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# NO PEACE WITH ROME.

Wherein is proved, that, as terms  
now stand, there can be *no reconciliation*  
*of the Reformed Religion with the*  
*Romish*: and that the Ro-  
manists are in all  
the Fault.

ALSO, THE

## Remedy of Discontentment:

Or, a Treatise of Contentation  
in whatsoever condition: fit for these sad  
and troubled times.

By JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

Lord Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards Bishop  
of Norwich.

LONDON:

Reprinted for WILLIAM PICKERING,  
1852.



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TO THE  
TRUE, SOUND, AND HOLY  
CHURCH OF GOD,

WHERESOEVER WARFARING  
UPON EARTH.

**I** *PRESENT* unto thee, Dear and Holy Mother, this poor unworthy token of my love and loyalty; the not-so-pleasing, as true report of thy future broils. How much gladder should I have been, if thy Spouse had so thought good, to have been the messenger of thy peace and security! But, since the Great and Wise Moderator of All Things hath thought a palm fitter for thee than an olive, it is for thee to think of victory, not of rest. Thou shalt once triumph in heaven, and rest for all; but, in the mean time, here is nothing to be looked for but ambushes, skirmishes, tumults. And, how cheerfully must thou needs both bear and overcome all oppositions, that art not more sure of the necessity of thy

warfare, than of the happiness of thy success ; whilst thou seest thy Glorious Husband not only the leader of this field, but a most just and merciful crowner of thy conquest ! Certainly, it is as impossible for thee to miscarry, as to sit still, and not fight. Behold, all the forces of heaven and earth conspire ; and rejoice to come voluntaries unto this holy war of thine ; and promise thee a most happy issue. Address thyself, therefore, as thou art wont, courageously to this work of God : but, remember, first, to enquire, as thou dost, of Abel. Spare no tears to thy desperate Sister ; now thine enemy : and, calling heaven and earth to witness, upon thy knees beseech and entreat her, by her own soul, and by the dear bowels of Christ, by those precious drops of his bloody sweat, by that common price of our eternal redemption, that she would, at the last, return to herself, and that good disposition which she hath now too long abandoned ; that she would forbear, any more, as I fear she hath hithertowilfully done, to fight against God. But, if she shall still persist to stop her ears against thee, and to harden herself in rebellion against

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*her God ; forget, if thou canst, who she once was ; and fly mercilessly upon this daughter of Belial, that vaunts herself proudly in the glory of her munition. Go, smite, destroy, conquer, and reign, as the worthy partner of thy Husband's throne. For me, I shall, in the mean time, be as one of thy rude trumpets, whose noise shall both awaken thy courage unto this spiritual battle, and whose joyful gratulations shall, after thy rich spoils, applaud thy happy return in the day of thy victory. J. H.*

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*The opinion of George Cassander, a learned Papist, and grave divine : that, by two several Emperors, Ferdinand and Maximilian, was set on work to compose these quarrels of the Church. In his Consultation ; pp. 56 and 57.*

**Y**ET I cannot deny, but that, in the beginning, many, out of a godly zeal and care, were driven to a sharp and severe reproof of certain manifest abuses ; and that the principal cause of this calamity and dis-

traction of the Church is to be laid upon those, which, being puffed up with a vain insolent conceit of their ecclesiastical power, proudly and scornfully contemned and rejected them, which did rightly and modestly admonish their reformation. Wherefore my opinion is, that the Church can never hope for any firm peace, unless they make the beginning, which have given the cause of the distraction : that is, unless those, which are in place of Ecclesiastical Government, will be content to remit something of their too much rigour, and yield somewhat to the peace of the Church ; and, hearkening unto the earnest prayers and admonitions of many godly men, will set themselves to correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of Divine Scriptures, and of the Ancient Church from which they have swerved.



# NO PEACE WITH ROME.

## INTRODUCTION.

### SECT. 1.

#### *The State of the now Roman Church.*

**H**ERE is no one question doth so rack the minds of men at this day, as this of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The infancy of the Church was sore and long vexed with heresies of a higher nature, concerning God, concerning Christ, which still struck at the head; but her vigorous and hoary age is exercised with a slighter quarrel, concerning ourselves; which yet raiseth up the greater broils every where, by how much every man naturally loves himself more than God.

Not to meddle with any foreign

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<sup>1</sup> G. Cassand. l. de Consult. Art. 7. *Ex articulo hoc de Ecclesiâ, omnis hæc distractio, quæ hodie est in Republicâ Christianâ, originem ducit.*

questions of this nature, too many seem unto me to misconceive the state of our Church, and the Romish, as if they had been always two: as if, from their first foundations, they had been sensibly severed in time and place; like to Babylon and Jerusalem, or those two famous cities opposed in St. Austin's learned discourse.<sup>2</sup>

Hence are those idle demands of some smattering questionists: Where our Church hath thus long hid itself: What year and day it came to light: In which age, that other Church lost itself: Why we have withdrawn ourselves no further from them: What is become of our forefathers: Which was the religion of the former world.

From hence have those sharp and rigorous censures passed on both sides; whether of novelty, or of the desperate condition of those souls which have departed out of our own way.

Alas! what monsters both of opinions and questions have risen hence; and have vexed, not their own authors only, for the Delphic Oracle said well, "It is fit a man should have as he doth:"<sup>3</sup> but, together with them, the

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<sup>2</sup> Aug. de Civit.

<sup>3</sup> Julian. Cæs. εἶκε πάθοι τὰ κ' ἐρεξε τ'

whole Church of God ! How many silly souls have splitted upon this rock ; which had never needed any votive monument of their wreck, if they had but learned to hold no other difference betwixt us and Rome, than must needs be granted, betwixt a Church miserably corrupted, and happily purged ; betwixt a sickly, languished, and dying Church, and one that is healthful, strong, and flourishing.

Neither therefore did that Valdeus of France,<sup>4</sup> nor Wickliffe of England, nor Jerome of Prague, nor Luther of Germany, ever go about to frame a new Church to themselves, which was not ; but only endeavoured, not without happy success, to cleanse, scour, restore, reform that Church which was, from that filthy soil, both of disorder and errors, wherewith it was shamefully blemished. All these rather desired to be accounted physicians to heal, than parents to beget a Church.

And the same have we carefully done, ever since ; and do seriously and ingenuously profess of ourselves at this day.

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*ἰθεῖα γένοιτο.* *Judicium si quis quæ fecit perferat, æquum est.*

<sup>4</sup> An. Dom. 1160.

