closest study. He delivered his sermons without notes; though he did not impose that method upon others. He had great copiousness and fluency in prayer; and the hearing him discharge that duty upon particular sudden emergencies, would have been apt to have made the greatest admirers of stunted forms, ashamed of the common cavils against extemporary prayer. He was an excellent casuist, and would clearly solve the greatest difficulties that practice was concerned in. And though in his sermons there was often an uncommon depth, especially at the beginning, yet he took care to become plainer in the sequel; and before he concluded, generally came with great pungency home to the consciences of hearers; so that they must be greatly

faulty, if they did not come away from hearing him both wiser and better.

He was one of remarkable prudence himself, and much valued and commended to in others. It was a common saying with him, that he was so far from questioning whether prudence was a virtue, that he reckoned imprudence to be a great vice and immorality. He was not apt to be swayed by interest, nor could any thing bias his judgment. And it may be said of him, as is usually said of those of the strongest reason, the greatest sagacity, and the noblest accomplishments, that he was one of great civility, candour and ingenuity.

He was very courteous to strangers, or others that came to visit him, and received them with great decency: And never could be of the mind of those that reckon religion and piety inconsistent with good breeding.

He knew how to address himself suitably to the greatest persons, without the least mixture of what was mean or servile; and yet was able to condescend to inferiors: And was very affable to younger Ministers, whom he would use with an easy freedom, offering them as there was occasion the kindest advice.

He was very like that eminent German Divine, MARTIN BUCER, in the peaceableness of his temper, and a willingness to accommodate differences. He had a truly great soul, and at the same time a very cool and moderate spirit; and was an utter enemy to that uncharitable and censorious humour that is visible in so many. He did not (as appears from all his writings) look upon religion as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, so much as a Divine discipline to reform the heart and life. In lesser matters, he could freely give others the liberty of their own sentiments; and was as unwilling to impose, as to be imposed upon.

He seems to have been born into this world to support generous principles, a truly catholic spirit, and an extensive charity. He was for carefully concealing or lessening the failings of others: And in that respect has admirably

exemplified his own temper in his printed Discourse with reference to 'Charity for other Men's Sins.' But whenever he found men impetuous in asserting their own opinions, and peremptory in rejecting the judgment of others, when they had taken care to set things in a due light and add a suitable evidence, it was his way to answer with silence.

He was for having nothing remain as a test of Christian communion, but what has its foundation as such, in plain reason or express revelation. And to him may those very words be justly applied, which he used in the character of DR. BATES, in his funeral sermon for him. 'He was for entire union of all visible Christians, (or saints or believers, which in Scripture are equivalent terms,) meaning by Christianity, what is essential thereto, whether doctrinal or practical; as by Humanity we mean what is essential to man: And by Visibility, the probable appearance thereof: And for free communion of all such, of whatsoever persuasion in extra-essential matters, if they pleased. And this design he vigorously pursued as long as there was any hope; desisting when it appeared hopeless; and resolving to wait till God should give a spirit suitable hereto, from an apprehension that when principles on all hands were so easily accommodated, and yet that there was with too many a remaining insuperable reluctancy to the thing itself, God must work the cure, and not man. Accounting also in the mean time, that notwithstanding mis-representations, it was better to cast a mantle over the failings of brethren, than be concerned to detect and expose them. Knowing that if we are principally solicitous for the name of God, he will in his own way and time take care of ours.'

In common conversation he was many times very cheerful. Some of his sudden repartees were remarkable. Being at dinner with some persons of good fashion, there was one Gentleman that expatiated with great freedom in praise of KING CHARLES the First, and made some indecent reflections upon others. MR. HOWE observing he intermixed a

great many oaths with his discourse, took the freedom to tell him, that in his humble opinion he had wholly omitted one very great excellency which the Prince he had so much extolled was so generally owned to have, that he had not known of any one that had the face to contest it. The gentleman seemed not a little pleased to have MR. HOWE come in as a voucher for the Prince he applauded, and was impatient to know what that excellence was. And when he had pressed for it with importunity, he at length told him it was this; that he was never heard to swear an oath in his common conversation. The gentleman took the reproof, and promised to forbear swearing for the future.

At another time, as MR. HOWE was walking along, he passed by two persons of quality, who were talking freely together, and with great eagerness; and when he came near them, he heard them damn each other most abominably: Whereupon pulling off his hat, and saluting them with great civility, he cried out, 'I pray God *save* you both;' which so took with them, that it diverted the humour they were in, and they joined in returning him thanks.

I shall mention yet one passage more. During the continuance of the debates in Parliament about the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, MR. HOWE walking in St. James's Park, passed by a certain noble Lord in a chair, who sent his footman to call him. Coming up to him, the Lord very respectfully saluted him, signified he was glad to see him, and entered into discourse with him upon the matter depending, which he intimated he had opposed to his utmost. Among other passages upon that occasion, he so far forgot himself, as to express himself thus: 'Damn these wretches, for they are mad; and are for bringing us all into confusion.' MR. HOWE, who was no stranger to the Lord who thus entertained him, considering his character, made this reply: 'My Lord, it is a great satisfaction to us, who in all affairs of this nature desire to look upwards, that there is a God that governs the world, to whom we can leave the events of things: And we are satisfied that He will not fail in due time of making a suitable retribution to all, according to

their present carriage. And this great Ruler of the world, my Lord, has among other things also declared, he will make a difference between him that sweareth, and him that feareth an oath.' My Lord was struck, and presently replied, ' Sir, I thank you for your freedom, and take your meaning, and shall endeavour to make a good use of it.' Mr. HOWE in return said, ' My Lord, I have a great deal more reason to thank your Lordship, for saving me the most difficult part of a discourse, which is the application.'

THE
LIVING TEMPLE,
OR,
A DESIGNED
IMPROVEMENT OF THAT NOTION,
THAT
A GOOD MAN IS THE TEMPLE
OF GOD.
—
IN TWO PARTS.

THE
L I V I N G T E M P L E.

PART I.

*Concerning God's Existence, and his Conversableness with
Man. Against Atheism, or the Epicurean Deism.*

CHAPTER I.

I. IT is so well known that this notion hath long obtained in the world, that we need not quote sayings to avouch it; wherewith not the sacred writings only, but others even of Pagans themselves, would plentifully furnish us.

But as authorities are, in a plain case, needless to unprejudiced minds; so will they be useless to the prejudiced, be the case never so plain. Nor is any prejudice deeper, or less vincible, than that of profane minds against religion. With such, it would, in the present argument, signify little to tell them what hath been said or thought by others. Not because it is their general course to be so very circumspect, as never to approve or assent to any thing, unless upon the most convincing demonstration; but from their peculiar dislike of those things only, that are of this special import and tendency. Discourse to them what you will of a temple, and it will be nauseous and unsavoury; not as being cross to their reason (which they are as little curious to gratify as any other sort of men) but to their ill-humour, and the disaffected temper of their mind; whence also, they do what they can to believe religion nothing else but the effect of timorous fancy; and a temple consequently one of the most idle impertinences in the world.

To these, the discussion of the notion we have proposed to consider, will be thought an endeavour to give consistency to a shadow ; and if their reason and power could as well serve their purpose as their anger and scorn, they would soon tear up the holy ground on which a temple is set, and wholly subvert the sacred frame.

I speak of such as deny the existence of the ever blessed Deity, or (if they are not arrived to that express and formed misbelief) whose hearts are inclined, and ready to determine, even against their mis-giving and more suspicious minds, "there is no God." And with whom it is so far from being a grateful sound, that "the tabernacle of God is with men on earth," that they grudge to allow him a place in heaven. At least if they are willing to admit the existence of any God at all, they say to him, "Depart from us;" and would have him so confined to heaven, that He and they may have nothing to do with one another.

II. These content not themselves to encounter this or that sect, but mankind ; and reckon it too mean and inglorious an achievement, to overturn one sort of temple or another ; but would down with them all, even to the ground.

And they are in reason and justice to pardon the emulation which they provoke, of vying with them as to the universality of their design ; and not regret it, if they find there be any, that think it their duty to waive a while serving the temple of this or that party, as less considerable, to defend that one wherein all men have a common interest.

Since matters are brought to that exigency and hazard, that it seems less necessary to contend about this or that mode of religion, than whether there ought to be any at all ; what was said of a former age, could never better agree to any than our own, that none was ever more fruitful of religions, and barren of religion, or true piety. It concerns us to consider, whether the fertility of those many doth not as well cause, as accompany a barrenness in this one. And (since the iniquity of the world hath made that

too suitable, which were otherwise unseemly in itself, to speak of a temple as of a fortified place, whose own sacredness ought ever to have been its sufficient fortification). it is time to be aware, lest our forgetful heat and zeal, in defence of this or that outwork, expose (not to say betray) the main fortress to assault and danger: Whilst it hath long been by this means a neglected, forsaken thing; and is more decayed by vacancy and disuse, than it could ever have been by the most forcible battery; so as even to promise the rude assailant an easy victory. Who fears to insult over an empty, dispirited, dead religion? which, alive, and shining in its native glory (as that temple doth, which is compacted of lively stones united to the living Corner Stone) bears with it a magnificence and state that would check a profane look, and dazzle the presumptuous eye that durst venture to glance at it with disrespect. The temple of the living God, manifestly animated by his vital presence, would not only dismay opposition, but command veneration also, and be its own both ornament, and defence. Nor can it be destitute of that presence, if we ourselves render it not inhospitable, and make not its proper inhabitant become a stranger at home.

If we preserve in ourselves a capacity of the Divine presence, and keep the temple of God in a posture fit to receive him; he would then no more forsake it, than the soul, a sound and healthy body, not violated in any healthy part: But if he forsake it once, it then becomes an exposed and despised thing. And as the most impotent, inconsiderable enemy can securely trample on the dead body of the greatest hero, that alive carried awfulness, and terror in his looks; so is the weak spirited Atheist become as bold now, as he was willing before, to make rude attempts upon the temple of God, when He hath been provoked to leave it, who is its life, strength, and glory.

III. It would be both an ungrateful and insignificant labour to discourse of religion, with persons that have abjured all seriousness, and that cannot endure to think. But it wants neither its use nor pleasure, to the most com-

posed minds, and that are most exempt from wavering herein, to view the frame of their religion, as it aptly, and even naturally rises and grows up from its very foundations, and to contemplate its first principles, which they may in the mean time find no present cause or inclination to dispute.

They will know how to consider its most fundamental grounds, not with doubt, or suspicion, but with admiration and delight; and can, with a calm and silent pleasure, enjoy the repose and rest of a quiet and well-assured mind: Rejoicing and contented to know to themselves, (when others refuse to partake with them in this joy,) and feel all firm and stable under them, whereupon either the practice or the hopes of their religion depend.

And there may be also many others, of good and pious inclinations, that have never yet applied themselves to consider the principal, and most fundamental grounds of religion, so as to be able to give, or discern any tolerable reason of them. For either the sluggishness of their own temper may have indisposed them to any more painful, and laborious exercise of their minds, and made them to be content with the easier course of taking every thing upon trust, or they have been unhappily mis-informed, that it consists not with the reverence due to religion, to search into the grounds of it: Yea, and may have laid this for one of its main grounds, that no exercise of reason may have any place about it. Or perhaps, having never tried, they apprehend a greater difficulty in coming to a clear and certain resolution herein, than indeed there is.

Now such need to be excited to set their own thoughts a work this way, and to be assisted herein. They should therefore consider who gave them the understandings which they fear to use? And can they use them to better purpose, or with more gratitude to Him who made them intelligent, and not brute creatures, than in labouring to know that they may also, by a reasonable service, worship and adore their Maker? Are they not to use their very senses about the matters of religion? For the invisible

things of God, even his eternal Power and Godhead, are clearly seen; and their faith comes by hearing. But what, are these more sacred and divine, and more akin to religion than their reason and judgment? Without which also their sense can be of no use to them herein. Or is it the best way of making use of what God has revealed of himself, not to understand what He hath revealed? It is most true indeed, that when we once come clearly to be informed that God hath revealed this or that thing, we are then readily to subject our feeble reasonings to his plain revelation. And it were a most insolent arrogance, to contend or not yield Him the cause, though things have to us seemed otherwise. But it were as inexcusable negligence, not to make use of our understandings to the best advantage; that we may both know that such a revelation is divine, and what it signifies, after we know whence it is.

And any one that considers, will soon see it very unseasonable, at least, to allege the written divine revelation as the ground of his religion, till he have gone lower, and fore-known some things (by and by to be insisted on) as preparatory, and fundamental to the knowledge of this.

And because it is obvious to suppose how great an increase of strength and vigour pious minds may receive hence, how much it may animate them to the service of the temple, and contribute to their more cheerful progress in a religious course; it will therefore not be besides our present purpose to consider a while, not in the contentious way of disputation, (the noise whereof is as unsuitable to the temple as that of axes and hammers,) but of calm and sober discourse, the more principal and lowermost grounds upon which the frame of religion rests; and to the supposal whereof the notion, and use of any such thing as a temple in the world do owe themselves.

CHAPTER II.

1. Now the grounds more necessary to be laid down, and which are supposed in the most general notion of a temple, are especially these two :

The Existence of God, and his Conversableness with men.

For no notion of a temple can more easily occur to any one's thoughts, or is more agreeable to common acceptance, than that it is an habitation wherein God is pleased to dwell among men.

Therefore to the designation and use of it, or (which is all one) to the intention and exercise of religion, the belief or persuasion is necessary of those two things, (the same which we find made necessary on the same account,) "That God is, and that He is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him;" (*Heb. xi. 6;*) as will appear when the manner and design of that his abode with men shall be considered.

These are the grounds upon which the sacred frame of a temple ought to stand, and without which it must be acknowledged an unsupported, airy fabric. And since it were vain to discourse what a temple is, or whereto the notion of it may be applied, unless it be well resolved that there is, or ought to be such a thing; the strength and firmness of this its double ground should be tried and searched.

And though it be not necessary, in a matter that is so plain, and wherein so much is to be said otherwise; yet it will not be impertinent to consider, First, What prescription will signify in the present case. And,

For the Existence of God, we need not labour much to show how constantly and generally it hath been acknowledged, through the whole world; it being so difficult to produce an uncontroverted instance, of any that ever denied it, in more ancient times. For as for them whose names have been infamous among men heretofore upon that account, there hath been that said that, at least, wants not

probability for the clearing them of so foul an imputation ; that is, that they were maliciously represented as having denied the existence of a Deity, because they derided the vulgar conceits, and poetical fictions of those days, concerning the multitude, and ridiculous attributes of their imaginary deities.

But whatever the apprehensions of those few (and some others that are wont to be mentioned) were in this matter, yet so inconsiderable hath the dissent been, that, as an ingenious Pagan (MAXIM. TYR. *Diss. I.*) writes, ‘ In so great a contention and variety of opinions, (that is, concerning what God is,) herein you shall see the law and reason of every country to be harmonious and one ; that there is one God, the King and Father of all,—That the many are but the servants and co-rulers unto God. That herein the Greek and the Barbarian say the same thing ; the Islander and the inhabitant of the Continent ; the wise and the foolish. Go to the utmost bounds of the ocean, and you find God there. But if (says he) in all times, there have been two or three, an atheistical, vile, senseless sort of persons, whose own eyes and ears deceive them, and who are maimed in their very soul, an irrational and sterile sort, as monstrous creatures, as a lion without courage, an ox without horns, or a bird without wings ; yet, out of those, you shall understand somewhat of God. For they know and confess him, whether they will or no.’

III. Yea, and the use of a temple, and the exercise of religion (which suppose the second ground also as well as the first) have been so very common, (though not altogether equally common with the former,) that it is the observation of that famed Moralist, (PLUTARCH *adversus COLOTEM*,) ‘ That if one travel the world, it is possible to find cities without walls, without letters, without Kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theatres ; but a city without a temple, or that useth no worship, or prayers, no one ever saw. And he believes a city may more easily be built without a foundation, (or ground to set

it on,) than any community of men have or keep a consistency without religion.'

IV. And it is no mean argument of the commonness of religion, that there have been some in the world (and those no ideots neither) that have accounted it the most constituent, and distinguishing thing in human nature. So that the Platonic Jew judgeth invocation 'of God, with hope towards him, to be, if we will speak the truth, the only genuine property of man ; and saith, that only he who is acted by such an hope, is a man, and he that is destitute of this hope is no man ;' preferring this account to the common definition, that he is a reasonable creature.

And a noble person (HERBERT *De Verit.*) of our own says, 'That upon accurate search, religion and faith appear the only ultimate differences of man ; whereof neither Divine perfection is capable, nor brutal imperfection.' Reason in his account descending low among the inferior creatures. But these agreeing more peculiarly to man, and so universally, that he affirms, 'There is no man well in his wits, that doth not worship some Deity.'

V. Having seen what common consent may contribute to the establishing of these principles jointly ; we may now apply ourselves to consider and search into each of them severally and apart. Having still this mark in our eye, our own confirmation, in reference to what is the proper work of a temple, religion, and conversation with God ; how little soever any endeavour in this kind may be apt to signify with the otherwise-minded.

VI. And, first, for the existence of God ; that we may regularly make it out to ourselves that he doth exist ; and may withal see what the belief of his existence will contribute towards the evincing of the reasonableness of erecting a temple to him ; it is requisite that we first settle a true notion of him in our minds, what it is that we mean by the name of God ; otherwise we know not what we seek, nor when we have found him.

And though we must before-hand professedly avow, that

we take him to be such an one as we can never comprehend, that this knowledge is too excellent for us, or he is more excellent than that we can perfectly know him; yet it will be sufficient to guide us in our search after his existence, if we can give such a description of his being as will severally, or together, distinguish him from all things else. For then we shall be able to call him by his own name, and say, This is God; whatever his being may contain more; or whatsoever other properties may belong to it, beyond what we can as yet compass, in our present thoughts of him.

VII. And such an account we shall have of what we are inquiring after, if we have the conception in our minds of an eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary being, that hath active power, life, wisdom, goodness, and every other supposable excellency, in the highest perfection originally, in and of itself.

VIII. We begin with God's existence. For the evincing whereof we may,

1. Be most assured, that there hath been somewhat or other from all eternity, or that looking backward, somewhat of real being must be confessed eternal. Let such as have not been used to think of any thing more than what they could see with their eyes, and to whom reasoning only seems difficult because they have not tried what they can do in it, but use their thoughts a little; and by moving them a few easy steps, they will soon find themselves as sure of this, as that they see, or hear, or understand, or are any thing.

For being sure that something now is, (that you see, for instance, or are something,) you must then acknowledge that certainly either somewhat always was, or hath ever been, or been from all eternity; or else you must say, that sometime nothing was, or that all being once was not. And so, since you find that something now is, that there was a time when any thing of being did begin to be, that is, that till that time there was nothing; but now, at that time, somewhat first began to be. For what can be plainer than that, if all being sometime was not, and now some being is,

every thing of being had a beginning? And thence it would follow that some being, that is, the first that ever began to be, did of itself start up out of nothing, or made itself to be, when before nothing was.

But now, do you not plainly see that it is altogether impossible any thing should do so; that is, when it was as yet nothing, and when nothing at all as yet was, that it should make itself, or come into being of itself? For sure, making itself is doing something. But can that which is nothing do any thing? Unto all doing there must be some doer; wherefore a thing must be, before it can do any thing; and therefore it would follow that it was, before it was; or was, and was not, was something and nothing at the same time: Yea, and it was diverse from itself; for a cause must be a distinct thing from that which is caused by it; wherefore it is most apparent that some being hath ever been, or did never begin to be. Whence further,

IX. 2. It is also evident, that some being was uncaused, or was ever of itself without any cause; for what never was from another, had never any cause, since nothing could be its own cause. And somewhat, as appears from what hath been said, never was from another. Or it may be plainly argued thus, that either some being was uncaused, or all being was caused; but if all beings were caused, then some one at least was the cause of itself; which hath been already shown impossible.

X. 3. It is hence further evident, that some being is independent upon any other; that is, whereas it already appears that some being did never depend upon any other, as a productive cause, or was not beholden to any other that it might come into being; it is thereupon equally evident, that it is simply independent, or cannot be beholden to any for its continued being. For what did never need a productive cause, doth as little need a sustaining and conserving cause. And, to make this more plain, either some being is independent, or all being is dependent; but there is nothing, without the compass of all being, whereon it may depend; wherefore, to say that all being doth depend, is

to say it depends on nothing, that is, that it depends not; for to depend on nothing, is not to depend.

It is therefore a manifest contradiction to say, that all being doth depend, against which it is no relief to say that all beings do circularly depend on one another. For so, however, the whole circle or sphere of being should depend on nothing, or one at least depend on itself; which, negatively taken, is true, and the thing we contend for, that one, the common support of all the rest, depends not on any thing without itself. Whence also it is plainly consequent,

XI. That 4. Such a being is necessary, or doth necessarily exist, that is, that it is of such a nature as that it could not, or cannot but be. For what is in being neither by its own choice, nor any other's, is necessarily. But what was not made by itself, (which hath been shown impossible that any thing should,) nor by any other, (as it hath been proved, something was not,) it is manifest, it neither depended on its own choice, nor any other's that it is. And therefore its existence is not owing to choice at all, but to the necessity of its own nature. Wherefore it is always by a simple, absolute, natural necessity; being of such a nature, to which it is altogether repugnant, and impossible ever not to have been, or ever to cease from being.

And now having gone thus far, and being assured that hitherto we feel the ground firm under us; that is, having gained a full certainty that there is an eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary Being, and therefore actually and everlastingly existing; we may advance one step further, and, with equal assurance, add,

XII. 5. That this eternal, independent, uncaused, necessary being, is self-active; that is, not such as acts upon itself, but that hath the power of acting upon other things, in and of itself, without deriving it from any other. Or at least, that there is such a being as is eternal, uncaused, having the power of action in and of itself.

For either such a being, as hath been already evinced, is of itself active, or unactive; or either hath the power of action of itself, or not. If we will say the latter, let it be

considered what we say, and to what purpose we say it. First, we are to weigh what it is we affirm, when we speak of an eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary being, that is of itself totally inactive, or destitute of any active power. If we will say there is some such thing, we will confess when we have called it something, it is a very silly, despicable, idle something, and a something (if we look upon it alone) as good as nothing. For there is but little odds between being nothing, and being able to do nothing. Wherefore, by the same reason that hath constrained us to acknowledge an eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary Being; we are also unavoidably led to acknowledge this being to be self-active; or such as hath the power of action in and of itself: Or that there is certainly such a being as is the cause of all the things which our sense tells us are, besides, existent in the world.

XIII. For what else is left us to say or think? Will we think fit to say, that all things we behold were, as they are, necessarily existent from all eternity? That were to speak against our own eyes, which continually behold the rise and fall of living things, of whatsoever kind, that can come under their notice. And it were to speak against the thing itself, that we say; and to say, and unsay the same thing in the same breath. For all the things we behold are, in some respect or other, (internal or external,) continually changing; and therefore could never long be beheld as they are. And to say then, they have been continually changing from eternity, and yet have been necessarily, is unintelligible, and flat nonsense; for what is necessarily, is always the same; and what is in this or that posture necessarily, (that is, by an intrinsic, simple and absolute necessity, which must be here meant,) must be ever so. Wherefore to suppose the world in this or that state necessarily, and yet that such a state is changeable; is an impossible, and self-contradicting supposition.

It is therefore manifest, that there is a necessary, self-active being, the cause and author of this perpetually variable frame of things. And hence,

XIV 6. Since we can frame no notion of life which self-active power doth not, at least, comprehend, (as upon trial we shall find that we cannot,) it is consequent that this being is also originally vital, and the root of all vitality; such as hath life in or of itself, and from whence it is propagated to every other living thing.

And so as we plainly see that this sensible world did sometime begin to be, it is also evident it took its beginning from a being essentially vital, and active, that had itself no beginning. Nor can we make a difficulty to conclude that this being, (which now we have shown is active, and all action implies some power) is,

XV 7. Of vast and mighty power, (we will not say infinite, lest we should step too far at once,) when we contemplate the vastness of the work performed by it; unto which (if we were to make our estimate by nothing else) we must, at least, judge this power to be proportionable. For when our eyes behold an effect exceeding the power of any cause which they behold, our mind must step in and supply the defect of our feebler sense; so as to make a judgment there is a cause we see not, equal to this effect. As when we behold a great and magnificent fabric, and entering in we see not the master, or any living thing, besides mice and weasels, we will not think that mice or weasels built it. Nor need we, in a matter so obvious, insist further. But only when our reason hath made us confess, our further contemplation should make us admire a power which is at once both so apparent, and so stupendous.

And now from what hath been hitherto discoursed, it seems a plain and necessary consectary, that this world had a cause diverse from the matter whereof it is composed.

For otherwise matter that is altogether inactive, must be stated the only cause and fountain of all the action and motion that is to be found in the whole universe. Which is a conceit absurd enough, not only as it opposes the common judgment of such as have with the greatest diligence inquired into things of this nature, but as being in itself manifestly impossible to be true.

CHAPTER III.

I. WE therefore add, that this being is wise and intelligent, as well as powerful; upon the very view of this world, it will appear so vast power was guided by equal wisdom, in the framing of it. No place of doubt seems to remain, but that this was an intelligent cause; and that this world was the product of wisdom and counsel, and not of mere power alone.

For what imagination can be more grossly absurd, than to suppose this orderly frame of things to have been the result of so mighty a power, not accompanied by wisdom and counsel? That is, (as the case must now unavoidably be understood,) that there is some being necessarily existent, of an essentially active nature, of inconceivably vast and mighty power, destitute of all understanding and knowledge, and consequently of any self-moderating principle; but acting always by the necessity of its own nature, and therefore to its very uttermost; that raised up all the alterable matter of the universe (to whose nature it is plainly repugnant to be of itself) out of nothing; and, by the utmost exertion of that ungoverned power, put all the particles of that matter into a wild hurry of impetuous motion, by which they have been compacted and digested into particular beings, in that variety and order which we now behold. And surely to give this account of the world's original, is, as CICERO speaks, not to consider, but to cast lots what to say: And were as mad a supposition, 'As if one should suppose the one and twenty letters, formed, (as the same author elsewhere speaks,) in great numbers, and cast of any careless fashion together, and that of these loosely shaken out upon the ground, ENNIUS's Annals should result, so as to be distinctly legible, as now we see them.' Nay it were the supposition of a thing a thousand-fold more manifestly impossible.

II. And let them that understand any thing of the composition of an human body, (or indeed of any living crea-

ture,) but bethink themselves whether there be not equal contrivance, at least, appearing in the composure of that admirable fabric, as of any the most admired machine, or engine, devised and made by human skill. If we pitch upon any thing of known and common use, suppose a clock, or watch, which is no sooner seen than it is acknowledged the effect of a designing cause; will we not confess as much of the body of a man? Yea, what comparison is there, when in the structure of some one single member, as an hand, a foot, an eye, or ear, there appears upon a diligent search, unspeakably greater curiosity, whether we consider the variety of parts, their exquisite figuration, or their apt disposition to the distinct uses these members serve for, than is to be seen in any clock or watch? Concerning which uses of the several parts in man's body, GALEN so largely discoursing in seventeen books, inserts, on the by, this *Epiphonema*, upon the mention of one particular instance of our most wise Maker's provident care: 'Unto whom (saith he) I compose these commentaries (meaning his present work of unfolding the useful figuration of the human body) as certain hymns (or songs of praise) esteeming true piety more to consist in this, that I first may know, and then declare to others his Wisdom, Power, Providence and Goodness, than in sacrificing to him many hecatombs.—And in the ignorance whereof there is greatest impiety, rather than in abstaining from sacrifice. Nor (as he adds in the close of that excellent work) is the most perfect natural artifice to be seen in man only, but you may find the like industrious design and wisdom of the author in any living creature which you shall please to dissect. And by how much the less it is, so much the greater admiration shall it raise in you, which those artists show that describe some great thing in a very small space; as that person who lately engraved PHAETON carried in his chariot, with his four horses, upon a little ring. A most incredible sight! But there is nothing, in matters of this nature, more strange than in the structure of the leg of a flea. How much more might it be said of all its inward

parts ! Therefore (as he adds) the greatest commodity of such a work accrues not to Physicians, but to them who are studious of nature, namely, the knowledge of our Maker's perfection, and that it establishes the principle of the most perfect Theology ; which theology is much more excellent than all Medicine.'

It were too great an undertaking, and beyond the designed limits of this discourse, (though it would be to excellent purpose, if it could be done in that easy, familiar way, as to be capable of common use,) to pursue and trace distinctly the prints and footsteps of the admirable Wisdom which appears in the structure and frame of this outer temple. (For even our bodies themselves are said to be the temples of the HOLY GHOST.) And to dwell a while, in the contemplation and discovery of those numerous instances of apparent sagacity and providence which offer themselves to view in every part of this fabric. How most commodiously all things are ordered in it ! With how strangely cautious circumspection and foresight, not only destructive, but even vexatious and afflicting incongruities are avoided and provided against ! For instance: How comes it to pass that the several parts which we find to be double in our bodies, are not single only ? Is this altogether by chance ? That there are two eyes, ears, nostrils, hands, feet ? What a miserable shiftless creature had man been, if there had only been allowed him one foot ! A seeing, hearing, talking, unmoving statue ! That the hand is divided into fingers ? Those so conveniently situate, one in so fitly opposite a posture to the rest ?

And what if some one pair, or other, of these parts had been universally wanting ? The hands, the feet, the eyes, the ears ? How great a misery had it inferred upon mankind ! And is it only a casualty that it is not so ? That the back-bone is composed of so many joints, (twenty-four, besides those of that which is the basis and sustainer of the whole,) and is not all of a piece, by which stooping, or any motion of the head or neck, diverse from that of the whole body, had been altogether impossible. That there is such

variety and curiosity in the ways of joining the bones together in that and other parts of the body. That in some parts they are joined by mere adherence of one to another, either with or without an intervening medium, and both these ways so diversely. That others are fastened together by proper jointing, so as to suit and be accompanied with motion, either more obscure or more manifest: And this either by a deeper or more superficial insertion of one bone into another, or by a mutual insertion, and that so different ways: And that all these should be so exactly accommodated to the several parts and uses to which they belong, and serve. Was all this without design?

Who that views the curious texture of the eye, can think it was not made on purpose to see with?, and the ear, upon the like view, for hearing; when so many things must concur, that these actions might be performed by these organs, and are found to do so? Or who can think that the sundry little engines belonging to the eye were not made with design to move it upwards, downwards, to this side, or that, or whirl it about, as there should be occasion; without which instruments, and their appendages, no such motion could have been? Who, that is not stupidly perverse, can think that the sundry inward parts (which it would require a volume distinctly to speak of) were not made purposely, by a designing agent, for the ends they so aptly and constantly serve? The want of some one among divers whereof, or but a little misplacing, or if things had been but a little otherwise than they are, had inferred an impossibility that such a creature as man could have subsisted, or been propagated upon the face of the earth.

And what if there had not been such a receptacle prepared as the stomach is, and so formed and placed as it is to receive and digest necessary nutriment; had not the whole frame of man besides been in vain? Or what if the passage from it downward had not been made somewhat, a little way, ascending, so as to detain a convenient time what is received; but that what was taken in, were suddenly transmitted? It is evident the whole structure had been ruined,

as soon as made. What (to instance in what seems so small a matter) if that little cover had been wanting, at the entrance of that passage through which we breathe, (the depression whereof, •by the weight of what we eat or drink, shuts it, and prevents meat and drink from going down that way,) had not unavoidable suffocation ensued? And who can number the instances that might be given besides? Now when there is a concurrence of so many things absolutely necessary (concerning which the common saying is as applicable, more frequently wont to be applied to matters of morality, ‘Goodness is from the concurrence of all causes; evil, from any defect’) each so aptly serving its own proper use, and all one common end; certainly to say that so manifold, so regular and stated a subserviency to that end, and the end itself were undesigned, and things casually fell out thus, is to say we know, or care not what.

We will only before we close this consideration, concerning the mere frame of an human body, offer a supposition, that the whole external covering of the body of a man were made, instead of skin and flesh, of some very transparent substance, flexible, but clear as very crystal, through which, and the other more inward (and as transparent) integuments, or enfoldings, we could plainly perceive the situation and order of all the internal parts, and how they each of them perform their distinct offices. If we could discern the continual motion of the blood, how it is conveyed, by its proper conduits, from its first source and fountain, partly downwards to the lower entrails, (if rather it ascend not from thence, as at least what afterwards becomes blood doth,) partly upwards to its admirable elaboratory the heart, where it is refined, and furnished with fresh vital spirits, and so transmitted thence by the distinct vessels prepared for this purpose; could we perceive the curious contrivance of those little doors by which it is let in and out, on this side and on that; the order and course of its circulation, its most commodious distribution, by two social channels, or conduit-pipes that every where accompany one another throughout the body. Could we discern the

curious artifices of the brain, its ways of purgation, and were it possible to pry into the secret chambers and receptacles of the less, or more pure spirits there, perceive their manifold conveyances, and the rare texture of that net commonly called the wonderful one. Could we behold the veins, arteries and nerves, all of them arising from their proper and distinct originals; and their orderly dispersion, for the most part by pairs, and conjugations, on this side and that, from the middle of the back, with the curiously wrought branches, which supposing these to appear duly diversified, as so many more dusky strokes in this transparent frame, they would be found to make throughout the whole of it, were every smaller fibre thus made at once discernible; especially those innumerable threads into which the spinal marrow is distributed at the bottom of the back: And could we, through the same medium, perceive those numerous little machines made to serve unto voluntary motions, (which in the whole body are computed by some to the number of four hundred and thirty, or thereabouts, or so many of them as according to the present supposition could possibly come in view,) and discern their composition, their various and elegant figures, round, square, long, triangular, &c., and behold them do their offices, and see how they ply to and fro, and work in their respective places, as any motion is to be performed by them. Were all these things, I say, thus made liable to an easy and distinct view, who would not admiringly cry out, "How fearfully and wonderfully am I made!" And sure there is no man sober, who would not, upon such a sight, pronounce that man mad that should suppose such a production to have been a mere undesigned casualty. The necessarily existent being is therefore not only of infinite *power*, but likewise of infinite *wisdom*.

III. I add, and of equal goodness; for unto that eternal Being, goodness also cannot but appertain, together with those other attributes we have spoken of.

The name of Goodness is of a significancy large enough to comprehend all other perfections that belong to, or may

any way commend the will of a free agent. Particularly whatsoever is wont to be signified (as attributable unto God) by the names of Holiness, as a steady inclination unto what is intellectually pure, with an aversion to the contrary;—Justice, as that signifies an inclination to deal equally, which is included in the former; yet as more expressly denoting what is more proper to a governor over others, namely, a resolution not to let the transgression of laws, made for the preservation of common order, pass without due punishment;—Truth, whose signification also may be wholly contained under those former more general terms; but more directly contains sincerity, unaptness to deceive, and constancy to one's word: For these may properly be styled good things in a moral sense. These are mentioned, as more directly tending to represent to us an amiable object of religion; and are referred hither, out of an unwillingness to multiply, without necessity, particular subjects of discourse.

In the mean time, what we principally intend is, that the Being, whose existence we have been endeavouring to evince, is good, as that imports a ready inclination to communicate to others what may be good to them; creating, first, its own object, and then issuing forth to it, in acts of free beneficence, suitable to the nature of every thing created by it. Which though it be the primary, or first thing carried in the notion of this goodness, yet, because that inclination is not otherwise good than as it consists with holiness, justice, and truth; these therefore may be esteemed, secondarily at least, to belong to it as inseparable qualifications thereof.

Wherefore it is not a merely natural and necessary emanation we here intend, that prevents any act or exercise of counsel or design; which would no way consist with the liberty of the Divine Will; and would make the Deity as well a necessary agent, as a necessary Being.

This is provided against, by our having first asserted the Wisdom of that Being, whereunto we also attribute Goodness; which guides all the issues of it, according to those

measures or rules which the essential rectitude of the Divine Will gives, or rather is, unto it. Whereby also a foundation is laid of answering such cavils, against the Divine goodness, as they are apt to raise to themselves, who are wont to magnify this attribute to the suppression of others; which is indeed, in the end, to magnify it to nothing.

And such Goodness needs no other demonstration than the visible effects we have of it, in the creation and conservation of this world; and particularly in his large munificent bounty and kindness towards man; whereof his designing him for his temple and residence, will be a full and manifest proof.

And of all this, his own self-sufficient fulness leaves it impossible to us to imagine another reason, than the delight he takes in dispensing his own free and large communications. Besides, that when we see some semblances of this Goodness in the natures of some men, they must needs have some fountain and original, which can be no other than the common Cause and Author of all things; in whom, therefore, this Goodness doth first and most perfectly consist.



CHAPTER IV.

I. SOME account hath been thus far given of that Being, whereunto we have been designing to assert the honour of a temple; each of the particulars having been severally insisted on, that concur to make up that notion of this Being which was at first laid down. But because in that fore-mentioned account of God, there was added to the particulars there enumerated (out of a just consciousness of human inability to comprehend every thing that may possibly belong to him) this general supplement, 'That all other supposable excellencies whatsoever, do in the highest perfection appertain also originally unto this

Being,' it is requisite that somewhat be said concerning this addition; especially inasmuch as it comprehends in it some things (not yet expressly mentioned) which may be thought necessary to the evincing the reasonableness of religion, or our self-dedication as a temple to him.

For instance, it may possibly be alleged, that if it were admitted there is somewhat that is eternal, uncaused, independent, necessarily existent, that is self-active, living, powerful, wise, and good; yet all this will not infer upon us an universal obligation to religion, unless it can also be evinced, 1. That this being is every way sufficient to satisfy all our real wants, and just desires. 2. And that this Being is but one, and so that all be at a certainty where their religion ought to terminate; and that the worship of every temple must centre and meet in the same object.

Now the eviction of an absolute perfect Being would include each of these, and answer both the purposes which may seem hitherto not so fully satisfied. It is therefore requisite that we endeavour,

First, To show that the Being hitherto described is absolutely perfect.

Secondly, To deduce, from the same grounds, the absolute Infinity, and the Unity thereof.

II. FOR the former part of this undertaking, it must be acknowledged, absolute or universal Perfection cannot be pretended to have been expressed in any, or in all the works of God together. Neither in number, for ought we know (for as we cannot conceive, nor consequently speak of Divine Perfections, but under the notion of many, whatsoever their real identity may be; so we do not know, but that within the compass of universal Perfection, there may be some particular ones, of which there is no footstep in the creation, and whereof we have never formed any thought) nor (certainly) in degree; for surely the world, and the particular creatures in it, are not so perfect in correspondence to those attributes of its great Architect, which we have mentioned, namely, his Power, Wisdom,

and Goodness, as he might have made them, if he had pleased: And indeed, to say the world were absolutely and universally perfect, were to make *that* God.

Wherefore it must also be acknowledged, that an absolutely perfect Being cannot be immediately demonstrated from its effects, as whereto they neither do, nor is it within the capacity of created nature that they can adequately correspond; therefore, all that can be done for the evincing of the absolute and universal Perfection of God, must be in some other way or method of reasoning.

And though it be acknowledged that it cannot be immediately evidenced from the creation, yet it is to be hoped that mediately it may; for from thence (as we have seen) a necessary self-originate Being, such as hath been described, is with the greatest certainty to be concluded; and from thence, if we attentively consider, we shall be led to an absolutely perfect one. That is, since we have the same certainty of such a necessary self-originate Being, as we have that there is any thing existent at all; if we seriously weigh what kind of Being this must needs be, we shall not be found much to fall short of our present aim.

Here therefore let us make a stand, and more distinctly consider how far we are already advantaged; that we may with the better order and advantage, make our further progress.

These two things then are already evident: First, That there is a necessary Being that hath been eternally of itself, without dependence upon any thing, either as a productive or conserving cause; and, of itself, full of activity and vital energy, so as to be a productive and sustaining cause to other things. Secondly, That this necessary self-originate, vital, active Being hath vast Power, admirable Wisdom, and most free and large Goodness.

Now, that we may proceed, what can self-essentiate, un-derived Power, Wisdom, Goodness be, but most perfect Power, Wisdom, Goodness?

For since there can be no Wisdom, Power, or Goodness, which is not either original or derived from thence; who

sees not that the former must be the more perfect? yea, and comprehend all the other (as what was from it) in itself? and consequently that it is simply the most perfect? And the reason will be the same, concerning any other perfection, the stamps and characters whereof we find signed upon the creatures.

But that the Being, unto which these belong, is absolutely and universally perfect in every kind, must be further evidenced by considering more at large the notion of such a self-originate necessary Being.

And in general, this seems manifestly imported in the notion of the necessary Being, that it have in it (some way or other) the entire sum and utmost fulness of being; beyond which, or without the compass whereof, no perfection is conceivable.

But that we may entertain ourselves with some more particular considerations of this necessary Being, which may evince that general assertion of its absolute fulness of essence; it appears to be such,

III. As is, First, at the greatest imaginable distance from non-entity; for what can be at a greater than that which is necessarily? Which signifies as much as whereto not to be is utterly impossible. Now an utter impossibility not to be, or the uttermost distance from no being, seems plainly to imply the absolute plenitude of all being. We add,

IV That necessary being is most unmixed or purest being, without allay. That is pure which is full of itself. Purity is not here meant in a corporeal sense, nor in the moral; but as it signifies simplicity of essence. Necessary being imports purest actuality, which is the ultimate and highest perfection of being; for it signifies no remaining possibility, yet unreplete or not filled up, and consequently the fullest exuberancy and entire confluence of all being, as in its fountain and original source.

V Moreover, necessary being is the cause and author of all being besides. Whatsoever is not necessary, is caused; for not having being of itself, it must be put into being by somewhat else. And inasmuch as there is no

middle sort of being betwixt necessary and not necessary, and all that is not necessary is caused; it is plain, that which is necessary must be the cause of all the rest.

Wherefore how inexhaustible a fountain of life, being, and all perfection have we here represented to our thoughts! from whence this vast universe is sprung, and is continually springing, and that in the mean time receiving no recruits or foreign supplies, yet suffers no impairment or lessening of itself! What is this but absolute All-fulness? And it is so far from arguing any deficiency, or mutability in his nature, that there is this continual issue of power and virtue from him, that it demonstrates its high excellency that this can be without decay or mutation.

VI. We only say further, that this necessary Being is such, to which nothing can be added; so as that it should be really greater, or better, or more perfect than it was before.

Now what can be supposed to import fulness of being, and perfection more than this impossibility of addition, or that there can be nothing greater or more perfect?

Having dispatched that former part of this undertaking, the eviction of an every way perfect Being; we shall now need to labour little in the other, namely,

VII. *Secondly*, The more express deduction of the infiniteness and unity thereof.

For as to the former of these, it is in effect the same thing that hath been already proved; since to the fullest notion of infiniteness, absolute perfection seems every way most fully to correspond; for absolute perfection includes all conceivable perfection, leaves nothing excluded. And what doth most simple infiniteness import, but to have nothing for a boundary, or (which is the same) not to be bounded at all?

We intend now, principally, infiniteness extrinsically considered, with respect to time and place, as to be eternal and immense import; but likewise intrinsically, as importing bottomless profundity of essence, and the full confluence of

all kinds and degrees of perfection, without bound or limit.

VIII. And as to the unity of this Being, the deduction thereof seems plain and easy, from what hath been already proved, that is, from the absolute perfection thereof. For though some toil much about this matter, and others plainly conclude that is not to be proved at all in a rational way, but only by Divine Revelation; yet I conceive, they that follow the method (having proved some necessary self-subsisting Being, the root and original spring of all being and perfection, actual and possible) of deducing, from thence, the absolute, all-comprehending perfection of such necessary Being, will find their work as good as done. For nothing seems more evident, than that there cannot be two (much less more) such beings, inasmuch as one comprehends in itself all being and perfection; for there can be but one All, without which is nothing. So that one such Being supposed, another can have nothing remaining to it. Yea, so far is it therefore, if we suppose one infinite and absolutely perfect Being, that there can be another independent thereon; that there cannot be the minutest finite thing imaginable, which that supposed infinity doth not comprehend, or that can stand apart from it.

We might, more at large, and with a (much more pompous) number of arguments, have shown, that there can be no more Gods than one; but to such as had rather be informed, than bewildered and lost, clear proof, that is shorter and more comprehensive, will be more grateful.

Nor doth this proof of the unity of the Godhead, any way impugn the Trinity, which is by Christians believed therein, (and whereof some Heathens, as is known, have not been wholly without some apprehension,) or exclude a sufficient uncreated ground of trinal distinction: As would be seen if that great difference of beings necessary and contingent be well stated; and what is by eternal, necessary emanation of the Divine nature, be duly distinguished from the arbitrary products of the Divine will, and the matter

be thoroughly examined, whether herein be not a sufficient distinction of that which is uncreated, and that which is created. In this way it is possible it might be cleared, how a Trinity in the Godhead may be very consistently with the Unity thereof. But that it is, we cannot know but by his telling us so ; it being among the many things of GOD, which are not to be known but by the SPIRIT of GOD revealing and testifying them, in and according to the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER V

I. AND if any one should in the mean time still remain either doubtful, or apt to cavil, after all that hath been said for proof of that Being's existence ; I would only add these few things by way of inquiry or demand :

First, Do they believe upon supposition of the existence of such a Being, that it is possible it may be made known to us in our present state, by means not unsuitable to the order and government of the world, that it doth exist ?

It were strange to say, or suppose that a Being, of so high perfection, if he is, cannot make it known that he is, to intelligent creatures.

If indeed he is, and be the common cause, author, and LORD of us, and all things, (which we do now but suppose, that we may defy cavil to allege any thing that is so much as colourable, against the possibility of the supposition,) surely he hath done greater things than the making of it known that he is.

There hath been no inconsistent notion hitherto given of him, nothing said concerning him, but will well admit that it is possible such a Being may be now existent. Yea, we not only can conceive, but we actually have (and cannot but have) some conception of the several attributes we have ascribed to him ; so as to apply them (severally) to somewhat else, if we will not apply them (jointly) to him. We

cannot but admit there is some eternal necessary Being ; somewhat that is of itself active ; somewhat that is powerful, wise, and good. And these notions have in them no repugnancy to one another ; wherefore it is not impossible they may meet, and agree together in full perfection : And hence it is manifestly no unapprehensible thing that such a Being doth exist.

Now supposing it doth exist, and hath been to us the cause and author of our being, hath given us the intelligent nature which we find ourselves possessors of, and that very power whereby we apprehend the existence of such a Being as He is to be possible, while also his actual existence is not unapprehensible : Were it not the greatest madness imaginable to say, that if he doth exist, he cannot make us understand that he doth exist ? We will therefore take it for granted, and as a thing which no man in his wits will deny, that upon supposition such a Being, the cause and author of all things, do exist ; he might in some way or other, with sufficient evidence, make it known to such creatures as we, so as to beget in us a rational certainty that he doth exist.

Upon which ground we will only reason thus, that there is no possible and fit way of doing it, which is not liable to as much exception, as the evidence we already have ; whence it will be consequent, that if the thing be possible to be fitly done, it is done already ; that if we can apprehend how it may be possible such a Being, actually existent, might give us that evidence of his existence that should be suitable to our present state, and sufficient to outweigh all objections to the contrary, (without which it were not rationally sufficient,) and that we can apprehend no possible way of doing this, which will not be liable to the same or equal objections, as may be made against the present means we have for begetting this certainty in us ;—then we have already sufficient evidence of this Being's existence ; that is, such as ought to prevail against all objections.

Here it is only needful to be considered what way can be thought of, which might assure us in this matter, that

we already have not. And what might be objected against them, equally, as against the means we now have.

II. Will we say, such a Being, if He did actually exist, might ascertain us of his existence, by some powerful impression of that truth upon our minds ?

We will not insist what there is of this already, let them consider, who gainsay what they can find of it in their own minds ; and whether they are not engaged, by their atheistical inclinations, in a contention against themselves, and their more natural sentiments ; from which they find it a matter of no small difficulty to be delivered ? It was not for nothing, that even EPICURUS himself calls this of an existing Deity, a proleptical notion. But you may say, the impression might have been simply universal, and so irresistible, as to prevent or over-bear all doubt.

And first, for the Universality of it : Why may we not suppose it already sufficiently universal ? With what confidence can the few dissenting Atheists, that have professed to be of another persuasion, put that value upon themselves, as to reckon their dissent considerable enough to implead the Universality of this impression ! Or what signify some few instances of persons so stupidly foolish, as to give much less discovery of any rational faculty than some beasts ?

Besides that, your contrary profession is no sufficient argument of your contrary persuasion, much less that you never had any stamp or impression of a Deity upon your minds, or that you have quite razed it out. It is much to be suspected, that you hold not your contrary persuasion with unshaken confidence ; but that you have those qualmish fits, which bewray the impression that you will not confess, and yet cannot utterly deface.

But if in this you had quite won the day, and were masters of your design ; were it not pretty to suppose that the common consent of mankind would be a good argument of the existence of a Deity, except only that it wants your concurrence ? If it were so universal, as to include your vote and suffrage, it would then be a firm and solid

argument ; (as no doubt it is, without you, a stronger one than you can answer ;) but when you have made a hard shift to withdraw your assent, you have undone the Deity, and religion ! Doth this cause stand and fall with you, unto which you can contribute about as much as the fly to the triumph ? Was that true before, which now your hard-laboured dissent hath made false ?

And for the irresistibleness of this impression, it is true it would take away all disposition to oppose ; but it may be presumed, this is none of the rational evidence which you mean, when you admit that some way or other the existence of such a Being might be (possibly) made so evident, as to induce a rational certainty thereof. For to believe such a thing to be true, only upon a strong impulse, (how certain soever the thing be,) is not to assent to it upon a foregoing reason ; nor can any, in that case, tell why they believe it, but that they believe it. You will not sure think any thing the truer for this only, that such and such believe it with a steady confidence.

It is true, that the universality and naturalness of such a persuasion, as pointing us to a common cause thereof, affords the matter of an argument ; or is a medium not contemptible, nor capable of answer, as hath been said before : But to be irresistibly captivated into an assent, is no medium at all ; but an immediate persuasion of the thing itself, without a reason.

III. Therefore must it yet be demanded, what means that you yet have not, would you think sufficient to put this matter out of doubt ? Will you say, some kind of very glorious apparitions, becoming the majesty of such an one as this Being is represented ? But if you know how to fancy that such a thing as the sun, or other luminaries, might have been compacted of a certain peculiar sort of atoms, coming together of their own accord, without the direction of a wise agent ; yea, and consist so long, and hold so strangely regular motions : How easy would it be to object that, with much more advantage, against any temporary apparition !

Would dreadful loud voices proclaiming him to be, of whose existence you doubt, have served the turn? It is likely, if your fear would have permitted you to use your wit, you would have had some subtle invention how, by some odd rencounter of angry atoms, the air or clouds might become thus terribly vocal. And when you know already, that they do sometimes salute your ears with very loud sounds (as when it thunders) there is little doubt but your great wit can devise a way, how possibly such sounds might become articulate. And for the sense and coherent import of what were spoken, you that are so good at conjecturing how things might casually happen, would not be long in making a guess, that might serve that turn also; except you were grown very dull and barren, and that fancy that served you to imagine how the whole frame of the universe, and the rare structure of the bodies of animals, yea and even the reasonable soul itself, might be all casual productions, cannot now devise how, by chance, a few words (for you do not say you expect long orations) might fall out to be sense, though there were no intelligent speaker.

But would strange and wonderful effects, that might surprise and amaze you, do the business? We may challenge you to try your faculty, and stretch it to the uttermost; and then tell us, what imagination you have formed of any thing more strange and wonderful, than the already extant frame of nature, in the whole, and in the several parts of it. Will he that hath a while considered the composition of the world, the exact and orderly motions of the sun, moon, and stars, the fabric of his own body, and the powers of his soul, expect yet a wonder, to prove to him there is a God?

But if that be the complexion of your minds, that it is not the greatness of any work, but the novelty and surprisingness of it, that will convince you; it is not rational evidence you seek. Nor is it your reason, but your idle curiosity you would have gratified; which deserves no more satisfaction than that fond wish, that one might come

from the dead to warn men on earth, lest they should come into the place of torment.

And if such means as these, that have been mentioned, should be thought necessary; I would ask, Are they necessary to every individual person, so as that no man shall be esteemed to have had sufficient means of conviction, who hath not with his own eyes beheld some glorious apparition, or himself heard some such terrible voice, or been the immediate witness, or subject of some prodigious wonderful work? Or will the once seeing, hearing, or feeling suffice? Is it not necessary there should be a frequent repetition and renewal of those amazing things, lest the impression wearing off, there be a relapse, and a gradual sliding into an oblivion of that Being's existence, whereof they had sometime received a conviction?

Now if such a continual iteration of these strange things were thought necessary, would they not soon cease to be strange? And then if their strangeness was necessary, by that very thing wherein their sufficiency for conviction is said to consist, they should become useless. Or if by their frequent variations (which it is possible to suppose) a perpetual amusement be still kept up in the minds of men, and they be always full of consternation and wonder; doth this temper so much befriend the exercise of reason, or contribute to the sober consideration of things; as if men could not be rational, without being half mad? And indeed they might soon become altogether so, by being but a while beset with objects so full of terror, as are, by this supposition, made the necessary means to convince them of a Deity.

And were this a fit means of ruling the world, of preserving order among mankind; what business could then be followed? Who could attend the affairs of their callings? Who could either be capable of governing, or of being governed, while all men's minds should be wholly taken up, either in the amazed view, or the suspenseful expectation of nought else but strange things?

This course, as our present condition is, what could it

do but craze men's understandings, as a too bright and dazzling light causeth blindness, or any over excelling sensible object destroy the sense; so that we should soon have cause to apply the proverb: 'Shut the windows, that the house may be light;' and might learn to put a sense, not intolerable, upon those passages of some mystical writers, that God is to be seen in 'a Divine cloud or darkness,' as one; and 'with closed eyes,' as another speaks: (though what was their sense I will not pretend to tell.)

Wherefore, all this being considered, it is likely it would not be insisted upon as necessary to our being persuaded of God's existence, that he should so multiply strange and astonishing things, as that every man might be a daily amazed beholder and witness of them.

IV. And if their frequency be acknowledged not necessary, but indeed wholly inconvenient; more rare discoveries of him, in the very ways we have been speaking of, have not been wanting. What would we think of such an appearance of God as that was upon Mount Sinai, when he came down in the sight of all that great people, wherein the several things concurred that were above-mentioned?

Let us but suppose such an appearance, in all the concurrent circumstances of it, as that is said to have been: That is, we will suppose an equally great assembly or multitude of people is gathered together, and a solemn forewarning is given and proclaimed among them, by appointed heralds or officers of state, that on such a prefixed day, now nigh at hand, the Divine Majesty and Glory will visibly appear. They are most severely enjoined to prepare themselves, and be in readiness against that day; great care is taken to sanctify the people, and the place; bounds are set about the designed theatre of this great appearance; all are strictly required to observe their due and awful distances, and abstain from more audacious approaches and gazings, lest that terrible Glory break forth upon them, and they perish: An irreverent or disrespectful look, they are told, will be mortal to them, or a very touch of any part of this sacred inclosure. In the morning of the appointed day, there are

thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the hal-
lowed mount; the exceeding loud sound of a trumpet pro-
claims the LORD's descent. He descends in fire, the flames
whereof envelop the trembling mount, (now floored with
a sapphire pavement, clear as the body of heaven,) and
ascend into the middle region, or (as it is expressed) into
the midst or heart of the heavens. "The voice of words,"
(a loud and dreadful voice,) audible to all that mighty
assembly, in which were six hundred thousand men, issues
forth from amidst that terrible glory, pronouncing to
them, "I am JEHOVAH, thy God."—And thence proceed-
ing to give them precepts so plain and clear, so compre-
hensive and full, so unexceptionably just and righteous, so
agreeable to the nature of man, and subservient to his good;
that nothing could be more worthy the great Creator, or
more aptly suitable to such a sort of creatures.

It is very likely, indeed, that such a demonstration
would leave no spectator in doubt, concerning the existence
of God; and would puzzle the philosophy of the most
sceptical Atheist to give an account, otherwise, of the phe-
nomenon. And if such could devise any thing that should
seem plausible to some half-witted persons, that were not
present, they would have a hard task of it to quiet the
minds of those that were; or make them believe this was no-
thing else but some odd conjuncture of certain fiery atoms,
that, by some strange accident, happened into this conflict
with one another; or some illusion of fancy, by which so
great a multitude were all at once imposed upon: So as
that they only seemed to themselves to hear, and see,
what they heard and saw not. Nor is it likely they would
be very confident of the truth of their own conjecture, or
be apt to venture much upon it themselves; having been
the eye and ear-witnesses of these things.

But is it necessary this course shall be taken to make the
world know there is a God? Such an appearance, indeed,
would more powerfully strike sense; but unto sober and
considerate reason, were it a greater thing than the making
such a world as this? And the disposing this great variety

of particular beings in it, into so exact and elegant an order? And the sustaining and preserving it in the same state, through so many ages? Let the vast and unknown extent of the whole, the admirable variety, the elegant shapes, the regular motions, the excellent faculties and powers of that inconceivable number of creatures contained in it, be considered: And is there any comparison between that temporary, transient, occasional, and this steady, permanent, and universal discovery of God? Nor (supposing the truth of the history) can it be thought the design of this appearance, to these Hebrews, was to convince them of the existence of a Deity, to be worshipped; when, both they had so convincing evidence thereof many ways before; and the other nations, that which they left, and those whither they went, were not without their religion and worship, such as it was: But to engage them by so majestic a representation thereof, to a more exact observance of His will, now made known: Though, had there been any doubt of the former, (as we can hardly suppose they could, before, have more doubted of the being of a God, than that there were men on earth,) this might collaterally, and besides its chief intention, be a means to confirm them concerning that also; but that it was necessary for that end, we have no pretence to imagine.

The like may be said concerning other miracles heretofore wrought, that the intent of them was to justify the Divine authority of Him who wrought them, to prove Him sent by God; and so countenance the doctrine or message delivered by him: Not that they tended (otherwise than on the by) to prove God's existence. Much less, was this so amazing an appearance needful, or intended for that end; and least of all, was it necessary that this should be God's ordinary way of making it known to men that He doth exist: So as that, for this purpose, He should often repeat so terrible representations of himself. And how inconvenient it were to mortal men, as well as unnecessary, the astonishment wherewith it possessed that people is an evidence; and their passionate affrighted wish thereupon,

“Let not God any more speak to us, lest we die.” They apprehended it impossible for them to out-live such another sight!

And if that so amazing an appearance of the Divine majesty (sometime afforded) were not necessary, but some way on the by useful, for the confirming that people in the persuasion of God’s existence; why may it not be useful also for the same purpose, even now to us? Is it that we think that can be less true now, which was so gloriously evident to be true four thousand years ago? Or is it that we can disbelieve or doubt the truth of the history? What should be the ground, or pretence of doubt?

If it were a fiction, it is manifest it was feigned by some person that had the use of his understanding, and was not besides himself; as the coherence and contexture of parts doth plainly show.

But would any man not besides himself, designing to gain credit to a forged report to a matter of fact, ever say there were six hundred thousand persons present at the doing of it? Would it not rather have been pretended done in a corner? Or is it imaginable it should never have met with contradiction? That none of the pretended by-standers should disclaim it, and say, They knew of no such matter? Especially if it be considered, that the laws said to be given at that time, chiefly those which were reported to have been written in the two tables, were not so favourable to vicious inclinations, nor that people so scrupulous observers of them, but that they would have been glad to have had any thing to pretend against the authority of the legislature. When they discovered, in that and succeeding time, so violently prone a propension to idolatry, and other wickednesses, directly against the very letter of that law; how welcome a plea had it been, in their frequent and sometimes almost universal apostasies, could they have had such a thing to pretend, that the law itself that curbed them was a cheat! But we always find, that though they laboured in some of their degeneracies, and when they were lapsed into a more corrupted state, to render it more

easy to themselves by favourable interpretations; yet, even in the most corrupt, they never went about to deny or implead its Divine original; whereof they were ever so religious assertors, as no people under heaven could be more. And the awful apprehension whereof prevailed so far with them, as that care was taken (as is notoriously known) by those appointed to that charge, that the very letters should be numbered of the sacred writings, lest there should happen any minutest alteration in them.

Much more might be said, if it were needful, for the evincing the truth of this particular piece of history; and it is little to be doubted but any man, who with impartial reason considers the circumstances relating to it, the easily evidenceable antiquity of the records whereof this is a part; the certain nearness of the time of writing them, to the time when this thing is said to have been done; the great reputation of the writer, even among Pagans; the great multitude of the alleged witnesses and spectators; the no-contradiction ever heard of; the universal consent and suffrage of that nation through all times to this day, even when their practice hath been most contrary to the laws then given; the securely confident and unsuspecting reference of later pieces of sacred Scripture thereto, (even some part of the New Testament,) as a most known and undoubted thing; the long series of time, through which that people are said to have had extraordinary and sensible indications of the Divine presence (which if it had been false, could not in so long a time but have been evicted of falsehood:) Their miraculous and wonderful education out of Egypt not denied by any, and more obscurely acknowledged by some Heathen writers; their conduct through the wilderness, and settlement in Canaan; their constitution, and form of polity, known for many ages to have been a theocracy; their usual ways of consulting God, upon all more important occasions: Whosoever, I say, shall soberly consider these things, (and many more might easily occur,) will not only from some of them think it highly improbable; but from others of them plainly impossible,

that the history of this appearance should have been a contrived piece of falsehood.

Yea, and though, as was said, the view of such a thing, with one's own eyes, would make a more powerful impression upon our imagination; yet, if we speak of rational evidence, (which is quite another thing,) of the truth of a matter of fact that were of this astonishing nature, I should think it were as much (at least if I were credibly told that so many hundred thousand persons saw it at once) as if I had been the single unaccompanied spectator of it myself.

Not to say that it were apparently, in some respect, much greater, could we but obtain of ourselves, to distinguish between the pleasing of our curiosity, and the satisfying of our reason.

So that upon the whole, I see not why it may not be concluded, with the greatest confidence, that both the existence of a Deity is possible to be certainly known to men on earth, in some way that is suitable to their present state; that there are no means fitter to be ordinary, than those we already have; and that more extraordinary, additional confirmations are partly not necessary, and partly not wanting.

V Again, it may be further demanded, (as that which doth immediately serve our main purpose, and may also show the reasonableness of what was last said,) Is it sufficiently evident to such subjects of some great Prince, as live remote from the royal residence, that there is such an one now ruling over them?

To say No, is to raze the foundation of civil government, and reduce it wholly to domestical, by such a ruler as may ever be in present view; which, yet, is upon such terms never possible to be preserved also. It is plain, many do firmly enough believe that there is a King reigning over them, who not only never saw the King, but never heard any distinct account of the splendour of his court, the pomp of his attendance; or it may be, never saw the man that had seen the King? And is not all dutiful obedience wont to be challenged of such, as well as other subjects? Or would it be thought a reasonable excuse of disloyalty, that any

such persons should say they had never seen the King? Or a reasonable demand, as the condition of required subjection, that the court be kept sometime in their village, that they might have the opportunity of beholding at least some more splendid appearances of that majesty, which claims subjection from them? Much more would it be deemed unreasonable and insolent, that every subject should expect to see the face of the Prince every day, otherwise they will not obey, nor believe there is any such person. Whereas it hath been judged rather more expedient to the continuing the veneration of majesty, (and in a monarchy of no mean reputation for wisdom and greatness,) that the Prince did very rarely offer himself to the view of the people.

Surely more ordinary, and remote discoveries of an existing Prince (the effects of his power, and the influences of his government) will be reckoned sufficient, even as to many parts of his dominions, that possibly through many succeeding generations, never had other. And yet how unspeakably less sensible, less immediate, less constant, less necessary, less numerous, are the effects and instances of regal human power and wisdom, than of the Divine; which latter we behold, which way soever we look, and feel in every thing we touch, or have any sense of; and may reflect upon, in our very senses themselves, and in all the parts and powers that belong to us! And so certainly, that if we would allow ourselves the liberty of serious thoughts, we might soon find it were utterly impossible such effects should ever have been without that only cause.

That, without its influence, it had never been possible that we could hear, or see, or speak, or think, or live, or be any thing, nor that any other thing could ever have been; when as the effects that serve so justly to endear and recommend us to civil government, (as peace, safety, order, quiet possession of our rights,) we cannot but know are not inseparably appropriate, or to be attributed to the person of this or that particular, and mortal governor, but may also proceed from another; yea, and the same benefits

may (for some time at least) be continued without any such government at all.

In short, there is unspeakably less evidence to most people in the world, under civil government, that there actually is such a government existent over them, and that they are under obligation to be subject to it; than there is of the existence of a Deity, and the (consequent) reasonableness of religion. If therefore the ordinary effects, and indications of the former be sufficient, why shall not the more certain ordinary discoveries of the latter be judged sufficient, though the most have not the immediate notice of any such extraordinary appearances as those are, which have been before-mentioned?

VII. I demand further, whether it may be thought possible for any one to have a full rational certainty, that another person is a reasonable creature; so as to judge he hath sufficient ground and obligation to converse with him, and carry towards him as a man? Without the supposition of this, the foundation of all human society and civil conversation is taken away. And what evidence have we of it, whereunto that which we have of the being of God will not at least be found equivalent?

Will we say, that mere human shape is enough to prove such an one a man? A philosopher would deride us. But we will not be so nice, we acknowledge it is, if no circumstances concur that plainly evince the contrary, so far as to infer upon us an obligation not to be rude and uncivil; that we use no violence, nor carry ourselves abusively towards one, that only thus appears a human creature: Yea, and to perform any duty of justice or charity towards him, within our power, which we owe to man as a man.

As suppose we see him wronged, or in necessity, and can presently right or relieve him; though he do not, or cannot represent to us more of his case, than our own eyes inform us of. And shall an act of murder be committed upon one, whose true humanity was not otherwise evident, would not the offender be justly liable to the common pun-

ishment of that offence? Nor could he acquit himself of transgressing the laws of humanity, if he should only neglect any reasonable act of justice, or mercy towards him.

But if any one were disposed to cavil, how much more might be said, to oppose this single instance of any one's true humanity; than can be brought against the entire concurrent evidence we have of the existence of God! It is here most manifestly just, thus to state the case, and compare the whole evidence we have of the latter, with that one of the former; inasmuch as that one alone is apparently enough to oblige us to carry towards such an one as a man. And if that alone be sufficient to oblige us to acts of justice, or charity towards man, he is strangely blind that cannot see infinitely more to oblige him to acts of piety towards God.

But if we would take a more strict view of this parallel, we would state the general, and more obvious aspect of this world, on the one hand, and the external aspect and shape of a man, on the other; and should then see the former doth evidence to us an in-dwelling Deity, diffused through the whole, and actuating every part, with incomparably greater certainty, than the latter doth an in-dwelling reasonable soul. In which way we shall find what will aptly serve our present purpose, though we are far from apprehending any such union of the blessed God with this world, as between the soul and body of a man. It is manifestly possible to our understandings, that there may be, and (if any history or testimony of others be worthy to be believed) certain to experience and sense, that there often hath been, the appearance of human shape and actions, without a real man. But it is no way possible, such a world as this should have ever been without a God.

That there is a world, proves that eternal Being to exist, whom we take to be God; suppose we it as rude an heap as it was at first, or as we can suppose it, as external appearance represents to us that creature which we take to be a man: But that, as a certain infallible discovery, necess-

arily true; this, but a probable and conjectural one, and (though highly probable) not impossible to be false.

And if we will yet descend to a more particular inquiry into this matter, which way will we be fully ascertained that this supposed man is truly and really what he seems to be? This we know not how to go about, without recollecting what is the differencing notion we have of a man; that he is, namely, a reasonable living creature, or a reasonable soul, inhabiting and united with a body. And how do we think to descry that here, which may answer this common notion we have of a man? Have we any way, besides that discovery which the acts, or effects of reason make of a rational or intelligent being? We will look more narrowly, that is, unto somewhat else than his external appearance; and observe the actions that proceed from a more distinguishing principle in him; that he reasons, discourses, doth business, pursues designs, in short, he talks, and acts as a reasonable creature; and hence we conclude him to be one, or to have a reasonable soul in him.

And have we not the same way of procedure in the other case? Our first view of a world full of life and motion, assures us of an eternal active Being, besides it; which we take to be God, having now before our eyes, a darker shadow of him only, as the external bulk of the human body is only the shadow of a man. Which, when we behold it stirring and moving, assures us there is somewhat besides that grosser bulk, (that of itself could not so move,) which we take to be the soul of man. Yet as a principle that can move the body, makes not up this entire notion of this soul; so an eternal active Being, that moves the matter of the universe, makes not up the full notion of God. We are thus far sure, in both cases, that is, of some Mover distinct from what is moved; but we are not yet sure (by what we hitherto see) what the one or the other is. #

But as when we have, upon the first sight, thought it was a reasonable soul that was acting in the former; or a man, (if we will speak according to their sense, who make the

soul the man,) in order to being sure (as sure as the case can admit) we have no other way but to consider what belongs more distinguishingly to the notion of a man, or of a reasonable soul; and observe how actions and effects, which we have opportunity to take notice of, answer thereto, or serve to discover that. So when we would be sure what the eternal active Being is, (which that it is, we are already sure, and,) which we have taken to be God, that, I say, we may be sure of that also, we have the same thing to do.

That is, to consider what more peculiarly belongs to the entire notion of God, and see whether his works, more narrowly inspected, do not bear as manifest correspondency to that notion of God, as the works and actions of a man do to the notion we have of him. And certainly, we cannot but find they do correspond as much; and that upon a serious view of the works, and appearances of God in the world, having diligently observed the vastness and beauty of this universe, the variety, the multitude, the order, the exquisite shapes, and numerous parts, the admirable and useful composure of particular creatures; and especially, the constitution and powers of the reasonable soul of man itself: We cannot, surely, if we be not under the possession of a very voluntary, and obstinate blindness, and the power of a most vicious prejudice, but acknowledge the making, sustaining, and governing such a world, is as worthy of God, and as becoming him, according to the notion that hath been assigned of him, as at least the common actions of ordinary men are of a man; or evidence the doer of them to be a human creature. Yea, and with this advantageous difference, that the actions of a man evidence a human creature more uncertainly; and so as it is possible the matter may be otherwise: But these works of God do with so plain demonstrative evidence discover him the Author of them, that it is altogether impossible they could ever otherwise have been done.

Now, if we have as clear evidence of a Deity, as we can have in a way suitable to the nature and present state of man; if we have clearer, and more certain evidence of

God's government over the world than most men have, or can have of the existence of their secular rulers; yea, more sure than that there are men on earth, and that thence (as far as the existence of God will make towards it) there is a less disputable ground for religious than civil conversation: We have no longer reason to delay the dedication of a temple to him, upon any pretence of doubt whether we have an object of worship existing or no.

Wherefore, we may also by the way take notice how impudent a thing is Atheism, that by the same poisonous breath whereby it would blast religion, it would despoil a man of his reason; would blow away the rights of Princes, and all foundation of policy and government, and destroy all civil commerce and conversation out of the world, and yet blushes not at the attempt of so foul things.

In the mean time, they, upon whom this dreadful plague is not fallen, may plainly see before them the object of that worship which is promoted by a temple; an existing Deity, a God to be worshipped.

Unto whom we shall yet see further reason to design, and consecrate a temple, when we have considered (what comes next to be spoken of) his conversableness with men.



CHAPTER VI.

I. NOR is the thing here intended less necessary to a temple, and religion, than what we have hitherto been discoursing of. For such a sort of deity as should shut up itself from all converse with men, would render a temple on earth as vain a thing, as if there were none at all. It were a being not to be worshipped, nor with any propriety to be called God, more (in some respect less) than an image or statue.

We might, with as rational design, worship for a God; what were scarce worthy to be called the shadow of a man:

as dedicate temples to a wholly unconvertible deity : That is, such an one as not only will not vouchsafe to converse with men ; but whose nature were altogether incapable of such converse.

For that measure, and latitude of sense must be allowed unto the expression ‘ conversableness with men ’ as that it signifies both capacity, and propension to such converse ; that God is both by his nature capable of it, and hath a gracious inclination of will thereunto. Yea, and we will add, (what is also not without the compass of our present theme, nor the import of this word whereby we generally express it,) that he is not only inclined to converse with men, but that he actually doth it ; as we call him a conversable person, that, upon all befitting occasions, doth freely converse with such as have any concern with him.

It will indeed be necessary to distinguish God’s converse with men, into, 1. That which he hath in common with all men : so as to sustain them in their beings, and some way influence their actions, and, 2. That which he more peculiarly hath with good men.

It is the former only we have now to consider : Together with his gracious propension to the latter also.

As the great Apostle, in his discourse at Athens, lays the same ground for acquaintance with God, that he hath given to all breath, and being, and all things ; and that he is near and ready (whence they should seek him, if haply they might feel after him, and find him) in order to further converse.

And here we shall have little else to do, besides the applying of principles already asserted to this purpose.

From which principles it will appear, that he not only can, but that (in the former sense) he doth converse with men, and is graciously inclined thereto (in the latter.)

II. Having proved, that there is an eternal, self-subsisting, independent, necessary Being, of so great activity, life, power, wisdom, and goodness, as to have been the Maker of this world ; and by this medium, that we see this world is in being, which otherwise could never have been,

much less such as we see it is ; it follows that this great Creator can have influence upon the creatures he hath made, in a way suitable to their natures.

It follows, I say, from the same medium (the present visible existence of this world, which could not otherwise be now in being) that he can thus have influence upon his creatures; for it is hence manifest that he hath; they depend on him, and are sustained by him: Nor could more subsist by themselves, than they could make themselves, or of themselves have sprung out of nothing.

And if it were possible they could, being raised up into being, continue in being of themselves; yet since our present question is not concerning what they need, but what God can do; and our adversaries in the present cause do not (as hath been noted) upon any other pretence deny that he doth concern himself in the affairs of the universe, but that he cannot: (that is, that it consists not with his felicity, and he cannot be happy :) Is it not plain that he can, with the same facility, continue the influence which he at first gave forth? And with as little prejudice to his felicity? For if it be necessary to him to be happy, or impossible not to be so; he must be ever so. His happiness was not capable of being discontinued, so long as while he made the world, settled the several orders and kinds, and formed the first individuals of every kind of creatures.

Therefore having done this, and without diminution to his happiness, was it a more toilsome labour to keep things as they were, than to make them so? If it was (which no man that understands common sense would say) surely that blind thing, which they more blindly call nature (not being able to tell what they mean by it) and would have be the only cause of all things, acting at first to the uttermost, and having no way to recruit its vigour, and reinforce itself, its labour and business being so much increased, and jaded and grown weary; had given out, and patiently suffered all things to dissolve, and relapse into the old chaos long ago. But if the labour was not greater to continue things in the state wherein they were made, than to make them:

surely a wise, intelligent Deity, which we have proved made them, could as well sustain them, being made, as their brutal nature do both.

So much then of intercourse GOD could have with his creatures, as his continual communication of his influence, to be received by them, amounts to; and then man, not being excluded their number, must share in this possible privilege, according to the capacity of his nature.

And inasmuch as we have also proved, (more particularly,) concerning man, that he immediately owes the peculiar excellencies of his intelligent nature, as such, to GOD only; it is apparently consequent, that having formed this his more excellent creature, according to his own more express likeness, stamped it with the glorious characters of his living image, given it a nature suitable to his own, and thereby made it capable of a rational and intelligent converse with him; he hath it ever in his power to maintain a continual converse with this creature, by agreeable communications. By letting in upon it, the vital beams, and influences of his own light and love; and receiving back the return of its grateful acknowledgments.

Wherein it is manifest he should do no greater thing than he hath done; for who sees not that it is a matter of no greater difficulty to converse with, than to make a reasonable creature? Or who would not be ashamed to deny, that he who hath been the only Author of the soul of man, and of the excellent powers and faculties belonging to it, can more easily sustain what he hath made? And converse with that his creature, suitably to the way wherein he hath made it capable of his converse?

Whereto the consideration being added of his gracious nature, (manifested in this creation itself,) it is further evident that he is not only able, but apt and ready to converse with men, in such a way as shall tend to the improving of their being, unto that blessedness whereof he hath made them naturally capable: If their own voluntary alienation, and aversion to him, do not obstruct the way of that intercourse.

And even this were sufficient to give foundation to a temple, and both afford encouragement, and infer an obligation to religion; although no other perfection had been, or could be demonstrated of the Divine Being, than what is immediately to be collected from his works, and the things whereof he hath been the sole Author. For what if no more were possible to be proved, have we not even by thus much, a representation of an object sufficiently worthy of our homage? He that could make and sustain such a world as this, how inexpressibly doth he surpass in greatness, the most excellent of all mortal creatures! to some or other of whom, upon some (merely accidental) circumstances, we justly esteem ourselves to owe a dutiful observance.

He that made us, knows us throughly, can apply himself inwardly to us, receive our addresses and applications, our acknowledgments and adoration; whereunto we should have, even upon these terms, great and manifest obligation, although nothing more of excellency, and perfection of our Creator were certainly known to us.

III. But it hath been further shown, that the necessary Being, from whence we sprang, is also an absolutely and infinitely perfect Being. That necessary Being cannot be less perfect, than to include the entire and inexhaustible fulness of all being and perfection. Therefore the God, to whom this notion belongs, must be every way sufficient to all, and be himself but one; the only Source and Fountain of all life and being; the common Basis and Support of the universe; the absolute LORD of this great creation; and the central Object of the common concurrent trust, fear, love, and other worship of his intelligent and reasonable creatures.

And therefore there remains no other difficulty in apprehending how he can, without disturbance to himself, or interruption of his own felicity, intend all the conceruments of his creatures, apply himself to them according to their several exigencies, satisfy their desires, inspect and govern their actions and affairs; than we have to apprehend a

Being absolutely and every way perfect. Whereof if we cannot have a distinct apprehension all at once, that is, though we cannot comprehend every particular perfection of God in the same thought, (as our eye cannot behold, at one view, every part of an over-large object, unto which however, part by part, it may be successively applied,) we can yet in the general apprehend him absolutely perfect; or such to whom, we are sure, no perfection is wanting: And can successively contemplate this or that, as we are occasionally led to consider them: And can answer to ourselves difficulties that occur to us, with this easy, sure, and ever-ready solution, that “he can do all things, that nothing is too hard for him, that he is full, all-sufficient, and every way perfect.” Whereof we are the more confirmed, that we find we cannot, by the utmost range of our most enlarged thoughts, ever reach any bound or end of that perfection, which yet we must conclude is necessarily to be attributed to an absolutely perfect Being.

IV. This general perfection of his being, as it modifies all his attributes, so we shall particularly take notice that it doth so as to those that have a more direct influence upon, and tend more fully to evince, his conversableness with men. As first his wisdom and knowledge (for we need not be so curious as at present to distinguish them) must be Omniscience. About which, if any place were left for rational doubt, it would be obvious to them to allege it who are of slower inclinations towards religion, and object, that if we be not sure he knows simply all things so as wisely to consider them, and resolve fitly about them, it will be no little difficulty to determine which he doth, and which not; we may therefore conclude, that the knowledge of God is every way perfect, and being so, extends to all our concernments: And that nothing remains, upon that account, to make us decline applying ourselves to religious converse with him, or deny him the honour and entertainment of a temple: For which we shall yet see further cause, when we consider next,

V. That his Power is also omnipotent. Nor indeed is it

enough that He knows our concernments, *except* he can also provide effectually about them, and dispose of them to our advantage. And we cannot doubt but He, who could create us and such a world as this, can do so, even though He were supposed not omnipotent: But even *that* itself seems a very unreasonable supposition, that less than infinite Power should suffice to the creation of any thing. For however liable it may be to controversy, what a second cause might do herein, being assisted by the infinite Power of the first; it seems altogether unimaginable to us, how, though the power of all men were met in one, (which we will easily suppose to be a very vast power,) it could, alone, be sufficient to make the minutest atom arise into being out of nothing.

Therefore when we cannot devise what finite Power can ever suffice to the doing of that which we are sure is done; what is left us to suppose, but that the Power which did it is simply infinite: Much more when we consider, not only that something is actually produced out of nothing, but do also seriously contemplate the nature of the production? Which carries so much of amazing wonder in it, every where, that even the least and most minute things might serve for sufficient instances of the unlimited greatness of that Power which made them; as would be seen, if we did industriously set ourselves to compare the effects of Divine Power with those of human art and skill. As is the ingenious and pious observation of MR. HOOKE, who, upon his viewing with his microscope the point of a small and very sharp needle, (than which we cannot conceive a smaller thing laboured by the hand of man,) takes notice of sundry sorts of natural things 'that have points many thousand times sharper; those of the hairs of insects, &c.; *that* appearing broad, irregular and uneven, having marks upon it of the rudeness and bungling of art. So inaccurate (saith he) it is in all its productions, even in those that seem most neat; that if examined truly, with an organ more acute than that by which they were made, the more we see of their shape, the less appearance will there be of their

beauty: Whereas in the works of nature, the deepest discoveries show us the greatest excellencies. An evident argument that He that was the Author of these things, was no other than omnipotent; being able to include as great a variety of parts, in the yet smallest discernible point, as in the vaster bodies, (which comparatively are called also points,) such as the earth, sun, or planets.' And I may add, when those appear but points, in comparison of his so much vaster work, how plainly doth that also argue to us the same thing!

Join herewith the boundlessness of his Goodness, which upon the same ground of his absolute Perfection, must be infinite also, (and which it is of equal concernment to us to consider, that we may understand He not only can effectually provide about our concernments, but is most graciously inclined so to do,) and then, what rational inducement is wanting to religion, and the dedication of a temple; if we consider the joint encouragement that arises from so unlimited Power and Goodness? Or what man would not become entirely devoted to Him, who by the one of these, we are assured, *can do all things*; and by the other, *will do what is best*?

Nor therefore is there any thing immediately needful to our present purpose (the eviction of God's Conversableness with men) more than hath been already said; that is, there is nothing else to be thought on, that hath any nearer influence thereon. The things that can be supposed to have such influence, being none else than his Power, Knowledge and Goodness; which have been particularly evinced from the creation of the world, both to have been in some former subject, and to have all originally met in a necessary Being, that alone could be the Creator of it. Which necessary Being, as it is such, appearing also to be infinite, and absolutely perfect; the influence of these cannot but the more abundantly appear to be such as can, and may most sufficiently and fully correspond, both in general to the several exigencies of all creatures, and more especially to all the real necessities and reasonable desires of man.

PART II.

Containing Animadversions on SPINOSA, and a French Writer pretending to confute him. With a Recapitulation of the former Part. And an Account of the Destitution, and Restitution of God's Temple among Men.

CHAPTER I.

WE have shown, That what is necessarily, or of itself, is an absolutely perfect Being, distinct from all things else.

When we understand so much of God, we understand enough to give a foundation to religion, and to let us see He ought to have a temple and worship; and another sort of temple than is made by men's hands, other worship than can be performed by the hands of men; as is clearly argued, and inferred by the Apostle upon those plain grounds.

Now when we are arrived thus far, it is seasonable to make use of the further help which we may observe the great, and wise, and good God to have most condescendingly, most aptly, and most mercifully afforded us, for our more distinct understanding of his nature, and our own state; and how we are to behave ourselves towards Him thereupon.

II. Taking notice therefore, that there is a written revelation of Him extant in the world, that bears his name, and gives itself out to be from Him; if now we look into it, observe the import and design of it, compare it with what we before knew of his nature, and our own; consider what is most obvious to an easy self-reflection in our own state and

case, and how exactly this written revelation agrees to those our former notices; taking in withal the many considerations that concur besides, to evidence to us the Divine Original, and authority thereof: We cannot but have much rational inducement and obligation to receive, with all reverence and gratitude, this revelation as from God; and to rely upon it, as a sure and sacred light sent down from heaven, to direct us in all our concernments Godward.

For finding our own great need of such an additional light, and apprehending it sufficiently agreeable to the Divine goodness to afford it; and expecting it to be such in its scope and design, as we find it is. If we further consider it must have had some author, and perceiving it not easy, with any plausible pretence, to affix it to any other than God himself. If we consider that it could not be invented by men, without some design or self-advantage, either in this world, or in the other; and how absurd any such expectation must be, either from men here, the contents thereof being so repugnant to the common inclinations of men, as to oblige those that owned them to the severest sufferings on that account; or from God hereafter, who could not be expected to reward forgery, falsehood, and the usurpation of his name.

If again, we further observe the positive attestations, whereby he hath challenged, and owned it as his own; and wherein the Divine Power hath borne witness to the Divine Truth contained in it, if the matters of fact on which all depends, appear not less certain, than that there were men and nations in the world that we have not seen, and before we were born.

If we see it not only improbable, but even next to impossible that the records of those miraculous attestations should have been forged, and nations imposed upon thereby; and amongst them many of the wisest men, in those very times when the things recorded were alleged to have been done, and in a matter wherein their eternal hope were concerned: We shall, upon the whole, see cause to judge,

that as it were most absurd to suppose such a revelation given by God, and no sufficient rational evidence withal given that it is from Him, (without which it cannot serve its end, and so would signify nothing,) so that there is nothing wanting to make up such a sufficient, rational evidence; unless we would suppose it necessary, that every man should have a Bible reached him down by an immediate hand from heaven; or that we count not that sufficient evidence, which ought to satisfy our reason, if it do not gratify our fancy and curiosity too.

It is not fit, here, to say more of the Divine Original of those Holy Writings; nor needful, so much being written already, with so great clearness on that subject by many.

That therefore being out of question, what you cannot reason out yourselves, or apprehend from the reasonings of others, concerning God's nature, tending to represent Him worthy of a temple with you; and capable of receiving, and rewarding your sincere and spiritual worship: Fetch from that Divine Volume.

For you may be sure, though you cannot search Him out unto perfection; He perfectly understands Himself, and is certainly such as He there tells you He is. And He there reveals Himself to be such, as to whom the temple and worship we here intend, cannot be doubted to be both due and grateful. Whatever might be (otherwise) matter of doubt is, by his express discovery of Himself, taken away.

III. If it were still a doubt (after all that had been said) whether the Deity be one only, or manifold; whether the world had one or many makers; and so whether there be no danger of misapplying our religion, or of mistaking the object of our worship: This word plainly tells us, "There is but one GOD the FATHER, of whom are all things." (1 Cor. viii. 6;) "that He is GOD, and there is none else." (Isa. xlv. 21, 22.) And that however there be "Three that bear witness in heaven," and the stamp of whose name is, in our baptism, distinctly and solemnly put upon us: (Matt. xxviii; 1 John v;) yet (as in many other instances, that may be in some respect Three, which in some other

respect is but One) without the unnecessary, punctual declaration, how these are Three, and how but One, it expressly tells us these Three are One.

And if it be yet a doubt with us, whether this one God be so absolutely and every way perfect, as to be sufficient for us all; whether he can understand all our concerns, relieve us in all our necessities, hear our prayers, satisfy our desires, receive our acknowledgments and thanksgivings, and take notice with what love and sincerity they are tendered him; or, if He can do for us according to our necessities and reasonable desires: Whether we have any ground to believe that He will?

This word of his plainly assures us that He is God all-sufficient, that He hath all fulness in Him. (*Gen. xvii. 1.*)

It often represents Him to us, under the name of the LORD GOD ALMIGHTY; tells us that He can do every thing, and that He doeth whatsoever it pleaseth Him. It tells us his understanding is infinite, and particularly assures us, that He searches the hearts of men, and tries their reins; that they cannot think a thought, or speak a word, but He understands them afar off, and knows them altogether. That his eyes are upon all the ways of men, that He knows all things, and therefore knows if they love Him.

And that we may be fully out of doubt, how easy it is to Him to do so; we are assured that He is every where present, that He fills heaven and earth, that the heaven, and heaven of heavens cannot contain Him; that there is no going from his SPIRIT, or flying from his presence; that if one go up to heaven, He is there; lie down in hell, He is there; go to the uttermost part of the sea, yet there his hand shall lead, and his right hand hold him.

IV. And that all doubt may vanish, concerning his will and gracious inclination; how expressly doth' he make himself known by this name! namely, that he is "the LORD, the LORD GOD, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness, and truth." (*Exod. xxxiv. 7.*) And by the same blessed and inspired penman, of a part of these

Holy Writings, (the beloved disciple, who lay in the bosom of his only-begotten SON; who also is in the bosom of the FATHER and hath declared him,) we are not only told that GOD is Light, whereby the knowledge, purity, simplicity, and glory of the Divine Being are represented; but also (once and again) that GOD is Love, that we might understand him as a Being, not of more glorious excellency in himself, than of gracious propensions towards his creatures.

And lest it should be thought our meanness should exempt us; and put us beneath his regard; we are told he taketh care for sparrows, he heareth the ravens when they cry; and generally that the "eyes of all wait upon him, and he gives them their meat in season," (*Psalm cxlv.*) which even the brute creatures are emphatically said to seek of GOD, and that "he opens his hand, and satisfies the desire of every living thing." (*Psalm civ.*)

And besides what he hath so expressly testified, concerning his own nature; his favourable inclinations towards men might sufficiently be collected, from that very nature which he hath given to man; considered in comparison and reference to his own. That he made him in his own image, and that he being the FATHER of spirits, hath placed a spirit in man, so agreeable to his own spiritual nature; and by his own inspiration given him that understanding, that the mind begotten corresponds, by its most natural frame and constitution, to the mind that begot, the *υς πατρικος*, (as it was anciently called,) his own eternal mind.

And that if its own original be remembered, it turns itself toward him, seeks his acquaintance, by an instinct he hath himself implanted in it; and cannot rest till he have such a temple erected in it, wherein both he and it may cohabit together.

By all this, his aptness to that converse with men, which is imported in the notion of a temple, doth so far appear, that at least it is evident such converse cannot fail to ensue, supposing there were nothing in the way, that might be a present obstruction thereto. And it will more appear, when we have considered (since there is somewhat that

obstructs this converse) what he hath done to remove the obstruction, and how he hath provided, that the intercourse may be restored, and his temple be resettled with men, upon everlasting foundations.

CHAPTER II.

I. BUT so far it is, that there should want probability of a very inward commerce between God and man; that we have reason to think it rather strange, considering his nature and our own, it should not have been continual; and that his unbounded, and self-communicative fulness was not by him always afforded, and always imbibed and drawn in by so capable, and indigent a creature. One would wonder what should have discontinued this intercourse! What can be so apt to give and flow out, as fulness? What should be apt to receive and take in, as want and emptiness? Such a commerce then as can be supposed between one that is rich and full, and them that are poor and necessitous, one would think should never have failed.

We are therefore put upon a new inquiry, and need no longer spend ourselves in anxious thoughts, Can there be any converse between God and men? We may rather say, How can it not be? Or, How strange is it there is not more! That he hath not a temple in every human breast, replenished with his vital presence! There are nothing but ruins and desolation to be found, where one would expect a fabric worthy of God, and an in-dwelling Deity! This must, therefore, be the subject of our thoughts a while, What hath rendered the blessed God so much a stranger on earth, and occasioned him, in so great part, to forsake his terrestrial dwelling? Whence we shall have the advantage (seeing how just cause there was on his part, for this deplorable distance) to adore the grace that returns him to us, and inclined him to take that strange course, which we find he did, to repair his forlorn temple; and fill this desolate

and forsaken world with the joyful sound of those glad tidings, “ The tabernacle of God is with men ! ”

II. We shall find he is no further a stranger in this world, than we have made, and continued him so. No farther an home-dweller in it, than by an admirable contrivance of wisdom and love, that will be the eternal wonder of the other world, he hath made way for himself.

Whereby his propensions towards men, prevailing against so great an obstruction, do even now appear at once both evident, and marvellous ; and ought to be not only the matter of our belief, but admiration.

Wherefore our discourse must here proceed by these steps, to show,

1. That mankind hath universally revolted, and been in a state of apostasy from God.

2. That, hereby, the temple of God in man hath been generally made waste and desolate.

3. That he hath laid both the new foundations, and the platform of his present temple, in **IMMANUEL, GOD with us** ; who rebuilds, beautifies, furnishes, inhabits it, and orders all the concerns of it.

III. 1. The first we little need to labour in, every man's own reflection, upon the vitiated powers of his own soul, would soon as to himself put the matter out of doubt ; whence each one's testimony, concerning his own case, would amount to an universal testimony.

No man that takes a view of his own dark and blinded mind, his slow and dull apprehension, his uncertain staggering judgment, roving conjectures, feeble and mistaken reasonings about matters that concern him most ; ill inclinations, propension to what is unlawful to him, and destructive aversion to his truest interest and best good, irresolution, drowsy sloth, exorbitant and ravenous appetites and desires, impotent, and self-vexing passions ; can think human nature, in him, is in its primitive integrity, and so pure as when it first issued from its pure original.

By such reflection, every man may perceive his own ill

case, in these and many more such respects ; and by observing the complaints of the most serious, and such as have seemed most to study themselves, collect it is generally so with others also.

IV. They that have read the sacred volume, cannot be ignorant that all flesh have corrupted their way ; that the great God (looking down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek God) hath only the displeasing prospect before his eyes, even of an universal depravation and defection, that every one of them is gone back, they are altogether become filthy, there is none that doeth good, no not one ! that all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God ; that this world lieth in wickedness.

And that this was not the first state of man, but that he is degenerated into it, from a former and better state ; that God made him upright, but that he is become otherwise, by his own many inventions. That by trying conclusions, to better a state already truly good, he brought himself into this woful plight ; and by aiming at somewhat above, sunk so far beneath himself, into that gulf of impurity and misery, that is now become to him as his own element, and natural state.

Yea, and the matter hath that evidence, that many of them who, for ought we know, never conversed with those sacred records, have no less clearly discovered their sense of the present evil state of man, than their ignorance of the original of that evil ; though some of them carefully acquitting God of it.

We find their complaints of the malignity of ignorance, surrounding all the earth, and that corrupts the soul shut up in the body. That as a garment, and web enwraps the minds of men, that they cannot look to Him, whose pleasure it is to be known ; and who is not to be heard with ears, nor seen with eyes, or expressed by words. That till it be rent in pieces, they have upon them the bond of corruption, the dark coverture, the living death, the sensible

carcase, a moving sepulchre, which they carry about with them.

We find complaints, that by bonds and chains our mind is held from our infancy.

Of certain mean and debasing passions, that fasten and even nail the soul to the body.

Of much greater evils, and more grievous than the most painful bodily diseases, gouts, stranguries, dysenteries, and myriads of the like; namely, all manner of sins, wickednesses, transgressions, ungodlinesses, which we have to lament as the maladies, or disaffections of our soul.

Of certain old or inveterate spots, that are by all means to be washed and purged out.

That there are certain principles of viciousness, as pleasures, griefs, lusts, fears, enkindled from the body, but mixed with the soul, and that absurdly bear rule over it.

And the naturalness of these is more than intimated, while they are said to be rather from parents, and our first elements, than ourselves: Or rather to be imputed (as is elsewhere said) to those that plant, than those who are planted.

Whence also vice is said to be involuntary; being rooted in our natures.) That whosoever are vicious, become so from such things as do even prevent our choice; and that all men do more evil than good, beginning even from their very childhood.

And even from hence that virtue is voluntary, vice is, by another, concluded to be involuntary.

For who can willingly, in the most lovely, and most noble part of himself, choose that which is the greatest of all evils? Esteeming vicious inclination the most repugnant thing to liberty, (as it is indeed in the moral sense,) and the greatest slavery.

Whereupon, another inquiring, since God doeth nothing but what is good, whence evils should come, resolves that whatsoever is good is from heaven, but all evil from our

self-natural vileness. And another speaks of an evil adhering to our being, and not only acquired, but even con-natural to us. Yea, and this evil is said to be the very death of the soul.

The sadness of the common case of man, in this respect, hath been therefore emblematically represented by a potion of error, and ignorance, presented to every one at their first coming into the world, and whereof, it is said, all do drink more or less; a woman called imposture, accompanied by other harlots, opinion, lust, pleasure, &c., seizing and leading away every one.

And hence are bitter complaints and accusations poured forth even against nature itself, as being a mere force and war, and having nothing pure or sincere in it, but having its course amidst many unrighteous passions; yea, and its rise and first production is lamented as founded in unrighteousness; the discontentful resentments whereof have made some not spare to censure our very make and frame, the uniting of an immortal thing to a mortal in the composition of man, as a kind of distortion of nature, that the thing produced should be made to delight in having parts so unnaturally pulled, and drawn together.

V. So that some of the Ethnic philosophers have been so far from denying a corruption and depravation of nature in man, that they have over-strained the matter, and thought vicious inclination more deeply natural than indeed it is; and so taxed and blamed nature, in the case of man, as to reflect on the blessed Author of nature himself. Whereto the known principles of the sect of the Stoics do too plainly tend, who give in so vast a catalogue of the diseases and distempers of the mind of man; taking every thing into the account that hath the least of perturbation in it, without excepting so much as mercy itself, or pity towards them that suffer unjustly; and yet seem to subject all things to fate, and natural necessity, whereby all the evils would be rejected upon the Holy God, as the original cause.

Whence, therefore, some that were more sober, have made it their business to vindicate God from so horrid an

imputation ; and one of much note animadverted upon the mistakes of such as seemed so to charge Him, sharply blaming them for such an intimation.

Some do, with great reverence of the Divine Majesty, confess the rise of all this evil to be from man himself ; namely, even that sort of evil which is called by the name of wickedness is said to be from an innate principle, which the arbitrary power of a man's own soul hatcheth and fosters, and the fault is his who admits it ; but God is faultless : That God did place the soul over a terrene body, as a charioteer over a chariot, which it might govern or neglect.

The Platonists seem often to attribute vicious inclination to the soul's being united with the body ; (as supposing it to have existed pure and sinless before ;) yet even they appear also not to have thought it impossible an human soul should, sometime, have been in an earthly body without sin. For their renowned leader discourses at large of a former incorrupt state of man in the body, (a golden age as others call it,) and of a defection or apostasy from it ; which state, though his Egyptian tradition mis-informed him about the continuance of it, he excellently describes, (as also man's declining from it,) telling us, that 'then God familiarly conversed with men, taking care of them as a shepherd of his flock : That He was chiefly intent upon the government of their minds : That (as he afterwards says in another part of that discourse) while the God-like nature continued in sufficient vigour with them, they were obedient to laws, and behaved themselves friendly towards that Divine thing that was akin to them. Then they possessed thoughts that were true, and altogether great ; using meekness and prudence in reference to their own conditions, and one another : That they disregarded all things in comparison of virtue : They easily bore a prosperous condition, esteeming all outward things little : They were not intoxicated with sensual delights ; but sober and quick-sighted ; and all things increased upon them through their mutual love and virtue. But they, growing at

length into a too great love of terrene things, and that participation which they had of God decaying, and being variously intermingled with much deadly evil, and a kind of human custom or course of living (as elsewhere he expresses sinful corruption) prevailing among them, and they not able to bear a prosperous condition, came to shame and ruin with it; having lost the loveliest of their most precious things.'

VI. Nor, if we consider, can it be so much as imaginable to us, that the present state of man is his primitive state, or that he is now such as he was at first made. For neither is it conceivable the blessed God should have made a creature with an aversion to the only important ends, whereof it is naturally capable; or particularly, that He created man with a disaffection to himself; or, that ever He, at first, designed a being of so high excellency as the spirit of man, to drudge so meanly, and be so basely servile to terrene inclinations; or that, since there are manifestly powers in him of a superior and inferior sort, the meaner should have been, by original institution, framed to command, and the more noble and excellent only to obey; as now every one that observes, may see the common case with man is.

And how far he is swerved from what he was, is easily conjecturable, by comparing him with the measures which show what he should be. For it cannot be conceived for what end laws were ever given him, if, at least, we allow them not the measures of his primitive capacity, or deny him ever to have been in a possibility to obey. Could they be intended for his government, if conformity to them were against or above his nature? Or were they only for his condemnation? Or for that, if he was never capable of obeying them?

How inconsistent were it with the Goodness of the blessed God, that the condemnation of his creatures should be the first design of his giving them laws; and with his Justice, to make his laws the rule of punishment, to whom they could never be the rule of obedience; or with his Wisdom,

to frame a system of laws, that should never serve for either purpose, and so be upon the whole useful for nothing! The common reason of mankind teaches us to estimate the wisdom and equity of law-givers, by the suitability of their constitutions to the genius and temper of the people for whom they are made; and we commonly reckon nothing can more expose government, than the imposing of constitutions, which are never likely to obtain. How much more incongruous must it be esteemed, to enjoin such as never possibly could! Prudent legislators, and studious of the common good, would be shy to impose upon men, under their power, against their genius, and common usages, neither alterable easily, nor to any advantage.

Much more absurd were it, with great solemnity, and weighty sanctions, to enact statutes for brute creatures! And wherein were it more to purpose to prescribe unto men strict rules of piety and virtue, than to beasts or trees, if the former had not been capable of observing them, as the latter were not?

We insist not on the written precepts in the sacred volume, (where we have also the history of man's creation and fall,) but let the law be considered which is written in men's hearts; the *lex nata* (in the Ethnic language) which the eternal Law-giving Mind hath created in our soul; and how evidently doth that law convince, that we neither are nor do what we should! How gross and numerous deformities do we daily behold, by that shattered and broken glass! How many things which we disapprove, or certainly would, if we discussed the matter with ourselves! How frequent buffetings are many, when they reflect, constrained to suffer at their own hands; even wherein (not having another law) they are "only a law to themselves," (*Rom. ii.*) and have only their own thoughts, either *their excusers* or *accusers*!

And what doth that signify but a lapse, and recess from their original state; the broken imperfect memorials whereof are a standing testimony against their present course; their

notions of right and wrong, remonstrating against their vicious inclinations and ways? For would they ever reprove themselves for what was not possible to be otherwise? Or was man created a mere piece of self-contradiction? Or with a nature made up of repugnances, and perpetually at war with itself? 'This I should do, but that which is clean contrary I have a mind to;' were these ever like to be impressions, both signed upon him by the same hand? Nothing is plainer, therefore, than that he is corrupted from his primitive integrity, and become a depraved and degenerate thing.

VII. 2. We go on then, in the next place, to shew, that by this degeneracy the temple of the living God, among men, became waste and desolate; uninhabitable, or unfit for his blessed presence; and, thereupon, deserted and forsaken of it. And (because in breaches and disagreements man hath the first hand and part) we shall therefore treat, (1.) Of the unaptness of man, in his state of apostasy, to entertain the Divine presence, or be any longer God's temple. (2.) Of the blessed God's absenting himself, and estrangement from him hereupon.

(2.) That the spirit of man, by his having apostatized, became unfit to answer the purposes of a temple, will too plainly appear by considering the nature of that apostasy; which what was it, but a severing himself from God, a recess and separation? Not in respect of place, (which was impossible,) but the temper of his mind and spirit; not by a local removal, but by unsuitableness and disaffection, departing in heart from the living God.

It is true indeed, that, by this his revolt, he became indisposed to all other converse which belonged to him, as a creature intelligent and virtuous, but chiefly to divine; the blessed God being the chief term of this defection and revolt. For man, by his original rectitude, was principally determined towards God; and, by the same due bent and frame of spirit by which he stood rightly postured towards him, he was in a right disposition to every thing besides, wherewith he had any concern; adhering to him

as his centre and prime object, he kept his due order towards all other things: Whence by forcing and relaxing the bonds that held him united to God, and by changing his posture towards him, he came to stand right no way. Turning to him the back, and not the the face, all things are inverted to him. He is now become directly opposite to God, and unduly disposed towards other things, only by means of that opposition. As then he is unfit for every other good use, so most of all for that of a temple, and that upon both accounts; as being first unsuitable to the blessed God, and then disaffected.

[1.] Man was become most unsuitable to him, the Divine image (which where should it be but in his temple?) being now defaced and torn down. We speak not now of the natural image of God in man, or the representation the soul of man hath of its Maker in the spiritual, intelligent, vital, and immortal nature thereof; which image we know cannot be lost; but its resemblance of him in the excellencies which appear to be lost, and which were his duty, and could not be lost but by his own great default: And those are both such wherein the soul of man did imitate and resemble God, as knowledge, purity, justice, benignity; and such wherein, though it could not imitate him, yet was to bear itself correspondently towards him, as the absolute Sovereign, to be subject to him, obey, and serve him; and he being the all-sufficient Good, to trust in him, depend upon him, know, love, and delight in him, unite with him, and expect blessedness only in and from him.

How unlike and disagreeable to God, in all these respects, is apostate man! That whereas the notion given us of God, is, that "he is light, and with him is no darkness at all;" (1 *John* i;) it is said of such as had been involved in the common apostasy, (in reference to that their former state,) "ye were darkness;" as if that were the truest account that could be given of this revolted creature; not that he is in darkness, or there is much darkness in him; but "he is darkness." (*Eph.* v.) He and darkness may define one another; that is he, and he is that. A dismal

horrid cloud hath enwrapt his soul that resists the most piercing beams, excludes light wheresoever it would insinuate itself. This hath made the soul of man a most unmeet receptacle for the Divine presence, and more like a dungeon than a temple.

And as he is now sunk into a low abject earthly spirit, how unfit is he for divine converse! How unapt to "savour the things of God!" How unlike the "FATHER of spirits!" And whereas he was of a middle nature, partaking somewhat of the angelical, somewhat of the animal life; how is he swallowed up of the latter, and "become like the beasts that perish;" as the horse and mule, without understanding; as the dog and swine, both for fierceness and impurity; as the one is both apt to bite and devour, and "return to his own vomit," and the other both to rent such as stand in his way, and "wallow in the mire!" We might add the sundry other Scripture resemblances of wolves, bears, lions, serpents, vipers; whereby many brutes seem to meet in one man, and to have made a collection, and contributed their worst qualities, and all the venom of their natures, to the making up of one mischievous composition in him. So that instead of a temple, he is "a cage of every unclean and hurtful thing;" he is, in short, of "a reprobate mind, full of all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity:" How repugnant, in all respects, to the holy, pure, benign, merciful nature of God! How remote from the imitation of his Maker, wherein he hath offered himself as his most imitable pattern!

And wherein he is not imitable, but requires a proportionable and correspondent deportment or conformity; as by trust, to his all-sufficiency; by subjection, to his sovereign power and government; how dismal is the case, and how horrid the effects of the apostasy in these regards! How preposterous and perverse are his dispositions, and the course he hath run! For wherein it was permitted to him to imitate likeness to a Deity; where he was put under no restraints, and his highest aspirings had been not only innocent, but most worthy of praise; as to imitate God in

wisdom, righteousness, sincerity, goodness, purity. Here nothing would please but utmost dissimilitude, and to be as unlike God as he could devise. But in those things that were within the enclosure, and appropriate most peculiarly to the Godhead; to be "the First and the Last, the Alpha and Omega;" the only one on whom all must depend, and to whom all must be subject and obey: These sacred regalia, the highest rights and flowers of the eternal crown, these are thought fine things, and beheld with a libidinous devouring eye, caught at by a profane sacrilegious hand. Nothing would satisfy but to be God-like, in this most disallowed and impossible sense.

Man, when he had reduced himself to the lowest pitch of vileness, misery, and penury, now will be self-sufficient; and when he is become the most abject slave to ignominious lusts and passions, now he will be supreme; that is, having made himself viler than the meanest creature, and worse than nothing, he will be a God, even his own, a God to himself; having severed and cut himself off from God, he will supply the room; and live only within himself, be to himself what God was, and should ever be. He now moves wholly in his own sphere, disjoined from that of the whole world, and is his own centre. All he does is from himself, and for himself. Thus is the true image of God torn down from his own temple, and that alienated, and become the temple of a false God, dedicated to that abominable idol, Self.

VIII. [2.] Whence it comes to pass, that man is most disaffected to God, and full of enmity. So Scripture testifies concerning the "carnal mind." (*Rom. viii. 8.*) And whom before it had represented (*Chap. ii.*) full of all malignity, it afterwards speaks of as directing it (most horrid to think) against this blessed object; "haters of God, despiteful." Nor is any thing more natural; for, in part, the contrariety of their nature to his, more immediately begets this enmity, which always rises out of dissimilitude, and partly it is fomented and increased to a great degree by a secret consciousness of that dissimilitude; and the misgivings of their own guilty fears thereupon. Which

must tell them, whensoever they have so much communication with themselves, that they are unlike, and cannot but be displeasing to him; and this infers some kind of dread; whence (as hath been commonly observed) the passage is short and easy to hatred. And though the more positive workings of this enmity do not (perhaps with the most) so ordinarily discover themselves; and they do not see or suspect that they hate him, while they are not urged to self-reflection; and when they are, hardly admit a conviction that they do: Yet the matter carries its own evidence with it, and would soon be put beyond a question, if men were willing to understand the truth of their own case.

For whence else do they slowly entertain the knowledge of GOD, when the whole earth is full of his glory? When so manifest prints and footsteps of his wisdom, power, and goodness, offer themselves to view, in every creature? Whence can it be, but that "they like not to retain him in their knowledge?" (*Rom. i.*) And that their very hearts say to him, "Depart from us, we desire not the knowledge of thy ways?" (*Job xxi.*) Why is so bright a light not observed, but that it shines amidst a malignant darkness, that resisting, comprehends it not? Why are the thoughts of GOD so unpleasant to men, and unfrequent, that when one would suppose no thought should be so obvious, none so welcome; yet it is become the character of an unrenewed man, to "forget GOD," (*Psalms ix.*) or "not to have him in all his thoughts?" (*Psalms x.*) Why do men decline his acquaintance? live voluntary strangers to him all their days? and as "without him in the world?" (*Eph. ii.*) Why are men so averse to trust him, and turn to him, even upon so mighty assurances? What makes them shy to take his word, but rather count him a liar, though they know it inconsistent with his nature, and can form no notion of GOD, without including this conception therein, "that he cannot lie;" when as yet they can ordinarily trust one another, though there be so much colour to say, "All men are liars?" Why do they resist his authority, against which they cannot dispute? and disobey his commands, unto

which they cannot devise to frame an exception? What, but the spirit of enmity, can make them regret so easy a yoke, reject so light a burden, shun and fly off from so peaceful and pleasant paths; yea, and take ways that so manifestly “take hold of hell, and lead down to the chambers of death;” rather choosing to perish, than obey?

Is not this the very height of enmity? What further proof would we seek of a disaffected and implacable heart? Yet to all this we may cast in that fearful addition, their saying in their heart, “No God.” (*Psalm* xiv.) As if they had said, ‘O that there were none!’ This is enmity, not only to the highest pitch of wickedness, to wish their common Parent extinct, the Author of their being; but even unto madness itself. For in the forgetful heat of this transport, it is not thought on that they wish the most absolute impossibility; and that, if it were possible, they wish, with His, the extinction of their own, and of all being; and that the sense of their hearts, put into words, would amount to no less than a direful and most horrid execration and curse upon God, and the whole creation of God at once! As if by the blasphemy of their poisonous breath, they would wither all nature, blast the whole universe, and make it fade, languish, and drop into nothing.

This is to set their mouth against heaven, and earth, themselves, and all things at once; as if they thought their feeble breath should over-power the omnipotent word, shake and shiver the adamantine pillars of heaven and earth, and the Almighty fiat be defeated by their Nay; striking at the root of all! So fitly is it said, “The fool hath in his heart muttered” thus. Nor are there few such fools, but this is plainly given us as the common character of apostate man, the whole revolted race; of whom it is said, in very general terms, “They are all gone back, there is none that doeth good.” This is their sense, one and all, that is, comparatively, and the true state of the case being laid before them. it is more their temper and sense to say, “No God,” than to repent and turn to Him. What mad enmity is this! nor can we devise into what else to resolve it.

This enmity indeed more plainly shows itself, where the Divine glory (especially that of his grace, and good-will towards men, a thing not less evident, than strange) more brightly shines; yet there are so manifest appearances of it every where, and he hath so little left himself without witness unto any; that the universal strangeness of men towards him, apparently owes itself more to enmity than ignorance; and even where there is much darkness, there is more ill-will. For their ignorance, by which they are alienated from "the life of God," is called "blindness of heart;" (*Eph.* iv. 18;) that is, voluntary, affected blindness. It can be imputed to nothing else, that they who have God so near to every one of them, "who live, and move, and have their being in him," do not yet seek after him, and labour to feel and find him out; that is, that they can miss of God so nigh at hand, when they have even palpable demonstrations of his nearness, and kind propensities towards them.

Now this being the case, whatever this degenerate, vile creature might serve for else, he was plainly most unfit for the use of a temple; or to be the dwelling-place of God.

(2.) Nor can it now be a wonder, that the Divine presence should be hereupon withdrawn, that the blessed God absents himself, and is become a stranger to this his once beloved mansion. We shall here take notice how apparent it is, [1.] First, That he hath done so. [2.] Secondly, That he was most highly justifiable herein.

[1.] And First, that he hath withdrawn himself, and left this his temple desolate, we have many sad and plain proofs before us. The stately ruins are visible to our eye, that bear in their front, (yet extant,) this doleful inscription; *Here GOD once dwelt.* Enough appears of the admirable structure and frame of the soul of man, to show the Divine presence did sometime reside in it; more than enough of vicious deformity, to proclaim he is now retired and gone. The lamps are extinct, the altar overturned; the light and love are now vanished, which did the one

shine with so heavenly brightness, the other burn with so pious fervour. The golden candlestick is displaced, and thrown away as an useless thing, to make room for the throne of the Prince of darkness. The sacred incense, which sent rolling up in clouds its rich perfumes, is exchanged for a poisonous hellish vapour; and here is, instead of a sweet savour, a stench. The comely order of this house is turned all into confusion. The beauties of holiness, into noisome impurities. The house of prayer to a den of thieves, and that of the worst and most horrid kind; for every lust is a thief, and every theft sacrilege: Continual rapine, and robbery is committed upon holy things. The noble powers which are designed and dedicated to Divine contemplation and delight, are alienated to the service of the most despicable idols, and employed unto vilest intuitions and embraces; to behold and admire lying vanities, to indulge and cherish lust and wickedness.

What have not the enemies done wickedly in the sanctuary! How have they broken down the carved work thereof, and that too with axes and hammers; the noise whereof was not to be heard in building!

Look upon the fragments of that curious sculpture, which once adorned the palace of that great King, the reliques of common notions, the lively prints of some undefaced truth, the fair ideas of things, the yet legible precepts that relate to practice. Behold with what accuracy the broken pieces show those to have been engraven by the finger of God, and how they now lie torn and scattered, one in this dark corner, another in that, buried in heaps of dirt and rubbish. There is not now a system, an entire table of coherent truths to be found, or a frame of holiness, but some shivered parcels.

And if any, with great toil or labour, apply themselves to draw out here one piece, and there another, and set them together, they serve rather to show how exquisite the Divine workmanship was in the original composition, than for present use, to the excellent purposes, for which the whole was first designed.

Some pieces agree and own one another; but how soon are our inquiries non-plused, and superseded! How many attempts have been made, since the fearful fall and ruin of this fabric, to compose again the truths of so many several kinds into their distinct orders, and make up frames of science, or useful knowledge! and after so many ages, nothing is finished in any one kind. Sometimes truths are misplaced, and what belongs to one kind, is transferred to another, where it will not fitly match; sometimes falsehood inserted, which shatters or disturbs the whole frame. And what is, with much fruitless pains, done by one hand, is dashed to pieces by another; and it is the work of a following age to sweep away the fine-spun cobwebs of a former. And those truths which are of greatest use, though not most out of sight, are least regarded; their tendency and design are over-looked, or they are loosened and torn off, that they cannot be wrought in, so as to take hold of the soul; but hover as faint and ineffectual notions, that signify nothing. Its very fundamental powers are shaken and disjointed, and their order towards one another confounded, and broken.

So that what is judged considerable, is not considered; what is recommended as eligible and lovely, is not loved and chosen. Yea the truth, which is after godliness, is not so much disbelieved, as hated, held in unrighteousness; and shines as too feeble a light, in that malignant darkness which comprehends it not.

You come, amidst all this confusion, as into the ruined palace of some great Prince, in which you see here the fragments of a noble pillar, there the shattered pieces of some curious imagery; and all lying neglected and useless amongst heaps of dirt. He that invites you to take a view of the soul of man, gives you but such another prospect, and doth but say to you, **BEHOLD THE DESOLATION**, all things rude and waste.

So that should there be any pretence to the Divine presence, it might be said, 'If GOD be here, why is it thus?'

The faded glory, the darkness, the disorder, the impurity, the decayed state in all respects of this temple, too plainly show that the great Inhabitant is gone.

IX. [2.] And what was so manifest a sign of God's absence, was also a most righteous cause; for who have committed these great wastes, and made this temple uninhabitable, but men themselves?

And what could be more injurious to the holy God, than to invade, and profane his temple? Or for what could we suppose him to show more jealousy and concern? Whoever were a God, one would expect he should plead for himself, when men have cast down his altar.

No words can express the greatness of the indignity! For do but take the following state of the case thus: Man was his own creature, raised out of nothing, by his mighty and most arbitrary hand; it was in his power, and choice whether ever he should have any being, any, or none, another, or this of so noble an order and kind.

The designation was most apt, of so excellent a creature to this office and use, to be immediately sacred to himself, and his own converse. His temple and habitation, the mansion and residence of his presence, and indwelling glory! There was nothing whereto he was herein designed, whereof his nature was not capable. His soul was, after the required manner, receptive of a Deity; its powers were competent to their appointed work and employment; it could entertain God by knowledge, and contemplation of his glorious excellences, by reverence and love, by adoration and praise.

This was the highest kind of dignity, whereto created nature could be raised, the most honourable state. How high and quick an advance! This moment, nothing; the next, a being capable, and full of God!

It was a most delectable and pleasant state, to be separated to the entertainment of the Divine presence; that as soon as man could first open his eyes, and behold the light

and glory of this new-made world, the great LORD and Author of it should present himself, and say, 'Thou shalt be mine.'

How grateful a welcome into being! Thee, above all my works, which thou beholdest, I choose out for myself. Thine employment shall be no laborious, painful drudgery; unless it can be painful to receive the large communications of immense goodness, light, life and love, that shall of their own accord be perpetually flowing in upon thee! Whatsoever thou espieest besides, that is even most excellent and pleasant to thy sense, is yet inferior to thee, and insufficient for thy satisfaction and highest delight; and but the faint shadow of that substantial fulness, which I myself will be unto thee.

There was, in all this, the freest and most condescending vouchsafement; no necessity could urge the self-sufficient Good to affect union and familiarity with its own creature.

Man's alienation of himself from God, was as entirely voluntary, nothing could force him to it; he could have no inducement, which it was not easy to resist; heaven and earth could not afford the matter of a regardable temptation, to withdraw him from what did so infinitely excel.

But how mean things have become the tempting, and prevailing objects, the momentary relishes of a merely sensual delight, that might have been had innocent and pure, without breaking the inclosure!

Ravenous appetite, lust after forbidden pleasure, is impatient of restraint; reason, that should have restrained it, resigns its office, falls into a treacherous combination with usurping sense, chooses rather to obey than rule, to rebel than obey; for not to rule, being thereto enjoined by the supreme Ruler, was to rebel. The empire of rebellious appetite was reckoned more tolerable, than God's; thus are his authority affronted, and his goodness despised, both at once. He is rejected both as Ruler and Bene-

factor, with equal disrespect to his majesty and grace, to his governing, and his heart-delighting presence.

And how ignominious, hereupon, is the rejection! When so vile things are chosen and preferred! The tyranny of lust, before his holy, reasonable, orderly government; the pleasures of sin, rather than those of the Divine presence; this being the practical decisive judgment, given in the case, that these are better.

It is better to be the meanest drudge and slave, than his servant; to feed upon husks or ashes, than his (pure, and most satisfying) communications. And what he chose to be, he is; that is, with the indignity done to God, he hath joined the vilest debasement of himself.

For, hence also, how loathsome a creature is he now become! How perverted in all his powers! How full of darkness, confusion, impurity, malignity, and venom! How universally, and horribly deformed!

And hereof an estimate may be made, from his unaptness to self-reflection; which how notorious is it! What doth he not rather choose to do with his thoughts, than turn them inward? And how unfit is he for Divine converse, that cannot endure his own; or to associate with God, that is become too foul a creature to have any satisfying converse with himself!

Now what could be expected to ensue upon all this, but that he should be forsaken of God? That the blessed presence be withdrawn, that had been so despitefully slighted, to return no more.

No more, till at least a recompense should be made him for the wrong done, and a capacity be recovered for his future converse; namely, till both his honour should be repaired, and his temple; till he might again honourably return, and be fitly received.

But who could have thought in what way these things should ever be brought to pass? that is, neither could his departure but be expected, nor his return but be above all expectation.

To depart was what became him ; a thing, as the case was, most worthy of God ; it was meet so “ great a Majesty,” having been so condescendingly gracious, should not be also cheap ; to appear unapprehensive of being neglected, and set at nought.

It became him, as the self-sufficient Being, to let it be seen he designed not man his temple, for want of an house. That having of old inhabited his own eternity, and having now the heavens for his throne, the earth his footstool ; he could dwell alone, or where he pleased else, in all his great creation ; and did not need, where he was not desired.

That of the Cynic was thought a brave saying, when his mal-contented servant turned fugitive, and left him : ‘ It were an unworthy thing MANES should think he can live without DIOGENES, and that DIOGENES cannot without MANES.’ How much better would it suit with the real self-fulness of a Deity, where nothing of this kind can look like an empty boast !

It was becoming his pure and glorious holiness, not to dwell amidst impurities, or let it be thought He was a God that took pleasure in wickedness ; and most suitable to his equal justice, to let them who said to him, “ Depart from us,” feel they spake that word against their own life and soul ; and that what was their rash and wilful choice, is their heaviest doom and punishment.

It was only strange, that when he left his temple, he did not consume it ; and that not leaving it, without being basely expelled, he hath thought of returning, without being invited back again.

Yea, and that whatsoever was necessary thereto, is designed by his own strange contrivance, and done at his own so dear expence ; his only begotten SON most freely consenting with him, and in sundry capacities sustaining the weight and burden of this great undertaking.

CHAPTER III.

AND indeed, what was to be designed and done, did every way call for so great an Undertaker.

The indignity offered to the majesty of the Most High God, in his ignominious expulsion from his own temple, was to be recompensed.

And the ruin must be repaired, which had befallen his temple itself.

I. In reference to both these performances, it was determined, IMMANUEL, that is, his own SON, his substantial image, the brightness of his glory, the eternal Word should become incarnate; and being so, should undertake several parts, and in distinct capacities, and be at once a single temple himself, and that this temple should be also a sacrifice; and thereby give rise to a manifold temple, conformed to that original one; of each whereof, in the virtue of that sacrifice, he was himself to be the glorious pattern, the firm foundation, the magnificent founder, and the most curious architect and former, by his own various and most peculiar influence.

This hath been the result of the divine counsel, and the LORD's own doing, most justly marvellous in our eyes, namely, (which we are next to consider,)

II. That the blessed GOD hath laid the platform, and the foundations of his temple, as it was to be restored, and set up again among men; in and by that great IMMANUEL, his own SON made flesh.

It is to be considered that the world had a long time lain deluged with wickedness, sunk in sensuality, and a deep oblivion of GOD; his memorial was even lost among men, and nothing less thought of than a temple, in the true meaning of it; the notices of God, and any inclination to religion that remained (too deeply infixed into the mind of men, to be quite extinct) were yet so faint and weak, carnal terrene propensions so strong, that the vital religion, which was the proper business of a living temple, could have no

place. It was not only thus in the Pagan world, from which God had further withdrawn himself; but even with that select people, to whom he vouchsafed more peculiar manifestations of his mind and presence. They had a figurative temple by his own appointment, erected in much glory among them, that might have instructed them, and by degrees the rest of the world, (if they would have understood its true meaning,) that God was yet willing to dwell with men on earth, and that it should be a house of prayer for all nations; who ought upon those glorious appearances of God among that people, to have gradually proselyted themselves unto them.

It prefigured what he intended, namely, in his appointed season, by his own SON to descend and inhabit, make and constitute him a much more glorious temple, than could be built of wood or stone, or by the hands of men. That in after-time SHILOH would come, unto whom the gathering of the people should be; and by whom he would reconcile, and re-collect the apostate world to himself.

But all this was unintelligible mystery, on all hands it entered not into the minds of men of either sort, but much less into their hearts; and the Jews did much more affect to Paganize, and go further off from God, than the Pagans (which in this they ought) to Judaize, and draw nearer to him.

The natural sentiments of religion, which were common to all men, did run out only into mere external observances, and empty formalities, that might well enough agree with a sensual life, transacted in habitual estrangement from God, and as without him in the world; so as not only not to answer the true intent and use of a temple, but to frustrate and elude it.

III. When this was the state of things with this world, and the fulness of time was now come, wherein God intended, with more vigour and efficacy, to renew and reinforce his mighty and merciful work of setting up his temple, and to make it rise in splendour and glory in the world; he at length sends down his SON; he puts on man, becomes

IMMANUEL, and incarnate **GOD** among men, and a man inhabited by all the fulness of **GOD**. This man was therefore a most perfect temple, the original one; that is, not only a single one himself, but an exemplary temple, to which all other were to be conformed; the advantage whereof, to the forming of more, we shall see hereafter; whereby he was also a virtual one, from which life and influence was to be transfused, to raise and form all others.

But in order to its being so, this very temple must become a sacrifice, and by dying, multiply. A seminal temple, as we shall hereafter show, and as he himself represents the matter. (*John* xii. 24.) And which is in the full sense of it said, *1 Pet.* ii; where, when we were first told, “We must come to him as unto a living stone,” and “as lively stones be built up a spiritual house;” (*Verse* 4, 5;) we are further told, “That he himself bare our sins, in his own body, on the tree, [where he was offered as a sacrifice,] that we might die to sin, and live to righteousness.” (*Verse* 24.)

For now a temple being, in its proper use and design, intended for divine honour, could not have its foundation in the ruin thereof, or be built upon his unremedied dishonour; the **SON** of **GOD**, by tendering himself for a valuable recompence, must be the Corner-Stone of this new building.

The wrong that man hath done to the **Divine Majesty**, should be expiated by none but man; and could be by none but **GOD**.

Behold then, the wonderful conjunction of both in the one **IMMANUEL**! Who was, by his very constitution, an actual temple, **GOD** with us; the habitation of the **Deity** returned, and resettling itself with men; and fitted to be (what it must be also) a most acceptable sacrifice. For here was met together man that could die, and **GOD** that could overcome death; man that might suffer, and **GOD** that could give sufficient value to those sufferings; sufficient to atone the offended majesty, and procure that life might be diffused, and spread itself to all that should unite

with him ; whereby they might become living stones, joined to that living Corner-Stone, a spiritual temple, again capable of that Divine presence which they had forfeited, and whereof they were forsaken.

That all this may be the better understood, we shall endeavour to show more distinctly.

1. The sufficiency and aptness of the constitution and appointment of IMMANUEL, (considering what he was, and what was undertaken to be suffered, and performed by him,) as the most proper and adequate means for the restoring of God's temple with men.

2. The necessity of this course, for this end.

1. And for the former, the aptness and sufficiency of this course, or what the setting up of IMMANUEL might do for this purpose, may be seen in the suitableness hereof to the foregoing state of the case ; and by comparing therewith what he is, and hath done, and suffered in order hereto.

We have seen that the former desolate state of this temple was occasioned, and inferred by man's apostasy ; whereby he became incapable of serving, any longer, the purposes of a temple ; and God's departure thereupon. There was therefore the concurrence of somewhat on man's part, and somewhat on God's, unto this desolation ; on man's, what was unjust, leading, and causal ; on God's, what was most just, consequent, and caused thereby. Man's unrighteous, and ill-deserving aversion from God ; and God's most righteous and deserving aversion hereupon from him. The one caused by the other, but both causing in different kinds the vacancy, and deserted state of this temple which ensued ; the former as a sinning cause ; the latter as a punishing.

Now what we have considerable in the IMMANUEL, towards the restoration of this temple, and that it might become again habitable, and replenished by the Divine presence, as before, is answerable to this state of the case ; and directly tending to compose things between the distanced parties, both on the one part and the other.

And (because God was to have the first and leading part

in reconciliations, as man hath in disagreements) we have enough in him, whereupon God might express himself willing to rebuild and return to his former dwelling; and man be willing to render it back to him, and admit the operation of the fashioning hand, whereby it is to be prepared and refitted for its proper use.

IV. (1.) The former is effected, and a foundation is laid for the effecting of the other too, in his becoming a sacrifice to justice; a sacrifice so rich and fragrant, so full of value and grateful savour, as that abundant recompense is made by it, for the wrong man had done the Majesty of heaven, by profaning and polluting this temple, and expelling so contumeliously its great Inhabitant. An injury, to which the creation, consuming in an universal flame, had been an unproportionable sacrifice; but the sacrifice of himself, the IMMANUEL, GOD-MAN, could be defective in nothing; was both suitable and equal to the exigency of the case. For the sacrifice of Him, who was man, was suitable to the offence of man; and of Him, who was God, was equal to the wrong done to God.

Long before this sacrifice was offered, the expectation of it, and since the remembrance have been precious. It was of sufficient virtue to work and diffuse its influence at the greatest distance; and not of time only, but of place too, to perfume the world, and scatter blessings through all the parts and nations of it, as well as through all the ages.

When no other sacrifice or offerings could avail any thing, (*Psalm xl; Heb. x.*) "Lo! He comes into a body prepared" on purpose; which, though it was not formed and assumed till "the fulness of time," (*Gal. iv. 4.*) was yet reckoned "as slain from the beginning of it." (*Rev. xiii. 8.*)

This was the seed in which, though it sprung up only in Judea, yet "all the nations of the earth were to be blessed." (*Gen. xxii. 18.*) Long was this body in preparing, and the seed transmitted through many generations, whence it was at length to arise; into which, as its last preparation, the Deity descended; and that it might be a sufficiently costly sacrifice, filled with the Divine fulness; "for

in him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." (*Col. ii. 9.*) When we read "ABEL'S sacrifice to have been more excellent than CAIN'S," (*Heb. xi. 4.*) the Greek word is, it was *fuller*; how full an one was this! That was filled by faith, with a derivative fulness; this immediately by God himself, with his own self-fulness, which "filleteth all in all," and whence all must receive.

Being so filled, it was a temple, and must now further be a sacrifice; both are signified in that one short passage, which Himself let fall, "Destroy this temple;" (*John ii. 19.*;) that is, that He was a temple, and was to be destroyed, which is carried in the notion of a sacrifice. "This He said of his body." (*Verse 21.*) Strange mystery! The very temple itself a consuming oblation! Self-devoted even to destruction, and out of that again self-raised. - The Divine Justice could not hereby but be well satisfied, and say, It was enough, when the whole temple became propitiatory; and the profanation of the former temple was expiated, by the immolation of the new: So that, in point of honour and justice, no exception could now lie against the return of the Divine presence to its wasted and forsaken temple.

V. Only his return could not as yet be, presently to dwell there, (for it was most unfit,) but to refit, and prepare it for his future dwelling.

It had been long desolate, and hereby was become decayed and ruinous, full of noisome impurities; yea, the habitation of dragons and devils. Many an abominable idol was set up here, that filled up the room of the one God. It was wholly in the possession of false Gods, for whose use it was the more fit, by how much it was the less fit for His; for amidst darkness, confusion, and filthiness, was the chosen seat of the principalities and powers, that now did dwell, and rule here. Here was the throne of the Prince of darkness, the resort of his associates, the altars of as many lusts as the heart of man, now wholly given up to all manner of wickedness, could multiply to itself; by whose consent and choice, this horrid alienation had been

made, and continued: Upon such terms, "the strong man armed kept the house."

The blessed God might now return, but He must build before He dwell, and conquer ere He build.

He might return, but not upon other terms than the expiatory value, and actual oblation of that above-mentioned sacrifice; for when He forsook this his temple, He left it with just resentment, and his most righteous curse upon it: A curse that was of that import, 'Never any thing holy and pure any more come here, or any thing good and pleasant; the light of the sun never shine any more at all on thee; the voice of joy and gladness never be heard any more at all in thee.'

The powerful horror of this curse, held it doomed to all the desolation and misery that was upon it, confirmed it in the power of him that ruled here at his will. Hence had the magic and charms of the evil one rendered it an enchanted place, adjoined it to the nether world, the infernal region, made it the next neighbourhood, even of the very suburbs of hell, barred out all Divine light and grace, all heavenly beams and influences from it: So that, had it not been for *this sacrifice*, this temple had been and remained an accursed place, as hell itself; the SPIRIT of God should have had no more to do here, than there; for so the sentence and curse of his violated law had determined, "Thou shalt die the death," did say no less.

VI. But now "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree; that the blessing of ABRAHAM might come on the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the SPIRIT, through faith."

He was made a curse for us; not the same in kind which we had incurred; (which it were horrid to think;) but such as his state could admit, and ours could require.

For that a person, so immutably pure and holy, should become an impure thing, was what his state could not admit; and that one of so high dignity, should willingly suffer to that degree which He did for us, was a thing of so

great merit, as to answer the uttermost of our ill-deservings; than which the exigency of our case could not, in that respect, call for more.

And the end of his becoming to that degree a "curse for us," being expressly said to be this, "that we might receive the promise of the SPIRIT," (or the promised SPIRIT,) implies, that the curse upon us had intercepted and cut off from us all influences of that Holy Blessed SPIRIT; for the fresh emission whereof, in God's own stated method, He had now again opened the way.

That this blessing is hereby said to become the portion of the Gentiles, was enough to the Apostle's present purpose, writing to the Galatians; the Jews having upon the same terms had the same privilege formerly from age to age: "Thou gavest thy good SPIRIT to instruct them;" (*Neh.* ix. 20;) which also is implied in their being charged with vexing and rejecting this blessed SPIRIT, one generation after another. (*Isaiah* lxiii. 10; *Acts* vii. 51.) And they had now the same Gospel, and are here also included, in that it is said to be "the blessing of ABRAHAM;" into the communion whereof, the Gentiles are now declared to have been admitted, about which so great doubt had been in those days. That therefore the SPIRIT might be given for the mentioned purpose, on the account of the SON of GOD's oblation of Himself, is out of question; the necessity that He should be only given on these terms, will be seen hereafter.

By this great sacrifice, the Divine justice is so well satisfied, and his majesty and honour so fully asserted and vindicated, that He now may, without wrong to himself, his justice and the dignity of his government, cast a compassionate eye upon the desolations of his temple; take up kind thoughts towards it; send forth his mightier SPIRIT to dispossess "the strong man armed," to vanquish the combined enemy-powers, to build, and cleanse, and beautify the habitation of his holiness, and then inhabit and dwell in it: Upon which account it is now called "the temple of the HOLY GHOST;" the SPIRIT which the FATHER

sends in the name of the SON, upon this errand ; He having obtained that it should be sent.

By which SPIRIT also the IMMANUEL was sufficiently enabled to gain our consent unto all this ; for his dying on the cross was not that he might have the SPIRIT in himself, but that He might have the power of communicating it ; and so might the foundation be laid for what is to be done on our part, by the offering of this sacrifice ; of which we are next further to treat.

VII. Wherefore, (2.) That which was to be done on our part, in order to the restoring of God's temple in us, was, that we be made willing of his return, and that there be wrought in us whatsoever might tend to make us fitly capable of so great a presence.

More needs not be said to show that we were most unwilling.

And that our becoming willing was requisite, is sufficiently evident ; for what sort of temple are we to be ? Not of wood and stone, but as our worship must be all a reasonable service, of the same constitution must the temple be, whence it is to proceed. We are to be temples, by self-dedication, separating ourselves to that purpose ; and are to be the voluntary under-labourers, in the work that is to be done, for the preparing of this temple for its proper use. And the use which is to be made of it, that there the blessed God, and we might amicably, and with delight converse together, supposes our continual willingness ; which therefore must be once obtained.

Now unto this purpose also, the constitution of IMMANUEL was most suitable ; or the setting up of this one eminent temple first, GOD in CHRIST. This was a leading case, and had a further design ; it was never meant that the Divine presence should be confined to that one single person, or only that GOD should have a temple on earth, as long as the man CHRIST should reside there ; but he was to be the primary original temple ; and his being so, contributed to the making us willing to become his temples also.

1. As here was the fulness of that SPIRIT, by whose power and influence that, and all subsequent work, was to be wrought in us. Which fulness is, by that blessed name IMMANUEL, signified to be in him, on purpose to be communicated, or as what must be some way common unto God with us. Our aversion was not easily vincible, the people it was said (speaking of the reign of IMMANUEL) should "be willing in the day of his power," (*Psalm cx. 3.*) and (as it follows) "in the beauties of holiness." (1 *Chron. xvi. 29.*) This was a known name of God's temple, for the building whereof DAVID was now preparing, and whereto the passages agree. (*Psalm xxvii. 4; Psalm xcvi. 8, 9.*)

And that spiritual one whereof we speak, must be here chiefly meant, whereof the Christian world, in its exterior frame, is but the outer court; or is subordinate to the interior frame, and to the work thereof, but as scaffolds to the building which they inclose.

The people shall be willing, but not otherwise, than being made so "by his power;" and that not always put forth, but "in the day of his power." On a noted memorable day, a day intended for the demonstration, and magnifying of his power; that is, the season when IMMANUEL (the LORD to whom the speech is addressed) would apply himself, with his might, to the great work of restoring and raising up the temple of God. A work not to be done by might and power, (according to the common vulgar notion thereof, by which nothing is reckoned might and power but a visible arm of flesh, hosts and armies, horses and chariots,) "but by my SPIRIT, saith the LORD of hosts." (*Zech. iv.*)

Then though the spirits of men swell as mountains, in proud enmity and opposition, (which must be levelled where this building is designed,) those mountains shall appear bubbles; What are they before this great Undertaker? They shall become "a plain," when "the head-stone is brought forth with shoutings," unto which the cry shall be, "Grace, grace: This is the stone laid in Sion for a foundation, sure and tried, elect and precious, disallowed by men, but chosen of God, the chief Stone of the corner."

A living stone, from which is a mighty effluence of life and spirit, and all to attract and animate other stones, and raw them into union with itself; so as to compact and raise up this admirable fabric, a spiritual house for spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God by JESUS CHRIST. A Stone that shall spread life through the whole frame, called therefore a *Branch*, as well as a *Stone*; whereto is attributed the work and the glory of building God's temple: "Behold the man whose name is the Branch, and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the LORD, even He shall build the temple of the LORD, and he shall bear the glory," &c. (*Zech.* vi.) A plain indication, that the prophecies of that book did not ultimately terminate in the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem; but more mystically intended the great comprehensive temple of the living God, which the MESSIAH should extend by a mighty communication of his SPIRIT, through the world. When (as is afterwards said) "They that are afar off shall come and build in the temple of the LORD;" (*verse* 15;) and the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, "Let us go speedily to pray before the LORD, and to seek the LORD of Hosts; I will go also. Many people and strong nations." (*Chap.* viii. 20, 21, 22.) "Ten men out of all languages to one Jew, that shall say, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." (*Mic.* iv. 2.)

This, it is said, shall be at Jerusalem; but it must be principally meant of the "New Jerusalem, that cometh down from heaven," that is from above, that is free with her children, and is the mother of us all.

And how plentiful an effusion of the SPIRIT, how mighty and general an attraction, by it, is signified in all this! By which so deeply rooted an aversion to God, and serious living religion, as is known to be common to men, is overcome, and turned into willingness and inclination towards Him! And whereby that great primary temple, CHRIST, replenished with the Divine fulness, multiplies itself into so many, or enlarges itself into that one, his Church; called also *his body*, (as both his very body, and that church

are called his temple,) “the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.” Nor needs it give any trouble, that we find this name of a temple placed upon a good man singly and alone, sometimes upon the whole community of such together. Each bears a double habitude, direct towards God, by which he is capable of being his private mansion; collateral towards our fellow-Christians, whereby he is a part of his more enlarged dwelling. Whensoever then any accession is made to this spiritual temple, begun in CHRIST himself, it is done by a farther diffusion of that SPIRIT, whereof that original temple is the first receptacle.

VIII. But moreover, because it was a rational subject that was to be wrought upon; it is also to be expected that the work itself be done in a rational way. These that must be made living, and that were before intelligent stones, were not to be hewed, squared, polished, and moved to and fro by a violent hand; but being to be rendered willing, must be dealt with in a way suitable to the effect to be wrought. They are themselves to come as lively stones, to the living Corner-stone, by a vital act of their own will; which we know is not to be moved by force, but rational allure-ment.

Wherefore this being the thing to be brought about, it is not enough to inquire by what power, but one would also covet to know by what motive or inducement is this willingness and vital co-operation brought to pass; and we shall find this original temple, IMMANUEL, had not only in it a spring of sufficient power, but also,

2. Carried with it enough of argument and rational inducement, whereby to persuade and overcome our wills into a cheerful compliance and consent. And that,

IX. 1. As it was itself the most significant demonstration of Divine love, than which nothing is more apt to move and work upon the spirit of man. “The bonds of love are the cords of a man;” (*Hos. xi. 4*;) of an attractive power, most peculiarly suitable to human nature: “We love Him, because He first loved us.” (*1 John iv.*)

This is rational magnetism. When in the whole sphere of

beings we have so numerous instances of things that propagate themselves, and beget their like; can we suppose the Divine love to be only barren, and destitute of this power? And we find, among those that are born of God, there is nothing more eminently conspicuous, in this production, than love. This new creature were otherwise a dead creature; this is its very heart, life, and soul, that which acts and moves it towards God, and is the spring of all holy operations. Since then love is found in it, and is so eminent a part of its composition; what should be the parent of this love, but love?

Nor is this a blind or unintelligent production, in respect of the manner of it, either on the part of that which begets, or of that which is begotten; not only He who is propagating his own love, designs it, and knows what he is about; but he that is hereby made to love, knows whereto he is to be formed, and receives, through an enlightened mind, the very principle, power, and spirit of love.

Is his love the cause of ours? Or, do "we love Him because He first loved us?" And what sort of cause is it? Or how doth it work its effect, otherwise than as his love, expressing itself, lets us see how reasonable it is, that we should love again? As is more than intimated by the same sacred Writer, in that Epistle: "Hereby perceive we the love of God." (*Chap. iii. 16.*) Somewhat or other must first render his love perceivable to us, that thereby we may be induced to love Him for his own, and our brother for his sake. And again, "We have known and believed the love that God hath to us: God is love." After which it shortly follows: "We love Him because He first loved us;" as if he had said, The way of God's bringing us to that love-union with Himself, that we "by love dwell in Him, and He in us," is by His representing Himself a being of love: Till he beget in us that apprehension of Himself, and we be brought to know and believe the love that He hath towards us, this is not done.

But where have we that representation of God's love towards us, save in *IMMANUEL*? This is the sum of the minis-

try of reconciliation, or (which is all one) of making men love God, to wit, "that God was in CHRIST reconciling the world to Himself," &c. (*2 Cor.* v. 18, 19.)

This was the very make and frame, the constitution and design of the original temple, to be the tabernacle of witness, a visible testimony of the love of God, and of his kind and gracious propensions towards the race of men, however they were become an apostate race; to let them see how inclined and willing He was to become acquainted again with them, and that the old intimacy, long since out-worn, might be renewed.

And this gracious inclination was testified, partly by CHRIST's taking up his abode on earth, or by the erecting of this original temple, by "the Word's being made flesh," (*John* iv.) wherein (as the Greek expresses it) He did "tabernacle" among us. That whereas we did dwell here in earthly tabernacles, (only now destitute of the Divine presence,) He most kindly comes and pitches his tent amongst our tents, sets up his tabernacle by ours, replenished and full of God; so that here the Divine glory was familiarly visible, the "Glory of the only-begotten Son of the FATHER," shining with mild and gentle rays, such as should allure, not affright us, nor their terror make us afraid. A veil is most condescendingly put on, lest majesty should too potently strike disaccustomed and misgiving minds; and what is more terrible of this glory is allayed, by being interwoven with grace and truth.

Upon this account might it now truly be proclaimed, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men!" That is performed which once seemed hardly credible, and (when that temple was raised that was intended but for a type of this) was spoken of with wondering expostulation: "In very deed will God dwell with men on earth?" Whereas it might have been reasonably thought, this world should have been for ever forsaken of God, and no appearance of Him ever have been seen here, unless with a design of taking vengeance; how unexpected and surprising a thing was this, that in a state of so comfortless darkness and de-

solation, "the day-spring from on high should visit it;" and that God should come down, and settle Himself in so mean a dwelling, on purpose to seek the acquaintance of his offending, disaffected creature!

But chiefly, and more eminently, this his gracious inclination was testified by the manner and design of his leaving this his earthly abode, and yielding that his temple to destruction: "Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up." This being an animated living temple, could not be destroyed without sense of pain, unto which it could not willingly become subject, but upon design; and that could be no other than a design of love. When He could have commanded twelve legions of angels to have been the guardians of this temple, to expose it to the violence of profane and barbarous hands; this could proceed from nothing but love; and "greater love could none show," especially if we consider what was the designed event. This temple was to fall but single, that it might be raised manifold; it was intended (as it came to pass) to be multiplied by being destroyed, as Himself elegantly illustrates the matter: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit;" (*John* xii;) which He afterwards expresses without a metaphor: "And I, if I be lift up from the earth, (signifying, as it follows, the death He should die,) will draw all men unto me."

We will not here insist on what was said before, that hereby the way was opened for the emission of the SPIRIT, which, when it came forth, performed such wonders in this kind, creating and forming into temples many a disaffected unwilling heart. Whence it may be seen, that he forsook that his present dwelling, not that he might dwell here no longer, but only to change the manner of his dwelling, and that he might dwell here more to common advantage; the thing he intended, when he came down. He came down, that by dying and descending low into the lower parts of the earth, he might make way for a glorious ascent; and ascended, that "he might fill all things," (*Eph.* iv.) that

“ he might give gifts to men, even the rebellious also, that he might dwell among them.” (*Psalm lxxviii.*) Not, I say, to insist on this, which shows the *power* by which those great effects were wrought; we may also here consider the way wherein they were wrought, that is, by way of representation, and demonstration of the Divine love to men.

How brightly did this shine, in the glorious ruin and fall of this temple: Herein how did redeeming love triumph! How mightily did it conquer, and slay the enmity that wrought in the minds of men before! Here he overcame by dying, and slew by being slain; now were “ his arrows sharp in the hearts of enemies, by which they became subject.” (*Psalm xlv.*) What wounded him, did, by a strong reverberation, wound them back again. How inwardly were thousands of them pierced, by the sight of “ him whom they had pierced!” How sharp a sting was in those words: “ Therefore, let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same JESUS, whom ye crucified, both LORD and CHRIST.” (*Acts ii.*) For it immediately follows: “ When they heard this, they were pricked to the heart.” They that crucified him, are crucified with him; are now in agonies, and willing to yield to any thing they are required: “ Men and brethren, what shall we do?” He may have temples now for taking them, the most obdurate hearts are overcome; and what could be so potent an argument? what so accommodate to the nature of man? so irresistible by it?

To behold this live temple of the living God, the sacred habitation of a Deity, full of pure and holy life and vigour, by vital union with the eternal Godhead, voluntarily devoted to the most painful and ignominious suffering, purposely to make atonement for the offence done by revolted creatures against their rightful LORD! What rocks would not rend at this spectacle! Enough to put the creation (as it did) into a paroxysm, and bring upon it travailing pangs! And how strange if the hearts of men, next and most closely concerned, should alone be unmoved, and without

the sense of such pangs! Well might it be said, "I, if I be lift up, will draw all men," without any such diminishing sense, as to mean by that *all* a very *few* only; not intending so much by it the effect wrought, (though that also be not inconsiderable,) as the power, or natural aptitude of the cause; as if he had said, This were enough to vanquish and subdue the world, to mollify every heart of man, and to leave the character upon them of most inhuman creatures, and unworthy to be called men, that shall not be drawn. It might be expected, that every one that hath not abandoned humanity, or hath the spirit of a man in him, should be wrought upon by this means; and they cannot but incur most fearful guilt, even all men, who once having notice of this matter, are not effectually wrought upon by it.

Upon which account the Apostle asks the Galatians, (who had not otherwise seen this sight, than as the Gospel-narrative had represented it to them,) "who had bewitched them, that they should not obey, before whose eyes CHRIST had been set forth crucified among them;" intimating, that he could not account them less than bewitched, whom the representation of CHRIST crucified did not captivate into obedience.

And since, in his crucifixion, he was a sacrifice, that is, placatory and reconciling, and that reconciliations are always mutual, of both the contending parties to one another; it must have the proper influence of a sacrifice immediately upon both, and as well mollify men's hearts towards GOD, as procure that he should express favourable inclinations towards them: That is, that-all enmity should cease, and be abolished for ever; that wrongs be forgotten, rights restored, and entire friendship, amity, and free converse be renewed, and be made perpetual. All which signifies, that by this means the spirits of men be so wrought upon, that they render back to GOD his own temple most willingly, not merely from an apprehension of his right, but as overcome by his love, and valuing his presence more than their own life.

Guilt is apt to be jealous, no wonder if the spirits of men, conscious of so great wrong done to God, (and a secret consciousness there may be, even where there are not very distinct reflections upon the case,) be not easily induced to think God reconcilable. And while he is not thought so, what can be expected but obstinate aversion on their part? For what so hardens as despair?

Much indeed might be collected, by deeply considering minds, of a propension on God's part to peace and friendship, from the course of his Providence, and present dispensation towards the world: His clemency, long-suffering, and most of all his bounty towards them; these "lead to repentance" in their own natural tendency; yet are they but dull insipid Gospel in themselves to men drowned in sensuality, buried in earthliness, in whom the Divine SPIRIT breathes not, and who have provoked the blessed SPIRIT to keep at a distance, by having stupified and laid asleep the considering power of their own spirit.

Nor are these the usual means, apart and by themselves, which the SPIRIT of God is wont to work by, upon the hearts of men; as experience and observation of the common state of the Pagan world doth sadly testify, and without the concurrence of that blessed SPIRIT, even the most apt and suitable means avail nothing.

But where there is so express a testification, as we find in the Gospel of CHRIST, of God's willingness to be reconciled; a proclamation distinctly made, that imports no other thing, but "glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good-will towards men:" For confirmation whereof, the SON of God incarnate is represented slain, and offered up a bloody sacrifice; and that we might see at once both that God is reconcilable, and how or upon what terms he comes to be so: No place for reasonable doubt any longer remains, we have before our eyes, what, by the wonderful strangeness of it, should engage the most stupid minds to consider; what ought to assure the most misgiving, doubtful mind, that God is in good earnest, and intends no mockery or deceit in his offer of peace; and what

ought to melt, mollify, and overcome the most obdurate heart.

Yea not only what is, in its own nature, most apt to work towards the producing these happy effects, is here to be found ; but wherewith also the SPIRIT of grace is ready to concur. It being his pleasure, and most fit in itself, that he should choose to unite, and fall in with the aptest means, and apply himself to the spirits of men in a way most suitable to their own natures, and most likely to prevail with them : Whereupon the Gospel is called "the ministration of spirit and life, and the power of God to salvation." But that this Gospel, animated by that mighty and good SPIRIT, hath not universally spread itself over all the world, only its own resolved, and resisting wickedness is the faulty cause ; otherwise there had been Gospel, and temples raised by it every where.

X. 2. This original, primary temple hath matter of rational inducement in it ; as it gives us a plain representation of Divine holiness, brightly shining in human nature. For here was to be seen a most pure, serene, dispassionate mind, unpolluted by any earthly tincture, inhabiting an earthly tabernacle, like our own : A mind adorned with the most amiable lovely virtues, faith, patience, temperance, godliness, full of all righteousness, goodness, meekness, mercifulness, sincerity, humility, most abstracted from this world, immoveably intent upon what had reference to a future state of things, and the affairs of another country : Inflexible, by the blandishments of sense, not apt to judge by the sight of the eye, or be charmed by what were most grateful to a voluptuous ear ; full of pity towards a wretched sinful world, compassionate to its calamities, unprovoked by its sharpest injuries ; bent upon doing the greatest good, and prepared to suffer whatsoever evil.

Here was presented to common view, a life transacted agreeably to such a temper of mind ; of one invariable tenor, equal, uniform, never unlike itself, or disagreeing with the exactest rules. Men might see a God was come

down, to dwell among them ; “ the brightness of the FATHER’S glory, and the express image of his person ; ” a Deity inhabiting human flesh ; for such purposes as he came for, could not be supposed to carry any more becoming appearance, than he did.

Here was therefore an exemplary temple, the fair and lovely pattern of what we were, each of us, to be formed unto ; imitating us (for sweeter allurements) in what was merely natural, and inviting us to imitate him in what was (in a communicable sort) supernatural and divine.

Every one knows how great is the power of example, and may collect how apt a method this was to draw the spirits of men. Had only precepts and instructions been given men, how they were to prepare and adorn, in themselves, a temple for the living God, it had, indeed, been a great vouchsafement ; but how much had it fallen short of what the present state of man did, in point of means, need and call for ! How great a defalcation were it from the Gospel, if we wanted the history of the life of CHRIST ! But not only to have been told of what materials the temple of God must consist, but to have seen them put together ; to have opportunity of viewing the beautiful frame in every part, and of beholding the lovely imitable glory of the whole, and which we are to follow, though we cannot with equal steps : How merciful condescension, and how great an advantage is this unto us !

We have here a state of entire devotedness to God (the principal thing in the constitution of his temple) exemplified before our eyes, together with what was most suitable besides to such state. Do we not see how, in a body of flesh, one may be subject to the will of God ? To count the doing of it our meat and drink ? When it imposes any thing grievous to be suffered, to say : “ Not my will, but thine be done ? ” How in all things to seek, not our own glory, but His ? And not to please ourselves, but Him ? How, hereby, to keep his blessed presence with us, and live in his constant converse and fellowship ; never to be left alone, but to have him ever with us, as always aiming

to do the things that please him? Do we not know how to be tempted, and abstain; injured, and forgive; disobliged, and do good? To live in a tumultuous world, and be at peace within? To dwell on earth, and have our conversation in heaven?

We see all this hath been done, and much more than we can here mention; and by so lively a representation of the brightest excellencies, beautifying this original exemplary temple, we have a two-fold advantage towards our becoming such, namely, That hereby both the possibility and the loveliness of a temple (the thing we are now ourselves to design) is here represented to our view; by the former whereof we might be encouraged, by the latter allured unto imitation; that working upon our hope, this working upon our desire and love, in order hereto.

1. The possibility. I mean it not in the strict sense only, as signifying no more than that the thing, simply considered, implies no repugnance in itself; for as no one needs to be told that such a thing is (in this sense) possible, so to be told it would signify little to his encouragement. There are many things, in this sense, not impossible, whereof no man can, however, have the least rational hope; as that another world may shortly be made, that he may be a Prince or a great man therein; with a thousand the like.

But I mean it of what is possible to Divine power (that is, to the grace and SPIRIT of GOD) now ready to go forth, in a way and method of operation, already stated and pitched upon for such purposes. For having the representation before our eyes of this original temple, GOD inhabiting human flesh on earth; we are not merely to consider it as it is in itself, and to look upon it as a strange thing, or as a glorious spectacle, wherein we are no further concerned, than only to look upon it, and take notice that there is or hath been such a thing; but we are to consider how it came to pass, and with what design it was that such a thing should be, and become obvious to our view. Why have we such a sight offered us? Or what imports it unto us?

And when we have informed ourselves, by taking the

account the Gospel gives us of this matter, and viewed the inscription of that great name **IMMANUEL**, by wonderful contrivance, inwrought into the constitution of this temple ; we will then find this to be intended for a leading case, and that this temple was meant for a model of that which we ourselves are to become ; or after which the temple of God in us, must be composed and formed. And so that this matter is possible to an ordinate Divine power, even to that mighty **SPIRIT** that resides eminently in this temple, on purpose to be transmitted thence to us, for the framing of us to the likeness of it ; so that the thing is not merely possible, but designed also ; namely, “ That as he was, so we might be in this world.” (1 *John* iv. 17.) Unto which is necessary our believing intuition towards him, or a fiducial acknowledgment that this **JESUS** is the **SON** of **GOD**, come down on purpose into human flesh, to bring about an union between **GOD** and us ; whereupon that union itself ensues, the matter is brought about, we come to dwell in **GOD**, and he in us. (*Verse* 15.)

And, “ Hereby know we that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of his **SPIRIT**.” (*Verse* 13.) And though it was an unmeasured fulness of this **SPIRIT**, which dwelt in this primary temple ; yet we are taught and encouraged hence to expect, that a sufficient and proportionable measure be imparted to us, that we may appear not altogether unlike, or unworthy of Him ; that this temple and ours are of the same make, and both He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one ; that we so far agree with our original, that He may not be ashamed to call us brethren. (*Heb.* ii. 11.)

And how aptly doth this tend to excite and raise our hope of some great thing, to be effected in this kind, in us ; when we have the matter thus exemplified already before our eyes, and behold the perfect model, according whereto we ourselves are to be framed !

Nor doth that signify a little to the drawing of our wills, or the engaging us to a consent and co-operation, as the under-builders in the work of this temple ; a design that in

itself appears advantageous, needs no more to set it on foot, than that it be represented hopeful. No one, that understands any thing of the nature of man, is ignorant of the power of hope.

This one engine moves the world, and keeps all men busy. Every one soon finds his present state not perfectly good, and hopes some way to make it better: Otherwise, the world were a dull scene. Endeavour would languish, or rather be none at all; for there were no room left for design, or a rational enterprizing of any thing; but a lazy, unconcerned trifling, without care, which end goes forward, and with an utter indifferency whether to stir or sit still.

Men are not, in their own designs, without hope, but their hope is placed upon things of no value; and when they have gained the next thing they hoped for and pursued, they are as far still as they were from what they meant that for. They have obtained their nearer end, but therein mistook their way, which they designed by it to their further end. When they have attained to be rich, yet they are not happy, perhaps much further from it than before; when they have preyed upon the pleasure they had in chace, they are still unsatisfied; it may be, guilty reflections turn it all to gall and wormwood. Many such disappointments might make them consider, at length, they have been out all this while, and mistaken the whole nature and kind of the good, that must make them happy. They may come to think with themselves, Somewhat is surely lacking, not only to our present enjoyment, but to our very design; somewhat it must be without the compass of all our former thoughts, wherein our satisfying good must lie.

God may come into their minds, and they may cry out, O! that is it, here it was I mistook, and had forgotten myself. Man once had a God! and that God had his temple, wherein He resided, and did converse with man; hither He must be invited back. Yea, but his temple lies all in ruin, long ago deserted and disused, forsaken upon provocation, and with just resentment; the ruin is to be repaired by no

mortal hand ; the wrong done to be expiated by no ordinary sacrifice.

All this imports nothing but despair ; but let now IM-MANUEL be brought in, this original temple be offered to view, and the design of it be laid open ; and what a spring of hope is here ! What can now be wanting to persuade a wretched soul of God's willingness to return ? Or, being now sensible of its misery, by his absence ; to make it willing of his return : Yea, and to contribute the utmost endeavour, that all things may be prepared, and put into due order for his reception ? Or if any thing should be still wanting, it is but what may more work upon desire, as well as beget hope ; and to this purpose, a narrower view of this original temple also serves ; that is, it not only shows the possibility, but gives us opportunity to contemplate

2. The loveliness too of such a temple. For here is the fairest representation that ever this world had, or that could be had, of this most delectable object. The Divine holiness incarnate did never shine so bright. And we may easily apprehend the advantage of having so lively, and perfect a model set before us, of what we are to aim at : Precepts could never have afforded so full a description, or have furnished us with so perfect an idea. He that goes to build an house, must have the project formed in his mind before ; and he is to make a material house of an immaterial : So here, we may say the real house is to be built out of the mental, or notional one.

It is true indeed, when we have got the true and full idea or model of this temple, our greatest difficulty is not yet over ; how happy were it, if the rest of our work would as soon be done ! And our hearts would presently obey our light. If it were ductile and easy to yield, and receive the impression that would correspond to a well-enlightened mind ; if we could presently become like to the notions we have, of what we should be : What excellent creatures should we appear, if on the sudden our spirits did admit the habitual, fixed frame of holiness, whereof we sometimes have the idea in our minds !

But though to have that model truly formed in our understandings, be not sufficient, it is however necessary; and although our main work is not immediately done by it, it can never be done without it.

Truth is the means of holiness: "Sanctify them through thy truth." (*John* xvii. 17.) God hath chosen us to salvation, "Through sanctification of the SPIRIT, and belief of the truth." (*2 Thess.* ii. 3.) Therefore it is our great advantage to have the most full notion, that may be, of that temper and frame of Spirit we should be of. When the charge was given MOSES of composing the tabernacle, (that moveable temple,) he had the perfect pattern of it shown him in the mount. And to receive the very notion aright of this spiritual living temple, requires a some way prepared mind, purged from vicious prejudice, possessed with dislike of our former pollutions and deformities; antecedent whereto is a more general view of that frame, whereunto we are to be composed, and then a more distinct representation is consequent thereon. As we find the Prophet is directed, first to show the people the house, that they might be ashamed; whereupon it follows: "If they be ashamed of that they have done," then he must show them the form of the house, and the "fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the ordinances thereof." (*Ezek.* xliii. 10, 11.)

How much would it conduce to the work of God's temple, in us, if upon our having had some general intimation of his gracious propensions towards us to repair our ruins, and restore our forlorn state, we begin to lament after him, and conceive inward resentments of the impurities, and desolations of our souls; we shall now have the distinct representation set before our eyes, of that glorious workmanship which he means to express in our renovation! How taking, and transporting a sight will this be to a soul that is become vile and loathsome in its own eyes, and weary of being without God in the world!

But now, wherein shall he be understood to give us so exact an account of his merciful design, in this matter, as

by letting us see how his glory shone in his own incarnate SON, his express image; and then signifying his pleasure, to have us conformed to the same image?

This is his method, when he goes about to raise his new creation, and erect his inner temple, (as it was in some respect his way, when he made his first great outer temple of the world,) GOD, "that commanded light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of GOD, in the face of JESUS CHRIST." (2 Cor. iv. 6.) That glory shines with greatest advantage to our transformation, in the face or aspect of IMMANUEL.

When we set our faces that way, and our eye meets his, we steadily look to JESUS; when "we, with open face, behold as in a glass, the glory of the LORD, we are changed from glory to glory, as by the SPIRIT of the LORD." (2 Cor. iii. 18.) His very SPIRIT enters with those vital beams, enters at our eye, and is thence transfused through our whole soul.

The seed and generative principle of the new creature is truth: "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of GOD." (1 Pet. i. 23.) We must understand it of practical truth, or that which serves to show what we are to be and do, (*Chap. ii. 1—4.*) in our new and regenerate state. Hereby souls are begotten to GOD, hereby they live and grow, hereby they come and join as living stones to the living Corner-Stone, in the composition of this spiritual house: (as we see the series of discourse runs in this context.) Now we have this practical truth, not only exhibited in maxims, in the world; but exemplified in the life of CHRIST. And when the great renovating work is to be done, "the old man to be put off," the "new man to be put on," the "spirit of our mind to be renewed;" our business is to learn CHRIST, and "the truth as it is in JESUS." (*Eph. iv. 20—24.*) So is accomplished the formation of that new man that is after GOD. And when we become his (second) workmanship, we are created in CHRIST JESUS unto good works; caught into

union with that SPIRIT, which showed itself in the whole course of his conversation on earth, and is gradually to work, and form us to an imitation of him.

Whereunto we are not formed, by mere looking on, or by our own contemplation only of his life and actions, on the one hand; nor on the other hand, is our looking on useless and in vain, as if we were to be formed like mere stones, into dead unmoving statues, rather than living temples. Or as if his SPIRIT were to do that work upon us, by a violent hand, while we know nothing of the matter, nor any way comply to the design. But the work must be done by the holding up the representation of this primary temple, before our eyes, animated and replenished with Divine life and glory, as our pattern, and the type by which we are to be formed; till our hearts be captivated, and won to the love and liking of such a state. That is, To be so united with God, so devoted to him, so stamped and impressed with all imitable God-like excellencies, as he was; we are to be so enamoured herewith, as to be impatient of remaining what we were before.

And such a view contributes directly hereto, and in a way suitable to our natures. Mere transient discourses of virtue and goodness, seem cold and unsavoury things to a soul drenched in sensuality, sunk into deep forgetfulness of God, and filled with aversion to holiness; but the tract and course of a life evenly transacted, in the power of the HOLY GHOST, and that is throughout uniform, and constantly agreeable to itself, is apt, by often repeated insinuations (as drops wear stones) insensibly to recommend itself as amiable; and gain a liking even with them that were most opposite, and disaffected.

And how great a thing is done towards our entire compliance with the Redeemer's design, of making us temples to the living God, as he himself was, when he under that very notion appears amiable in our eyes! How natural and easy is imitation to love! All the powers of the soul are now, in the most natural way, excited and set on work; and we shall not easily be induced to satisfy ourselves, or

admit of being at rest, till we attain a state, with the loveliness whereof our hearts are at once taken.

But nothing of all this is said with design, nor hath any tendency to diminish or detract from that mighty power of the blessed SPIRIT of GOD, by whom men become willing of the return of the Divine presence, into its ancient residence, and, in subordination, active towards it; but rather to magnify the excellency of that Wisdom, which conducts all the exertions and operations of that Power, so suitably to the subject to be wrought upon, and the ends to be effected.

Upon the whole, the setting up of this original temple, inscribed with the great IMMANUEL, or the whole constitution of CHRIST the Mediator, hath we see a very apparent aptitude, and rich sufficiency in its kind, to the composing of things between GOD and men; the replenishing this desolate world with temples again, every where, and those with the Divine presence: Both as there was enough in it, to procure remission of sin, enough to procure emission of the HOLY SPIRIT; an immense fulness both of righteousness and SPIRIT; of righteousness, for the former purpose; and of SPIRIT, for the latter. And both of these, in distinct ways, capable of being imparted; because the power of imparting them, was upon such terms obtained, as did satisfy the curse of the violated law, which must otherwise have everlastingly withheld both, from apostate offending creatures.

It is not the righteousness of GOD, as such, that can make a guilty creature guiltless, (which must rather oblige Him still to hold him guilty,) or the SPIRIT of GOD, as such, that can make him holy.

Here is a full Fountain, but sealed and shut up, and what are we the better for that? But it is the righteousness and SPIRIT of IMMANUEL, GOD with us; of Him "who was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of GOD in him; and who was made a curse for us, that we might have the blessing of the promised SPIRIT." Otherwise, there were not in him a sufficiency to answer the exig-

ency of the case ; but as the matter is, here is abundant sufficiency, in both respects. And therefore,

The only thing that remains to be shown herein, is the necessity, and requisiteness of such means as this, to this end.