Rome is alike to us, as it was of old to Jerome,<sup>5</sup> with Eugubium, Rhegium, Alexandria: save that this city is both more famous and more near us. Places do not vary either faith or title. What Church soever God shall call Daughter, we will call Sister: and so we safely may.

How many honest and chaste matrons have we known, that have been ashamed of a lewd sister; and have abhorred filthiness in one of their own blood! So it fareth now with us. Rome is overgone with heresy, with idolatry. Let her practise her whoredom at home, by herself: it was not for us, with the safeguard of our honesty, to dwell with such a partner.

Not only her wickedness hath thrust us out; but her violence. We yield, therefore; and sorrowfully complain, with the Prophet, *How is the faithful city become a harlot! It was full of judgment, and justice lodged therein; but now it is full of murderers. Thy silver is become dross, and thy wine is brewed with water; Isaiah i. 21, 22.*

Away with the imperious name of a Mother. We are all the same Church,

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<sup>5</sup> Hieron. Epist. ad Evagr.

by the virtue of our outward vocation, whosoever, all the world over, worship Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, and Saviour of the World; and profess the same common Creed.<sup>6</sup> Some of us do this more purely; others, more corruptly: in the mean time, we are all Christians; but sound Christians we are not.

But how harshly doth this sound to a weak reader, and more than seems to need reconciliation with itself, that the Church should be one; and yet cannot be reconciled! Certainly, yet so it is. The dignity of the outward form, which comprehends this unity in itself, avails nothing to grace, nothing to salvation, nothing to the soundness of doctrine. The net doth not straight make all to be fish, that it hath dragged together: ye shall find in it vile weeds; and whatsoever else, that devouring element hath disgorged.

The Church is, at once, one, in respect of the common principles of faith; and yet, in respect of consequences, and that rabble of opinions which they have raked together, so opposed, that it cannot, by any glue

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<sup>6</sup> Iren. l. i. c. 2, 3.

of concord, as Cyprian speaketh,<sup>7</sup> nor bond of unity, be conjoined. That, which Rome holds with us, makes it a Church: that, which it obtrudes upon us, makes it heretical. The truth of principles makes it one: the error and impiety of additions makes it irreconcilable.

Neither doth this late and spurious brood of traditions more oppose us, than it doth those very principles of religion, which the authors themselves desire to establish.

Look on the face, therefore, of the Roman Church, she is ours, and God's: look on her back, she is quite contrary, antichristian.

More plainly, for it is no disputing in metaphors, as Clemens said well, Rome doth both hold the foundation, and destroy it: she holds it directly, destroys it by consequent. In that she holds it, she is a True Church, howsoever imputed: in that she destroys it, whatever semblance she makes of piety and holiness she is a *Church of Malignants*.<sup>8</sup> If she did altogether hold it, she should be sound

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<sup>7</sup> Cypr. 1. iii. Ep. 13. *Nulla concordia glutine aut unitatis vinculo copulari possunt.*

<sup>8</sup> Ps. xxvi. 5. *ἐκκλησία πονηρευομένων.*

and orthodox : if altogether she destroyed it, she should be either no Church, or devilish : but, now that she professes to hold those things directly, which by inference of her consequences she closely overthrows, she is a truly visible Church, but an unsound. In what she holds the principles, we embrace her : in what she destroys them, we pity her error, and hate her obstinacy.

The common bond of Christianity never ties us to favour gross errors, so much as with silence. There is no such slavery in the dear name of a Sister, that it should bind us to give either aid or countenance to lewdness. *Have no such fellowship*, saith St. Paul, *but rather reprove* ; Eph. v. 11. So we have done ; both modestly and earnestly. The same is befallen us, which befel the blessed Apostle ; we are become their enemies, for telling the truth ; Gal. iv. 16.

Behold, now we are thrust out of door ; spat upon ; railed at ; and, when opportunity serves, persecuted with most curious torments : and, lest any mischief should be wanting, obstinacy is now, at last, added unto error ; and a cruel rage, arising from impatience : and now their wickedness began to

please them more, because it displeased us.

And what should we now do, in such a case ; we, the despised and rejected patrons of this spiritual chastity ? To let fall so just a cause, we might not ; unless we would cast off that God, who challenges this plea for only his. To yield and give in, were no other, than to betray the truth of God, and damn our own souls. No course remains, but this one ; and here is our only safety ; with all our courage and skill, to oppose the wicked paradoxes and idolatrous practices of the Romish Church, till either she be ashamed of herself, or repent that ever she was.

## SECT. 2.

### *The Commodities and Conditions of Peace.*

**B**EAUTIFUL is the name of Peace, as Hilary speaketh,<sup>1</sup> and truly sacred ; and such, as scarce savoureth of the earth. Neither did the Hebrews by any other term choose rather to express all happiness, and perfection

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<sup>1</sup> Hilar. cit. à Cal. de Verâ Pacific.

of living.<sup>2</sup> Neither is there any thing, which the angels did more gladly congratulate unto men,<sup>3</sup> or which Christ did more carefully bequeath,<sup>4</sup> or the apostles more earnestly enjoin.<sup>5</sup> How oft, and how vehemently, doth the Spirit entreat and command us to have peace !

“ But this,” thou sayest, “ is every man’s wish, to have peace : but what if peace will not be had ? ” Lo, then, St. James charges us *to make peace*,<sup>6</sup> by our endeavours, by our patience. “ Once made, and had ; what if it will not stay with us ? ” Then St. Paul bids, *to follow those things which concern peace* ; Rom. xiv. 19. “ What if it will needs away, and hide itself ? ” Yet then St. Peter commands *to follow*, and *enquire after it* ; 1 Pet. iii. 11. “ What if, once found, it refuse to come ; as Abraham’s servant presupposed of Rebekah ? ” Even then *study to be quiet*, saith St. Paul ; or, as the word implies, *be ambitious of peace* ; 1 Thess. iv. 11.

So let the Author of Peace love us, as we love peace. Who is there, that

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<sup>2</sup> Jud. vi. 23. τὸ εὐ ζῆν.    <sup>3</sup> Sam. xviii. 29.    <sup>4</sup> Jud. xix. 20.    <sup>5</sup> 1 Chron. xii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Luke ii. 14.    <sup>4</sup> John xiv. 27.

<sup>5</sup> εἰρηνευεῖν.    <sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. xiii. 11.