For when we take notice of so great, and so rare a thing as **IMMANUEL**, set up in the world ; and find by this solemn constitution of Him, by the condition of his person, his accomplishments, performances, sufferings, acquisitions, the powers and virtues belonging to Him, that every thing hath so apt an aspect to the restitution of lost man, and of God's temple in and with him ; we cannot but confess, here is a contrivance worthy of God, sufficient for its end. So that the work needs not fail of being done, if in this way it prove not to be overdone ; or if the apparatus be not greater than was needful for the intended end ; or that the same purposes might not have been effected at an easier rate.

I design therefore to speak distinctly of the necessity of this cause, in reference,

1. To the remission of sin.
2. To the emission, or communication of that **SPIRIT**.



CHAPTER IV

IT may here perhaps be said, Why might not the matter have been otherwise brought about ? Or might not God, of his mere Sovereignty, have remitted the wrong done to him, without any such atonement ? And upon the same account, have sent forth his **SPIRIT** to turn men's hearts ? And if that must work by arguments, and rational persuasives, were there not others to have been used, sufficient to this purpose, though the **SON** of God had never become man, or died upon this account ? To use means exceeding the value of the end, may seem as unsuitable to the Divine wisdom, as not to have used suffi-

cient. And who can think the concernments of silly worms impossible to be brought to a fair issue, without so great things as the incarnation and death of GOD's own SON?

Wherefore we proceed to show the necessity (as the case stood) that this course should be taken, for this end. No man can here think we mean, that the end itself was otherwise necessary, than as the freest love and good-will made it so; but that supposed, we are only to evince that this course was the necessary means to attain it. And as to this, if indeed that modesty and reverence were every where to be found, wherewith it would become dim-sighted man to judge of the ways of GOD, any inquiry of this kind might be forborne; and it would be enough to put us out of doubt, that it was the most equal and fittest way, that we see it is the way which GOD hath taken: But that cross temper hath found much place in the world, rather to dispute GOD's methods, than comport with them, in an obedient thankful compliance, and subserviency to their intended ends. And how deeply is it to be resented, that so momentous a thing in the religion of Christians, and that above all other should be the subject of admiring devout thoughts and affections, should ever have been made intricate, and perplexed by disputation! That the food of life should have been filled with thorns and gravel! And what was most apt to beget good blood, and turn all to strength, vigour, and spirit; should be rendered the matter of a disease! This can never enough be taken to heart. What complaints might the tortured, famished Church of CHRIST send up against the ill instruments of so great a mischief! 'LORD, we asked bread, and they gave us a stone; they have spoiled the provisions of thy house; our pleasantest fare, most delicious and strengthening viands they have made tasteless, and unsavoury.' What expostulations might it use with them! 'Will you not let us live? Can nothing in our religion be so sacred, so important, as to escape your perverting hands?'

The urgency of the case itself permits not that this matter be silently passed over. A *living temple* needs the apt

means of nourishment and growth ; and it must be nourished and grow, by what is suitable to its constitution ; unto which nothing is more inward, than the laying this living corner-stone.

We will acknowledge that the reasons of divers things, in God's appointments, may be very deeply hidden, from our most diligent search ; where they are, his telling us the matter is so, or so, is reason enough to believe with reverence. But when they offer themselves, we need not be afraid to see them ; and when the matter they concern is brought into question, we should be afraid of being so treacherous as not to produce them.

Now that it was requisite this temple should be so founded, is a matter not only not repugnant to reason, but which fairly approves itself thereunto. That is, so far as that though it exceed all human thought, the great LORD of heaven and earth, infinitely injured by the sin of man, should so wonderfully condescend ; yet when his good pleasure is plainly expressed, touching the end, that nothing could be so apparently congruous, so worthy of himself, as the way which he hath taken to bring it about.

That it might be brought about, a compliance was necessary, and a mutual yielding of both the distanced parties ; that is, that God consent to return to his desolate temple ; and that man consent or be willing he should.

We have shown, that the constitution and use of the original temple, whereof the account hath been given, was sufficient, and aptly conducing unto both. Now being to show, wherein they were also requisite or necessary to the one, and the other, we must acknowledge them not alike immediately necessary to each of these ; and must, therefore, divide the things in order whereto this course was taken, and speak of them severally.

Nor are they to be so divided, as though the procurement of God's return for his part, and of man's admitting thereof for his part, were throughout to be severally considered ; for God's part is larger than man's ; and someway runs into it. He is not only to give his own consent, but

to gain man's; and besides his own willing to return to repossess this his temple, he is to make man willing also. Or rather that repossession, rightly understood, will be found to include the making of man willing, that is, in that very repossession he is to put forth that measure of power, by which he may be made so. All this is God's part, which he doth graciously undertake; and without which nothing could be effected in this matter.

But then, because man is to be wrought upon in a way suitable to his reasonable nature, he is to have such things offered to his consideration, as in their own nature tend to persuade him; and which that power and SPIRIT, to be put forth, may use as proper means to that purpose. Now it is man's part to consider such things, and consent thereupon.

Our business, therefore, is to show how necessary the constitution of IMMANUEL was, chiefly as to what now appears to be God's part; and afterward, to say somewhat as to our own.

To the former, it was requisite that the original temple IMMANUEL should be set up, and be used to such immediate purposes as have been expressed; to the latter, was requisite the declaration hereof. To the one, that such a constitution should be; to the other, that it should be made known to man.

II. First then, in reference to the former, this constitution was necessary, that so there might be a sufficient means for the previous expiation of the offence, done to the majesty of God; or that the injurious violation of his sacred rights might be sufficiently recompensed.

And here, more particularly, two things are to be cleared.

1. That in order to God's return, it was necessary such a full recompence should be made him.

2. That it could not be full any other way, than this by IMMANUEL.

In discoursing of which things, it is not intended to go in the usual way of controversy, to heap up a great number

of arguments, and discuss particularly every little cavil ; but plainly to offer such considerations as may tend to clear the truth, and rather prevent, than answer objections against it.

Wherefore we say, (1.) It was necessary God's return and vouchsafement of his gracious restored presence to man, as his temple, should be upon terms of recompence made him, for the indignity and wrong done, in the former violation thereof.

Whatsoever is most congruous and fit for him to do, that is necessary to him ; he cannot swerve in the least tittle, we will not only say, from what strict and rigorous justice doth exact ; but also not from what is requisite, under the notion of most comely and decent. Hath it been said of a mortal man, that it was as easy to alter the course of the sun, as to turn him from the path of righteousness ? We must suppose it of the eternal God equally impossible that he should be diverted from, or ever omit to do what most is seemingly becoming, and worthy of himself. In such things wherein he is pleased to be our pattern, what we know to be our own duty, we must conclude is his nature ; we ought to be found neither in an unjust act, or omission, nor indecent one ; and he cannot.

Nor can it be a doubt, but that he only is the competent judge of what is most becoming, and worthy of himself ; or what is most congruous, and fit in itself to be done. " Who hath directed the SPIRIT of the LORD, or being his counsellor, hath instructed him ?" (*Isa. xl.*) Surely the best reason we can exercise in this case, is to think that course reasonable, which we find God hath chosen ; although we had no insight at all into the matter. There are many constitutions, which we have occasion to observe in the course of God's government over the world, which by the constancy of them, we have ground to think founded in indispensable necessity ; though the reasons, whereupon they are necessary, are most deeply hidden from us.

Not to speak of the abstruser paths and methods of nature, wherein while we observe a constancy, yet perhaps

we apprehend it might have been some other way as well: Perhaps it might, but it is more than we know. And though, as hath been said, we have reason to suppose that the ways God hath taken, in matters of this sort, may be more absolutely arbitrary; yet the constant iteration of the same thing, or continuation of the ancient settled course, shows the peremptoriness of the Creator's counsel; and seems to carry with it an implied rebuke of our ignorant rashness, in thinking it might as well be otherwise; and a stiff asserting of his determinations against us. There are none so well studied naturalists, as to be able to give a rational account why it is so, and so, in many instances; wherein they may yet discern the inflexibleness of nature, and perceive her methods to be as unalterable, as they are unaccountable. It is true, this is obvious to be seen by any eye, that where things are well, as they are, constancy doth better than innovation or change; but it very much becomes human modesty to suppose, that there may, in many cases, be other reasons to justify the present course, which we see not. But we may, with more advantage, consider the fixedness of that order which God hath set, unto the course of his dispensation, towards his intelligent creatures; wherein we shall only instance in some few particulars.

As first, that there is so little discernible commerce, in the present state, between the superior rank of these creatures, and the inferior: That whereas we are well assured there are intelligent creatures, which inhabit not earthly bodies like ours, but hold an agreement with us in greater things; they yet so rarely converse with us. When we consider, that such of them as remain innocent, and such of us as are, by Divine mercy, recovered out of a state of apostasy, are all subject to the same common LORD; observe the more substantial things of the same law; have all the same common end; are acted by the same principle of love, devotedness, and zeal for the interest and honour of the great Maker and LORD of all things. We are all to make up one community with them, and be associates in the same future blessed state; yet they have little intercourse with us, they

shun our sight. If sometimes they appear, it is by transient, hasty glances; they are strangely shy and reserved towards us, they check our inquiries, put us, and appear to be themselves in reference thereto, under awful restraints. We know not the reason of all this: Sometimes we may think with ourselves, Those pure and holy spirits cannot but be full of kindness, benignity, and love, and concerned for us poor mortals, whom they see put to tug, and conflict with many difficulties and calamities; abused by the cunning malice of their and our enemy; imposed upon by the illusions of our own senses. How easily might they make many useful discoveries to us, relieve our ignorance in many things, acquaint us more expressly with the state of things in the other world, rectify our 'dark' or 'mistaken apprehensions,' concerning many both religious and philosophical matters! But they refrain, and we know not why.

Again, that in the days of our SAVIOUR'S converse on earth, there should be so strange a connexion as to them on whom he wrought miraculous cures, between the Divine power and their faith; so that, sometimes, we find it expressly said, "He could do no mighty work, because of their unbelief."

And we, lastly, instance in the fixedness of that course, which GOD hath set, for making known to the world the contents of the Gospel of CHRIST; so that little is ever done therein, immediately, or by extraordinary means. The Apostle PAUL is stopped in the career of his persecution, by an amazing voice and vision; but he is left for instruction, as to his future course, to ANANIAS. Unto CORNELIUS an angel is sent, not to preach the Gospel, but to direct him to send for PETER, for that purpose. The LORD doth not immediately himself instruct the Eunuch, in the faith of CHRIST, but directs PHILIP to do it; and experience shows, that (according to the rule set in that case, *Rom. x. 14*) where they have no Preachers, they have no Gospel.

Now as to all these cases, and many more that might be thought on, can it be said it would have been unjust, if GOD had ordered the matter otherwise? Yet we cannot

so much as imagine ; nor are we to think the matter determined as it is, in all such cases, by mere will and pleasure, without a reason ; which were an imagination altogether unworthy the Supreme Wisdom ; but that there are reasons of mighty force in the natures of things themselves, obvious to the Divine understanding, which do either wholly escape ours, or whereof we have but very shallow, dark, conjectural apprehensions ; as he that saw men as trees, or as some creatures, of very acute sight, perceive what to us seems invisible. And yet those hidden reasons have been the foundation of constitutions and laws, that hold things more steadily than adamantine bands ; and are of more stability than the foundations of heaven and earth.

Furthermore it is to be considered, that the rights of the Divine government, the quality and measure of offences committed against it, and when, or upon what terms they may be remitted, or in what case it may be incongruous to the dignity of that government to recede from such rights ; are matters of so high a nature, that it becomes us to be very sparing, in making an estimate about them ; especially a more diminishing one, than the general strain of Scriptures seems to hold forth. Even among men, how sacred things are majesty, and the rights of government ! And how much above the reach of a vulgar judgment ! Suppose a company of peasants, that understand little more than what is within the compass of their mattock, plough, and shovel, should take upon them to judge of the rights of their Prince, and make an estimate of the measure of offences, committed against the majesty and dignity of government ; how competent judges would we think them ? And will we not acknowledge the most refined human understanding as incompetent to judge of the rights of the Divine government, or measure the injuriousness of an offence, done against it ; as the meanest peasant to make an estimate of these matters, in an human government ? If only the reputation be wronged of a person of better quality, how strictly is it insisted on to have the matter tried by peers, or persons of equal rank ! Such as are capable of understanding honour

and reputation! How would it be resented, if an affront put upon a nobleman should be committed to the judgment of smiths and cobblers; especially if they were *participes criminis*, and as well parties as judges.

When the *regalia* of the great Ruler, and LORD of heaven and earth are invaded, his temple violated, his presence despised, his image torn down thence and defaced; who among the sons of men are either great, or knowing, or innocent enough to judge of the offence and wrong? or how fit it is that it be remitted, without recompence? or what recompence would be proportionable? How supposable is it, that there may be congruities in this matter, obvious to the Divine understanding, which infinitely exceed the measure of ours?

III. And yet, because GOD speaks to us about these matters, and they are our own concernments, as being the offending parties; it is necessary we apply our minds to understand them, and possible to us to attain to a true, though not to a full understanding of them. And though we can never fully comprehend the horror of the case, that reasonable creatures, made after God's image, so highly favoured by him, capable of blessedness in him, incapable of it any other way, should have arrived to that pitch of wickedness towards him, and unnaturalness towards themselves, as to say to him, *Depart from us*, and cut themselves off from him; though we may sooner lose ourselves in the contemplation, and be overwhelmed by our own thoughts, than ever see through the monstrous evil of this defection: Yet we may soon see it incomparably transcend the measure of any offence, that can ever be done by one creature against another; or of the most scandalous affront the meanest, the vilest, the most ungrateful, ill-natured wretch could have devised to put upon the greatest, the most benign, and best deserving Prince, the world ever knew. And if we can suppose an offence, of that kind, may be of so heinous a nature, and so circumstanced as that it cannot be congruous it should be remitted, without some reparation made to the majesty of the Prince, and

compensation for the scandal done to government ; it is easy to suppose it much more incongruous it should be so, in the present case.

Yea, and as it can never be thought congruous, that such an offence, against a human governor, should be pardoned without the intervening repentance of the delinquent ; so we may easily apprehend also the case to be such, that it cannot be fit it should be pardoned upon that alone, without other recompence. Whereof if any should doubt, I would demand, is it in any case fit, that a penitent delinquent against human laws and government, should be punished, or a proportionable recompence be exacted for his offence, notwithstanding ? Surely it will be acknowledged ordinarily fit, and who would take upon him to be the censor of the common justice of the world, in all such cases ? or to damn the proceedings of all times and nations, wheresoever a penitent offender hath been made to suffer the legal punishment of his offence, notwithstanding his repentance ? How strange a maxim of government would that be : That it is never fit an offender, of whatsoever kind, should be punished, if he repent of his offence ! And surely if ever, in any case, somewhat else than repentance be fitly insisted on, as a recompence for the violation of the sacred rights of government ; it may well be supposed to be so, in the case of man's common revolt from God.

Unto which purpose it is further to be considered, that in this case the matter is much otherwise between God and man ; than for the most part between a secular Prince, and a delinquent subject : That is, that pardon, be it never so plenary, doth (as pardon) no more than restore the delinquent into as good a condition as he was in before. But what was, for the most part, the case before of delinquent subjects ? There are very few that were before the Prince's favourites, his intimate associates and friends, with whom he was wont familiarly to converse. Very often the condition of the offender was such before, that his pardon only saves him from the gallows ; lets him live and enjoy only the poor advantages of his former mean condition ; and not

always that neither. Yea, or if he were one whose higher rank, and other circumstances, had entitled him to the nearest attendance on the person of the Prince, and a daily inward conversation with him; it is possible he might be pardoned with limitation as to his life, or it may be, further, to his estate; without being restored to the honours and offices about the person of the Prince, which he held only by royal favour. For though princely compassion might extend so far, as to let his offence be expiated by less than his utter ruin; yet also his prudent respect, to the dignity of his government, might not admit that a person, under public infamy, should have the liberty of his presence, intermingle with his councils, or be dignified with more special marks of his favour and kindness.

Whereas, in the restitution of man, inasmuch as before he was the temple and residence of the great KING, where he afforded his most inward, gracious presence; the design is to restore him into the same capacity, and to as good condition as he was in before, in these respects. Yea, and not only so, but unspeakably to better his case, to take him much nearer to himself than ever, and into a more exalted state. In order whereto, it was the more highly congruous that his offence be done away, by a most perfect, unexceptionable expiation; that so high and great an advancement of the most heinous offenders, might not be brought about upon other terms, than should well accord with the majesty of his government over the world.

IV Here therefore let a comparative view be taken, 1, Of the fearful curse of God's law, upon the transgressors of it. 2. And, Of the copious blessing of the Gospel. That thereupon, we may the more clearly judge, how improbable it was there should be a translation between two so distant states, without atonement made for transgression of so high demerit.

1. As to the former, we are in general told, "Cursed is every one that continues not in all things written in the book of the law, to do them." Astonishing! that He

should curse me who made me! That my being, and a curse upon me, should proceed from the word and breath of the same sacred mouth! Of how terrible import is His curse! To be made an "anathema," separate and cut off from God, and from all the dutiful and loyal part of his creation! Driven forth from his delightful presence! In the same breath, it is said to the loathed wretch, "Depart, accursed!" To be reduced to the condition of a vagabond on the earth, not knowing whither to go! Naked of Divine protection from any violent hand, yea, marked out for the butt of the sharpest arrows of his own indignation!

How voluminous and extensive is his curse! reaching to all one's concernments in both worlds, temporal and eternal, of outward and inward man. To be cursed in one's "basket and store, in the city and field, in going out and coming in:" Especially to have all God's curses and plagues meeting and centering in one's very heart, to be "there smitten with blindness, madness, and astonishment!"

How efficacious is this curse! Not a faint, impotent wishing ill to a man; but under which he really wastes, and which certainly blasts, withers, and consumes him, and even turns his blessings into curses! How closely adhering, as a garment wherewith he is clothed, and as a girdle with which he is girt continually! How secretly and subtly insinuating, "as water into his bowels, and oil into his bones!" And how deservedly doth it befall! The curse causeless shall not come; this can never be without a cause. If another curse me, it shows he hates me; if the righteous God do so, it signifies me to be, in myself, an hateful creature, a son and heir, not of peace, but of wrath and a curse.

And the effect must be of equal permanency with its cause; so that God "is angry with the wicked every day, and rains upon them fire, and brimstone, and an horrible tempest, as the portion of their cup; indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that does evil," and continually growing into a "treasure against the day of wrath."

2. View, on the other hand, the copious abundant blessings contained and conveyed in the Gospel. It is a call to blessing, "that we may inherit a blessing;" it discovers a state begun with the blessedness of having iniquity forgiven, a course under a continued blessing of meditating on the Word of God with delight, day and night, of being undefiled in the way: Gives characters of the subjects of blessings, showered down from the mouth of CHRIST on "the poor in spirit, pure in heart, the meek, merciful:" It aims at "making them nigh that were afar off;" taking them into God's own family and household; making them friends, favourites, domestics, sons and daughters; engaging them in a fellowship with the FATHER and SON. Yet were all these the children of wrath by nature; whence is this change?

A regression became not the Majesty of heaven! God's original constitution, that connected sin and the curse, was just: He abides by it, reverses it not. To have reversed it, was not to have judged the offenders, but himself; but having a mind to show men mercy, He provides for the expiation of sin, and salving the rights of his government another way, by transferring guilt and curse, not nulling them.

V Whereupon we may also see, what made atonement for sin so fundamental to a design of grace; the magnifying the Divine law; (*Isaiuh* xlii. 21;) the asserting the equity and righteousness of the supreme government; not as some odiously suggest, the gratifying of what, with us, is wont to go for a private appetite of revenge, from which the support of the honour and dignity of the government is most remote. Yea, it were horrid to suppose, that any such thing can have place with the blessed God, which is one of the most odious things in the disposition of degenerate man, an aptness to take complacency in the pains and anguish of such as have offended us.

So black a thought of God will be most remote from every pious breast; nor doth any precept, within the whole compass of that revelation which He hath given us,

express more fully, at once, both our duty and his own nature, than that of "loving our enemies," or of "forgiving men their trespasses."

There is, perhaps, somewhere (but O how rarely!) to be found among men, that benign, generous temper, when an enemy is perfectly within one's power, to be able to take a real solace in showing mercy; when he is in a fearful, trembling expectation, and hath even yielded himself a prey to revenge, to take pleasure in surprising him by acts of kindness and compassion. Than this, there is no where to be seen a more lively resemblance of God; a truer part of his living image, who hath commanded us "to love our enemies; if they hunger to feed them, to bless them that curse us, and to pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us, that we may be his children, that we may show ourselves born of him," and to have received from him a new, even a Divine nature; one truly agreeable to, and resembling his own. And unto him the acts and operations that naturally proceed from this temper, are more grateful than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifice.

So are we to frame our conceptions of the ever-blessed God, if either we will take the idea of an absolutely perfect Being, or his own frequent affirmations, who best understands his own nature; or the course of his actual dispensations towards a sinful world, for our measure of him.

VI. That then wherewith we must suppose the blessed God to be pleased, in the matter of punishing, is the congruity of the thing itself, that the sacred rights of his government over the world be vindicated; and that it be understood, how ill his nature can comport with any thing that is impure: And what is in itself so highly congruous, cannot but be the matter of his delectation. He takes eternal pleasure in the reasonableness and fitness of his own determinations and actions, and rejoices in the works of his own hands, as agreeing with the apt, eternal schemes and models which he hath conceived in his most wise and all-comprehending Mind. So that though "he desireth not the death of sinners," and hath no delight in the sufferings

of his afflicted creatures, which his immense goodness rather inclines him to behold with compassion; yet the true ends of punishment are so much a greater good, than their ease and exemption from the suffering they had deserved, that they must rather be chosen, and cannot be eligible for any reason, but for which also they are to be delighted in; that is, a real goodness, and conducibleness to a valuable end, inherent in them.

Upon which account the just execution of the Divine pleasure, in the punishment of insolent offenders, is sometimes spoken of under the notion of a solemn festival, a season of joy, yea even of a sacrifice, as having a fragrancy or delectable savour in it.

But whereas some scriptural expressions seem to intimate a delight in satisfying a furious, vindictive appetite; we are to consider, that what is spoken for the warning and terror of stupid besotted men, was necessarily to be spoken with some accommodation to their dull apprehension of the things, which they yet see and feel not. For which purpose the person is put on, sometimes, of an enraged, mighty man; the terror of which representation is more apprehensive to vulgar minds, than the calm, deliberate proceedings of magistratical justice; it being many times more requisite, that expressions be rather suited to the person spoken to, though they somewhat less exactly square with the thing itself, intended to be spoken.

VII. Wherefore, this being all that we have any reason to understand imported in such texts of Scripture; a calm and constant will of preserving the Divine government from contempt, by a due punishment of such as offer affronts to it; and that takes pleasure in itself, or is satisfied with the fitness of its own determination; what can there be in this unworthy of God? What that disagrees with his other perfections? Or that the notion of a Being, every way perfect, doth not claim, as necessarily belonging to it? For to cut off this from it, were certainly a very great maim to the notion of such a Being; if we consider it as invested with the right and office of supreme Rector or Ruler of the

world. For if you frame such an idea of a Prince, as should exclude a disposition to punish offenders, who would not observe in it an intolerable defect?

Suppose XENOPHON to have given this character of his CYRUS, that he was a person of so sweet a nature, that he permitted every one to do what was good in his own eyes; if any one put indignities upon him, he took no offence at it; he dispensed favours alike to all; even they that despised his authority, invaded his rights, attempted the subversion of his government, with the disturbance and confusion of all that lived under it, had equal countenance and kindness from him, as they that were most observant of his laws, and faithful to his interest; and it were as safe for any one to be his sworn enemy, as his most loyal and devoted subject: Who would take this for a commendation? Or think such an one fit to have swayed a sceptre?

Can there be no such thing as goodness, without the exclusion and banishment of wisdom, righteousness, and truth? Yea, it is plain, they not only consist with it, but it is a manifest inconsistency it should be without them. The several virtues of a well-instructed mind, as they all concur to make up one entire frame, so they do each of them cast a lustre upon one another; much more is it so with the several excellencies of the Divine Being. But how much too low are our highest thoughts of the Supreme Majesty! How do we falter, when we most earnestly strive to speak and think most worthily of God, and suitably to his excellent greatness!

VIII. Upon the whole, there appears sufficient reason to conclude, not only upon the account of justice more strictly taken, but also of congruity and fitness, or according to such a larger notion of justice, as imports an inflexible propension to do what is fit and congruous to be done, it was indispensably necessary the holy God should, in order to his return to his temple among men, insist to have a recompence made for the wrong that was done him by the violation of it.

Nor let this be understood to detract from justice, taken

in a most strict sense, and most appropriate to God, as it is primarily, and in the first place conservative of his own most sacred rights; which must be, by consequence, vindictive of the violation of them: And this is the original justice, (as his are the original rights, and the fountain of all other,) and must have had place, though he had settled no express constitution of government. And also as, secondarily, it is conservative of the rights of the governed community, which, by the constitution once settled, accrue to it.

Whereupon also it may be understood, in what sense punishments (passively taken) are debts. And it is fitter to distinguish, and thereupon to explain how they are, or are not so, than at random to deny they are so at all; when our Lord hath taught us to pray, “forgive us our debts;” and when it is so plain in itself, that He, who by delinquency hath forfeited his life, is most truly said to owe it to justice.

The sum of all is, that whether we take Divine justice in the larger sense, as it comprehends all the moral excellencies that relate to the government of God over man, especially his wisdom and his holiness; or whether we take it in the stricter sense, for a principle inclining him to maintain and vindicate the rights and dignity of his government; it did direct as well his making a constitution for the punishing of affronts, and offences committed against it; as to proceed according to it, so as not to remit such injuries to the offender, without most sufficient recompence.

CHAPTER V.

I. 2. AND so much being clear, there is less need to insist copiously, in showing what comes next to be considered: That no recompence could be sufficient for expiating the wrong done, by the violation of God's temple among men, and the laying its foundations anew, besides

that which hath been made by the Son of God ; becoming himself, first, an original temple, a man inhabited with all the fulness of God ; and then a sacrifice to the offended majesty and justice of heaven, for those great and high purposes, the expiating the indignity of violating God's former temple ; and the raising, forming, and beautifying it anew, in conformity to its present pattern and original ; and then possessing, inhabiting, and restoring the Divine presence in it.

II. For as it hath been shown already, that this recompence could not but be full, and apt to answer these purposes ; so it is evident, that whatsoever should be tendered, in the name of a recompence, ought to be full, and proportionable to the wrong done, and to the favours afterwards to be shown to the transgressors.

For it were manifestly more worthy of God, not to have exacted any recompence at all, than to have accepted such as were unproportionable, and beneath the value of what was to be remitted and conferred. What had been lower, must have been infinitely lower : Let any thing be supposed less than God, and it falls immensely short of him. Such is the distance between created being and uncreated, that the former is as nothing to the latter ; and therefore bring the honour and majesty of the Deity to any thing less than an equal value, and you bring it to nothing. And this had been quite to lose the design of insisting upon a recompence ; it had been to make the majesty of heaven cheap, and depreciate the dignity of the Divine government, instead of rendering it august and great.

Therefore, the whole constitution of IMMANUEL, his undertaking, performances, and acquisitions, appear to have been not only apt, suitable, and sufficient to the intended purposes, but also requisite and necessary thereto.

III. And for the evincing hereof, let us meditate intently on those words of our LORD, "Therefore doth my FATHER love me, because I lay down my life." (*John* x. 17.) And let us consider them with that reverence, which we cannot but conceive due to words we esteem most sacred

and divine ; that is, that they could not be rashly or lightly spoken : Whereupon, let us think, Have those words a meaning ? This our awful regard to the venerable greatness of him that spoke them, cannot suffer us to doubt. And if they mean any thing, it is impossible they should not mean somewhat most profound and great ! Somewhat that implies a reference to a peculiar divine decorum, that as an eternal law perpetually conducts all the determinations of GOD's most perfect will, that could, by no means, suffer any violation. What was most becoming of GOD, namely, what might best become him, "for whom are all things, and by whom are all things," (*Heb. ii. 10.*) worthy of the great, all-comprehending, central, original Being, from whence all things sprang, and wherein all terminate. Here is some gradual retraction, (if we consider what immediately follows : "In bringing many sons to glory,") of the veiled arcana of the Divine Being. Here is, in some part, a withdrawing of that sacred veil, by him to whom by prerogative it belonged, and of whom it is said, "No man hath seen GOD at any time ; but the only begotten SON who is in the bosom of the FATHER, he hath declared him." (*John i. 18.*) Here is some disclosure of "the mystery of GOD, of the FATHER," (*Col. ii. 2.*) in whom the Divine nature was primarily, and as in that first fountain ; and "of CHRIST," the mystery of the Mediator, of whom CHRIST was the distinguishing name. The agreement, hitherto inconceivable, of the absolute purity and perfection of the Divine nature, with the admirable mercifulness of the constitution of IMMANUEL, of GOD and man united in one, in order to the reconciliation of the holy blessed GOD, with unholy, miserable man. How was it to be brought about, in a way becoming him, "for whom and by whom all things were made," so great, so august a Majesty ! that he should admit, that so despicable and rebellious a race should not only be saved, but made sons ! This could never be, though his immense love most strongly inclined him to it, but by having one of highest dignity, his own SON set as a Prince, over the whole affair of their salvation ; nor by him, but

upon his own intervening suffering! This was according to fixed rule indispensably necessary, that is, by the inviolable maxims of the Divine government.

But although through the inconceivable riches of his own goodness, this was a thing he was most propense unto; yet because the death of his own SON, in their stead, could neither be meritorious, nor just, without his own free consent; "Therefore (says our LORD) doth my FATHER love me, because I lay down my life."

What conceivable reason can there be of this connexion, "He *therefore* loves me—because I lay down my life,"—without the concurrence of these two things to be considered conjunctly?

(1.) A most vehement love to a perishing world: (2.) An inflexible regard to the eternal measures of right and wrong, that had their everlasting seat in the mind of GOD.

IV. The former made the end necessary, the preventing the total, eternal ruin of a lost world. The latter made the SON of GOD's death, and his own consent thereto, the necessary means to this end. The former, namely, the end, was not otherwise necessary, than upon supposition; it was not so absolutely necessary, that by any means, right or wrong, fit or unfit, such a ruin must be prevented: But it was so far necessary, as that if, by any right means, this ruin could be prevented to many, and a contrary blessed state of perpetual life be attained by them; this must be effected for them.

Nor is it true for all offenders, but as many as the like eternal, indispensable means and measures of fit and unfit, capable and incapable, should not exclude.

All this we have in that most admirable text, "GOD so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten SON, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (*John* iii. 16.)

"So loved!" The matter is signified in such a way, as to leave all men amazed; and by their astonishment to supply their most defective conception of so stupendous a love. The "world" is an indefinite term, that contains the

special, and the afterwards specified object of this love ; not a single person, but a whole race of intelligent creatures, a world inhabited by such, that were not to be left, and finally all swallowed up together, in one common ruin ; that upon this account he gave his only begotten SON to death, as the event and known design showed. And how inconceivable must his love be “to his only begotten SON ! The brightness of his glory ! The express image of his person ! Always his delight !” Yet rather than all this world should be lost for ever, he is thus given up, that “whosoever believe on him, should not perish !” Which expresses the certain, specified, declared object of this love. Leaving them certainly excluded, who, after sufficient proposal, refuse their homage to the throne of IMMANUEL, choose rather their forlorn souls should be for ever forsaken of the Divine presence, than unite with him, and surrender themselves to him, by whom alone they might be refitted, animated, and inhabited, as his living temples. Their exclusion is necessary, by such measures as those, by which such means were necessary to the salvation and blessedness of the others.

Who can doubt hereupon, but that this course was indispensably necessary to this end ?

Especially if we consider, that our LORD represents his laying down his life, as an inexpressible additional endearment of him to the FATHER ; as if he should say, ‘O thou SON of my delights, thou hast now set my love to lost souls at liberty, that hath been ever pregnant with great and God-like designs towards them, and that must otherwise have been under perpetual restraint.’

V. But it may be said, Could the love of GOD be under restraint ? And I say, No, it could not ; therefore, to the all-comprehending Mind, where ends and means lie connected together, under one permanent, eternal view, this course presented itself, as peculiarly accommodated to this end ; and was therefore eternally determined by easy concert, between the FATHER and the SON ; not to remedy, but prevent any such restraint.

Yet it may be further urged, Cannot the absoluteness and omnipotency of God enable him to satisfy his own propensities, if it were to save never so many thousand worlds of offending creatures, without taking such a circuit as this?

It was once said to a human mortal King, that had about him but a thin shadow of sovereignty: "Dost thou now govern Israel, and not make thy will any way take place?" Much more might it here be said: 'Dost thou govern the world? Art thou not God?' Yes! and may freely say, I can the less, "for that I am God," do what is not God-like; that is, can the less break through established eternal measures, and counter-act myself. I must do as becomes Him, "for whom, and by whom are all things."

Yet in this case, (it may be further said,) Why did not love to his SON preponderate? Which our LORD himself in great part obviates by what is subjoined,—“because I lay down my life;” how? with a power and design to take it again, as “I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again;” (*verse 18*;) as if He should say, This is a matter agreed, I am not to lie under perpetual death; that could neither be grateful to my FATHER, nor is in itself possible. But as things are stated, I am prepared “to endure the cross, and despise the shame, for the joy set before me;” which joy will be everlastingly common to him and me, and to the whole redeemed community, according to their measure.

But was all this unnecessary? What serious man's reverence of God can let him harbour so profane a thought!

Therefore take we now the entire state of this matter, ~~as~~ it lies plainly before us in these texts of Scripture.

1. Here is an inexpressible love of God to lost sinners.
2. Here is a plain intimation that this love must have been under a restraint, if God's own SON had not laid down his life for them.
3. It is as plainly signified, that the SON of God's laying down his life for them, was, in Divine estimate, a sufficient expedient to prevent this restraint upon his love to sinners.

4. That this expedient was reckoned, by the **blessed God**, more eligible, than that his love to sinners should be under everlasting restraint.

5. That it was only reckoned more eligible, as there was a conjunct consideration had of his laying it down, with a power and design of taking it again.

6. That therefore, as the eternal God had a most unquestionable love to his only-begotten SON, his love to Him hath a peculiar exercise, on the account of his concurring with Him, upon this expedient; choosing rather to endure all the dolours of that one hour, and power of darkness that was to come upon Him, than that a whole world of reasonable creatures, his own offspring, and bearing his own image, should all perish together everlastingly.

But who now sees not, that this was the determinate judgment of the great God, that his gracious designs towards guilty creatures, were not otherwise to be effected, than in this way?

And yet, for the further clearing this, taking *Heb. x. 4*, that the blood of the LORD CHRIST, and of bulls and goats, are put in direct opposition to each other; and hereupon, that it is said of the latter, "It is not possible it should take away sin:" What can that imply less, than that the former was necessary to the taking it away? Let us but appeal to ourselves; what else can it mean? Will we say, though sin could not be taken away by the blood of bulls and goats, it might by some nobler sacrifice of an intermediate value? But is not this manifestly barred by the immediateness of the opposition? These two only are in competition, and it is said, not this, but that.

I shall now somewhat enlarge upon the two things already intimated under the foregoing head of IMMANUEL'S sufficiency, as having acquired the twofold power of forgiving sin, and giving the SPIRIT: And shall now show further the necessity of his engaging in this affair, [the restoring of God's temple,] with reference to both these things, requisite thereto.

And to this purpose let it be considered, 1. What was to

be remitted; and, 2. What was to be conferred by his procurement.

1. What was to be remitted. It was not the single trespass of one or a few delinquent persons, but the revolt and rebellion of a vast community; an universal enmity, continued and propagated through many successive ages, that was now once for all, to be atoned for. It is hereupon to be considered, (1.) How great the offence was, that must be remitted. (2.) The manner in which the grant was to be made.

(1.) How great was the offence to be remitted! A whole race of creatures had been in a conspiracy against their rightful LORD, to deface his temple, tear down his image, invade his rights, incapacitate themselves for his worship, substitute, instead of that, highest contempt, banish his presence, and as much as in them lay, raze out his memorial, that He might be no more known, feared, or served upon earth! How horrid a prospect had the LORD from heaven, when from the throne of his glory, He beheld the state of things below! "The LORD looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if any did understand, and seek after God; they are all gone back, none that does good, no not one." (*Psalm* xiv. 2, 3.) All were become such wicked fools, as to say, with one consent, in their hearts,—“No God!”

(2.) And though, it is true, this wickedness was not in event to be actually remitted to all, the case was to be so stated, that remission might be universally offered; and that it be left to lie upon men's own score, if it were not accepted; and therefore, that a sacrifice must be offered up, of no less value, than if every single transgressor was to have his actual pardon.

VI. For let it be considered, what sort of transgressors are excluded the benefit of remission, on the account of that great sacrifice. And we find it not difficult to apprehend other most important reasons why they are excluded; but no colour of a reason, that it should be for want of sufficient value in this sacrifice.

1. As for the angels that fell, though their case comes

not directly under our present consideration ; yet occasionally, some thoughts may usefully be employed about it.

The Divine pleasure herein is indeed intimated, in the SON of GOD's not taking their nature, but ours ; and his known measure of showing mercy, is that he will show mercy, because he will show mercy : Yet, whereas we find that the most sovereign act of grace, the predestinating of some to the adoption of children, is ascribed to the good pleasure of his will : (*Eph. i. 5 :*) The same act is ascribed also to the counsel of his will. (*Verse 11.*) And when we see the Apostle in that holy transport, crying out, in contemplation of distinguishing mercy, " O the depth ! " (*Rom. xi. 33 :*) He doth not say of the sovereign power, but of the wisdom and knowledge of GOD ; and unsearchableness, not of his arbitrary determinations, but of his judgments and ways, or judicial proceedings towards them that believed, or believed not. (*Psalms xxx, xxxi, xxxii.*) Implying, he had reasons to himself, though past our finding out, of his different proceedings towards some and others.

And as for the angels that fell, and whom he thought fit not to spare, (*2 Pet. ii. 4, 5 ; Jude 6,*) he threw them into chains of darkness, resolving to deal with them, not upon terms of absolute sovereignty, but of justice, therefore reserving them to the judgment of the great day ; not, in the mean time, affording them a second trial, in order to their recovery, as he hath to us, even of mere mercy ; for no justice could oblige him to offer us any new terms. Yet their case and ours so differed, that there are reasons obvious to view, and which must lie open to all, in the public final judgment, why he might judge it fitter to design the objects of mercy among men, than the apostate angels. As,

1. We must suppose them created, in perfect maturity, unto which we (our first parents excepted) grow up by slow degrees. They had their intellectual ability fit for present exercise, when they first existed ; and did all then at once co-exist, (as we generally reckon, having nothing to induce us to think otherwise,) we come into being successively, and exist here but in a succession.

(2.) We have no reason therefore to apprehend that they were created, in one common head of their own order, in whom they should stand or fall, as we were; our case not admitting it to be otherwise, because we were not co-existent with him. But we must conceive them to have been, every individual of them, personal covenanters, each one, in his own person, receiving the signification of their Maker's will; and if there were reason, each one, in his person, as it were plighting his faith, and vowing his allegiance to the celestial throne.

They therefore, from a self-contracted malignity, rebelled with open eyes; and though an obligation, by a common head, were binding, theirs, by their own act and deed, must be more strongly binding; and their revolt more deeply, and more heinously criminal.

3. The posterity of our apostate first parents have but a limited time, in this state of probation, wherein to understand the present altered state of things, between them, and their offended LORD. Within which time, though he foresaw the malignity of very many would never be overcome by his goodness, in the ordinary methods wherein he reckoned it became him to discover, and exercise it towards them; yet according to the course and law of nature, he had now settled for this apostate world, their course would soon be run out, and they would not have opportunity long to continue their rebellion, and obstruct his interest and designs on earth.

And also, having all things ever present to his all-comprehending view, he foreknew that great numbers should become the captives of his grace; and that the love and blood of an IMMANUEL should not be lost, and thrown away upon them.

Whereas he beheld the apostate spirits, of that higher order, fixed in enmity, not vincible by any ordinary methods. Nor was it to be expected he should exert (in this case) his absolute power: (Had he thought fit, he could as well have prevented their revolt:) Or that he should have appointed a Redeemer for their recovery, who were irre-

coverable. Their case at first, being (probably) parallel to theirs among men, who sin that sin against the HOLY GHOST. And as things lay in divine prospect, their malicious opposition* to God's designs in this world, was not bounded with the narrow limits of a short human life; but they were beheld as continually filling this world with wickednesses and miseries, and counterworking all God's glorious and merciful designs in it; even every one of them, from his first apostasy, as long as the world shall last.

4. Man sinned at first, being seduced and deceived by the Devil, the Devils as being their own tempters; sin had in and from them its original and first rise in the creation of God.

In all agency, whether of good or evil, much is wont to be attributed to this, who was first in it. In point of good, the blessed God hath no competitor; He is the undoubted first Fountain of all good, and is therefore acknowledged the Supreme Good. In point of evil there is none prior to the Devil, who is therefore eminently called the Evil or Wicked One.

And as the devils were first in sin, so they led us unto it, by deceiving us; the malignity of it was therefore the greater on their parts, and proportionably the less on ours. The more knowing are the more deeply guilty, the deceiver, than the deceived, and deserve the more stripes. It is true, that none can deserve mercy; for then it were justice, and not mercy; but though none can deserve to have mercy shown them, they may deserve not to have it. The more a ruler is above us, and the less he needs us, the less possible it is for us to oblige him, and the more possible to disoblige and offend him, and the more heinous will the offence be; therefore, though none can claim mercy, they may forfeit it; and will, by the deeper guilt, incur such a forfeiture, by how much the clearer the light is, against which they offend.

And this we find to have been a measure with the blessed God, in the exercise of his mercy, even the highest in-

stances hereof, that we meet with in Holy Scripture: "I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly, in unbelief." (1 *Tim.* i.)

VII: This represents the occasion, and season of showing mercy more fitly, in the estimate of the Divine wisdom, which conducts the acts of sovereignty; and judges of congruities, as justice doth of right and wrong.

Where indeed, among the objects of mercy, there is an absolute parity, there (as to them) mere sovereignty determines; wisdom hath no proper exercise. But occasions are of greater latitude, and comprehend all considerable circumstances, and consequences; and many things lie open to the Divine eye, that are hid to ours.

But now, whereas we cannot doubt, that besides such considerations as occur to us, the blessed God saw superabundant ground of not making such provision for the recovery of fallen angels, as of lost men; we can have none, whereupon to imagine, the former partake not of the benefit of the latter, for want of value in the sacrifice of IMMANUEL.

For when the blood of his cross is intimated to extend to all things, both in heaven and earth, (*Col.* i. 20,) to diffuse an influence through the universe, to be the cement of the creation; and that by Him who shed it, all things are said to consist: And that besides his natural right, he hath acquired, by the superabundant value of this sacrifice, the odours whereof are spread through all worlds, an universal dominion; and particularly, to be Head of all principalities and powers, to establish the faithful and loyal, to judge and punish the disloyal, over whom he so gloriously triumphed on the cross: (*Col.* ii. 15:) "To have every knee bow to him:" (*Phil.* ii. 6, 11:) It cannot be, but the value of the same sacrifice had sufficed to obtain a power, as well as to govern and judge all, to establish and reward the good, to punish the bad, to have obtained that, upon terms, pardon, and mercy, might have reached down into the infernal regions; if they that inhabit them, could upon other

accounts, have been thought a pardonable, or tractable sort of delinquents.

And if we cannot apprehend this great sacrifice to want value, even to make atonement for Devils; we can as little think it should want value to save.

VIII. 2. The impenitent and unbelieving men under the Gospel; it must therefore be for some other reason, that such perish. As,

(1.) If there be any thing of reason in what hath been discoursed, concerning the state of the lapsed angels; their continuance in wilful impenitency, and infidelity, partly supposes, partly makes the state of things with them the same.

1. Partly supposes it so. For it implies they have been applied to, and treated with personally, upon the terms of the second covenant; that is, the covenant of God in CHRIST, as the apostate angels were upon the first. And if the guilt of the former apostates was so horribly great upon this account; the guilt of the latter must be proportionably so, on the same account.

2. Partly makes it the same. For hereby, as they were violaters first and immediately, in their own persons, of the first covenant; so are these of the second. For, generally, they that live under the Gospel, are professed covenanters, and if they were not, they ought to have been so, by the very proposal and tender thereof unto them; or, as soon as the mind of Him who made them, concerning this matter, was known.

They were not obliged by their own consent, but they were obliged to it: and by an incomparably greater, and deeper obligation; not by their own act and deed, but by his who gave them breath. What is their authority over themselves, compared with that of the supreme Lawgiver? A mere borrowed subordinate thing! without and apart from Him, without whom their being itself were mere nothing!

And the parity of cases, between the angels that fell and

insolent sinners under the Gospel, is intimated as monitory to the latter, in those texts of Scripture that speak of God's just severity to the former; namely, the sin of both was apostasy, according to the different covenants under which they stood: For as the one sort were apostates from God, so the others were from CHRIST, denying the LORD "that bought them." (*2 Pet. ii. 1.*) And again, "Turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only LORD God, and our LORD JESUS CHRIST." (*Jude 4.*) Whereupon, this example of God's vengeance, upon the angels that fell, is subjoined in both places.

Besides what was common to them with the apostate angels, there were some things peculiar to these wilful refusers of the grace of the Gospel. As,

1. That the guilt of wilful sinners, under the Gospel, admits of this aggravation above the rebelling angels, that they offend against the grace of the remedy, never offered to the other; treading under foot the SON of God, profaning the "blood of the covenant, wherewith they were sanctified, as an unholy thing, and doing despite unto the SPIRIT of Grace." (*Heb. x. 29.*) And,

2. That the offer itself, made to them, carried in it a manifest signification of their (remote) claimable right to the benefits of the Gospel-covenant, on supposition of their compliance with the terms of it, (unto which the fallen angels could have no pretence,) barred only by their non-acceptance, or refusal, which appears in the general tenor of the Gospel-covenant, itself: "Ho! every one that thirsts." "Whosoever will, let him come, and take of the waters of life freely." "God so loved the world, that he gave his only SON, that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish."

This is the case then, with the wilfully impenitent and rebellious, under the Gospel, that it might be truly said to them, 'You might have had pardon, and eternal life, if you had not rejected the kindest offers.' It is not therefore want of value in this sacrifice, but their rejection, whence it is unavailable to them.

As for them that could never have the Gospel, or infants incapable of receiving it, we must consider the Holy Scriptures were written for those that could use them, not for those that could not; therefore to have inserted into them an account of God's methods of dispensations towards such, had only served to gratify the curious and unconcerned, not to instruct, or benefit such as were concerned. And it well became, hereupon, the accurate wisdom of God, not herein to indulge the vanity and folly of man.

IX. 2. Now let it be considered, in what way was this to be done; not otherwise than by enacting and publishing an universal law, that whosoever should comply with such and such terms, (*Repentance towards God, and Faith in JESUS CHRIST,*) should be actually pardoned and saved.

And this being now the plain state of the case, let any sober mind make a judgment of it, what this matter would come to, if there had not been a compensation-made, as a foundation to this law, and the publication of it.

They that exalt one Divine perfection, to the diminution of several others, that (for instance) so plead for the absoluteness, and sovereignty of God's mercy, as not to adjust therewith the determinations of his wisdom, purity, righteousness, forget that they hereby make any satisfaction, by a Redeemer, unnecessary, (and by consequence, make CHRIST, whom they cannot deny to have suffered and died, being innocent, to have died in vain,) nor do allow, in their own thought, its just weight to this state of the case, that the method, in which God was to exercise his pardoning mercy; was by publishing an edict, for that purpose, that was to extend all the world over, and through all the successions of time. They know this is the course the wisdom of God hath pitched upon, and yet taking the course as it is, would have this large, universal tenor of the Gospel to proceed upon no foregoing compensation.

The great God requires it should be proclaimed to all the world, "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come to the waters." "Whoever believes shall not perish, but have life everlasting." "If the wicked turn from all the sins he

hath committed, he shall not die. All his transgressions shall not be mentioned." "Repent, so your iniquities shall not be your ruin." "Come to me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "Go, preach the Gospel to every creature; whosoever believes shall be saved." This is the known tenor of the Gospel, directed, without limitation, "to all the ends of the earth: Look to me, and be saved;" all sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to men." That Gospel which determines, "Whosoever believes shall be saved," is directed to be preached to all nations. He did first, by his angels from heaven, indefinitely proclaim "peace on earth, and good-will toward men." And pursuant hereto was the commission given, by our ascending LORD to his Apostles, and Ministers that should succeed to the end of the world.

X. Consider how this way, he hath chosen, would square with the ordinary measures of government, without the foundation laid which we are asserting.

That Prince would certainly be never so much magnified for his clemency, as he would be despised by all the world, for most remarkable defects of government, that should not only pardon whosoever of his subjects had offended him, upon their being sorry for it; but provide a law that should obtain in his dominions, through all after-time, that whosoever should offend against the government, with whatsoever insolency, malignity, and frequency, if they repented they should never be punished, but be taken forthwith into highest favour.

Admit that it had been congruous to the wisdom and righteousness of God, as well as his goodness, to have pardoned a particular sinner, upon repentance, without satisfaction; yet nothing could have been more apparently unbecoming him, than to settle an universal law, for all future time, to that purpose; that let as many as would, in any age, to the world's end, affront him never so highly, invade his rights, trample his authority, tear the constitution of his government, they should upon their repentance,

be forgiven, and not only not be punished, but be most highly advanced, and dignified.

XI. But now, though he hath, upon the recompence made him by his SON, for all this injury, declared he will do all this; they accepting their Redeemer and Saviour for their Ruler and LORD, and returning to their state of subjection; yet it is enough to make the world tremble, and fall astonished at his foot-stool, to have peace and reconciliation offered them, only upon such terms; and to behold GOD's own SON made a sacrifice to his justice, and a public spectacle to angels and men, for the expiation of the wrong done; and enough to make all men despair of ever finding such another sacrifice, if they should reject the terms, upon which only the meritoriousness of this can be available for them.

They can never, after this, have pretence to think it a light matter to offend GOD, or to think that he looks with indifferency upon sin.

And suppose it possible, a single delinquent might have been pardoned, without such atonement made for his offence; the design of GOD's unbounded mercy not being so narrow, but so comprehensive as to require the settling of a stated course for the reducing and saving of lost souls, in all times and ages; since a Redeemer of so high dignity was to be constituted, for this purpose: It had been an unexpressible injury to him, a detraction from the kindness of his undertaking, and the authority of his office, that any thing of mercy should be shown in this kind, but in him and by him alone.

But that it may be further understood, how requisite it was such atonement should be made, such a sacrifice offered for the sins of men, in order to GOD's settling his temple, and presence with them, we were to consider, not only what was to be remitted, but also what was to be communicated, namely, his blessed SPIRIT, in pursuance of the same gracious purpose.]

CHAPTER VI.

I. WHEREAS there could be no restauration of this temple of God, with men, (as hath been shown,) without the concurrence of these two things, Remission of Sins; Emission of the HOLY SPIRIT: Having endeavoured to evince this necessity, concerning the former of these, Remission of Sin, upon consideration of the vast amplitude, and the peculiar way, of this remission; We are now to show it concerning the latter, namely, The Emission, or Communication of the HOLY SPIRIT.

The rich sufficiency of IMMANUEL, furnished with this power of giving the SPIRIT, hath been already seen; and that in a twofold respect; namely, both in respect of the end of its communication, that the unwilling heart of man might be made willing, again to receive the Divine presence; and in respect of the way, wherein it was to be communicated, namely, in a way suitable to man's intelligent nature, by representation of the glorious object, by which his soul was to be impressed. IMMANUEL himself, represented as the original, exemplary temple, and also represented as made a sacrifice; whereby the two purposes are answered. For which it was requisite this constitution of IMMANUEL should be, and should be declared and made known to us; That the blessed God might, upon terms not injurious to himself, give his own consent; and might, in a way not unsuitable to us, gain ours. Both which he is graciously pleased to assume to himself, for his part, in his transactions with us; leaving it for our part, being so assisted, to consider what is represented to us: And thereupon actually to give our own consent.

Whereupon we are not to look upon the Gospel of the SON of GOD, as an useless, or unnecessary thing; it is the ministration of Spirit and life. (2 Cor. iii. 6.) And "the power of God to salvation, to every one that believes." (Rom. i. 16.) An apt instrument of such impressions upon the spirits of men, as are necessary to their being formed

into living temples ; not that any good work is wrought, by the inanimate Gospel ; the letter kills, but it is “ the SPIRIT that gives life.” (2 Cor. iii.)

The communication therefore of the SPIRIT, is that we are principally now to consider. And as the constitution of IMMANUEL was sufficient, in its own kind, and for its own proper purpose, in this restauration ; so we are to show the necessity of it, for this same purpose.

There ought to be a concurrence of these two, in the cause, the Restorer of this temple, namely, 1. A Fulness of Righteousness, to be so imparted as that it may be a ground upon which sin may be forgiven. And 2. A Fulness of SPIRIT, from whence vital influence may be communicated, and transfused.

Inasmuch as it is evident there cannot but be a connexion of what is correspondent thereto, in the effect, namely, the temple itself restored, it must be full of life. (1 Pet. ii. 4, 5.) For can it be thought, the righteousness of the SON of GOD, should ever be the clothing of a carcase ?

Without union with CHRIST, no man can have either his righteousness or his indwelling SPIRIT.

Nor can they be separable, with reference to the designed end. It is an unsupposable thing, that one should be God’s temple enlivened, and animated by his own SPIRIT, and yet be under remaining guilt, and liable, every moment, to his consuming wrath ; or that he could be any whit the better, to have all his former guilt taken off, and be still dead in trespasses and sins ! Wherefore this latter is of equal necessity.

Hither therefore we have reserved the larger discourse we intended, of the gift or communication of the SPIRIT.

And by way of preparation hereto, two things are not unfit to be briefly opened. 1. In what sense the SPIRIT is said to be given at all, or communicated. 2. In what respect we assert a necessity, in reference to this communication.

II. 1. It will not be inconvenient to say somewhat, of

the true import of the phrase, 'Giving the SPIRIT.' It is evident, that whereas giving imports some sort of communication, there is a sense wherein that blessed SPIRIT is, to any creature, simply incommunicable. There is a mutual in-being of the sacred persons in the Godhead which is peculiar to themselves, not communicable to creatures; and which is natural and necessary, not gratuitous, and whereto therefore the notion of gift no way agrees.

We cannot be ignorant, that because the HOLY SPIRIT is sometimes called the SPIRIT of GOD, sometimes the SPIRIT of CHRIST, some bold assuming enthusiasts, upon pretence of being possessed of this SPIRIT, have taken the liberty of uttering great swelling words of vanity.

Yet, because the expressions of giving the SPIRIT, of receiving, of having the SPIRIT, of our being in the SPIRIT, and of his being and dwelling, or abiding in us, are phrases of frequent use in Scripture: Such expressions are by no means to be rejected, or disused; but cautiously used, and understood in a sound and sober sense.

We find no difficulty in apprehending how GOD is said to give any thing distinct from himself; as houses, lands, riches; when, in the mean time, it is not so easy to conceive his giving what is of, and belonging to himself.

Some have thought, that by the SPIRIT given, we are to understand the operations and effects of the SPIRIT, extraordinary, as of prophecy, working miracles; and ordinary, the graces, acts, and influences of the SPIRIT.

Others finding it so expressly said of the SPIRIT himself, spoken of as a person, that "he shall be given, he shall abide with, and shall, or doth dwell with, or in you, (*John* xiv. 15, 16; *Rom.* viii.) have thought it beneath the sense of those places, to understand them in any thing less, than the very person of the SPIRIT.

III. 1. I conceive, that if any will make use of metaphysical terms, they should take them in the sense wherein metaphysicians use them; which they do not, who speak of a personal union between CHRIST, or the SPIRIT of CHRIST, and believers. For by personal union, is never wont to be

meant an union of one person with another ; but an union of the singular nature with this peculiar manner of subsistence, whereby is constituted one person ; that is, by personal union is meant not the subjects of union, as if it only signified, that several persons were some way united with one another : But that expression, personal union, means the result of union, whereby the mentioned two become one person. And therefore, they that speak in this proper sense of personal union of the SPIRIT and believers, do unwarily assert a nearer union between the SPIRIT and believers, than that of the sacred persons in the Godhead, with each other. For they who acknowledge them one in Godhead, do yet deny them to be one person.

Therefore that expression can, in this case, admit no tolerable sense at all.

2. That, of a personal indwelling presence, can by no means be denied. The plain import of many texts of Scripture is so full to this purpose, that to take them otherwise, is not to interpret Scripture, but deny it.

3. Yet this expression of a personal indwelling presence, taken alone, doth not signify any peculiar privilege of believers, but what is common to all men, and creatures. For can we acknowledge GOD to be omnipresent, and deny it of any person of the Godhead ? Therefore, the SPIRIT'S personal presence, alone, doth not distinguish believers from others, even though we suppose that presence to be never so intimate : GOD is all, and in all, more inward or intimate to us, than we to ourselves ; an assertion carrying its own evidence so fully in itself, as easily to be transferred from the Pagan academy, to the Christian Church, so as generally to obtain in it.

4. Therefore, such as speak of the SPIRIT'S being present, by his gracious influences, operations, and effects, suppose his personal presence, from which they can no more be severed, than the beams from the body of the sun. The way of Divine operation being also by an immediateness of both power, and person.

If any therefore should speak of the SPIRIT'S personal

presence, as secluding gracious effects wrought thereby ; they do not herein say a greater thing than the others, but much less. For though there cannot be any gracious effects, without the present person of the SPIRIT ; yet we all know, he may be personally present, where he produces no such effects. It is therefore his being so present, as to be the productive cause of such blessed effects, that is any one's peculiar advantage. It is very possible to have the personal presence of some great personage, and be nothing the better for it. It is only his communicative presence that I can be the better for, which depends upon free goodwill.

5. It is therefore only the free, gracious presence of the SPIRIT, that can be the matter of gift, and of promise. Mere personal presence, as the Divine essence itself, is every where, by necessity of nature, not by vouchsafement of grace ; and therefore, no way comports with the notion of giving, or of promise.

6. Therefore 'Giving the SPIRIT' imports, in the full sense of it, two things :

(1.) Somewhat real, when he vouchsafes to be in us, as the spring and fountain of gracious communications, influences, and effects, which are distinct from himself. For the cause is uncreated, the effect is the new creature, with whatsoever was requisite to produce, sustain, improve, and perfect it ; though so like its cause, in nature, as to bear its name. "That which is born of the SPIRIT, is Spirit." (*John* iii. 6.) And because he is said to be in Christians, who are truly such, and they in him, which are words very expressive of union ; that union is most properly vital, whereof holy life is the immediate result : "I live, yet not I, but CHRIST [that is, by his SPIRIT] liveth in me." Nor, otherwise, could such be *living temples*, animated from IMMANUEL.

(2.) Somewhat relative, the collation of a right to such a presence, for such purposes ; which hath no difficulty. We easily conceive, how the meanest persons may, by vouchsafement, have relation to, and interest in the great-

est ; so GOD gives himself, his SON, his SPIRIT, to them that covenant with him, as we also take the FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT, to be our GOD ; as the baptismal form signifies. And when we so covenant, then hath this giving its full and complete sense.

And now, having thus far seen in what sense the blessed SPIRIT of GOD may be said to be given or communicated, we come next briefly to show,

IV. 2. In what respect we are here, pursuant to the design of the present discourse, to affirm a necessity in reference to this communication.

There was a consequent, moral necessity of this communication, upon what the IMMANUEL was, did, suffered, and acquired. There was an antecedent, natural necessity of it, in order to what was to be effected and done by it. In the former respect, it was necessary in point of right, as it stood related to its meriting cause. In the latter respect, it was necessary in fact, as it stood related to its designed effect, which could only be brought about by it. In short, the communication of the SPIRIT was necessary to the restoring of this temple ; the constitution of IMMANUEL was necessary to the communication of the SPIRIT.

This former necessity hath, in great part, been evinced already, in representing the ruinous state of GOD's temple among men, when IMMANUEL undertook the reparation of it ; and in treating of his abundant rich sufficiency for this undertaking. The other will more directly come under our consideration, in what follows ; wherein, however, we must have reference to both.

For as we have shown, that the immense fulness of both righteousness and SPIRIT, treasured up in IMMANUEL, could not but be abundantly sufficient for the purpose of restoring GOD's temple ; and also, that his fulness of righteousness was in order to the remission of sin, as well necessary, as sufficient to the same purpose ; so it remains to be shown, that his fulness of SPIRIT, as it was sufficient, so is the emission of it necessary, for that part it was to have in this restoration.

And that the whole course of Divine dispensation, in restoring this temple, imports a steady comportment with this necessity, in both the mentioned kinds of it.

Therefore, IMMANUEL being the procurer of this restoration, as this may fitly be styled the temple of CHRIST ; so the SPIRIT being the immediate actor herein, it is also styled the " temple of the HOLY GHOST."

V. God's own judgment is the surest measure to direct ours, of what was necessary in this case. And so far as the ground of his judgment is, by Himself, made visible to us, we are neither to put out our own eyes, nor turn them away from beholding it.

It is always safe and modest to follow Him, by an obsequious ductile judgment of things apparent, and which He offers to our view, or appeals to us about them. To go before Him, by a preventive judgment of the secret things that belong to Him, or pretend to give reasons, or an account of his matters, where He gives none Himself ; argues rashness, arrogance, and self-confidence.

Our judgment may be truly said to follow His, when He having, in his Word, declared his choice of such a course, which He steadily pursues in his consequent dispensations, we thereupon conclude that course to be most fit ; and that what He judged most fit, was to Him necessary.

Therefore may we, with just confidence, undertake to show, That his declared, chosen, constant course of giving the SPIRIT, for restoring his temple with men, is to do it in CHRIST, or IMMANUEL, the constituted Mediator between God and man. And that it was apparently reasonable, and becoming of Himself so to do. Whereby the necessity will appear, both of his giving the SPIRIT, for the restoring of his temple ; and of his settling the constitution of IMMANUEL, or such a Mediator, in order to the giving his SPIRIT.

We now proceed to show, 1. That the HOLY SPIRIT is not otherwise given, than in, or by IMMANUEL. 2. How necessary, or (which comes to the same) how highly reasonable it was, that so mighty a gift, and of this peculiar

nature, should not be vouchsafed unto men, upon other terms, or in any other way than this.

VI. 1. For the former of these, that the **SPiRiT** of **GoD** is actually given, upon this account only, his own **Word** sufficiently assures us; and who can so truly inform us, upon what considerations He doth this or that, as He himself? Let us then, with unbiassed minds, consider the import of what we find spoken in the Holy Scripture, about this matter; which I conceive may be truly summed up thus, namely:

(1.) That the **HOLY SPiRiT** is given, to this purpose of restoring the temple of **GoD** with men, with the worship and fruitions thereof, under a two-fold notion, as a builder, and an inhabitant.

(2.) That it is given for both these purposes, for **CHRIST**'s sake, and in consideration of his death and sufferings; though they have not influence to the obtaining of this gift, for both these purposes, in the same way, but with some difference, to be afterwards explained.

(3.) That it was not the immediate effect of his suffering, that this blessed Spirit should be forthwith given to this or that particular person; but that all the fulness of it be given into **CHRIST**'s power, and the right of dispensing it annexed to his office, as He is the Redeemer of sinners, and Mediator between **GoD** and them, for the accomplishing the end of his office, the ceasing of controversies, enmities, and disaffections on our part, **GoD**-ward.

(4.) That hereupon its actual communication, for both the mentioned purposes, is immediately from **CHRIST**, or by and through Him.

(5.) That it is given by **CHRIST**, under the former notion, or for the former purpose of re-building **GoD**'s temple, as a Sovereign, or an absolute plenipotentiary in the affairs of lost souls, so as not to be claimable upon any foregoing right.

(6.) That He gives it under the latter notion, and in order to a continued abode, as the steward of the household of **GoD**; proceeding herein by fixed rule, published in the

Gospel, according whereto the subjects of this following communication, being qualified for it, by the former, may with certainty expect it, upon the prescribed terms, and claim it as a right: He having, by the merit of his blood, obtained that they might do so.

CHAPTER VII.

I. Now let us see, as to each of these, whether this be not the plain doctrine of the Scriptures.

I. For the first, it hath been sufficiently shown, and the common experience of all the world shows, that till this blessed SPIRIT be given, the temple of God is every where all in ruin; that therefore He cannot dwell, till he build, and that He builds that He may dwell, are things hereupon plain in themselves, and are plainly enough spoken in Scripture.

When the Apostle had told the Christians of Corinth, "Ye are God's building," he shortly adds, "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the SPIRIT of God dwelleth in you?" (1 *Cor.* iii. 9.) This temple, being a living thing, (1 *Pet.* ii. 7,) the very building and formation of it is, in the more peculiar sense, generating; and because it is to be again raised out of a former ruinous state, wherein it lay dead and buried in its own ruins, this new production is regeneration; and do we need to be put in mind whose work that is? That "it is the SPIRIT that quickeneth?" (*John* vi.) Or of what is so industriously inculcated by our LORD, (*Chap.* iii. 3, 5, 6,) and testified under the seal of his four-fold Amen, that this new birth must be by the SPIRIT?

And we have both notions again conjoined; (*Eph.* ii. :) for having been told, that "both [Jews and Gentiles] have by one SPIRIT access to the FATHER," (*Verse* 18,) so as to be no longer strangers, and at a distance, but "made nigh to God;" (*Verse* 19 compared with *Verse* 13;) it is said,

“ We are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, JESUS CHRIST himself being the chief Corner-Stone ;” (*Verse 20* ;) and again added, “ In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth [as a living thing] unto an holy temple in the LORD.” (*Verse 21.*) After all which, the end and use of this building is more expressly subjoined, “ In whom also ye are builded together, an habitation of GOD, through the SPIRIT.” (*Verse 22.*)

It is therefore sufficiently evident, that the SPIRIT is given for these several purposes, both as a builder and a dweller.

II. 2. That it is given for CHRIST’S sake, whether for the one purpose or the other, is as expressly signified as any thing in the whole Gospel ; for what means it, that it is said to be given “ in his name ?” (*John* xiv. 26, and xv. 26.) That the work it does, being given, is said to be done in his name ? “ Ye are sanctified in the name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and by the SPIRIT of our GOD.” (*1 Cor.* vi. 11.)

Yea, and that it is given in consideration of his sufferings and death, is not less plainly spoken ; for not only are the immediate and most peculiar operations of this SPIRIT ascribed to his death, “ He himself bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, might live to righteousness ;” (*1 Pet.* ii. 24 ;) but the imparting of the SPIRIT itself, is represented as the design and end of those sufferings : “ He was made a curse for us ; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree ; that the blessing of ABRAHAM might come on the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the SPIRIT.” (*Gal.* iii. 14.)

III. It was the same way, and on the same terms, upon the largeness and certainty of the Divine prospect, touching CHRIST’S future sufferings, that this was the blessing of ABRAHAM, and his posterity, long before he suffered : That GOD “ gave them,” of old, “ his SPIRIT to instruct them ;” (*Neh.* ix. 20 ;) which is not obscurely implied, when, looking back upon the days of old, they are said to have “ rebelled, and vexed his SPIRIT.” (*Isaiah* lxiii. 9, 10.)

And when STEPHEN tells them, "Ye do always resist the HOLY GHOST; as your fathers did, so do ye;" (*Acts* vii. 51;) it is implied, that even from age to age, that blessed SPIRIT was striving with them; for there could be no resistance, where there was no striving. And that, in those former ages, that HOLY SPIRIT was active among them, upon CHRIST's account, and by the procurement of his future sacrifice, is also sufficiently intimated, in that when it is said, that under MOSES, they did eat and drink spiritual meat and drink, they are said to have "drank of the Rock that followed them;" and it is added, "that Rock was CHRIST." And by what provocations could they be supposed more to "resist and vex the HOLY SPIRIT," than by those wherewith, "in the day of provocation and temptation," they are said to have "lusted in the wilderness," and "tempted GOD in the desert;" (*Psalms* cvi. 14; lxxviii. xcv.; *Heb.* iii.) by which they are expressly said to have tempted CHRIST. (*1 Cor.* x. 9.)

IV. But when the fulness of time, and the season for the actual immolation of that sacrifice, was now come, that the immense fulness of its value might be duly demonstrated, the great prophetic oracle, given to ABRAHAM, must take effect: "In thy seed [namely CHRIST] shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." (*Gal.* iii. 16.) Now must "the blessing of ABRAHAM come upon the Gentiles;" nor could any time have been more fitly chosen, that the copiousness, and vast diffusion of the effect might demonstrate and magnify the power and fulness of the cause.

The drawing of all men was that which must dignify the Cross, and incite all eyes to behold and adore "the Son of man lifted up," (*John* xii. 32,) and in the midst of death, even with his dying breath, sending forth so copious a diffusion of SPIRIT and life!

And now had it only been said, loosely and at large, that this was brought about by his dying; that might admit a great latitude; but when the effect is expressly ascribed to his dying so, as the cause, that is, to his being lifted up, to his being made a curse in dying, by hanging on a tree,

and a curse for us, to redeem us thereby from the legal curse which lay upon us before, the curse of the law, the doom which the violated law laid upon us, of having (as is apparently meant) the SPIRIT with-held from us, that thereupon the great and rich blessing might come upon us, of having that HOLY SPIRIT freely, and without further restraint, communicated to us; this puts the matter out of all dispute, that it was in consideration of his dying, that GOD now gives his SPIRIT, and leaves no place for contending against it.

It is then the plain doctrine of the Scriptures, that the SPIRIT is given for the restoring of GOD's temple with men, for the sake of CHRIST's death and sufferings, who was IMMANUEL; and, in his own person, the original temple, out of which each single temple was to arise; as well as he was the exemplary temple, unto which they were all to be conformed.

V But whereas his sufferings and death have their influence differently, to the SPIRIT's building of any such particular secondary temple, and to his replenishing and inhabiting it; that difference we shall find is not difficult to be represented, according to the tenor of the Scriptures also: In order whereto, it will be of use to add,

That, as the immediate effect of his sufferings and death, the SPIRIT, in all the fulness thereof, is first given into his power, and the right of communicating it annexed to his office, as he is the IMMANUEL, the Redeemer of sinners, and Mediator between GOD and them; that it might implant what was necessary, root out what should be finally repugnant, either to their duty towards him, or their felicity in him.

That this was the end of his office, the very notion of a Mediator between GOD and men doth plainly intimate. "FOR JESUS CHRIST himself suffered once, the just for the unjust, to bring us to GOD." (1 *Pet.* iii. 18.) Which must signify not only that he was to render GOD accessible, expiating by his blood our guilt; but also to make us willing to come to him, vanquishing, by his SPIRIT, our enmity:

Without both we could not be brought to God, which was, we see, the end of his suffering.

VI. It was upon the account of the blood of our Redeemer, shed on the cross, that the FATHER "was pleased all fulness should dwell in him," as an original temple, to serve the purposes of that great reconciling work, undertaken by him; the raising up of multitudes of temples all sprung from this one, in this world of ours, "that God might dwell with men on earth!" (2 Chron. vi. 18) And that ascending (in order whereto he was first, dying, to descend) "that he might fill all things, give gifts," that of his SPIRIT especially; and that to such as were "enemies in their minds by wicked works, even the rebellious also, that the LORD God might have his temple, and dwell with them." (Psalm lxxviii. 18.)

And whereas that work must comprehend the working out of enmity from the hearts of men, against God, (and not only the propitiating of God to them, which the word *ειρηνοποιησας* seems principally to intend,) and that a great communication of influence, from the Divine SPIRIT, was necessary for the overcoming that enmity; therefore this fulness must include (among other things, being *παν πληρωμα*, "all fulness") an immense treasure, and abundance of SPIRIT, which is elsewhere said to be given him, not by measure; (John iii. 34;) and his sufferings did obtain the plenitude of SPIRIT to be first seated in him, as the receptacle and fountain whence it must be derived; and the power and right of dispensing it belonged to his office, as he was the great Reconciler and Mediator between God and man.

VII. Hereupon the SPIRIT is actually and immediately given by CHRIST, or by the authority of that office which he bears; than which nothing can be plainer, in that he is called the "SPIRIT of CHRIST." (Rom. viii. 9.) And when our LORD himself uses the expressions about this matter, as equivalent; either "I will send him;" (John xvi. 7;) or, "I will send him from my FATHER;" (John xv. 26;) or,

“My FATHER will send him in my name.” (*John* xiv. 26.) What can it signify less, than that, as the FATHER was the first fountain of this communication, so the established way and method of it was in and by CHRIST, from which there was to be no departure? As is also signified in that of the Apostle, “Blessed be the GOD and FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places (or things) in CHRIST.” (*Eph.* i. 3.)

Did we allow ourselves to retire more frequently out of this world of shadows, and ascend into those glorious regions, there to contemplate the bright orders of holy, loyal spirits, all employed in the services of the celestial throne; and to behold JESUS, the head of all principalities and powers, the Restorer of what was sunk and decayed, and the upholder of the whole sliding universe, even of the noblest parts of it, that were liable to the same lapse and decay, by whom all things consist: We should not think it strange that such deference and honour should belong to his office; that it should be rendered every way so august, that he should be so gloriously enthroned at the right hand of the Majesty on high; and that, when his administrations are manageable with so much ease and pleasure, to one of so immense wisdom, power, and goodness, all acts of grace and favour should, more especially, pass through his hands.

And when that kind of office was so freely undertaken, by the SON, in the susception and management whereof, when he made his first descent into this world of ours, and was to appear as incarnate GOD on earth, a proclamation was published in heaven, “Now let all the angels of GOD worship him;” and in his execution whereof they had, from time to time afterwards, spontaneously stooped down to behold, with pleased wonder, his surprisingly strange and prosperous performances: Who can think it unsuitable to the dignity and authority of so highly magnified an office, unto which all the power of heaven and earth was annexed, that

should by consent belong to it, to employ the whole agency of the HOLY GHOST, in pursuance of its high and great ends?

But now he having, by his blood, obtained that this immense plenitude of Spirit should reside in him, not for himself personally considered, (for so he had it by natural, eternal necessity,) but as he was invested with such an office, and in order to its being, by the power of that office, communicated to others; it is easy to be conceived, and may be collected from the Holy Scripture, in what different methods it was to be communicated, for the different ends of that communication, namely, the rebuilding of God's temple on earth, and the constant inhabiting and replenishing it afterwards.



CHAPTER VIII.

1. For the inhabiting this temple, when by regeneration it is built and prepared, the Redeemer gives the SPIRIT according to the tenor of a certain rule, declared and published to the world, and whereby a right thereto accrues unto the regenerate. The unregenerate, especially such as by frequent resistances have often forfeited all gracious communications of that blessed SPIRIT, have nothing to assure them he will ever regenerate them. But, being now regenerate, and thereby formed into living temples, they may, upon known and certain terms, expect him to inhabit them as such, and to be stately their IMMANUEL; and that as GOD, "even their own GOD," (*Psalms* lxxvii,) he will bless them, and abide with them, and in them, for that gracious purpose.

He now puts on a distinct capacity, and treats these his regenerate ones under a different notion, from that under which he acted towards other men, or themselves before. Not as an absolute Sovereign; but a Trustee, managing a trust committed to him by the eternal FATHER; as the great

Steward of his family, the prime Minister and Curator of all the affairs of his house and temple, "which they are," (1 *Cor.* iii. 17,) all and every one. For as vast as this temple is, where it is made up of all, and as manifold as it is, when every one is to him a single temple; neither is above the comprehension, nor beneath the condescension, of his large and humble mind. Neither larger diffusion, nor more particular distribution, signifying him to be greater, or less, in all, in every one.

He so takes care of all, as of every one, and of every one, as if he were the only one under his care. He is "the first-born among many brethren;" and as that imports dignity, so it doth employment, it being his part to provide for the good state of the family, which is all named from him, both that part in heaven, and that on earth. (*Eph.* iii. 15.) Yea, and he may in a true sense be stiled the FATHER of the family; though to the first in Godhead he is SON, to us he is stiled "the everlasting FATHER." (*Isa.* ix. 6.) Therefore he is under obligation hereto, by his FATHER's appointment, and his own undertaking.

And that which he hath obliged himself to, is to give the HOLY SPIRIT, or take continual care that it be communicated from time to time, as particular exigencies shall require. It was a thing full of wonder, that ever he should be so far concerned in our affairs! But being concerned, so deeply as we know he hath been, to be incarnate for us, to be made a sacrifice to God for us, that he might have it in his power to give the SPIRIT, having "become a curse for us," that he might be capable of conferring upon us this blessing; it is now no wonder he should oblige himself to a constant care, that his own great and kind design should now not miscarry. After he had engaged himself so deeply in this design for his redeemed, could he decline further obligation?

And his obligation entitles them to this mighty gift of his own SPIRIT; concerning which we shall show, 1. That, upon their regeneration, they have a pleadable right to this high privilege, the continued communication of the SPIRIT.

2. And of how large extent this privilege is, and how great things are contained in it.

I scruple not to call it a gift, and yet at the same time to assert their right to it, to whom it is given; not doubting but every one will see a right, accruing by free-promise (as this doth) detracts nothing from the freeness of the gift. When the promise only, with what we shall see is directly consequent, creates this right, it is inconceivable that this creature, by resulting naturally, should injure its own parent, or productive cause; we shall therefore say somewhat briefly,

II. 1. Of the dueness of this continued indwelling presence of the blessed SPIRIT, to the regenerate. And,

(1.) It is due (as hath been intimated) by promise. It is expressly said to be "the promise of the SPIRIT." (*Gal.* iii. 14.) But to whom? To the regenerate, to them who are "born after the SPIRIT," as may be seen at large, *chap.* iv. These (as it after follows) are the children and heirs of the promise, which must principally mean this promise, as it is eminently called, *Acts* ii. 38: "Repent, [which connotes regeneration,] and ye shall receive the HOLY GHOST; for the promise is to you, and to as many as the LORD shall call;" which calling, when effectual, includes regeneration. When this blessed SPIRIT is called "the SPIRIT of promise," (*Eph.* i. 13,) what can that mean but the promised SPIRIT?

(2.) Their right is the more evident, and what is promised the more apparently due, in that the promise hath received the form of a covenant, whereby the covenanters have a more strongly pleadable right and claim.

It is true, that we must distinguish of the covenant, as proposed and entered.

The proposal of it is in very general terms: "Ho! every one that thirsts." (*Isa.* lv. 1.) "Incline your ear,—and I will make an everlasting covenant with you." (*Versè 3.*) And so it gives a remote, future right to such as shall enter into it; but only they have a present actual right to what it contains, that have entered into it. And their plea

is strong, having this to say : ‘ I have not only an indefinite, or less determinate promise to rely upon, but a promise upon terms expressed, which I have agreed to, and there is now a mutual stipulation between GOD and me ; he offered himself, and demanded me ; I have accepted him, and given myself. And hereupon I humbly claim all further needful communications of his SPIRIT, as the principal promised blessing of this covenant.’ Such an one may therefore say, as the Psalmist hath taught him : “ Remember thy word to thy servant, in which thou causest me to hope.” (*Psalm cxxix.* 49.) I had never looked for such quickening influences, if thou hadst not caused me, and been the Author to me of such an expectation. Now as thou hast quickened me by thy word, “ I will put my SPIRIT within you,” (*Ezek. xxxvi.* 27,) is a principal article of this covenant. And this expression of *putting the SPIRIT within*, must signify, not a light touch upon the soul of a man, but to settle it as in the innermost centre of the soul, in order to a fixed abode.

And how sacred is the bond of this covenant ! It is founded in the blood of the Mediator of it : “ This is,” as he himself speaks, “ the New Testament [or covenant] in my blood.” (*Luke xxii.* 20.) Therefore is this, in a varied phrase, said to be “ the blood of the covenant ;” and therefore is this covenant said to be “ everlasting,” (*Heb. xiii.* 20,) referring to a known maxim among the Hebrews : Pacts, confirmed by blood, can never be abolished. “ The GOD of peace,—by the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work :” Which must imply a continual communication of the SPIRIT, for it is also added ; “ to do always what is well pleasing in his sight ;” which who can do without such continued aids ?

Regeneration is building of this temple, covenanting, on our part, contains the dedication of it ; and what then can follow but constant possession and use ?

(3.) The regenerate, as such, are sons, both by receiving a new nature, even a Divine, (*2 Pet. i.* 4.) in their regeneration ; and a new title, in (what is always conjunct) their

adoption. Now, hereupon the continual supplies of the SPIRIT, in this house (or temple) of his, are the children's bread. (*Luke xi. 13.*) "Because they are sons, therefore GOD sends the SPIRIT of his SON into their hearts." (*Gal. iv. 6.*) And he is styled "the SPIRIT of adoption." (*Rom. viii. 14, 15.*) Therefore they have a right to the provisions of their FATHER's house.

(4.) The SPIRIT is given unto these children of GOD, upon their faith. They receive "the promise of the SPIRIT by faith." (*Gal. iii. 14.*) As by faith they are GOD's children, "receiving the SON," (*verse 26,*) who was eminently so, and to whom the Sonship did primarily or originally belong; and "believing in his name," they thereupon have "power [or right] to become the sons of GOD." (*John i. 12.*) Being herein also regenerate, "born not of flesh and blood, but of GOD."

And thus, by faith receiving Him, by faith they retain Him, or have Him abiding in them. They first receive Him upon the Gospel offer, which, as was said, gave them a remote right; and now retain Him, as having an actual right. "He dwells in the heart by faith." (*Eph. iii. 17.*) But what He doth, in this respect, his SPIRIT doth; so He explains Himself, when, in those valedictory chapters of ST. JOHN's Gospel, xiv, xv, xvi, He promises his disconsolate disciples, He would "come to them," He would "see them," He would "manifest Himself to them," He would "abide with them," within "a little while they should see Him," &c., intimates to them, that He principally meant all this of a presence to be vouchsafed them "by his SPIRIT." (*Chap. xiv. 16, 17, 18, 19.*) And He concerns the FATHER also with Himself, in the same sort of commerce: "At that day ye shall know that I am in my FATHER, and you in me, and I in you." (*Verse 20;* as also *verses 21 and 23.*)

Thus, in another place, we find the SPIRIT promiscuously spoken of, as the SPIRIT of GOD, and the SPIRIT of CHRIST; and the inbeing and indwelling of CHRIST, and of the SPIRIT, used as expressions signifying the same

thing, when also the operation of GOD is spoken of by the same indwelling SPIRIT. (*Rom.* viii. 9, 10, 11.)

Much more might be alleged, from many texts of the Old and New Testament, to evince the right which believers have to the abiding indwelling presence of his SPIRIT, as the inhabitant of that temple, which they are now become.

III. But that matter being plain, we shall proceed to show,

2. The ample extent and comprehensiveness of this privilege. Which I shall the rather enlarge upon, that from thence we may have the clearer ground upon which, afterwards, to argue. How highly reasonable and congruous was it, that so great a thing, and of so manifest importance to GOD's having a temple, and residence among men, should not be otherwise communicated than in and by IMMANUEL, the Founder and Restorer of this temple?

And we cannot have a truer or surer measure of the amplitude and extensiveness of this gift, than the extent and comprehensiveness of the covenant itself, to which it belongs.