<sup>6</sup> ποιεῖν εἰρήνην. James iii. 18.

would not rather wish, with Constantine, quiet days, and nights free from care and vexation ?<sup>7</sup> It was a speech, worthy of an Emperor and a Christian, that fell from Jovianus, about that querulous libel of the Macedonians: “ I hate contention ; and those, that are inclined to concord, I love and reverence.”<sup>8</sup>

Our adversaries would make us believe they profess and desire no less, with an equal zeal of charity and agreement. God be judge betwixt us both ; and, whethersoever persists to hate peace, let him perish from the face of God and his holy angels. Yea, that this imprecation may be needless, he is already perished : for, as Cyprian, according to his wont, gravely, “ They cannot come to the reward of peace, which have broken the peace of God, with the fury of discord.”<sup>9</sup>

And, surely, what but the flames of hell can determine the ambition of these fiery and boiling spirits ? Basil observes well,<sup>10</sup> That God’s fire gave

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<sup>7</sup> Socr. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Socr. l. iii. c. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Cypr. de Simplic. Præl. *Ad pacis præmium venire non possunt, qui pacem Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt.*

<sup>10</sup> In Ps. 28.

light, and burned not : contrarily, the fire of hell burneth without light ; and, therefore, is well worthy of those, who, despising the light of truth, delight themselves in the flames of contentions.

Those are the true haters of peace, which do wilfully patronize errors contrary to the Christian Faith. So long as we must dwell by these tents of Kedar, we shall too justly complain, with the Psalmist, *I love peace ; but, in the mean while, they are bent to war ;* Ps. cxx. 5.

And, as for us, which profess ourselves the ingenuous clients of peace ; since we must needs fight, it is not for us to do nothing : for that blessed Choir of Angels, before their *Peace upon earth* well sung, *Glory to God in the highest heavens ;* Luke ii. 14 : and St. James describes the wisdom of God to be *first pure, then peaceable ;* James iii. 17 : and that Chosen Vessel implies no less, when, to his charge of peace, he adds, *if it be possible.*<sup>11</sup>

That is as impossible to every good man, which ought not to be done ; as that, which cannot be done. Neither, indeed, as the rule of lawyers

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<sup>11</sup> *Εἰ δυνατόν.* Rom. xii. 18.

runs, can we be said to be able to do that, which we cannot honestly do. *God, saith St. Paul, is not the author of confusion, but of peace.* It is a wicked peace, it is no peace, that necessarily breeds confusion. That peace is worthy of a defiance, which proclaims war with God. And, I would to God, that peace, which Rome either can perform or dare promise, were of any better, of any other nature.

Well, then: let it be our present task, carefully to discuss St. Paul's condition of possibility; and teach how vain it is, to hope that a true, holy, and safe peace can be either had or maintained with our present Romanists: whether we regard THE ADVERSE AND STUBBORN DISPOSITION OF THE ONE SIDE; or, THE NATURE OF THE MATTERS CONTROVERTED; or, lastly, THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF THOSE MEANS, WHEREBY ANY RECONCILIATION MAY BE WROUGHT.

These three shall be the limits, wherein this our, not unprofitable, nor yet unseasonable work, shall suffer itself to be bounded.

CHAP. I.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION,  
FROM THE OBSTINATE AND ADVERSE  
DISPOSITION OF THE ROMANISTS.

**A**ND, as for the first, I suppose we need not labour much. Indeed, God can easily make the wolf to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lodge with the kid; Is. xi. 6. How easy is it for him, so to soften the adamantine hearts of men, by bathing them in the blood of that Immaculate Lamb, that they should melt into pure love! But, as the times now are, it would be no less miraculous to find a Popish heart truly charitable to us, than to see the lions fawning upon Daniel.

Even where there is strife about indifferant things, there is necessarily required a conspiring of the minds of them which would be reconciled; neither is it enough, that one side is content, together with arms, to lay down hatred: and how will our Romanists endure this? Surely, that hatred of Eteocles to his brother, or that of Vatinus, is but mere love to this of Papists.

Alas! when, and where, are we not

spat upon, as the most desperately heretical enemies of the Church? Rome admits Jews into her bosom, from whose hands their Pope's Holiness disdains not to receive the book of the Law of God;<sup>1</sup> but Protestants she may not endure. That, of which Socrates complains,<sup>2</sup> as injuriously done by Theodosius, a Grecian Bishop, against the very Macedonian Heretics, is daily done by them against us. No Arians, no Circumcellion Heretics, were ever more cruel: and these idle fablers, in the mean time, slander us to the world, as guilty of the same outrageous proceedings against them.

What heresy is there in all times, which that Romulean wolf and her bawling clients are not wont to cast upon us? One while, we are the scholars of Simon Magus; because we do but once mention grace and salvation; for what have we else to do with that wicked sorcerer? another while, we are fetched from the cursed school of Eunomius; for that we attribute too much to faith; and yet no more, than that holy heretic St. Paul. One while, we are Pepuzians, that ascribe too much to women: then we are Origen-

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<sup>1</sup> *Sacr. Cer.* l. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Socr.* l. vii. c. 3.

ists ; for holding the image of God to be defaced in man : then, contrarily, Proclians ; for holding the sin of concupiscence not enough defaced. One while, we are the followers of Sabelius ; because, I think, we lived in the same age with Servetus : another while, of Eutiches ; because we lived in the time of Swinckfeldius ; for what business have we ever had else with those branded heretics ? We are Pelagians, one while ; for holding the wages of sin to be death : then we are Donatists ; for admitting none but the just into the Church of the elect. Sometimes we are Manichees ; for denying free-will : straight, we are Arians ; for refusing traditions : then, Novatians ; for taking away penance. Another while, we are Ærians ; for rejecting oblations for the dead, and fastings : then, Jovinianists ; for not allowing a slippery and vanishing faith : the followers of Vigilantius ; for disclaiming the adoration of relics : of Nestorius ; for disliking the asseveration of the sacramental bread. Now, we are Xenaites ; for demolishing of images : then, we are Lampetians ; for disallowing the servitude of idle vows.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Bellar. de Notis Eccles. l. iv. c. 9.—Nota

It matters not, whether the foul mouth of that hired strumpet accuse Timotheus the Presbyter, or Athanasius the Bishop, so that somebody be smitten. It matters not what be spoken, so it be malicious. That is fully resolved of, which Nazianzen hath:<sup>4</sup> “No man shall hold in the reins of a riotous and lawless tongue.” For, as Jerome saith<sup>5</sup> well, “it is the pastime of the wicked, to slander the good.” That, therefore, which was the solemn fashion of the Lindians, never to do service to their Hercules without railing; the same is too ordinary with these public heralds of our patience. “Our daily furnace,” as Austin speaks<sup>6</sup> wittily, “is our adversaries’ tongue.”