To which purpose let it be considered, that this covenant of GOD in CHRIST, of which we are now speaking, may be looked upon two ways: (1.) We may view it abstractedly, taking the frame and model of it, as it were to be gathered out of the Holy Scriptures. Or, (2.) We may look upon it as it is now transacted and entered into by the blessed GOD, and this or that pre-disposed soul. Now here,

(1.) Take it in the former way, and you find this article, concerning the gift or communication of the HOLY GHOST, standing there as one great grant, contained in the Gospel covenant. And it is obvious to observe, as it is placed there, what aspect it hath upon both the parts of the covenant: "I will be your GOD,—you shall be my people." Which will be seen, if,

(2.) You consider this covenant was as actually entered into, or as the covenanting parties are treating, the one to draw, the other to enter this covenant. And so we shall

see that our consent, both that "GOD shall be our GOD," and that "we will be his people," with all previous inclinations thereto, and what immediately results from our covenanting, all depend upon this communication of the SPIRIT; and that otherwise, neither can He do the part of a GOD to us, nor we the part that belongs to his people towards Him.

By all which we shall see the vast extent of the gift. It is the Mediator's part to bring the covenanting parties together; He is therefore said to be "the Mediator of the New Covenant." (*Heb.* xii. 24.) He rendered it possible, by the merit of his blood, that the offended Majesty of heaven might, without injury to Himself, consent; and that the SPIRIT might be given to procure our consent, which as Mediator or IMMANUEL, He gives. When He gives it in so copious an effusion, as to be victorious, to conquer our aversion, and make us cease to be rebellious, then He enters to dwell. (*Psalms* lxxviii. 18.) Till then there is no actual covenanting, no plenary consent, on our part, to what is proposed in the covenant, in either respect; we neither agree that GOD shall be our GOD, nor that we will be his people. This speaks this gift a great thing, and of vast extent, looking for the present upon the two parts of the covenant, summarily; and afterwards considering what each part more particularly contains in it. But if in practice, it be so far done, as is requisite to a determination of will, (which may yet afterwards admit of higher degrees,) how great a thing is now done! Their state is distinguished from theirs who are strangers to the covenant, who are without CHRIST, and without GOD in the world. From hence results, 1. An express reconciliation between GOD and thee, for this is a league of friendship, enmity ceasing. 2. A fixed special relation. "I entered into covenant with thee, saith the LORD GOD, and thou becamest mine." (*Ezek.* xvi. 8.) How great and high a privilege! All the Divine Being related to me a worm!

IV. And that all this may be the plainer, let us but consider, more distinctly, what the great summary of GOD's

part of this covenant contains ; what is the principal promise of it ; the dependence of our part thereon ; upon what terms that, which is distinct, is promised ; how far what is distinctly promised, is coincident with this gift, of the indwelling SPIRIT, both in respect of this, and the future state.

1. The known summary of this covenant, on God's part, is, "I will be their God."

Now what can be meant principally, by his being their God, but giving them his indwelling SPIRIT ? Wherein, without it, can he do the part of a GOD to them ? By it he both governs, and satisfies them, is both their supreme and sovereign LORD, in the one regard ; and their supreme and sovereign Good in the other. Doth being their God intend no more than an empty title ? What would be their great advantage, in having only a nominal God ? Yea, and He is pleased himself to expound it, of his continued gracious presence. "I will dwell in them, and walk in them," and "I will be their God." (2 Cor. vi. 16.) Alluding to his continuing his tabernacle among them, as is promised, "I will set my tabernacle among you, and my soul shall not abhor you, and I will walk among you, and I will be your God." (Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.) And what did that tabernacle signify but this *living temple*, as a certain type and shadow of it ? Agreeably whereto his covenant is expressed, with evident reference to the time of the MESSIAH'S kingdom, plainly meant by DAVID'S being their King and Prince for ever. "DAVID my servant shall be King over them, [spoken many an age after he was dead and gone,] and their Prince for ever. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them, it shall be an everlasting covenant with them ; and I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them, yea, I will be their God." (Ezek. xxxvii. 24—27.) That yea, is observable. "My sanctuary and tabernacle shall be with them ;" that is, "I will dwell in them," as it is expounded before, 2 Cor. vi. 16 ; and could it be meant of an uninhabited desolate sanctuary, or tabernacle, that should be with them

for evermore?) And why is this his constant inhabiting presence to be with them? The emphatical yea, with what follows, informs us: "Yea, I will be their God." As if he had said, I have undertaken to be their God, which I cannot make good unto them, if I afford them not my indwelling presence. To be to them a distant God, a God afar off, can neither answer my covenant, nor the exigency of their case. They will but have a God and no God, if they have not with them, and in them, a divine, vital, inspiring, inactuating presence, to govern, quicken, support, and satisfy them, and fill them with an all-sufficient fulness: They would soon otherwise be the temple of idol gods.

It is therefore evident that this summary of God's part of his covenant, "I will be their God," principally intends his dwelling in them by his SPIRIT.

V. And the restipulation, on their part, to be his people, (which is generally added in all the places, wherein the other part is expressed,) signifies their faith, by which they take hold of his covenant, accept him to be their God, dedicate themselves to be his people, his peculiar, his mansion, his temple, wherein He may dwell. Now this self-resigning faith, taken in its just latitude, carries with it a two-fold reference to Him, as their sovereign LORD, as their sovereign Good; whom, above all other, they are to obey, and enjoy. But can they obey him, if he do not put his SPIRIT into them, to write his law in their hearts, and cause them to walk in his statutes? (*Ezek. xxxvi. 27; Jer. li. 35.*) Or can they enjoy him, if they love him not as their best Good? which love is the known fruit of his SPIRIT. Whereupon, after such self-resignation and dedication, what remains, but that "the house of the LORD be filled with the glory of the LORD;" as, *2 Chron. vii. 2.*

2. Let us consider, what is the more peculiar kind of this covenant, in the Christian, contra-distinct to the Mosaical, administration of it. It is evident, in the general, that the promises of the Gospel covenant are, in their nature and kind (compared with those that belonged to the Mosaical dispensation) more spiritual; therefore called

“better promises.” (*Heb.* viii. 6.) They are not promises of secular felicity, of external prosperity, peace, and plenty; as those other expressly were. It is true indeed, that the covenant with ISRAEL, with ABRAHAM, ISAAC and JACOB, and their seed; was not exclusive of spiritual good things. But, in the mean time, the SPIRIT was given less generally, and in much lower measure; wherefore, in that purposed comparison, *2 Cor.* iii, between the *legal* and the *evangelical dispensation*, though a *certain glory* did attend the former, yet *that glory* is said to be *no glory*, in respect of the so much excelling glory of *this latter*. (*Verse 10.*) And *the thing* wherein it so *highly excelled*, was the *much more copious effusion* of the SPIRIT. That whereas, under the former dispensation, MOSES was read for many ages, with little efficacy, a veil being upon the people’s hearts, signified by the mystical veil wherewith, when he conversed with them, he was wont to cover his face: (that comparative inefficacy proceeding from hence, that little of the light, life, and power of the SPIRIT accompanied that dispensation.) Now, under the Gospel dispensation, the glory of the LORD was to be beheld as in a glass, with unveiled face, so as that, beholding it, we might be changed into the same likeness, from glory to glory, by the SPIRIT of the LORD. How great was the magnificence of SOLOMON’S temple, yet how much more glorious is that which is built of living stones! And as the whole frame of that former economy was always less spiritual, a lower measure of the SPIRIT always accompanying it; so when it stood as cor rival to the Christian dispensation, being hereupon quite deserted by the SPIRIT, it is spoken of as weak, worldly, carnal, and beggarly. (*Gal.* iv. 9; *Col.* ii. 20; *Heb.* ix. 2, 10.)

VI. 3. It will further tend to evidence, that the SPIRIT is given as a settled inhabitant, upon the known terms of this covenant; if we consider upon what terms it is promised, what is distinctly promised, what is distinctly, but however, conjunctly promised therewith; namely, all the relative graces of justification, pardon of sin, and adop-

tion. These are promised, as is apparent, in the same covenant, and upon faith, which is our taking hold of, and entering into the covenant, our accepting God in CHRIST to be our God, and giving up ourselves to be his people; and is (according to that latitude, wherein faith is commonly taken) inclusive of repentance. For a sinner, one before in a state of apostasy from God, cannot take Him to be his God, but, in so doing, must exercise repentance towards God. His very act of taking Him, in CHRIST, is turning to Him through CHRIST, from the sin by which he had departed and apostatized from Him before. Therefore must the indwelling SPIRIT be given, upon the same certain and known terms, as is also expressed in *Gal. iii. 14*; *Ephes. i. 13*, &c; *Acts ii. 38, 39*.

4. Now faith and repentance being first given, in forming God's temple, consider how coincident the gift of the SPIRIT, as an inhabitant, is with remission of sin; or with whatsoever relative grace, as such, is distinct from that which is inherent, subjected in the soul itself, and really transmutative of its subject. But we are to consider withal, how manifestly the latter of these is involved in the former. Giving the SPIRIT (the root and original of subjective grace) implies two things: 1. Conferring a right to it. 2. Actual Communication. The former belongs to relative grace, the latter to real; (as they commonly distinguish;) but the former is in order to the latter, and the latter most certainly follows upon the former. Both are signified by one name of giving, and do both, in a sort, make one entire legal act, (though they are distinct physical ones,) which the former (usually) begins, and the latter consummates. Divers things are not herein given, but only a title to, and the possession of the same thing; nor by divers donations, but by the concurrence of such things as are requisite to make up one and the same.

VII. And let it now be considered, what there is promised in the Gospel covenant, besides what may be comprehended in the gift of the SPIRIT.

We will first set aside what is manifestly not promised in

it besides, and then more closely inquire about what may seem distinctly promised ; and see in how great part, that residue will be reducible hither.

1. As to what is manifestly not promised besides, it is plain there is not promised in it a part and portion in a particular land or country on earth, as there was in the old covenant to ABRAHAM, ISAAC, and JACOB, and their seed ; which land was, we know, called the land of promise, and unto which the body of that people had so certain a title, upon the condition of their continued obedience, that they were sure never to be removed out of it.

Nor again doth it promise, indefinitely, temporal blessings of any kind with certainty, upon any condition whatsoever, even of the highest faith, the most fervent love to God, or the most accurate obedience, and irreprehensible sanctity, attainable on earth ; as if the best and holiest men should therefore be any whit the more assured of constant health, ease, opulency, or peace, in this world. We know the ordinary course of Providence (which cannot justly be understood to be a misinterpreter of God's covenant) runs much otherwise, and that such things as concern the good estate of our spirits and inward man are the only things we can, upon any terms, be sure of, by this covenant ; the tenor of it not warranting us to look upon external good things as otherwise promised, than so far as they may be subservient to these, and to our better serving the interest and honour of God, and the Redeemer.

VIII. But it may be said of those good things, that are of an higher kind, that respect our souls, there seemed to be some vastly different from this of giving the SPIRIT. Therefore,

2. We are next to inquire what they are, and how far they may be found to fall into this.

Remission of sin is most obvious, and comes first in view, upon this account. And let us bethink ourselves, what it is. We will take it for granted, that it is not a mere will or purpose to pardon, on the one hand ; nor mere not punishing on the other.

If one should be never so long only forborne, and not punished, he may yet be punishable, and will be always so, if he be yet guilty; it is therefore such an act as doth, in law, take away guilt, or dissolve the obligation to suffer punishment.

It is therefore to be considered, what punishment a sinner was, by the violated law of works, liable to in this world, or in the world to come; and then what of this is, by virtue of the Redeemer's sacrifice, remitted. He was liable to whatsoever miseries in this life God should please to inflict, to temporal death, and to a state of misery hereafter, all comprehended in this threatening, "Thou shalt die the death;" if we will take following Scriptures and Providences for a commentary upon it.

Now the miseries to which the sinner was liable, in this world, were either external, or internal. Those of the former sort, the best men still remain liable to. Those of the inner man were certainly the greater, both in themselves, and in their consequence; especially such as stand in the ill dispositions of men's minds and spirits God-ward, unapprehensiveness of him, alienation from Him, willingness to be without him in the world. For that the spirits of men should be thus disaffected, and in this averse posture towards God, in whom only it could be possible for them to be happy: How could it but be most pernicious to them, and virtually comprehensive of the worst miseries? And whence came these evils to fall into the reasonable intelligent mind and spirit of man? Was it by God's infusion? Abhorred be that black thought! Nor could it be if they were not forsaken of God, and the holy light and influence of his SPIRIT. But is more evil inflicted upon men than either the threatening or the sentence of the law contained? That were to say he is punished above desert, and beyond what it duly belonged to him to suffer. Experience shows this to be the common case of men. And had that threatening and sentence concerned ADAM only, and not his posterity, how come they to be mortal, and otherwise externally miserable in this world, as well as he? But how plainly is

the matter put out of doubt, that the suspension of the SPIRIT is part (and it cannot but be the most eminent part) of the curse of the law, by that of the Apostle: "CHRIST hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us, that this blessing——might come upon us, [even the Gentiles, as well as ABRAHAM'S seed,] that we might receive the promise of the SPIRIT." (*Gal. iii. 13, 14.*)

But now what is there of all the misery, duly incumbent upon man in this world, by the constitution of that law of works, remitted and taken off by virtue of the covenant or law of grace, from them that have entered into it? Who dare say GOD doth not keep covenant with them? And we find they die as well as other men, and are as much subject to the many inconveniences and grievances of human life; and it is not worth the while to talk of the mere notion, under which they suffer them. It is evident that GOD doth them no wrong, in letting them be their lot; and therefore that as they were, by the law of nature, deserved, so GOD hath not obliged Himself, by the covenant or law of grace, to take or keep them off: For then surely He had kept his Word. That He hath obliged Himself to do that which is more and a greater thing, to bless and sanctify them to their advantage, in higher respects, is plain and out of question; which serves our present purpose, and crosses it not.

For upon the whole, that which remains the actual matter of remission in this world, is whatsoever of those spiritual evils would be necessarily consequent upon the total restraint and withholding of the SPIRIT.

And that this is the "remission of sins in this life," which the Scripture intends, is plain from divers express places. (*Acts ii. 37, 38.*) When the Apostle PETER'S heart-pierced hearers cry out in their distress, "What shall we do?" He directs them thus: "Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the HOLY GHOST; for the promise is to you, and your children." As if he had said, 'The great promise of the Gospel-Covenant is that of the gift of the HOLY GHOST. It

doth not promise you worldly wealth, or ease, or riches, or honours; but it promises you that God will be no longer a stranger to you, refuse your converse, withhold his SPIRIT from you, your souls shall lie no longer waste and desolate. But as He hath mercifully approached your spirits, to make them habitable, and fit to receive so great and so holy an inmate, and to your reception whereof nothing but unre-mitted sin could be any obstruction; as upon your closing with the terms of the Gospel-Covenant, by a sincere believing, looking on Him whom you have pierced, whereof your being baptized, and therein taking on CHRIST's badge and cognizance, will be the fit and enjoined token; and by which federal rite, remission of sin shall be openly confirmed, and solemnly sealed unto you: So by that remission of sin the bar is removed, and nothing can hinder the HOLY GHOST from entering to take possession of your souls, as his own temple and dwelling-place.'

We are by the way to take notice, that this fulfilling of the terms of the Gospel-Covenant is aptly enough, in great part, here expressed, by the word repentance; most commonly it is by that of faith. It might as fitly be signified by the former, in this place, if you consider the tenor of the foregoing discourse, namely, That it remonstrated to them their great wickedness in crucifying CHRIST as an impostor, whom they ought to have believed in as a SAVIOUR. Now, to repent of this, was to believe, which yet is more fully expressed by that which follows: And "be baptized in [or rather into] the name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST."

It is, in the whole, plain that their reception of the HOLY GHOST, as a dweller, stands in close connexion, as an immediate consequent, with having their sins actually remitted; and that, with their repenting their former refusing of CHRIST, as the MESSIAH; their now becoming Christians, or taking on CHRIST's name: (whereof their being baptized was to be only the sign, and by consequence a visible confirmation of "remission of sin to them.") They are therefore directed to be baptized into the name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι*, or unto a covenant-surrender

of themselves to CHRIST, whereof their baptism was, it is true, to be the signifying token for their remission of sins; which remission therefore must be understood connected, not with the sign, but with the thing which it signified. And it was only a more explicit repentance of their former infidelity, and a more explicit faith, which the Apostle now exhorts them to; the inchoation whereof he might already perceive by their concerned question, "What shall we do?" intimating their willingness to do any thing that they ought, that their hearts were already overcome, and that the HOLY GHOST had, consequently, begun to enter upon them; the manifestation of whose entrance is, elsewhere as to persons adult, found to be an antecedent requisite to baptism.

Remission of sin therefore, as it signifies giving a right to future impunity, signifies giving a right to the participation of the SPIRIT; the withholding whereof was the principal punishment to be taken off.

And as it signifies the actual taking off that punishment, it must connote the actual communication of the SPIRIT.

Therefore upon that faith, which is our entrance into the Gospel-covenant, the curse withheld the SPIRIT is removed, and so we receive the promise of the SPIRIT (or the promised SPIRIT) by faith.

The same reference of giving (or continuing) the SPIRIT unto forgiveness of sin, we may observe in that of the Psalmist: "Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy HOLY SPIRIT from me." (*Psalm li. 9—11.*) Which, it is plain, was dreaded and deprecated as the worst of evils, but which would be kept off, if iniquity were blotted out.

And as to this, there was no more difference in the case, than between one whose state was to be renewed, and one with whom God was first to begin.

And that summary of spiritual blessings, promised in the New Covenant, (*Jer. xxxi. 31, 32, &c.* and *Heb. viii.*)

supposes the promised gift of the SPIRIT itself, as the root of them all,—“ I will put my law in their inward parts, and will write it in their hearts,” is all grounded upon this: “ For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.”

When therefore the punishment of sin is remitted, or a right is granted to impunity, the SPIRIT is given; or a right is conferred unto this sacred gift. When actually (upon that right granted) the punishment is taken off, the SPIRIT is actually given; the with-holding whereof was the principal punishment we were liable to, in this present state.

IX. And as to justification the case cannot differ, which itself so little differs from pardon, that the same act is pardon, being done by GOD as a sovereign Ruler acting above law, namely, the law of works; and justification, being done by him as sustaining the person of a Judge according to law, namely the law of grace.

Adoption also imports the privilege conferred of being the sons of GOD. And what is that privilege (for it is more than a name) but that such are led by the SPIRIT of GOD? (*Rom.* viii. 14.)

For it was not fit the sons of GOD should have the spirits of slaves; it is not the spirit of bondage that is given them, as there it is expressed, but a free generous spirit; not of fear, but of love and power, and of a sound mind. Most express is that parallel text, “ Because they are sons, He hath sent the SPIRIT of his SON into their hearts,” that enables them to say, “ Abba, FATHER;” (*Gal.* iv. 6;) makes them understand their state, whose sons they are, and who is their FATHER, and really implants in them all filial dispositions and affections.

Wherefore it is most evident, that the relative grace of the covenant only gives a right to the real grace of it; and that the real grace, communicated in this life, is all comprehended in the gift of the SPIRIT; even that which flows in the external dispensations of Providence not excepted.

For as outward good things, or immunity from outward

afflictions, are not promised in this new covenant, further than as they shall be truly and spiritually good for us ; but we are, by the tenor of it, left to the suffering of very sharp afflictions, and the loss or want of all worldly comforts, with assurance, that will turn to our greater spiritual advantage : So the grace and sanctifying influence that shall make them do so, is all from the same fountain, the issue of the same blessed SPIRIT. We only add, that eternal life, in the close of all, depends upon it, not only as the many things already mentioned do so, that are necessary to it ; but as it is signified to be itself the immediate perpetual spring thereof. " They that sow to the SPIRIT, shall of the SPIRIT reap life everlasting." (*Gal.* vi. 8.)

We therefore see that this great gift of the HOLY GHOST, is vouchsafed entirely upon the Redeemer's account, and by the authority of His office, for the building and inhabiting the desolated temple of GOD with men ; for the re-building of it, by that plenipotency or absolute fulness of power, which by the sacrifice of Himself, He hath obtained should be in Him : For the re-inhabiting of it, according to the tenor of that covenant, now solemnly entered ; which was established and ratified in the blood of that same sacrifice. Wherein appears the dueness of it to the regenerate, or that they have a real right to it, who are born of the SPIRIT ; we have also seen the large amplitude, and vast comprehensiveness of this gift.

We therefore proceed,

X. 2. To give an account, how highly reasonable it was, the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD should not be vouchsafed for these purposes, upon other terms.

And this we shall see,

1. By mentioning briefly, what we have been showing all this while, the vast extent of this gift.

Let it be remembered, that the most considerable part of the penalty and curse, incurred by the apostasy, was the withholding of the SPIRIT ; from which curse, in the whole of it, CHRIST was to redeem us, by being made a curse for us. By the same curse also, our title to many other benefits

was lost, and many other miseries were inferred upon it. But this one of being deprived of the SPIRIT, did so far surmount all the rest, that nothing else was thought worth the naming with it, when the curse of the law, and CHRIST'S redemption of us from it, are so designedly spoken of together. If only lesser penalties were to have been remitted, or favours conferred of an inferior kind, a recompence to the violated law and justice of GOD, and the affronted Majesty of his government, had been less necessarily insisted on; but that the greatest thing imaginable should be vouchsafed, upon so easy terms, and without a testified resentment of the injury done, by ruining his former temple, was never to be expected.

Nothing was more worthy of GOD, than when man's revolt from him so manifestly implied an insolent conceit of his self-sufficiency, and that he could subsist, and be happy alone; he should presently withhold his SPIRIT, and leave him to sink into that carnality, which involved the fulness of death and misery in it. It belonged to the majesty and grandeur of the Deity to retire and shut up his holy cheering influences and communications from an haughty miscreant; that it might try, and feel what sort of a god it could be to itself.

But to return (the state of the case being unaltered, and every way the same as when he withdrew) to return before an atonement offered, had been (instead of judging his offended creature) to have judged himself, to rescind his own sentence, as if it had been unjust, to tear his act and deed, as if it had been the product of a rash and hasty passion, not of mature and wise counsel and judgment. The indecency and unbecomingness whereof had been the greater, and the more conspicuous, by how much the greater, and more peculiar favour it was to restore his gracious presence, or (which is all one) the influences of his HOLY SPIRIT.

Further consider,

2. That since nothing was more necessary for the restitution of GOD'S temple, it had been strange if, in the con-

stitution of **IMMANUEL** for this purpose, this had been omitted ; for it is plain, that without it things could never have come to any better state between **God** and man ; **God** must have let him be at the same distance, without giving him his **SPIRIT**. Néither could he honourably converse with man, nor man possibly converse with him ; man had ever borne towards **God** an implacable heart. And whereas it is acknowledged, on all hands, his repentance at least was necessary, both on **God's** account, and his own, that **God** might be reconciled to him, who, without intolerable diminution to himself, could never otherwise have shown him favour. He had always carried about him the heart that could not repent.

The carnal mind (which is enmity against **God**, is neither subject to him, nor can be) had remained in full power, there had never been any stooping, or yielding on man's part. And there had remained, besides, all manner of impurities, fleshly lusts had retained the throne ; the soul of man had continued a cage of every noisome and hateful thing, the most unfit in all the world, to have been the temple of the holy blessed **God**. It had neither stood with his majesty to have favoured an impenitent, nor with his holiness to have favoured so impure, a creature. Therefore, without the giving of his **SPIRIT**, to mollify and purify the spirits of men, his honour in such a reconciliation had never been salved.

And take the case as it must stand on man's part, his happiness had remained impossible ; he could never have conversed with **God**, or taken complacency in him, to whom he had continued everlastingly unsuitable and disaffected. No valuable end could have been attained, that it was either fit **God** should have designed for himself, or was necessary to have been effected for man.

In short, there could have been no temple, **God** could never have dwelt with man, man would never have received him to dwell.

3. But it is evident this was not omitted in the constitution of **IMMANUEL**.

It being provided and procured, by his dear expense, that he should have in him a fulness of Spirit, not merely as GOD (for so, in reference to offending creatures, it had been inclosed) but as IMMANUEL, as a Mediator, a dying Redeemer, so was there a sufficiency, for this purpose of restoring GOD's temple.

And why was he in this way to become sufficient, if afterwards he might have been waived, neglected, and the same work have been done another way ?

4. It could only be done this way, in and by IMMANUEL. As such, he had both the natural and moral power in conjunction, which were necessary to effect it.

(1.) The natural power of Deity, which was in him, was only competent for this purpose. Herein had he the advantage infinitely of all human power and greatness.

If an offended secular Prince had never so great a mind to save, and restore a condemned favourite ; who (besides that he is of so haughty a pride, and so hardened in his enmity, that he had rather die than supplicate) hath contracted all other vicious inclinations, is become infamously immoral, debauched, unjust, dishonest, false, and we will suppose stupid, and bereft of the sprightly wit that graced his former conversation ; his merciful Prince would fain preserve and enjoy him as before, but he cannot change his qualities, and cannot but be ashamed to converse familiarly with him, while they remain unchanged.

Now the blessed IMMANUEL, as he is GOD, can, by giving his SPIRIT, do all his pleasure in such a case.

And he hath as such too,

(1.) The moral power of doing it, most righteously and becomingly of GOD ; that is, upon consideration of that great and noble sacrifice, which as such he offered up. He is now enabled to give the SPIRIT, he might otherwise do any thing for man, rather than this ; for it imports the greatest intimacy imaginable. All external overtures, and expressions of kindness, were nothing in comparison of it. And no previous disposition towards it, nothing of compli-

ance, on the sinner's part, no self-purifying, no self-loathing for former impurities, no smiting on the thigh, or saying, What have I done!, could be supposed antecedent to this communication of the SPIRIT.

The universe can afford no like case, between an offending wretch, and an affronted Ruler. If the greatest Prince on earth had been never so contumeliously abused, by the the most abject peasant, the distances are infinitely less, than between the injured glorious Majesty of heaven, and the guilty sinner, the injury done this Majesty incomprehensibly greater.

And besides all other differences in the two cases, there is this most important one, that the principal thing in the sentence and curse, upon apostate man, was, that God's SPIRIT should retire, and be withheld, so that he could converse with him by it no more. The condemning sentence upon a criminal doth, in secular governments, extend to life and estate; such an one might be pardoned as to both, and held ever at a distance.

If before he were a favourite, he may still remain dis-courted. Familiar converse with his Prince was ever a thing to which he could lay no legal claim, but was always a thing of free and arbitrary favour.

But suppose, in this case of delinquency, the law and his sentence did forbid it for ever; and suppose we that vile, insolent peasant, before under obligation to his Prince, for his daily subsistence, now under condemnation, for most opprobrious affronts, and malicious attempts against him, he relents not, scorns mercy, defies justice; his compassionate Prince rushes, notwithstanding, into his embraces, takes him into his cabinet, shuts himself up with him in secret. But all this while, though by what he does he debases himself, beyond all expectation or decency; the principal thing is still wanting, he cannot alter his disposition. If he could give him a truly right mind, it were better than all the riches of the Indies; this greatest instance of condescension he cannot reach, if he never so gladly would. It is not in his power, even when he joins bosoms,

to mingle spirits with him ; and so must leave him as incapable of his most valuable end, as he found him.

In the present case, what was in itself so necessary to the intended end, was only possible to **IMMANUEL** ; who herein becomes most intimate to us, and in the fullest sense admits to be so called ; and was therefore necessary to be done by him unless his so rich sufficiency, and his end itself should be lost together.

XI. Thus far we have been considering the Temple of **GOD**, individually taken, as each man, once become sincerely good and pious, renewed, united with **IMMANUEL** ; that is, with **GOD** in **CHRIST**, and animated by his **SPIRIT**, may be himself a single temple to the most high **GOD**.

I might now pass on to treat of the external state of the Christian church, and of the whole community of Christians ; who, ‘ collectively taken,’ and “ built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, **JESUS CHRIST** himself being the Corner-Stone, fitly framed and builded together, grow unto an holy temple in the **LORD** ;” and are in this compacted state “ an habitation of **GOD**, through the **SPIRIT**.” (*Eph.* ii. 20.)

But this larger subject, the outer court of this temple, is, I find, beset and over-spread with briars and thorns.

And for the sacred structure itself, though other foundation none can lay than that is laid, which is **JESUS CHRIST**, (*1 Cor.* iii. 11, &c.,) yet some are for superstructing one thing, some another, some gold, silver, precious stones ; others wood, hay, stubble : I am, for my part, content that every man’s work be made manifest, when the day shall declare it.

It ought not to be doubted but that there will yet be a time of so copious an effusion of the **HOLY SPIRIT**, as will invigorate it afresh, and make it spring up, out of its maccilent withered state, into its primitive liveliness and beauty : When it shall, according to the intended spiritual meaning, resemble the external splendour of its ancient figure, **Zion**, the perfection of beauty ; and arise and shine, the glory of the **LORD** being risen upon it. But

if, before that time, there be a day that shall burn as an oven, and make the hemisphere as one fiery vault; a day, wherein the jealous God shall plead against the Christian Church, for its lukewarmness, and scandalous coldness in the matter of serious substantial religion, and no less scandalous heats and fervours about trivial formalities, with just indignation, and flames of consuming fire: Then will the straw and stubble be burned up, and such as were sincere, though too intent upon such trifles, be saved, yet so as through fire.

A two-fold effusion we may expect, of the wrath, and of the SPIRIT of GOD; the former to vindicate himself, the other to reform us. Then will this temple no more be termed forsaken, it will be actually, and in fact what in right it is always, BETHEL, The house of GOD, and the gate of heaven. Till then little prosperity is to be hoped for, in the Christian Church; spiritual, without a large communication of the SPIRIT, it cannot have; external (without it) it cannot bear.

It was a noted Pagan's observation and experiment, how incapable a weak mind is of a prosperous state.

In heaven there will be no need of afflictions; on earth the distempers of men's minds do both need and cause them. The pride, avarice, envyings, self-conceitedness, abounding each in their own sense, minding every one their own things without regard to those of another; an haughty confidence of being always in the right, with contempt and hard censures of them that differ, spurning at the royal law of doing as we would be done to, of bearing with others as one would be borne with; evil surmisings, the imperiousness of some, and the peevishness of others, to be found among them that bear the Christian name, will not let the Church, the house of GOD, be in peace, and deserve that it should not, but that He should let them alone to punish themselves, and one another.

But the nearer we approach on earth, to the heavenly state, which only a general pouring forth of the blessed SPIRIT will infer; the more capable we shall be of inward

and outward prosperity together. Then will our differences vanish of course, the external pompousness of the Church will be less studied, the life and spirit of it much more; and if I may express my own sense, as to this matter, it should be in the words of a worthy ancient; namely, ‘That supposing the choice were left me, I would choose to have lived in a time, when the temples were less adorned with all sorts of marbles, the Church not being destitute of spiritual graces.’

In the mean time, till those happier days come, wherein Christians shall be of one heart, and one way; happy are they that can attain so far as to bear one another’s yet remaining differences.

And since it is impossible for all to worship together within the walls of the same material temple, choose ordinarily to do it, where you observe the nearest approach to God’s own rule and pattern; and where upon experience you find most of spiritual advantage, not despising, much less Paganizing, those that are built upon the same foundation, because of circumstantial disagreements; nor making mere circumstances, not prescribed by CHRIST himself, the measures and boundaries of Christian communion, or any thing else CHRIST hath not made so.

Be not too positive, or too prone to dispute about those minute matters that have been controverted by the most judicious and sincere servants of our LORD, on the one hand, and the other, in former days, and with little effect; as if we understood more than any of them, had engrossed all knowledge, and wisdom were to die with us! And that with our bolt, too suddenly shot, we could outshoot all others that ever had gone before us.

If our minds be well furnished with humility, meekness, modesty, sincerity, love to GOD, and his CHRIST, and our brethren, no otherwise distinguished than by their visible avowed relation to Him; this will constitute us such temples, whereunto the blessed GOD will never refuse his presence, and do more to keep the Christian Church

in a tolerable good state, till the times of restitution come, than the most fervent disputations ever can.

And so I shall take leave of this subject, in hope that, through the blessing of God, it may be of use to some that shall allow themselves to read and consider it; requesting only such as are weary of living without God in the world, that they defer not to invite and admit the Divine presence, till they see all agreed about every little thing that belongs to his temple, or that may be thought to belong to it; but resolve upon what is plain and great, and which all that are serious, that have any regard to God, or their own everlasting well-being, cannot but agree in, that is, forthwith to lift up the everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in.

Do it without delay or disputation; let others dispute little punctilios with one another, as they please, but do not you dispute this grand point with Him. Look to IMMANUEL, consider Him in the several capacities, and in all the accomplishments, performances, acquisitions, by which He is so admirably fitted to bring it about, that God may have his temple in your breast.

Will you defeat so kind and so glorious a design? Behold, listen; doth He not stand at the door and knock?

Fall down and adore this most admirable condescending grace, that the High and Lofty One, who inhabits eternity, having made a world, and surveying the work of his own hands, inquires; "Where shall be my house, and the place of my rest?" And thus resolves it Himself; 'The humble, broken; contrite heart! There, there, I will dwell.'

A
T R E A T I S E
O N
S E L F - D E D I C A T I O N .

R O M . x i i . 1 .

I beseech you therefore, Brethren, by the Mercies of GOD, that ye present your Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto GOD, which is your reasonable service.

Two things are more especially considerable in these words: 1. The matter of the exhortation, that we would “present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to GOD, our reasonable service:” 2. And the pathetic form of obtestation that is used to enforce it: “I beseech you by the mercies of GOD.”

The former I intend for the principal subject of the following discourse; and shall only make use of the other, for the purpose unto which the holy Apostle doth here apply it.

Our business therefore must be, to show the import of this exhortation. In the doing whereof, we shall, 1, explain the terms wherein the text delivers it. 2. Declare, more distinctly, the nature of the thing expressed by them.

1. For the terms. By “bodies” we are to understand our whole selves, expressed here by the name of bodies, for distinction sake. It having been usual heretofore to offer in sacrifice the bodies of beasts; the Apostle lets them know, they are now to offer up their own: Meaning yet,

their whole man, as some of these following words intimate ; and agreeably to the plain meaning of the exhortation ; “Glorify GOD in your bodies and spirits, which are His.” (1 Cor. vi. 20.)

“Sacrifice” is not to be understood in this place in a more restrained sense, than as it may signify whatsoever is, by GOD’s own appointment, dedicated to himself.

According to the stricter notion of a sacrifice, its more noted general distinction is into propitiatory, and gratulatory, or eucharistical. Christianity in that strict sense, admits but one, and that of the former sort. “By which one (that of Himself) our LORD hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.” We ourselves, or any service of ours, are only capable of being sacrifices, by way of analogy, and that chiefly to the other sort. And so all sincere Christians are, “as lively stones, built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to GOD by JESUS CHRIST ;” (1 Pet. ii. 5 ;) being both temple, priests, and sacrifice all at once. As our LORD himself, in his peculiar sacrificing, also was.

* In the addition of “living,” the design is carried on of speaking both by way of allusion, and opposition to the ritual sacrificing. By way of allusion : For any thing dead of itself, the Israelites were not to eat themselves, because they were an holy people ; much more had it been detestable, as a sacrifice to GOD. The beast must be brought alive to the altar. Whereas then we are also to offer our bodies a living sacrifice, so far there must be an agreement. Yet also, a difference seems not obscurely suggested. The victim, brought alive to be sacrificed, was yet to be slain in sacrificing : But here *living* may also signify continuing to live. You (as if he should say) may be sacrifices, and yet live on.

According to the strict notion we find given of a sacrifice, it is somewhat to be, in the prescribed way, destroyed, and that must perish, in token of their entire devotedness to GOD who offer it. When we offer ourselves, life will not be touched by it, or at all impaired, but improved and en-

nobled highly, by having a sacredness added to it. Your bodies are to be offered a sacrificē, but an unbloody one. Such as you have no cause to be startled at; it carries no dread with it; life will be still whole in you. Which shows by the way, it is not an inanimate body, without the soul. But the bodily life is but alluded to; it is a higher and more excellent one that is meant; the spiritual, divine life. "Yield yourselves to GOD, as those that are alive from the dead." And *Verse 11* shows what that being alive means, "Reckon yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto GOD through JESUS CHRIST." Alive by a life which means GOD, which aims at him, terminates in him, and is derived to you through CHRIST. As he also speaks, "I am dead to the law, that I might live to GOD. I am crucified with CHRIST: Nevertheless I live, yet not I, but CHRIST liveth in me, and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the SON of GOD, who loved me, and gave himself for me." (*Gal. ii. 19, 20.*)

"Holy." There is an holiness that stands in an entire rectitude of heart and life, by which we are conformed, in both, to the nature and will of GOD, besides the relative one which redounds upon any person or thing, by due dedication to him. And which former is pre-required, in the present sacrifice, that it may be, as it follows, "acceptable to GOD;" not as though thereby it became acceptable, but as that without which it is not so. Yet also holiness, in the nature of the thing, cannot but be grateful to GOD, or well-pleasing; (as the word here used signifies;) but not so as to reconcile a person to him, who was, before, a sinner, and hath still sin in him. But supposing the state of such a person first made, and continued good, that resemblance of himself cannot but be pleasing in the eyes of GOD, but fundamentally and statedly in and for CHRIST. This therefore signifies, both how ready GOD is to be well pleased with such a sacrifice, and also signifies the quality of the sacrifice itself, that it is apt to please.

"Reasonable service," or worship, as the word signifies. This also is spoken alluding to the notion given before of

offering ourselves, in opposition to the former victims wherein beasts were the matter of the sacrifice. Those were brute sacrifices: You are to offer reasonable ones. And it signifies, our minds and understandings, the seat of reason, with our wills and affections that are to be governed by it, must all be ingredient as the matter of that sacrifice: Implying also the right God hath in us, whence nothing can be more reasonable than to offer ourselves to him.

“Present,” that is, dedicate, devote yourselves, set yourselves before God, as they present at the altar the destined sacrifices, make them stand ready for immolation. You are so to make a tender of yourselves, as if you would say, ‘LORD, here I am, wholly thine. I come to surrender myself, my whole life and being, to be entirely, and always, at thy disposal, and for thy use. Accept a devoted, self-resigning soul!’

Thus we are brought to the thing itself. Which now,

2. In the next place (with less regard to the allusive terms) we come more distinctly to explain. It is briefly but the dedicating of ourselves: Or the giving our own selves to the LORD.

But that we may not misconceive the nature of this act of giving ourselves, we must know, it is not donation in the strict and proper sense; such as confers a right upon him to whom a thing is said to be given. We cannot be said to transfer a right to him, who is, before, the only proprietor and supreme LORD of all. It is more properly but a surrender or delivery of ourselves, upon the acknowledgment of his former right: Or the putting ourselves into his possession, for appointed uses and services, out of which we had injuriously kept ourselves before. It is but giving him his own. “All things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee.” (1 *Chron.* xxix. 14.) It is only a consent and obedience to his most rightful claim and demand of us, or “a yielding ourselves to him,” as it is significantly expressed in the sixth Chapter to the *Romans*; though there the word is the same with that in the text which we read “present.”

That we may more distinctly open the nature of this self-dedication, we shall show what ought to accompany and qualify it, that we may be a suitable and grateful present to him; such as he requires, and will accept.

(1.) It must be done with knowledge and understanding. It cannot but be an intelligent act. It is an act of religion and worship, as it is called in the text: ("service" we read it, which is much more general, but the word is *λαλβεια*, "worship.") It is indeed the first and fundamental act of worship. And it is required to be a rational act. "Your reasonable service." Religion cannot move blindfold. And though knowledge and reason are not, throughout, words of the same signification; yet the former is partly pre-supposed upon the latter, and partly improved by it, nor can therefore be severed from it.

In the present case it is especially necessary that we distinctly know and apprehend the state of things between God and us: That we understand ourselves to have been (with the rest of men) in an apostasy and revolt from God, that we are recalled unto him, that a Mediator is appointed on purpose through whom we are to approach him, and render ourselves back to him: That so this may be our sense in our return, 'Lord, I have here brought thee back a stray, a wandering creature, mine own self. I have heard what the Redeemer, of thy own constituting, hath done and suffered for the reconciling and reducing of such, and against thy known design I can no longer withhold myself.'

(2.) With serious consideration. It must be a deliberate act. How many understand matters which they never consider, and perish by not considering what they know!

Consideration is nothing else but the revolving of what we knew before: The actuating the habitual knowledge we had of things. A more distinct reviewing of our former notices belonging to any case, a recollecting and gathering them up, a comparing them together; and, for such as appear more momentous, a repeating and inculcating them upon ourselves, that we may be urged on to suitable action.

And this, though of itself, without the power and influence of the Divine SPIRIT, is not sufficient, yet being the means he works by, is most necessary to our becoming Christians, that is, if we speak of becoming so, not by chance, as too many only are, but by our own choice and design. Which is the same thing with dedicating ourselves to God through CHRIST, whereof we are discoursing.

(3.) With a determinate judgment, that this ought to be done. There are two extremes in this matter. Some will not consider it at all; and some will consider always, and so never do it.

Indeed, in the present case, it is a reproach to the blessed God to consider longer, than till we have well digested the state of the case: As if it were difficult to determine the matter, between him and the Devil, which were the better or more rightful LORD! We must at last be at a point, and come to a judicious determination of the question. As those sincerely resolved Christians had done, (*John*.vi. 68, 69,) who also express the reasons that had (before that time no doubt) determined them: "LORD, whither shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure, that thou art that CHRIST, the SON of the living GOD."

(4.) With liberty of spirit, having thrown off all former bonds, and quite disengaged ourselves from other masters: As they speak, "Other Lords besides thee have had dominion over us, but by thee only will we make mention of thy name." (*Isaiah* xxvi. 13.) For our Saviour expressly tells us, "No man can serve two masters." (*Matt*. vi. 24.)

There must be a liberty, in opposition to pre-engaged inclinations and affections. And this must be the sense of the sincere soul, treating the matter of its self-surrender with the great God, to be able to say to the question, Art thou under no former contrary bonds? 'LORD, I am under none that ought to bind me, or that justly can, against thy former sovereign right. I had indeed suffered other bonds to take place in my heart; but they were bonds of iniquity, which I scruple not to break, and repent that ever I made

I took myself indeed to be my own, and have lived to myself, pleased and served and sought myself, as if I were created and born for no other purpose. And if the sense of my heart had been put into words, there was insolence enough to have conceived such as these; Not my tongue only, but my whole man, body and soul, all my parts and powers, my estate, and name, and strength, and time, are all my own; who is Lord over me? And while I pleased self with such an imagined liberty, no idol was too despicable to command my homage. I have done worse than prostrated my body to a stock, my soul hath bowed down to a clod of clay. My thoughts, and desires, and hopes, and joys, have all stooped to so mean trifles, as wealth, or ease, or pleasure, or fame, all but so many fragments of earth, or (the less consistent) vapours sprung from it. And whereas this world is nothing else but a bundle of lusts, none of them was too base to rule me; and while I thought myself at liberty, "I have been a servant to corruption." But now, LORD, I have, through thy mercy, learnt to abandon and abhor myself: Thy "grace appearing, hath taught me to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts." Thou hast overcome; enjoy thine own conquest: I am grieved for it, and repent from my soul that ever I did put thee to contend for, and conquer thine own. And so doth this self-dedication carry in it "repentance from dead works, and faith towards God."

(5.) With a plenary full bent of heart and will. As that, "I have sworn, and will perform, that I will keep thy righteous judgments." (*Psalm* cxix. 106.) "I have inclined my heart to keep thy statutes always unto the end." (*Verse* 112.)

And herein doth this self-dedication principally consist, namely, in a resolved willingness to yield myself as God's own property, to be for him, and not for another. Which resolvedness of will, though it may, in several respects, admit of several names, is but one and the same substantial act. It may be called, in respect of the competition which there was in the case, choice: Or in respect of the proposal

made to me of such a thing to be done, consent. But these are the same act, which, in itself considered, is only a resolute volition, *I will be the LORD's*. Which resolution, if one do (whether mentally or vocally) direct to GOD or CHRIST, then it puts on the nature of a vow ; and so is fitly called devoting one's self.

It carries in it, as a thing supposed, the implanted Divine life, whereby we are truly said "to present ourselves living sacrifices," as in the text ; or as it is expressed in that other place, "to yield ourselves to GOD, as those that are alive from the dead ; alive to GOD through CHRIST JESUS our LORD." (*Chap. vi. 13.*) Which life is not to be understood simply, but in a certain respect. For before, we were not dead simply ; we were not dead, disinclined, or disaffected to every thing, but peculiarly towards GOD and his CHRIST. That way we were without any inclination, motion, tendency, or disposition : And so were dead as to this thing, or in this respect ; were alienated from the life of GOD. Now we come to live this life, and are made, by his grace, to incline and move towards him of our own accord. Dead things (or destitute of life) may be moved by another, are capable of being moved violently, without, or against inclination, hither or thither : But a living creature can spontaneously move itself, as, of its own accord, it inclines.

And whereas there are two more noble principles that belong to this divine life, faith and love : These have both an ingrediency into this self-dedication. The nature of each of them runs into it, and may be perceived in it. And it is hereupon a mixed act, partaking of an influence and tincture (as it were) from the one and the other of them.

Faith respects the promises of GOD, and what we are thereupon to expect from him. And so our dedicating ourselves to GOD, is a self-committing. We give up ourselves to him as a trust, as the Apostle's emphatical expression intimates : "I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he will keep that which I have committed unto him (*παρακαταθήκην μου*, my pawn, or pledge) against that

day." The soul flies to GOD as in distress, not knowing to be safe another way. As once a people, not able to obtain tutelage on other terms, surrendered themselves to them whose help they sought, with some such expression, *Si non nostros, saltem vestros* : If not as ours, yet at least as your own, save, protect, and defend us. Nor in our surrendering ourselves to GOD, is this any way unsuitable, either to us, or to Him: Not to us; for we are really distressed, ready to perish; it is agreeable to the state of our case: Not to Him; for it is glorious to him. A thing worthy of GOD, to be a refuge to perishing souls; and is thereupon a pleasant thing, a GOD-like pleasure, suitable to a self-sufficient and all-sufficient Being, who hath enough for himself, and for all others, whom he shall have taught not to despise the riches of his goodness. "He taketh pleasure in them that fear him, and them that hope in his mercy."

Let such as have a mind to yield themselves to him, consider this: Apprehend you have undone yourselves, and are lost: Fall before him: Lie at the footstool of the mercy-seat: Willingly put your mouths in the dust, if so there may be hope. And there is hope. He seeks after you, and will not reject what he seeks; he only waited to bring you to this. It is now a fit time for him, and a good time for you. And you may now, in resigning, entrust yourselves also to him. For his express promise is your sufficient ground for it. "I will receive you, and be a FATHER to you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters." Understand the matter aright; your presenting and yielding yourselves to him, is not to be a desperate act. It is not casting yourselves away: You are not throwing yourself into flames, but upon tender mercies, thither you may commit yourself. The thing that is pleasing to him, and which he invites you to, (as he invites "all the ends of the earth to look unto him that they may be saved,") cannot be unsafe or unhappy to you.

Again, Love hath a great ingrediency into this self-resignation. And as it hath, so it more admits to be called dedicating or devoting ourselves.

This holy, ingenuous principle respects more the commands of God, as the other doth his promises, and eyes his interest, as the other doth our own. This dedition of ourselves, as it is influenced by it, designs the doing all for him we can, as by the other it doth the receiving all. As by the other, we resign ourselves to him for safety and felicity; so we do, by this, for service and duty to the uttermost: And an ardent lover of God thinks this a little oblation. Myself! Alas! What am I? Too small a thing for him, who is all love, and who hath it in his hand to transform and turn me into love too. How mean yet, and little is the subject he hath to work upon! An atom of dust! Not apt to be wrought upon to this (to a divine and heavenly love) by any, but his flame. And now therefore but a minute spark from the element of love, that must, however, thus transformed, tend towards its own original and native seat! It shall now flame upward. And this is all the flame, in which it is universally necessary thy sacrifice should ascend. Which will refine only, not consume it. Though that it may be offered up in other flames, is not impossible; nor will it be much regretted by you, if the case should so require; nor shall be despised by him, if he shall so state the case.

To "give the body to be burned, without love," goes for nothing. But if in that way, we were called to offer up our bodies, "living sacrifices to God," it would (in an inferior sense) be "an offering of a sweet-smelling savour," would even perfume heaven, and diffuse fragrant odours on earth. "He loved us, and gave himself for us." So are we, from our love of him, to give ourselves for him, and his use and service, in whatsoever kind he shall appoint and prescribe. Every true Christian is, in the preparation of his mind, a martyr. But they are few whom he actually calls to it. Our love is ordinarily to show itself in our "keeping his commandments." And with that design we are to present ourselves to him, as the resolved, ready instruments of his service and praise. As *Rom. vi. 13*, "Neither yield ye your members as instruments of un-

righteousness unto sin: But yield yourselves unto God as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God."

Having been more large upon what was more essential in this dedication of ourselves, I shall be briefer in most of the other things belonging to it.

(6.) It must further be done with a concomitant acceptance with God. His covenant (which is now entered) is often summed up, "I will be your God, and you shall be my people." And is frequently represented by the nuptial contract, in which there is mutual giving and taking. We are to resign and accept at the same time. To take him to be our God, when we yield ourselves to be his.

(7.) With an explicit reference to the LORD CHRIST. We are to dedicate ourselves after the tenor of a covenant, whereof "he is the Mediator." God doth not, upon other terms, treat with sinners. You are not to offer at such a thing as dedicating yourselves to him, but in the way, and upon the terms, upon which you are to be accepted. The Divine pleasure is declared, how great an one he must be in all the transactions of God with men; yea, and towards the whole creation. "He hath made us accepted in the Beloved. In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace. Wherein he hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence. Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself: That in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in CHRIST, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him." (*Eph.* i. 6—10.) We must take heed how we neglect or overlook him, who is, by Divine appointment, so high in power, and with whom we have so great a concern.

(8.) With deep humility and abasement of ourselves, in conjunction with a profound reverence and veneration of the Divine Majesty. There ought to be the lowliest self-abasement, such as that good man expresses, "O my God,

I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: For mine iniquities are increased over mine head, and my trespass is grown up unto the heavens." (*Ezra ix. 6.*) And indeed this is naturally consequent, upon what was last said, of the regard that ought to be had, in this matter, to the Mediator: For surely that very constitution is, in itself, an humbling thing to us: And we cannot apply ourselves to God suitably to it, but with a self-abasing sense of our own state and case. Our coming and tendering ourselves to God, in a Mediator, is, in its very nature, a humiliation; and carries with it a tacit confession, that in ourselves we have nothing, deserve nothing, are nothing, are worse than nothing. And that only this constitution of his could justify our offering ourselves to him, with any hope of acceptance; or make it less than insolent presumption for sinners to approach him, and expect to be received into his presence and service. Yea, and if there had been nothing of delinquency in the case, yet great humility becomes such applications to him; and that in conjunction with the profoundest reverence and veneration of him. For our very business, in this self-dedication, is worship; and it is the first and most principal part of all the worship we owe to him, fundamental to all the rest. We must have before our eyes the awful majesty and glorious greatness of God: Which Scripture often speaks of as one notion of his holiness, and which we are to have principal reference unto in all the solemn homage we pay to him.

(9.) With an ingenuous candour and simplicity, with that sincerity which is to be as the "salt of our sacrifice," without latent reserves, or an hidden meaning, disagreeing to his. Which were both unjust and vain. Unjust; for we may not deceive any: And vain; for we cannot deceive Him. The case admits not of restrictions, it must be done absolutely, without any limitation or reserve. You have heard this self-dedication is, in part, an act of love. And what limit can be set to a love whose object is infinite? A natural limit it is true, as it is the love of a creature, it cannot but have; but a chosen one it ought never to have,

as if we had loved enough. You know what kind of love is (and cannot but be) due to the all-comprehending God. "With all thy heart, soul, mind, and might." So, without exception, that MAIMONIDES, reciting those words, adds *etiamsi tollat animam tuam*. The stream of thy love to him must not be diverted, or alter course, though he would take away thy very life or soul.

(10.) With the concomitant surrender of all that we have. For they that by their own act and acknowledgment are not themselves their own, but devoted, must also acknowledge they are owners of nothing else. God indeed is the only Proprietor, men are but usufructuaries. They have the use of what his Providence allots them; He reserves to himself the property, and limits the use so far, that all are to be accountable to him for all they possess, and are to use nothing they have, but as under him, and for him, as also they are to do themselves. Therefore, as they are required to glorify him with their bodies and spirits which are his, so they are to honour him with their substance, upon the same reason. But few effectually apprehend his right in their persons; which as we are therefore to recognize, in this dedication of ourselves to him, so we are, in a like general sense, to devote to him all that we enjoy in the world. That is, as all are not to devote themselves specially to serve him in a sacred office; but all are obliged to devote themselves to his service in the general: So, though all are not required to devote their estates to this or that particular pious use, they are obliged to use them wholly for his glory, in the general, and for the service of his interest in the world. No man has certainly a power to dispose of any thing (and when they surrender themselves by their own act and deed to God, they acknowledge so much) otherwise than as Divine rules direct or permit. They have a right in what is duly theirs, against the counter-claim of man, but none sure against the claim, and all-disposing power of God, whether signified by his law or by his Providence. Therefore, with this temper of mind should this self-dedication be made:

‘**LORD**, I here lay myself, and all that belongs to me, entirely at thy feet. “All things are of thee.” What I have in the world is more thine than mine. I desire neither to use nor possess any thing, but by thy leave, and for thy sake.’

(11.) With befitting circumstantial solemnity ; that is, it ought to be direct, express and explicit. Not to be huddled up in tacit, mute intimations only. We should not content ourselves that it be no more than implied, in what we do otherwise, and run on with it as a thing that must be supposed, and taken for granted, never actually performed and done.

It is very true, a continued, uniform course of agreeable actions, a holy life, carries a great deal more significancy with it, than only having once said, without this, *conceptis verbis*, ‘**LORD**, I will be thine.’ Practice more fully speaks our sense, and expresses our hearts, than bare words, spoken at some particular time. For they at the most speak but our present sense at that time ; but a course of practice shows the habitual bent of our spirits.

Nor do I think that a formal explicit transaction, in this matter, whether vocal or mental, is essential to a man’s being a Christian. But though so explicit a transaction be not essential to Christianity, yet it may be a great duty.

There is far greater reason we should personally and solemnly transact this great affair with God, than any concern we have with men. For among men, we may have a right by natural descent, or by valuable considerations, to what we enjoy, which may be clear, and little liable to question. From God we have no right, but by his favour and vouchsafement. You are his children, if ever you come to be so, but by adoption : And human adoption has been wont to be completed by a solemnity ; the person to adopt, being publicly asked, ‘Whether he would have this person to be as his very son?’ And again, he that was to be adopted, ‘Whether he was contented it should be so?’

Nor again is there that disinclination towards men, as towards God, or that proneness to revolt from settled

agreements with the one as with the other. Whereas love sums up all the duty of both the tables; or which we owe both to GOD and man; it is evident that in our present lapsed state, our love to GOD is more impaired than to man. Indeed this latter seems only diminished, the other is destroyed, and hath, by nature, no place in us; grace only restores it. Where it is in some measure restored, we find it more difficult to exercise love towards GOD than man: Which the Apostle's reasoning implies; "He that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love GOD, whom he hath not seen?" Where the regenerate, Divine life is implanted, it is ill lodged, in conjunction with a strong, remaining, sensual inclination. Therefore there is the more need here of the strictest ties, and most solemn obligations, that we can lay upon ourselves.

Nor is it to be neglected that in *Isa.* xliv. 5, (which is generally agreed to refer to the times of the Gospel,) it is so expressly set down, "One shall say, I am the LORD's, and another shall call himself by the name of JACOB; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the LORD, and surname himself by the name of ISRAEL." In the rendering of which words, "subscribe with the hand," the versions vary. Some read, *inscribe in their hands the LORD's name*, counting it an allusion to the ancient custom, as to servants and soldiers, that they were to carry stamped upon the palm of their hands, the name of their master or general. The Syriac reads to the same sense as we,—*Shall give an hand writing to be the LORD's*. That the thing be done, and with great seriousness, distinctness, and solemnity, is, no doubt, highly reasonable and necessary; about the particular manner I prescribe not.

Nor can I imagine what any man can have to object, but the backwardness of his own heart, to any intercourse or conversation with the invisible GOD: Which is but an argument of the miserable condition of depraved mankind. For that backwardness must proceed from some deeper reason than that GOD is invisible. A reason that should

not only convince but amaze us, and even overwhelm our souls in sorrow and lamentation, to think what state the nature and spirit of man is brought into! For is not the Devil invisible too? And what wretch is there so silly and ignorant, but can, by the urgency of discontent, envy, and an appetite of revenge, find a way to fall into a league with him? Is it this that God is less conversable with men? Less willing to be found of them that seek him? No, surely; but that men have less mind and inclination to seek him! And is this a posture and temper of spirit towards the God that made us, (the continual spring of our life and being,) in which it is fit for us to tolerate ourselves? Shall not the necessity of this thing, and of our own case, (not capable of remedy while we withhold ourselves from God,) overcome all the imagined difficulty in applying ourselves to him?

And upon the whole, if we agree the thing itself to be necessary, it cannot be doubted, but it will appear to be of common concernment to us all; and that every one must apprehend it is necessary to me, and to me, whether we have done it already, or not done it. If we have not, it cannot be done too soon; if we have, it cannot be done too often. And it may now be done by private, silent ejaculation, the convinced, persuaded heart saying within itself, 'LORD, I consent to be wholly thine, I here resign and devote myself absolutely and entirely to thee.' None of you know what may be in the heart of another, to this purpose, even at this time. Why then should not every one fear to be the only person of those who now hear, that disagrees to it? If any finds his heart to draw back, it is fit such an one should consider, I do not know but this self-devoting disposition and resolution is the common sense of all the rest, even of all that are now present but mine. And who would not dread to be the only one in an assembly that shall refuse God, or refuse himself to Him! For, let such an one think, What particular reason can I have to exclude myself from such a consenting chorus? Why should I spoil the harmony, and give a disagreeing

vote? Why should any man be more willing to be dutiful and happy than I? To be just to God, or have him good to me? Why should any one be more willing to be saved than I? And to make one hereafter in the glorious, innumerable, joyful assembly of devoted angels and saints, that pay an eternal, gladsome homage to the throne of the celestial King?

But if any find their hearts inclining, let what is now begun be more fully completed in the closet; and let those walls (as JOSHUA'S stone) hear and bear witness.

That all may consent more freely, and more largely, I shall in a few words show what should induce to it, and what it should induce.

1. What should induce to it. You have divers sorts of inducements.

Such as may be taken from Necessity. For what else can you do with yourself? You cannot be happy without it; for who should make you so but God? And how shall he, while you hold off yourselves from him? You cannot but be miserable, not only as not having engaged him to you, but as having engaged him against you.

Such as may be taken from Equity. You are his right. He hath a natural right in you, as he is your Maker, the Author of your being. And an acquired right, as you were "bought by his Son, who hath redeemed us to God, and who died, rose again, and revived, that He might be LORD of the living and the dead;" here to rule, hereafter to judge us: Both which he can do whether we will or no. But it is not to be thought he will save us against our wills. His method is, whom he saves, first to overcome; that is, to make them willing in the day of his power. And dare we, who "live, move, and have our being in him," refuse to be, live, and move to him? Or "deny the LORD who bought us?"

And again, such as may be taken from Ingenuity, or that should work upon it, namely, (what we are besought by, in the text,) the mercies of God. How manifold are they! But they are the mercies of the Gospel especially,

mentioned in the foregoing chapter, which are thus referred to in the beginning of this, the transferring what the Jews lost by unbelief, to us Gentiles. That "mystery which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy Apostles and Prophets by the SPIRIT: That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in CHRIST, by the Gospel." In reference whereto he so admiringly cries out a little above the text, "O the depth both of the wisdom and knowledge of GOD! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" (*Chap. xi. 33.*) The mercies of which it is said, "Ho every one that thirsteth, come to the waters, and he that hath no money: Come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price. Wherefore do ye spend your money for that which is not bread, and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Harken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live, and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of DAVID." (*Isai. i. 3.*) Which free and sure mercies are heightened, as to us, by the same both endearing and awful circumstance, that these mercies are offered to us, namely, in conjunction with the setting before our eyes the tremendous example of a forsaken nation that rejected them.

Nothing ought more highly to recommend those mercies to us, or more engage us to accept them with gratitude, and improve them with a cautious fear of committing a like forfeiture, than to have them brought to our hands, redeemed from the contempt of the former despisers of them; and that so terribly vindicated upon them at the same time; as it also still continues to be. That the natural branches of the olive should be torn off, and we inserted: That there should be such an instance given us, of the severity and goodness of GOD: To them that fell, severity; but to us, goodness; if we continue in his goodness, to warn us

that otherwise we may expect to be cut off too ! And that we might apprehend, if he spared not the natural branches, he was as little likely to spare us ! That when he came to his own and they received him not, he should make so free an offer to us, that if we would yet receive him, (which if we do, we are to yield up and dedicate ourselves to him,) we should have the privilege to be owned for the sons of God ! What should so oblige us to compliance with him, and make us with an ingenuous trembling fall before him, and (crying to him, " My LORD, and my GOD ! ") resign ourselves wholly to his power and pleasure ?

And even his mercies, more abstractly considered, ought to have that power upon us. Were we not lost ? Are we not rescued from a necessity of perishing, and being lost for ever, in the most costly way ? Costly to our Redeemer, but to us without cost. Is it a small thing that he offers himself to us, as he doth, when he demands us, and requires that we offer ourselves to him ? That " He in whom is all the fulness of God," having " first offered himself for us," doth now also offer himself to us. That he hath treated us hitherto with such indulgence, waited on us with so long patience, sustained by so large bounty. And now, when it might be thought we should be communing with our own hearts, " What shall we render ? " that he should say to us, " Render yourselves." Is that too much ? Are we too inconsiderable to be his, or his mercies too inconsiderable to oblige us to be so ? The mercies that flow so freely from him, for he is the Father of mercies. The mercies that are so suitable to us, pardon to the guilty, light to them that dwell in darkness, life to the dead, a rich portion and all-sufficient fulness, for the poor, indigent, and necessitous : The mercies that we are encouraged to expect, as well as what we enjoy. The great good laid up in store ! The mercies of eternity to be added to those of time. The mercies of both worlds meeting upon us. That here we are to " keep ourselves in the love of GOD, waiting for the mercy of our LORD JESUS CHRIST unto eternal life." That, looking for that blessed hope, our life may

here, in the mean time, be transacted with him. That we may abide in the secret of his presence, and dwelling in love, may dwell in God who is love; till the season come, when we shall be able more fully to understand his love, and return our own.

Nor are the favours of his Providence to be thought little of, in the time of our earthly pilgrimage.

2. And now, if all this do effectually induce us thus to dedicate ourselves; we are next to consider what our having done it ought further to induce us to.

In the general, it ought to be an inducement to us, to behave ourselves answerably to such a state, as we are, hereby, brought into, or confirmed in, for he takes no pleasure in fools, therefore, having vowed ourselves to him, to serve, and to live to him, let us pay what we have vowed.

Better it had been not to vow, than to vow and not pay; and, instead of the reasonable sacrifice he required of us, to give him only the sacrifice of fools. We are, upon special terms, and for special ends, peculiar to the most high **GOD**.

They that are thus his, are a royal Priesthood, "He hath made us Kings and Priests." Both those offices have sometimes met in the same person: And "to **GOD** and his **FATHER**," that is, for him. Not that both these offices terminate upon **GOD**, or that the work of both is to be performed towards him. But our **LORD JESUS** (it being the design of his **FATHER**) hath effected it, in compliance with his design, and hath served his pleasure and purpose in it. He hath done it to, that is, for him. So that, "to **GOD** and his **FATHER**" may be referred to **CHRIST'S** action, in making us Kings and Priests, not to ours, being made such. Yet the one of these refers to **GOD** immediately, the other to ourselves. Holy and good men are Kings in reference to themselves, in respect of their self-dominion into which they are now restored, having been, as all unregenerate persons are, slaves to vile and carnal affections. The minds of the regenerate are made spiritual,

and now with them the refined, spiritual mind is enthroned ; lift up into its proper authority, - over all sensual inclinations, lusts and passions. A glorious empire ! founded in conquest, and managed, afterwards when the victory is complete, (and in the mean time, in some degree,) by a steady sedate government, in most tranquillity and peace.

But they are Priests in reference to God ; the business of their office, as such, terminates upon him. For him they worship and serve.

Worship is either social, external and circumstantial, that of worshipping societies, considered according to its exterior part. Herein one is appointed by special office to do the part of a Priest, for the rest. In this sense all are not Priests.

Or else it is internal, substantial and spiritual, wherein they either worship alone, or being in conjunction with others, yet their own spirits work directly, and aspire upwards to God. And as to this more noble part of their worship, every holy man is his own Priest.

And this is the double dignity of every holy, devoted soul. They are thus Kings, and Priests ; they govern themselves, and serve God.

While they govern, they serve : Exercise authority over themselves, with most submissive veneration of God : Crowned and enthroned, but always in a readiness to cast down their crowns at the footstool of the Supreme, Celestial Throne.

Into this state they come by self-dedication. And now surely, it is not for such to demean themselves at a vulgar rate. They are of the Church of the first-born written in heaven, that is, the Church of the first-born ones, that is all composed, and made up of such as that expression signifies. First-born in a true (though not the most eminent) sense ; being sons by the first, that is, the prime and more excellent sort of birth, in respect whereof they are said to be begotten again by the word of truth, they should be a kind of first-fruits of the creatures of God. And this two-fold

dignity is the privilege of their birth-right, as anciently it was. Are you devoted to God? Have you dedicated yourselves? Hereby you are arrived to this dignity. For in the above-mentioned place it is said, "Ye are come," you are actually, already, adjoined to that Church, and are the real present members of that holy community. For you are related and united to Him of whom the family of heaven and earth is named; are of the household, and the sons of God, his, under that peculiar notion, when you have dedicated yourselves to him. You cannot but apprehend there are peculiarities of behaviour, in your after conduct, and management of yourselves, that belong to you, and must answer, and correspond to your being, in this sense, his.

Some particulars whereof I shall briefly mention.

You should, each of you, often reflect upon it, and bethink yourself what you have done; and whose you now are. I am the devoted one of the most high God. It was one of the precepts given by a Pagan to his disciples: 'Think with yourself, upon all occasions, *I am a philosopher.*' What a world of sin and trouble might that thought, often renewed, prevent, *I am a Christian*, one devoted to God in CHRIST! Your having done this thing should clothe your mind with new apprehensions, both of God and yourselves: That he is not now a stranger to you, but your God, that you are not unrelated to him, but his. I was an enemy, now am reconciled. I was a common profane thing, now holiness to the LORD.

It is strange to think how one act doth sometimes tincture a man's mind; whether in the kind of good or evil. To have committed an act of murder! What an horrid complexion of mind did CAIN bear with him hereupon! To have dedicated one's self to God, if seriously, and duly done; would it have less power to possess one, with an holy, calm, peaceable temper of mind?

You should, hereupon, charge yourself with all suitable duty towards him. For you have given yourself to him to

serve him, that is your very business. You are his, and are to do his work, not your own, otherwise than as it falls in with his, and is his.

You are to discharge yourself of all unsuitable cares; for will not He take care of his own, who hath put so ill a note upon them that do not? "He that provideth not for his own," (his domestics,) those of his own house, "hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel." Will you think, He can be like such an one? Who, if not the children of a Prince, should live free from care?

You should most deeply concern yourself about his concerns, without any fear that he will neglect those that are most truly yours: And are not to be indifferent how his interest thrives, or is depressed in the world; is increased or diminished. They that are his should let his affairs engross their cares and thoughts.

You should abandon all suspicious, hard thoughts of him. When in the habitual bent of your spirits, you desire to please him, it is most injurious to him, to think he will abandon you, or become your enemy.

It is observable what care was taken among the Romans, that 'no hostility be used towards them that had surrendered themselves.' Can men excel God in praiseworthy things? You can think nothing of God more contrary to his Gospel, or his nature, than to surmise he will destroy one that hath surrendered to and bears a loyal mind towards him. And what a reproach do you cast upon him, when you give others occasion to say, that they who have devoted themselves to him, dare not trust him? You are taught to say, "I am thine, save me," not to suspect he will ruin you.

They strangely mis-shape religion, considering in how great part it consists in trusting God, and living a life of faith, that frame to themselves a religion made up of distrusts, doubts, and fears.

You should dread to alienate yourselves from him. Which (as sacrilege is one of the most detestable of all sins) is the

most detestable sacrilege. You are to reserve yourselves entirely for him. Every one that is godly he hath set apart for himself.

Yea, you are not only to reserve, but, to your uttermost, to improve, and better yourselves for him daily. To aspire to an excellency, in some measure, suitable to your relation. To "walk worthy of God who hath called you to his kingdom and glory;" (1 *Thess.* ii. 12;) remembering you are here to glorify him, and hereafter to be glorified with him.



EXTRACTS

FROM

The Lives

OF

SUNDRY EMINENT PERSONS.



THE LIFE
OF
MR. PHILIP HENRY.

CHAPTER I.

MR. PHILIP HENRY'S *Birth, Parentage, early Piety,
and Education at School.*

HE was born at Whitehall, in Westminster, on Wednesday, August 24, 1631. He always kept a will by him ready made, and it was his custom yearly, upon the return of his birth-day, to review, and (if occasion were) to renew and alter it: For it is good to do that at a set time, which it is very good to do at some time. The last will he made bears date, 'This 24th day of August, 1695, being the day of the year on which I was born, 1631; and also the day of the year on which by law I died, as did also near two thousand faithful Ministers of JESUS CHRIST, 1662.' Alluding to that clause in the Act of Uniformity, which disposeth of the places and benefices of Ministers not conforming, as if they were naturally dead.

His father's name was JOHN HENRY, the son of HENRY WILLIAMS, of Britton's Ferry, betwixt Neath and Swansea, in Glamorganshire. According to the old Welsh custom, (some say conformable to that of the ancient Hebrews, but now almost in all places laid aside,) the father's Christian name was the son's surname. He had left his native country, and his father's house, very young, unprovided for by his relations; but it pleased God to bless his ingenuity and industry, with a considerable income afterwards, which enabled him to live comfortably himself, to bring up his children well, and to be kind to many of his

relations ; but public events making against him at his latter end, when he died he left little behind him for his children ; but God graciously took care of them. Providence brought this **MR. JOHN HENRY**, when he was young, to be the **EARL of PEMBROKE's** gentleman, whom he served many years : The Earl coming to be Lord Chamberlain, preferred him to be the King's servant : He was first made Keeper of the orchard at Whitehall, and afterwards Page of the back-stairs to the King's second son, **JAMES Duke of York**, which place obliged him to a personal attendance upon the Duke in his chamber. He lived and died a courtier, a hearty mourner for his royal master, King **CHARLES the First**, whom he did not long survive. He continued, during all the war-time, in his house at Whitehall, though the profits of his places ceased ; the King passing by his door, under a guard to take water, when he was going to Westminster, to that which they called his trial, inquired for his old servant, **MR. JOHN HENRY**, who was ready to pay his due respects to him, and prayed God to bless his Majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies ; for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him.

His mother was **MRS. MACDALEN ROCHDALE**, of the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in Westminster. She was a pious woman, one that feared God : She was altogether dead to the vanities and pleasures of the Court, though she lived in the midst of them. She looked well to the ways of her household ; prayed with them daily, catechized her children, and taught them the good knowledge of the **LORD** betimes. He often mentioned, with thankfulness to God, his great happiness in having such a mother, who was to him as **LOIS** and **EUNICE** were to **TIMOTHY**, acquainting him with the Scriptures from his childhood. And there appearing in him early inclinations both to learning and piety, she devoted him in his tender years to the service of God, in the work of the ministry. She died of a consumption, **March 6, 1645**, leaving behind her only this son and five daughters. A little before she died, she

had this saying, 'My head is in heaven, and my heart is in heaven; it is but one step more, and I shall be there too.'

His susceptrors in baptism were PHILIP Earl of Pembroke, (who gave him his name, and was kind to him as long as he lived,) JAMES Earl of Carlisle, and the COUNTESS of SALISBURY.

PRINCE CHARLES and the DUKE of YORK being somewhat near of an age to him, he was in his childhood very much an attendant on them in their play; and they were often with him at his father's house, and they were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at Court, as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day, which the DUKE of YORK gave him; and I have heard him bewail the loss of two curious pictures, which he gave him likewise. Archbishop LAUD took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the water-gate, (which was part of his father's charge in Whitehall,) to let the Archbishop through when he came late from Council, to cross the water to Lambeth.

These circumstances of his childhood he would sometimes speak of, not as glorying in them, but taking occasion from thence to bless God for his deliverance from the snares of the Court, in the midst of which it is so hard to maintain a good conscience, and the power of religion. The breaking up and scattering of the Court by the calamities of 1641, as it dashed the expectations of his Court-preferments, so it prevented the danger of Court-entanglements: And though it was not, like MOSES's, a choice of his own, when come to years, to quit the Court; yet when he was come to years, he always expressed a great satisfaction in his removal from it.

Yet it may not be improper to observe here what was obvious to all who conversed with him; namely, That he had the most sweet and obliging air of courtesy and civility, which some attributed in part to his early education at Court. His carriage was always so decent and respectful,

that it won the hearts of all he had to do with. Never was any man further from that rudeness and moroseness which some scholars, and too many that profess religion, either wilfully affect, or carelessly allow themselves in, sometimes to the reproach of their profession. It is one of the laws of our holy religion, exemplified in this good man, to honour all men. Sanctified civility is a great ornament to Christianity. It was a saying he often used, 'Religion doth not destroy good manners;' and yet he was very far from any thing of vanity in apparel, or compliment in address; but his conversation was natural and easy to himself and others, and nothing appeared in him, which even a severe critic could call affected. This temper of his tended very much to the adorning of the doctrine of GOD our Saviour; and the general transcript of such an excellent copy, would do much towards the healing of those wounds which religion hath received in the house of her friends by the contrary.

The first Latin school he went to was at St. Martin's Church. Afterwards he was removed to Battersea; but in the year 1643, when he was about twelve years old, he was admitted into Westminster School, under MR. THOMAS VINCENT, a most able, diligent school-master; and one who grieved so much at the dulness and non-proficiency of any of his scholars, that, falling into a consumption, I have heard MR. HENRY say of him, 'That he even killed himself with false Latin.'

A while after he was taken into the Upper School, under MR. RICHARD BUSBY; (afterwards DR. BUSBY;) and in October, 1645, he was admitted King's Scholar; and was first of the election, partly by his own merit, and partly by the interest of the EARL of PEMBROKE.

Here he profited greatly in school-learning, and all his days retained his improvements therein. When he was in years, he would readily quote passages out of the classic authors that were not common, and had them *ad usum*, and often pressed it upon young scholars, in the midst of their University-learning, not to forget their school-authors.

His usual recreations at vacant times was attending the Courts at Westminster Hall, to hear the trials and arguments there, which, I have heard him say, he hath often done to the loss of his dinner.

Soon after those unhappy wars began, there was a daily morning lecture set up at the Abbey Church, between six and eight of the clock, and preached by seven worthy members of the Assembly of Divines in course. It was at the request of his pious mother to MR. BUSBY, that he would give her son leave to attend that lecture daily, which he did, not abating any thing of his school-exercise, in which he kept pace with the rest; but only dispensing with his absence for that hour: And the LORD was pleased to make good impressions on his soul, by the sermons he heard there. On the LORD'S-day he sat under the powerful ministry of MR. STEPHEN MARSHALL, whom he would to his last speak of with great respect, as by whom he was, through grace, in the beginning of his days begotten again to a lively hope. I have heard him speak of it, as the saying of some wise men at that time, 'That if all the Presbyterians had been like MR. STEPHEN MARSHALL, all the Independents like MR. JEREMIAH BURROUGHS, and all the Episcopal men like Archbishop USHER, the breaches of the Church would soon have been healed.' He also attended constantly upon the monthly fasts at St. Margaret's, where the best and ablest Ministers of England preached before the then House of Commons; and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. It was his constant practice, from eleven or twelve years old, to write (as he could) all the sermons he heard.

At these monthly fasts (as he himself hath recorded it) he had often sweet meltings of soul in prayer, and confession of sin, and many warm and lively truths came home to his heart, and he daily increased in that wisdom and knowledge which is to salvation. Read his reflections upon this, which he wrote many years after: 'If ever any child between the tenth and fifteenth years of his age, enjoyed

line upon line, precept upon precept, I did. And was it in vain? I trust not altogether: My soul rejoiceth at the remembrance of it; the word distilled as the dew, and dropped as the rain: I loved it, and loved the messengers of it, their very feet were beautiful to me. And, LORD, what a mercy was it, that at a time when the poor countries were laid waste, when the noise of drums and trumpets, and the clattering of arms was heard there, my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, where the voice of the turtle was heard, and there was great plenty of Gospel-opportunities! Bless the LORD, O my soul; as long as I live, I will bless the LORD, I will praise my GOD while I have my being.'

But it is time we return to Westminster-School. DR. BUSBY was noted for a very severe schoolmaster, especially in the beginning of his time. But MR. HENRY would say sometimes, that as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline, so for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, and then (saith he, in some remarks which he wrote long after) I deserved it: For being monitor of the chamber, and according to the duty of his place, being sent out to seek one that played truant; he found him out where he had hid himself, and at his earnest request promised to say he could not find him; which (saith he, in a penitential reflection upon it afterwards) 'I wickedly did.' Next morning the truant coming under examination, and being asked whether he saw the monitor, said, Yes, he did; at which Dr. Busby was much surprised, and turned his eyes upon the monitor, with this word, *και συ, τεκνον*; ('What thou, my son?') and gave him correction, and appointed him to make a penitential copy of Latin verses, which when he brought he gave him six-pence, and received him into his favour again.

Among the mercies of GOD to him in his youth, (and he would say, it were well if parents would keep an account of those for their children, till they came to be capable of doing it for themselves, and then to set them upon the

doing of it,) he hath recorded a remarkable deliverance he had at Westminster-School, which was this: It was customary there among the studious boys, for one or two or more, to sit up the former part of the night at study, and when they went to bed, about midnight, to call others; and they others, at two or three o'clock, as they desired: His request was to be called at twelve, and being awaked, desired his candle might be lighted, which stuck to the bed's head; but he dropped asleep again and the candle fell, and burnt part of the bed and bolster, before he awaked; but through God's good Providence, seasonable help came in, the fire was soon quenched, and he received no harm.

It was the ancient custom of Westminster-School, that all the King's scholars who stood candidates for an election to the University, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before, which he did with the rest, in St. Margaret's Church, at Easter, 1647, and he would often speak of the great pains which Dr. BUSBY took with his scholars, that were to approach to that solemn ordinance, for several weeks before at stated times; with what skill and seriousness of application, and manifest concern for their souls, he opened to them the nature of the ordinance, and of the work they had to do in it; and instructed them what was to be done in preparation for it; and this he made a business of, appointing them their religious exercises instead of their school exercises. What success this had, through the grace of God, upon young Mr. HENRY, (to whom the Doctor had a particular regard,) read from his own hand: 'There had been treaties (saith he) before, between my soul and JESUS CHRIST, with some weak overtures towards him; but then, then I think it was that the match was made, the knot tied: Then I set myself in the strength of Divine grace, about the great work of self-examination in order to repentance; and then I repented; that is, solemnly and seriously, with some poor meltings of soul; I confessed my sins before God, original and actual, judging and condemning myself for them, and casting away from me all my transgressions, receiving CHRIST JESUS the

LORD, as the LORD my Righteousness, and devoting and dedicating my whole self absolutely and unreservedly to his fear and service. After which coming to the ordinance, there, there I received him indeed, and he became mine ; I say mine. “ Bless the LORD, O my soul.”’

I have heard him tell how much he surprised the Doctor, the first time he waited upon him after he was turned out by the Act of Uniformity : For when the Doctor asked him, ‘ Prithee (child) what made thee a Non-conformist ?’ ‘ Truly sir,’ saith MR. HENRY, ‘ you made me one ; for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming.’

May 17. 1647. He was chosen from Westminster-School to Christ-Church in Oxford, with four others, of which he had the second place. At his election he was very much countenanced by his godfather the EARL of PEMBROKE, who was one of the electors.



CHAPTER II.

His Years spent at Oxford.

THOUGH he was chosen to the University in May, yet being then under sixteen, and in love with his school learning, he made no haste thither. It was in December following, that he removed to Oxford. Some merciful providences in his journey (he being a young traveller) affected him much, and he used to speak of them, with a sense of God’s goodness to him in them ; and he hath recorded them with this thankful note : ‘ That there may be a great mercy in a small matter ;’ as the care that was taken of him by strangers, when he fainted and was sick in his inn the first night ; and in his casual meeting with MR. ANNESLEY, (who was chosen from Westminster-School, at the same time that he was,) when his other company, going another way, had left him alone, and utterly at a loss what to do. Thus the sensible remembrance of old mercies may

answer the intention of new ones, which is to engage our obedience to GOD, and to encourage our dependance on him.

Being come to Oxford, he was immediately entered at Christ-Church, where DR. SAMUEL FELL was the Dean; the Tutor assigned to him and the rest of that election was MR. UNDERWOOD, a very learned man.

His godfather, the EARL of PEMBROKE, had given him ten pounds to buy him a gown, to pay his fees, and to set out with. This in his papers he puts a remark upon, as a seasonable mercy in regard of some straits, which Providence, by the calamity of the times, had brought his father to. God had taught him from his youth that excellent principle, which he adhered to all his days, 'that every creature is that to us, and no more, that GOD makes it to be; and therefore while many seek the Ruler's favour, and so expect it to make their fortunes, as they call it: Seeing "every man's judgment proceedeth from the LORD;" it is our wisdom to seek His favour, who is the Ruler of rulers, and that is an effectual way to make sure our happiness.'

To the proper studies of this place he now vigorously addressed himself; but still retaining a great kindness for the classic authors, and the more polite exercises he loved so well at Westminster-School.

He was admitted student of Christ-Church, March 24, 1648, by DR. HENRY HAMMOND, that great man, then Sub-Dean, who called him his god-brother; the EARL of PEMBROKE being his god-father also, and Prince HENRY the other, who gave him his name.