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Sexta sic accus. Luth. Cal. Brent. Bellar. ib. — *Re ipsâ Calvinistis in Angliâ mulier quædam est summus Sacerdos*: Bellar. Anno 1532. — Test. Surio apud Bell. l. i. de Chro. — Ibid. Hæres. 16. Zuingl. et Bucer. — Ibid. Hær. 9. Calv. l. iv. Instit. c. 1. sect. 7. Aug. Conf. art. 7. — Ibid. Hæres. 8. Luth. art. 36. Cal. Inst. l. ii. c. 2. — Ibid. Hæres. 10. — Ibid. Hæres. 6. cit. Cal. Inst. l. iv. c. 19. — Quær. reliq. ib. apud Bellar.

<sup>4</sup> Οὐδείς ὑφέξει τῆς γλωσσῆς αὐτονομίαν.

<sup>5</sup> *Bonos carpere malorum solatium est.* Hier. ad Theop. advers. Joh. Hier.

<sup>6</sup> *Quotidiana fornax nostra, adversariorum lingua.* Aug. Confes. l. x. c. 37.

How easily might I here unload whole carts of reproaches, that have been heaped together by the scurrilous parasites of Rome! What rivers of blood, what bonfires of worthy saints, might I here shew my reader! All these the world knows and feels too much.

And, as for those honest and good-natured men, which would needs undertake to be sticklers of these stripes, as Cassander, Fricius,<sup>7</sup> the Interimists, and that nameless Apologist of the French;<sup>8</sup> how ill have they sped on both parts! With whom it hath no otherwise fared, methinks, than with some fond shepherd, that thrusts himself betwixt two furious rams, running together in their full strength, and abides the shock of both. Neither may it ever succeed better to these kind Philistines, which will be bringing this ark of God into the house of Dagon.

And, for us, since we must needs be put to it, we shall not here, as it often falls out in other quarrels, strive to our loss. Abraham fared well, by

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<sup>7</sup> And. Fricius Modrevius lib. de Emen-  
dandâ Rep.

<sup>8</sup> Examen Pacifique de la Doctrine des  
Huguenots.

the dissensions of Lot: all the milk and honey of whole Palestine hereupon befall to him; whereof he should else have shared but the half. Doubtless, these contentions, through the goodness of God, shall enrich us with a great increase both of truth and glory.

It is not Cassander's speech<sup>9</sup> only, but every wise and honest man's, that the Creed is the common cognizance of our faith; and we all do, with one voice, willingly profess it.

Surely Theodoret, when he would, by a favourable report, allay the bitter contentions of those ancient Christians of Antioch, writes thus: "Both parts," saith he,<sup>10</sup> "made one and the same confession of their faith; for both maintained the Creed of the Nicene Council." And yet this position is spitefully handled by Cardinal Bellarmine; and can scarce draw breath, since his last stripes: "What care we," saith he,<sup>11</sup> "for the same Creed? Faith is not in words, but in the sense."

And, indeed, I remember what Ruf-

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<sup>9</sup> Lib. de Offic. Boni Viri.

<sup>10</sup> Theod. Hist. l. iii. c. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Bell. de Laicis. lib. iii. c. 19.

finus reports done by Arius. That worthy Constantine had charged him to write what faith he held: he delivered him a Creed; in words, ours; in sense, his own. And how right his wicked brood took after their father, in the ensuing times of the Church, let histories witness: sure I am, whosoever shall read the Creeds of their several sects, shall hardly fetch out any thing, which an orthodox censorer would think worthy of reproof. How oft do they yield Christ to be God; yea, God of God; and yet perfidiously reserve to themselves, in the mean time, that absurd conceit, that he was created *ex non entibus!*<sup>12</sup>

As, therefore, Severianus, the Syrian, in Theodoret, spake Greek as a Grecian, but pronounced it like a Syrian: so there may be many, which may speak truths, but pronounce them heretically. “For all heresies,” saith Irenæus;<sup>13</sup> “talk of one God, but mar him with their misconceits.” “Yea, for the most part, all heresies,” saith Chrysologus,<sup>14</sup> “set a face of the Tri-

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<sup>12</sup> Ἐξουκοντων. Ὁμοιουσιαστων.

<sup>13</sup> Iren. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Petr. Chrys. Ser. 109. *Trinitatem vocabulis mentiuntur.*

nity." To little purpose. It was not ill said of Gratian,<sup>15</sup> "That no man is to care for words, since that not the meaning should serve the words, but the words rather the meaning."

Let us grant all this, and more. Let it be said of the Creed, as Jerome said of the book of Job, that every word abounds with senses.<sup>16</sup> "There is no Divine Word," as Tertullian speaketh<sup>17</sup> wisely, "so dissolute and diffused, that only the words may be defended, and not the true meaning of the words set down." To put the Cardinal out of this needless fear, the proper and native sense of the Creed may be fetched out; and, I add yet more (except but that one article of Christ's descension into hell, which Ruffinus confesses he could not find, either in the Roman or Eastern Creeds) is openly confessed on both parts.

And yet, for all this, we are never the nearer to peace: for, from these common principles of faith, the subtle device of heretical pravity hath fetched strange and erroneous consequences, which, by their sophistical and obstinate handling, are now improved into

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<sup>15</sup> Decr. 22. q. 5. *Humanæ.*

<sup>16</sup> Hier. in Præf.      <sup>17</sup> Tert. de Præsc.

heresies; and dare now threaten, not only opposition, but death unto those very principles, from which they are raised.

Of this kind, are the most of those Romish opinions, which we undertake to censure in this discourse.

But, if, by the universal consent of all, it should appear that both word and sense are entire; that both the principles, and necessary conclusions thence deduced, are undeniably sound; "Yet," saith Bellarmin,<sup>18</sup> "there can be no peace with Lutherans." Let all the world know this, and wonder.

Our King (be it spoken to the envy of those which cannot emulate him, an incomparable Divine for a Prince, yea, a Prince of Divines, a king of men, and a wonder of kings, mighty both with his sceptre and his pen) going about, in that learned and ponderous Discourse, to clear himself from the aspersion of heresy, which that foul hand had unworthily cast upon him, professes solemnly and holily, that whatsoever is contained either in the Sacred Scriptures, or the Three Famous Creeds, or the Four First Ge-

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<sup>18</sup> *Nulla tamen pax cum Lutheranis. De Laicis, l. iii. c. 19. Sect. 4.*

neral Councils, that, he embraces with both arms ; that, he proclaims for his faith ; that, he will defend with his tongue, with his pen, with his sword ; in that, he will both live and die.<sup>19</sup>

Yea, but this is not enough, saith that great antagonist of princes :<sup>20</sup> for there are other points of faith, where-with religion is, now of late times, enlarged ; as transubstantiation, purgatory, the Pope's primacy : a whole dozen of these goodly articles hath the Tridentine Council created, in this decayed age of the world, lest the Fathers of Italy should seem to come short of the Apostles, and the Pope of Christ ; any parcel whereof, whosoever shall presume to call in question, is a heretic presently, and smells of the faggot.

And, how ordinarily is that laid in every dish, " That he cannot be a member of the Church, which withdraws his obedience from their Pope, the head of the Church." <sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> In Præfat. ad Imper. et Princip.

<sup>20</sup> Bell. Resp. ad Regem. *Non satis est ad hæreticum nomen fugiendum illa recipere, quæ Rex Anglorum recipere atque admittere se dicit.* p. 80. *Etiamsi novitia et nupera illa sint, si quis tamen ea neget, immunem ab hæresi non fore.* Bell. Resp. ad Regem. p. 98.

<sup>21</sup> Bell. l. de Laicis, ii. c. 19.

Neither is that any whit milder, which Gratian cites from Pope Nicholas the Second; "Whosoever goes about to infringe the privilege of the Roman Church, or derogates from her authority, is a heretic."<sup>22</sup>

But that is yet well worse, which the allowed Table of the Decree hath peremptorily broached:<sup>23</sup> "Whosoever obeys not the Pope's commandment, incurs the sin of idolatry;" or, (as Gregory the Seventh, from whom Gratian would seem to borrow this, which yet is not to be found in his Epistles) "of Paganism."

Whatsoever, therefore, Christ Jesus, whatsoever the Apostles, whatsoever the Councils and Fathers of the Primitive Church have commended to us to be believed, shall avail us little, neither can ever make us friends, unless we will be content to beslave our faith unto their Popeling.

And can they think we will look at Peace, upon such a condition? That hope were bold and foolish, that could expect this. Neither do they more scornfully cast us out of the bosom of

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<sup>22</sup> Dist. 22. *Omnes.*

<sup>23</sup> Margaritæ Decret. vel Tabula Martinia. In verb. *Inobedientia.*

their Church, for spitting at these Articles of Straw, which their vanity hath devised, than we can confidently condemn and execrate their presumption, which have so imperiously obtruded such trash as this upon the Church of God.

## CHAP. II.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION,  
FROM THE NATURE OF THE MAT-  
TERS CONTROVERTED.

## SECT. 1.

*From the Impuration or Corruption  
of the Romish Church.*

**B**UT, to leave this first head of our adversaries' indisposition to peace, say that the Papists could be content to hearken to an agreement, which I can never hope to see while Rome is itself; say they should seek it: yet, as things now stand, while they will not and we may not stir one inch from our station of judgment, God forbids, the truth debars our reconciliation. We dare not, whatsoever some kind-hearted mediators may persuade us, either divide Christ, or betray him with a kiss. The truth is on high:

“They may well ascend to us,” as Leo said of old;<sup>1</sup> “but for us to descend to them, is neither safe nor honest.”

First of all, how too plain is it, that THE ROMAN CHURCH IS PALPABLY DECLINED FROM THAT ANCIENT PURITY OF RELIGION, WHICH SHE ONCE PROFESSED! It is not more certain and sensible, that the City of Rome is descended from her seven hills to the Martian plains, that lie below them; or, that the spiteful heathens of old, as Eusebius reports,<sup>2</sup> turned the sacred monument of the tomb of Christ into the temple of their Venus.

What a cloud of witnesses have we, of this noted decay of that Church! yea, witnesses of their own!

To begin with that other sex. Hildegardis, a nun and a famous prophetess of her time, accuses the Apostolical Order of the utter extinguishing of religion amongst them: Matilda or Maud, who lived in the same age, censures them with common apostacy from the Christian Faith: and both of them, by some extraordinary revelation, clearly and directly prophesied of

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<sup>1</sup> Epist. ad Euph. Pell. cit. l. iii. de Laicis.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 25.

this religious and holy restoration of the Church, which our days see accomplished.<sup>3</sup> St. Brigit,<sup>4</sup> the foundress of the Order of St. Saviour, which was canonized<sup>5</sup> by Pope Urban, sticks not to teach openly in her writings, that the Pope doth "torment, yea, crucify the souls of the elect;"<sup>6</sup> and boldly foretells, that all his followers and abettors and whole clergy shall be cut off, and that his See shall sink down into the bottom of hell :<sup>7</sup> and this she doth so tartly and vehemently, that the Romanists of those times threatened and endeavoured to burn her alive. Robert, our Bishop of Lincoln, to whom the greatness of his head gave a homely but famous name,<sup>8</sup> whom Illyricus mis-nameth Rupertus, a worthy and peerless man in his age, durst, before the Pope's own face, openly accuse the pastors of his time to be the spoilers of the earth, the dispersers and devourers of God's flock, the utter

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<sup>3</sup> Anno 1170. Ex Loc. Com. Henr. Token. Illyric. Proph. Rhythmic.

<sup>4</sup> Vita S. Brig. Præfixa Revel. '

<sup>5</sup> Anno 1370.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. l. i. c. 41. *Cruciare, imò crucifigere electorum animas, &c.*

<sup>7</sup> Revel. Extr. c. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Grosseteste in Manusc. An. 1250.

wasters of the holy vineyard of God. That Carthusian of Coleyne,<sup>9</sup> which is said to have gathered that Book of the Bundle of Times,<sup>10</sup> complains that truth was then perished from the sons of men. Petrus de Aliaco, a Cardinal, confesses that the ancient Divines built up the Church, but the then present seducers destroyed it.<sup>11</sup> And unto these agree John de Rupescissa<sup>12</sup> a monk; Picus, earl of Mirandula;<sup>13</sup> Trithemius, the abbot; Laurence Valla; and those worthy lights of the Council of Basil, the Cardinal of Arles and Thomas de Corsellis.<sup>14</sup> But Nicholas Clemangis, the archdeacon of Bayeux, speaks nothing but stones and bullets; who, in a whole volume, hath freely painted out the corrupt estate of the Church:<sup>15</sup> neither did Dominicus, Bishop of Brixia, speak any whit more sparingly; who, even in those times, durst set before his book this title, "The Reformation of Rome:"<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Jo. Trevisa, translated into English.

<sup>10</sup> Habetur initio Polychron. Ranulph. in Manuscript. Anno 900.

<sup>11</sup> Artic. in Concil. Constant. editis 1535.

<sup>12</sup> Anno 1350. lib. Vade mecum.