The visitation of the University by the Parliament happened to be the very next month after. Oxford had been for a good while in the hands of the Parliament, and no change made; but now the EARL of PEMBROKE, and several others appointed, came hither to settle things upon a new bottom. The account MR. HENRY in his papers gives of this affair, is to this purpose: The sole question which the Visitors proposed to each person, high and low, in every College,

that had any place or profit, was this, 'Will you submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation?' To which all were to give in their answer in writing, and accordingly were either displaced or continued. Some cheerfully complied, others absolutely refused; (among whom he would sometimes tell of one that was but of his standing, who gave in this bold answer, 'I neither can, nor will submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation: I say I cannot, I say I will not, J. C. ;) others answered doubtfully, pleaded youth and ignorance in such matters. MR. HENRY'S answer was, 'I submit to the power of the Parliament in the present visitation, as far as I may with a safe conscience and without perjury.' His reason for the last salvo, was, because he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy a little before, at his admission; which he was jealous of doing any thing to contradict or infringe. However, this answer of his satisfied; and by the favour of the EARL of PEMBROKE he was continued in his Student's place. But great alterations were made in that, as well as in other Colleges, very much to the discouragement of young scholars, who came to get learning, not to judge of the rights of Government. DR. SAMUEL FELL, the Dean, was removed, and DR. EDWARD REYNOLDS, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was put in his room; DR. HAMMOND and all the Canons, except DR. WALL, were displaced; and MR. WILKINSON, MR. POCOCK, and others of the Parliament's friends were preferred to their places. His thoughts of this in the reflection long after, was, that milder methods might have done better, and would have been a firmer establishment to the new interest; but considering that many of those who were put out (being in expectation of a sudden change, which came not for many years after) were exasperating in their carriage towards the Visitors; and that the Parliament (at this time masters) had many of their own friends ready for University-preferments, (which Oxford having been from the beginning a garrison for the King, they had been long kept out of,) and these were concerned to oblige; it was

not strange if they took such strict methods. And yet nothing being required but a bare submission, which might be interpreted but as a crying quarter, he thought withal, that it could not be said the terms were hard, especially (saith he) if compared with those of another nature imposed since.

Among other Student-masters removed, his tutor, MR. UNDERWOOD, was one, which he often bewailed as ill for him, for he was a good scholar, and one that made it his business to look after his pupils, who were very likely, by the blessing of GOD, to have profited under his conduct: But it pleased GOD to give him interest in the affections of a young man, an under-graduate then, but two or three years his senior from Westminster; one MR. RICHARD BRYAN, who took him to be his chamber-fellow while he continued at Oxford, read to him, overlooked his studies, and directed him in them. Of this gentleman he makes a very honourable mention, as one who was, through GOD's blessing an instrument of much good to him. MR. JOHN FELL also, the Dean's son, (afterwards himself Dean of Christ-Church, and Bishop of Oxford,) taking pity on him, and some others that were neglected, voluntarily read to them for some time; a kindness which he retained a very grateful sense of, and for which he much honoured that learned and worthy person.

Here he duly performed the college-exercises, disputations every day, in term-time; themes and verses once a week, and declamations when it came to his turn; in which performances he frequently came off with great applause.

At the latter end of the year 1648, he had leave given him to make a visit to his father at Whitehall, with whom he stayed some time; there he was Jan. 30, when the King was beheaded, and with a sad heart saw that tragical blow given. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day; which I know not whether any of the historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, There was such a dismal, universal

groan, among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, (as it were with one consent,) as he never heard before; and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was, That immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-cross towards King-street, and another from King-street towards Charing-cross; purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with; by driving them to shift every one for his own safety. He did upon all occasions testify his abhorrence of this unparalleled action, which he always said was a thing that could not be justified; and yet he said he saw not how it could be called a national sin; for, as the King urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one man of ten in the kingdom did consent to it; nor could it be called the sin of the Long Parliament, for far the greatest part of them were all that time, while the thing was in agitation, imprisoned and kept under a force; and scarce twenty-seven of the forty that were left to carry the name of a Parliament, did give their vote for it; which the Commissioners for the trying of the King's Judges, in the year 1660, (some of whom had been themselves members of the Long Parliament,) urged again and again, in answer to that plea which the prisoners stood so much upon, that what they did was by authority of the Parliament: But it is manifest it was done by a prevailing party in the army, who (as he used to express it) having beaten their plough-shares into swords, could not so easily beat their swords into plough-shares again; as having fought more for victory and dominion, than for peace and truth.

In the year 1651, he took his Bachelor of Arts degree; and he hath recorded the goodness of God in raising him up friends, who helped him out in the expenses.

He would often mention it with thankfulness to God, what great helps he had in the University, not only for learning, but piety. Serious godliness was in reputation, and besides the public opportunities, there were many of

the scholars that used to meet for prayer, and Christian conference, to the great confirming of one another's hearts in the fear and love of God, and the preparing them for the service of the church in their generation. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they took then about the University-sermons on the LORD'S-day in the afternoon; which used to be preached by the Fellows of Colleges in their course; but, that being found not so much for edification, DR. OWEN and DR. GOODWIN performed that service alternately, and the young Masters that were wont to preach it, had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them.

In December 1652, he proceeded Master of Arts, and in January following preached his first sermon at South-Hinkley in Oxfordshire, on *John* viii. 34. "Whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin." On this occasion he writes in his diary, what was the breathing of his heart towards GOD: 'The LORD make use of me as an instrument of his glory, and his church's good, in this high and holy calling!'

His great parts and improvement, notwithstanding his extraordinary modesty and humility, had made him so well known in the University, that in the following Act, in July 1653, he was chosen to be Junior of the Act, that is, to answer the Philosophy Questions, which he did with great applause.

He hath noted it of some pious young men, that before they removed from the University into the country, they kept a day of fasting and humiliation for the sins they had been guilty of in that place and state. And in the visits he made afterwards to the University, he inserts into his book, as no doubt God did into his,—a tear dropped over my University-sins.

CHAPTER III.

His Removal to Worthenbury in Flintshire ; his Ordination to the Ministry, and his Exercise of it there.

WORTHENBURY is a little town by the Dee side, in that hundred of Flintshire, which is separated some miles from the rest of the country, and known by the name of English Mailors ; because though it is reputed in Wales, as pertaining to Flintshire, yet in language and customs it is wholly English, and lies mostly between Cheshire and Shropshire. The principal family in Worthenbury parish, is that of the PULESTONS of Emeral. The head of the family was then JOHN PULESTON, Serjeant at Law, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

This was the family to which MR. HENRY came from Christ-Church, presently after he had completed his Master's degree, in 1653 : Ordered into that remote corner of the country, by that over-ruling Providence which determineth the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation.

The Judge's lady was a person of more than ordinary parts and wisdom, in piety inferior to few ; but in learning superior to most of her sex.

This was the lady who brought MR. HENRY into this country. She wrote to a friend of hers, MR. FRANCIS PALMER, Student of Christ-Church, to desire him to commend to her a young man to be in her family, and to take the oversight of her sons, (some of whom were now ready for the University,) and to preach at Worthenbury on the LORD's-days. MR. PALMER proposed it to his friend MR. HENRY, who was willing for one half year to undertake it, provided it might be required of him to preach but once on the LORD's-day, he being now but twenty-two years of age, and newly entered upon that great work. Provided also, that he should be engaged

but half a year, as little intending to break off so soon from an academical life, which he delighted in so much.

In September, 1653, he came down to Emeral. Long after, when it had pleased God to settle him in that country he would often reflect upon his coming into it first, what a stranger he then was, and how far it was from his thoughts ever to have made it his home in those parts; and passing over the brook that parts between Flintshire and Shropshire, would sometimes very affectionately use that word of JACOB'S, "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands."

At Emeral he prayed in the family, was tutor to the young gentlemen, and preached once a day at Worthenbury; other help being procured for the other part of the day, according to his request. But it soon happened, that one LORD'S-day, the supply that was expected failed; and so he was necessitated, rather than there should be a vacancy, to preach twice, in which he found the promise so well fulfilled, "As the days, so shall thy strength be," that, from thenceforward he waived looking out for other help than what came from above, and would sometimes speak of this as an instance, 'that we do not know what we can do, till we have tried.'

Here he applied himself to a plain and practical way of preaching, as one truly concerned for the souls of those he spoke to. He would say sometimes, 'We study how to speak that you may understand us: And I never think I can speak plain enough when I am speaking about souls and their salvation.' I have heard him say, he thought it did him good, that for the first half year of his being at Worthenbury, he had few or no books with him, which engaged him to a closer search of the Scripture, and his own heart. What success his labours had in that parish, which, before he came to it, was accounted one of the most loose and profane places in all the country, may be gathered from a letter of the LADY PULESTON'S to him, when he was inclinable to return to settle at Christ-Church.

‘ DEAR MR. HENRY,

‘ I find your audience is increased three for one in the parish, and five for one out of other places. And I have neither heard of their being in the ale-house on our LORD’S-day, nor ball-playing that day, which before you came was frequent. I think I can name four or five in the parish, that of formal Christians are become real: But you know, all are not wrought on at first by the word. GOD may have reserved those that have not bowed the knee to Baal, and may call them at the latter part of the day, though not in this half year. It is a good sign, most are loth to part with you; and you have done more good in this half year, than I have discerned these eighteen years.’

It is easy to imagine what an encouragement this was to him, thus at his first setting out to see of the travail of his soul, and what an inducement it was to him not to leave those among whom GOD had thus owned him. However, that Spring he returned to Oxford. The LADY PULESTON soon after came to him thither, with her five sons, of whom she placed the two eldest under his charge, in the College. In the following vacation he went to London, to visit his relations there; and there in October he received a letter from JUDGE PULESTON, with a very solemn and affectionate request subscribed by the parishioners of Worthenbury, earnestly desiring his settlement among them, as their Minister; which he was persuaded to comply with, having fixed to himself that good rule, in the turns of his life, to follow Providence, and not force it: So in the Winter following, he came down and settled with them. He continued in his Student’s place in Christ-Church for two or three years, attending the service of it once a year; but disposing of most of the profit of it for the use of poor scholars there.

He continued for some years in the EMERAL family, where he laid out himself very much for the spiritual good of the family, even of the meanest of the servants, by catechising, repeating the sermons, and personal instruction, and he had very much comfort in the conversation of the Judge and

his Lady. Yet he complains sometimes in his diary of the snares and temptations that he found in his way there, especially because some of the branches of the family were uneasy at his being there, which made him willing to remove to a house of his own; which, when JUDGE PULESTON perceived, in the year 1657, he did at his own cost build him a very handsome house in Worthenbury, and settled it upon him by a lease, bearing date, March 6, 1657, for threescore years, if he should so long continue at Worthenbury.

In the year 1659, he was, by a writing of JUDGE PULESTON's, collated, nominated, and presented to the Church of Worthenbury, and (the powers that then were, having so appointed) he had an approbation thereof from the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers.

There were but forty-one communicants in that parish, when he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and they were never doubled: Yet he had such low thoughts of himself, that he not only never sought for a larger sphere, but would never hearken to any overtures of that kind made to him; and withal, he had such high thoughts of his work, and the worth of souls, that he laid out himself with as much diligence and vigour here, as if he had the oversight of the greatest parish in the country.

The greatest part of the parish were poor tenants, and labouring husbandmen; but the souls of such (he used to say) are as precious as the souls of the rich. His prayer for them was, 'LORD, despise not the day of small things in this place, where there is some willingness but much weakness.' And thus he writes upon the Judge's settling a handsome maintenance upon him: 'LORD, thou knowest I seek not theirs, but them: Give me the souls.'

He was in labours more abundant to win souls. Besides preaching, he expounded the Scriptures in order; catechised, and explained the Catechism. At first he took into the number of his catechumens some that were adult, who (he found) wanted instruction; and when he had taken what pains he thought needful with them, he dismissed them

from further attendance, with commendation of their proficiency, and counsel to hold fast the form of sound words, to be watchful against the sins of their age, and to apply themselves to the ordinance of the LORD'S Supper, and make ready for it; afterwards he catechised none above seventeen or eighteen years of age.

He set up a monthly lecture there of two sermons, one he himself preached, and the other his friend, MR. AMBROSE LEWIS, of Wrexham, for some years. He also kept up a monthly conference in private from house to house in which he met with the more knowing and judicious of the parish, and they discoursed familiarly together of the things of GOD, to their mutual edification. By this means he came better to understand the state of his flock, and so knew the better how to preach to them, and pray for them, and they to pray for one another. If they were in doubt about any thing relating to their souls, that was an opportunity of getting satisfaction. It was likewise a means of increasing knowledge, and love, and other graces.

He was very industrious in visiting the sick, instructing them, and praying with them; and in this he would say, he aimed at the good not only of those that were sick, but also of their friends and relations that were about them.

He preached funeral sermons for all that were buried there, rich and poor, old or young, or little children, for he looked upon it as an opportunity of doing good. He called it, 'setting in the plough of the word, when Providence had softened and prepared the ground.' He never took any money for that or any other ministerial performance, besides his stated salary, for which he thought himself obliged to do his whole duty to them as a Minister.

When he first set up the ordinance of the LORD'S Supper there, he did it with great solemnity. After he had endeavoured to instruct them in his public preaching, touching the nature of that ordinance, he discoursed personally with all that gave their names, touching their knowledge, experience, and conversation, obliged them to observe the law of Christ, touching brotherly admonition in case of

scandal ; and gave notice to the congregation who they were that were admitted ; adding this : ‘Concerning these, and myself, I have two things to say : 1. As to what is passed we have sinned : “ If we should say we have not, we should deceive ourselves, and the truth were not in us ;” and yet this withal we can say, and have said it, some of us with tears, “ We are grieved that we have sinned.” 2. For the time to come, we are resolved, by God’s grace, to walk in new obedience ; and yet, seeing we are not angels, but men and women, compassed about with infirmities and temptations, it is possible we may fall ; but if we do, it is our declared resolution to submit to admonition and censure, according to the rule of the Gospel.’ And all along he took care so to manage his admissions to that ordinance, as that the weak might not be discouraged, and yet the ordinance might not be profaned. He would tell those whom he was necessitated to debar from the ordinance for ignorance, that he would undertake, if they were but truly willing, they might in a week’s time (by the blessing of God upon their diligent use of means, reading, prayer and conference) get such a competent measure of knowledge, as to be able to discern the Lord’s body. And those that had been scandalous, if they would but come and declare their repentance, and resolutions of new obedience, they should no longer be excluded.

He very rarely, if ever, baptized in private ; but would have children brought to the solemn assembly upon the Lord’s-day, that the child might have the more prayers put up for it, and the congregation might be edified. And yet he would say, there was some inconvenience in it too, unless people would agree to put off the feasting part of the solemnity to some other time, which he very much persuaded his friends to ; and observed that ABRAHAM made a great feast the same day that ISAAC *was weaned*, (*Gen.* xxi. 8.) not the same day that he was circumcised.

His carriage towards the people of his parish was very exemplary, condescending to the meanest, and conversing familiarly with them ; “ bearing with the infirmities of the

weak," and "becoming all things to all men." He was exceeding tender of giving offence, or occasion of grief to any body, minding himself in his diary upon such occasions, that "the wisdom that is from above, is pure, and peaceable, and gentle." Yet he plainly and faithfully re-proved what he saw amiss in any, and would not suffer sin upon them; mourning also for that which he could not mend.

Many out of the neighbouring parishes attended upon his ministry, and some came from far. They who had spiritual senses exercised to discern things that differ, would attend upon that ministry which they found to be most edifying.

He had not been long at Worthenbury, but he began to be taken notice of by the neighbouring Ministers. Though his extraordinary modesty and humility made him to sit down with silence "in the lowest room," and to say, as ELIHU, "Days shall speak," yet his eminent gifts and graces could not long be hid. He was often called upon to preach the Week-day lectures, which were set up plentifully, and diligently attended upon in those parts, and his labours were generally very acceptable and successful. His advice was sought for by many neighbouring Ministers and Christians; for he was one of those that found favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man. He was noted, at his first setting out, (as I have been told by one who was then intimately acquainted with him, and with his character and conversation,) for three things: 1. Great piety and devotion, and a mighty savour of godliness in all his converse. 2. Great industry in the pursuit of useful knowledge; he was particularly observed to be very inquisitive when he was among the aged and intelligent, hearing them, and asking them questions; a good example to young men, especially young Ministers. 3. Great self-denial, self-diffidence, and self-abasement; this eminent humility put a lustre upon all his other graces.

Besides his frequent preaching of the lectures about him, he was a constant and diligent attendant upon those

within his reach as a hearer ; and not only wrote the sermons he heard, but afterwards recorded in his diary what in each sermon reached his heart, adding some pious ejaculations, which were the breathings of his heart, when he meditated upon, and prayed over the sermons.

His diligent improvement of the word preached, contributed more than any one thing, as a means to his great attainments in knowledge and grace. He would say sometimes, that one great use of Week-day lectures was, that it gave ministers an opportunity of hearing one another preach, by which they are likely to profit, when they hear not as masters, but as scholars.

His great friend, and companion, and fellow-labourer in the work of the LORD, was MR. RICHARD STEEL, (Minister of Hanmer, one of the next parishes to Worthenbury,) whose praise is in the Churches of Christ ; with him he frequently joined at Hanmer, and elsewhere, in Christian conference, and in days of humiliation and prayer ; besides their meetings with other Ministers at public lectures ; after which it was usual for them to spend some time among themselves in set Disputations in Latin. This was the work that in those days was carried on among Ministers, who made it their business, “as iron sharpens iron, to provoke one another to love and good works.”

In the beginning of his days he often laboured under bodily distempers. It was feared that he was in a consumption ; and some blamed him for taking so much pains in his ministerial work, suggesting to him, “Master, spare thyself.” One of his friends told him he lighted up all his pound of candles together, and that he could not hold out long at that rate ; but he often reflected upon it with comfort afterwards, that he was not influenced by such suggestions: ‘The more we do, the more we may do (so he would sometimes say) in the service of GOD.’ When his work was sometimes more than ordinary, and bore hard upon him, he thus appealed to GOD: ‘Thou knowest, LORD, how well contented I am to spend and be spent in thy service ; and if the outward man decay, O let the inward man

be renewed.' Upon the returns of his indisposition he expressed a great concern how to get spiritual good by it; to come out of the furnace, and leave some dross behind; for it is a great loss to lose an affliction. He mentions it as that which he hoped did him good, that he was ready to look upon every return of distemper as a summons to the grave; thus he learned to die daily. 'I find (saith he) my earthly tabernacle tottering, and when it is taken down, I shall have a building in Heaven that shall never fail. Blessed be God the Father, and my LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the good SPIRIT of GRACE. Even so, Amen.' This was both his strength and his song under his bodily infirmities.

While he was at Worthenbury, he constantly laid by the tenth of his income for the poor, which he faithfully disposed of in the liberal things which he devised, especially the teaching of poor children: And he would recommend it as a good rule to lay by for charity, (in some proportion, according as the circumstances are,) and then it will be the easier to lay out in charity; we shall be the more apt to seek for opportunities of doing good, when we have money lying by us, of which we have said, 'This is not our own, but the poor's.' To encourage himself and others to works of charity, he would say, 'He is no fool who parts with that which he cannot keep, when he is sure to be recompensed with that which he cannot lose.'

In the year 1658, the Ministers of that neighbourhood began to enlarge their correspondence with the Ministers of North Wales; and several meetings they had at Ruthin, and other places, for the settling a correspondence, and the promoting of unity and love among themselves, by entering into an association. They appointed particular associations; and (notwithstanding the differences of apprehension that were among them; some being in their judgments Episcopal, others Congregational, and others Classical) they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance, and to give to each other the right hand of fellowship; that with one consent, they might study each in their places to promote

the common interests of CHRIST's kingdom, and the common salvation of souls. He observed that this year, after the death of OLIVER CROMWELL, there was generally throughout the nation, a great change in the temper of God's people, and a mighty tendency towards peace and unity, as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings, which in his diary he expresseth his great rejoicing in, and his hopes that the time was at hand, when "Judah shall no longer vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah, neither shall they learn war any more." And though these hopes were soon disappointed by a change of the scene, yet he would often speak of the experience of that and the following year in those parts, as a specimen of what may yet be expected, (and therefore in faith prayed for,) when the SPIRIT shall be poured out upon us from on high. "But alas! Who shall live when God doeth this?" From this experience he likewise gathered this observation, That it is not so much our difference of opinion that doth us the mischief; (for we may as soon expect all the clocks in the town to strike together, as to see all good people of a mind in every thing on this side heaven;) but the mismanagement of that difference.

They frequently set apart a day of fasting and prayer among themselves to bewail ministerial neglects, and to seek to God for direction and success in their ministerial work. They met sometimes for this purpose at MR. HENRY'S house at Worthenbury.

September 29, 1658, the Lady PULESTON died. 'She was (saith he) the best friend I had on earth; but my Friend in heaven is still where he was, and "He will never leave me nor forsake me."' He preached her funeral sermon from *Isaiah* ii. 22: "Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils." He hath noted this expression of hers not long before she died: 'My soul leans to JESUS CHRIST; lean to me, sweet Saviour.' About this time he writes, 'A dark cloud is over my concerns in this family, but my desire is, that whatever becomes of me and my interest, the interest of CHRIST may still be kept on foot in this

place.' But he adds soon after, that saying of ATHANASIVS, which he used often to quote and take comfort from ; *Nubecula est, et cito pertransibit* : It is a little cloud, and will soon blow over.

About a year after, Sept. 5, 1659, Judge PULESTON died, and all MR. HENRY'S interest in the Emeral family was buried in his grave. He preached the Judge's funeral sermon, from *Neh. xiii. 14.* " Wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my GOD, and for the offices thereof."

In March, 1659, he was much solicited to leave Worthenbury, and to accept of the Vicarage of Wrexham, which was a place that he had both a great interest in, and a great kindness for, but he could not see his call clear from Worthenbury, so he declined it. The same year he had an offer made him of a considerable living near London ; but he was not of them that are given to change, nor did he seek great things to himself.

He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the King, in April, 1660, and was much affected with the mercy of it. ' While others rejoice carnally, (saith he,) LORD, help thy people to rejoice spiritually, in our public national mercies.' It was upon that occasion that MR. BAXTER preached his sermon of ' Right Rejoicing,' on *Luke x. 20.* But he and others soon saw cause to " rejoice with trembling," and to sing both of mercy and judgment ; for about that time he hath this melauncholy remark ; ' Religion loses ground exceedingly, and profaneness gets it ; help, LORD !' However, he was very industrious to quiet the minds of some who were uneasy at that great revolution ; and that Scripture yielded him much satisfaction, " The FATHER loveth the SON, and hath given all things into his hands." (*John iii. 35.*) If CHRIST be not only the Head of the church, but Head over all things to the church, we may be assured, that all things shall be made to work together for good to it. His sense of that great mercy of GOD to the nation, in the peaceable and legal settlement of King CHARLES the Second upon the throne, was the same with that of multitudes,

besides, both Ministers and others, that were of the quiet in the land, who yet not long after suffered very hard things under him. Soon after the return of the King, he notes how industrious some were to remove him from Worthenbury, on which he writes this as the breathing of his soul towards God; ‘*LORD, if it please thee, fasten me here as a nail in a sure place; if otherwise, I will take nothing ill which thou doest with me.*’ And when pressed by his friends more earnestly than before, to accept of some other place, ‘*LORD, (saith he,) mine eye is unto thee, I am wholly at thy disposal, make my way plain before my face, because of mine enemies; my resolution is to deny myself if thou callest me. Here (or any where, it is no great matter where) I am.*’

There are two things further which I think it may be of use to give some account of in this chapter. 1. Of the course of his Ministry at Worthenbury; and 2. Of the state of his soul in those years.

As to the subjects he preached upon, he did not use to dwell long upon a text. Better one sermon upon many texts, (namely, many Scriptures opened and applied,) than many sermons upon one text: To that purpose he would sometimes speak.

He used to preach in a fixed method, and linked his subjects in a sort of chain: He adapted his method and style to the capacity of his hearers, fetching his similitudes for illustration, from those things which were familiar to them. He did not shoot the arrow of the word over their heads in high notions, nor under their feet by blunt and homely expressions, as many do under pretence of plainness, but to their hearts in close and lively applications. His delivery was very graceful and agreeable, far from being noisy and precipitate on the one hand, or dull and slow on the other. His doctrine dropped as the dew, and distilled as the soaking rain, and came with a charming pleasing power, such as many will bear witness to, that have wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.

He would often advise Ministers not to tie themselves too strictly to their notes, but having well digested the matter before, to allow themselves a liberty of expression, such as a man's affections, if they be well raised, will be apt to furnish him with. But for this, no certain rule can be given; there are "diversities of gifts," and each "to profit withal."

To the last he studied new sermons; for he thought a sermon best preached, when it was newly meditated.

When he went to Oxford, and preached there before the University in Christ-church, as he did several times, his labours were not only very acceptable, but successful too; particularly one sermon which he preached there, on *Prov.* xiv. 9: "Fools make a mock at sin;" for which sermon a young Master of Arts came to his chamber afterwards to return him thanks, and to acknowledge the good impressions which Divine Grace, by that sermon, had made upon his soul.

In his diary he frequently records the frame of his spirit in studying and preaching. Sometimes blessing God for signal help vouchsafed, and owning him the LORD GOD of all his enlargements; at other times, complaining of great deadness and straitness: 'It is a wonder (saith he) that I can speak of eternal things, with so little sense of the reality of them: LORD, strengthen that which remains, which is ready to die.' And he once writes thus upon a studying day; 'I forgot explicitly and expressly when I began, to crave help from God, and the chariot-wheels drove accordingly. LORD, forgive my omissions, and keep me in the way of duty.'

As to the state of his soul in these years, it should seem by his diary, that he was exercised with some doubts and fears concerning it. 'I think (saith he) never did any poor creature pass through such a mixture of hope and fear; joy and sadness, assurance and doubting, as I have done.' It would affect one, to hear one that lived a life of communion with God, complaining of great straitness in prayer. 'No life at all in the duty, many wanderings; if my prayers

were written down, and my vain thoughts interlined, what incoherent nonsense would there be ! I am ashamed, LORD, I am ashamed ; O pity and pardon.' To hear him suspecting the workings of pride of heart, when he gave an account to a friend who inquired of him, touching the success of his Ministry, and that he should record this concerning himself, with this ejaculation annexed, ' The LORD pardon and subdue.' It was a sign that he kept a very watchful eye upon the motions of his own heart.

Great mercies, but poor returns ; signal opportunities, but small improvements : Such are his complaints concerning himself. And though few or none excelled him in profitable discourse, yet in that he often bewails his barrenness and unprofitableness : ' Little good done or gotten such a day for want of a heart ; it is my sin and shame. O that I had wings like a dove !'

Yet when he wanted joy, he lived by faith. ' Such a day (saith he) a full resignation was made of all my concerns, into the hands of my heavenly FATHER, let him deal with me as seemeth good in his eyes ; I am learning and labouring to live by faith ; LORD, help my unbelief.' Another time he notes that many perplexing fears being upon his spirit, they were silenced with that sweet word which was seasonably brought to his remembrance, " Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer."

He very frequently kept days of fasting and humiliation in secret, which he calls his days of atonement. Sometimes he observed these monthly, and sometimes only upon special occasions ; but the memorandums in his diary (not only while he was at Worthenbury, but often after) show what sweet communion he had with God in those solemn duties, which no eye was witness to, but His who " seeth in secret," and " will reward openly." ' Remember (O my soul) such a day, as a day of more than ordinary engagements entered into, and strong resolutions taken up of closer walking, and more watchfulness ; O my God, undertake for me !' And upon another of those days of secret prayer and humiliation, he notes, ' If sowing in tears be so sweet,

what then will the harvest be, when I shall reap in joy? Bless the LORD, O my soul, who forgiveth all thine iniquities, and will in due time heal all thy diseases.'

CHAPTER IV

His Marriage, Family-Religion, and the Education of his Children.

HE removed from Emeral, to the house in Worthenbury, which the Judge had built for him, in February, 1659, and then had one of his sisters with him to keep his house. No sooner had he a tent, but GOD had an altar in it. There he set up a repetition on Sabbath evenings, and welcomed his neighbours to it.

His Christian friends often, and sometimes his brethren in the Ministry, kept days of fasting and prayer at his house. He used to tell people when they had built new houses, they must dedicate them, (referring to *Deut.* xx. 5, and *Psalms* xxx. *ult.*) that is, they must invite GOD to their houses, and devote them to his service.

Providence having thus brought him into a house of his own, soon after provided a help-mate for him. After long agitation, and some discouragement and opposition from the father, April 26, 1660, he married CATHARINE, the only daughter and heir of MR. DANIEL MATTHEWS, of Broad-Oak, in the township of Iscoyd, in Flintshire. MR. MATTHEWS was a gentleman of a very competent estate; such an one as King JAMES the First used to say was the happiest lot of all others, which set a man below the office of a Justice of Peace, and above that of a Petty-Constable. This was his only child; very fair and honourable overtures had been made for her disposal; but it pleased GOD so to order events, that she was reserved to be a blessing to this good man.

His purpose of marriage was published in the Church

three LORD'S-days before; a laudable practice, which he greatly approved, and persuaded others to.

The day before his marriage, he kept as a day of secret prayer and fasting.

He used to say, Those who would have comfort in that change of their condition, must see to it, that they bring none of the guilt of the sins of their single state with them into the married state. And the presence of CHRIST at a wedding, will "turn the water into wine;" and He will come, if He be invited by prayer.

He took all occasions while he lived, to express his thankfulness to GOD for the great comfort he had in this relation. 'A day of mercy (so he writes on his marriage-day) never to be forgotten.' GOD had given him one (as he writes afterwards) every way his helper, in whom he had much comfort, and for whom he thanked GOD with all his heart. He writes in his diary, April 26, 1680. 'This day we have been married twenty years, in which time we have received of the LORD more than twenty thousand mercies; to GOD be glory.' Sometimes he writes, We have been so long married, and never reconciled; that is, there never was any occasion for it. His usual prayer for his friends in the married state, was according to his own practice in that state; 'That they might be mutually serviceable to each other's faith and holiness, and jointly serviceable to GOD'S honour and glory.'

MR. MATTHEWS settled part of his estate before marriage upon them and theirs; he lived about seven years after; and when he died, the remainder of it came to them. This competent estate which the Divine Providence brought into his hand, was not only a comfortable support to him when he was turned out of his living; but it enabled him likewise, as he had opportunity, to preach the Gospel freely, which he did to his dying day; and not only so, but to give for the relief of others that were in want, in which he sowed plentifully; and often blessed GOD that he had wherewithal, remembering the words of the LORD, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Such was his house, and such the vine which God graciously planted by the side of his house. By her, God gave him six children, all born within less than eight years; the two eldest, sons, JOHN and MATTHEW; the other four, daughters, SARAH, KATHERINE, ELEANOR and ANN. His eldest son JOHN died in the sixth year of his age; and the rest were in mercy continued to him.

The LORD having built him up into a family, he was faithful in making good his solemn vow at his ordination, that "he and his house would serve the LORD." He would often say, that we are really which we are relatively. It is not so much what we are at Church, as what we are in our families. Religion in the power of it will be family-religion. In this, his practice was very exemplary; he was one that walked before his house in a perfect way, with a perfect heart. His constant care was not only to put away iniquity far from his tabernacle, but that where he dwelt, the word of Christ might dwell richly. If he might have no other Church, yet he had a Church in his house.

He made conscience of closet-worship, and did abound in it, not making his family-worship to excuse from that. He hath this note in his diary, upon the removing of his closet but from one room in the house to another, 'This day,' saith he, 'my new closet was consecrated, if I may so say, with this prayer: That all the prayers that ever should be made in it according to the will of God, morning, evening and at noon-day, ordinary or extraordinary, might be accepted of God, and obtain a gracious answer. Amen and Amen.' It was the advice which he frequently gave to his children and friends; 'Be sure you look to your secret duty; keep that up whatever you do: The soul cannot prosper in the neglect of it.' He observed that apostasy generally begins at the closet-door. Secret prayer is first neglected or carelessly performed, then frequently omitted, and after a while wholly cast off; and then farewell God, and CHRIST, and all religion.

Besides this, he and his wife constantly prayed together morning and evening: And never, if they were together at

home or abroad, was it intermitted; and from his own experience of the benefit of this practice, he would take all opportunities to recommend it to those in that relation, as conducing very much to the comfort of it, and to their furtherance in that, which he would often say is the great duty of yoke-fellows; and that is, to do all they can to help one another to heaven. He would say, that this duty of husbands and wives praying together, is intimated in that of the Apostle, where they are exhorted to “live as heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers (especially their prayers together) be not hindered;” (1 *Pet.* iii. 7;) that nothing may be done to hinder them from praying together, nor to hinder them in it, nor to spoil the success of those prayers. This sanctifies the relation, and fetcheth in a blessing upon it, makes the comforts of it the more sweet, and the cares and crosses of it the more easy, and is an excellent means of preserving and increasing love in the relation. Many to whom he hath recommended the practice of this duty, have blessed God for him, and for his advice concerning it. When he was abroad and lay with any of his friends, he would mind them of his rule, that they who lie together must pray together. In the performance of this part of his daily worship he was usually short, but often much affected.

Besides these he made conscience, and made a business of family-worship in all parts of it; and in it he was uniform, steady and constant, from the time that he was first called to the charge of a family to his dying day; and according to his own practice, he took all occasions to press it upon others. He would say sometimes, ‘If the worship of God be not in the house, write, LORD *have mercy upon us*, upon the door; for there is a plague, a curse in it.’ How earnestly would MR. HENRY reason with people sometimes about this matter, and tell them what a blessing it would bring upon them and their houses, and all that they had. He that makes his house a little Church, shall find, that God will make it a little sanctuary. It may be of use to give a particular account of his practice in this matter,

because it was exemplary. As to the time of it, his rule was, the earlier the better, both morning and evening; in the morning before worldly business crowded in, "early will I seek thee." He that is first should have the first; nor is it fit that the worship of God should stand by and wait while the world's turn is served. And early in the evening before the children and servants began to be sleepy; and therefore, if it might be, he would have prayer at night before supper, that the body might be the more fit to serve the soul in that service of God. And indeed he did industriously contrive all the circumstances of his family-worship, so as to make it most solemn and most likely to answer the end. He always made it the business of every day, and not (as too many make it) a bye business. This being his fixed principle, all other affairs must be sure to give way to this. And he would tell those who objected against family-worship, that they could not get time for it; that if they would but put on a Christian resolution at first, they would not find the difficulty so great as they imagined; but after a while, their other affairs would fall in easily and naturally with this, especially where there is that wisdom which is profitable to direct. Nay, they would find it to be a great preserver of order and decency in a family, and it would be like a hem to all their other business, to keep it from ravelling. He was ever careful to have all his family present at family-worship; though sometimes, living in the country, he had a great household; yet he would have not only his children and sojourners (if he had any) and domestic servants, but his workmen and day-labourers, and all that were employed for him, if they were within call, to be present, to join with him in this service; and as it was an act of his charity many times to set them to work for him, so to that he added this act of piety, to set them to work for God. And usually when he paid his workmen their wages, he gave them some good counsel about their souls: Yet if any that should come to family-worship were at a distance, and must be staid for long, he would rather want them, than put the duty much out of time; and

would sometimes say at night, 'Better one away than all sleepy.'

The performances of his family worship were the same morning and evening. He observed that under the law, the "morning" and the "evening lamb," had the same "meat offering" and "drink offering." (*Exod.* xxix. 38, 41.) He always began with a short, but very solemn prayer, imploring the Divine presence and grace, assistance and acceptance; particularly begging a blessing upon the word to be read, in reference to which he often put up this petition: 'That the same SPIRIT that indited the Scripture, would enable us to understand the Scripture, and to make up something to ourselves out of it that may do us good:'. And, esteeming the word of GOD as his necessary food, he would sometimes pray in a morning, 'That our souls might have a good meal out of it.' He commonly concluded even this short prayer, as he did also his blessings before and after meat, with a doxology, as PAUL upon all occasions, "To Him be glory," &c.; which is properly adoration, and is an essential part of prayer.

He next sung a Psalm, and his usual way was to sing quick; yet with a good variety of proper and pleasant tunes. He would say, that a Scripture ground for singing Psalms in families, might be taken from *Psalm* cxviii. 15, "The voice of rejoicing and of salvation, is in the tabernacles of the righteous;" and that it is a way to hold forth godliness (like RAHAB's scarlet thread, *Josh.* ii. 17) to such as pass by our windows.

He next read a portion of Scripture, taking the Bible in order; he would sometimes blame those who only pray in their families, and do not read the Scripture: In prayer we speak to GOD, by the word He speaks to us; and is there any reason, saith he, that we should speak all? In the tabernacle, the Priests were every day to "burn incense," and to "light the lamps;" the former figuring the duty of prayer, the latter the duty of reading the word. Sometimes he would say, 'Those do well that pray morning and evening in their families; those do better that pray and

read the Scriptures; but those do best of all, that pray, and read, and sing Psalms; and Christians should covet earnestly the best gifts.'

He advised the reading of the Scripture in order; for though one star in the firmament of the Scripture differ from another star in glory, yet wherever GOD hath a mouth to speak, we should have an ear to hear; and the diligent searcher may find much excellent matter in those parts of Scripture, which we are sometimes tempted to think might have been spared. How affectionately would he sometimes bless GOD for every book, and chapter, and verse, and line, in the Bible.

What he read in his family, he always expounded; and exhorted all Ministers to do so, as an excellent means of increasing their acquaintance with the Scripture. His expositions were not so critical, as plain and practicable; and such as tended to edification. His observations were many times very surprizing, and such as one shall not ordinarily meet with. Commonly in his expositions he reduced the matter of the chapter or Psalm read, to some heads; not by a logical analysis, which often minceth it too small, and confounds the sense with the terms; but by such a distribution as the matter did most easily and unforcedly fall into. He often mentioned that saying of TERTULLIAN'S, 'I adore the fulness of the Scriptures.' When sometimes he had hit upon some useful observation that was new to him, he would say afterwards to those about him, 'How often have I read this chapter, and never before now took notice of such a thing in it!' He put his children, while they were with him, to write these expositions; and when they were gone from him, the strangers that sojourned with him did the same. Some expositions of this nature, that is, plain and practical, and helping to raise the affections and guide the conversation by the word, he often wished were published by some good hand, for the benefit of families: But such was his great modesty and self-diffidence, (though few more able for it,) that he would never be persuaded to attempt any thing of that kind himself.

The chapter or Psalm being read and expounded, he required from his children some account of what they could remember of it; and sometimes would discourse with them plainly and familiarly about it, that he might lead them into an acquaintance with it; and (if it might be) impress something of it upon their hearts.

He then prayed, always kneeling. He usually fetched his matter and expressions in prayer, from the chapter that was read, and the Psalm that was sung, which was often very affecting. In family-prayer he was usually most full in giving thanks for family-mercies, confessing family-sins, and begging family-blessings. Very particular he would sometimes be in prayer for his family; if any were absent, they were sure to have an express petition put up for them. He used to observe concerning JOB, that he offered burnt-offerings for his children, "according to the number of them all," (*chap.* i. 5,) an offering for each child; and so would he sometimes, in praying for his children, put up a petition for each child. He always observed the annual return of the birth-day of each of his children, to bless God for his mercy to him and his wife in that child; the giving of it, the continuance of it, the comfort they had in it, &c., with some special request to God for that child. Every servant and sojourner, at their coming into his family, and their going out, (besides the daily remembrances of them,) had a particular petition up for them, according as their circumstances were. The strangers that were at any times within his gates, he was wont particularly to recommend to God in prayer, with much affection. He was daily mindful of those that desired his prayers for them, and would say sometimes, 'It is a great comfort that God knows who we mean in prayer, though we do not name them.' Particular Providences concerning the country, as to health or sickness, good or bad weather, or the like, he commonly took notice of in prayer, as there was occasion; and would often beg of God to fit us for the next Providence, whatever it might be: Nor did he ever forget to pray for the "peace of Jerusalem." He always concluded

family-prayer, both morning and evening, with a solemn benediction; "The blessing of God Almighty, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, be with us." Thus did he daily bless his household.

Immediately after the prayer was ended, his children together, with bended knees, asked blessing of him and their mother; that is, desired of them to pray to God to bless them: Which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent, they were remembered, 'The LORD bless you and your brother, or you and your sister, that is absent.'

This was his daily worship, which he never altered, (unless as is after mentioned,) nor ever omitted any part of, though he went from home never so early, or returned never so late, or had never so much business for his servants to do. He would say, that sometimes he saw cause to shorten them; but he would never omit any of them; for if an excuse be once admitted for an omission, it will be often returning. He was not willing (unless the necessity were urgent) that any should go from his house in a morning before family-worship; but upon such an occasion would mind his friends, that prayer and provender never hinder a journey.

He managed his daily family-worship, so as to make it a pleasure and not a task to his children and servants; for he was seldom long, and never tedious in the service; the variety of the duties made it the more pleasant; so that none who joined with him had ever any reason to say, 'Behold what a weariness is it!' Such an excellent faculty he had of rendering religion the most amiable employment in the world; and so careful was he (like JACOB) "to drive as the children could go," not putting "new wine into old bottles."

On Thursday evenings (instead of reading) he catechised his children and servants. Or they read, and he examined them in some other useful book.

On Saturday evenings, his children and servants gave him an account what they could remember of the chapters

that had been expounded all the week before, in order, helping one another's memories for the recollecting of it. This he called, "gathering up the fragments which remained, that nothing might be lost." He would say to them sometimes as CHRIST to his disciples, "Have ye understood all these things?" If not, he took that occasion to explain them more fully. This exercise (which he constantly kept up all along) was both delightful and profitable, and being managed by him with so much prudence and sweetness, helped to instil into those about him betimes, the knowledge and love of the holy Scriptures.

When he had sojourners in his family, who were able to bear a part in such a service, he had commonly in the Winter time, set weekly Conferences, on questions proposed, for their mutual edification and comfort in the fear of GOD; the substance of what was said, he himself took and kept an account of in writing.

But the LORD'S-day he called and counted the Queen of days, and observed it accordingly. The fourth commandment intimates a special regard to be had to the Sabbath in families, "Thou and thy son and thy daughter, &c. ; it is the Sabbath of the LORD in all your dwellings." In this therefore he was very exact, and abounded in the work of the LORD in his family on that day. Whatever were the circumstances of his public opportunities, his family-religion on that day was the same: Extraordinary sacrifices must never supersede the "continual burnt-offering and his meat-offering." (*Numb.* xxviii. 15.) His common salutation of his family or friends, on the LORD'S-day in the morning, was that of the primitive Christians; "The LORD is risen, He is risen indeed;" making it his chief business on that day, to celebrate the memory of CHRIST'S resurrection; and he would say sometimes, 'Every LORD'S-day is a true Christian's Easter-day.' He took care to have his family ready early on that day, and was larger in exposition and prayer on Sabbath-mornings, than on other days. He would often remember that under the law the daily

sacrifice was doubled on Sabbath-days, two lambs in the morning, and two in the evening. He had always a particular subject for his expositions on Sabbath-mornings; the harmony of the Evangelists several times over, the Scripture prayers, Old Testament prophecies of CHRIST, 'CHRIST the true Treasure (so he entitled that subject) sought and found in the field of the Old Testament.' He constantly sung a Psalm after dinner, and another after supper, on the LORD'S-days. And in the evening of the day his children and servants were catechised and examined in the meaning of the answers in the Catechism; that they might not say it (as he used to tell them) like a parrot, by rote. Then the day's sermons were repeated, commonly by one of his children, when they were grown up; and the family gave an account what they could remember of the word of the day. In his prayers on the evening of the Sabbath, he was often more than ordinarily enlarged; as one that found not only God's service perfect freedom, but his work its own wages, and a great reward, not only after keeping, but (as he used to observe from *Psalm* xix. 11.) "in keeping God's commandments:" A present reward of obedience in obedience. In that prayer he was usually very particular, in praying for his family, and all that belonged to it. It was a prayer he often put up, that he might have grace to carry it as a Minister, and a Minister's wife, and a Minister's children, and a Minister's servants should carry it, "that the Ministry in nothing might be blamed." He would sometimes be a particular intercessor for the towns and parishes adjacent: How have I heard him, when he hath been in the mount with GOD, in a Sabbath-evening-prayer, wrestle with the LORD for Chester, and Shrewsbury, and Nantwich, and Wrexham, and Whitchurch, &c., those nests of souls, wherein there are so many, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left in spiritual things, &c. He closed his Sabbath-work in his family with singing *Psalm* cxxxiv., and after it a solemn blessing of his family.

Thus was he Prophet and Priest in his own house; and he was King there too, ruling in the fear of God, and not suffering sin upon any under his roof.

He had, many years ago, a man-servant that was once overtaken in drink abroad, for which, the next morning, at family-worship, he solemnly reprov'd him, admonish'd him, and pray'd for him with a spirit of meekness, and soon after parted with him. But there were many that were his servants, who, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, got those good impressions which they retained ever after. Few went from his service till they were married, and went to families of their own; and some, after they had been married and had buried their yoke-fellows, returned to his service again, saying, "Master, it is good to be here."

He brought up his children in the fear of God, with a great deal of care and tenderness, and did by his practice, as well as upon all occasions in discourses, condemn the indiscretion of those parents who are partial in their affections to their children, which he observed did often prove of ill consequence in families, and lay a foundation of envy, contempt, and discord. His carriage towards his children was with great mildness and gentleness, as one who desired rather to be loved than feared by them. He was as careful not to provoke them to wrath, nor to discourage them, as he was to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. He ruled, indeed, and kept up his authority, but it was with wisdom and love, and not with a high hand. He allowed his children a great degree of freedom, which gave him the opportunity of reasoning, not frightening them into that which is good. He did much towards the instruction of his children in the way of familiar discourse, according to that excellent directory for religious education, "Thou shalt whet these things (so the word is, which he said noted frequent repetition of the same things) upon thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house," &c. *Deut. vi. 7.*, which made them love home and delight in his company.

He did not burden his children's memories by imposing upon them the getting of chapters and Psalms without book, but endeavoured to make the whole word of God familiar to them, and to bring them to understand it and love it. He used to observe, from *Psalm* cxix. 93. "I will never forget thy precepts, for with them thou hast quickened me;" that we are then likely to remember the word of God when it doeth us good.

He taught all his children to write himself, and set them betimes to write Sermons, and other things that might be of use to them. He taught his eldest daughter the Hebrew tongue when she was about six or seven years old, by an English Hebrew Grammar, which he made on purpose for her.

He drew up a short form of the Baptismal Covenant, for the use of his children: It was this:

'I take God the Father to be my Chief Good, and Highest End.

'I take God the Son to be my Prince and Saviour.

'I take God the Holy Ghost to be my Sanctifier, Teacher, Guide, and Comforter.

'I take the Word of God to be my rule in all my actions:

'And the people of God to be my people in all conditions.

'I likewise devote and dedicate unto the LORD my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do.

'And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely, and for ever.'

This he taught his children, and they each of them solemnly repeated it every LORD's day in the evening, after they were catechised, he putting his Amen to it, and sometimes adding, 'So say, and so do, and you are made for ever.'

He also took pains with them, to lead them into the understanding of it, and to persuade them to a free and cheerful consent to it. And when they grew up, he made them all write it over severally with their own hands, and very solemnly set their names to it, which he told them he would keep by him, and it should be produced as a testimony

against them, in case they should afterwards depart from God, and turn from following after him.

He was careful to bring his children betimes to the ordinance of the LORD'S Supper, to make their dedication to GOD their own act and deed; and a great deal of pains he took with them, to prepare them for that great ordinance: And he would often blame parents, who would think themselves undone if they had not their children baptised, and yet took no care when they grew up and made a profession of the Christian religion, to persuade them to the LORD'S Supper. 'It is true (he would say) buds and blossoms are not fruit, but they give hopes of fruit; and parents may and should take hold of the good beginnings of grace, which they see in their children, by those to bind them so much the closer to, and lead them so much the faster in the way that is called holy. Not that children should be compelled to it, nor those that are wilfully ignorant, untoward and perverse, admitted to it, but those children that are well inclined to the things of GOD, and appear to be concerned in other duties of religion, should be encouraged and persuaded to this, that the matter may be brought to an issue. "Nay, but we will serve the LORD." Abundant thanksgivings have been rendered to GOD by many of his friends for his advice and assistance herein.

In dealing with his children about their spiritual state, he took hold of them very much by the handle of their infant-baptism, and frequently inculcated that upon them, that they were born in God's house, and were betimes dedicated and given up to him, and therefore were obliged to be his servants. This he was wont to illustrate to them by the comparison of taking a lease of a fair estate for a child in the cradle, and putting his life into it; the child then knows nothing of the matter, nor is he capable of consenting; however, then he is maintained out of it, and hath an interest in it; and when he grows up and becomes able to choose, and refuse for himself, if he go to his landlord, and claim the benefit of the lease, and promise to pay the rent, and do the services, well and good, he

hath the benefit of it, if otherwise it is at his peril. ‘ Now, children, (would he say,) our great Landlord was willing that your lives should be put into the lease of heaven, and it was done accordingly, by your baptism, which is the seal of the righteousness that is by faith ; and by that it was assured to you, that if you would pay the rent and do the service, that is, live a life of faith and repentance, and sincere obedience, you shall never be turned off the tenement ; but if you dislike the terms, and refuse to pay this rent, you forfeit the lease : However, you cannot but say, that you had a kindness done you, to have your lives put into it.’ Thus did he frequently deal with his children, and even travail in birth again to see CHRIST formed in them, and from this topic he generally argued, and he would often say, ‘ If Infant-Baptism were more improved, it would be less disputed.’

He not only taught his children betimes to pray, (which he did especially by his own pattern, his method and expressions in prayer being very easy and plain,) but when they were young he put them upon it, to pray together, and appointed them on Saturdays in the afternoon to spend some time together, none but they and such of their age as might occasionally be with them, in reading good books, especially those for children, and in singing and praying ; and would sometimes tell them for their encouragement, That the God with whom we have to do, understands broken language. And if we do as well as we can in the sincerity of our hearts, we shall not only be accepted but taught to do better : “ To him that hath shall be given.”

He sometimes set his children, in their own reading of the Scriptures, to gather out such passages as they took most notice of, and write them down : Though this performance was very small, yet the endeavour was of good use. He also directed them to insert in a paper book, which each of them had for the purpose, remarkable sayings and stories, which they met with in reading such other good books as he put into their hands.

He took a pleasure in relating to them the remarkable

Providences of God, both in his own time, and in the days of old, which he said, ‘ Parents were taught to do by that appointment, “ Your children shall ask you in time to come, What mean you by this service ?” (*Exod. xii. 26, 27.*) And you shall tell them so and so.’

We shall conclude this chapter with a passage out of his diary, ‘ April 12, 1681, This day 14 years, the LORD took my first-born son from me, the beginning of my strength, with a stroke. In the remembrance whereof my heart melted this evening : I begged pardon for the JONAH that raised the storm ; I blessed the LORD that hath spared the rest, I begged mercy, mercy for every one of them, and absolutely and unreservedly devoted and dedicated them, myself, my whole self, estate, interest, life, to the will and service of that God from whom I received all. Father, hallowed be thy name,’ &c.

CHAPTER V

His Ejectment from Worthenbury ; his Non-conformity ; his Removes to Broad Oak ; and the Providences that were concerning him to the year 1672.

MANY of his best friends in Worthenbury parish were now removed by death ; Emeral family contrary to what it had been ; and the same spirit which that year revived all the nation over, was working violently in that country, namely, a spirit of great enmity to such men as MR. HENRY was. But he must look upon himself as the Doctor’s Curate, therefore he was in continual expectations of a removal ; however, he continued in his liberty there above a year.

The grand question now on foot was, whether to conform or no. He used all means possible to satisfy himself concerning it, by reading and discourse, (particularly at Oxford with DR. FELL, afterwards Bishop of Oxford,) but in vain ;

his dissatisfaction remained : ‘ However, (saith he) I dare not judge those that do conform ; for who am I that I should judge my brother ?’

In September, 1660, MR. STEEL and MR. HENRY were presented at Flint Assizes for not reading the Common Prayer, though as yet it was not enjoined ; but there were some busy people, that would out-run the law. They entered their appearance, and it fell ; for soon after the King’s Declaration, touching Ecclesiastical Affairs, came out, which promised liberty ; but the Spring Assizes afterwards MR. STEEL and MR. HENRY were presented again. On this he writes, ‘ Be merciful to me, O GOD, for man would swallow me up. The LORD show me what he would have me to do, for I am afraid of nothing but sin.’

It appears by the hints of his diary, that he had melancholy apprehensions at this time about public affairs ; and yet he joined in the annual commemoration of the King’s Restoration. This he would all his days speak of as a national mercy, but what he rejoiced in with a great deal of trembling for the Ark of GOD ; and he would sometimes say, that ‘ during those years between 1640 and 1660, though on civil accounts there were great disorders, and the foundations were out of course, yet in the matters of GOD’s worship, things went well : There was freedom and reformation, and a face of godliness was upon the nation, though there were those that made but a mask of it. Ordinances were administered in power and purity, and though there was much amiss, yet religion did prevail : This (saith he) we know very well, let men say what they will of those times.’

In November, 1660, he took the Oath of Allegiance at Orton, before SIR THOMAS HANMER, and two other Justices, of which he hath left a memorandum in his diary, with this added, ‘ GOD so help me, as I purpose in my heart to do accordingly :’ Nor could any more conscientiously observe that oath of GOD than he did, nor more sincerely promote the ends of it.

His annuity from Emeral was now withheld because he

did not read the Common Prayer, (though as yet there was no law for reading of it,) hereby he was disabled to do what he had been wont, for the help and relief of others; and this he has recorded as that which troubled him most under that disappointment; but he blessed GOD, that he had a heart to do good, even when his hand was empty.

When Emeral family was unkind to him, he reckoned it a great mercy, that MR. BROUGHTON and his family (which is of considerable figure in the parish) continued their kindness to him, and their countenance of his Ministry, which he makes a grateful mention of, more than once in his diary.

Many attempts were made in the year 1661, to disturb and ensnare him; and it was still expected, that he would have been hindered: 'Methinks (saith he) Sabbaths were never so sweet as they are, now we are kept at such uncertainty: Now a day in thy courts is better than a thousand, such a day as this (saith he of a sacrament-day that year) better than ten thousand: O that we might yet see many such days!'

He was advised by his friends, to enter an action against MR. P. for his annuity, and did so; but concerning the success of it (saith he) 'I am not over solicitous; for though it be my due, yet it was not that which I preached for; and GOD knows I would much rather preach for nothing, than not at all; and besides, I know assuredly, if I should be cast, GOD would make it up to me some other way.' After some proceedings he not only moved but solicited MR. P. to refer it, having learned (saith he) that it is no disparagement, but an honour, for the party wronged to be first in seeking reconciliation; the LORD, if it be his will, incline his heart to peace. I have now (saith he) two great concerns upon the wheel; one in reference to my maintenance for time past; the other as to my continuance for the future: The LORD be my friend in both; but of the two rather in the latter. But (saith he) many of greater gifts and graces than I are laid aside already, and when

my turn comes, I know not ; the will of God be done : He can do his work without us.'

The issue of this affair was, that there having been some disputes between Mr. P. and Dr. BRIDGMAN, about the tythe of Worthenbury, they came to this agreement, Sept. 11, 1661, that Dr. BRIDGMAN should have all the tythe corn and hay of Worthenbury, upon condition that Dr. BRIDGMAN should before the first of November following, discharge the present Minister or Curate, PHILIP HENRY, from the Chapel of Worthenbury, pursuant to which Dr. BRIDGMAN soon after dismissed Mr. HENRY ; and by a writing under his hand, which was published in the Church of Worthenbury, by one of Mr. PULESTON's servants, October 27 following, notice was given to the Parish of that dismission. That day he preached his farewell sermon on *Phil. i. 27* : " Only let your conversation be as becomes the Gospel of CHRIST." In which (as he saith in his diary) his desire and design was rather to profit than to affect ; it matters not what become of me, (whether I come unto you, or else be absent,) but let your " conversation be as becomes the Gospel." His parting prayer for them was, ' The LORD, the GOD of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation.' Thus he ceased to preach to his people there ; but he ceased not to love them, and pray for them.

As to the arrears of his annuity, after some time, Mr. P. was willing to give him one hundred pounds, which was a good deal less than was due, upon condition that he would surrender his deed of annuity, and his lease of the house, which he, for peace-sake, was willing to do ; and so he lost all the benefit of Judge PULESTON's kindness to him. This was not completed till September, 1662, until which time he continued in the house at Worthenbury ; but never preached so much as once in the church, though there were vacancies several times.

Mr. RICHARD HILTON was immediately put into the Curacy of Worthenbury, by Dr. BRIDGMAN ; Mr HENRY went to hear him while he was at Worthenbury, and joined

in all the parts of public worship, particularly attending upon the Sacrament of Baptism; not daring (saith he) to turn my back upon God's ordinance, while the essentials of it are retained. Once being allowed the liberty of his gesture, he joined in the LORD's Supper. He kept up his correspondence with MR. HILTON, and (as he saith in his diary) endeavoured to possess him with right thoughts of his work, and advised him the best he could in the soul-affairs of that people; which (saith he) he seemed to take well; I am sure I meant it so, and the LORD make him faithful.

Immediately after he was silenced at Worthenbury, he was solicited to preach at Bangor, and DR. BRIDGMAN was willing to permit it, occasionally; and intimated to his Curate there, that he should never hinder it; but MR. HENRY declined it: Though his silence was his great grief, yet such was his tenderness, that he was not willing so far to discourage MR. HILTON, at Worthenbury, nor to draw so many of the people from him, as would certainly have followed him to Bangor: 'But (saith he) I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame on Sabbath days now, as formerly; which is both my sin and my affliction. LORD, quicken me with quickening grace.'

When the King came in first, and showed so good a temper, as many thought, some of his friends were very earnest with him to revive his acquaintance and interest at Court; which it was thought he might easily do. It was reported in the country, that the DUKE of YORK had inquired after him; but he heeded not the report, nor would he be persuaded to make any addresses that way: 'For (saith he) my friends do not know so well as I the strength of temptation, and my own inability to deal with it. LORD, "lead me not into temptation."'

He was greatly affected with the temptations and afflictions of many faithful Ministers of CHRIST at this time; and kept many private days of fasting and prayer at his own house, seeking to turn away the wrath of GOD from the land. He greatly pitied some, who by the urgency of

friends, and the fear of want, were over persuaded to put a force upon themselves: 'The LORD keep me (saith he) in the critical time.'

He preached sometimes occasionally in divers neighbouring places, till BARTHOLOMEW Day, 1662; 'The day (saith he) which our sins have made one of the saddest days to England, since the death of EDWARD the Sixth; but even this is for good, though we know not how or which way'

As to his Non-conformity, which some of his worst enemies have said was his only fault, it may not be amiss here to give some account of it.

His reasons for his Non-conformity were very considerable. It was no rash act, but deliberate and well-weighed. He could by no means submit to be re-ordained; so well satisfied was he in his call to the Ministry, and his solemn ordination to it, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, that he durst not do that which looked like a renunciation of it, as null and sinful, and would be at least a tacit invalidating and condemning of all his administrations. This of re-ordination was the first and great bar to his conformity, and which he mostly insisted on.

Besides this, he was not at all satisfied to give his unfeigned assent and consent, to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; for he thought that thereby he should receive the book itself, and every part thereof, both as true and good; whereas there were several things which he could not think to be so. He never took the Covenant, nor even expressed any fondness for it; and yet he could not think, and therefore durst not declare that (however unlawfully imposed) it was in itself an unlawful oath, and that no person that took it, was under the obligation of it: In short, it cannot be wondered at, that he was a Non-conformist, when the terms of Conformity were so industriously contrived to keep out of the Church such men as he. It is a passage worth noting here, which DR. BATES in his funeral sermon on MR. BAXTER, relates; 'That when the Lord Chamberlain MANCHESTER

told the King, (while the Act of Uniformity was under debate,) he was afraid the terms were so hard, that many of the Ministers would not comply with them;’ Bishop SHELDON being present, replied, ‘I am afraid they will.’ And it is well known how many of the most sober, pious, and laborious Ministers, in all parts of the nation, Conformists as well as Non-conformists, did dislike those impositions.

And yet to make sure work, the printing and publishing of the new Book of Common Prayer was so deferred, that few of the Ministers, except those in London, could possibly get a sight of it, much less consider of it before the time prefixed; which MR. STEEL took notice of in his farewell sermon at Hanmer, August 17, 1662. That he was silenced and turned out for not declaring his unfeigned assent and consent to a book which he never saw nor could see.

His moderation in his Non-conformity was very exemplary, and had a great influence upon many, to keep them from running into an uncharitable and schismatical separation; which upon all occasions he bore his testimony against, and was very industrious to stem the tide of. In church-government, that which he desired and wished for, was Archbishop USHER’s reduction of Episcopacy. He thought it lawful to join in the Common Prayer in public assemblies, and practised accordingly, and endeavoured to satisfy others concerning it. The spirit he was of was such as made him much afraid of extremes, and solicitous for nothing more than to maintain Christian love and charity among professors.

At Michaelmas, 1662, he quite left Worthenbury, and came with his family to Broad-Oak, just nine years from his first coming into the country. Being cast by Divine Providence into this new place and state of life, his care and prayer was, that he might have grace and wisdom to manage it to the glory of God. Within three weeks after his coming hither, his second son was born; on the day of his family-thanksgiving for that mercy, he writes, ‘We

have reason to "rejoice with trembling," for it goes ill with the Church and people of God, and reason to fear worse because of our own sins, and our enemies' wrath.'

At the latter end of this year he hath in his diary this note; 'It is observed by many who have conformed of late, that since their so doing, from unblamable, pious men, they are become exceeding dissolute and profane; and instanceth in some. What need have we every day to pray, LORD, "lead us not into temptation!"'

For several years after he came to live at Broad-Oak, he went constantly on LORD'S-days to the public worship, with his family, at Whitewell Chapel, (which is hard by,) if there were any supply there, as sometimes there was from Malpas; and if none, then to Tylstock, (where MR. ZECHARY THOMAS continued for about half a year, and the place was a little sanctuary,) and when that failed, usually to Whitechurch; and did not preach for a great while, unless occasionally, when he visited his friends, or to his own family on LORD'S-days, when the weather hindered them from going abroad. He comforted himself, that sometimes in going to public worship, he had opportunity of instructing and exhorting those that were in company with him by the way; and in this his lips fed many, and his tongue was as choice silver; and he acted according to that rule which he often laid down to himself and others, That when we cannot do what we would, we must do what we can, and the LORD will accept us in it. He made the best of the sermons he heard in public. 'It is a mercy (saith he) we have bread, though it be not as it hath been, of the finest of the wheat. Those are froward children who throw away the meat they have, if it be wholesome, because they have not what they would have.' When he met with preaching that was weak, his note is, 'That is a poor sermon indeed, out of which no good lesson may be learned.' He had often occasion to remember that verse of MR. HERBERT:—

'The worst speaks something good; if all want sense,
GOD takes a text, and preacheth patience.'

Nay, and once he saith, he could not avoid thinking of ELI's sons, who "made the sacrifices of the LORD to be abhorred:" Yet he went, to bear his testimony to public ordinances; "For still (saith he) the LORD loves the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob;" and so do I.' Such then were his sentiments of things, expecting that GOD would yet open a door of return to public liberty; and in hopes of that, was backward to fall into the stated exercise of his Ministry otherwise, (as were all the sober Non-conformists generally in those parts,) but it was his grief and burden, that he had not an opportunity of doing more for GOD. He had scarce one talent of opportunity, but that one he was very diligent and faithful in the improvement of. When he visited his friends, how did he lay out himself to do them good! Being asked once (where he made a visit) to expound and pray, which his friends returned him thanks for; he thus writes upon it, 'They cannot thank me so much for my pains, but I thank them more, and my LORD GOD especially, for the opportunity.' Read his conflict with himself at this time: 'I own myself a Minister of CHRIST, yet do nothing as a Minister; what will excuse me? Is it enough for me to say, "Behold, I stand in the market-place, and no man hath hired me?"' And he comforts himself with this appeal, 'LORD, thou knowest what will I have to thy work, public or private, if I had a call and opportunity.'

In these circumstances of silence and restraint, he took comfort himself, and administered comfort to others from that Scripture, "Let my outcasts dwell with thee." (*Isa.* xvi. 4.) GOD's people may be an outcast people, cast out of men's love, their synagogues, their country; but GOD will own his people when men cast them out; they are outcasts, but they are His, and somewhere or other He will provide a dwelling for them. There were many worthy able Ministers thereabouts turned out, both from work and subsistence, that had not such comfortable support for the life that now is, as MR. HENRY had, for whom he was most affectionately concerned, and to whom he showed

kindness. There were computed, within a few miles round him, so many Ministers turned out to the wide world, stripped of all their maintenance, and exposed to continual hardships, as with their wives and children (having most of them numerous families) made up a hundred, that lived upon Providence; and though oft reduced to wants and straits, yet were not forsaken, but were enabled to rejoice in the LORD, and to joy in the GOD of their salvation, to whom the promise was fulfilled, "So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." (*Psalms* xxxvii. 3.)

One observation MR. HENRY made not long before he died, when he had been young and now was old, that though many of the ejected Ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harrassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them; yet, in all his acquaintance, he never knew nor could remember to have heard of any Non-conformist Minister in prison for debt.

In October, 1663, MR. STEEL and MR. HENRY, and some other of their friends, were taken up and brought prisoners to Hanmer, under pretence of some plot against the Government; and there they were kept under confinement some days, on which he writes; 'It is sweet being in any condition with a clear conscience: "The sting of death is sin," and so of imprisonment also. It is the first time (saith he) I was ever a prisoner, but perhaps it may not be the last. We felt no hardship, but we know not what we may.' They were after some days examined by the Deputy Lieutenants, and dismissed, finding verbal security to be forth-coming upon twenty-four hours' notice. MR. HENRY returned to his tabernacle with thanksgivings to GOD, and a hearty prayer for his enemies, that GOD would forgive them. The very next day after they were released, a great man in the country, at whose instigation they were brought into that trouble, died of a drunken surfeit. So that a man shall say, "Verily there is a GOD that judgeth in the earth."

In September, 1665, he was again by warrant from the Deputy Lieutenant, fetched prisoner to Hanmer, as was also MR. STEEL and others. He was examined about private meetings: Some such (but private indeed) he owned he had been present at of late in Shropshire, but the occasion was extraordinary; the plague was at that time raging in London, and he, and several of his friends having near relations there, thought it time to seek the LORD for them, and this was imputed to him as his crime. He was likewise charged with administering the LORD'S-Supper, which he denied, having never administered it since he was disabled by the Act of Uniformity. After some days' confinement, seeing they could prove nothing upon him, he was discharged upon recognizance of twenty pounds, with two sureties to be forthcoming upon notice, and to live peaceably. But (saith he) our restraint was not strict, for we had liberty of prayer and conference together, to our mutual edification: Thus, "out of the eater, came forth meat, and out of the strong, sweetness;" and we found "honey in the carcase of the lion."

At Lady-day, 1666, the Five-mile Act commenced, by which all Non-conformist Ministers were forbidden, upon pain of six months' imprisonment, to come or be within five miles of any Corporation, or of any place where they had been Ministers, unless they would take an oath; of which MR. BAXTER saith, It was credibly reported, that the EARL of SOUTHAMPTON, then Lord High Treasurer of England, said, No honest man could take it.

On March 25, the day when that Act took place, he thus writes: 'A sad day among poor Ministers up and down this nation; who by this Act of restraint, are forced to remove from among their friends, acquaintance and relations, and to sojourn among strangers, as it were in Mesech, and in the tents of Kedar. But there is a GOD who tells their wanderings, and will put their tears, and the tears of their wives and children into a bottle; are they not in his book? The LORD be a sanctuary to them, and a place of

refuge from the storm and tempest ; and pity those places, from which they are ejected.’

MR. HENRY’S house at Broad-Oak was but four reputed miles from the utmost limits of Worthenbury Parish, but he got it measured, and accounting 1760 yards to a mile, (according to the statute 35 ELIZ. cap. 6,) it was found to be just five miles and threescore yards, which one would think might have been his security : But there were those near him who were ready to stretch such laws to the utmost rigour, under pretence of construing them in favour of the King, and therefore would have it to be understood of reputed miles : This obliging him for some time to leave his family, and to sojourn among his friends, to whom he endeavoured wherever he came to impart some spiritual gift.

He was much affected with it, that the burning of London happened so soon after the Nonconformists were banished out of it. He thought it was in mercy to them, that they were removed before that desolating judgment came ; but that it spoke aloud to our Governors, “ Let my people go that they may serve me, and if ye will not, behold thus and thus will I do unto you.” This was the LORD’S voice crying in the city.

In the beginning of the year, 1667, he removed with his family to Whitchurch, and dwelt there above a year, except that for one quarter of a year, about harvest, he returned again to Broad-Oak. His remove to Whitchurch was partly for the benefit of the school there for his children.

There in April following he buried his eldest son, not quite six years old, a child of extraordinary pregnancy and forwardness in learning, and of a very towardly disposition ; his character of this child is,

Præterque ætatem nil puerile fuit.

This was a great affliction, to the tender parents : MR. HENRY writes upon it in the reflection,

Quicquid amas cupias non placuisse nimis.

Many years after, he said, he thought he did apply to himself at that time, but too sensibly, that Scripture: "I am the man that hath seen affliction." (*Lam.* iii. 1.) And he would say to his friends upon such occasions, 'Losers think they may have leave to speak; but they must have a care what they say, lest speaking to God's dishonour they make work for repentance, and shed tears that must be wept over again.' He observed concerning this child, that he had always been very penitent under rebukes, 'The remembrance of which' saith he, 'teacheth me now how to carry it under the rebukes of my heavenly FATHER.' His prayer under this providence was, 'Show me, LORD, show me wherefore thou contendest with me; have I over-boasted, over-loved, over-prized?' A LORD'S-day intervening between the death, and burial of the child, 'I attended,' saith he, 'on public ordinances, though sad in spirit, as JOB, who after all the evil tidings that were brought him, whereof death of children was the last and heaviest, yet fell down and worshipped.' And he would often say upon such occasions, that weeping must not hinder sowing. Upon the interment of his child, he writes, 'My dear child, now mine no longer, was laid in the cold earth, not lost, but soon to be raised again a glorious body, and I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.' A few days after, his dear friend, MR. LAWRENCE (then living in Whitchurch Parish) buried a daughter, that was grown up, and gave good evidence of a work of grace wrought upon her soul: 'How willing,' saith he, 'may parents be to part with such, when the LORD calls.' And he hath this further remark, 'The LORD hath made his poor servants, that have been often companions in his work, now companions in tribulation, the very same tribulation; me for my sin, him for his trial.'

While he lived at Whitchurch, he attended constantly upon the public Ministry, and there (as ever) he was careful to come to the beginning of the service, which he attended upon with reverence and devotion; standing all the time, even while the chapters were read. In the even-

ing of the LORD's-day, he spent some time in instructing his family, to which a few friends and neighbours in the town would sometimes come in; and it was a little gleam of opportunity, but very short; for (as he notes) 'He was offended at it, who should rather have rejoiced, if by any means the work might be carried on in his people's souls.'

In this year (I think) was the first time that he administered the LORD's Supper (very privately) after he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity; and he did not do it without mature deliberation. A fear of separation kept him from it so long; what induced him to it at last, I find thus under his own hand: 'I am a Minister of CHRIST, and as such I am obliged by all means to endeavour the good of souls. Now here is a company of serious Christians, whose lot is cast in a Parish, where there is one set over them, who preacheth the truth; and they come to hear him; and join with him in other parts of worship; only as to the LORD's Supper, they scruple the lawfulness of the gesture of kneeling; and he tells them, his hands are tied, and he cannot administer it unto them any other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me, they earnestly long for that ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this request of theirs, without betraying my ministerial trust, and incurring the guilt of a grievous omission?'

In February, 1668, MR. LAWRENCE and he were invited by some of their friends to Betley, in Staffordshire, and (there being some little public connivance at that time) with the consent of all concerned, they adventured to preach in the Church, one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon of the LORD's-day, very peaceably and profitably. This action of theirs was presently after reported in the House of Commons, by a member of Parliament, with these additions, That they tore the Common Prayer book, trampled the surplice under their feet, pulled the Minister of the place out of the pulpit, &c. Reports which there was not the least colour for. But that, with some other such like stories, produced an Address of the

House of Commons to the King, to issue out a Proclamation for the putting of the laws in execution against Papists and Non-conformists, which was issued accordingly; though the King at the opening of that session a little before, had declared his desire, that some course might be taken to compose the minds of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion; which had raised the expectations of some, that there would be speedy enlargement; but MR. HENRY had noted upon it, ‘ We cannot expect too little from man, nor too much from GOD.’

And here it may be very pertinent to observe, how industrious MR. HENRY was at this time, when he and his friends suffered such hard things from the government, to preserve and promote a good affection to the government notwithstanding. It was commonly charged upon the Non-conformists in general, especially from the pulpits, that they were all a factious and turbulent people, as was said of old, “ hurtful to kings and provinces;” (*Ezra* iv. 15;) that their meetings were for the sowing of sedition and discontent: And there is some reason to think, that one thing intended by the hardships put upon them, was to drive them to this; there is a way of making a wise man mad; but how peaceably they carried themselves, is manifest in the consciences of many. For an instance of it, it will not be amiss to give some account of a sermon which MR. HENRY preached in some very private meetings, such as were called seditious conventicles, in the year 1669, when it was a day of treading down, and of perplexity: It was on that text, “ Against them that are quiet in the land;” (*Psalms* xxxv. 20;) whence he taught his friends this doctrine, ‘ That it is the character of the people of GOD, that they are a quiet people in the land.’ This quietness he described to be ‘ an orderly, peaceable subjection to governors and government in the LORD.’ We must maintain a reverent esteem of them, and of their authority, in opposition to despising dominion, *2 Pet.* ii. 10. We must be meek under severe commands and burdensome impositions, not murmuring and complaining, as the Israelites against MOSES and AARON;

but take them up as our cross in our way, and bear them as we do foul weather. We must not “speak evil of dignities,” (*Jude* 8,) nor “revile the gods.” (*Exod.* xxii. 28.) We must not traduce their government. Great care is to be taken, how we speak of the faults of any, especially of Rulers. The people of God do make the word of God their rule, and by that they are taught, (1.) That Magistracy is God’s Ordinance, and Magistrates God’s Ministers; that “by Him kings reign,” and “the Powers that be are ordained of Him.” (2.) That they, as well as others, are to have their dues, honour, and fear, and tribute. (3.) That their lawful commands are to be obeyed, and that readily and cheerfully. (4.) That the penalties inflicted for not obeying unlawful commands, are patiently to be undergone. This is the rule, “and as many as walk according to this rule, peace shall be upon them,” and there can be no danger of their unprofitableness. They are taught to pray for Kings and all in authority; and God forbid we should do otherwise, yea, though they persecute. Peaceable prayers bespeak a peaceable people. If some professing religion have been unquiet, their unquietness hath given the lie to their profession. Quietness is our badge; it will be our strength, our rejoicing in the day of evil; it is pleasing to God; it may work upon others. The means he prescribed for the keeping of us quiet, were to get our hearts filled with the knowledge and belief of these two things: 1. That “the kingdom of CHRIST is not of this world;” many have thought otherwise, and it made them unquiet. 2. That “the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;” He needs not our sin to bring to pass his own counsel. We must mortify unquietness in the causes of it; we must always remember the oath of God; the oath of allegiance is an oath of quietness: And we must beware of the company and converse of those that are unquiet. Though deceitful matters be devised, yet we must be quiet still; nay, be so much the more quiet.

I have been thus large in gathering these hints out of that sermon, (which he took all occasions in other sermons

to inculcate, as all his brethren likewise did,) that if possible it may be a conviction to the present generation; or however, may be a witness in time to come, that the Non-conformist Ministers were not enemies to CÆSAR, nor troublers of the land; nor their meetings any way tending to the disturbance of the public peace, but purely designed to help to repair the decays of Christian piety.

In May, 1668, he returned again with his family from Whitchurch to Broad-Oak, which, through the good hand of his God upon him, continued his settled home, without any remove from it, till he was removed to his long home above twenty-eight years after. The edge of the five-mile act began now to rebate, at least in that country; and he was desirous to be more useful to the neighbours where God had given him an estate, than he could be at a distance from them, by relieving the poor, employing the labourers, especially instructing the ignorant, and helping as many as he could to heaven. He made that Scripture his standing rule, and wrote it in the beginning of his accounts, "Honour the LORD with thy substance." (*Prov.* iii. 9, 10.) And having set apart a day of secret prayer and humiliation, to beg of God a wise and an understanding heart, and to drop a tear (as he expresseth it) over the sins of his predecessors, formerly in that estate, he laid out himself very much in doing good. He was very serviceable upon all accounts in the neighbourhood, and though it took up a great deal of his time, and hindered him from his beloved studies, yet it might be said of him, as of Archbishop TILLOTSON in his funeral sermon, 'That he chose rather to live to the good of others than to himself; and thought, that to do an act of charity, or even of tenderness and kindness, was of more value both in itself, and in the sight of God, than to pursue the pompous parts of learning, how much soever his own genius might lead him to it.'

He was very useful in the common concerns of the township and country, in which he was a very prudent counsellor: It was, indeed, a narrow sphere of activity, but (such as it was) to him as to JOB, "Men gave ear and waited,

and kept silence at his counsel ; after his words they spake not again ;” (*chap. xxix. 21, 22 ;*) and many of the neighbours, who respected him not as a Minister, yet loved and honoured him as a knowing, prudent and humble neighbour

In the concern of private families he was very far from busying himself ; but he was very much busied, advising many about their affairs, and the disposal of themselves and their children, composing differences among relations and neighbours, in which he had an excellent faculty. References have sometimes been made to him by rule of Court, at the Assizes, with consent of parties. He was very affable, and easy of access, and admirably patient in hearing every one’s complaint, which he would answer with so much prudence and mildness, and would give such apt advice, that many a time to consult with him was to ask counsel at Abel, and so to end the matter. He observed, in almost all quarrels that happened, that there was a fault on both sides ; and that, generally, they were most in the fault that were most clamorous in their complaints. One making her moan to him of a bad husband, she said, (after a long complaint, which he patiently heard,) ‘Sir, what would you have me to do now?’ ‘Why truly, (saith he,) I would have you to go home and be a better wife to him, and he will be a better husband to you.’

He was very industrious and oft successful in persuading people to recede from their right for peace sake ; and he would, for that purpose tell them LUTHER’S story of the two goats, that met upon a narrow bridge over a deep water : They could not go back, they durst not fight ; after a short parley one of them lay down and let the other go over him, and no harm was done. He would likewise relate sometimes a remarkable story, concerning a friend of his, who, in his youth, was greatly wronged by an unjust uncle of his. Being an orphan, his portion, which was two hundred pounds, was put into the hands of that uncle, who, when he grew up, shuffled with him, and would give him but forty pounds, and he had no way of recovering

his right but by law; but before he would engage in that, he was willing to advise with his Minister, who was the famous DR. TWISS, of Newberry. The counsel he gave him, (all things considered,) was, for peace sake, to take the forty pounds, rather than contend; and 'THOMAS, (said the Doctor,) if thou dost so, assure thyself that God will make it up to thee and thine some other way, and they that defraud thee will be the losers by it at last.' He did so; and it pleased God so to bless that little which he began the world with, that when he died in a good old age, he left his son possessed of some hundreds a year, and he that wronged him fell into decay.

Many worthy families in the country would say of MR. HENRY, that they had no friend like-minded, who did naturally care for their state, and so affectionately sympathize with them, and in whom their hearts could safely trust.

He was very charitable to the poor, and was full of alms-deeds, which he did, not which he said he would do, or which he put others on to do, but which he did himself, dispersing abroad and giving to the poor, seeking and rejoicing in opportunities of that kind; and whenever he gave an alms for the body, he usually gave with it a spiritual alms, some good word of counsel, reproof, instruction, or comfort, and in accommodating these to the persons he spoke to he had a great dexterity.

He was very forward to lend money freely, to any of his poor neighbours that had occasion, and would sometimes say, that in many cases there was more charity in lending than in giving, because it obliged the borrower both to honesty and industry. When one of his neighbours, to whom he had lent three pounds, failed, so that he was never likely to see a farthing of it, he writes thus upon it: 'Notwithstanding this, yet still I judge it my duty to lend, μηδεν απελπιζοντες, nothing despairing,' so DR. HAMMOND reads it, *Luke* vi. 35. Though what is lent in charity be not repaid, yet it is not lost. When those that had borrowed money of him paid him again, he usually gave them back some part to encourage honesty. He judged

the taking of moderate interest for money lawful, where the borrower was in a way of gaining by it: but he would advise his friends that had money, rather to dispose of it otherways, if they could.

It must not be forgotten, how punctual and exact he was in all his accounts with tenants, workmen, &c., being always careful to keep such things in black and white, (as he used to say,) which is the surest way to prevent mistakes, and a man's wronging either himself or his neighbour. Such was his prudence, and such his patience and peaceableness, that all the time he was at Broad-Oak, he never sued any, nor ever was sued; but was very instrumental to prevent many a vexatious law-suit among his neighbours.

He was used to say, 'There are four rules to be duly observed in going to law: 1. We must not go to law for trifles, as he did who said, he would rather spend a hundred pounds in law than lose a pennyworth of his right. (*Matt.* v. 39, 40, 41.) 2. We must not be rash and hasty in it, but try all other means possible to compose differences, wherein he that yields most, as ABRAHAM did to LOT, is the better man, and there is nothing lost by it in the end. (1 *Cor.* vi. 1, 2.) 3. We must see that it be without malice or desire of revenge. If the undoing of our brother be the end of our going to law, it is certainly evil, and it speeds accordingly. 4. It must be with a disposition to peace, whenever it may be had, and an ear open to all overtures of that kind.'

Four rules he sometimes gave to be observed in our converse with men: 'Have communion with few; be familiar with one; deal justly with all; speak evil of none.'

He was noted for an extraordinary neat husband about his house and ground, which, he would often say, he could not endure to see like "the field of the slothful, and the vineyard of the man void of understanding." And it was strange how one who had been bred up utterly a stranger to such things, yet when GOD so ordered his lot, accommodated himself to the affairs of the country, making it the diversion of his vacant hours to oversee his garden and

fields. His care of this kind was an act of charity to poor labourers whom he employed ; and it was a good example to his neighbours, as well as for the comfort of his family. His converse likewise with these things was excellently improved for spiritual purposes, by occasional meditations. He used to say, that therefore many of the Scripture parables and similitudes are taken from the common actions of this life, that when our hands are employed about them, our hearts may the more easily pass through them to divine and heavenly things. I have heard him often blame those whose irregular zeal in the profession of religion makes them neglect all their worldly business, which the good man will order with discretion ; and he would tell sometimes of a religious woman, whose fault it was, how she was convinced of it by means of an intelligent neighbour, who coming into the house, and finding the good woman far in the day in her closet, and the house sadly neglected, children not tended, servants not minded ; ‘ What, (saith he) is there no fear of God in this house ?’ which much startled the good woman that overheard him.

I cannot omit one little passage in his diary, because it may be instructive : When he was once desired to be bound for one that had upon a particular occasion been bound for him, he writes, ‘ SOLOMON saith, “ He that hateth suretiship is sure ;” but he saith also, “ He that hath friends must show himself friendly.”’ But he always cautioned those that became sureties, not to be bound for more than they knew themselves able to pay ; nor for more than they would be willing to pay, if the principal fail.

His house at Broad-Oak was by the road-side, which though it had its inconveniences, yet, he would say, pleased him well, because it gave his friends an opportunity of calling on him the oftener, and gave him an opportunity of being kind to strangers, and such as were any way distressed upon the the road ; to whom he was upon all occasions cheerfully ready, fully answering the Apostle’s character of a Bishop, that he must be “ of good behaviour, (*κοσμιον, decent, affable, and obliging,*) and given to hospi-

tality ;" (1 *Tim.* iii. 2 ;) like ABRAHAM sitting at his tent-door, in quest of opportunities to do good. If he met with any poor near his house, and gave them alms or money, yet he would bid them go to his door besides for relief there. He was very tender to poor strangers and travellers, though his charity and candour were often imposed upon by those he was not apt to be suspicious of ; but would say in the most favourable sense, ' Thou knowest not the heart of a stranger.' If any asked his charity, whose representation of their case he did not like, or who he thought did amiss to take that course, he would first give them an alms, and then mildly reprove them, and labour to convince them that they were out of the way of duty, and that they could not expect that God would bless them in it : And he would say, if he should tell them of their faults, and not give them an alms, the reproof would look only like an excuse to deny his charity.