<sup>13</sup> Lib. Advers. Ement. donat. Constant.

<sup>14</sup> Ænæas Syl. de Gest. Concil. Anno 1416.

<sup>15</sup> Ad Pium ii.

<sup>16</sup> Lib. Reform. Cur. Rom. Anno 1400.

to say nothing of Joachim; of Peter, of Ferrara, the lawyer; of the three Theodoricks; of Lyra, Petrarch, Gerson, Everard the Bishop of Salisburg, Erasmus, Cassander, Espencæus, the Jury of Cardinals selected by Paul the Third, (amongst which, Gasper Coteranus, James Sadolet, and our Cardinal Poole were, as they might, of eminent note) Alvarus Pelagius,<sup>17</sup> Savanarola<sup>18</sup> of Florence; and whomsoever those times yielded at once both learned and good. Even Pope Adrian himself, the Sixth of that name, while he instructs his legate in his message, censures the Church; and ingenuously complains, that all was gone to wreck and ruin.

What shall we then say to this? Can any man be so partial, as to think that so many saints of both sexes, prophets, prophetesses, monks, doctors, cardinals, popes, should, as Jerome speaks of the Luciferian heretics, merely devise these slanders to the disgrace of their holy mother? If any

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<sup>17</sup> Aventin. Annal. lib. vii.—Osiand. Con-  
fut. Thes. Coster.

<sup>18</sup> Jo. Mirandula, Marsil. Fecin. et Comi-  
neus report him to have been a prophet.—  
Espenc. in Tit.—Osiand. Papa non Papa.

man be so mad, he is well worthy to be ever deceived.

Indeed, Rome was once a holy city:<sup>19</sup> but now, as no less famous the other way, she is become a city of blood.<sup>20</sup> This grape is grown a dry raisin.<sup>21</sup> Neither did that good hermit, Antony, so justly say of his Alexandria, as we may now of Rome; "Woe to thee, thou strumpetly city, into which the devils out of all the rest of the world have assembled themselves."<sup>22</sup>

Certainly, therefore, so shameful and general a deformity could not but be discerned by our latter Papists; and, to avoid all shifts, we have gently and lovingly laid our finger upon these spots: but, in the mean time, how heinously have they taken it! and, as Ruffinus speaks<sup>23</sup> of Apollinaris the heretic, while they are transported with the vicious humour of contention, and will be crossing everything that is spoken, out of the vain ostentation of a strong wit, they have improved

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<sup>19</sup> Matt. iv. 5. πόλις ἁγία.

<sup>20</sup> עיר הדמים Ezek. xiv. 6, 9.

<sup>21</sup> Ἀσταφυλὶς σταφίς ἐστὶ. Theocrit. Idyl. κη.

<sup>22</sup> Hier. de Vitâ Pauli.

<sup>23</sup> Ruff. l. i. c. 20. *Dum contentionis vitio nimis aguntur, &c.*

their idle brabbles to heresies. Jerome said wittily;<sup>24</sup> "They use to wink and deny, which believe not that to be done, which they would not have done."

## SECT. 2.

### *Impossibility of Reconciliation arising from the wilful Fable of the Pope's Infallibility.*

**I**T is therefore a most lamentable and fearful case, that a Church, which, of her own favourites, is justly accused of many and dangerous errors, should block up against herself the way whereby she should return into the truth; and, as Francis à Victoria honestly complains,<sup>1</sup> should neither endure her own evils, nor their remedies. For, while she stands upon it, that she cannot err; and stubbornly challenges unto her chair a certain "IMPECCANCY OF JUDGMENT," that we may borrow a word from Tertulian;<sup>2</sup> what hope can now remain of

<sup>24</sup> Hier. Advers. Luciferianos.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. à Victoria Relect. quarta de Potestate Papæ et Concilii: Propos. duodecima: Sect. ultima. *Proventum est ad hunc talem statum, ubi nec mula nostra, nec remedia pati possumus.*

<sup>2</sup> *Judicii impeccantiam.*

recovering the truth? How are we now too saucy, that dare mutter ought against her! The first hope of health must needs be fetched from the sense and acknowledgment of the disease. That of the Epicure is common and true: "The beginning of recovery is the knowledge of the fault." "Thou must find thyself amiss," saith Seneca,<sup>3</sup> "ere thou canst amend thyself." Rome brags that she cannot be sick: what do we now talk of medicines for her? These Doctrinal Principles, as our Stapleton calls them, are they, from which a certain fatal necessity of erring must needs follow.

For, to what purpose is all this we do? If, upon the sentence of this Romish Oracle; for in the closet, or prison rather, of his breast, as Jerome objected to John of Jerusalem,<sup>4</sup> the Church is included; all things do so depend, that, whatsoever he shall determine must be received without all contradiction, and his decree can by no inferior means be repealed: in vain, do we wrangle for truth; in vain, have all those former Synods

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<sup>3</sup> Senec. Ep. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Epist. ad Pammach. de Error. Joh. Hierosol. *An tu solus Ecclesia?*

both met and defined; in vain, do we either teach or learn ought of any other master. Is it possible she should ever be drawn to remorse for her error, which eagerly defends that she cannot err? Either, therefore, let our Papists suffer this vain opinion of Infallibility to be pulled up by the very roots out of their breasts, or else there can be no hope so much as of a consultation of peace.

And, do we think that our masters beyond the Alps will ever abide themselves stripped of this darling, which they have made so dainty of all this while? Why do we not as well demand St. Peter's throne, and his revenues; and, together with his patrimony, all the body of religion? For, what one tittle is there of the now-Roman Faith, that hangs not on this string? Let them give us this, and Rome falls alone; and lies shamefully in the dust. Let them deny it us, and she shall be still that great harlot, still an enemy to peace, still hateful to heaven. But, so far are their modern Doctors from an ingenuous rejection of Infallibility, that no age ever knew so well how to flatter a Pope. For, not only have some yielded this unto him, without a Council; as Albert

Pighius,<sup>5</sup> Gretser, Bellarmin,<sup>6</sup> and all Jesuits wheresoever : but some others ; as Gregory of Valentia,<sup>7</sup> have fastened this upon him, without any care or study required on his part. O happy chair of Peter, firm, eternal, full of prodigious virtue ! which if we might imagine a wooden one, I should sure think were made of Irish oak : there is no spider of error can touch it, but presently dies. Behold, the tables, written with God's own hand, were soon broken and gone ; but the bars of thy frame can feel no age, cannot incur the danger of any miscarriage. Sure I think Vilius Rufus is alive again ; which, because he sat in the same seat wherein Julius Cæsar had sat, and married Cicero's wife, had wont to vaunt of both : as if he should sure be Cæsar, for his seat ; or, for his wife, Cicero.<sup>8</sup> Belike, all the vir-

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<sup>5</sup> Lib. iv. Hier. Eccl. *si maturè procedat.*

<sup>6</sup> Bel. l. iv. de Pont. Rom. c. 2.

<sup>7</sup> G. Valentia. *Analys. Fidei.* l. viii. de Vi et Usu Auctorit. Romani Pontific. in Fide. Quæst. sexta. *Respondeo, sive Pontifex in definiendo studium adhibeat, sive non adhibeat : modò tamen controversiam definiat, infallibiliter certè definiet, atque adeo re ipsâ utitur auctoritate sibi à Christo concessâ, &c.*

<sup>8</sup> Xiphilin Epit. Dionis. Tiberio. *διφρω τῷ Καίσαρος ἐφ' οὗ, &c.*

tue of it is from Peter. It is well, that his other successors conferred nothing towards it: lest, perhaps, Alexander the Vith., should have turned the succeeding popes into lechers; Clement, into sacrilegious church-robbers; Julius, into swaggerers; Benedict, Gregory, Sylvester, into simonists; Pascalis, into perjurers; Pope Joan of Mentz, into women; Martin and that other Sylvester, into magicians; the two Johns, into devils incarnate.<sup>9</sup>

Now, on the other part, can any man be so foolish, to hope that our Church will ever be so mad, as thus basely to bolster up the great bridge-maker of Tiber: as though we could be ignorant, how Christ never either performed or promised them any such privilege? For, where is it written, as Luther jested well,<sup>10</sup> unless perhaps at Rome, in St. Peter's, upon some chimney, with a coal? Christ said, indeed, *Thou art Peter*: but, "Thou art Paul the Fifth," he never said. He said, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not*: so he said too, *Go behind me, Satan, thou savourest not*

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<sup>9</sup> Quær. Plat. de Vitis Pontif. Clem. vi. Jul. ii. Ben. ix. Greg. vi. Sylvest. iii. Mart. ii. Sylvest. ii. Joh. xxiii. and xxiv.

<sup>10</sup> Luth. advers. falso nomine Episc.

*the things of God.* Now, let this Oracle of the Chair teach us, how he can, at once, make himself full heir of the promise, and yet shift off the censure at pleasure.

Yet, to tread in the steps of the times, as though we could not know that the following ages knew not of this; not Policrates and Irenæus, which resisted Victor the Pope; not Cyprian, which opposed Stephen; not the Fathers of Calcedon, which would not yield to Leo; nor the Eastern Bishops, which would not yield to Julius; nor the Fathers of Constantinople, which refused to yield to Vigilius and Honorius: yea, of the latter days, those, which have had either sense or shame, as John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, Turrecremata, Almaine, Alphonsus de Castro, Pope Adrian the Vith, Archbishop Catharinus, Cardinal Cajetan, Franciscus à Victoria; and who not, of the best rank of their doctors, have not feared openly to deny and disclaim this fancy.<sup>11</sup> And Alphonsus shall give a reason thereof for all: "There are many unlearned Popes," saith he,<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Bel. reckons up most of these, l. de Pont. —Alii, à Cano Loc. Com. lib. vi. cap. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Alphons. de Castro. l. i. contra Hæres. cap. 4.

“ that know not so much as the rules of grammar : how then should they be able to interpret the Holy Scriptures ? ”

As though we knew not which of their Popes favoured Arius, which Montanus, which Nestorius, which Atacius, which the Monothelites, which the Sadducees, and which were in league with Devils ; which of them have defined contrary to their fellows, and which contrary to God ; and, that I may use Jerome’s words, how silly a pilot hath oftentimes steered the leaking vessel of the Church !

As though every tapster and tinker, now-a-days, could not point their finger to the long bead-roll of Popes ; and say, “ Such and such were the monsters of men :<sup>13</sup> such,” as Platina,<sup>14</sup> Lyra,<sup>15</sup> Genebrard<sup>16</sup> confess, “ were apotactical and apostatical miscreants.” I wis, their life hath been long the table-talk of the world, as Bernard speaks.

There can, therefore, be no peace possible, unless they will be content to be headless, or we can be content

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<sup>13</sup> *Portenta hominum.*

<sup>14</sup> Plat. in Vit. Bened. iv. et Christ. i.

<sup>15</sup> Lyra in Matt. xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Genebrard iv. sect. 10.

to be the slaves of Rome. Imagine, they could be so ingenuous, as to confess that the same serpent, which insinuated himself of old into paradise, might perhaps creep closely into Peter's chair; yet there would be no less controversy, *de facto*, than of the possibility of error.

SECT. 3.

*Impossibility of Reconciliation, arising from those opinions of the Romanists, which chiefly respect Men:—Concerning (1.) Justification: (2.) Free-will: (3.) Merits: (4.) Satisfaction: (5.) Purgatory: (6.) Indulgences and Pardons: (7.) Mortal and Venial Sins.*

**B**ESIDES, there are other Popish opinions of the same stamp, but more pragmatistical; which are not more pernicious to the Church, than to Commonweals: as those of the power of both swords, of the deposition of princes, disposing of kingdoms, absolving of subjects, frustration of oaths (sufficiently canvassed of late, both by the Venetian Divines, and French, and ours) which are so palpably opposite to the liberty of Christian government, that those princes and

people, which can stoop to such a yoke, are well worthy of their servitude.

And can they hope, that the great commanders of the world will come to this bent? we all, as the Comic Poet said truly, would rather be free than serve; but much more princes: or, on the contrary, can we hope, that the tyrants of the Church will be content to leave this hold? What a foppery were this! For, both those princes are grown more wise, and these tyrants more arrogant; and, as Ruffinus speaks<sup>1</sup> of George the Arian gallant, they insolently govern an usurped bishopric; as if they thought they had the managing of a proud empire, and not of a religious priesthood.

But, let us be so liberal, as to grant this to ourselves, which certainly they will never grant us: for, this old grandam of cities thinks herself born to command; and will either fall, or rule. Neither doth that mitred moderator of the world affect any other emblem, than that, which Julian<sup>2</sup> jestingly ascribes to Julius Cæsar; τὸ πρωτεύειν:

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<sup>1</sup> Ruff. l. i. c. 23. *Procaciter vi raptum Episcopatum gerunt, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> Julian. Cæsares.