In a word, his greatest care about the things of this world was, how to do good with what he had, desiring to make no other accession to his estate, but only that blessing which attends beneficence. He did firmly believe, that " what is given to the poor is lent to the LORD," who will pay it again in kind or kindness ; and that piety is the best friend to outward prosperity : And he found it so ; for it pleased God abundantly to bless his habitation, and to " make a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he had : " And though he did not delight himself in the abundance of wealth ; yet, which is far better, he delighted himself in the " abundance of peace." (*Psalms* xxxvii. 11.) All that he had and did observedly prospered ; so that the country often took notice of it, and called his family, ' A family which the LORD had blessed.' And his comforts of this kind were (as they used to pray they might be) oil to the wheels of his obedience ; and in the use of these things he served the LORD his God " with gladness and singleness of heart ; " yet still mindful of, and " grieved for the affliction of JOSEPH." He would say sometimes, when he was in the midst of the comforts of this

life, as that good man, ‘All this, and heaven too! Surely, then, we serve a good Master!’ Thus did the LORD “bless him, and make him a blessing;” and this “abundant grace, through the thanksgiving of many, redounded to the glory of God.”

After his settlement at Broad-Oak, whenever there was preaching at Whitewell Chapel, (as usually there was two LORD’S-days in the month,) he constantly attended, and was usually with the first, and reverently joined in the public service. He diligently wrote the sermons, and always staid if the ordinance of Baptism was administered. He often had the Minister that preached to dine with him; after dinner he sung a Psalm, repeated the morning sermon, and prayed; and then attended in like manner in the afternoon. In the evening he preached to his own family; and perhaps two or three neighbours would drop in to hear him. On those LORD’S-days, when there was no preaching at the Chapel, he spent the whole day at home, and many an excellent sermon he preached, when there were present only four besides his own family, (and perhaps not so many,) according to the limitation of the Conventicle Act.

Soon after his settlement at Broad-Oak, he took a young scholar into his house with him; partly to teach his son, and partly to be a companion to himself, to converse with him; and for many years he was seldom without one or other such, who, before their going to the University, or in the intervals of their attendance there, would be in his family, sitting under his shadow. One of the first he had with him, in the year 1668, (and after,) was MR. WILLIAM TURNER, born in the neighbourhood, afterwards of Edmund Hall, in Oxford, now Vicar of Walberton, in Sussex. Betwixt MR. HENRY and him there was a most affectionate friendship; and notwithstanding that distance of place, a constant and endearing correspondence was kept up as long as MR. HENRY lived.

It was observed, that several young men who had sojourned with him, and were very likely to be serviceable to their generations, died soon after their removal from him;

(I could instance in six or seven;) as if **God** had sent them to him to be prepared for another world, before they were called out of this.

He had so great a kindness for the University, and valued so much the mighty advantages of improvement there, that he advised all his friends, who designed their children for scholars, to send them thither, for many years after the change. But long experience altered his mind herein; and he chose rather to keep his own son at home with him, and to give him what help he could there in his education, than venture him into the snares and temptations of the University.

It was also soon after this settlement of his at Broad-Oak, that he contracted an intimate friendship with that learned and pious gentleman, **MR. HUNT** of Boreatton, and with his excellent Lady, **FRANCES**, daughter of the Right Honourable the **LORD PAGET**. The acquaintance then begun betwixt **MR. HENRY** and that worthy family continued to his dying day. One **LORD'S**-day in a quarter he commonly spent with them, besides other interviews: And it was a constant rejoicing to him, to see the power of godliness uppermost in such a family as that, when "not many mighty, not many noble are called," and the branches of it "branches of righteousness, the planting of the **LORD**." Divers of the Honourable relations of that family contracted a very great respect for him, particularly the present **LORD PAGET**, now his Majesty's Ambassador at the Ottoman Court, and **SIR HENRY ASHURST**.

In the time of trouble and distress, by the Conventicle Act, in 1670, he kept private, and stirred little abroad, as loath to offend those that were in power, and judging it prudence to gather in his sails when the storm was violent: He then observed, as that which he was troubled at, 'That there was a great deal of precious time lost among professors, when they come together; which he feared tended more to set up self, than to give glory to **God**. Also in telling how they got together, and such a one preached, but little inquiring what advantage was reaped by it: and

that we are apt to make the circumstances of our religious services more the matter of our discourse, than the substance of them.'

We shall close this chapter with two remarks out of his diary, in the year 1671, which will show what were his sentiments of things at that time. One is this: 'All acknowledge that there is at this day a number of sober, peaceable men, both Ministers and others, among Dissenters; but who either saith or doeth any thing to oblige them? Who desireth or endeavoureth to open the door to let in such? Nay, do they not rather provoke them to run into the same extravagancies with others, by making no difference, but laying loads on them as if they were as bad as the worst?' Another is this: 'In those things wherein all the people of God are agreed, I will spend my zeal; and wherein they differ, I will endeavour to walk according to the light that God hath given me, and charitably believe that others do so too.'

CHAPTER VI.

His Liberty by the Indulgence in the year 1672, and thenceforwards to the year 1681.

NOTWITHSTANDING the severe Act against Conventicles, in the year 1670, yet the Non-conformists in London ventured to set up meetings in 1671, and were connived at; but in the country there was little liberty taken, till the King's Declaration of March 15, 1672, gave encouragement to it. What were the secret springs which produced that Declaration, time discovered: However, it was to the poor Dissenters as life from the dead, and gave some reviving in their bondage; God graciously ordering it so, that the spirit he had made might not fail before him. But so precarious a liberty was it, that it should never be said 'Those people were hard to be pleased, who were well pleased with

that, and thanked God who put such a thing into the King's heart.' The tenor of the Declaration was this: 'In consideration of the inefficacy of rigour, tried for divers years, and to invite strangers into the kingdom, ratifying the Establishment in the Church of England, it suspends penal laws against all Non-conformists and Recusants, promiseth to license separate places for meetings, limiting Papists only to private houses.'

On this MR. HENRY writes, 'The danger is, lest the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our parish-order, and to beget divisions and animosities among us; which no honest heart but would rather should be healed. We are put hereby into a trilemma, either to turn Independents in practice, or to strike in with the Conformists, or to sit down in former silence and sufferings till the Lord shall open a more effectual door. That which he then heartily wished for was, that those who were in place would admit the sober Non-conformists to preach sometimes occasionally in their pulpits; by which means he thought prejudices would in time wear off on both sides, and they might mutually strengthen each other's hands against the common enemy, the Papists; who, he saw, would fish in troubled waters.' This he would choose much rather than to keep a separate meeting: But it could not be had; no, not so much as leave to preach in Whitewell chapel, when it was vacant, as it often was, though it were three long miles from the parish Church. However, the overtures he made to this purpose, and the slow steps he took towards the setting up of a distinct congregation, yielded him satisfaction afterwards in the reflection, when he could say, 'We would have been united, and they would not.'

It was several weeks after the Declaration came out, that he received a license to preach, as PAUL did, in his own house, and elsewhere, "no man forbidding him." This was procured for him by some of his friends in London, without his privity, and came to him altogether unexpected. The use he made of it was, that at his own house, what he did before at his own family, and in private,

the doors being shut for fear, he now did publicly; he threw his doors open, and welcomed his neighbours to him, to partake of his spiritual things: Only one sermon in the evening, on the LORD'S-day, when there was preaching at Whitewell Chapel, where he still continued his attendance with his family and friends as usual; but when there was not, he spent the whole day in the services of the day,—exposition of the Scriptures read, and preaching, with prayer and praise. This he did *gratis*, receiving nothing for his labours, either at home or abroad, but the satisfaction of doing good to souls, (which was his meat and drink,) with the trouble and charge of giving entertainment to many of his friends, which he did with much cheerfulness: And he would say, he sometimes thought that the bread did multiply even in the breaking; and he found that GOD did abundantly bless his provision with that blessing which, as he used to say, will make a little go a great way. He was wont to observe, for the encouragement of such as had meetings in their houses, (which sometimes drew upon them inconveniences,) ‘That the ark is a guest that always pays well for its entertainment.’ And he noted, that when CHRIST had borrowed PETER'S boat to preach a sermon out of it, he presently repaid him for the loan with a great draught of fishes. (*Luke* v. 3, 4.)

Many thoughts of heart he had concerning this use he made of the liberty, not knowing what would be the end hereof; but after serious consideration, and many prayers, he saw his way very plain before him, and addressed himself with all diligence to the improvement of this gale of opportunity. Some had dismal apprehensions of the issue of it; and that there would be an after-reckoning: ‘But, saith he, let us mind our duty, and let GOD alone to order events; which are His work, not ours.’

While this liberty lasted, he was “in labours more abundant.” Many lectures he preached abroad in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, laying out himself exceedingly for the good of souls, spending and being spent in the work of the LORD. And of that neighbourhood,

and of that time, it was said, That this and that man was born again then and there; and many there were who were (not proselyted to any party, but) savingly brought home to **JESUS CHRIST**. I mean this: Such as had been careless, and unmindful of **GOD** and another world, became sober, and serious, and concerned about their souls, and a future state. This was the conversion of souls laboured after, and through grace not altogether in vain. Whatever lectures were set up in the country round, it was still desired that **MR. HENRY** should begin them; (which was thought no small encouragement to those who were to carry them on;) and very happy he was both in the choice and management of his subjects at such opportunities, seeking to find out acceptable words.

In doing this work he often said, that he looked upon himself but as an assistant to the Parish Ministers, in promoting the common interests of **CHRIST**'s kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls, by the explication and application of those great truths wherein we are all agreed. And he would compare the case to that in **HEZEKIAH**'s time, when the Levites helped the Priests to kill the sacrifice, which was an irregularity; but the exigence of affairs called for it; the Priests being too few, and some of them not so careful as they should have been, to sanctify themselves; and wherever he preached, he usually prayed for the Parish Minister, and for a blessing upon his Ministry. He hath often said how well pleased he was, when, after he had preached a lecture at Oswestry, he went to visit the Minister of the place, **MR. EDWARDS**, and told him, he had been sowing a handful of seed among his people, and had this answer: 'That is well; the **LORD** prosper your seed, and mine too: There is need enough of us both.' And another worthy Conformist that came privately to hear him, but was reprimanded by his superiors, told him afterwards with tears, that his heart was with him.

His heart was wonderfully enlarged in his work at this time. "The fields were white to the harvest:" and he was busy, and **GOD** did remarkably own him, setting many

seals to his Ministry, which much confirmed him in what he did. He hath an observable passage in his diary about this time, which he recorded for his after-benefit: ‘Remember that if trouble should come hereafter, for what we do now in the use of present liberty, I neither shrink from it, nor sink under it; for I do herein approve myself to God, and to my own conscience, in truth and uprightness; and the LORD whom I serve can and will certainly both bear me out, and bring me off with comfort in the end. I say, remember, and forget it not, this 24th day of March, 1673.’

It was at the beginning of this liberty, that the Society at Broad-Oak did commence; made up (besides their neighbourhood) of some out of Whitchurch, and Whitchurch parish, some out of Hanmer parish, and some out of the parishes of Wem, Prees, Ellismere; persons generally of moderate and sober principles, quiet and peaceable lives, and hearty well-wishers to the King and Government; and not rigid and schismatical in their separation, but willing to attend (though sometimes with difficulty and hazard) upon those administrations which they found most lively and edifying, and most helpful to them in the great business of working out their salvation. To this society he would never call himself a Pastor; nor was he willing that they should call him so; but a helper and a Minister of CHRIST for their good. He would say, that he looked upon his family only as his charge; and his preaching to others was but accidental; whom, if they came, he could no more turn away, than he could a poor hungry man that should come to his door for an alms. And being a Minister of JESUS CHRIST, he thought himself bound to preach the Gospel as he had opportunity.

Usually once a month he administered the ordinance of the LORD's Supper. Some of his opportunities of this kind he sets a particular mark upon, as sweet sealing days, on which he found it good to draw near to God.

On the 3d of March, 1677, being Saturday night, the town of Wem, in Shropshire, (about six miles from him,)

was burned down; the church, market-house, and about one hundred and twenty-six dwelling-houses, and one man, in little more than an hour's time, the wind being exceedingly violent; at which time, Mr. HENRY was very hopeful to his friends there, both for their support under, and their improvement of this sad Providence.

It was about half a year before, that a threatening fire had broken out in that town, but did little hurt; some serious people there, presently after celebrated a thanksgiving for their deliverance, in which Mr. HENRY imparted to them a spiritual gift (Oct. 3, 1676) from *Zech. iii. 2*. "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" In the close of that sermon, pressing them from the consideration of that remarkable deliverance, to amendment of life: That those who had been proud, covetous, passionate, liars, swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, would be no more; he added, 'If this Providence have not this effect upon you, you may in reason expect another fire; for when God judgeth he will overcome.' The remembrance of this could not but be affecting, when, in so short a time after, the whole town was laid in ruins.

The first time he went thither after that calamity, a neighbouring Justice having notice of it, sent to forbid him to preach, to his own grief as well as to the grief of many others, who came expecting. 'But (saith he in his diary) there was a visible sermon before us, the ruins preaching, that sin is an evil thing, and God a terrible God.' However, a few days after, he got an opportunity of preaching to them a word in season, which some will not forget, from *Hosea vi. 1*: "Come, and let us return unto the LORD, for he hath torn," &c. And at the return of the year, when the town was rebuilding, he gave them another very suitable sermon, from *Prov. iii. 38*: "The curse of the LORD is in the house of the wicked, but he blesseth the habitation of the just."

In the years 1677, 1678, and 1679, in the course of his Ministry at Broad-Oak, he preached over the Ten Commandments, and largely opened from other texts of Scrip-

ture the duties required, and sins forbidden, in each Commandment. For though none delighted more than he in preaching CHRIST and Gospel-grace; yet he knew, that "CHRIST came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil;" and that though through grace we are not under the Law, as a covenant, yet we are under it as a rule, "under the Law to CHRIST." He was very large and particular in pressing second table duties as essential to Christianity. 'We have known those (saith he) that have called preaching on such subjects, good moral preaching; but let them call it as they will, I am sure it is necessary, and as much now as ever.' How earnestly would he press upon the people, the necessity of righteousness and honesty, in their whole conversation. 'A good Christian (he used to say) will be a good husband, a good father, a good master, a good subject, and a good neighbour, and so in other relations.' How often would he urge to this purpose, that it is the will and command of the great God, the character of all the citizens of Sion, the beauty and ornament of our Christian profession. One thing I remember he was more than ordinarily enlarged in the pressing of, which was upon the ninth Commandment, to speak evil of no man. If we can say no good of persons, we must say nothing of them. He gave it as a rule, 'Never to speak of any one's faults to others, till we have first spoken of them to the offender himself.' He was himself an eminent example of this rule. Some that have conversed much with him, have said, that they never heard him speak evil of any body; nor could he bear to hear any spoken evil of, but often drove away a backbiting tongue with an angry countenance.

In the year 1680, he preached over the doctrines of Faith and Repentance, from several texts of Scripture. He used to say, he had been told concerning the famous Mr. Dod, that some called him in scorn, "Faith and Repentance;" because he insisted so much upon those two, in all his preaching. 'But (saith he) if this be to be vile, I will yet be more vile; for Faith and Repentance are all in all in Christianity.'

Concerning Repentance he hath sometimes said, ‘ If I were to die in the pulpit, I would desire to die preaching Repentance ; as if I die out of the pulpit, I would desire to die practising Repentance.’ And he had often this saying concerning Repentance ; ‘ He that repents every day, for the sins of every day, when he comes to die, will have the sins but of one day to repent of. Even reckonings make long friends.’

That year also, and the year 1681, he preached over the duties of hearing the Word and Prayer. He looked upon the LORD’S Prayer to be not only a directory or pattern for prayer, but (according to the advice of the Assembly of Divines) proper to be used as a form ; and accordingly he often used it both in public and in his family. And as he thought it was an error on the one hand, to lay so much stress upon it as some do, who think no solemn prayer accepted without it, and so repeat it five or six times, and perhaps oftener, at one meeting ; so he thought it an error on the other hand not to use it at all ; since it is a prayer, a comprehensive prayer, and may be of use to us, at least as other Scripture-prayers ; but he thought it a much greater error to be angry at those that do use it, to judge and censure them, and for no other reason to conceive prejudices against them and their Ministry.

CHAPTER VII.

*The Rebukes he lay under at Broad-Oak, betwixt the years
1680 and 1687.*

IN the beginning of the year 1681, in April and May, the country was greatly afflicted by an extreme drought ; there was no rain for several weeks, the grass failed ; corn that was sown languished, and much that was intended to be sown, could not ; the like had not been known for many years ; it was generally thought a dearth would ensue,

especially in that country, which is for the most part dry. And now it was time to seek the LORD; and (according to his own appointment) to ask of him "rain in the season thereof." Several serious thinking people being together at the funeral of that worthy Minister of JESUS CHRIST, MR. MALDEN; it was there said, how requisite it was that there should be some time set apart on purpose for fasting and prayer, in a solemn assembly upon this occasion. THOMAS MILLINGTON, of Weston, in Hodnet parish, in Shropshire, desired it might be at his house; and Tuesday, June 14, was the day pitched upon. The connivance of authority was presumed upon, because no disturbance of meetings was heard of at London, or any where else. MR. HENRY was desired to come and give his assistance. He asked upon what terms they stood with the neighbouring Justices, and it was answered, 'Well enough.' The drought continuing, some that had not used to come to such meetings, yet came thither on the apprehensions they had of the threatening judgment. MR. HENRY prayed and preached on *Psalm* lxvi. 18: "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the LORD will not hear me;" whence his doctrine was, 'That iniquity regarded in the heart, will certainly spoil the success of prayer.' When he was in the midst of his sermon, closely applying this truth, SIR T. V. of Hodnet, and MR. M. of Ightfield, two Justices of the Peace, with several others of their retinue, came suddenly upon them; set guards upon the house-doors, and came in themselves, severely rallied all they knew, reflected upon the late Honourable House of Commons, and the vote they passed, concerning the present unseasonableness of putting the laws in execution against Protestant Dissenters. They diverted themselves with very abusive and unbecoming talking; swearing, and cursing, and reviling bitterly; being told the occasion of the meeting was 'to seek to turn away the anger of God from us in the present drought;' it was answered, 'Such meetings as these were the cause of God's anger.' While they were thus entertaining themselves, their clerks took the names of those that were present, in all about

one hundred and fifty, and so dismissed them for the present. MR. HENRY hath noted, in the account he kept of this event, ‘ That the Justices came to this good work from the ale-house upon Prees-heath, about two miles off; to which, and the bowling-green adjoining, they, with other Justices, Gentlemen and Clergymen of the neighbourhood, had long before obliged themselves to come every Tuesday, during the summer time, under the penalty of twelve-pence a time if they were absent; and there to spend the day in drinking and bowling.’ It is supposed the Justices knew of the meeting before, and might have prevented it by the least intimation; but they were willing to take the opportunity of making sport to themselves, and trouble to their neighbours. After the feat done, they returned back to the ale-house, and made themselves and their companions merry with calling over the names they had taken. There was one of the company, whose wife happened to be present at the meeting, and her name taken among the rest; with which upbraiding him, he answered, ‘ That she had been better employed than he was, and if MR. HENRY might be admitted to preach in a church, he would go a great many miles to hear him.’ For which words he was forthwith expelled their society, never more to shew his face at that bowling-green; to which he replied, ‘ If they had so ordered long ago, it had been a great deal the better for him and his family.’

Two days after they met again at Hodnet, where, upon oath of two witnesses, who (as was supposed) were sent on purpose to inform, they signed and sealed two records of conviction. By one record they convicted the master of the house, and fined him twenty pounds, and five pounds more as constable of the town that year; and with him all the persons present, whose names they had taken, and fined them five shillings a piece, and issued out warrants accordingly. By another record they convicted the two Ministers, MR. BURY and MR. HENRY. The Act makes it only punishable to preach or teach in any such Conventicle; and yet they fined MR. BURY twenty pounds though

he only prayed, and did not speak one word in the way of preaching and teaching, not so much as, 'Let us pray;' however, right or wrong, he must be fined, though his great piety, peaceableness and usefulness, besides his deep poverty, one would think, might have pleaded for him, against so palpable a piece of injustice—They took seven pounds off from him and laid it upon others; and for the remaining thirteen pounds, he being utterly unable to pay it, they took from him by distress the bed which he lay upon, with blanket and rug; also another feather bed, several pairs of sheets, most of them new; of which he could not prevail to have so much as one pair returned for him to lie in; also books to the value of five pounds, besides brass and pewter. And though he was at this time perfectly innocent of that heinous crime of preaching and teaching, with which he was charged; yet he had no way to right himself, but by appealing to the Justices themselves in Quarter Sessions, who would be sure to affirm their own decree. So the good man took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, knowing that he had in heaven a better and a more enduring substance.

But MR. HENRY, being the greatest criminal, was fined forty pounds, the pretence of which was this: In the year 1679, October 15, MR. KYNASTON, of Oatley, a Justice of Peace in Shropshire, meeting him and some others, coming, as he supposed, from a Conventicle, he was pleased to record their conviction, upon the notorious evidence of the fact: The record was filed at Salop the Sessions after; but no notice was ever sent of it, either to MR. HENRY or the Justices of Flintshire; nor any prosecution upon it, against any of the parties charged. However, the Justices being resolved he should have *summum jus*, thought that first record sufficient to give denomination to a second offence, and so he came to be fined double. This conviction (according to the direction of the Act) they certified to the next adjoining Justices of Flintshire, who had all along carried themselves with great temper and moderation towards MR. HENRY, and had never given him any dis-

turbance; but they were now necessitated to execute the sentences of the Shropshire Justices. It was much pressed upon him to pay the fine, which might prevent his own loss, and the Justices trouble. But he was not willing to do it, partly because he would give no encouragement to such prosecutions, nor reward the informers for that which he thought they should rather be punished for; and partly because he thought himself wronged in the doubling of the fine. Whereupon his goods were distrained upon, and carried away; in the doing of which many passages occurred which might be worth the noting, but that the repetition of them would perhaps grate and give offence to some. Let it therefore suffice (waiving the circumstances) to remember only that their warrant, not giving them authority to break open doors, nor their watchfulness getting them an opportunity to enter the house, they carried away about thirty-three cart loads of goods without doors, corn cut upon the ground, hay, coals, &c. This made a great noise in the country, and raised the indignation of many; while Mr. HENRY bore it with his usual evenness and serenity of mind, he did not boast of his sufferings, or make any great matter of them; but would often say, 'Alas, this is nothing to what others suffer, nor to what we ourselves may suffer before we die.' And yet he rejoiced and blessed God that it was not for debt, or for evil-doing, that his goods were carried away. He frequently expressed the assurance he had, that whatever damage he sustained, God is able to make it up again. And (as he used to say) though we may be losers for CHRIST, yet we shall not be losers by him in the end. He had often said, that his preaching was likely to do the most good, when it was sealed to by suffering; 'and if this be the time, (saith he,) welcome the will of God; even this also shall turn to the furtherance of the Gospel.'

Mr. HENRY, at the next Assizes after he was distrained upon, was presented by one of the High Constables: 1. For keeping a Conventicle at his house; and 2. For saying, that the law for suppressing Conventicles ought not to be

obeyed. This latter presentment was altogether false. He had, indeed, in discourse with the High Constable, when he insisted so much upon the law, which required him to be so rigorous in the prosecution, objected, that all human laws were not to be obeyed, merely because they were laws. But as to any such reflections upon the law he suffered by, he was far from it. But these presentments met with so little countenance from JUDGE JEFFRIES, that MR. HENRY only entered in his appearance in the Prothonotary's Office, and they were no more heard of; wherein he acknowledged the hand of God, who turneth the hearts of the children of men as the rivers of water.

As to what was taken from him by the distress, they who took it made what markets they pleased of it, paid those they employed, and what the remainder was is not known for certain; but it was said that the following summer, about twenty-seven pounds was paid to SIR T. V., of which (and the rest that was levied in other places, which amounted to a considerable sum) it was credibly reported (and I have not heard it contradicted) that neither the King nor the poor had their share, (which, by the Act, is to be two-thirds) nor the informers all their's neither; but people said, the gentlemen had occasion for it all. But as they that had it were never the richer for it, so he that lost it would often say, that he found that God did so abundantly bless the remainder to him, that he was never the poorer; which he would mention for the encouragement of his friends, not to balk duty (as he used to express it) for fear of suffering.

The trouble which MR. HENRY was in, about the meeting at Weston, obliged him for a while to keep his Sabbaths at home, somewhat private; till in the year 1682, he took a greater liberty, and many flocked to him on LORD'S-days, through the kind connivance of the neighbouring Magistrates; but in the year 1683, when the meetings were generally suppressed throughout the kingdom, he was again necessitated to confine his labours more to his own family, and his friends that visited him. He continued his attend-

ance at Whitewell Chapel, as usual; and when he was abridged of his liberty, he often blessed GOD for his quietness. Once, when one of his Curates preached a bitter sermon against the Dissenters, on a LORD'S-day morning, some wondered that Mr. HENRY would go again in the afternoon for the second part; 'But (saith he) if he do not know his duty, I know mine; and I bless GOD I can find honey in a carcase.'

In this time of treading down, and of perplexity, he stirred little abroad, being forced (as he used to express it) to throw the plough under a hedge; but he preached constantly at home without disturbance; and often comforted himself with this, 'When we cannot do what we would, if we do what we can, GOD will accept of us; when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret trade.' And he would say, 'There is a mean, if we could hit it, between fool-hardiness and faint-heartedness.' While he had some opportunity of being useful at home, he was afraid lest he should prejudice that by venturing abroad. One of his friends in London earnestly soliciting him to make a visit thither in this time of restraint in the country; he thus wrote to him: 'I should be glad once more to kiss my native soil, though it were with a kiss of valediction: but my indisposition to travel, and the small prospect there is of doing good to countervail the pains, are my prevailing arguments against it. I am here (it is true) buried alive; but I am quiet in my grave, and have no mind to be a walking ghost. We rejoice and desire to be thankful that GOD hath given us a home, and continued it to us, when so many, better than we, have not where to lay their head, having no certain dwelling-place: (It was at the time of the dispersion of the French Protestants.) Why are they exiles, and not we? They strangers in a strange land, and not we? We must not say, We will die in our nests, lest GOD say, our times and all our ways are at his disposal; and it is very well they are so.'

At the time of the DUKE of MONMOUTH'S descent, and the insurrection in the West, in the year 1685, MR. HENRY,

as many others, (pursuant to a general order of the Lord Lieutenant, for securing all suspected persons, and particularly all Non-conformist Ministers,) was taken up by a warrant from the Deputy Lieutenant, and sent under a guard to Chester Castle, where he was about three weeks a close prisoner. He was lodged with some gentlemen and Ministers that were fetched thither out of Lancashire, who were all strangers to him; but he had great comfort in the acquaintance and society of many of them.

He often spoke of this imprisonment, not as matter of complaint, but of thanksgiving, and blessed God he was in nothing uneasy all the while. In a sermon to his family, the day after he came home, he largely recounted the mercies of that Providence: As for instance, 'That his imprisonment was for no cause: It is guilt that makes a prison. That it was his security in a dangerous time. That he had good company in his sufferings, who prayed together, and read the Scriptures together, and discoursed to their mutual edification. That he had health there; not sick and in prison; that he was visited and prayed for by his friends. That he was very cheerful and easy in his spirit, many a time asleep and quiet, when his adversaries were disturbed and unquiet. That his enlargement was speedy and unsought for, and that it gave occasion to the Magistrates who committed him, to give it under their hands, that they had nothing in particular to lay to his charge; and especially that it was without a snare, which was the thing he feared more than any thing else.'

It was a surprise to some that visited him in his imprisonment, and were big with the expectations of the DUKE of MONMOUTH'S success, to hear him say, 'I would not have you flatter yourselves with such hopes, for God will not do his work for us in these nations by that man; but our deliverance and salvation will arise some other way.'

It must not be forgotten how ready he was, nay, how studious and industrious, to serve and oblige such as had been any way instruments of trouble to him, as far as it lay in his power, so well had he learned that great lesson of

CHAPTER VIII.

The last nine Years of his Life at Broad-Oak, from the Year 1687.

IT was the latter end of the year 1685, when the stream ran so very strong against the Dissenters, that MR. HENRY being in discourse with a great man of the Church of England, mentioned King CHARLES's indulgence in 1672, as that which gave rise to his stated preaching in a separate assembly; and added, 'If the present King JAMES should in like manner give me leave, I would do the same again: To which that great man replied, 'Never expect any such thing from him, for take my word for it, he hates you Non-conformists in his heart.' 'Truly (said MR. HENRY) I believe it, and I think he doth not love you of the Church of England neither.' It was then little thought that the same Right Reverend person who said so to him, should have the honour, as he had soon after, to be one of the seven Bishops committed to the Tower by King JAMES; as it was also far from any one's expectation, that the same King JAMES should so quickly give liberty to the Non-conformists: But we live in a world, wherein we are to think nothing strange, nor be surprised at any turn of the wheel of nature.

The measures then taken by King JAMES's Court and Council were soon laid open, not only to view, but to contempt, being in a short time by the over-ruling Providence of GOD, broken and defeated: However, the indulgence granted to Dissenters in April, 1687, must needs be a reviving to those, who for so many years had lain buried in silence and restraint; nor can any, who will allow themselves the liberty of supposing the case their own, wonder that they should rejoice in it, though the design of it being manifest, they could not choose but "rejoice with trembling." MR. HENRY's sentiments of it were, 'Whatever men's ends are in it, I believe GOD's end in it is to do us

There were many that said, Surely the Dissenters will not embrace the liberty which is intended only for a snare to them. MR. HENRY read and considered *The Letter of Advice to the Dissenters* at this juncture; but concluded, ‘Duty is ours, and events are GOD’s.’ He remembered the experience he had had of the like in KING CHARLES’s time, and that did good and no hurt. “All power is for edification, not for destruction.” Did JEREMIAH sit still in the court of the prison, because he had his discharge from the King of Babylon? Nay, did not PAUL, when he was persecuted by his countrymen, for preaching the Gospel, appeal to CÆSAR; and find more kindness at Rome, than he did at Jerusalem? In short, the principle of his “conversation in the world” being not “fleshly wisdom,” or policy, but “the grace of God,” and particularly the grace of “simplicity and godly sincerity,” he was willing to make the best of that which was, and to hope the best of the design and issue of it.

He apprehended this liberty likely to be of short continuance, and to end in trouble; and because he could not see how his not using of it, would prevent the trouble; but did see that his vigorous improvement of it, would prepare for the trouble, he set himself with all diligence, to make the best use he could of this gleam, both at home and abroad, on Sabbath days and week days, to his power; yea, and beyond his power.

When KING JAMES came his progress into that country, in September, 1687, to court the compliments of the people, MR. HENRY joined with several others, in and about Whitchurch, Nantwich, and Wem, in an Address to him, which was presented when he lay at Whitchurch; the purport of which was, not to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to him and to his interest, but only to return him thanks for the liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.

Some time after, Commissioners were sent abroad into the country, to inquire after the trouble that Dissenters had sustained by the penal Laws; and how the money that

was levied upon them was disposed of, little of it being found paid into the Exchequer; they sent to Mr. HENRY to have an account from him of his sufferings; he returned answer by letter, that he had indeed been fined some years before, for a Conventicle, and distrained upon, and his goods carried away; which all the country knew, and to which he referred himself. But being required to give a particular account of it upon oath; though he said he could be glad to see such instruments of trouble legally removed; yet he declined giving any further information concerning it; having (as he wrote to the Commissioners) long since, from his heart, forgiven all the agents, instruments, and occasions of it; and having purposed never to say any thing more of it.

It was on Tuesday, June 14, 1681, that he was disturbed at Weston in Shropshire, when he was preaching on *Psaln* lxi. 18, and on Tuesday, June 14, 1687, that day six years he preached there again without disturbance, finishing what he was then prevented from delivering, concerning prayer, and going on to *Verse* 19, 90, “But verily God hath heard me,—Blessed be God,”—concerning the duty of thanksgiving. This seventh year of their silence and restraint, proved, through God’s wonderful good Providence, the year of release.

In May, 1688, a new Commission of the Peace came down for the county of Flint, in which (by whose interest or procurement was not known) Mr. HENRY was nominated a Justice of Peace for that county. It was no small surprise to him, to receive a letter from the Clerk of the Peace, directed to PHILIP HENRY, Esq., acquainting him with it, and appointing him when and where to come and be sworn. To which he returned answer, that he was very sensible of his unworthiness of the honour, and his unfitness for the office which he was nominated to, and therefore desired to be excused; and he was so, and did what he could, that it might not be spoken of in the country.

For two years after his liberty began, Mr. HENRY still continued his attendance, as usual, at Whitewell Chapel,

whenever there was preaching there; and he preached at his own house only when there was no supply there, and in the evening of those days when there was. For doing thus he was greatly clamoured against, by some of the rigid Separatists, and called a dissembler, and one that halted between two. Thus (as he notes in his diary) one side told him, he was the author of all the mischief in the country, in drawing people from the Church; and the other side told him, he was the author of all the mischief, in drawing people to the Church: ‘And which of these,’ saith he, ‘shall I seek to please? LORD, neither; but thyself alone.’

In a sermon at Whitewell Chapel, one LORD’S-day in the afternoon, where he and his family, and many of his congregation were attending, much was said with some keen reflections, to prove the Dissenters schismatics, and in a damnable state: When he came immediately after to preach at his own house, before he began his sermon, he expressed himself to this purpose; ‘Perhaps some of you may expect that I should say something in answer to what we have heard; but truly I have something else to do;’ and so, without any further notice of it, went on to preach “JESUS CHRIST and him crucified.”

It was not without some fear and trembling, that MR. HENRY received the tidings of the Prince of Orange’s landing, in November 1688, as being somewhat in the dark concerning the clearness of his call, and dreading what might be the consequence of it. He used to say, ‘Give peace in our time, O LORD,’ was a prayer that he would heartily set his Amen to. But when secret things were brought to light, and a regular course was taken to fill the throne with such a King and such a Queen, none rejoiced in it more heartily than he did. He celebrated the national thanksgiving for that great deliverance, with an excellent sermon on that text, “What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us.” (*Rom.* viii. 31.)

Soon after that happy settlement, there were overtures made towards a comprehension of the moderate Dissenters,

with the Church of England ; which Mr. HENRY most earnestly desired, if it could be had upon any terms less than sinning against his conscience ; for never was any more averse to a separation than he was, if he could possibly have helped it, *salvá conscientiá*. His prayers were constant, and his endeavours, as he had opportunity, that there might be some healing methods found out and agreed upon. But it is well known what was the word at that time, namely, ‘That forasmuch as the oaths, subscriptions and ceremonies were imposed only to keep out such men, they would never consent to their removal, for the letting them in again.’ This was at that time published and owned, as the sense of the Clergy in Convocation. Which temper and resolve, so contrary to that which might have been expected, upon that happy and glorious Revolution, did a little alter his sentiments in that matter ; and he saw himself perfectly driven from them. Despairing therefore to see an accommodation, he set himself the more vigorously to improve the present liberty. In June 1689, the Act of Indulgence passed, which not only tolerated, but allowed the Dissenters’ meetings, and took them under the protection of the Government.

Soon after which, though he never in the least changed his judgment, as to the lawfulness of joining in the Common Prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally ; yet the Ministers that preached at Whitewell Chapel, being often uncertain in their coming, which kept his meeting at Broad-Oak at like uncertainties, to the frequent disappointment of many of his hearers that came from far ; he was at last prevailed with to preach at public time every Lord’s-day, which he continued to do while he lived, much to his own satisfaction, and the satisfaction of his friends. An eminent Minister in Lancashire, who did in like manner alter his practice about that time, gave this for a reason, ‘That he had been for twenty-seven years striving to please a generation of men, who after all would not be pleased ; and therefore he would no longer endeavour it.’

It may be of use to give some account how he managed

his ministerial work, in the latter part of his time, wherein he had as signal tokens of the presence of God with him, as ever; enabling him still to bring forth fruit in old age, and to renew his youth like the eagles'. Though what he did, he still did *gratis*, and would do so, yet he was not willing to have any constant assistant, nor had he any; so much was he in his element, when he was about his Master's work: It was his meat and drink to do it.

1. As to his constant Sabbath-work, he was uniform and abundant in it. He began his morning family-worship, on LORD'S-days at eight o'clock, when he read and expounded pretty largely, sung a Psalm and prayed; and many strove to come time enough to join with him in that service. He began in public just at nine o'clock Winter and Summer. His meeting-place was an out-building of his own, adjoining to his house, fitted up very decently for the purpose. He began with prayer, then he sang a Psalm; next he read and expounded a chapter in the Old Testament in the morning, and in the New Testament in the afternoon. He looked upon the public reading of the Scriptures in religious assemblies, to be an ordinance of God, and that it tended very much to the edification of people by that ordinance, to have what is read expounded to them. The bare reading of the word, he used to compare to the throwing of a net into the water; but the expounding of it, is like the spreading out of that net, which makes it the more likely to catch fish; especially as he managed it, with practical profitable observations. Some that have heard him read a chapter, with this thought, 'How will he make such a chapter as this useful to us?' have been surprised with such pertinent, useful instructions, as they have owned to be as much for their edification as any sermon. And commonly when he had expounded a chapter, he would desire them when they came home to read it over, and recollect some of those things that had been spoken.

In his expounding of the Old Testament, he industriously sought for something in it concerning CHRIST, who is

the true Treasure hid in the field, the true Manna hid in the dew of the Old Testament.

After the exposition of the chapter he sang a Psalm, suitable to the chapter expounded; and would briefly tell his hearers how they might sing that Psalm with understanding, and what affection of soul should be working towards God, in the singing of it; his hints of that kind were of great use, and contributed much to the right performance of that service: He often said, 'The more singing of Psalms there is in our families and congregation on Sabbath days, the more there is in them of the everlasting Sabbath.'

After the sermon in the morning, he sang another Psalm.

He intermitted at noon about an hour and a half, and on Sacrament days not near so long, in which time he took some little refreshment in his study, making no solemn dinner; yet many of his friends did partake of his carnal, as well as of his spiritual things, as those did that followed CHRIST, of whom he was careful they should not faint by the way. The morning sermon was repeated, by a ready writer, to those that stayed in the meeting-place, as many did, and when that was done, he began the afternoon's exercise; in which he not only read and expounded a chapter, but catechised the children, and expounded the Catechism briefly before sermon. Thus did he go from strength to strength, and from duty to duty on Sabbath days; running the ways of God's Commandments with an enlarged heart. And the variety and vivacity of his public services, made them exceeding pleasant to all that joined with him, who never had cause to complain of his being tedious. He used to say, 'Every minute of Sabbath time is precious, and none of it to be lost;' and that he scarce thought the LORD'S-day well spent, if he were not weary in body at night; wearied with his work, but not weary of it, as he used to distinguish. He would say sometimes to those about him, when he had gone through the duties of a Sabbath; 'Well, if this be not the way to heaven, I do

not know what is.' In pressing people to number their days, he would especially exhort them to number their Sabbath days, how many they have been, and how ill they have been spent ; how few it is likely they may be, that they may be spent better ; and to help in the account, he would say, ' That for every twenty years of our lives we enjoy above a thousand Sabbaths, which must be accounted for in the day of reckoning.'

As to his constant preaching, it was substantial and elaborate, and greatly to edification. He used to say, he could not starch his preaching ; that is, he would not ; as knowing where the language and expression is stiff and fine, (at they call it,) it doth not reach the greatest part of the hearers. When he grew old, he would say, sure he might now take a greater liberty to talk (as he called it) in the pulpit ; that is, to speak familiarly to people ; yet to the last he abated not in his preparations for the pulpit, nor ever delivered any thing raw and undigested ; much less any thing unbecoming the gravity and seriousness of the work. If his preaching were talking, it was talking to the purpose. His sermons were not common-place, but even when his subjects were the most plain, yet his managing of them was usually peculiar and surprising. In those years, as formerly, he kept for the most part in a method for subjects, and was seldom above one Sabbath upon a text. And his constant practice was, as it had been before, when he concluded a subject that he had been a good while upon, he spent one Sabbath in a brief rehearsal of the marrow and substance of the many sermons he preached upon it, which he called the clenching of the nail, that it might be as a nail in a sure place. So very industrious was he, and no less ingenious in his endeavours, that his hearers might ' be able after his decease, to have these things always in remembrance,' and it is hoped, that by the blessing of God, the effect did not altogether disappoint his expectation. The excellency of his sermons lay chiefly in the enlargements, which were always solid, grave and judi-

cious; but in marshalling his heads, he often **condescended** below his own judgment, to help his hearers' memories.

2. As to the administration of the Sacraments, those mysteries of God, which Ministers are the stewards of.

As to the Sacrament of Baptism, he had never (that I know of) baptised any children (except his own) from the time he was turned out in 1662, till his last liberty, though often desired to do it; such was the tender regard he had to the Established Church; but now he revived the administration of that ordinance in his congregation. The public administration of Baptism he not only judged most agreeable to the nature and end of the ordinance, but found to be very profitable and edifying to the congregation; for he always took that occasion, not only to explain the nature of the ordinance, but affectionately and pathetically to excite people duly to improve their Baptism. After he had baptized the child, before he gave it back, he commonly used these words; 'We receive this child into the congregation of CHRIST'S Church, having washed it with water, in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, in token that hereafter it shall not be ashamed to confess CHRIST crucified, and manfully to fight,' &c.

He baptized many adult persons, that, through the error of their parents, were not baptized in infancy.

The solemn ordinance of the LORD'S Supper he constantly celebrated in his congregation once a month, and always to a very considerable number of communicants. He did not usually observe public days of preparation for that ordinance, other than as they fell in course in the weekly lectures; nor did he ever appropriate any particular subject of his preaching to Sacrament days, having a great felicity in adapting any profitable subject to such an occasion: And he would say, 'What did the primitive Christians do, when they celebrated the LORD'S Supper every day?'

Such as desired to be admitted to the LORD'S Supper, he first discoursed with concerning their spiritual state, and

how the case stood between GOD and their soul; not only to examine them, but to instruct and teach them, and to encourage them as he saw occasion; gently leading those whom he discerned to be serious, though weak and timorous: He usually discoursed with them more than once, as finding precept upon precept, and line upon line necessary: But he did it with so much mildness, and humility, and tenderness, and endeavoured to make the best of every body, as did greatly win upon many.

But his admission of young people out of the rank of Catechumens into that of Communicants, had a peculiar solemnity in it. Such as he catechised, when they grew up to some years of discretion, if he observed them to be intelligent and serious, he marked them out, and when he had a competent number of such, twelve or fifteen perhaps, or more, he ordered each of them to come to him severally, and discoursed with them of the things belonging to their everlasting peace; put it to their choice whom they would serve; and endeavoured to affect them with those things with which they had been acquainted; drawing them with the cords of a man, and the bands of love, into the way which is called holy. For several LORD'S-days he catechised them, particularly in public, touching the LORD'S Supper, and the duty of preparation for it, and their Baptismal Covenant. Then he appointed a day in the week before the ordinance; when in a solemn assembly on purpose, he prayed for them, and preached a sermon to them, proper to their age and circumstances; and so the following Sabbath they were all received together to the LORD'S Supper.

3. The discipline he observed in the congregation, was not such as he could have wished for, but the best he could get, considering what a scattered flock he had. If he heard any that walked disorderly, he sent for them, and reprov'd them, gently or sharply as he saw the case required. If the sin had scandal in it, he suspended them from the ordinance of the LORD'S Supper, till they gave some tokens of their repentance and reformation. And

where the offence was public and gross, his judgment was, that some public satisfaction should be made to the congregation before re-admission. But whatever offence happened, or breach of the Christian peace, Mr. HENRY'S peculiar excellency lay in "restoring with the spirit of meekness;" which, with his great prudence, and love, and condescension, did so much command the respects of his people, that there was an universal satisfaction in all his management; and it may truly be said of him, as it was of DAVID, that "whatsoever he did pleased all the people." (2 *Sam.* iii. 36.) And it is an instance and evidence, that those Ministers who will rule by love and meekness, need no laws or canons to rule by, other than those of the Holy Scripture.

He was very strict and very serious in observing the public Fasts appointed by authority, and called them a delight. He had seldom any one to assist him in carrying on the duties of those days, but performed the service of them himself alone. He began at nine o'clock, or quickly after, and never stirred out of the pulpit till about four in the afternoon, spending all that time in praying and expounding, and singing, and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him, who were generally more on such days than usual. And he was sometimes observed, to be more warm and lively towards the latter end of the duties of a fast-day, than at the beginning; as if the spirit was most willing and enlarged when the flesh was most weak. In all his performances on public Fast-days, he did attend to that which was the proper work of the day; every thing is beautiful in its season. His prayers and pleadings with God on those days, were especially for national mercies, and the pardon of national sins; how excellently did he order the cause before God, and fill his mouth with arguments in his large and particular intercessions for the land, for the King, the government, the army, the navy, the Church, the French Protestants, &c. He was another JACOB, a wrestler, an ISRAEL, a Prince with God. Before a Fast-day he would be more than ordinarily inquisitive concerning the state of public affairs, as NEHEMIAH was.

(*Neh.* i. 2,) that he might know the better how to order his prayers and preaching: ‘For on such a day (he hath sometimes said) as good say nothing, as nothing to the purpose.’ He made it his business on Fast-days, to show people their transgressions, especially the house of JACOB their sins. ‘It is most proper (said he) to preach of CHRIST on LORD’S-days, to preach of sin on Fast-days, and to preach duty on both.’ He went over the third Chapter of the Revelation, in the Fast-sermons of two years. Another year he preached over the particulars of that charge, *Zeph.* iii. 2. ‘Hypocrisy in hearers, and flattery in preachers, (as he would sometimes say,) are bad at any time, but they are especially abominable upon a day of humiliation.’

5. He preached a great many lectures in the country about, some stated, some occasional, in supplying of which he was indefatigable. He hath sometimes-preached a lecture, ridden eight or nine miles and preached another, and the next day two more: To quicken himself to diligence, he would often say, ‘Our opportunities are passing away, and we must work while it is day, for the night cometh.’ Once having very wet and foul weather to go through to preach a lecture, he said, he comforted himself with two Scriptures; one was, “Endure hardness as a good soldier of JESUS CHRIST.” (*2 Tim.* ii. 3.) The other (because he exposed and hazarded his health, for which some blamed him) was, “It was before the LORD.” (*2 Sam.* vi. 21.) He took all occasions in his lectures abroad, to possess the minds of people with sober and moderate principles, and to stir them up to the serious regard of those things wherein we are all agreed. ‘We are not met here together (said he once in an exhortation, with which he often began at his lecture) because we think ourselves better than others, but because we desire to be better than we are.’

He was very happy in the choice of his subjects for his week-day lectures. At one which was stated, he preached against errors in general, from *James* i. 16, “Do not err, my beloved brethren;” particularly from divers other Scriptures he showed, that we must not err concerning God and

CHRIST, and the SPIRIT; concerning sin and repentance, faith and good works; concerning GOD's ordinances; concerning grace and peace, afflictions and prosperity, and the things of the life to come. At the monthly lectures at his own house, he chose to preach upon the four last things, Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell, in many particulars, but commonly a new text for every sermon. When he had in many sermons finished the first of the four, one that used to hear him sometimes, inquiring of his progress in his subjects, asked him, if he had done with Death?, meaning that subject concerning Death; to which he pleasantly replied, 'No, I have not done with him yet; I must have another turn with him, and he will give me a fall; but I hope to have the victory at last.' He would sometimes remove the lectures in the country from one place to another, for the benefit of those that could not travel.

Lastly. As he was an excellent Preacher himself, so he was an exemplary hearer of the word, when others preached, though every way his inferiors; so reverent, serious, and attentive was he in hearing, and so observant of what was spoken. I have heard him tell, that he knew one (and I suppose it was as PAUL knew a man in CHRIST) who could truly say, to the glory of GOD, that for forty years he had never slept at a sermon. He was diligent also to improve what he had heard afterwards by meditation, repetition, prayer and discourse; and he was a very great encourager of young Ministers that were humble and serious, though their abilities and performances were but mean. He hath noted in his diary (as that which affected him) this saying of a good man, a hearer of his, 'I find it easier to go six miles to hear a sermon, than to spend one quarter of an hour in meditating and praying over it in secret, when I come home.'

As to the circumstances of his family in these last nine years of his life, they were somewhat different from what they had been; but the same candle of GOD which had shined upon his tabernacle, continued still to do so. In the

years 1687, and 1688, he married all his five children, the three eldest in four months' time, in the year 1687, and the other two in a year and a half after; so many swarms (as he used to call them) out of his hive; and all not only with his full consent, but to his abundant comfort and satisfaction. He would say, he thought it the duty of parents to study to oblige their children in that affair. And though never could children be more easy and at rest in a father's house than his were, yet he would sometimes say concerning them, as NAOMI to RUTH, "Shall I not seek rest for thee?" (*Ruth* iii. 1.) He would commonly say to his children, with reference to that choice, 'Please God and please yourselves, and you shall never displease me;' and greatly blamed those parents, who conclude matches for their children, and do not ask counsel at their mouth. He never aimed at great things in the world for his children; but sought for them in the first place the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof. He used to mention sometimes the saying of a pious gentlewoman, that had many daughters: 'The care of most people is, how to get good husbands for their daughters; but my care is, to fit my daughters to be good wives, and then let God provide for them.' In this, as in other things, MR. HENRY steered by that principle; that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth." And it pleased God so to order it, that all his children were disposed of, into circumstances very agreeable and comfortable, both for life and godliness.

While he lived, he had much comfort in all his children and their yoke-fellows; and somewhat the more, that by the Divine Providence, four of the five families which branched out of his, were settled in Chester.

His youngest daughter was married April 26, 1688, the same day of the year (as he observes in his diary) and the same day of the week, and in the same place that he was married to his dear wife, twenty-eight years before; upon which this is his remark: 'I cannot desire for them, that they should receive more from God than we have received,

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in that relation; but I would desire, and do desire, that they may do more for God in it than we have done.' His usual compliment to his new-married friends, was, 'Others wish you all happiness, I wish you all holiness, and then there is no doubt but you will have all happiness.'

When the marriage of the last of his daughters was about to be concluded on, he thus writes; "But is JOSEPH gone, and SIMEON gone, and must BENJAMIN go also?" We will not say that all these things are against us, but for us: If we must be thus bereaved of our children, let us be bereaved; and GOD turn it for good to them, as we know He will if they love and fear his name.' And when, some time after he parted with her to the house of her husband, he thus writes; 'We have sent her away, not as LABAN said he would have sent his daughters away, with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp; but with prayers and tears, and hearty good wishes: And now (saith he in his diary) we are alone again, as we were in our beginning; GOD be better to us than twenty children.' Upon the same occasion he writes to a dear relation: 'We are now left as we were, one and one, and yet but one one; the LORD, I trust, that has brought us thus far, will enable us to finish well; and then all will be well; and not till then.'

That which he often mentioned, as the matter of his great comfort that it was so, and his desire that it might continue so, was, the love and unity that were among his children; and that (as he writes) the transplanting of them into new relations, had not lessened that love, but rather increased it; for this he often gave thanks to the God of love; noting, that the children's love to one another is the parents' comfort and joy. In his last Will and Testament, this is the prayer which he puts up for his children, 'That the LORD would build them up in holiness, and continue them still in brotherly love, as a bundle of arrows which cannot be broken.'

When his children were removed from him, he was a daily intercessor at the throne of grace for them and their

families. Still the burnt-offerings were offered according to the number of them all. He used to say, 'Surely the children of so many prayers will not miscarry.' Their particular circumstances of affliction and danger, were sure to be mentioned by him with suitable petitions. The greatest affliction he saw in his family, was the death of his dear daughter-in-law, CATHARINE, the only daughter of SAMUEL HARDWARE, Esq.; who, about a year and a half after she was transplanted into his family (to which she was the greatest comfort and ornament) died in child-bed, upon the thanksgiving day for King WILLIAM's coming in. She died but a few weeks after MR. HENRY had married the last of his daughters, upon which marriage she had said, 'Now we have a full lease, GOD only knows which life will drop first.' She comforted herself in the extremity of her illness with this word, 'Well, when I come to heaven, I shall see that I could not have been without this affliction.' She had been for some time before under some fears as to her spiritual state, but the clouds were dispelled, and she finished her course with joy.

When two of his children lay ill, and in perilous circumstances, after he had been wrestling with GOD in prayer for them, he wrote thus in his diary: 'If the LORD will be pleased to grant me my request this time concerning my children, I will not say, as the beggars at our door use to do, I will never ask any thing of him again; but on the contrary, He shall hear oftener from me than ever; and I will love GOD the better, and love prayer the better, as long as I live.'* He used to say, 'Tradesmen take it ill, if those that are in their books, go to another shop; while we are so much indebted to GOD for past mercies, we are bound to attend him for further mercies.'

As he was an intercessor for his children at the throne of grace, so he was upon all occasions a remembrancer to them, both by word and letter, to quicken them to that which is good. How often did he inculcate this upon them! 'Love one another, and the GOD of love and peace will be with you. Do all you can, while you are together, to

help one another to heaven, that you may be together there, for ever, and with the LORD.' When the families of his children were in health and peace, the candle of God shining upon their tabernacles, he wrote thus to them, It was one of JOB's comforts in his prosperity, that his children loved one another, and feasted together : The same is ours in you, which God continue. But will you not be offended, if we pray that you may none of you curse God in your hearts? Remember the wheel is always in motion, and the spoke that is uppermost will be under, and therefore mix tremblings always with your joy.'

He much rejoiced in the visits of his children, and made that as other things, which were the matter of his rejoicing, the matter of thanksgiving. His usual saying at parting, was, ' This is not the world we are to be together in, and it is well it is not, but there is such a world before us : ' And his usual prayer was, ' That our next meeting might be either in heaven, or further on in our way towards it.'

He had in eight years' time twenty-four grand-children born, some by each of his children ; concerning whom he would often bless God, that they were all the sealed ones of the God of heaven, and enrolled among his lambs. On the birth of his second grand-child, at a troublesome time as to public affairs, he thus writes, ' I have now seen my children's children, let me also see peace upon Israel ; and then will I say, " LORD, now lettest thou thy servant depart." ' Some were much affected with it, when he baptized two of his grand-children together at Chester publicly, and preached on *Gen. xxxiii. 5*. " They are the children which God hath graciously given thy servant." He observed in what a pious, gracious manner JACOB speaks. He had spoken good sense if he had only said, They are my children, but then he had not spoken like JACOB, like one that had so lately seen the face of God. Though our speech be not always of grace, yet it must be always with grace, grace poured into the lips. There is a kind of language, the air of which speaks it the language of Canaan ; Christians should speak like Christians

It was not long after his children were married from him, but his house was filled again with the children of several of his friends, whom he was, by much importunity, persuaded to table with him. All that knew him, thought it a thousand pities, that such a master of a family, should have but a small family, and should not have many to sit down under his shadow. He was almost necessitated to it, by the death of his dear friend and kinsman, MR. BENYON, of Ash, who left his children to his care. Some he took *gratis*, or for small consideration; and when, by reason of the advances of age, he could not go about so much as he had done, doing good, he laid himself out to do the more at home. He kept a teacher to attend their school-learning; and they had the benefit not only of his inspection into that, but (what was much more) his family-worship, Sabbath-instructions, catechising, and daily converse, in which his tongue was as choice as silver, and his lips fed many. Nothing but the hopes of doing some good to the rising generation, could have prevailed with him. He would often say, ‘We have a busy house, but there is a rest remaining. We must be doing something in the world while we are in it; but this fashion will not last long; methinks I see it passing away.’

Sometimes he had such with him as had gone through their course of University learning at private academies, and desired to spend some time in his family before their entrance upon the Ministry, that they might have the benefit, not only of his public and family instructions, but of his learned and pious converse, in which, as he was thoroughly furnished for every good word and work, so he was very free and communicative. The great thing which he used to press upon those who intended the Ministry, was to study the Scriptures, and make them familiar. *Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus*, was a maxim he often minded them of. For this purpose he recommended to them the study of the Hebrew, that they might be able to search the Scriptures in the original. He also advised them to the use of an inter-leaved Bible, wherein to insert such expositions

and observations as occur occasionally in sermons or other books, which he would say are more happy and considerable sometimes, than those that are found in the professed Commentators. When some young men desired the happiness of coming into his family, he would tell them, ‘ You come to me as NAAMAN did to ELISHA, expecting that I should do this and the other for you ; and alas ! I can but say as he did, *Go wash in Jordan* ; Go study the Scriptures. I profess to teach no other learning but Scripture learning. It was a little before he died, that in reading *Isa. l.* he observed from *verse 4.* “ The LORD GOD hath given me the tongue of the learned,” &c. ; ‘ That the true learning of a Gospel Minister consists not in being able to talk Latin fluently, and to dispute in Philosophy, but in being able to speak a word in season to weary souls. He that knows how to do that well, is a learned Minister.’

CHAPTER IX.

His Sickness, Death, and Burial.

IN the time of his health, he made death very familiar to himself, by frequent and pleasing thoughts and meditations of it ; and endeavoured to make it so to his friends, by speaking often of it. His Letters and Discourses had still something or other which spoke his constant expectations of death ; and it is hard to say, whether it was more easy to him to speak, or uneasy to his friends to hear him speak of leaving the world.

MR. HENRY'S constitution was but tender, and yet by the blessing of GOD upon his great temperance, and care of his diet, and moderate exercise, he did, for many years, enjoy a good measure of health, which he used to call, ‘ The sugar that sweetens all temporal mercies ;’ for which, therefore, we ought to be very thankful. He had sometimes violent fits of the cholick, which would be very afflic-

tive for the time. Towards the latter end he was distressed sometimes with a pain which his Doctor thought might arise from a stone in his kidneys. Being once upon the recovery from an ill fit of that pain, he said to one of his friends, that asked him how he did, he hoped, by the grace of God he should now be able to give one blow more to the Devil's kingdom; and often professed, he did not desire to live a day longer than he might do God some service. He said to another, when he perceived himself recovering, 'Well, I thought I had been putting into the harbour, but find I must go to sea again.'

He was sometimes suddenly taken with fainting fits, which, when recovered from, he would say, 'Dying is but a little more.'

When he was in the sixty-third year of his age, which hath been to many the dying year, and was so to his father, he numbered the days of it, from August 24, 1693, to August 24, 1694, when he finished it; and when he concluded it, he thus wrote in his Diary: 'This day finisheth my commonly dying year, which I have numbered the days of; and should now apply my heart more than ever to heavenly wisdom.' He was much pleased with that expression in the Office of Burial, and frequently used it: 'In the midst of life we are in death.'

The infirmities of age, when they grew upon him, did very little abate his vigour and liveliness in preaching, but he seemed even to renew his youth as the eagles'; as those that are "planted in the house of the LORD," who "still bring forth fruit in old age;" not so much to show that they are upright, as to show that "the LORD is upright." (*Psalms* xcii. 14, 15.) But in his latter years, travelling was very troublesome to him; and he would say, as MR. DODD used to do, that when he thought to shake himself as at other times, he found "his hair cut." His sense of this led him to preach an occasional sermon, not long before he died, on *John* xxi. 18, "When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself," &c. Another occasional sermon he preached, when he was old, for his own

comfort, and the comfort of his aged friends, on *Psalm* lxxi. 17, 18, "O God, thou hast taught me from my youth," &c. He observed there, 'That it is a blessed thing to be taught of God from our youth; and those that have been taught of God from their youth, ought to declare his wondrous works all their days after. And those that have been taught of God from their youth, and have all their days declared his wondrous works, may comfortably expect that when they are old He will not forsake them. CHRIST is a Master that doth not use to cast off his old servants.'

For some years before he died, he used to complain of an habitual weariness, contracted, he thought, by his standing to preach, sometimes very uneasily, and in inconvenient places, immediately after riding. He would say, every Minister was not cut out for an Itinerant; and sometimes the manifest attention and affection of people in hearing, enlarged him both in length and fervency more than his strength could bear. It was not many months before he died, that he wrote thus to a dear relation, who inquired concerning his health, 'I am always habitually weary, and expect no other till I lie down in the bed of spices; and (blessed be God) so the grave is to all the Saints, since He lay in it who is "the Rose of Sharon," and "the Lily of the Valleys."' When some of his friends persuaded him to spare himself, he would say, 'It is time enough to rest when I am in the grave; what were candles made for but to burn?'

It doth not appear that he had any particular presages of his death; but many instances there were of his expectation of it, somewhat more than ordinary, for some time before. The last visit he made to his children in Chester, was in July, 1695, almost a year before he died, when he spent a LORD'S-DAY there, and preached on the last verse of the Epistle to PHILEMON, "The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST be with your Spirit." By Grace, he understood not so much the good will of GOD towards us, as the good work of GOD in us, called the Grace of CHRIST, both because he is the Author and Finisher of it, and because

He is the Pattern of it. Now the choicest gift we can ask of GOD for our friends, is, that this grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST may be with their spirit. This is the "one thing needful," the "better part," the "root of the matter," the "whole of man," the "principal thing," the "more excellent way," a "blessing indeed," and the "thing that accompanies salvation." The grace of CHRIST in the spirit enlightens and enlivens the spirit, softens and subdues the spirit, purifies and preserves the spirit, greatens and guides the spirit, sweetens and strengthens the spirit, and therefore what can be more desirable? He had intended to preach upon that text when he was at Chester the year before, but was then prevented by a particular sad occasion, which obliged him to a Funeral Sermon, Divine Providence-reserving that benediction, (which his heart was much upon,) for his valediction. The Thursday following being kept as a Fast in his son's congregation in Chester, he preached on *Luke* xix. 41, "He beheld the city and wept over it;" which proved his farewell to the town, as the former was his farewell to his friends and relations in it.

It was not many weeks before he died, that he wrote thus to one of his children, 'We are well here, thanks be to GOD, and are glad to hear that you and yours are well also; GOD in mercy continue it. But why should we be well always? Do we deserve it? Are there no mixtures in our obedience? Are there any persons or families, at whose door Sickness and Death never knocked? Must the earth be forsaken for us, or the rock removed out of its place? Is it not enough that we be dealt with according to the manner of men? And that we have a promise that it shall end well, everlastingly well?'

It was in April, 1696, a few weeks before he died, that his son's father-in-law, ROBERT WARBURTON, Esq. was gathered to his grave in peace, in a good old age. Upon the tidings of whose death, MR. HENRY wrote thus to his son, 'Your fathers, where are they? Your father-in-law gone, and your own father going; but you have a GOD-father

that lives for ever.' He was wont sometimes to subscribe his letters, 'Your ever-loving, but not ever-living father.'

It was not a month before he died, that in a letter to his worthy friend, MR. TALLENTS, of Shrewsbury, he had this passage: 'Methinks it is strange, that it should be your lot and mine to abide so long on earth by the stuff, when so many of our friends are dividing the spoil above, but GOD will have it so; and to be willing to live in obedience to his holy will is as true an act of grace, as to be willing to die when he calls, especially when life is labour and sorrow: But when it is labour and joy, service to his name, and some measure of success and comfort in serving Him; when it is to stop a gap and stem a tide, it is to be rejoiced in, it is Heaven upon Earth.'

A little before his sickness, being Summer time, he had several of his children, and his children's children about him at Broad Oak, with whom he was much refreshed, and very cheerful; but ever and anon spoke of the fashion he was in, as passing away; and often told them, he should be there but a while to bid them welcome. And he was observed frequently in prayer to beg of GOD, that he would make us ready for that which would come certainly, and might come suddenly. One asking him how he did, he answered, 'I find the chips fly off apace, the tree will be down shortly.'

The last time he administered the LORD'S Supper, a fortnight before he died, he closed the administration with that Scripture: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be;" (1 *John* iii. 2;) not yet, but it will shortly.

The Sabbath but one before he died, being, in the course of his exposition, come to that difficult part of Scripture, the 40th of *Ezekiel*, and the following chapters; he said he would endeavour to explain those Prophecies to them; and added, 'If I do not do it now, I never shall.' And he observed, that the only prophetic sermon which our LORD JESUS preached, was but a few days before he died. This many of his hearers not only reflected upon afterwards,

but took notice of at that time with a concern, as having something in it more than ordinary.

On the LORD'S-day, June 21, 1696, he went through the work of the day with his usual vigour and liveliness. He was then preaching over the first chapter of ST. PETER'S second epistle, and was that day on those words, "Add to your faith virtue." (*verse 5.*) He took virtue for Christian courage and resolution in the exercise of faith; and the last thing he mentioned, in which Christians have need of courage, is in dying; 'For (as he was often used to say) it is a serious thing to die, and to die is a work by itself.' That day he gave notice, both morning and afternoon, with much affection and enlargement, of the public Fast, which was appointed by authority the Friday following, June 26, pressing his hearers, as he used to do upon such occasions, to come in a prepared frame to the solemn service of that day.

The Tuesday following, June 23, he rose at six o'clock, after a better night's sleep than ordinary, and in wonted health. Between seven and eight o'clock he performed family worship, according to the usual manner; he expounded very largely the former half of the 104th Psalm, and sung it; but he was somewhat shorter in prayer than he used to be, being then (as it was thought) taken ill. "Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when he comes, shall find so doing." Immediately after prayer he retired to his chamber, not saying any thing of his illness, but was soon after found upon his bed in great extremity of pain in his back, breast and bowels; it seemed to be a complicated fit of the stone and cholic together. The means that had been used to give him relief in his illness, were altogether ineffectual: He had not the least intermission or remission of pain, neither up nor in bed, but in a continual toss. He had said sometimes, that God's Israel may find Jordan rough; but there is no remedy, they must go through it to Canaan.

In this extremity he was still looking up to God, and calling upon him who is a present help in the needful hour.

When the exquisiteness of his pain forced groans from him, he would presently correct himself with a patient and quiet submission to the hand of his heavenly Father, and a cheerful acquiescence in his heavenly will. ‘I am ashamed (saith he) of these groans, I want virtue. O for virtue now when I have need of it; (referring to his subject the LORD’S-day before;) forgive me that I groan thus, and I will endeavour to silence them; but indeed my stroke is heavier than my groaning.’ He said to those about him, they must remember what instructions he had given them when he was in health, for now he could say but little to them, only to refer them to what he had said, as that which he would live and die by.

It was two or three hours after he was taken ill, before he would suffer a messenger to be sent to Chester for his son, and for the Doctor, saying, ‘He should either be better or dead before they could come;’ but at last he said, as the Prophet did to his importunate friends, “Send.” About eight o’clock that evening they came, and found him in the same extremity of pain, which he had been in all day. And nature being before spent with his constant labours in the work of the LORD, now sunk under its burden, and was quite disabled to grapple with so many hours’ incessant pain. What further means were then used proved fruitless, and did not answer the intention. He apprehended himself going apace, and said to his son when he came in; ‘O son, you are welcome to a dying father; “I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.”’ His pain continued very acute, but he had peace within. ‘I am tormented, (said he once,) but blessed be GOD not in this flame;’ and soon after, ‘I am all on fire;’ (when at the same time his extreme parts were cold;) but he presently added, ‘Blessed be GOD, it is not the fire of hell.’ To some of his next neighbours who came in to see him (for those at a distance had not notice of his illness) he said, ‘O make sure work for your souls, by getting an interest in CHRIST while you are in health, for if I had that work to do now, what would become of me? But I bless GOD I am satisfied.’

It was a caution he was often wont to give: ‘ See to it, that your work be not undone when your time is done, lest you be undone for ever.’

Towards ten or eleven o’clock that night, his pulse and sight began to fail; of the latter he himself took notice, and inferred from it the near approach of his dissolution. He took an affectionate farewell of his dear yoke-fellow, with a thousand thanks for all her love, and care, and tenderness; left a blessing for all his dear children, and their dear yoke-fellows and little ones that were absent. He said to his son, who sat under his head, ‘ Son, the LORD bless you, and grant that you may do worthily in your generation, and be more serviceable to the church of GOD than I have been.’ And when his son replied, ‘ O sir, pray for me, that I may but tread in your steps;’ he answered, ‘ Yea, follow peace and holiness, and let them say what they will—’ More he would have said, but nature was spent, and he had not strength to express it.

His understanding and speech continued almost to the last breath; and he was still in his dying agonies calling upon GOD, and committing himself to him. One of the last words he said, when he found himself just ready to depart, was, “ O Death! where is thy” — ? with that his speech faltered, and within a few minutes (after about sixteen hours’ illness) he quietly breathed out his soul into the embraces of his dear Redeemer, whom he had trusted, and faithfully served in the work of the Ministry about forty-three years. He departed betwixt twelve and one o’clock in the morning of June 24, Midsummer-day, in the 65th year of his age. Happy, thrice happy he, to whom such a sudden change was no surprise, and who could triumph over death, as a disarmed enemy, even when he made so fierce an onset! He had often spoken of it as his desire, that if it were the will of GOD, he might not outlive his usefulness; and it pleased GOD to grant him his desire, and give him a short passage from the pulpit to the kingdom, from the height of his usefulness to “ the recompence of reward.”

Saturday, June 27, the earthen vessel, in which this

treasure had been lodged, was laid up in the grave in Whitechurch Church, attended thither with a very great company of true mourners, all the country round; many from Chester and Shrewsbury, and the towns about, came to do him honour at his death: And besides the floods of tears that were shed, there were abundance of testimonies given to him, by persons of all sorts, like that to JEHOIADAH, that he was one “that had done good in Israel.” (2 Chron. xxiv. 16.) And there were those who said, He was a man that no person did or could speak evil of, except for his Non-conformity. He was used to say to his relations, ‘When I am dead, make little ado about me; a few will serve to bring me to my grave:’ But his mind could not be observed in that; it was impossible such a burning and shining light could be extinguished, but there must be an universal notice taken of it. Multitudes came unsought unto, not to fill their eyes, (as MR. VINES expresseth it,) but to empty them; nor was there any other noise there, but that of general lamentation.



CHAPTER X.

A Collection of some of his Sayings, Observations and Counsels.

MR. HENRY, through the excess of his modesty and self-diffidence, never published any of his labours to the world, nor ever fitted or prepared any of them for the press; and yet none more valued the labours of others, or rejoiced more in them.

It will be but a small repair of this want of the publishing some of his works, (but I doubt it will prove the best we can make) to glean up some few of many of his sayings, observations, and good instructions, (as his Remains,) which we shall not marshal in any order, but give them as they occur.

It was a saying he frequently used, which hath been mentioned already, ‘That every creature is that to us, and only that, which God makes it to be:’ And another was, ‘Duty is ours, events are God’s:’ And another was, ‘The Devil cozens us of all our time, by cozening us of the present time.’

In his thanksgivings for temporal mercies, he often said, ‘If the end of one mercy were not the beginning of another, we were undone:’ And to encourage to the work of thanksgiving, he would say, ‘That new mercies call for new returns of praise, and then those new returns will fetch in new mercies.’

When he spoke of contentment, he used to say, ‘When the mind and the condition meet, there is contentment. Now in order to that, either the condition must be brought up to the mind, and that is not only unreasonable but impossible, for as the condition riseth, the mind riseth with it; or else the mind must be brought down to the condition, and that is both possible and reasonable.’ And he observed, ‘that no condition of life will of itself make a man content, without the grace of God; for we find HAMAN discontented in the court, AHAB discontented on the throne, ADAM discontented in Paradise, nay (and higher we cannot go) the angels discontented in Heaven itself.’

He said, there were four things which he would not for all the world have against him, The word of God, his own conscience, the prayers of the poor, and the account of godly Ministers.

‘He that hath a blind conscience which sees nothing, a dead conscience which feels nothing, and a dumb conscience which saith nothing, is in as miserable a condition as a man can be in on this side hell.’

The great thing that he condemned and witnessed against in the church of Rome, was their monopolizing of the Church, and condemning all that are not in with their interests, which is so directly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. He sometimes said, ‘I am too much a Catholic to be a Roman Catholic.’

He often expressed himself well pleased with that healing rule, which if duly observed, would put an end to all our divisions: *Sit in necessariis Unitas, in non necessariis Libertas, in omnibus Charitas*: Let there be in necessary things unity, in every thing charity, and then there need not be in every punctilio uniformity.

By the institution of the Gospel (he said) he knew of two holy sacraments, and four holy canons. Let all things be done "in charity:" Let all things be done "to edifying:" Let all things be done "decently and in order:" And let all things be done "to the glory of God."

He observed from Scripture instances, as well as from some Providences, which he had taken notice of in his own day, That if any began well in the ways of religion and godliness, and afterwards cast off their profession, and returned to their profaneness again, usually God sets a mark of his displeasure upon them, by some visible judgment in this world; their estates ruined, their reputation blasted, their families sunk, or themselves brought to misery; so that all who passed by might say, 'This was an apostate. "If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."' "

He observed from *Numbers* x. 12, That all our removes in this world, are but from one wilderness to another. Upon any change that is before us, we are apt to promise ourselves a Canaan; but we shall be deceived, it will prove a wilderness.

He often said, 'All grace grows, as love to the word of God grows.'

He could not bear that any should be evil spoken of in his hearing; it was as vinegar to the teeth. He would mind those who reflected upon people behind their backs, of that law, "Thou shalt not curse the deaf." (*Lev.* xix. 14.) Those that are absent are deaf; they cannot right themselves, and therefore say no ill of them. A friend of his inquiring of him concerning a matter which tended to reflect upon some people, he began to give him an account of the story, but immediately broke off, and checked him-

self with these words, 'But our rule is, to speak evil of no man,' and would proceed no further in the story. It was but the week before he died, that one desired him to lend him such a book: 'Truly, (saith he,) I would lend it you, but that it rakes in the faults of some, which should rather be covered with a mantle of love.'

To quicken people to diligence and liveliness in the worship of God, he would sometimes observe, that the Temple was built upon a threshing-floor, a place of labour. He would also urge, that in answer to those who turned it to his reproach that his Meeting-place had been a barn, 'No new thing (would he say) to turn a threshing-floor into a Temple.'

Speaking of the cause of Atheism, he had this observation, 'That a head full of vain and unprofitable notions; meeting with a heart full of pride and self-conceit, dispose a man directly to be an Atheist.'

He said he had observed concerning himself, that he was sometimes the worse for eating, but never for abstinence; sometimes the worse for speaking, but never for keeping silence.

As to his letters, he was very free in writing to his friends. A good letter, he would say, may perhaps do more good than a good sermon, because the address is more particular, and that which is written remains. His language and expressions in his letters were always pious and heavenly, and seasoned with the salt of grace; and, when there was occasion, he would excellently administer counsels, reproofs, or comforts.

We shall glean up some passages out of such of his letters as are in our hands.

To his son, when he was at London in the years 1685 and 1686, he would intermix such lines as these:

'We are well, but in daily expectation of that which we are born, and born again to, and that is trouble in this world, yet rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, which we are reaching after, and pressing towards, as we trust you are also. Where you are, you see more of the vanities of

the world in a day, than we do in an age. Are you more in love with them, or dead and dying to them? I hope dead and dying to them, for they are poor things, and perish in the using; make many worse that enjoy them, but none better. What is translated "Vexation of spirit," (*Ecc. i. 2,*) may be read "Feeding upon wind;" (comp. *Hos. xii. i;*) and can wind satisfy? The LORD preserve and keep you from all evil; the LORD preserve and keep your soul. We both send you our love, and bless you together and apart, every day in the name of the LORD. Amen and Amen.

'Be sincere, and humble, and choice in your company, always either getting good or doing good, gathering in or laying out. Remember to "keep the heart with all diligence," and above all keepings, for there the fountain is, and if that be kept clean, the streams will be accordingly.

'It is some short refreshment to friends and relations to see, and hear from one another, but it passeth away, and we have no "continuing city," no abiding delights in this world; our rest remains elsewhere; those we have, lose much of their sweetness from the thoughts of parting with them while we enjoy them, but the time to come is eternal. After millions of millions of ages, (if we may so speak of eternity,) as far from an end as the first moment; and the "last of glory will be glory." (So some read *Prov. xxv. 27.*) Keep that in your eye, my dear child, and it will as much as any thing dazzle your eyes to all the fading, deceiving vanities of this lower world; and will be a quickening motive to you, to "abound always in the work of the LORD, forasmuch as you know your labour shall not be in vain in the LORD."

'While the world we live in is under the moon, constant in nothing but inconstancy, and such changes are made in other families, why should we alone promise ourselves immunity from the common lot? There would be no need of Faith and Patience, which are Winter Graces, if it should be always Summer-time with us. We have three unchangeables to oppose to all other mutabilities; an unchangeable Covenant, an unchangeable God, and an un-

changeable Heaven. And while these three remain the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, welcome the will of our Heavenly Father in all events that may happen to us. Come what will, nothing can come amiss.

‘The return of Spring invites our thanksgiving for the mercy of it. The birds are singing early and late, according to their capacity, the praises of their Creator; but man only, that hath most cause, finds something else to do. It is redeeming love that is the most admirable love; less than an eternity will not suffice to adore it. LORD, how is it! LORD, “what is man?” As the streams lead to the fountain, so should all our mercies lead us to that. The LORD in mercy fit us for his will in the next Providence, public and personal, for time is always coming.

‘Your improvement is our joy. Be sincere and serious, clothed with humility, abounding always in the work of the LORD; and when you have done all, saying, “I am an unprofitable servant.” It was the good advice of the moral Philosopher, in your converse with men, ΜΕΜΥΗΣΟ ΑΠΙΣΤΕΙΝ, (*distrust,*) but I must add, in every thing towards God, ΜΕΜΥΗΣΟ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ, (*believe,*) expect temptation and a snare at every turn, and walk accordingly. We have a good cause, a vanquished enemy, a good second, an extraordinary pay; for he that overcomes needs not desire to be more happy than the second and third of the *Revelation* speaks him to be. The GOD of all Mercy and Grace compass you about always with his favour as with a shield.

‘See your need of CHRIST more and more, and live upon him. No life is like it, so sweet, so safe. CHRISTUS *meus mihi in omnia*. We cannot be discharged from the guilt of any evil we do, without his merit to satisfy; we cannot move in the performance of any good required, without his SPIRIT and Grace to enable; and when we have done all, that all is nothing, without his mediation and intercession to make it acceptable; so that every day, in every thing, “He is All in All.” Though you are at a distance from us now, we rejoice in the good hope we have through grace, of meeting again in the land of the living, that is, on earth,

if GOD see good, however in heaven, which is the true land of the truly living, and is best of all. The LORD GOD everlasting be your Sun and Shield in all your ways: See time hastening away apace towards eternity, and the Judge even at the door, and work accordingly; wherever you are, alone or in company, be always either doing or getting good, sowing or reaping. As for me, I make no other reckoning, but that the "time of my departure is at hand;" and what trouble I may meet with before I know not; the will of the LORD be done: One of my chief cares is, that no "iniquity of mine may be laid up for you," which GOD grant for his mercy sake in CHRIST JESUS. Amen.

'Be careful of your health. Remember the rule, *Veni-enti occurrere*; but especially neglect not the main matter. The soul is the man; if that do well, all is well. "Worship GOD in the spirit; rejoice in CHRIST JESUS, and have no confidence in the flesh." GOD be gracious unto thee, my son: Redeem time, especially for your soul: Expect trouble in this world, and prepare for it; expect happiness in the other world, and walk worthy of it, unto all pleasing.

'A good book is a good companion at any time, but especially a good GOD, who is always ready to hold communion with those that desire and seek communion with him. Keep low in your thoughts and opinion of yourself; but aim high in your desires and expectations, even as high as the kingdom of heaven itself, and resolve to take up with nothing short of it. The LORD guide you in all your ways, and go in and out before you, and preserve you blameless to his heavenly kingdom.'

Immediately after his son was ordained to the work of the Ministry at London, in the year 1687, he thus wrote to him: 'Are you now a Minister of JESUS CHRIST? Hath He counted you faithful, putting you into the Ministry? Then be faithful; out of love to him, feed his lambs: Make it your *το εργον* as a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the "word of truth." I hope what you experienced of the presence of GOD with you in the solemn-

nity, hath left upon you a truly indelible character, and such impressions as neither time nor any thing else shall be able to wear out. It is in the eye of sense a bad time to set out in; but in sowing and reaping, clouds and wind must not be heeded. The work is both comfortable and honourable, and the reward rich and sure; and if God be pleased to give opportunity and a heart, though there may be trouble attending it, it will be easily borne. "If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him." I am, and shall be, according to my duty and promise, earnest at the throne of grace on your behalf, that the LORD will pour out upon you of his HOLY SPIRIT, that what he calls you to, he would fit you for; especially that he would take you off your own bottom, and lay you low in the sense of your own unworthiness, inability, and insufficiency, that you may say with the Evangelical Prophet, "Woe is me, I am undone!" And with JEREMIAH, "I am a child;" and with PAUL, "I am nothing;" where this is not, the main thing is wanting; for "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." Now the LORD give you that grace to be humble; and then, according to his promise, he will make you rich in every other grace.'

To one who desired his direction for the attaining the gift of prayer, he wrote the following letter:

'If you would be able in words and expressions of your own, without the help of a form, to offer up prayers to God, observe these following rules, in the use whereof, by God's blessing, you may attain thereto.

'1. You must be thoroughly convinced, that where such a gift is, it is of great use to a Christian, both very comfortable and very profitable, and therefore very desirable, and worth your serious endeavours: For it is as the wise man saith, "Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom;" (*Prov. xviii. 1*;) that is, till we are brought in some good measure to desire the end, we shall never in good earnest use the means for obtaining it. It is a gift that fits a person to be of use to others, according as there is occasion, either in a family,

or in Christian communion. It is also of great advantage to ourselves; for how can any form (though never so exact) be possibly contrived, so as to reach all the circumstances of my particular case? and yet it is my duty, "in every thing to make my requests known to God."

'2. As you should be persuaded of the excellent use of it, where it is attained, so also you should believe, that where it is not, it may be attained, and that without great difficulty. Many are discouraged from endeavouring after it, by an opinion they have that it is to no purpose; they think it a thing so far above their abilities, that they were as good never attempt it. Watch against this suggestion, and conclude, that though it may be harder to some than others, yet it is impossible to none: Nay, this "wisdom is easy to him that understandeth," where means are used in the fear of God.

'3. You must rightly consider with whom you have to do in prayer, for your encouragement to come to Him, though in the midst of many infirmities and imperfections. He is your FATHER, your loving tender-hearted FATHER, who "knows your frame, and remembers you are but dust;" who is not extreme to mark what we do amiss, in manner and expression, where the heart is upright with him. You may judge a little concerning his love by the disposition that is in you towards your children, when they come to ask things needful of you: And believe Him to be more merciful and compassionate than the most merciful and compassionate of fathers and mothers can be; especially remembering that "we have an Advocate with the FATHER, JESUS CHRIST the Righteous, who is the great High Priest of our profession, and whom he heareth always."

'4. You must pray that you may pray; beg of God the Father of Lights, from whom every good and perfect gift comes, to bestow this gift upon you. We read, (*Luke xii* 1,) that one of the Disciples came to JESUS CHRIST upon this errand, "Lord, teach us to pray;" and he had his request granted presently. Go you to Him on the same errand. You may plead the promise, "I will pour out

upon the house of DAVID, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the SPIRIT of grace and of supplication." (*Zech.* xii. 10.)

'5. It is good before you address yourself to the duty, to read a portion of Holy Scripture, which will be of great use to furnish you both with the matter and words for prayer, especially DAVID'S Psalms, and PAUL'S Epistles. The HOLY SPIRIT hath provided for us a storehouse, of what is suitable for all occasions, and where both the word and matter are his own.

'6. There must be some acquaintance with our own hearts, with our spiritual state, our wants and ways, or else no good will be done in this matter. It is sense of need, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, that supplies the poor beggar at your door with pertinent expressions and arguments; so if we know ourselves, and feel our condition, and set GOD before us as our GOD, able and ready to help us, words will easily follow wherewith to offer up our desires to him.

'7. It is of use in stated prayer, ordinarily to observe a method, according to the several parts of prayer, which are these four :

'(1.) ADORATION, which is the giving of due titles to GOD in our addresses to him, and therein ascribing to him the "Glory due unto his name." With this we are to begin our prayers, both for the working of a holy awe upon our hearts towards him on the account of his greatness and majesty; as also for the strengthening our faith in Him, upon the account of his goodness and mercy.

'(2.) CONFESSION; Sin is to be confessed in every prayer: Original sin as the root and fountain, and actual sin as the fruit and stream. Herein you must not rest in generals, but, especially when you are in secret before the LORD, descend to particulars, opening the whole wound, hiding nothing from him, also aggravating the fault from the circumstances of it, judging and condemning yourself for it in the sight of GOD; and for your help herein, you must acquaint yourself with the Divine Law, the precepts and prohibitions of it, especially their extent and spiritual na-

ture, as the rule, and then bring your own thoughts, words, and actions to it daily, to be tried by it.

‘(3.) **PETITION**, for such good things as God hath promised, and you have need of, both concerning this life and that which is to come. As to the latter, you are to pray for mercy to pardon, and grace to help in time of need. As to the former, for bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and a heart to be therewith contented. You are to pray for others also, the Church of God, the land of your nativity, Magistrates, Ministers, relations, and friends, not forgetting the afflicted.

‘(4.) **THANKSGIVING**, which should have a considerable share in every prayer; for our duty is, “in every thing to give thanks” for mercies received, public and personal, “which is the will of God in CHRIST JESUS concerning us.”

‘This rule of method is not so necessary to be observed in prayer, as in no case to be varied from; but it is certainly very useful and expedient, and a great help to young beginners in that duty.

‘8. My advice is, that you would delay no longer, but forthwith apply yourself in the strength of JESUS CHRIST to this sweet and excellent way of praying; and I dare say, in a short time you will find, through the aids of Divine grace, what is at first hard and difficult, will, by degrees, be easy and delightful. The promise is, that “to him that hath,” that is, ‘that useth what he hath,’ more shall be given. Though you cannot do what you would, yet fail not to do what you can, wherein the LORD will accept of you, according to his everlasting covenant in CHRIST JESUS.’

THE LIFE
OF THE LATE
REV. GEORGE TROSSE.
BEING
AN ABRIDGMENT OF HIS OWN NARRATIVE.
IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE TROSSE was born in Exon, the 25th of October, 1631. His grandfather THOMAS TROSSE, Esq., had nine sons, and one daughter; his father HENRY TROSSE, Esq., the eldest son, was bred a Counsellor at Law; his mother was REBEKAH, the daughter of Mr. WALTER BURROW, a merchant, who was twice Mayor of Exon, and a considerable benefactor to the city. He was put to nurse in the country to a woman that kept him till he was almost starved. His life was even despaired of; so that his father being about to take a journey, in which he should not be absent long, before his departure appointed the place where he should be buried. At seventeen weeks old, he was committed to another woman, by whose care (through the blessing of God) he soon recovered. He was much affected with this preservation, and makes many pious reflections upon it: 'God (saith he) who feeds the young ravens when deserted by their dams, and takes care of the ostrich's eggs when left in the earth by the forgetful bird, looked upon

me in mercy : And though I was absent from the eyes and ears of friends, He whose eyes run to and fro through the whole earth, and who is ready to help those who are destitute of aid, put it into the heart of a servant of my father to come and see me.—I may say with DAVID, Though “ my father and my mother forsook me,” nay, though my nurse starved me, yet “ the LORD took me up.”—This is, O LORD, inconceivable mercy, unutterable love, that when I was ready to perish for want, thou shouldest so wonderfully preserve me.’

2. He was brought up, according to his degree, as well as any in the City of Exon. At the Grammar School, having a quick apprehension, and delighting in his book, he outstripped most of his school-fellows. He was also modest, civil, obedient to his parents, and free from those youthful extravagancies to which others of his age were addicted : So that his master was much troubled when he was taken from him, and said, He thought his mother did her son and him an injury in removing him from school ; for he was the most forward boy that ever he taught.

3. Being now about fifteen years of age, and having a mind to be a merchant, and to travel into foreign parts, his mother sent him into France to learn the language, before he was an apprentice. From hence he dates the beginning of his after-sins and calamities : For going abroad into a world full of snares, with a blind mind, a foolish fancy, and a graceless heart, he was drawn into great evils ; of which he drew up a relation (as he says) to warn others from running upon the like temptations, and to caution parents against indulging their children’s unreasonable desires.

4. He tarried awhile at Morlaix, in Lower Brittany, and from thence was sent to Pontive, to MR. RAMET, a French Minister, who taught the tongue to several English youths that were boarded with him. MR. TROSSE having a good memory, and some knowledge in the Latin, within a year spake French so readily, that they said there was but one Englishman there before who excelled him. Here

an ague seized and held him about nine weeks, by which he was brought very low : But he was secure and stupid, having no serious thoughts of GOD or another world. While he continued in this place, MR. RAMET was killed by a piece of timber which fell upon him. The Papists took advantage from his death to insult his family, and cry after them, when they went abroad, ‘ The great dog is sent to hell ! ’ When his year was out, he returned to Morlaix. There he stayed about nine months ; and having no employment, nor any to reprove him for what he did, he addicted himself to an ungodly course of life. He met with many incitements to sin, and much fuel for his lusts, and spent a great deal of time and money in tennis-courts and taverns, in music and dancing. He also frequently drank to excess ; for which, when he came to himself, he would be ashamed, and take up resolutions against it ; but he soon broke them, that he might gratify his sensual inclinations. Once he vowed never more to drink in a tavern ; but after a little while, to satisfy his conscience, and secure himself (as he thought) from the breach of his vow, he put his head out at the window, or went out into a gutter to take off his glass, till at length he forgot his vow, stifled his conscience, and could drink as frequently in taverns, and to as great excess as ever.

5. When he had been about two years in France, he was sent for home : And being much concerned what account he should give his mother of his extravagant expenses, that he might prevent her displeasure, he pretended he had been visited with a very expensive fit of sickness, and that he had been often let blood for it. This was a gross lie ; for he never had any blood taken from him there ; yet he often affirmed it, and persisted in it several years, without the least temptation to it. All he brought home for so much time and money spent, was (as he says) ‘ The French tongue, garb, and manners, a little music and dancing, and an initiation into company-keeping.’ His mother was offended at his gallantry, and ripped off the broad gold lace from the sleeves of his doublet.

6. After he had lived at home almost a year, without applying himself to any thing that was good, save only that he read sometimes out of MR. SMITH, or DR. HARRIS'S Sermons, to his grandmother, who was confined to her bed. Being now about seventeen years old, he was desirous to be bound apprentice to a merchant beyond the seas. This his mother readily agreed to, because she thought it would be the most likely way to get an estate, though there was cause to fear it might prove the ruin of his soul, seeing he had been such a prodigal before, and still continued foolish and fantastic. Upon this occasion he writes thus, 'I wish parents, as they love the souls of their children, and value their own comfort, would not suffer them to go beyond the sea till they have ground to believe that a good work is wrought in them; or else, that they would commit them to some religious persons there, who would conscientiously discharge their duty to them.'

7. A brother-in-law of his having a near relation in London, who was a Portuguese merchant, he was sent up thither with a considerable sum of money, by him to be bound an apprentice to a merchant in Portugal. All the time he was in London, which was three or four months, he lived in idleness, haunted taverns, gamed, drank to excess, and still retained and increased his antipathy to the power of godliness, and the professors of it. He went to a church where the Common Prayer was constantly read, being zealous (to use his own words) 'for he knew not what, and contemning what he ought highly to have loved and honoured.'

8. While he continued here, he was bound to a London merchant, that, at his return from Portugal, he might claim his freedom, and enjoy the privileges of the city. At length he went on board a ship at Gravesend, bound for Oporto, where he safely arrived in three weeks' time, and lived upon trial with one of the chief English merchants in that city. He calls his abode there, another sad and sinful period of his life. There he found no other religion but Popery: For though the English were not Papists, though they did not go to Mass, confess to Priests, pray to Saints, or

go in Processions and Pilgrimages, yet (which was worse) they had no religion at all among them, that ever he could see, but were practical Atheists. He says, he did not remember that he ever saw a Bible, or religious book, or one act of solemn worship performed in their house, or heard God named there, but in vain. The LORD'S-day was spent in casting up their books, or in recreations upon the river, or abroad in the country. English merchants lived in uncleanness and drunkenness, manifesting less sorrow for their sins, and apprehension of the wrath of God deserved by them, than the Popish inhabitants; and so caused the name of God to be blasphemed, and hardened the superstitious natives in the prejudices against the Protestant religion, as if it was a doctrine of licentiousness, and gave liberty to all sorts of villanies.

9. There he still continued profane and irreligious; never but once or twice bowing his knees to God, though he did it to images, symbolizing with Papists in their gesture, to avoid their anger. He spent the greatest part of his time idly, scarce ever looking into a history, or any other book. He either played at tables, or waited on his master while he was playing. He and his fellow servant found ways to steal wine, (though they had no need of it, having a handsome allowance,) with which they made an old woman, who was the house-keeper, drunk. On the LORD'S-days he went to taverns, played at shuffle-board or billiards, and went upon the river for his diversion. He had also many temptations to commit fornication, but the good Providence of God preserved him from it.

10. Thus he lived in that city a child of Belial, about two years and an half; and might have continued there many more, had not God prevented it, in this manner: His kinsman at London, with whom an hundred pounds was left, (to be paid to his master in Portugal, when he should be bound,) refused to pay it there in English money; but gave order to his factor at Oporto, to pay it in Portuguese money. This his master disliked, and told him, he

would not take him on those terms. He was surprised, as he had reason, and nettled at these words: And being afraid the time he had already served would not be allowed as part of his apprenticeship, he acquainted his master that he was resolved to return for England; who in displeasure told him; ‘If you will desert my service, you shall pay for your diet all the time you have been with me.’ This he thought hard and unreasonable: But he was in the lion’s mouth; therefore he chose rather to take up money of the factor before-mentioned, than to continue at such uncertainties. So he paid his master the sum which he demanded and left Oporto.

11. From thence he travelled by land, in company with Mr. ROBINSON, a Papist, the Proconsul of that city, to Lisbon, where he tarried about three months, while the ship, in which he returned, was taking in her lading. In the mean time, he went to see the Convent of the English Jesuits, where he found many young gentlemen of our nation recreating themselves, and saw all manner of attractives to sense and fancy. His fellow-traveller, out of a desire to enrich the Fathers, advised him to go home, get his portion, and then return and join himself to their society, that he might live as handsomely and happily as they. But the ship being now ready to sail, after two years and three quarters’ stay in Portugal, he went on board, and in six days arrived on the English shore. The vessel was bound for London, but by stress of weather was forced into Plymouth.

12. Upon his return from Portugal, he makes the following reflections: ‘Every day, for many years, upon my knees, I have been thanking a wise and gracious God for bringing me thence, and not suffering me to stay there any longer. I might have lived there many years more, got a good estate, and come home rich and flourishing; but then I should have dishonoured God all that time, and have brought home infinitely more curses upon my person, than crosses in my purse. I should have returned with a heart full of pride and lusts, and fuel to feed them all my days.

But, blessed be God, that I tarried there not a day longer. I would not live there now one day, as I lived then months and years, for all the riches in Portugal.'

13. He met with very stormy weather in his passage, but was unaffected, both with the danger, and the mercy of God in preserving him, and bringing him home in safety from a Popish country; nor did he make any suitable returns. The day he landed, which was Saturday, he was very drunk. The LORD'S-day he went to church, and heard a sermon, but neither by a thought in his mind, nor a bill in the congregation, did he give thanks for his safe arrival; yea, even on that day he drank to excess. The Monday morning he was so overcome with liquor, that when he was come a little way out of the town, he fell from his horse, and lay (as he was told) dead drunk in the highway; from whence he was carried to an ale-house, and put to bed. The next day he got safe to Exeter.

14. While he continued there, which was five or six years, he lived as bad, or worse than ever. As reason, bodily strength, money, credit, vain companions increased, so did his crimes. 'What a life (saith he) I led! What a course I took to increase my wickedness, and to out-strip the common, yea, those who were more than ordinary sinners, can never be related or lamented by me as it ought! I had so accustomed myself to wickedness, so blinded my mind, and seared my conscience, that I had not the least sense of the evil of sin, the wrath of God, or the necessity of a change; but was disposed to go on in this course to the end of my days. All these years I lived in such a constant violation of God's commands, as if I had learned the words of them on purpose to contradict them. The Devil was my master, his cursed work I loved and delighted in: "I had bored mine ear to his post, to serve him for ever." I super-added wilful hardness to what was natural, and deserved (if ever any did) to be given up to that which is final and judicial. How many thousands, who never were so great sinners as I, are now (probably) enduring the torments of hell, which I deserved far more than they! Experienced

Christians might well expect, that if ever God should bring home such a sinner, it would be by fearful horrors and dreadful convictions, which at last fell out accordingly; for I was so fixed and rivetted in my sins, so perfectly depraved by my lusts, and so enslaved to SATAN, that many such tremendous Providences could not drive me off from my wickedness, as may be seen in the next period of my life.'

CHAPTER II.

ONE day he rode with his mother to Feniton, about twelve miles from Exeter. The next morning, contrary to her mind, he returned to the city, and, that he might ingratiate himself with the Cavaliers, became surety for one who had been a Major in the King's Army, in a Bond of some hundred pounds. After this he drank to excess, yet made a shift to get on horseback in the evening. By the way, he fell off his horse, but got up again he knew not how, and at length came safe home. He reeled into the kitchen, asked his mother's blessing, fell flat on his face before her, and was carried to bed. A servant asked him, whether he was not afraid to lie alone? He answered, 'I do not fear all the Devils in hell, but can go and lie any where at any time.' He slept soundly all night, but the next morning the folly and danger of his being bound for the Major came into his mind; his brain was disordered, and he was hurried with disquieting thoughts, which ended in outrageous madness.

2. On his perplexity in being bound for the Major, he says, 'The Devil, who, in our blindness and presumption, tempts us to venture upon rash and foolish actions, knows how to set them home in a time of trouble, with such aggravations as utterly to sink and distract us.'

3. On his impulses and visions: 'I am persuaded some persons formerly were deluded by such impulses of the

unclean spirit, whom they thought to be the SPIRIT of GOD; many of them being grossly ignorant, and so fitted to entertain such delusions of the Devil, as I then was. And I verily believe, that those many visions and voices among the Papists, which gave the occasion, and are the establishment of their Purgatory, came from the same author or cause, namely, a cracked brain imposed upon by a deceitful and lying Devil.'

4. Upon his convictions and horrors: 'My awakened conscience mustered up my secret sins in order before me. The terrors of the LORD surrounded me. My darling sin became my perplexing misery, and my impure Paradise was turned into a confounding hell. My buttons, gold, and the silk upon my sleeves, lay very heavy on my conscience, as an intolerable burden, as weighty as a world. I endeavoured to pluck off the hair of my head, because I had been proud of it. Little do foolish extravagant gallants, who pride themselves in hair and apparel, think how dear it may cost them, and how heavy it may lie upon them in a day of conviction.'

5. Upon the endeavours used to conceal his distraction from the neighbours, when he was carried in a coach to Glastonbury, he expresses himself thus: 'It is natural to us, with ADAM, to be more ashamed of our nakedness, than of eating the forbidden fruit; of GOD's chastisements, than of our own transgressions.'

6. Upon his despair, blasphemies, and stubbornness against GOD, he makes this reflection: 'I have cause to admire the infinite goodness of GOD, the boundless merits of CHRIST, and the unlimited latitude of the grace of the Gospel, that such horrid sins as mine, with such tremendous aggravations, should be within the bounds thereof. I have been apt to believe, that none ever knew such a sinner converted and pardoned as I have been.'

7. Upon his return to drinking, and bad company, after his recovery, he says, 'It might well be presumed, I should live the most watchful and mortified, the most diligent and fruitful, the most religious and shining life of any in the

world, having had such experience of the evil of sin in itself, and in its effects: But nothing can change a sinner's heart, without the efficacious operation of the HOLY SPIRIT. I remained vain and carnal, and in a short time I returned to my former extravagant courses; but GOD neither suffered me to fall so foully as formerly, nor to continue long in my relapse: For I soon began to be troubled in mind, my spirits were disturbed; upon which my friends sent me the third time to Glastonbury, where I was as miserable and outrageous as ever. Yet after a while, GOD was pleased, by the use of physic, and the excellent counsel and prayers of MRS GOLLOR, (the gentlewoman of the house where I was kept,) to deliver me from my madness, and inexpressible misery, and to restore me to the use of my reason, to give me a sound mind, and a healthy body; which when I had enjoyed some time, I returned to my friends and relations at Exeter.'

8. He concludes this account with these words, ' Thus I have given a brief narrative of a wicked and wretched life, a life full of daring crimes, and visited with dreadful judgments, till I was about five and twenty years old. Though GOD might then have justly cut me off, and cast me into hell, or have left me to the power of the Devil, and the sway of my lusts, to have increased my eternal torments every minute of the remaining part of my continuance on earth: Yet such was his infinite goodness, such his incomparable and matchless grace, that here a period was put to my ungodly courses, but not to my days. I believe I may date my beginning to seek after GOD, and my perseverance in that search till I had found him, from this very time: For though I cannot tell the Minister or sermon whereby I was changed; yet, I bless GOD, I can say, I am what I was not, I am quite contrary to what I was in the past years of my life, both in judgment, heart, and conversation; and about this time I began, or at least endeavoured so to be. GOD was pleased to make use of all the terrors of my conscience, those dreadful convictions, and the lively apprehensions I had of the lake of fire and brimstone, to drive

me from sin and hell. And, if any one was more eminently instrumental in my conversion than another, I have still thought MRS. GOLLOP was the person.'

CHAPTER III.

AFTER he had lived at home some time, he rode to Oxford with a nephew of his brother-in-law. There he met with one of his acquaintance, who so commended an academical life, that he had some inclination to it. This, at his return, he proposed to his mother, who gave her consent, and promised him a handsome allowance. He went thither the latter end of May, 1657, in the six and twentieth year of his age; entered Gentleman Commoner in Pembroke College, and tarried there seven years. 'While I continued in the University, (saith he,) I kept my chamber and study as closely, though I do not say as successfully and profitably, as any in my time. And I may well call my going thither a blessed and successful enterprize, and my stay there the most happy and beneficial period of my life hitherto.'

2. He had for his tutor, MR. THOMAS CHEESEMAN, a blind man, who came to his chamber. He made it his business to recover his Grammar learning, and in some time understood the Classics tolerably well. He studied the Greek tongue, and made such a progress in it, as to read THUCYDIDES, HERODOTUS, and other historians. After he had gone through Philosophy and Divinity, he had one to teach him Hebrew, in which he got so much skill, that he read over the Hebrew Bible several times. 'This I speak (saith he) not to boast of my learning, (for I know I have very little,) but to magnify God's wonderful goodness towards me, that he should so compose my brains, after such fearful distraction, as to capacitate me for hard study; and that he did so wonderfully preserve my health, in such a sedentary and inactive life.'

3. In the mean while, he was not careless of his soul, but took proper and competent time for secret duties. He constantly attended upon chapel devotion: He read good books, and examined himself by them: He attended DR. CONANT'S lecture on Friday mornings, DR. HARRIS'S catechetical lecture on Tuesdays, and the Thursdays' lecture preached by the Canons of Christ-church in their own Chapel: He sat under MR. HICKMAN'S Ministry, who preached at St. Olave's, hard by the College, on the Lord's days, and heard many excellent sermons at St. Mary's: He received the sacrament from MR. HICKMAN, and DR. LANGLEY, the Master of the College, who administered it to a select number of his collegiates. They had a repetition of sermons, and solemn prayer in the College-hall, every LORD'S-day before supper; and after it he repeated and prayed with three or four young men in his chamber. He also conversed, and sometimes prayed with several religious students and townsmen, to his great advantage. But while he was thus endeavouring to embellish his mind with learning, and his heart with grace, he met with temptations; and he had a dangerous suggestion, that by being uniform and constant in his hours and days of devotion, he dishonoured CHRIST, placing duties in His stead, and therefore he should be more remiss in these, and glorify CHRIST by relying only upon his merits. Against this temptation he was fortified, by considering that he had dishonoured CHRIST, and therefore ought to persevere in the performance of duty, that he might get greater degrees of grace to honour Him more.

4. Upon King CHARLES the Second's Restoration, he impartially studied the controversy with the Church of England. After mature deliberation, he refused to subscribe to the discipline and ceremonies, though he knew that this would expose him to the displeasure of his mother and relations, and that there was no preferment without Conformity. However, he kept his resolution to be a Minister. By thus studying the points in debate, and seeing what plausible arguments Conformists had for their practice,

he came to entertain favourable thoughts of them; thinking many of them might with a good conscience subscribe, and do what he could not have done. And he was persuaded, that the fierce and uncharitable on both sides, in this unhappy controversy, were either little read in it, or else swayed by passion or interest, without, if not against their judgment, to revile or persecute the contrary-minded.

5. NOW WAS DR. LANGLEY, the Master of Pembroke College, ejected by the King's visitors; the Chaplain, who had an excellent gift in prayer, reviled and dismissed by the new Master; repetitions of sermons suppressed, and the constitution of the University so altered, that he resolved to leave it. He quitted the College, and retired to a private house in the city, where he continued about two months. And foreseeing what temptations he was like to meet with from his friends, upon the account of his principles; he desired some of his religious acquaintance to keep a Fast with him, at ELIZABETH HAMPTON'S, where having been recommended to the grace of God, he left Oxford and returned to Exeter.

6. There he kept close to God in duty, and to his book in study, and increased in knowledge; finding by experience that the best studying is upon the knees. At length he began to preach, but very privately, because of *the Act against Conventicles*. Nevertheless, on the LORD'S-day, he still went with his mother to his Parish Church, (where they had a very good Preacher,) and heard the Liturgy; for upon reading MR. BALL against CANN, he thought he might lawfully join with those of the Church of England in their worship, as long as he was not active in any thing he scrupled. And he professes, 'I think I may say, if ever I had the Spirit of God moving upon my soul in prayer, it hath been when I have joined in the Common Prayer.' His labours met with good acceptance among serious people; but the oppositions of his relations, who were prejudiced against Non-conformists, made him walk with a heavy heart; yet he kept his ground, not receding from what he thought his duty.

7. **MR. ROBERT ATKINS**, a worthy Non-conformist, for whom he had a high esteem, was very desirous to have him ordained. At first he was somewhat averse to it; but when the Oxford Act drove Dissenting Ministers from cities, corporations, and their own benefices, he consented, and was solemnly set apart to the work of the Ministry in Somersetshire, 1666. **MR. JOSEPH ALLEINE**, of Taunton, prayed over him, and was joined in imposition of hands, by **MR. AMES SHORT**, **MR. THOMAS LYE**, **MR. WILLIAM BALL**, **MR. ROBERT ATKINS**, and **MR. JOHN KERRIDGE**. He accuses himself for entering upon the ministry too rashly, not duly considering the weight and importance of that glorious function; the gifts and graces requisite as due qualifications for it; and the temptations which attend the faithful discharge of it. For above twenty years he preached once a week, and administered the **LORD'S** Supper every month, in the midst of the most violent persecutions.

8. While King **CHARLES'S** indulgence lasted, which was about a year and a quarter, he preached in a licensed house; when that was recalled, he desisted from public preaching on the **LORD'S**-day, and went to Church as formerly, yet he continued to preach and administer the Sacrament at other times, until the Revolution. When King **JAMES** gave liberty of conscience by his Declaration, (April 11, 1687,) he would not preach on the **LORD'S**-day till the afternoon, when the public worship was ended; because he suspected a design to weaken and undermine the Church of England, and when that was done the Dissenters might easily be crushed. Besides, he thought it a great instance of arbitrary government to dispense with the laws of the land, and that it was done in favour of the Papists: Therefore, if he had been prosecuted upon the Act against Conventicles, he resolved rather to suffer than to plead the King's Declaration, which he thought contrary to the subject's liberty, established by law, and to have a direct tendency to destroy our religion.

9. In the beginning of King **JAMES'S** reign, the Dissenters in Exon were obliged to meet very privately, and in

small numbers, being narrowly watched by the persecuting party, who hoped to ingratiate themselves with the Court, by rooting them out. About twenty persons, with three aged Ministers, of whom MR. TROSSE was the youngest, were met to pray together; a malicious neighbour informed the Magistrates, (who were at the Mayor's Feast,) that there was a Conventicle. Three of them, attended with constables, and some of the rabble, searched after, and found out their little meeting. When they had given the Ministers hard language, and treated them as if they had been the worst of malefactors, they offered them the Oxford Oath: 'That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned by him; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State.' He declared his resolution not to take it, because, under some circumstances, he should swear against his duty. He gave his instances and reasons, to which he received no satisfactory answer. Then he desired leave to put in the word 'unlawfully;' but they told him he must take it *verbatim*, as it was in the Act. This he could not do. He pleaded, that the Act did not reach him, because he never had a benefice, nor was he legally convicted of keeping Conventicles. However, he and MR. GAYLARD were committed to prison. MR. DOWNE took the oath, and was not imprisoned. MR. TROSSE and MR. GAYLARD found three of the City Ministers in the prison on the same account, namely, MR. JOHN SEARLE, formerly of Plympton, MR. JOSEPH HALLETT, and MR. JOHN HOPPING.

10. The Justices, not content to make a Conventicle of this meeting, indicted the two Ministers, and MR. CRISPIN, one of their company, for a riot, that they might fine them at their pleasure. To prevent this, they brought a *certiorari* to remove it to Westminster, upon which the Magistrates dropped their prosecution, for they were ashamed to have such palpable oppression seen in any Court but their own.

11. At the six months' end, he was discharged from his confinement, which he esteemed the place of his enlargement; for his prison was inconceivably better to him than

a palace, more comfortable, and more profitable to his soul. He enjoyed his health, followed his studies, and in the night found his meditations upon God more sweet than ever.

12. When Dissenting Protestants were permitted and allowed to worship God according to their consciences, by a law made in the first year of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, (commonly called the Act of Toleration,) he again preached publicly in church-time, and so continued to his death.

13. 'Thus (saith he) I have given an account of my ignorant and wicked life, to my convictions, of my distraction, horror, and despair; with my fearful relapses, until I sought to get into God's favour, and endeavoured in some measure to walk worthy thereof. At best, I come infinitely short of those returns of gratitude, love, zeal, contempt of the world, self-denial, vigilance, and laboriousness in the service of God, which my experience, engagements, advantages, and the blessed helps afforded me call for. Yea, I have sadly experienced the working of corruption, and been insensibly drawn into great snares, and in danger of scandalous falls: But keeping close to the throne of grace, God hath preserved me from bringing the greatest dishonour to his name, disgrace to religion, scandal to sinners, grief to saints, triumph to SATAN, and ruin to myself. Till I was four or five and twenty years old, I lived in a course of sin and folly, which I experienced to be base, unreasonable, and destructive to health, estate, name, rest, and reason, leading to horror and despair, rage and hell. Ever since, for many years (blessed be God for every minute of them) I have kept on steadily in the ways of holiness, and found them blessed, honourable, and comfortable, both with respect to body and soul, to all outward and inward concerns. I can say, if any, that "godliness hath the promise of this life, and that which is to come:" And must again declare, That I never heard, or read of any one so almightily saved from sin and hell, and so wonderfully blessed with all favours and mercies as I have been.

‘By my sin and folly in my youth, I destroyed my health, broke my constitution, and took a course to be an hospital of diseases in my elder years: But now, at this age, I have a great measure of health, sound vitals, a good stock of spirits, and can go through such ministerial labours, that many wonder at my strength.

‘By my sin and folly, I had brought myself into distraction and perfect madness, being deprived of the use of reason and common sense: But now my brain is composed, I have a ready invention, and a memory to retain what I clearly understand, as my own and others’ sermons.

‘By my sin and folly, I lost my Grammar learning, and was grossly ignorant in matters of religion: But now I understand Latin and Greek Authors, and have read many volumes of both, and look into the original of the Old Testament with much satisfaction. I know also that I am orthodox in the fundamentals of faith and practice, and I hope in their superstructures.

‘By my sin and folly, I had plunged myself into the depth of despair, concluding it utterly impossible for me to obtain pardon and salvation: But now I am persuaded I have a well-grounded peace of conscience, and hope of eternal life.

‘14. What my God will be pleased to do by me, for me, and upon me, in the remaining part of my life; and how he will dispose of me living and dying, I know not, nor am I solicitous about it; only let him answer my constant prayer, and enable me to act the graces, and discharge the duties of every condition he shall think fit to bring me into, and then let him call me to do and suffer what it pleaseth him, as being the most obliged and engaged Man, Minister, and Saint, to act for him, or suffer for him, or from him, in compliance with his will, and for the promoting his glory, that ever hath been in the World, in the Ministry, or in the Church.

‘P. S. This relation of my life was finished by me the 15th day of February, 1692, and of my own age, sixty-one years and about four months.’

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

I SHALL now relate some remarkable passages concerning him, chiefly during the last part of his life, hoping that some may be excited to endeavour after those eminent degrees of holiness, and activity for God, which, by such examples, appear attainable, through the assistance of the HOLY SPIRIT. I shall consider him as a Minister, and as a Christian. As a Minister, I shall show his qualifications for the sacred office, and his fidelity and diligence in the discharge of it, both public and private.

2. He was furnished with good natural endowments, and excellent ministerial abilities; all which he looked upon as talents to be employed for his Master's honour. His apprehension was quick, his invention rich, his judgment solid, and his memory tenacious. Though he set out late, being in his twenty-sixth year when he went to the University, yet by hard study he arrived at a considerable degree of learning. Besides his skill in languages, he read a great deal of history, and was well acquainted with the works of the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers, in which he read half an hour by his watch daily, except on the Lord's-day, to his death.

3. He was as great a reader as most this age does afford. Though he was far from ostentation, he owned to a friend who visited him when he was sick, that he had read over all the books in his study, and about sixty large folios, which then stood in his bed-chamber, being more than his study could contain. When he began an Author he read it through, and that not cursorily, but with observation,

making particular marks with his pen as he went along. He set a high value on practical books of men of our own nation, particularly MR. BAXTER's, whose *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, he thought one of the best books next the Bible.

4. By giving attendance to reading and meditation, and by fervent prayer to "the Father of lights," for the illumination of his SPIRIT, he became "mighty in the Scriptures." He had them ready in his memory; and well he might, having (as he said many years before his death) read over the Bible in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French, an hundred and an hundred times: And he made good use of them upon all occasions; not playing with texts, or quoting them barely by the sound of words, but with judgment producing such as were apposite to his purpose either for illustration or proof. Such a Body of Divinity as he had in his head, was the storehouse of his sermons, and enabled him, as occasion offered, to preach profitably on a short warning, without much study or preparation. Once at Topsham, on a day set apart for prayer and humiliation on the death of MR. BERNARD STARR, the Minister appointed to preach not coming, MR. TROSSE without any warning before he came into the congregation, preached a sermon suitable to the occasion, on *Matt. ix. 37, 38*, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few," &c.

Shortly after the death of MR. JOSEPH HALLETT, which happened the 14th of March, A. D., 1689, MR. TROSSE was unanimously chosen to succeed him. In that large congregation, his work in public and private was very great. In the year 1687, September 27, he began a catechetical lecture on Tuesdays in the afternoon; in which he explained the principles of the Christian religion. He spent many years in explaining the attributes and works of God, and was come no further than the end of the First Commandment, when God put an end to his labours. January 8, 1688, he began to examine six of his neighbour's children in the Catechism: And he drew up an explication of

it, for his Catechumens. He preached a weekly lecture on Wednesdays from MR. HALLETT'S death, until about three years before his own: From which time, by reason of indispositions, his three colleagues took their turns with him, and he preached it but once a month.

6. Besides this his ordinary work, he preached many occasional sermons, as on days of public and private Fasts, and thanksgivings, and preparations for the LORD'S Supper. He was often called upon to preach funeral sermons for his people; and he performed this office for fourteen of his brethren in the Ministry. He preached before an assembly of Ministers at Taunton, September 7, 1692, on 1 *Cor.* iv. 1, "— stewards of the mysteries of God:" And before another at Exon, May 4, 1698, on *Rev.* i. 20, "The seven stars are seven angels." He was many times employed in preaching, giving the exhortation, or praying at the imposition of hands, at Ordinations. He has sometimes preached eight times in a week; and he was seldom less than two hours and a half in the whole exercise, but often more. He loved the pulpit, delighted greatly in his work, and seldom desired any to preach for him, when he was able to do it himself.

7. His discourses were methodical, free from needless excursions. Though he did not confine himself to words, yet he would not allow himself to ramble; nor did he offer to God or his people what cost him nothing. Though he wanted little time to compose a sermon, yet he did not spend upon the stock, but by reading and meditation, was still, even in old age, laying in, and increasing his treasure of sacred knowledge. "His preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom;" nor did he, by laboured periods and starched language, hinder the edification of the common people, and destroy their reverence of holy things. He studied "to show himself approved of God, a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." His public exercises had spirit and life in them. His heart was inflamed with love to CHRIST, and with ardent desires after the salvation of his hearers: And

he spake as one who had a mighty awe of God upon his spirit; as one whose own soul was possessed of those graces which he recommended, and those affections which he endeavoured to excite in others; as one who had no other design upon his hearers, but to reform their lives, and save their souls. He was skilful in explaining and applying Divine truths; and faithful, "keeping back nothing" from his people "which was profitable unto them." He "shunned not to declare unto them all the counsel of God, that he might be pure from the blood of all men."

8. He had great plenty of phrases, and delivered himself with much freedom and fluency. His matter was weighty and substantial. He carefully avoided vulgar proverbs, slovenly phrases, and any thing light and trivial. He spake the things which become sound doctrine; and he delivered himself with all gravity and seriousness, without whining or affectation. He was a stranger and an enemy to distorted looks, fantastic gestures, and loud vociferations. His voice was somewhat shrill, clear, and for most part even, which, though he raised, when matters of great moment occurred, yet he did not strain. He was not wont to speak of the great things of eternity as a man in a dream or half asleep, but as one deeply affected with the truth and importance of them: And that peculiar concern which he manifested upon such occasions, was very serviceable to engage the attention of his hearers. His pronunciation was distinct, and his whole behaviour in the pulpit such as becomes a messenger of God, put in trust with the Gospel of his Son.

9. It appeared that he was sent by God, because God was with him, and gave many seals to his Ministry. He did not labour all day, and catch nothing, but was very successful in his work. Once as he was showing the necessity of restitution, in cases of theft and injustice, God was pleased so to set home his discourse upon the consciences of such that heard it, that several came to him, confessed their sin, gave him money, and desired him to make satisfaction to those whom they had wronged.

10 He had a wonderful gift in prayer ; expressing himself so fluently, and with such fervency as to excite the devotion, and raise the admiration of those who joined with him. He suited his prayers to various emergencies ; and though on solemn occasions (as Fast days) he commonly held out long, yet his invention was so fruitful, his heart so full, his memory so faithful, that he was not at a loss for words or matter. But a little before his death he continued in this duty, at a private Fast, two hours, with such exactness of method, variety of matter, and warmth of affection, without any thing like nauseous tautologies, as could not but appear very extraordinary for one in his eighty-second year. It has been observed, that when several have prayed on such days, and he has concluded, he has taken a quite different method from those who went before him, and with a surprising variety and flood of matter, hath, for near two hours, strangely engaged the attention of the congregation, with most seasonable and pertinent supplications and thanksgivings. Few equal him in this respect ; and such as did not approve of his prolixity, could not but be much affected with his pious zeal and fervour, and admire the gifts and graces which God bestowed upon him.



CHAPTER II.

THUS faithful and diligent was he in his public performances, in preaching, catechising, and administering sacraments : Besides this, he had a great deal of work in private ; for he took hold of opportunities to “ exhort, and comfort, and charge his people, as a father doth his children.” He had an excellent faculty in resolving doubts, and comforting afflicted consciences, “ by the comfort wherewith ” he himself had been “ comforted of God.” Multitudes, both in the city and country, not only Dissenters, but of the National Church, when they were under temptations, or trouble of mind, made their application

to him, some by letter, some in person. He was a skilful and compassionate spiritual Physician; and there were few of any degree and persuasion that lived near him, who did not send, or come to him for advice and help, if they had "wounded spirits," or "suffered God's terrors." I am persuaded, few Ministers were more consulted in such cases than he: And God was pleased to make him an instrument of satisfying and comforting many melancholy, dejected, and tempted people. It is probable, he was the more particular in his narrative in relating his own sins, blasphemies, and delusions, out of respect to such as being haunted with blasphemous thoughts are ready to sink into despair, and to conclude, that none were ever in their case.

2. He had a singular way of comforting dying Christians; such as have been trembling at the thoughts of leaving this world, after he had spent some time in discoursing about the vanity of all things here below, the glory of heaven, and the blessedness of the righteous, have some of them received great satisfaction in their spirits, and upon his fervent praying with them, have been ready to say, with good old SIMEON "LORD! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!" He was often sent for by sick and dying persons, to discourse with them, and assist them in their preparations for another world: And hath many times risen out of his bed in the dead of the night, to visit and pray with such, when it was dangerous for him to appear in the streets by day; as particularly, when there was an order made by the Justices of the Peace, at the Quarter Sessions, held at the Castle of Exeter, the 2d day of October 1683, against Dissenting Protestants, and Non-conforming Ministers, in which they declare and resolve, as followeth:—

‘ We have been so abundantly convinced of the seditious and rebellious practices of the Sectaries and Fanatics, that we must esteem them, not only the open enemies of our established Government, but to all the common principles of society and humanity itself. Wherefore we resolve to put the severest of the laws (which we find too easy and gentle,

unless enlivened by a vigorous execution) in force against them.

‘1. We agree and resolve, in every division of this County, to require sufficient sureties for the good behaviour of all such as we may justly suspect, or that we can receive any credible information against, that they have been at any Conventicles, or that shall not in all things duly conform themselves to the present established Government.

‘2. Because we have a sort of false men, and more perfidious than professed Fanatics, who either wanting courage to appear in their own shape, or the better to bring about their treasonable designs, privately associate with, and encourage the seditious clubs of the Sectaries; and yet that they may pass unsuspected, sometimes appear in the Church with a false show of Conformity, only to save their money, and the better to serve their faction; that we may (if possible) distinguish and know all such dangerous enemies: We will strictly require all Church Wardens, and Constables, at all our monthly meetings, to give us a full account of all such as do not every Sunday resort to their own Parish Churches, and are not at the beginning of Divine Service, and do not behave themselves orderly and soberly there, observing such decent ceremonies as the laws enjoin.

‘3. Being fully satisfied that the Non-conformist Preachers are the authors and fomenters of this pestilent faction, and the implacable enemies of the established Government, and to whom the late execrable treasons, which have had such dismal effects in this kingdom, are principally to be imputed: We resolve in every Parish of this County, to leave strict warrants in the hands of all Constables, for the seizing of such persons. And as an encouragement to all Officers, and others, that shall be instrumental in the apprehending of any of them so as they may be brought to Justice, we will give and allow forty shillings, as a reward, for every Non-conformist Preacher that shall be so secured. And we resolve to prosecute them, and all other such dangerous enemies of the Government, and common absenters from Church, and frequenters of Conventicles, accord-

ing to the directions of a law made in the thirty-fifth year of the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, entitled, ‘An Act for the keeping her Majesty’s subjects in due obedience.’

This order for putting in execution the severest laws, particularly that of the thirty-fifth of Queen ELIZABETH, the penalties whereof are imprisonment, abjuration of the realm, or death, (which one would think, no Protestant should reckon too easy and gentle to be inflicted upon his brethren, for not conforming to ceremonies,) DR. THOMAS LAMPLUGH, then Bishop of Exon, afterwards Archbishop of York, ordered all the Clergy of his Diocese to publish the next Sunday after it should be tendered to them; ‘that the care of the Justices of Devon, for the preservation of the public Peace, and advancement of true Religion, might be fuller known, and have a better effect.’

3. As a good Shepherd, he was diligent to know the state of his flock, that he might apply himself to them suitably to their several circumstances and conditions: And as a faithful and wise Steward, he frequently conversed with that part of “the household of God,” over which he was placed, that he might “give them their portion of meat in due season.” He “warned the unruly, comforted the feeble-minded, supported the weak,” and was “patient towards all:” Yet he neither pryed into the secrets of families, nor did he encourage idle people to run with little stories against their neighbours; but if any came with a complaint, his way was to send for the person against whom it was brought, before he would hear it; and he exhorted his brethren in the Ministry to do the like.

4. He showed much love and prudence in reproof, and was unwilling to expose such as were faulty without great necessity, and therefore avoided personal reflections in the pulpit; yet he was too faithful to suffer sin upon his people. He thought the usefulness of a reproof very much depended upon the manner and time in which it was given; and therefore would many times send his mind in writing, when he wanted a fit opportunity of speaking it, or appre-

hended the doing it that way would do more hurt than good. Thus he once dined at the table of a great man, who swore many oaths in his presence; and not thinking it proper to reprove him openly before the company, he did it after his coming home by letter; and several which he wrote of this nature had a very good effect. Upon the request of a friend, he attempted the reclaiming one much addicted to drinking, and a very remarkable reformation soon followed upon the letter he sent him. He was indeed of too sweet and obliging a temper, willingly to offend any, and would be complaisant in any thing but sin, and in reproving that too, so far as was consistent with his duty.

5. Thus did he go on in his work with unwearied labour, consecrating all the powers of his soul, and spending his time and strength in the service of CHRIST. He, if any in our day, “took heed to the Ministry which he had received in the LORD, to fulfil it.” For above six and forty years after he was ordained, he continued with exemplary pains and diligence to discharge all the parts of a vigilant and faithful Minister.

6. One might wonder how it was possible for a man to go through so much work in public and private as he did; but he set a high value upon time, and improved it well: ‘I bless God (saith he) idleness is my greatest toil, and consequently business and employment my own pleasure.’ When he was at the University, he afforded himself very few hours for sleep. His candle has been observed by one who lodged over against him, to be burning all night long. He often reflected with shame and sorrow upon the days of his youth, and was deeply sensible of the years he had lost. Shortly after he went to Oxford, he thus expressed his thoughts and resolutions: ‘In this place I hope with constancy to abide, till the LORD shall enable me to do some service for his glory, and the good of others in my generation. It is time to set about it; “for the night cometh when none can work:” The night of age for such an employment is coming fast on upon me; and the forenoon of life being vainly and sinfully spent, it now concerns me

to run with more swiftness my spiritual race, lest the dismal night of preventing death cut me off in the midst of my way.' And after he had been above six years there, he gives this account of himself, in a letter to his sister FORTESCUE; speaking of a large folio which he sent her, he says, 'In making this collection of my sins, miseries, and mercies, I did not bestow so much as one of the usual studying hours, but took that time for it which others use to take for their recreations, which were my after-supper hours, in which I have performed this; being graciously assisted by God with greater strength and abilities of body, for night-studies, than many, if not most others may have been. I so distributed my time that my books had a convenient portion of it, for the attaining (by God's blessing) of learning and abilities for my design, which is to be a dispenser of God's word, in a little Church in our city, where I have most dishonoured God. Though I employed so many hours in this undertaking, I rather took time from my sleep, than study, to effect it.'

7. He was not for a soft and easy course of life, but wrought with his might. Heretofore he arose at four o'clock in the morning, and even to the last at five, Winter and Summer. 'I should blush (said he) if the sun should call me sluggard, finding me in bed after he was up, if I was thoroughly awake after a competency of sleep.' When his alarm, which he kept at his bed's side, went, he would throw himself out of bed, though sometimes he was very sleepy. He kept close in his study till about eight o'clock, and was unwilling to be disturbed before that time. He thought the morning was made for God, and would often speak, how pleasant his morning hours were to him. Having performed family-duties, and refreshed himself, he returned to his study about ten; and, unless public work, necessary avocations, or something extraordinary occurred, there you might be sure to find him from that time to twelve, and again from one to seven in the afternoon. At seven he came down to supper, after which, having sat a little while, he returned to his study, and read ten verses

in his Hebrew Bible; after that he walked in his chamber, or sat in his chair for some time. At nine, when he heard the bell ring, he called his family together, read a chapter, and prayed about half an hour, and between ten and eleven he went to bed. He concerned himself very little about the affairs of his family; studying was his main business, his delightful work early and late, from which he was loath to be diverted, and he would complain, if company detained him longer than he was willing: ‘When at any time (saith he) I have been long in a visit, and find myself beginning to be melancholy, then I presently take my leave, go home, and immediately retire to my study, and betake myself to my knees, or to my books, and in a little time my heart is as light as a cork.’ So covetous was he of time, that when he went out into his court to wash, he would often carry a book with him, lay it on the head of the pump, and cast his eye upon it: Yea, while he was sitting by the fire, or walking below stairs, he commonly had a book in his hand.

8. He had also a good habit of body, able to endure watching, fasting, cold, and much study, which, as SOLOMON says, is “a weariness to the flesh.” One, in whose house he has sometimes lodged, gives this account of him, (among several other things,) that he hath given order for a candle to be brought up into his chamber in very cold weather at four in the morning, and about eight would come down and pray in the family, and then go to the meeting; and on a private Fast, when there was no other Minister besides him, he hath continued praying and preaching six or seven hours, and yet, to his astonishment, the next morning he would be at his private devotions between four and five, ordering a candle to be brought to him at that time. He would not suffer a fire to be made in his chamber, no, not in the coldest season. God was pleased to give him a great measure of health, and he did not spare himself, but exhausted his strength for the good of his people: And being affectionately desirous of them, he was willing to have imparted unto them, not the gospel of God only, but

also his own soul, because they were dear unto him. He had, moreover, a mighty sense of the worth of souls, which made him labour night and day for their salvation: And having himself been rescued from everlasting destruction, by a miracle of mercy, he thought he could never do enough to testify his gratitude to God, and his compassion to men. When he was old, he did not think himself at liberty to remit his pains, indulge his ease, or hide his talent; but “as a good soldier of JESUS CHRIST, he warred a good warfare.” He still laboured in the word and doctrine, and brought forth fruit in old age. His friends often importuned him to favour himself, and have respect to his age and infirmities, that he might be the longer serviceable in the world: To this his reply was, ‘I came late into the vineyard, and must work hard, and one moment in heaven will be a sufficient recompence for all that I can do upon earth.’ He would also say, ‘If I do two years’ work in one year, I serve a bountiful Master, who will abundantly reward me.’ Once he fainted in the pulpit; having named his text, he was not able to repeat his doctrine, but sunk down. When he came to himself, he said to one that would have brought him out of the pulpit, ‘Shall I not do my Master’s work? Yes, I will.’ After he had drank something he recovered, finished his sermon, and afterwards administered the LORD’S Supper. Another time, coming from his house, and not drinking in the morning, as he was wont to do on Sacrament-days, he fainted in delivering the elements, and was not able to speak distinctly; but when he had taken something to refresh him, he proceeded with his usual vigour.



CHAPTER III.

HITHERTO I have chiefly considered him as a Minister, and given some account of his excellent qualifications for, and his great prudence, fidelity and diligence in that holy

office: I come now to consider him as a Christian, and to speak something of those Divine graces and virtues which rendered him so shining and exemplary. As he was industrious in his study, and fervent in spirit, serving the LORD in the pulpit, so he was regular in his devotions, and circumspect in the whole course of his life. He solemnly dedicated himself to GOD, and conversed much with Him. He lived "soberly, righteously and godly in the world," and was "holy in all manner of conversation." His mind was transformed and renewed by the mighty efficacy of Divine grace, and he walked with GOD. He spent a great deal of time in reading the Scriptures, in meditation, in prayer and fasting: Yet he did not rest in these as the end of religion, but used them as means, that by them he might become more like unto GOD. His language, and all his behaviour, showed what a mighty awe and reverence of the Divine Majesty he had upon his spirit.

2. Love to GOD is the root of all holy and acceptable obedience: With this, the heart of this excellent person was inflamed: This was the principle which moved and acted him in religion. He read, and meditated, and fasted, and prayed, and laboured, and suffered, because he loved. The sight of GOD's amiable perfections ravished his heart; the sense of his love in giving the LORD JESUS CHRIST to die for him, in pardoning and regenerating him, knit his soul to GOD. The thoughts of GOD were pleasant to him, and it was his meat and drink to do the will of his heavenly FATHER. He loved all that belonged to GOD; his word, his day, his worship, his people. He was deeply affected with, and would often speak with admiration of his distinguishing love to him in his conversion. He expressed this admiration, in these words, with which he many times concluded his prayer after sermon. 'All which we beg for CHRIST's sake, to whom with thee, O GOD our FATHER, and with thee, O GOD our Sanctifier and Comforter, we desire to give from the bottom of our souls, as we acknowledge to be infinitely, and only, and from us, or some, or one of us matchlessly due, and that it is our glory and bliss

to give to thee kingdom, power and glory, mercy, grace, pardon of sin, and salvations, now, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen.' "Much was forgiven him, and he loved much." The love of CHRIST constrained him to speak and act for Him, to labour in his vineyard, and to suffer for his cause: This made him so diligent in his work as a Minister, so strict in his conversation as a Christian. All his unwearied labours, and his sincere, uniform, and constant course of obedience, are pregnant evidences of the love of GOD which dwelt in him. Such as observed how he was filled with the fruits of righteousness, could not but conclude him to be rooted and grounded in love.

3. He showed the height and ardour of this affection by his tender regard for GOD's honour and interest. He was zealous for the great truths of the Gospel against damnable errors and heresies, and for the purity of CHRIST's institutions against the sinful additions of men. His spirit was stirred within him when he heard any fundamental article of our holy religion denied, or GOD blasphemed: But he was a stranger to that devouring zeal which makes Christians call for fire from heaven, to consume such as differ from them in their sentiments. He embraced no opinion but what he thought had good foundation in Scripture, and neither friends nor worldly interest were of force to pervert his judgment, so as to make him renounce what he judged to be a Divine truth.

4. His life was very much made up of devotion. He did (as he says) affect retiredness; and withdraw from the view of men that he might converse the more with GOD. He was a hard student, and had an insatiable thirst after knowledge and learning, in which he still endeavoured to increase, even to the last: Yet he always kept his hours for secret prayer. 'My desire (saith he) to endow my mind with sciences and languages, and to treasure up notions and knowledge, hath been very pressing upon my spirit, since I came hither, not only to take my pen from paper, but also my heart from prayer; not only to bind up my hands from writing, but also from lifting them up to

the throne of grace; and my calling to be a scholar has often been a great temptation to call me from being a Christian: Yet I have been enabled (through grace) to keep my religious hours, as well as my studious, and to frequent the Temple as well as my Study. And, I know, I have lost nothing, but my gain is inconceivable by it.' He was so often upon his knees, that they became hard and brawny.

He was a strict observer of the LORD'S-day, which he esteemed a high and good day. He devoted it to religious exercises, and delighted in its solemnities. He wrote in vindication of it, being persuaded 'that a due observation thereof will have a gracious acceptation with, and a bountiful remuneration from our GOD and our Saviour, according to all the blessed experiences of its strict and conscientious observers.' He remembered it beforehand, and made due preparation for its approach. He always studied his LORD'S days sermons on Fridays, for fear he should be hindered by any accident on Saturday. He went to his closet on Saturday after dinner, spent about a quarter of an hour in prayer, (as his constant manner was before he betook himself to his studies,) and then continued his ordinary studies till three o'clock. From three to four he spent in prayer, and from four to six, in reading books of Practical Divinity and meditation. At six he came down, and examined seven or eight persons (in his own house) in the Catechism. When that was over, in the Winter he sat by the fire reading usually some little book in French; in the Summer he walked out into his garden or court, with his book in his hand. After supper, he again sat a while by the fire, or walked a few turns: For he never went to study presently upon meals, judging it injurious to his health. Then he returned to his closet, where having spent about an hour more in prayer, he walked a while in his chamber, reflecting (as is thought) on the sermon, or sermons he was to preach the next day. At nine he came down, and performed family duties; for that was his hour morning and evening.

Thus exact and regular was he in his studies, and in all his actions.

6. On the LORD'S-day he rose as on other days, prayed for a blessing on his secret duties ; read a Psalm and chapter, always in order, (except on Sacrament days, when he meditated on the 22d Psalm, and the 53d Chapter of *Isaiah*,) and having reflected on them, he spent the remainder of the time, till a little after seven, in prayer. Then he went down, and having refreshed himself, he continued in family duties till almost nine, which was church-time. How he was employed in public we have seen already. When he came home, he went immediately to his chamber, without warming himself in the coldest season. When he had walked a little, he betook himself to his study, and continued there in prayer till dinner. After that he walked by himself, while his servants dined. Then he prayed for a blessing, and repeated the sermon he had preached or heard, in the forenoon : (For he would, by heart, repeat other Ministers' sermons with great readiness, though he had very little time to recollect himself :) And having sung a Psalm, he went again to church : At his return from whence he went forthwith to his chamber, and, after a little while, to his study, where he continued about an hour in prayer. Then he supped, and afterwards read in some good book. After his servants had supped, he performed family duties thus. He began with prayer, read half an hour by his watch, in some practical book, sung part of a Psalm, (as he did every morning and evening before prayer,) and prayed about three quarters of an hour. He was larger in prayer and praise on the LORD'S-day, than on other days ; for which he gave this reason ; ' Because under the law of Moses, whereas only one lamb was appointed to be offered in the morning, and another in the evening, on other days, two were required on the Sabbath, to teach us to double our devotions.' Family duties being ended, in the Winter he sat by the fire about half an hour, reading in some little book, and warmed himself well : For he would

seldom suffer his bed to be warmed, thinking too much tenderness and delicacy no good preparation for a suffering condition; and he would say, ‘As old as I am, I may be called out to suffer for righteousness’ sake.’ When his chamber was in readiness, he read a little while in his study, and prayed about half a quarter of an hour in his chamber just before he went to bed, which he did also every other night, ending as well as beginning the day with prayer. When he had been thus employed from five in the morning, till almost ten at night, he kept his constant hour of rising on Monday morning, and always spent to six in prayer for the Churches, and public blessings.

7 He took great delight in thanksgiving, and was not for thrusting his praises into a narrow room at the close of his prayers, but would be often large and copious in admiring God’s perfections, and thanking him for his benefits. His heart seemed greatly affected with the kindness and love of God, which made him sometimes thus express himself: ‘Blessed and praised be thy name, O LORD our God, by us, and all Angels and Saints, now and ever, for thy love and goodness: For thy love which thou hadst to us from all eternity, and thy goodness which thou hast conferred upon us throughout all time. Were our minds as light as the sun, and our hearts as wide as the ocean, and had we the tongues of men and Angels, we could never sufficiently bless thy name for thine innumerable benefits towards us.’ A great part of many of his prayers was taken up in blessing God, in exalting his glorious attributes which shine forth in the works of Creation, but especially in the work of Redemption.

He carefully observed such public Fasts as were appointed by authority to deprecate God’s judgments, and avert his wrath; testifying the inward contrition of his soul by abstinence from food, and other acts of humiliation. And, besides these, he kept a secret Fast every calendar month, with such strictness as is rare to be found. On that day he rose at his usual hour; till eight he continued upon his knees, and that in the severest Winter seasons, without fire

or candle. Then he came down, and in cold weather warmed himself well : After which he performed family-duties, and at ten returned to his study, where he remained upon his knees till twelve. Then he came out, and walked an hour in his chamber. At one, he again betook himself to his knees, from which he never rose till about six. Thus did he spend eleven hours in secret prayer and meditation, on every such day. He gave a strict charge not to be disturbed on such days, unless upon life and death ; and would say, his fasting days were better to him than his feasting days.

9. His zeal for the honour of God, and diligence in the work of God in his health, were not more remarkable than his patience and submission under pains and sicknesses. Though he had a strong and healthy constitution, yet his hard studies, public labours, watchings and austerities, impaired his health, and brought upon him many indispositions : But the mighty efficacy of Divine Grace supported him under the heaviest burdens. He was sensible of the hand of God in whatever affliction befel him, being far from a stoical apathy, and yet very silent under the rod ; no murmuring or repining being ever heard to proceed out of his mouth. At several times he had a *peripneumonia*, acute rheumatical pains, a distemper in his head, which made him very sleepy, and a defluxion of rheum on his eyes, which was the more grievous as it hindered him from reading. About five years before his death, a sharp humour caused an ulcer on his ancle bone, which being a nervous part, his pains were most acute. However, he endured them with exemplary submission, never complaining while he was under the cure ; only he thought it much to be so long confined, and longed to return to his beloved work. He often rode, or was carried in a chair to the Public Assembly, when unable to walk thither. When he was to undergo a very painful operation of the surgeon for a dangerous malady, he preserved great serenity of mind amidst the torments he suffered, bearing them with a truly Christian magnanimity.

The method he took was, a deep meditation upon the most bitter sufferings his blessed Saviour endured for him. This calmed his passions; and his pious expressions and humble carriage, made such an impression on a young man then present, that he said, ‘He thought this was the very way by which the primitive Christians cheerfully underwent the pains of martyrdom.’

10. As he was thankful for mercies, and “served the LORD with joy and gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things,” in a day of prosperity; so he maintained an even temper under afflictions. No changes of Providence, as far as could be discerned, made any considerable change in him. “He rejoiced” in earthly comforts “as if he rejoiced not, and wept,” for earthly crosses, “as if he wept not;” being careful to observe the following counsel, which he gave a friend under a great loss: ‘It is far better to lose the world than ourselves, which by impatience and immoderate sorrow we do; being thereby unfit to serve God, a burden to ourselves, and a trouble to our friends. Wherefore I beseech you to pray to God for, and to endeavour after an increase of patience, whereby you may possess your soul, refresh others, and be an example worthy of imitation.’

11. His firm belief that all things were ordered in the world in general, and as to himself in particular, by a wise and gracious Providence, brought him to acquiesce in the will of God. He looked upon that as best for him, which was allotted him by the unerring wisdom of his heavenly Father. He frequently put up these requests in his prayer before sermon: ‘LORD, dispose of us, and all our concerns, living and dying, by thy wise and gracious Providence, as shall be for thy greatest glory by us, for that must be our greatest good from thee. Let us never have that prosperity, though we ever so earnestly desire it, which will be a temptation to us to sin, and an occasion of thy dishonour; and let us never want that affliction, though we ever so much deprecate it, which may be for thy glory, and our spiritual good; but let our lives be holy, and a continual

growth in grace; let our deaths be hopeful, and let us expire in peace; and after death, let us be for ever with thee in glory.' Being thus resigned to God's disposal, he was neither eager in his desires after any thing of this world, nor dejected under disappointments. He was a good proficient in the art of Christian contentment, and instead of entertaining hard thoughts of God, had learned to justify Him in all his dealings. He showed this resigned frame under very great and sore afflictions. He was so far from complaining, that he observed mercy in the midst of judgment, and acknowledged the severest strokes to be very gentle, and infinitely lighter than the very best of his actions had deserved. His way was to "pour out his soul before the LORD," and to desire Him to "look on his affliction and remember Him." He cast his burden upon the Lord, spread his troubles before the throne of Grace, made the eternal God "his refuge," and was sustained by "the everlasting arms." When he had "cast all his care upon Him who cared for him, his soul did dwell at ease;" and he could see abundant matter of praise for, as well as under the most smarting rods.

12. In dangers and difficulties he placed his confidence in God. By faith and prayer he put himself into God's hand, relied upon his protection, and was courageous in his cause. When the times frowned upon conscientious Dissenters, he made God his fear and his dread, and found him a sanctuary. When "he saw bonds and afflictions abiding him, none of these things moved him, neither did he count his life dear unto him." He went on in the faithful discharge of his duty, "fearing none of the things which he might suffer." He was true to his principles, valiant for the truth, and ready to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." He appeared boldly in the defence of the Gospel, and esteemed it an honour to be called to suffer for the sake of CHRIST. He thought it his duty to use prudence, that he might not needlessly expose himself to sufferings: But when God saw fit to lay the cross in his way, he readily took it up. When he was

cast into prison for his Non-conformity, “ the LORD was with him, and showed him mercy.” He gives this account of his prison-comforts and experiences, in his narrative: ‘ My prison was to me very healthful. In it I followed my studies, served GOD with the rest of my brethren, and found constant opportunities to withdraw by myself: So that I can truly say, the prison to me was inconceivably better than a palace, more comfortable and profitable to my soul.’

13. He had formed in his mind a great and noble idea of GOD’s perfections, and of the wisdom of his government, which brought him to such a sedate temper, that sudden accidents which were shocking to others made little impression upon him. To give some instances of this. Once, when he was a hearer at Petrock’s Church in Exeter, something fell down upon the canopy of the pulpit: The noise affrighted the congregation; the Minister ran down from the pulpit; the people in a wild disorder endeavoured to get out of the Church. In the press at the door, some were much bruised, and their lives endangered: But he kept his seat, as one unconcerned.

Again: While he was preaching MR. ROBERT CAREL’S funeral sermon at Crediton, there being a great number of hearers, the main beam of a gallery in the Meeting-house gave such a crack as caused a general consternation in the assembly. MR. TROSSE, without visible disturbance, sat down in the pulpit. After some time, when the tumult ceased, and the people began to be quiet, he said, ‘ If all be well, pray sit still;’ and so went on with his work.

Another time, at an ordination at Morcton-Hanpstead, while he was praying over the candidate, some seats in the gallery cracked with the weight of those who stood upon them, to see the imposition of hands. A panic fear spread itself through the congregation, that the Church was falling; which was the more easily believed by those who belonged to the Meeting, because they had been apprehensive of some danger from the leaning of one of the walls. Every one made what haste he could to

get out of the place. The noise and confusion obliged him to break off in the midst of his prayer: But when the hurry was over, and it appeared there was no danger, the people returned to their seats, and he began just where he left off, and finished his prayer with all composure of mind.

CHAPTER IV.

HUMILITY is one of the chief lessons of Christianity; and is (as DR. BATES says) to other graces, as the morning-star is to the sun, that goes before it, and follows it in the evening. Humility prepares us for the receiving of grace: "GOD gives grace to the humble:" And it follows the exercise of grace: "Not I, (says the Apostle,) but the grace of GOD in me." This grace was eminently conspicuous in this excellent servant of CHRIST. He learnt of Him who was "meek and lowly of heart." Though GOD had enriched him with more than ordinary gifts and graces, and raised him high in the esteem of others; he was very low in his own. Scarce any man could have a meaner opinion of himself than he: As if he thought he should arrogate too much by styling himself GOD's servant, he was wont to express himself thus, 'Thy meanest and most unworthy creature.' It was with the utmost sincerity he professed himself, 'The greatest of sinners, and the least of saints;' and, on all occasions, he declared the low thoughts he had of himself in such a manner, as made it evident that he really meant as he spake. He neither fondly admired himself, nor did he desire that others should commend him, or have his person or performances in admiration.- He would sometimes argue warmly for some notions, and yet could willingly bear with such as differed from him. He was not desirous of titles of honour: Though he was seven years in Oxford, he took no degree, nor did he value it. He wrote thus to his mother, 'If I had but the learning, I would not seek after the honour of a degree.' When a

good woman said to him, O that I had as good a heart as you! He replied, 'If you had my heart, for aught I know, you would wish for your own again; for there are in mine unsearchable depths of wickedness.' He visited an ancient gentlewoman (who was long confined to her bed) every LORD'S-day in the evening, and prayed with her. When she complained of her being deprived of public ordinances, he said, 'You honour GOD more by your patient suffering, than I do by all my preaching.' So mean an opinion had he of his own labours, and so high an esteem of others' graces.

2. As he was humble and modest, so he was courteous and affable. He did not put on a supercilious gravity, nor look disdainfully upon others in order to procure reverence to himself, but saluted persons kindly, and treated them civilly, being very obliging in all his deportment. He showed himself easy of access, and as free to discourse with the poor as with the great and rich. Of the great numbers of poor, afflicted, doubting and tempted persons who resorted to him, none had reason to complain, or to suspect themselves despised or neglected by him. He was forward to do offices of kindness to all who stood in need of them; and so great was his condescension, that if the poorest beggar in the street paid him respect, he would return it.

3. He understood and observed the rules of conversation, and gave "honour to whom honour was due." He readily received visits, which he also punctually returned, and studied to make profitable by good discourse. He made it his business to instil wholesome notions into the minds of those with whom he conversed; for "his tongue was as choice silver, and his lips fed many." He was also ready to write in the behalf of his friends and acquaintance, and careful to answer such letters as were sent him. This his civil and respectful behaviour endeared him to all with whom he had to do.

4. Though he was naturally warm and hasty in his temper, yet he had so mastered it, as to be seldom ruffled with pas-

sion. He readily forgave injuries, and showed meekness under great provocations; and yet his exalted piety, and inoffensive useful life, could not secure him from reproach and obloquy. When he was treated with contempt and rudeness, it appeared that he had learned of CHRIST to “love his enemies,” to “bless them that cursed him,” to “do good to them that hated him,” and to “pray for them that despitefully used him.” Accordingly he declared, he had prayed very heartily and particularly for one, who in writing exceeded the bounds of decency, and betook himself to downright scurrility, desiring GOD to give him repentance and forgiveness; for otherwise (said he) it will go ill with him. ‘I am well assured (saith one who was intimately acquainted with him) if any who had injured him had desired an office of kindness from him, he would have done it as readily (if it were in his power) as for the nearest relation, or most intimate friend.’

5. His candour and ingenuity well deserve a place among his other shining virtues. Charity disposed him to think and speak the best of others; if he had ground to commend, he did it cheerfully, and without flattery, otherwise he kept silence. He had a great aversion to slander and reviling, and was a perfect stranger to detraction. He took things by the right handle, and interpreted them in the best sense. Preaching about love to the people of GOD, he mentioned this as one effect of it: ‘To put favourable constructions upon their words; we should (said he) put a hundred good constructions upon what men say or do (if we can) before we put one evil one.’ And his practice was agreeable to his doctrine; he was a most candid hearer of sermons; before liberty was granted to Protestant Dissenters, he went to hear an aged Conformist, and repeated his sermons with a great deal of affection and seriousness, to the edification of such as heard him: When some wondered that he would attend on that man’s Ministry, and told him, they thought he might get more advantage at home; he answered, ‘I thank GOD I do not think so.’ To one who complained how dull and dead some of the Clergy

were in the pulpit, he said, ‘ You must put life into their sermons ;’ meaning, by meditation and close application. He heartily loved, and greatly encouraged young Ministers, whom he regarded as the hope of the rising generation : He did not aggravate their faults, nor cavil at their performances ; but made needful allowances to them, treated them civilly, and willingly took several journeys into the country, even in his old age, to assist at their Ordinations.

6. He “ put on bowels of mercies and kindness ;” and showed himself tender-hearted and compassionate. This virtue above all others, has obtained the name of humanity. When we do good, and are sensibly affected with others’ calamities, we show ourselves men, and follow our best natural inclinations ; whereas they who “ shut up their bowels of compassion,” are not only void of love to God, but even unman themselves. This excellent person was full of compassion ; when he saw any in adversity or affliction, he sympathized with them, and his bowels yearned over them. This his tenderness of heart was exercised, not only towards rational creatures, but extended even to brutes. He thought that the lives of such of them as God hath given us for food, ought to be taken away mercifully, with as much speed, and as little pain as possible. In one of his papers he condemns himself for hard riding, in the days of his vanity, and adds, ‘ SOLOMON says, “ A good man is merciful to his beast.” (Prov. xii. 10.) They are bad men who are cruel to their horses, riding them out of breath, or off their legs.—Without doubt, the wilful putting any beast to what is above his strength (unless in case of necessity, as the saving a man’s life by flight) only for a lust, or profit, or pleasure, is vicious.’ He also thought, the pulling birds alive, and thrusting feathers into partridges’ heads, to make them die a lingering death, in order to please our palates, unwarrantable cruelty ; and that it was yet a greater sin to torture and rack the creatures for our sport, and to delight in bull or bear-baiting, or fighting of dogs and cocks : The enmity of the creatures

one against another, being an argument of the horrible confusion sin hath wrought. 'I think (saith he, concerning such as take pleasure in seeing dogs and cocks wound and destroy one another) it is no great breach of charity to conclude, that if it were a custom, the cock and beast-masters would turn men-masters, and with as much delight look on gladiators, as on cocks and dogs when they are fighting.—God's law (*Deut.* xxii. 4) requires us not to suffer our neighbour's beasts to lie down under their burden, but to help them up; much less may we cast them down, ride them down, cut and hew them down, by exciting their rage one against another.'

7. Great was his temperance and sobriety. He did not "make provision for the flesh, to fulfil its lusts;" nor was he nice and curious in his diet, but moderate in eating and drinking, and lost little time at it. He preferred plain substantial food, before that which is composed with art and trouble. He seldom drank between meals; and being short and sparing at them, was the fitter for study; his abstinence conducing to maintain the vigour both of his body and mind. Some passages in his letters show, that he was neither given to appetite, nor desirous of dainties. Upon the receipt of a dainty from his mother, he thus expresseth himself; 'I hope, for the future, a foolish child-like appetite shall never cost you so dear, as this has done. It is special wisdom, according to our abilities, to make the backs of the poor our wardrobes, and their bellies our barns. He who feeds often upon such dishes, sacrifices too much to his belly, and will be able to give but a sad account of his wealth. God help us to remember we must give an account to a mite of all the pounds he hath entrusted us with.'

8. To his temperance he added heavenly-mindedness, and contempt of riches. Though he had not, with some Religious Orders among the Papists, vowed poverty; yet there is good reason to believe, he sat as loose in his affections to the world, as most in it. As one born from above, his soul had a vehement tendency towards heaven; and

having his heart and treasure there, this world appeared little and inconsiderable to him ; he despised the flatteries and frowns of it. He neither affected splendour, nor hunted after preferment. He carried on no secular interest, and sought not great things for himself. He did not desire to hoard up wealth, but would say, 'Enough to keep body and soul together, is enough till God and the soul come together.' He was not forward to intermeddle in making wills, that he might prevent offence, and cut off suspicion. When one who had been his servant made him Executor, he gave almost all that she had left him to the poor. He often inveighed against the counterfeit Pageantry of the world, and expressed no small indignation against such as choose it for their portion. How strictly would he charge his hearers to keep it under their feet, and not suffer it to usurp the throne of their hearts ! And with what deep concern would he bewail the dangerous estate of those " who mind earthly things !"

9. One instance of his low opinion of riches deserves to be recorded. His mother having a plentiful estate at her own disposal, when she made her will, offered to make him her Executor, which would have been worth to him many thousands. Upon his refusing that, she put all into his hand, leaving him to take what part he pleased : He chose only a competency to provide him " bread to eat, and raiment to put on," with something for books, and works of charity for he had then no thoughts of marrying. He left the rest to her disposal, who gave the bulk of her estate to his eldest brother's son.

10. He behaved himself as a son of peace, and was of a moderate healing spirit. His principles and practices were truly catholic ; he longed for the union of Christians in those things which are essential to Christianity ; bewailed the breaches and divisions which are among Protestants, and would have done any thing but sin in order to heal them. He was a happy instrument of maintaining unity and concord in the city where he lived, and of restoring it to other places. For many years before his death, there

were no considerable differences or animosities among those who belonged to the three united congregations in Exeter, with whom he bestowed his labours. He heard many differences, and was often desired to make up breaches, and decide controversies, in which he had good success; persons being generally pleased with his determinations. While some who knew not the way of peace, are (as one says) for unchurching, unchristianing, and unministering Protestants at home and abroad; he owned all such as were united to CHRIST the Head, and did not think that others' disclaiming us, as if we were not children of the same FATHER, would warrant our disowning or rejecting them; for froward uncharitable brethren are brethren still. His soul came not into their secret, who having their heart inflamed with rash zeal, set the Church and the world on fire.

11. He declared himself fully satisfied in the reasons of his Non-conformity, but was eminently moderate in it. His latitude in some things was greater than that of many of his brethren. He was free to join in the public service at funerals, and the like occasions. He went to his parish-church on Christmas-day, when it happened on a week-day, if he did not preach himself. He hath told us, that 'he held forms of prayer in some cases, not only lawful, but necessary and praise-worthy.' And 'that he should not have refused to submit to Prelatical Episcopacy as *Jure humano*, had there not been other things required which his conscience could not allow of.'

12. To one who wrote, that it was not without a very sensible regret that he was forced to dissent from him, about the new singing; he replied, 'You have no more reason to regret your dissent from me, than I have mine from you; for in all things we cannot agree till we come "to know as we are known," and to sing our Hallelujahs in an everlasting concert, where our voices shall never clash, nor shall we any more dispute about, nor trouble one another for the mode of them.' This his peaceable temper made MR. BAXTER thus conclude a letter, which he wrote him but a

few months before his own death ; ‘ Dear brother, I rejoice to hear of your health, and labour, and love to concord and moderation, being your languishing, now useless fellow-servant.’

13. I shall end this head with that prayer, wherewith he concludes his vindication of his *Discourse of Schism*, ‘ The LORD, the GOD of all flesh, and FATHER of all spirits, pour out the SPIRIT of love, wisdom, humility and forbearance, upon all his faithful servants, that “ whereto we have attained ” in the grand and saving fundamentals of doctrine and practice, we may all “ walk by the same rule, ” and “ mind the same things, ” and wherein we are “ otherwise minded, ” and differ in remote matters from those fundamentals, we may wait till GOD shall reveal the truth unto us ; and in the mean time grant us condescending, healing, and forbearing spirits toward each other, and hush all uncharitable, violent, and rending spirits and methods, whereby our breaches are more widened, GOD more dishonoured, SATAN more pleased, and sin and guilt more increased ; that, if possible, peace and unity may be had on earth ; if not, this is our comfort, that it will be completed and eternalized in heaven.’

CHAPTER V.

HE was a man of strict morals, and severe honesty ; just in rendering to all their due, faithful in discharging his trust, and punctual in fulfilling his promise. With what warmth and earnestness would he plead for what appeared to him equal and reasonable ! Justice was a virtue, for which he had so great an affection, as sometimes to break out into some warmth in her quarrel.

2. His friendship was sincere, and his love without dissimulation. He did not walk in craftiness, but acted with such simplicity and godly sincerity, that they who differed from him in opinion, and from that difference were not apt

to think or speak too favourably of such as he, gave him the character of an honest man. He showed a most ingenuous disposition, very sensible of any kindness done him, and wonderfully grateful to his benefactors. He lived not only free from gross miscarriages, but did shine as a light in the world in all the parts of his conversation.

3. In company he was cheerful and pleasant, and withal grave and serious. He abstained from indecent levities, scarce ever fell into laughter, and was careful to "give no offence in any thing, that the Ministry might not be blamed." He took opportunities to profitable discourse, and when he had a prospect of doing good, would be sure to drop something that was serious. "No corrupt communication proceeded out of his mouth," and where that which was good and edifying was not entertained, he grew uneasy, and sometimes departed sooner than he intended; for he thought that time lost which was spent in nothing but idle chat; yet he showed great prudence, that he might not expose religion or himself by discoursing about holy things unseasonably.

4. He discovered a public spirit, cried mightily unto God for the remnant of the Protestants abroad, and preferred the prosperity of the Church above his chief joy. He showed a pious zeal for the National Church in the day of her distress. Though he could not submit to all impositions, yet he frequented her public worship: And his sufferings for Non-conformity did not abate his hearty concern for her welfare. When great endeavours were used to subvert the Protestant Religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation; when he saw a Roman Catholic High Sheriff of the county of Devon, and a Mass-house opened in his native city, in order to seduce the ignorant and unstable, he set himself to confute the errors of the Church of Rome, and endeavoured to establish people in the truth, and to prepare them for a day of trial. He had seen something of the ignorance and bigotry of the Papists in France, but more in Portugal, and dreaded the thoughts of the return of Popery into England. He neither preached in Church-

time during King JAMES's Liberty, lest it should be construed as if he had favoured that dispensing power, on which his Declaration was founded; nor would he join in any address of thanks for it, that he might not seem accessory to the designs of such as were patrons of Popery, or arbitrary Government.

5. Among those other graces which were visible in his conversation, his charity was very remarkable; herein he had few equals. He was a man of an excellent spirit, his mind was filled with noble and generous designs, and he abhorred all that is sordid and selfish. He took as much delight in dispersing and giving to the poor, as others do in heaping up riches. He had a large heart, full of tender compassion to the poor and distressed, and kept one pocket always furnished with money on purpose to relieve them. He devised liberal things, and would say, 'That only is laid up, which is laid out in charitable deeds.' "He went up and down doing good, visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction. He distributed to the necessity of Saints. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. He was eyes to the blind, and feet was he to the lame." He fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited and comforted the poor in their sicknesses and calamities.

6. So various were the objects, so frequent the acts of his bounty, that it is no easy matter to enumerate them: I shall mention some particulars. His charity was large and extensive, neither stinted as to the measures, nor confined as to the objects of it. He abounded in this grace, being willing to give to his power, yea and beyond his power. He laid aside the tenth part of what he received for preaching, and of all gifts and legacies, as a fund for charitable uses, which he would never alienate any part of; to which he added much more, as there was occasion, giving away at least seventy pounds a year. He was not strait-handed in his alms, nor could he satisfy himself to give by pitiful scantlings, but he sowed plentifully. He gave forty pounds to the workhouse:

When corn and coals were dear, he gave ten pounds to Mr. EDWARD COLLINS, (then Mayor of Exon,) by him to be distributed among the poor. He was frugal and sparing towards himself, that he might be rich in good works, and might liberally supply such as were in great want.

7. Besides what he gave, as occasion offered, many had a share in his stated constant charity. He contributed yearly to the support and maintenance of poor Ministers in his life, and left several legacies to such at his death. The French Refugees, who were driven over hither by the bloody persecution, had large supplies from his bounty; to one French Minister he gave five pounds *per annum*. He was a great encourager, and a considerable benefactor to many hopeful young men who were designed for the Ministry. He took care of the education of one, procured him a handsome allowance, and left him half his study (except English books) at his death. To another he contributed for several years, while he was at a Grammar-school, and when he entered upon academical studies, doubled his contribution. He gave largely towards the keeping poor children at school; relieved many prisoners for debt, and gave no small sums to several of them, in order to obtain their liberty, and to others to prevent their being cast into prison. He paid a great deal for physic, for some who could not well do it themselves. He had a particular regard to such as once lived well, who by calamitous Providences were brought into straits. He showed great kindness to widows and fatherless children, especially to the widows and posterity of pious Ministers. He readily gave forty shillings towards the putting one such orphan to a trade. His heart and hand were open to poor house-keepers, who laboured hard, and had a great charge of children.

8. His charity was not confined to a party; nor did he consider men's opinions, but their necessities. He would not turn away his face from any that were in distress, whatever their persuasions were. He had a hearty love for all who were sound in the fundamentals of the Christian reli-

gion, and led their lives conformable to its rules, though they differed from him in lesser matters. He did many acts of kindness for, and was very serviceable to the Church party; among whom not a few of the Gentry thankfully acknowledged the benefit and comfort they received by his prayers and counsels, when they were visited with sickness, or lay under spiritual trouble, and had great respect for him as long as they lived. He hath lent scores of pounds *gratis* to some of the Clergy, when in straits, and been very free in his gifts to others. He gave liberally to one Clergyman to free him out of prison, and readily lent some pounds to another to prevent his being carried thither, carrying the money to him over Ex-bridge when he lay under arrest. He did not inquire what particular persuasions they were of on whom he bestowed his bounty, but whether they were distressed, sober, and virtuous. When he was told that one whom he had liberally relieved was no Dissenter, he replied, 'That is no matter, provided he was a fit object of charity.' An eminent merchant, and Alderman of Exeter, who was sober, skilful and industrious, was fallen into decay by many losses during the wars: He being about to send his son beyond the seas, this good man furnished him with a considerable sum to defray the charge of his passage, and afterward gave him more to put him into a habit fit for the business in which he was to engage: The Alderman and his son were both of the Established Church, and no way related to this their benefactor. His imprisonment, and other hardships received from his fellow-citizens, did not hinder him from giving a valuable legacy to the chamber of Exeter.

9. His heart was set upon doing good; this made him wait for, and rejoice in opportunities of being useful and beneficent. He was ready to distribute, willing to communicate, and took care of his flock, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind. Neither the length of the way, the severity of the weather, nor his own weakness, or the danger of infection, hindered him from visiting sick and dying persons, when he was desired.

Many instances of this might be given, I will mention a few. Some years ago there happened a contagious fever at the Workhouse among the poor people; one of them who was very sick, sent for him on a public Fast. When he had ended his work in the assembly, as he was going to visit this poor man he found himself faint, his spirits being exhausted with labour and abstinence; for he had eaten nothing all the day till that time, which was four o'clock: This obliged him to eat a morsel or two of dry bread at a friend's house without Southgate; after which he went to the Workhouse among the infected people. He had such love to souls, that he never refused to visit sick persons in the most infectious distempers. He was sent for by a poor man who lay very ill in a spotted fever; the apothecary advised him not to kneel, or stand near the sick man, because of the malignity of the disease: But his spirits being sunk, and his voice low, MR. TROSSE laid his ear close to the mouth of this dying man. He did not count his labour, his purse, his health dear unto him, when he was in the way of his duty.

10. He did not give grudgingly, or of necessity, but loved mercy, and showed it with cheerfulness. When a proper object was recommended, there needed not many words; for he did good offices unsought, and often bestowed his alms unasked. One time as he passed by the alms-houses near Northern-Hay, he gave something to the poor people, and said to those that were with him, 'It is a mercy we have objects of charity, wherein we may show our love to JESUS CHRIST.' He neither held the distressed in suspense by needless delays, nor mocked them with feigned pretences, but gave willingly and speedily, knowing that he gives twice who gives quickly.

11. He showed prudence, both as to the objects and measures of his charity, giving most largely to such as had greatest need, and were most deserving. The worst, who were reduced to great extremity, received some succour from him. Even to common beggars he would give something; but for good men, who are the excellent of the earth,

he had a high esteem, and towards them his charity flowed. To one he gave four pounds *per annum*, to some forty shillings, to some twenty, to others ten; and he was so punctual in his payments, that there was no need to put him in mind of his promises, or of the time of performing them. He also showed mercy in lending to such as were in low circumstances, that he might put them into a capacity to maintain their families by their own industry. To some he lent upon low interest, at four per cent., to others freely, without any.

12. And as he was full of mercy, and alms-deeds himself, so he “provoked others unto love, and to good works.” When any motion was made for a collection, whether for the public good, or for private persons, he would animate such as proposed it, and by his own example draw out others’ charity: This made those who were employed in collecting in the city, commonly go first to him, who, for the most part set such a pattern as few did care to follow, often giving four times as much as some who had four times his estate. He sometimes made use of his own generosity, as a motive to the rich to excite their bounty to the poor. He would never accept money from rich or poor for baptizing children: If any were urgent with him, he took what they offered, but told them he would give it to the poor, which he would be sure to do. Having baptized, and preached a funeral sermon for a child of one of his hearers, the parent importuned him to accept of a guinea, which he absolutely refused, but said, ‘When an object of charity presents, perhaps I may come to you for it.’

13. He kept a constant watch over his heart and ways, guarding against the particular temptations with which he was assaulted. He showed great tenderness towards others, being ready to excuse them, and make favourable allowances to them; but he was strict in examining, and severe in judging himself. His humility, and holy fear and jealousy over his own heart, made him live in a constant dependence upon the assistance of the HOLY SPIRIT. He was universally conscientious: His thoughts, his words, his ac-

tions were all under the command of religious principles. He walked with God in the whole course of his life, and had respect to all his commandments. His conversation was so exemplary, that I dare appeal to all that knew him in the words of the Apostle, "Ye are witnesses, how holily, and justly, and unblamably" he "behaved" himself "among you that believe."

14. He filled up his particular relations with duty. He was very respectful and obedient to his mother. After his repentance and recovery from his distraction, he wrote thus to her; 'I resolve not quite to shake off all filial duty, because hitherto I have been undutiful; but to submit myself to your disposal, here, and wherever else I shall be upon earth: Knowing obedience to parents is the "first commandment with promise;" for the breach of which chiefly, I think these afflictions have befallen me, next to the forgetfulness of my Maker.—I am ashamed to think of returning to you, when I consider the tears, and, as I fear, the drops of blood which my relapses have drawn from your eyes and heart.' Other letters discover how earnestly he desired her welfare and happiness. In one he writes, 'I rejoice to hear of your welfare, which, next to my peace with God, and the prosperity and increase of the people of God, is the thing which I desire.' In another, 'Next to my own soul's salvation, I have no one thing nearer to my heart than your's.' Before he was married, he would say, 'I have nothing to do but to serve God, and please my mother.' And in another of his letters, he professes, 'As long as my interest at the throne of grace continues, you shall have my prayers; and as long as I have a heart, my love and observance; and as long as life and strength, my duty and service.'

15. When he had a family, he walked within his house with a perfect heart, and was an example of strict and serious godliness. A. D. 1680, he married SUSANNA, the daughter of MR. RICHARD WHITE, a noted merchant in Exeter, of whom he himself says, 'That she was pious and religious, prudent and frugal, sober and temperate, sedate

and composed ; seldom or never moved with passion, a very delightful and advantageous yoke-fellow.' He was a very affectionate husband to her, and most compassionately tender of her in afflictions ; he made provision for her by his will, and left her a comfortable maintenance. He paid great respect to her parents, and was kind and obliging to her brothers and sisters. He once took a journey of near fourscore miles, on purpose to visit and comfort one of her sisters, when she laboured under spiritual trouble.

16. To his servants he was a kind and gentle master, being careful of them in health and sickness, instructing them in, and exhorting them to their duty, and calling upon them to redeem time for secret prayer. His meek and quiet spirit made him easy with his domestics ; he neither spake roughly to them for trivial matters, nor did he aggravate such faults as were committed through forgetfulness, but rather excused what was not sinful.



CHAPTER VI.

THUS lived this faithful and laborious Minister, this pious and excellent Christian, showing forth the virtues, and advancing the honour of his Divine Master. It may with reason be expected, that a man of such unwearied diligence in the work of CHRIST, and of such an exemplary conversation, should be favoured with some special manifestations of God's love to his soul : And in this respect the LORD dealt bountifully with his servant ; for after his return to GOD he enjoyed settled peace of conscience, and had a lively and joyful hope. In a letter from Oxford, almost fifty years before his death, he writes thus, 'I earnestly beseech you to "give diligence to make your calling and election sure;" and then you may look sin, death, hell, the law, and the day of judgment, in the face with triumph ; as an infinitely worse sinner than yourself, through almighty and incomparable grace can do.' And in a letter to his

mother, he declares, ‘ Though among earthly parents you may not have your peer ; I know by sweet experience where is One, of whose goodness and love all in you, and in all other parents, is no more than a shadow to the body, or a drop to an ocean ; namely, our FATHER in heaven, who hath pardoned all my sins ; smiles upon me, and speaks peace and comfort to me, though my sins were exceeding great, and my soul was once full of horror and despair ; who purifies my soul, and keeps me in a way of duty, whereas I was before a polluted sinner, and was going on in a course of rebellion ; who keeps me close to my calling, and blesses me in it ; whereas before I did the Devil’s work, and had all curses belonging to me ; who gives me health and strength, though I had often wasted it by provoking sins ; who has given me maintenance from you, and yourself a loving mother, though I had spent much of my own estate in the Devil’s service, and by my undutiful and ungodly practices forfeited your affections, and deserved to be a rejected outcast for ever. This is the GOD of goodness who is my GOD, and will be my GOD unto death.’

2. Under several fits of sickness and disorders of body, he enjoyed a blessed composure of mind, and good hope of everlasting happiness, without any anxieties about his future state. When he was ill in a *peripneumonia*, a worthy Minister who visited him, asked him how he did, he answered, ‘ Here my heavenly FATHER is pleased to lay his rod upon my back, but I desire to bless Him for that he shines upon my conscience.’ At another time he said to another pious Minister, ‘ GOD hath made me to see He is well pleased with me in JESUS.’ To one who asked him, whether he had assurance, he replied, ‘ I have a strong confidence of Heaven, and believe I shall go thither ; but I never had any great joys, except when I was in prison, and in a great sickness in 1688.’ In another sickness, he said to some who stood by his bed’s side, ‘ Death is no terror to me, I can look with comfort into the grave.’ And at another time, ‘ It is no more to me to die, or to think of dying, than to go from one room to another.’ Again, he

said to a relation, 'All is well within.' Dining at a friend's house, when some present expressed their fears of the small-pox, he said, 'Let them be afraid to die who have no God to go to.'

Having given an imperfect account of his ministerial qualifications and labours, and of his Christian graces, and exemplary behaviour in the course of his life, I proceed to say something of his death. This faithful servant of CHRIST, being full of days, and satisfied with life, the time came wherein it was his LORD's pleasure to call him hence, that he might "rest from his labours." For some weeks before his decease, he complained that he was weak and indisposed; yet would he not remit any thing of his public work, private studies, or secret devotions. He had been long preparing for, and expecting his dissolution; and the evening before he was taken away, he told his wife very positively, that the time of his departure was at hand. This he spake with a great deal of Christian courage, without betraying any slavish fear. When he perceived that she was much affected with his words, he desired her not to be troubled, and put her in mind that he had been a great while with her. She being solicitous about an affair of consequence, inquired of him concerning it. He said, he would not think or speak about the world then, for he would prepare for the LORD's-day, which was approaching; but on Monday (God willing) he would satisfy her. Though he did not live till that time, she found all safe and well.

4. The LORD's-day he rose early in the morning, and preached at the meeting near Southgate in the forenoon. Though his indisposition grew upon him, it did not hinder him from going through his work. In his prayer after Sermon, he gave thanks to God for assisting him who was weak in body, but (as he said, according to his wonted humility) much more weak in soul. As he was returning home, being seized with faintness, and carried into an apothecary's house, he said, 'I am dying.' When he was a little recovered, and had a prospect of the King of

Terrors, who was just ready to seize him, he was not at all dismayed, but looked the last enemy in the face with comfort, and received the sentence of death with cheerfulness, saying to those friends who were about him, 'There will shortly be an end of all sin, sorrow, and trouble. I thank you for all your kindnesses to an unworthy servant of CHRIST.' When they expostulated with him for preaching under such disorders, he said, 'It becomes a Minister to die preaching.'

5. He could not be prevailed upon to be carried in a chair, but walked home. Before he got thither he began to grow faint again. An intimate friend who attended him, intreated him to sit down, but he refused. When he was just got into his own house he fell down; after which his lips kept moving for some time. Though his tongue, which had been a ready and faithful servant, now failed him, yet he seemed to be still breathing after GOD in fervent prayer; his friend thought he heard him pronounce the words 'JESUS' sake.' The physician was called, and rich cordials administered, but could not reach his case, and renew a life quite spent, and worn out in labour and watchings, and so in about three quarters of an hour, he quietly surrendered his spirit to GOD, about one o'clock, the 11th of January, 1713, when he had lived eighty-one years and eleven weeks, and been an ordained Minister above six and forty years.

6. As he lived beloved and honoured, so he died desired and lamented. Though GOD spared him to a good old age, he did not survive his usefulness. And more years might have been expected from the strength of his constitution, if he would have been persuaded to spare himself. The suddenness of the stroke increased the sorrow of his friends: They who in the morning sat under his ministry with great pleasure, could not but grieve exceedingly in the afternoon, when they understood that they should see his face no more.

7. On the Thursday following, January 15, his remains were carried from his own house to Bartholomew Church-

yard, in Exeter, attended by a very great multitude, among whom were many of the Gentry of the city and country, who did him honour at his death. He was buried near the east wall, by the grave of a kinsman who bore his name. His executrix hath erected over him a plain fair monument, on the top of which, being a black marble stone, is the following epitaph of his own composing.

Hic jacet
Peccatorum maximus,
Sanctorum minimus,
Concionatorum indignissimus,
GEORGIUS TROSSE,
Hujus Civitatis Indigena et Incola:
Qui huic maligno valedixit Mundo
Undecimo Die Mensis Januarii,
Anno Dom. MDCCXII.
Ætat. Suæ LXXXII.

THE LIFE
OF
MR. JOHN ELIOT,
THE
FIRST PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL TO THE INDIANS IN
AMERICA.

WRITTEN BY COTTON MATHER.

PRELIMINARY I.

His Birth, Age, and Family.

FOR his birth, it was at a town in England, the name whereof I cannot presently recover. He came to New-England in the month of November, 1631, among those blessed old Planters, which laid the foundations of a remarkable country, devoted unto the exercise of the Protestant Religion. He left behind him in England, a virtuous young gentlewoman, whom he had pursued and purposed marriage unto; and she coming hither the year following, that marriage was consummated in October, 1632.

This wife of his youth lived with him until she became to him also the staff of his age; and she left him not until about three or four years before his own departure to those heavenly regions, where they now together see light. She was a woman very eminent, both for holiness and usefulness, and she excelled most of the daughters that have done virtuously. God made her a rich blessing, not only to her family, but also to her neighbourhood; and when at

last she died, I heard and saw her aged husband, who else very rarely wept, yet now with tears over the coffin, before the good people, a vast confluence of which were come to her funeral, say, ‘Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife: I shall go to her, and she not return to me.’

By her did God give him six worthy children, three of whom died before their father; but it may be written over their graves, “All these died in faith.” By the pious design of their father, they were all consecrated unto the service of God in the Ministry of the Gospel; but God saw meet rather to fetch them away, by a death, which (therefore) I dare not call premature, to glorify Him in a better world. They all gave such demonstrations of their conversion to God, that the good old man would sometimes comfortably say, ‘I have had six children, and I bless God for his free grace, they are all either with CHRIST, or in CHRIST; and my mind is now at rest concerning them.’ And when some asked him, How he could bear the death of such excellent children?, His reply was, ‘My desire was, that they should have served God on earth; but if God will choose to have them rather serve Him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it, but his will be done.’ His BENJAMIN was made the son of his right-hand, for the invitation of the good people at Roxbury placed him in the same pulpit with his father, where he was his assistant for many years; there they had a proof of him, that “as a son with the father, he served with him in the Gospel.” But his fate was like that which the great GREGORY NAZIANZEN describes in his discourse upon the death of his honourable brother, his aged father being now alive and present: ‘My Father, having laid up in a better world, a rich inheritance for his children, sent a Son of his before, to take possession of it.’

PRELIMINARY II.

MR. ELIOT'S early Conversion, sacred Employment, and Removal into America.

HE had passed many turns in the world, before he knew the meaning of a saving turn from an unregenerate state, unto GOD in CHRIST, by a true repentance; he had the singular happiness of an early conversion. One of the principal instruments which GOD used in filling the mind of this chosen vessel with good principles, was that venerable THOMAS HOOKER, whose name in the churches of the LORD JESUS, is as "an ointment poured forth." It was an acquaintance with him, that contributed more than a little to the accomplishment of our ELISHA, for that work unto which the Most High designed him. His liberal education having now the addition of religion to direct it, and improve it, gave such a bias to his young soul, as quickly discovered itself in very signal instances. His first appearance in the world, after his education in the University at Cambridge, was in the too difficult and unthankful, but very necessary employment of a School-master, which employment he discharged with great fidelity. He was of MR. THOMAS WILSON'S mind, that the calling of a Minister was the only one, wherein a man might be more serviceable to the church of GOD, than in that of a School-master: Wherefore having dedicated himself unto GOD betimes, he could not reconcile himself to any lesser way of serving his Creator and Redeemer, than by the sacred Ministry of the Gospel: But, alas! where should he have opportunities for the exercising of it? It was when some hundreds of those amiable people, which had the nick-name of Puritans put upon them, transported themselves, with their whole families and interests, into the desarts of America, that they might there attend and maintain all the pure institutions of the LORD JESUS CHRIST; having the encourage-

ment of Royal Charters, that they should never have any interruption in the enjoyment of these precious and pleasant things. He quickly listed himself among those valiant soldiers of the LORD JESUS, who cheerfully encountered first the perils of the Atlantic Ocean, and then the fatigues of the New-English wilderness, that they might have an undisturbed communion with Him in his appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himself the consolation of having afterwards and for ever, a room in that remembrance of God: "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, and the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me into the wilderness."

On his first arrival at New-England, he soon joined himself to the Church at Boston. MR. WILSON, the Pastor of that Church, was gone back into England, that he might perfect the settlement of his affairs; and in his absence young MR. ELIOT supplied his place. Upon the return of MR. WILSON, that Church was intending to have made MR. ELIOT his colleague; but he had engaged unto a select number of his Christian Friends in England, that if they should come into these parts before he should be in the pastoral care of any other people, he would give himself to them and be for their service. It happened, that these friends transported themselves hither the year after, and chose their habitation at the town which they called Roxbury. So it was in the orb of that Church that we had him as a star fixed for near threescore years.

PART I.

HIS BEHAVIOUR AS A CHRISTIAN.

ARTICLE I.

His eminent Piety.

SUCH was the piety of MR. ELIOT, that like another MOSES, he had upon his face a continual shine, arising from his uninterrupted communion with the FATHER of Spirits. He was indeed a man of prayer, being in a manner made up of it. He not only made it his daily practice to “enter into his closet, and shut the door, and pray to his FATHER in secret,” but he would not rarely set apart whole days for prayer, with fasting in secret, before the GOD of Heaven. Prayer solemnized with fasting, was indeed so agreeable to him, that I have sometimes thought he might justly inherit the name of JOHANNES JEJUNATOR, or JOHN THE FASTER, which, for the like reason, was put upon one of the renowned ancients; especially when there was any remarkable difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of DR. PRESTON’S mind, ‘That when we would have any great things to be accomplished, the best policy is to work by an engine which the world sees nothing of.’ He could say, as the pious ROBERTSON did upon his death-bed, ‘I thank God, I have loved fasting and prayer with all my heart.’ He kept his heart in a frame for prayer, with a marvellous constancy, and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any considerable news, his usual and speedy reflection thereupon would be, ‘Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer;’ and he was perpetually inviting prayer, both more privately in the Meetings, and more publicly in the Churches of his neighbourhood. When he came to an

house that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often say, 'Come, let us not have a visit without a prayer; let us pray down the blessing of Heaven on your family before we go.' Especially when he came into a society of Ministers, before he had sat long with them, they would look to hear him urging, 'Brethren, the LORD JESUS takes much notice of what is done and said among his Ministers when they are together; come, let us pray before we part.' And hence also his whole breath seemed in a sort made up of ejaculatory prayers; many scores of which winged messengers, he despatched away to Heaven every day. By them he bespoke blessings upon almost every person or affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with some pertinent Hosannahs or Hallelujahs over it. He was a mighty and a happy man that had his quiver full of these heavenly arrows: And when he was never so straitly besieged by human occurrences, yet he fastened the wishes of his devout soul unto them, and shot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he thus took delight in speaking to God, no less did he in speaking of Him. In serious and pious discourses, he still had his tongue "like the pen of a ready writer." The Jesuits once at Nola, made a no less profane than severe order, 'That no man should speak of God at all;' but this excellent person almost made it an order wherever he came, 'to speak of nothing but God.' He was indeed sufficiently affable in conversation, but he had a remarkable gravity mixed with it, and a singular skill of raising some holy observation out of whatever matter of discourse lay before him; nor would he ordinarily dismiss any theme without some divine pithy sentence thereupon. Doubtless he imposed it as a law upon himself, that he would leave something of God, and Heaven, and Religion, with all that should come near him; so that in all places his company was attended with majesty and reverence, and it was no sooner proper for him to speak, but, like MARY'S opened box of ointment, he filled the whole room with the perfumes of the graces in his lips.

His conferences were like those which TERTULLIAN affirms to have been common among the Saints in his days, *Ut qui sciret Dominum audire*, as knowing that the ear of God was open to them all; and he managed his rudder so as to manifest that he was bound Heaven-ward in his whole communication. He had a particular art at spiritualizing earthly objects, and raising high thoughts from very mean things. As the friend of the famous URSIN could profess, that he never went unto him without coming away either the wiser or the better for him; so it is an acknowledgment which more than one friend of MR. ELIOT'S has made concerning him, 'I never was with him but I got some good from him.'

And hearing from the great God, was an exercise of like satisfaction to this good man, with speaking either to him or of him. He was a mighty Student in the Bible; and it was unto him as his necessary food: He made the Bible his companion and his counsellor; and the holy lines of Scripture more enamoured him, than the profane ones of TULLY ever did the famous Italian Cardinal. He would not, upon easy terms, have gone one day together without using a portion of the Bible as an antidote against the infection of temptation. And he would prescribe it unto others, with his *probatum est* upon it; as once particularly a pious woman, vexed with a wicked husband, complaining to him, That bad company was all the day infesting her house, and what should she do? He advised her, 'Take the Holy Bible into your hand, when the bad company comes, and you will soon drive them out of the house.' The woman made the experiment, and thereby cleared her house from the haunts that had molested her. Moreover, if ever any man could, he might pretend unto that evidence of uprightness, "LORD, I have loved the habitation of thine house;" for he not only gave something more than his presence there twice on the LORD'S-days, and once a fortnight besides on his lectures, in his own congregation; but he made his weekly visits unto the lectures in the neighbouring towns: How often was he seen at Boston, Charles-

town, Cambridge, and Dorchester, waiting upon the word of God in the recurring opportunities, and counting “ a day in the courts of the LORD better than a thousand !” It is hardly conceivable, how, in the midst of so many studies and labours as he was at home engaged in, he could possibly repair to so many lectures abroad ; and herein he aimed not only at his own edification, but at the countenancing and encouraging of the lectures which he went unto. Thus he took good heed that he might hear, and he took as much heed how he heard ; he set himself as in the presence of the eternal GOD, as the great CONSTANTINE used of old, in the assemblies where he came, and said, ‘ I will hear what GOD the LORD will speak.’ He expressed a suitable affection by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with hands and eyes devoutly elevated ; and they whose good hap it was to go home with him, were sure of having another sermon by the way, until their very hearts burned in them.

In a word, he was one who lived in heaven while he was on earth. We cannot say, that we ever saw him walking any whither, but he was therein walking with GOD ; wherever he sat, he had GOD by him, and it was in the everlasting arms of GOD that he slept at night. He a little discovered his heavenly way of living, when, walking one day in his garden, he plucked up a weed that he saw now and then ; at which a friend pleasantly said unto him, ‘ Sir, you tell us we must be heavenly-minded :’ He immediately replied, ‘ It is true ; and this is no impediment unto that ; for were I sure to go to heaven to-morrow, I would do what I do to-day.’ From such a frame of spirit it was that once in a visit, finding a merchant in his counting-house, where he saw books of business only on his table, but all his books of devotion on the shelf, he gave this advice unto him, ‘ Sir, here is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf ; pray do not sit so much at the table, as altogether to forget the shelf ; let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind.’

Indeed I cannot give a fuller description of him, that

what was in a paraphrase that I have heard himself to make upon that Scripture, "Our conversation is in heaven." I wrote it from him as he uttered it.

'Behold (said he) the ancient and excellent character of a true Christian; it is that which PETER calls "holiness in all manner of conversation;" you shall not find a Christian out of the way of godly conversation. For, first, a seventh part of our time is all spent in heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of God. Besides, God has written on the head of the Sabbath, "Remember;" which looks both forwards and backwards; and thus a good part of the week will be spent in sabbatizing. Well, but for the rest of our time! Why, we shall have that spent in heaven, before we have done. For, secondly, we have many days for both fasting and thanksgiving in our pilgrimage; and here are so many Sabbaths more. Moreover, thirdly, we have our lectures every week; and pious people will not miss them, if they can help it. Furthermore, fourthly, we have our private meetings, wherein we pray, and sing, and confer together, about the things of God; and being now come thus far, we are in heaven almost every day. But a little farther, fifthly, we perform family-duties every day; we have our morning and evening sacrifices, wherein having read the Scriptures to our families, we call upon the name of God, and every now and then carefully catechise those that are under our charge. Sixthly, we have our daily devotions in our closets; wherein, unto supplication before the LORD, we add some serious meditation upon his word; a DAVID will be at this work no less than thrice a day. Seventhly, we have likewise many scores of ejaculations in a day; and these we have, in whatever place we come into. Eighthly, we have our occasional thoughts, and our occasional talks upon spiritual matters; and we have our occasional acts of charity, wherein we do like the inhabitants of heaven every day. Ninthly, in our callings, in our civil callings, we keep up heavenly frames; we buy, and sell, and toil, yea, we eat and drink, with some eye both to the command and

the honour of God in all. Behold, I have not now left an inch of time to be carnal; it is all engrossed for heaven. And yet, lest here should not be enough, lastly, we have our spiritual warfare. We are always encountering the enemies of our souls, which continually raises our hearts unto our Helper and Leader in the heavens. Let no man say, It is impossible to live at this rate; for we have known some live thus, and others that have written of such a life, have but spun a web out of their own blessed experiences. New-England has examples of this life; though, alas! it is to be lamented, that the distractions of the world, in too many, becloud the beauty of an heavenly conversation. In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we ask, Where am I to be to-day? Our souls may answer, In heaven. If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest; and when thou diest, heaven will be no strange place to thee; no, thou hast been there a thousand times before.'

Among the many instances in which his holiness was remarkable, I must not omit his exact "remembrance of the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy."

It has been justly observed, That our whole religion fares according to our Sabbaths; that poor Sabbaths make poor Christians; and that a strictness in our Sabbaths inspires a vigour into all our other duties. MR. ELIOT knew this, and it was with a most exemplary zeal that he acknowledged the Sabbath of our LORD. The sun did not set the evening before the Sabbath, till he had begun his preparation for it; and when the LORD's-day came, you might have seen "JOHN in the Spirit," every week. Every day was a sort of Sabbath to him; but the Sabbath-day was a taste of heaven with him. He laboured that he might on this high day have no words or thoughts, but such as were agreeable thereunto; he then allowed in himself no actions, but those of a raised soul. One should hear nothing dropping from his lips on this day, but the milk and honey of the country, in which there remains a rest for the people of God; and if he beheld in any person whatsoever, whether

old or young, any profanation of this day, he would be sure to bestow lively rebukes upon it.

ARTICLE II.

His exemplary Mortification.

THUS did MR. ELIOT endeavour to live unto GOD ; but how much at the same time did he die unto the world ?

It were impossible to finish the lively picture of this holy man, without some touches upon that mortification which accompanied him all his days ; for never did I see a person more mortified unto all the pleasures of this life, or more unwilling to soil an heaven-born soul in the dirty puddles of sensual delights. We are all of us compounded of these two things, the man and the beast ; but so powerful was the man in this holy person, that it kept the beast ever tied with a short tether. He became so nailed unto the cross of the LORD JESUS CHRIST ; that the grandeurs of this world were unto him just what they would be to a dying man ; and he entertained an almost unparalleled indifference towards all the pomps which mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The lust of the flesh he could not in the least pamper or indulge, but he persecuted it with a continual antipathy. The sleep that he allowed himself, cheated him not of his morning-hours ; but he reckoned the morning no less a friend to grace, than to the Muses. He would call upon students, ‘ I pray look to it, that you be morning-birds ! ’ And for many more than a score of years before he died, he removed his lodging into his study, on purpose that being there alone, he might enjoy his early mornings, without giving the disturbance of the least noise to any of his friends, whose affection to him else might have been ready to call, “ Master, spare thyself.” The meat upon which he lived, was an homely, but an wholesome diet ;

varieties, costly viands, and poignant sauces, came not upon his own table, and when he found them on other men's, he rarely tasted them. One dish, and a plain one, was his dinner; and when invited to a feast, I have seen him sit magnifying God for the plenty which his people in this wilderness were within a few years arisen to; but not more than a bit or two of all the dainties taken into his own mouth all the while. And for a supper, he had learned of his loved patron, old Mr. COTTON, either wholly to omit it, or to make a small sup or two the utmost of it. The drink which he still used was very small; he cared not for wines or drams, and I believe he never once in all his life knew what it was to feel a noxious fume in his head from any of them; good clear water was more precious, as well as more usual with him, than any liquor. When at a stranger's house in the summer-time, he has been entertained with a glass, which they told him was of water and wine, he has with a complaisant gravity replied, 'Wine is a noble generous liquor, but as I remember water was made before it!' So abstemious was he; and he found, his abstinence had more sweetness in it, than any of the sweets which he abstained from; and so willing he was to have others partake with him in that sweetness, that when he has thought the countenance of a Minister has looked as if he had made much of himself, he has gone to him with that speech, 'Study mortification, brother! Study mortification!' And he made all his addresses with a becoming majesty.

The lust of the eye was put out by him in such a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be rich or poor. It could not be said of him, that "he sought great things for himself;" but what estate he became owner of, was from the blessing of God upon the husbandry and industry of some in his family, rather than from any endeavours of his own. Once when there stood several kine of his own before his door, his wife, to try him, asked him, Whose they were? And she found that he knew nothing of them. A few years before his dissolution, being left

without an assistant in his Ministry, he pressed his congregation to furnish themselves with another Pastor; and in his application to them he told them, 'It is possible, you may think the burden of maintaining two Ministers may be too heavy for you; but I will deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my salary to the LORD JESUS CHRIST; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that GOD shall make a Pastor for you.' But his church assured him, they would count his very presence worth a salary, when he should be so superannuated as to do no further service for them.

And as for the pride of life, it was most exemplarily extinguished in him. The humility of his heart made him higher by the head than the rest of the people. His habit and spirit were both such, as declared himself to be among the lowly. His apparel was without any ornament, except that humility; and seeing some scholars once, he thought, a little too gaudy in their clothes, *Humiliamini, Juvenes, Humiliamini*, was his immediate compliment unto them. Had you seen him with his leathern girdle (for such an one he wore) about his loins, you would almost have thought what HEROD feared, that "JOHN Baptist was come again."

ARTICLE III.

His Charity.

His charity was a star of the first magnitude, and the rays of it were wonderfully various and extensive.

His liberality to pious uses, whether public or private, went much beyond the proportions of his little estate. Many hundreds of pounds did he freely bestow upon the poor; and he would with a very forcible importunity press his neighbours to join with him in such beneficences. It was a marvellous alacrity with which he embraced all opportunities of relieving any that were miserable: And

the good people of Roxbury doubtless cannot but remember (for the righteous God will) how often, and with what arduous, with what arguments he became a beggar to them for collections in their assemblies, to support such needy objects as had fallen under his observation. The poor counted him their father, and repaired still unto him with a filial confidence in their necessities; and they were more than seven or eight, or, indeed, than so many scores, who received their portions of his bounty. Like that worthy and famous English General, he could not persuade himself, 'That he had any thing, but what he gave away;' but he drove a mighty trade at such exercises as he thought would furnish him with bills of exchange, which he hoped after many days to find the comfort of; and yet after all, he would say, like one of the most charitable souls that ever lived in the world, 'That looking over his accounts, he could no where find the God of heaven charged a debtor there.' He did not put off his charity, to be put in his last Will; but he was his own administrator; he made his own hands his executors, and his own eyes his overseers. It has been remarked, that liberal men are often long-lived men; so do they after many days find the bread with which they have been willing to keep other men alive. The great age of Mr. ELIOT was but agreeable to this remark; and when his age had unfitted him for almost all employments, and bereaved him of those gifts which once he had been accomplished with, being asked, How he did? He would sometimes answer, 'Alas! I have lost every thing; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still, I find that rather grows than fails.' And I make no question, that at his death, his happy soul was received and welcomed into the everlasting habitations, by many got thither before him, of such as his charity had been liberal to.

But besides these substantial expressions of charity, he made the odours of that grace more fragrant to all that were about him, by that pitifulness and peacefulness which

rendered him yet further amiable. If any of his neighbourhood were in distress, he was like a brother born for their adversity, he would visit them, and comfort them with a most fraternal sympathy; yea, it is not easy to recount how many whole days of prayer with fasting he has got his neighbours to keep with him, on the behalf of those whose calamities he found himself touched with. It was an extreme satisfaction to him, that his wife had attained unto a considerable skill in physic and chirurgery, which enabled her to dispense many safe, good, and useful medicines unto the poor that had occasion for them; and some hundreds of sick, and weak, and maimed people owed praises to GOD for the benefit which they freely received of her. Her husband would still be casting oil into the flame of that charity, wherein she was of her own accord abundantly forward; and he would urge her to be serviceable to the worst enemies that he had in the world.

He was a great enemy to contention. When he heard any Ministers complain, that such and such in their flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his answer still was, ‘Brother, learn the meaning of those three little words, *Bear, Forbear, Forgive.*’ Yea, his inclinations for peace sometimes almost made him to sacrifice right itself. When there was laid before an assembly of Ministers, a bundle of papers which contained matters of difference and contention between some people, which MR. ELIOT thought should rather unite, with an amnesty upon all their former quarrels, he (with some imitation of what CONSTANTINE did upon the like occasion) hastily threw the papers into the fire before them all, and said immediately, ‘Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my knees this morning before I came among you.’ Such an excess (if it were one) flowed from his charitable inclinations, to be found among those peace-makers, which, by following the example of Him who is our Peace, come to be called “the children of GOD.” In short, wherever he came, he was like another old JOHN, with solemn and earnest persuasives to

love; and when he could say little else, he would give that charge, "My children, love one another."

Finally, it was his charity which disposed him to continual benedictions on those that he met; he had a heart full of good wishes, and a mouth full of kind blessings for them. And he made his expressions agreeable to the circumstances which he saw the persons in. Sometimes when he came into a family, he would call for all the young people in it, that so he might distinctly lay his hands upon every one of them, and bespeak the mercies of heaven for them all.

ARTICLE IV

Some Effects of his Piety and Charity.

BUT what was the effect of his exemplary piety and charity? "He walked in the light of God's countenance all the day long." He had a continual assurance of the Divine love, marvellously sealing, strengthening, and refreshing him, for many years before he died; and for this cause the fear of death was extirpated out of his soul. Had our blessed JESUS at any time sent his wagons to fetch this old JACOB away, he would have gone without the least reluctance. Labouring once under a fever, a visitant asked him how he did? and he replied, 'Very well, but anon I expect a paroxysm.' Said the visitant, Sir, fear not: He answered, 'Fear! no, no; I am not afraid, I thank God, I am not afraid to die!' Dying would not have been any more to him, than sleeping to a weary man.

Another excellency which accompanied this courage and comfort in him, was a wonderful resignation to the will of God in all events. There were sore afflictions that sometimes befel him, especially when he followed some of his worthy sons to their graves. But he sacrificed them, like another Abraham, with such a sacred indifferency, as made

the spectators marvel. Yea, he bore all his trials with admirable patience, and seemed to be wholly melted and moulded into the will of his heavenly FATHER. Once being in a boat at sea, a larger vessel unhappily over-run and over-set that little one. He immediately sunk, without any expectation of ever going to Heaven any other way; and when he imagined that he had but one breath more to draw, it was this, 'The will of the LORD be done!' But it was the will of the LORD that he should survive the danger, for he was rescued by the help that was at hand; and he that had long been like MOSES in every thing else, was now drawn out of the waters: Which gives me an opportunity to mention one remarkable thing that had some relation hereunto. This happened in the time of our Indian wars, when some furious English people that clamoured for the extirpation of the praying Indians, which were in subjection to us, as well as the Pagan Indians that were in hostility against us, vented a wicked rage at MR. ELIOT, because of his concern for the Indians; and one monster, hearing how narrowly MR. ELIOT escaped from drowning, wished he had been drowned; but within a few days, that man, by a strange disaster, was drowned in that very place where MR. ELIOT had received his deliverance.

He sometimes felt a lively touch of GOD upon his refined and exalted spirit, not easy to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a singular familiarity with the Holy One of Israel. Hence it was, that as bodies of a rare and fine constitution will forebode the changes of the weather, so his soul often had strange forebodings of things that were to come. I have been astonished at some of his predictions, that were followed with exact accomplishments. If he said of any affair, 'I cannot bless it,' it was a worse omen to it than the most inauspicious presages in the world; but sometimes, after he had been with GOD about a thing, he was able successfully to foretel, 'I have set a mark upon it, it will do well.' I shall never forget, that when England and Holland were plunged into the unhappy war, which the more sensible Protestants every where had sorrow l

apprehensions of, Mr. ELIOT being, in the height and heat of the war, privately asked, What news we might look for next? answered, to the surprise of the inquirer, ‘Our next news will be a peace between the two Protestant nations.’ And it came to pass accordingly.

It would not be improper, under this head, to lodge the singular and surprising successes of his prayers; for they were such, that in our distresses we still repaired to him, under that encouragement, “He is a Prophet, and he shall pray for thee and thou shalt live.” I shall single out but one, from many that might be mentioned: There was a gentleman of Charlestown, one Mr. FOSTER, who, with his son, was taken captive by Turkish enemies. Much prayer was made, both privately and publicly, by the good people here, for the redemption of that gentleman; but we were at last informed, that the bloody Prince in whose dominions he was now a slave, was resolved that in his life-time no prisoner should be released; and so the distressed friends of this prisoner now concluded, ‘Our hope is lost!’ Upon this, Mr. ELIOT, in some of his prayers, before a solemn congregation, very broadly begged, ‘Heavenly FATHER, work for the redemption of thy poor servant FOSTER; and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long as himself lives, LORD, we pray thee to kill that cruel Prince, and glorify thyself upon him.’ And now behold the answer: The poor captivated gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a lost man, and brings us news, that the Prince which had hitherto held him was come to an untimely death, by which means he was set at liberty. Thus we now know that “a Prophet has been among us.”

PART II.

OF MR. ELIOT AS A MINISTER.

ARTICLE I.

His Ministerial Accomplishments.

THE grace of God as well qualified him for, as disposed him to, the employment wherein he spent about sixty years, which was “the service of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, in the Ministry of the Gospel.” This was the work to which he applied himself; and he undertook it, I believe, with as right thoughts of it, and as good ends in it, as ever any man was acted with. He looked upon the conducting of a Church as a thing no less dangerous than important, and attended with so many difficulties, temptations, and humiliations, that nothing but a call from God could have encouraged him to undertake it. He saw that flesh and blood would find it no very pleasant thing to be obliged to the oversight of a number, that by a solemn covenant should be listed among the volunteers of the LORD JESUS CHRIST; that it was no easy thing to feed the souls of such a people, and of the children and the neighbours which were to be brought into the same sheep-fold with them; to bear their manners with all patience, not being by any of their infirmities discouraged from teaching them, and from watching and praying over them; to value them highly as “the flock which God has purchased with his own blood,” notwithstanding all their miscarriages; and in all to examine the rule of Scripture for the warrant of whatever shall be done, and to remember the day, wherein an account must be given of all that has been done. It was his opinion, ‘That, (as

the great OWEN expresses it,) notwithstanding all the countenance that is given to any Church by the public Ministry, yet whilst we are in this world, those who will faithfully discharge their duty, as Ministers of the Gospel, shall have need to be prepared for sufferings;’ and it was in a sense of these things that he gave himself up to the sacred Ministry. A stranger to regeneration can be but poorly accomplished for such a Ministry; and however God may prosper the sermons of such a man for the advantage of his Church: However the building of the Ark may be helped on by such carpenters as perish in the flood, and the Tyrians may do some work about the Temple; and, as AUSTIN expressed it, a stone-cutter may convey water into a garden, without having himself any advantage of it; nevertheless, the unsanctified Minister, how gifted, how able soever he may be, must have it still said unto him, “Thou lackest one thing!” That one thing MR. ELIOT had: But the one thing was not all, as indeed it would not have been enough. God furnished him with a good measure of learning too, which made him capable to “divide the word aright.” He was a most acute Grammarian, and understood very well the languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a sharp insight into all the other liberal arts, and made little systems of them for the use of certain Indians, whose exacter education he was desirous of. But above all, he had a most eminent skill in Theology; and he was *Scripturarius Theologus*, ‘One mighty in the Word;’ which enabled him “to convince gainsayers,” and on all occasions to show himself a thorough Divine, “and a workman that needeth not be ashamed.”

In short, he came like another BEZALEEL, or AHOLIAH, unto the service of the tabernacle. And from one particularity in that part of his learning which lay in the affairs of the tabernacle, it was, that in a little book of his, we have those lines, which for a certain cause I now transcribe; ‘O that the LORD would put it into the heart of some of his religious and learned servants, to take such pains about the Hebrew language, as to fit it for universal use! Con-

sidering, that above all languages spoken by the lip of man, it is most capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all things, and motions, and notions, that our human intellect is capable of in this mortal life; considering also, that it is the invention of God himself; and what none is fitter to be the universal language, than that which it pleased our LORD JESUS to make use of, when He spake from heaven unto PAUL?



ARTICLE II.

His Family-Government.

THE Apostle PAUL, reciting the qualifications of a Gospel Minister, he gives order, "That he be the husband of one wife, and one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity." It seems that a man's carriage in his own house is a part, or at least a sign of his due deportment in the house of God; and I am sure, MR. ELIOT'S was very exemplary. That one wife, which was given to him truly from the LORD, he loved, prized, cherished, with a kindness that notably represented the compassion which he (thereby) taught his Church to expect from the LORD JESUS CHRIST; and after he had lived with her for more than half an hundred years, he followed her to the grave, with lamentations beyond those which the Jews from a figure of a letter in the text affirm, ABRAHAM deplored his aged SARAH with; her departure made a deeper impression upon him, than any common affliction could. His whole conversation with her had that sweetness, and that gravity and modesty beautifying it, that every one called them ZACHARY and ELIZABETH. His family was a little Bethel, for the worship of GOD constantly and exactly maintained in it; and unto the daily prayers of the family, his manner was to prefix the reading of the Scripture; which being done, it was also his

manner to make his young people choose a passage in the chapter, and give him some observations of their own upon it. By this method he did mightily sharpen and improve, as well as try their understanding, and endeavour to make them "wise unto salvation." He was likewise very strict in the education of his children, and more careful to mend any error in their hearts and lives, than he could have been to cure a blemish in their bodies. No exorbitancies or extravagancies could find room under his roof; nor was his house any other than a school of piety; one might have there seen a perpetual mixture of a Spartan and a Christian discipline. Whatever decay there might be upon family-religion among us, we knew him, that he would command his children, and his household after him, that they should keep the way of the LORD.



ARTICLE III.

His Way of Preaching.

SUCH was he in his lesser family; and in his greater family he manifested still more of his regards to the rule of a Gospel Ministry. To his Congregation, he was a Preacher that made it his care "to give every one their meat in due season." It was food and not froth, which in his public sermons he entertained his people with; he did not starve them with empty and windy speculations. His way of preaching was very plain, so that the very lambs might wade into his discourses on those texts and themes wherein elephants might swim; and herewith it was very powerful; his delivery was graceful and grateful; but when he was to use reproofs and warnings against any sin, his voice would rise into a warmth which had in it very much of energy as well as decency; he would brandish the sword, and sound the trumpet of God against all vice, with a most penetrating liveliness, and make his pulpit

another mount Sinai, for the flashes of lightning therein displayed against the breaches of the law given upon that burning mountain. And, I observed, that there was a special fervour in the rebukes which he bestowed upon a carnal frame of life in professors of religion; when he was to brand the earthly-mindedness of Church-members, and the allowance they often gave themselves in sensual delights, here he was a right BOANERGES; he then spoke, as it was said one of the Ancients did, as many thunderbolts as words.

It was another property of his preaching, that there was evermore much of CHRIST in it; with PAUL he would say, "I determined to know nothing but JESUS CHRIST;" having that blessed name in his discourses, with a frequency like that with which PAUL mentions it in his Epistles. As it was noted of DR. BODLY, that whatever subject he were upon, still his use of it would be to drive men unto the LORD JESUS: In like manner, the LORD JESUS was the Loadstone which gave a touch to all the sermons of MR. ELIOT; a glorious, precious, lovely CHRIST was the point of heaven which they still verged unto. From this inclination it was, that although he printed several English books before he died, yet his heart seemed not so much in any of them, as in that entitled, *The Harmony of the Holy Gospels, in the Holy History of JESUS CHRIST*. From hence also it was that he would give that advice to young Preachers, 'Pray let there be much of CHRIST in your Ministry;' and when he had heard a sermon which had any special relish of JESUS in it, he would say, 'O blessed be God, that we have CHRIST so much preached in poor New-England!'

Moreover, he liked no preaching but what had been well studied for; and he would very much commend a sermon which he could perceive had required some good thinking and reading in the author of it. I have been present when he has unto a Preacher then just come home from the assembly with him, thus expressed himself, 'Brother, there was oil required for the service of the sanctuary; but it must be beaten oil; I praise God that I saw your oil so

well beaten to-day; the LORD help us always by good study to beat our oil, that there may be no knots in our sermons left undissolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the house of GOD!’ And yet he likewise looked for something in a sermon beside and beyond the mere study of man; he was for having the SPIRIT of GOD breathing in it and with it; and he was for speaking those things from those impressions, and with those affections, which might compel the hearer to say, ‘The SPIRIT of GOD was here!’ I have heard him complain, ‘It is a sad thing when a sermon shall have that one thing, the SPIRIT of GOD, wanting in it.’

ARTICLE IV

His Care about the Children of his People.

BUT he remembered that he had lambs in his flock, and like another DAVID he could not endure to see the lion seize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern for little children; it was an affectionate stroke in one of the little papers which he published for them, ‘Sure CHRIST is not willing to lose his lambs;’ and I have cause to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous application he addressed himself, when in the name of the neighbour Pastors and Churches he gave me the right hand of fellowship at my ordination, and said, ‘Brother, art thou a lover of the LORD JESUS CHRIST? Then, I pray, feed his lambs.’

One thing whereof he was very desirous for poor children, was the covenanting of them; he was very solicitous that the lambs might pass under the LORD’s tything rod, and be brought under the bond of the covenant. He earnestly maintained the cause of Infant Baptism, against a sort of persons risen since the Reformation, (among which indeed there are many godly men, that were dear to the soul of MR. ELIOT,) who forget that in the Gospel Church State, as well as in the Jewish, “The promise is to believers and their children;” and are unwilling to reckon child-

ren among the disciples of JESUS CHRIST, or to grant, "That of such is the kingdom of heaven:" Or to know, That the most undoubted records of antiquity affirm Infant Baptism to have been an usage in all the Primitive Churches: That even before the early days of NAZIANZEN, CHRYSOSTOM, BASIL, ATHANASIUS, EPIPHANIUS in the Greek, and AMBROSE, JEROM, AUSTIN in the Latin Church, all of which give glorious testimonies for Infant Baptism; even CYPRIAN, before these, assures us, that in his day there was no doubt of it; and ORIGEN before him could say, 'It was from the Apostles that the Church took up the Baptism of Infants;' and CLEMENS ROMANUS before him could say, 'That children should be recipients of the discipline of CHRIST;' besides what plain evidence we have in IRENÆUS and JUSTIN MARTYR; and that the very arguments with which some of the ancients did superstitiously advise the delay of Baptism, do at the same time confess the divine right of infants in it. MR. ELIOT could by no means look upon infants of godly men as unfit subjects to have upon them a mark of dedication to the LORD.

No man could entertain a person of a different persuasion, with more sweetness and kindness than he, when he saw the fear of GOD prevailing in them; he could uphold a most intimate correspondence with such a man as MR. JESSEY, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an hammer upon their unhappy errors.

But having baptised the children of his neighbours, he did not, as too many, think that he had now done with them. No, another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor children was, the catechising, both publicly and privately, and spent in it a world of time. He thought himself under a particular obligation to be that officer, which the Apostle calls "an instructor of the young;" (1 Cor. iv. 15;) nor was he ashamed, any more than some among the Ancients, to be called a Catechist. He would observe upon *John* xxi. 15: That the care of the lambs is one third part of the charge over the church of GOD. It would be incredible, if I should relate what pains he took to keep up the blessed echoes of truth between himself and

the young people of his congregation ; and what prudence he used, in suiting his Catechism to the age and strength of his catechumens. But one thing I must observe, which is, That although there may be (as one has computed) no less than five hundred Catechisms extant ; yet MR. ELIOT gave himself the travail of adding to their number, by composing of some further Catechisms, which were more particularly designed as an antidote for his own people, against the contagion of such errors as might threaten them. And the success of this catechising, bore proportion to the indefatigable industry with which he prosecuted it ; it is a well-principled people that he has left behind him. As when certain Jesuits were sent among the Waldenses to corrupt their children, they returned with much disappointment and confusion, because the children of seven years old were well-principled enough to encounter the most learned of them all ; so, if any seducers were let loose to wolve it among the good people of Roxbury, I am confident, they would find as little prey in that well-instructed place, as in any part of all the country ; no civil penalties would signify so much to save any people from the snares of busy heretics, as the unwearied catechising of MR. ELIOT has done to preserve his people from the gangrene of ill opinions.

There is a third instance of his regard to the welfare of the children under his charge ; and that is, his activity to support a good school in the town that belonged to him. A Grammar-school he would have upon the place, whatever it cost him ; and he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardour with which I once heard him pray in a Synod of these churches, which met at Boston, to consider, how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented ; I say, with what fervour he uttered an expression to this purpose ; ‘ LORD, for schools every where among us ! That our schools may flourish ! That every member of this assembly, may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives ! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation in the country !’ God so blessed his endeavours, that

Roxbury could not live quietly without a Free-school in the town; and the issue of it has been, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the College, and then for the public, than any town of its bigness; or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New-England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the “streams, which have made glad the whole city of God.”

ARTICLE V.

His Church-Discipline.

It yet more endears unto us the memory of MR. ELIOT, that he was not only an evangelical Minister, but also one full of that spirit which acted the first planters of this country, in their peaceable secession from the unwarrantable things elsewhere imposed upon their consciences. The judgment and practice of one that readily underwent all the misery attending the infancy of this plantation, is a thing which we young people should count worthy to be inquired after; and since we saw him so well behaving himself in the house of God, it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the form and constitution of that blessed house.

It was his principle, That in the reformation of churches, things ought to be reduced unto the order wherein we find them at their original, apostolical institution. And in pursuance of this principle, he espoused that way of church government which we call the Congregational; he was fully persuaded that the Church State which our LORD CHRIST hath instituted in the New Testament, is, in a congregation or society of professed Believers, agreeing and assembling together, among themselves, with officers of Divine appointment, for the celebration of evangelical ordinances, and their own mutual edification: For he thought it must be a cruel hardship used upon the Scriptures, to make them so much as lisp the least intimation of any other Church State prescribed unto us; and he used to assert,

That no approved Writers for the space of two hundred years after CHRIST, make any mention of any other original, visible, professing church, but that only which is Congregational.*

He could not comprehend, that this Church State can arise from any other formal cause, but the consent of those concerned it; he looked upon a relation unto a church, as not a natural, or a violent, but a voluntary thing, and so that it is to be entered no otherwise, than by a holy covenant, or, as the Scripture speaks, by giving ourselves first unto the LORD, and then one unto another. He could not think that Baptism alone was to be accounted the cause, but rather the effect of church-membership; inasmuch as upon the dissolution of the church to which a man belongs, his Baptism would not become a nullity: Nor that mere profession would render men members of this or that church; for then it would be impossible to cut off a corrupt member from that body: Nor that mere co-habitation would make church-members; for then the vilest infidels would be actually incorporated among us. And a covenant was all that he now saw remaining.

But for the subjects to be admitted by churches unto all the privileges of this fellowship with them, he thought they ought to be such as a charitable trial should pronounce regenerate. He found the first churches of the Gospel mentioned in the Scripture, to be churches of saints; and that the Apostles writing to them, still acknowledged them to be holy brethren; and that a main end of church fellowship, is to represent to the world, the qualifications of those that shall "ascend into the hill of the LORD, and stand in his holy place for ever."

* Such were the opinions of MR. ELIOT; but many persons, equally wise and pious, have been of a contrary mind. 'In the Independent way,' says the great BAXTER, 'I disliked the lamentable tendency to divisions and subdivisions, and the nourishing of heresies and sects. But above all, I disliked, that most of them made the people by majority of votes, to be church-governors, in excommunications, &c., which CHRIST hath made an act of office; and so they governed their governors and themselves: And their making their Minister to be no Minister to any but his own flock, and to act to others but as a private man.'—EDIT.

PART III.

Of MR. ELIOT as an Evangelist.

THE titles of a Christian and of a Minister have rendered MR. ELIOT considerable; but there is one memorable title more, by which he has been signalized. An honourable person did once in print put the name of an Evangelist upon him; whereupon in a letter of his to that person, afterwards printed, his expressions were, ‘There is a redundancy where you put the title of EVANGELIST upon me; I beseech you to suppress all such things; let us do, and speak, and carry all things with humility; it is the LORD who hath done what is done; and it is most becoming the SPIRIT of JESUS CHRIST, to lift up Him, and lay ourselves low; I wish that word could be obliterated.’ My reader sees what a caution MR. ELIOT long since entered against our giving him the title of an Evangelist; but his death has now made it safe, as his life had long made it just.

The natives of the country now possessed by the New-Englanders, had been wretched Heathens ever since their first herding here. Just before the first arrival of the English in these parts, a prodigious mortality had swept away vast numbers of the poor Indians: And those Pagans, who being told by a shipwrecked Frenchman which died in their hands, ‘That God would shortly introduce a more civil and worthy people into their place,’ blasphemously replied, ‘God could not kill them;’ were quickly killed with such a raging pestilence, as left the very earth covered with their carcases. Nevertheless, there were, I think, twenty nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground which fell under the influence of our three United Colonies; and MR. ELIOT was willing to rescue as many of them as he could, from that old usur

ping Lord of America, who is by the wrath of GOD, “the Prince of this world.”

It was that HOLY SPIRIT which laid before his mind the idea of that which is now on the seal of the Massachusetts Colony; a poor Indian, having a label going from his mouth, with a “Come over and help us.” It was the SPIRIT of our LORD JESUS CHRIST which kindled in him a pity for the dark, dying souls of these natives, whom “the god of this world had blinded” through all the past ages. It very powerfully moved his holy bowels to hear the thunder-claps of that imprecation over the heads of our naked Indians, “Pour out thy fury upon the Heathen which know thee not:” And thought he, What shall I do to rescue these Heathen from that all-devouring fury?

But when this charitable pity had once begun to flame, there was a concurrence of many things to cast oil into it. All the good men in the country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking; the Ministers especially encouraged him, and those in the neighbourhood kindly supplied his place, and performed his work for him at Roxbury, while he was labouring among them that were without. Hereunto he was further awakened by those expressions in the Royal Charter, in the protection whereof this wilderness was first peopled; namely, ‘to win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true GOD and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, is our Royal intention; and the adventurers’ free profession is the principal end of the plantation.’ And the remarkable zeal of the Romish Missionaries, compassing sea and land that they might make Proselytes, made his devout soul think of it with disdain, that we should come behind in our care to evangelize the Indians whom we dwelt among. Lastly, when he had begun, the good GOD, in answer to his prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal contribution among the people in England for promoting it: By means whereof a considerable estate was at length entrusted in the hands of an honourable Corporation, by

whom it is to this day carefully employed in the service it was designed for.

These abject creatures live in a country full of mines ; we have already made entrance upon our iron ; and in the very surface of the ground there lies copper enough to supply all this world, besides other mines ; but our shiftless Indians were never owners of so much as a knife till we came among them ; their name for an Englishman was a Knife-man ; stone was instead of metal for their tools ; and for their coins, they have only little beads with holes in them to string them upon a bracelet, whereof some are white, and of these there go six for a penny ; some are black or blue, and of these go six for a shilling ; this Wampam, as they call it, is made of the shell-fish which lies upon the sea-coast continually.

They live in a country where we have now all the conveniences of life ; but as for them, their housing is nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastened in the earth, where a good fire is their bed-clothes in the coldest seasons ; their clothing is but a skin of a beast covering their hind-parts, their fore-parts having but a little apron ; their diet has not a greater dainty than their Nakohick, that is, a spoonful of parched meal with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together ; except we should mention the flesh of deers, bears, racoons, and the like, which they have when they can catch them ; as also a little fish.

They live in a country full of the best ship-timber under heaven ; but never saw a ship till some came from Europe : They cross the water in canoes, made sometimes of trees which they burn and hew till they have hollowed them ; and sometimes of barks, which they stitch into a light sort of a vessel, to be easily carried over-land ; if they are overset, it is but a little paddling like a dog, and they are soon where they were.

Their way of living is infinitely barbarous : The men are most abominably slothful ; making their poor Squaws, or wives, to plant, and dress, and barn, and beat their corn,

and build their Wigwams for them ; which, perhaps, may be the reason of their extraordinary ease in childbirth. In the mean time their chief employment, when they condescend to any, is that of hunting ; wherein they go out some scores, if not hundreds in a company, driving all before them.

They continue in a place till they have burned up all the wood thereabouts, and then they follow the wood which they cannot fetch home to themselves ; hence when they inquire about the English, ‘ Why came they hither ?,’ they have themselves very learnedly determined the case, ‘ It was because we wanted firing.’ No arts are understood among them, unless just so far as to maintain their brutish conversation, which is little more than is to be found among the beavers upon our streams.

Their division of time is by sleeps, and moons, and Winters ; and by lodging abroad they have somewhat observed the motions of the stars, among which it has been surprising unto me to find that they have always called Charles’s Wain by the name of Paukannawaw, or The Bear, which is the name whereby Europeans have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any traditions among them worthy of notice ; and reading and writing are altogether unknown to them, though there is a rock or two in the country that has unaccountable characters engraved upon it. All the religion they have amounts unto thus much : They believe that there are many Gods, who make and own the several nations of the world ; of which a certain great God in the South-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure. They believe, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar God within it, or about it : There is with them a Sun-god, a Moon-god, and the like ; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of God, inasmuch as a spark of it will produce strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or anger of a God expressed in it ; and hence, as in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of extravagant devotions to their God ; so in a time of prospe-

riety they likewise have a feast, wherein they also make presents one to another. Finally, They believe that their chief God KAUTANTOWIT made a man and woman of a stone; which, upon dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind; and that we all have in us immortal souls, which, if we are good, shall go to a splendid entertainment with KAUTANTOWIT; but otherwise must wander about in restless horror for ever.

This was the miserable people which MR. ELIOT hoped to save.

The first step which he judged necessary to be taken, was to learn the Indian language, for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as inquire after the religion of the strangers now come into their country, much less would they so far imitate us as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be partakers of any spiritual advantage by us, unless we could first address them in a language of their own. So he hired a native to teach it him, and with a laborious care and skill reduced it into a Grammar. Having finished this, at the close he writes, ‘Prayers and pains, through faith in CHRIST JESUS, will do any thing!’ And being by his prayers and pains thus furnished, he set himself in the year 1646 to preach the Gospel of our LORD JESUS CHRIST among these desolate outcasts.

It remains that I lay before the world the remarkable conduct and success of this famous man in his great affair; and I shall endeavour to do it by Englishing and reprinting a letter sent a while since by my father, unto his learned correspondent, DR. LEUSDEN, at Utrecht. I shall make some annotations for the illustration of sundry memorable things therein.

‘WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED SIR,

‘YOUR letters were very grateful to me; by which I understand that you and others in your University of Utrecht desire to be informed concerning the converted

Indians in America : 'Take therefore a true account of them in a few words.

'It is above forty years since MR. JOHN ELIOT, Pastor of the Church at Roxburgh, (about a mile from Boston in New-England,) being warmed with a holy zeal of converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might more easily and successfully (*a*) open to them the mysteries of the Gospel; upon which account he has been (not undeservedly) called, The Apostle of the American Indians. This reverend person, not without great labour, translated the whole Bible into the Indian tongue; (*b*) he translated also several English treatises of Practical Divinity and Catechisms into their language. About twenty-six years ago, he gathered a Church of converted Indians in a town called (*c*) Natick. These Indians confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in CHRIST, and afterwards they and their children were baptized, and they were solemnly joined together in a Church-Covenant. The said MR. ELIOT was the first that administered the LORD'S Supper to them. The Pastor of that Church now is an Indian, his name is DANIEL. Besides this Church at Natick, among our inhabitants in the Massachuset's colony, there are four Indian assemblies, (*d*) where the Name of the true GOD and JESUS CHRIST is solemnly called upon. These Assemblies have some American Preachers. MR. ELIOT formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakened with labours and old age, being in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and preacheth not to the Indians oftener than once in two months.

'There is another Church, consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Mashippaug. The first pastor of that Church was an Englishman, who being skilful in the American language, preached the Gospel to them in their own tongue. (*e*) This English Pastor is dead; and, instead of him, that Church has an Indian Preacher.

'There are, besides that, five assemblies of Indians

professing the name of CHRIST, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian Preachers. (f) JOHN COTTON, Pastor of the Church at Plymouth, preaches in their own language to the last five mentioned congregations every week. Moreover, of the inhabitants of Saconet, in Plymouth Colony, there is a great congregation of those, who, for distinction's sake, are called *Praying Indians*, because they pray to GOD in CHRIST.

Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, there are six assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian Preachers. SAMUEL TREAT, Pastor of a Church at Eastham, preacheth to those congregations in their own language. There are likewise, among the islanders of Nantucket, a Church, with a Pastor who was lately an Heathen, and several meetings of catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is also another island, about seven leagues long, called Martha's Vineyard, where are two American Churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian, as Pastor, called HIACOOMS. JOHN HIACOOMS, son of the said Indian Pastor, also preacheth the Gospel to his countrymen. In another Church in that place, JOHN TOCKINOSH, a converted Indian, teaches. In these Churches, Ruling Elders of the Indians are joined to the Pastors. The Pastors were chosen by the people, and when they had fasted and prayed, MR. ELIOT and MR. COTTON laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the congregations (g) of the converted Indians, every LORD's-day, meet together; the Pastor or Preacher always begins with prayer; when the Ruler of the Assembly has ended prayer, the whole congregation of Indians praise GOD with singing. Some of them are excellent singers. After the Psalm, he that preaches reads a place of Scripture, and expounds it; then another prayer to GOD in the name of CHRIST, concludes the whole service. Thus do they meet together twice every LORD's-day. Upon extraordinary occasions, they solemnly set apart whole days,

either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying with great fervour of mind.

‘Before the English came into these coasts, these barbarous nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is, that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms. He that calls upon the Most Holy Name of God, says JEHOVAH, or GOD, or LORD; and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us.

‘In short, there are six Churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, professing the Name of CHRIST. Of the Indians there are four and twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God; and besides these, there are four English Ministers who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue.

‘Farewell, worthy Sir! The LORD preserve your health for the benefit of your country, his Church, and of learning.

‘Your’s ever,

‘INCREASE MATHER.’

‘*Boston in New-England, July 12, 1687.*’

ANNOTATIONS ON THE PRECEDING LETTER.

(a) MR. ELIOT’S *way of opening the Mysteries of the Gospel to our Indians.*

It was in the year 1646, that MR. ELIOT, accompanied by three more, gave a visit to an Assembly of Indians, of whom he desired a meeting at such a time and place, that he might lay before them the things of their eternal peace. After a serious prayer he gave them a sermon, which continued about an hour and a quarter, and contained the principal articles of the Christian Religion, applying all to the condition of the Indians present. Having done, he asked of them, whether they understood? and with a general reply, they answered, ‘They understood all. He

then began what was his usual method afterwards ; that is, he caused them to propound such questions as they pleased, and he gave answers to them all. Their questions would often, though not always, refer to what he had newly preached ; and he this way not only made a proof of their profiting by his Ministry, but also gave an edge to what he delivered to them. Some of their questions required a good measure of learning in the Minister concerned with them ; but this MR. ELIOT wanted not. He would also put proper questions to them ; and at one of his first exercises with them, he made the young ones capable of regarding these three questions :

1. Who made you, and all the world ?
2. Who do you look should save you from sin and hell ?
3. How many Commandments has the LORD given you to keep ?

He began with them upon such principles as they themselves had already some notion of ; such as that of an heaven for good, and a hell for bad people, when they died. It broke his heart within him, to see what floods of tears fell from the eyes of several among these savages, at the first addresses which he made unto them ; yea, from the very worst of them all.

He was very inquisitive to learn who were the *Powaws*, that is, the sorcerers and seducers, that maintained the worship of the Devil in any of their societies ; and having, in one of his first journies to them, found one of these wretches, he made the Indian come to him, and said, ‘ Whether do you suppose God, or *Chepian*, (that is, the Devil,) to be the Author of all good ?’ The Conjuror answered, GOD. Upon this he added, with a stern countenance, ‘ Why do you pray to *Chepian* then ?’ And the poor man was not able to stand or speak before him, but made promises of reformation.

The text which he first preached upon, was that in *Ezekiel* xxxvii. 9, 10 : “ That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came, and the dry bones lived.” Having thus entered upon the teaching of these poor creatures, it is

incredible how much time, toil, and hardship he underwent in the prosecution of this undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tiresome journies he endured; and how many terrible dangers he had experience of. If you briefly would know what he felt, and what carried him through all, take it in his own words, in a letter to MR. WINSLOW, ‘I have not been dry night nor day, from the third day of the week to the sixth, but so travelled; at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But GOD steps in, and helps. I have considered the word of GOD, in 2 *Tim.* ii. 3, “Endure hardship as a good soldier of CHRIST.”’

(b) *His translating the Bible, and other Books of Piety into the Indian Tongue.*

ONE of his remarkable cares for these illiterate Indians, was to bring them into the use of schools and books. He quickly procured the benefit of schools for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them quickly came to read and write, but also several arrived to a liberal education in our College, and one or two of them took their Degree with the rest of our Graduates. And for books, it was his chief desire that the sacred Scriptures might not be hidden from them; very hateful and hellish did the policy of Popery appear to him on this account. He could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his estate, sooner than have lost a leaf of it; and he knew it would be of use to the Indians too; he, therefore, with vast labour, translated the Holy Bible into the Indian language. A little Indian library quickly followed; for, besides Primers, and Grammars, and some other compositions, we quickly had the *Practice of Piety* in the Indian tongue, and MR. RICHARD BAXTER'S *Call to the Unconverted*; he also translated some of MR. SHEPHERD'S Compositions, and such Catechisms likewise as there was occasion for.

(c) His gathering of a Church at Natick.

THE Indians that had felt the impressions of his Ministry, were quickly distinguished by the name of *Praying Indians*; and these praying Indians as quickly were for a more decent and English way of living, and they desired a more fixed habitation. At several places did they now combine and settle; but the place of greatest name among their towns, is that of Natick.

Here it was, that in the year 1651, those that had heretofore lived like the wild beasts in the wilderness, compacted themselves into a town, and applied themselves to the forming their civil Government. Our General Court, notwithstanding their exact study to keep these Indians sensible of their being subject to the English empire, yet allowed them their smaller Courts, wherein they might govern their smaller concerns after their own particular modes, and might have their town-orders (if I may call them so) peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto, MR. ELIOT on a solemn Fast made a public vow, 'That seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any forms of Government, he would instruct them in such a form as we had written in the word of GOD, that so they might be a people in all things ruled by the LORD.' Accordingly, he expounded unto them the eighteenth chapter of *Exodus*; and then they chose Rulers of hundreds, of fifties, of tens, and therewithal entered into this Covenant:

'We are the sons of ADAM; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of the LORD beginneth to find us again; therefore, the grace of CHRIST helping us, we do give ourselves and our children unto GOD, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs; the LORD is our Judge, the LORD is our Lawgiver, the LORD is our King. He will save us; and the wisdom which GOD has taught us in his Book shall guide us. O JEHOVAH! teach us wisdom; send thy SPIRIT into our hearts; take us to be thy people, and let us take Thee to be our GOD.'

The little towns of these Indians being pitched upon this

foundation, they utterly abandoned that polygamy which had heretofore been common among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities; they next began to lament after the establishment of a Church-order among them, and after the several ordinances and privileges of a Church Communion.

The Churches of New-England have usually been very strict in their admissions into Church-fellowship, and required very signal demonstrations of a repenting and believing soul, before they thought men fit subjects to be entrusted with the rights of "the kingdom of Heaven." But they seemed rather to augment than abate their usual strictness, when the examination of the Indians was to be performed. A day was therefore set apart, which they called *Natootamultenicusuk*, or, a day of asking questions, when the Ministers of the adjacent Churches, assisted with the best interpreters that could be had, publicly examined a good number of these Indians, about their attainments both in knowledge and virtue. And, notwithstanding the great satisfaction then received, our Churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, the Indians were afterwards called in considerable assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open confession of their faith in God and CHRIST, and of the efficacy which his word had had upon them.

I need pass no further censure upon them, than what is given by my Grandfather, the well-known RICHARD MATHER, in an epistle of his, published on this occasion; 'There is so much of God's work among them, that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea, a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name JEHOVAH, in the mediation of JESUS CHRIST; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God, confessing the name of CHRIST JESUS, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual!

And though they spoke in a language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned with such grave and sober countenance, with such comely reverence in their gesture and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with the holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts.’

At length they entered (as our Churches do) into an holy Covenant, wherein they gave themselves first unto the LORD, and then unto one another, to attend the rules, and helps, and expect the blessings of the everlasting Gospel; and MR. ELIOT administered first Baptism, and then the Supper of the LORD unto them.

(d) *The Hinderances that the Devil gave unto him.*

WE find four assemblies of praying Indians, besides that of Natick, in our neighbourhood: But why no more? Not because MR. ELIOT was wanting in his labours, but because many of the Infidels would not receive the Gospel of Salvation. In one of his letters, I find him giving this report, ‘Lynn-Indians are all naught, save one, who sometimes comes to hear the word; the reason is, principally, because their Sachim is naught, and careth not to pray to God.’ Indeed the Sachims, or the Princes of the Indians, generally did all they could that their subjects might not entertain the Gospel; the Devils having the Sachims on their side, thereby kept their possession of the people. Their Pawaws, or Clergymen, did much to maintain the interest of the Devils in this wilderness; those “children of the Devil, and enemies of all righteousness, did not cease to pervert the right ways of the LORD;” but the Sachims did more towards it, for they would presently raise a storm of persecution upon any of their vassals that should pray to the eternal God. The ground of this conduct in them, was a fear that religion would abridge them of the tyranny they had been used to: They always, like the Devil, held their people in the most absolute servitude;

and ruled by no law, but their own will. Some of them had the impudence to address the English, that no motions about the Christian religion might ever be made to them; and MR. ELIOT sometimes in the wilderness, without the company or assistance of any other Englishman, has been treated in a very barbarous manner by some of those tyrants; but GOD inspired him with so much resolution as to tell them, ‘I am about the work of the great GOD, and my GOD is with me; so that I fear neither you, nor all the Sachims in the country; I will go on, and do you touch me if you dare!’ Upon which the stoutest of them shrunk before him. And one of them he at length conquered by preaching to him a sermon upon the temptations of our LORD; particularly the temptations fetched from the kingdoms and glories of the world.

The little kingdoms and glories of the great men among the Indians, were a powerful obstacle to the success of MR. ELIOT’S ministry; and it is observable, that several of those nations which thus refused the Gospel, quickly after began an unjust and bloody war upon the English, which issued in their utter extirpation from the face of GOD’S earth. It was particularly remarked of PHILIP, the ring-leader of the most calamitous war that ever they made upon us; MR. ELIOT made a tender of salvation to that King, but PHILIP entertained it with contempt and anger, and after the Indian mode of joining signs with words, he took a button upon the coat of the reverend man, adding, ‘That he cared for his Gospel, just as much as he cared for that.’ The world has heard what a terrible ruin soon came upon that woful creature, and upon all his people. And MR. SAMUEL LEE is now Pastor to an English congregation, sounding the praises of heaven, upon that very spot of ground, where PHILIP and his Indians were lately worshipping the Devil.

Sometimes the more immediate hand of GOD, by cutting off the principal opposers of the Gospel among the Indians, made way for MR. ELIOT’S Ministry. An association of profane Indians near Weymouth, set themselves to deter

the neighbour Indians from the "right ways of the LORD:" But GOD quickly sent the small-pox, which like a plague swept them away, and thereby engaged the rest to himself. One attempt made by the Devil, to prejudice the Pagans against the Gospel, had something in it extraordinary: While MR. ELIOT was preaching CHRIST to the other Indians, a demon appeared to a Prince of the Eastern-Indians, in a shape that had some resemblance of MR. ELIOT, or of an English Minister, pretending to be 'the Englishman's god.' The spectre commanded him, 'To forbear the drinking of rum, and to observe the Sabbath-day, and to deal justly with his neighbours;' all which things had been inculcated in MR. ELIOT's Ministry; promising therewith unto him, 'That if he did so, at his death his soul should ascend to a happy place; otherwise descend to miseries:' But the apparition all the while never said one word about CHRIST, which was the main subject of MR. ELIOT's Ministry. The Sachim received such an impression from the apparition, that he dealt justly with all men, except in the cruelties he afterwards committed on the English in our wars; he kept the Sabbath-day like a Fast, frequently attending our congregations; he would not meddle with any rum, though usually his countrymen had rather die than undergo such a piece of self-denial. At last, and not long since, this demon appeared again to this Pagan, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found a fair opportunity, and hanged himself. It is easy to see what a stumbling-block was here laid before the miserable Indians.

(e) *The Indian Churches at Mashippaug, and elsewhere.*

THE same spirit which acted Mr. ELIOT, quickly inspired others elsewhere, to prosecute the work of rescuing the poor Indians out of their worse than Egyptian dark-

ness. One of these was MR. RICHARD BOURN, who soon saw a great effect of his labours.

In the year 1666, MR. ELIOT, accompanied by the Governor and several Magistrates and Ministers of Plymouth Colony, procured a vast assembly at Mashippaug; and there a good number of Indians made confessions touching the knowledge and belief, and regeneration of their souls, with such understanding and affection, as was extremely grateful to his pious auditory. Afterwards they chose MR. BOURN to be their Pastor; who was then by MR. ELIOT and MR. COTTON ordained unto that office.

From hence MR. ELIOT and MR. COTTON went over to an island called Martha's Vineyard, where GOD had so succeeded the honest labours of some, and particularly of the Mayhews, that a church was gathered.

This church, after fasting and prayer, chose one HIACOOMS to be their Pastor, JOHN TOCKINOSH, an able and discreet Christian to be their Teacher; JOSHUA MUMMEE-CHEEGS and JOHN NANASO to be ruling elders; and these were then ordained by MR. ELIOT and MR. COTTON thereunto. Distance of habitation caused this one church by mutual agreement afterwards to become two; the Pastor and one ruling Elder taking one part, and the Teacher and one ruling Elder another. At Nantucket, another adjacent island, was another church of Indians quickly gathered, who chose an Indian, JOHN GIBBS, to be their Minister. These churches are so exact in their admission, and so solemn in their discipline, and so serious in their communion, that some of the Christian English in the neighbourhood, which would have been loath to have mixed with them in a civil relation, yet have gladly done it in a sacred one.

HIACOOMS was a great instrument of bringing his Pagan neighbours to a saving acquaintance with CHRIST, and GOD gave him the honour not only of doing much for some, but also of suffering much from others of those savages. Once particularly, this HIACOOMS received a cruel blow from an Indian Prince, who, if some English had not been there,

would have killed him for praying to God. And afterwards he gave this account of his trial in it; ‘ I have two hands; I had one hand for injuries, and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.’

Moreover, the Powaws used to abuse the Praying Indians at such a rate, as terrified others from joining with them; but once, when those witches were bragging that they could kill all the Praying Indians, HIACOOMS replied, ‘ Let all the Powaws in the island come together, I will venture myself into the midst of them; let them use all their witchcrafts, with the help of God I will tread upon them all.’ By this courage he silenced the Powaws; at the same time also he heartened the people at such a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them ever harm this eminent Confessor afterwards, nor indeed any proselyte which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, it was observed after this, that they rather killed than cured all such as would yet use their enchantments for help against their sicknesses.

(f) *Of MR. ELIOT'S Fellow-labourers in the Indian Work.*

So little was the soul of MR. ELIOT infected with envy, that he longed for nothing more than fellow-labourers. He made his cries both to God and man for more labourers to be thrust forth into the Indian harvest; and indeed it was a harvest of so few secular advantages, that it must be nothing less than a Divine thrust which could make any one to labour in it. He saw the answer of his prayers, in the vigorous attempts made by several other worthy Preachers of the Gospel. At the writing of my Father's letter there were four; but the number of them increases apace among us. At Martha's Vineyard, old MR. MAYHEW, and several of his sons, or grandsons, have done very worthily for the souls of the Indians. There were, fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred seals of their Ministry upon that one island. In Connecticut, MR. FITCH has made noble essays towards the conversion of the Indians;

but the Prince he has to deal with, being an obstinate infidel, gives unhappy hinderances to the successes of his Ministry; and MR. PIERSON has in that colony deserved well upon the same account. In Massachusetts, we see at this day, MR. DANIEL GOOKIN, MR. PETER THATCHER, MR. GRINDAL RAWSON, all of them hard at work, to turn these poor creatures "from darkness to light, and from SATAN to GOD." In Plymouth, we have MR. SAMUEL TREAT laying out himself to save this generation; and there is one MR. TUPPER, who uses his laudable endeavours for the instruction of them.

Such as these are the persons whom MR. ELIOT left engaged in the Indian work, when he departed from his employment to his recompence.

(g) The Exercises performed in the Indian Congregations.

My Father's account of the exercises performed in the Indian congregations, will tell us what a blessed fruit MR. ELIOT saw of his labours, before he went to those rewards which God had reserved in heaven for him. Some of the Indians quickly built for themselves large Meeting-houses, after the English mode, in which they attended the "things of the kingdom of heaven:" And some of the English were helpful to them on this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that learned, pious, and charitable gentleman, MR. SAMUEL SEWAL, who, at his own charge, built a Meeting-house for one of the Indian congregations.

It only remains that I touch upon the worship which is used by the Indians.

And, first, the very name of Praying Indians will assure us that prayer is one: And they pray with much pertinence and enlargement, and pour out their souls before the God of Heaven.

Their preaching has much of MR. ELIOT, and therefore much of Scripture; but perhaps more of the Christian than of the scholar in it. I know not how to describe it better, than by reciting the heads of a sermon, uttered by

an Indian, on a day of humiliation kept by them, at a time when great rains had given much damage to their fruits and fields. It was on this wise: 'A little I shall say, according to that little I know.'

GENESIS viii. 20, 21.

“ And NOAH built an Ark unto JEHOVAH ; and he took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. And the LORD smelled a sweet savour, and the LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground.”

‘ IN that NOAH sacrificed, he showed himself thankful ; in that NOAH worshipped, he showed himself godly ; in that he offered clean beasts, he showed that GOD is an holy GOD ; and all that come to GOD must be pure and clean. Know, that we must, by repentance, purge ourselves ; which is the work we are to do this day.

‘ NOAH sacrificed, and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what sacrifices have we now to offer ? I shall answer by that in *Psalm* iv. 5 : “ Offer to GOD the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the LORD.” These are the true spiritual sacrifices which GOD required at our hands, “ the sacrifices of righteousness ;” that is, we must look to our hearts and ways, that they be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to GOD when we worship him. But if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted, our services will be stark naught. Again, “ we are to put our trust in the LORD.” Who else is there for us to trust in ? We must believe in the Word of GOD. If we doubt of GOD, or doubt of his Word, our sacrifices are little worth ; but if we trust steadfastly in GOD, our sacrifices will be good.

‘ Once more, what sacrifices must we offer ? My answer is, we must offer such as ABRAHAM offered : And what a sacrifice was that ! We are told, in *Gen.* xxii. 12, “ Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld

thy son, thy only son from me." It seems he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered that son to God; and so God said, "I know thou fearest me." Behold a sacrifice in deed and in truth! Such an one must we offer: Only, God requires not us to sacrifice our sons, but our sins, our dearest sins. God calls us this day to part with all sins, though never so beloved; and we must not withhold any of them from him. If we will not part with all, the sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such sins as we love best, and it will be a good sacrifice.

'God "smelt a sweet savour in NOAH'S sacrifice;" and so will God receive our sacrifices, when we worship him aright. But how did God manifest his acceptance of NOAH'S offering? It was by promising to drown the world no more, but give us fruitful seasons. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly drown us; and he has drowned, and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of our hay, and threatens to kill our cattle. It is for this that we fast and pray this day. Let us then offer a clean and pure sacrifice, as NOAH did; so God will smell a savour of rest, and He will withhold the rain, and bless us with such fruitful seasons, as we are desiring of Him.'

MR. ELIOT'S *Death*.

WHEN he drew near his end, he grew more heavenly, more divine, and scented more of the spicy country on which he was ready to put ashore. The historian observes of TIBERIUS, that when his life and strength were going from him, his vice yet remained with him; on the contrary, the grace of this excellent man rather increased than abated, when every thing else was dying with him. It is too usual with old men, that when they are past work, they are least sensible of their inabilities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in any part of their office. But MR. ELIOT was of a quite contrary temper; for finding

many months before his expiration, that he had not strength enough to edify his congregation with public prayers and sermons, he importuned his people with some impatience to call another Minister; professing himself unable to die with comfort, until he could see a good successor fixed among them. For this cause he also cried mightily unto the LORD JESUS, our ascended LORD, that he would give such a gift unto Roxbury; and he sometimes called his whole town together, to join with him in a Fast for such a blessing. As the return of their supplications, our LORD quickly bestowed upon them, a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity, and experience; and one whom the Church of Roxbury hopes to find, "a Pastor after God's own heart."

It was MR. NEHEMIAH WALTER, who being by the unanimous choice of the Church there, become the Pastor of Roxbury, immediately found the venerable MR. ELIOT embracing and cherishing him, with the tender affections of a father. The good old man, like old AARON, as it were, disrobed himself with an unspeakable satisfaction, when he beheld his garments put upon a son so dear to him. After this, he for a year or two before his translation, could scarce be persuaded to any public service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, 'It would be a wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supplied so much to their advantage otherwise.' If I mistake not, the last sermon that ever he preached, was on a public Fast; when he fed his people with a very useful exposition upon the eighty third Psalm; and concluded with an apology, begging his hearers to pardon the poorness, and meanness, and brokenness (as he called it) of his meditations; but added he, 'My dear brother here, will by and by mend all.'

But although he thus dismissed himself, as one so near the age of ninety might well have done, from his public labours; yet he would not give over his endeavours, in a more private sphere, "to do good unto all." He had always been an enemy to idleness; any one that should look

into the little diary that he kept, would see that there was with him, no day without a line. And now he grew old, he was desirous that his work should hold pace with his life; the less time he saw left, the less he was willing to have lost. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpose, in any service for GOD; and sometimes he would say, with an air peculiar to himself, ‘I wonder for what the LORD JESUS CHRIST lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!’ And yet he could not forbear essaying to do something for his blessed LORD; wherefore, thought he, “What shall I do?” And he then conceived, that though the English could not be benefited by any gifts which he now fancied himself to have only the ruins of, yet who can tell but the Negroes might! He had long lamented it with a bleeding and a burning passion, that the English used their Negroes as horses or oxen, and that so little care was taken about their immortal souls. He looked upon it as a prodigy, that any, wearing the name of Christians, should so much have the heart of Devils in them, as to prevent the instructions of the poor Blacks, and confine the souls of these miserable slaves to a destroying ignorance, merely for fear of thereby losing the benefit of their vassalage; but now he made a motion to the English within two or three miles of him, that at such a time and place they would send their Negroes once a week to him; for he would then catechise them, and enlighten them to the utmost of his power in the things of their everlasting peace; however, he did not live to make much progress in this undertaking.

At length when he was able to do little without doors, he tried to do something within; and one thing was this: A young boy in the neighbourhood had in his infancy fallen into a fire, so as to burn himself into a perfect blindness; this boy being now grown to some bigness, the good old man took him home to his house, with some intentions to make a scholar of him. He first informed him in the Scripture, in which the boy so profited, that in a little time he could repeat many whole chapters; and if any other in

reading missed a word, he would mind them of it; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become easy to the lad; but having his own eyes closed by death, he could no longer help the poor child.

While he was thus making his retreat out of this evil world, his discourses from time to time ran upon "the coming of the LORD JESUS CHRIST;" it was the theme which he still had recourse unto, and we were sure to have something of this, whatever other subject he were upon. On this he talked, of this he prayed, for this he longed; and especially when any bad news arrived, his usual reflection would be, 'Behold some of the clouds in which we must look for the coming of the SON of Man.' At last, his LORD, for whom he had been long wishing, came and fetched him away into his joy.

He fell into some languishings, attended with a fever, which in a few days brought him into the pangs (may I say? or joys) of death; and while he lay in these, MR. WALTER coming to him, he said, 'Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul: Pray, retire to my study for me, and give me leave to be gone;' meaning, that he should not, by petitions to heaven for his life, detain him here. It was in these languishings, that speaking about the work of the Gospel among the Indians, he did after this manner express himself, 'There is a cloud (said he) a dark cloud upon the work of the Gospel among the poor Indians: The LORD revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work which I have been doing much, and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recall that word, My doings: Alas, they have been poor, and small, and lean doings, and I will be the man that shall throw the first stone at them all.'

It has been observed, that they who have spoken many considerable things in their lives, usually speak few at their deaths. But it was otherwise with MR. ELIOT, who after much speech of and for God in his life-time, uttered some things little short of oracles on his death-bed; which, it is a thousand pities, were not more exactly regarded and

recorded. The vulgar error of the signal sweetness in the song of the dying swan, was a very truth in our expiring ELIOT: His last breath was articulated into none but very gracious notes; one of the last whereof, was, 'Welcome Joy!' And at last it went away, calling upon the standers-by, 'Pray, pray, pray!', which was the thing in which so vast a portion of it had been before employed.

This was the peace, in the end of this perfect and upright man; thus was there another star fetched away to be placed among the rest that the third heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleasant fear, that the old saints of his acquaintance, especially those two dearest neighbours of his, COTTON of Boston, and MATHER of Dorchester, which were got safe to heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he staid so long behind them. But they are now together with the blessed JESUS, "beholding his glory," and celebrating the high praises of "Him that has called them into his marvellous light."

END OF VOL. XXVIII