“to rule all:” or to Alexander the Great; *πάντα νικᾶν*: “to conquer all.” It was a degenerating spirit of Adrian the Sixth; which caused to be written upon his tomb, in the Church of St. Peter; That nothing, in all his life, fell out so unhappily to him, as that he governed.<sup>3</sup> Let this, I say, be granted us.

There want not, I know, some milder spirits (Theodosians, that can play with both hands<sup>4</sup>) which think, if these busy points were, by the moderation of both parts, quietly composed, it might be safe for any man, so it be without noise, to think what he list concerning the other differences of religion.

These are the ghosts of that heretic Apelles, whose speech it was, That it is sufficient to live in Christ crucified, and that there should be no discussing of the particular warrants and reason of our faith:<sup>5</sup> or the brood of Leonas, one of the courtiers of Constantius, and his deputy in the Seleucian Council; which, when the Fathers hotly contended, as there was good cause, for the consubstantiality of the Son;

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<sup>3</sup> Binius in Vita Adrian.

<sup>4</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 20 et c. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Euseb. l. v. c. 13. ex Rodono.

“Get you home;” said he, “and trouble not the Church still with these trifles.”<sup>6</sup>

St. Basil was of another mind, from these men; who, as Theodoret reports, when the lieutenant of Valens, the emperor, persuaded him to remit but one letter for peace’ sake, answered, “Those, that are nursed with the sincere milk of God’s word, may not abide one syllable of his sacred truth to be corrupted; but rather than they will endure it, are ready to receive any kind of torment or death.”

Eleusius and Silvanus, which were orthodox Bishops; and those other worthy guardians, and, as Athanasius’s title was, Champions of the Truth; were of another mind from these cool and indifferent mediators.<sup>7</sup>

So far as the sacred truth will allow us, we will accompany them gladly: but, if they urge us further, we stand still, or start back. And those two courses, which Epiphanius advised<sup>8</sup> as the remedies of heresy, Heed and Avoidance, both those do we carefully use and perform. Great is the offence

<sup>6</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Theodor. l. ii. c. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Epiph. l. i. initio: τὸ προσέχειν, καὶ μὴ σὺν ἀμιλλᾷσθαι.

of discord, and unexpiable; and such, in the grave judgment of Cyprian,<sup>9</sup> as is not purged with the blood of our passion: and justly do we think that friend of Homer worthy of no place but hell.<sup>10</sup> But yet, we cannot think concord a meet price of truth: which it is lawful for us to buy, at any rate; but, to sell upon any terms, is no less than piacular.

Let us, therefore, a little discuss the several differences; and, as it uses to be done when the house is too little for the stuff, let us pile up all close together. It shall be enough in this large harvest of matter, to gather some few ears out of every shock; and to make a compendious dispatch of so long a task.<sup>11</sup>

The grossest of the Popish Heresies; and, as Jerome objects to Origen, the most venomous opinions of Rome, which have bred so much trouble and danger, at this day, to the Church of God; are either such, AS DO CONCERN OURSELVES, NOT WITHOUT SOME RESPECT TO GOD; or such, as concern God, not without some respect to us.

Of the former sort, are those, which,

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<sup>9</sup> Cypr. de Simpl. Prælat.

<sup>10</sup> Ἄτη ἢ πάντα ἀῖται.

<sup>11</sup> Ἀκροθινιάζειν.

in a certain order (such as it is) of discourse, are conversant about Justification, Free-will, the Merit of our Works, Human Satisfaction, Indulgences, Purgatory, and the Differences of Mortal and Venial Sins.

These, therefore, first offer themselves to our examination.

(1.) That point of *Justification*, of all other, is exceeding important; in-somuch as Calvin was fain to persuade,<sup>12</sup> that if this one head might be yielded safe and entire, it would not quit the cost to make any great quarrel for the rest.

Would to God that word of Cassander might be made good, which doubted not to say,<sup>13</sup> “That, which is affirmed, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but that they are freely justified by faith, was always allowed and received in the Church of God, and is at this day approved by all ecclesiastical writers.” Yea, I would they would be ruled by their Thomas Aquinas in this, who attributes<sup>14</sup> Justification to works; not as Justification is

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<sup>12</sup> Calvin. de Verâ Pacific. contra Interim.

<sup>13</sup> Consultat. de Justific.

<sup>14</sup> In Galat. et in Jac. ii.

taken for an infusion of grace, but as it is taken for an exercise, or manifestation, or consummation of justice. If this were all, in this point all would be peace.

But, whilst the Tridentine Fathers take upon them to forge the formal cause of our Justification, to be our own inherent justice, and thrust faith out of office;<sup>15</sup> what good man can choose but presently address himself to an opposition? Who would not rather die, than suffer the ancient faith of the Church to be depraved with these idle dreams?

Go, now, ye great Trent Divines, and brag of yourselves, as Ætius did of old by Theodoret's report, that God hath now, at last, revealed to you those things, which he would have hitherto concealed from all the world.

In the mean time, we cannot but scorn to see the souls of men so shamefully deluded; while we hear the Spirit of God so often redoubling, *without works: not by works, but by faith: by their works no flesh shall be justified: being justified freely by his grace:* Rom. iv. 6. Gal. ii. 16.

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<sup>15</sup> Concil. Trid. sess. 6. c. 7. *Si quis dixerit solâ fide, &c.* Com. 9.

Eph. ii. 8. Rom. iii. 20, 24. By the power whereof, Arius Montanus, an ingenuous author (and, as Jerome said of Apollinarius,<sup>16</sup> a man of approved labour, though in many things, as the times then were, faulty in opinion) being utterly convinced, "It follows," saith he,<sup>17</sup> "that faith is reputed for righteousness, to him, that works not in the Law; and that, according to the purpose of the grace of God."

If we cast our eyes back to the Ancient Fathers, they are all ours. "Not according to the worth of our works;" saith Basil.<sup>18</sup> "Only to believe," τὸ πιστεύσαι μόνον; saith Nazianzen.<sup>19</sup> "Faith alone is sufficient;" saith Jerome.<sup>20</sup> "By believing are men justified;" saith Augustin.<sup>21</sup> And, with these, consort the rest; Epiphanius,<sup>22</sup> Chrysostom,<sup>23</sup> Athanasius,<sup>24</sup> Primasius,<sup>25</sup> and that whole sacred Choir of

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<sup>16</sup> Epist. ad Pam. et Oceanum.

<sup>17</sup> In Rom. iv. 5.

<sup>18</sup> In Psal. xiv. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Vid. Whitak. contra Dur. *περὶ εὐραξ*.

<sup>20</sup> Lib. i. advers. Pelag. et in iii. ad Galat.

<sup>21</sup> De Patient. c. 20, et in Psal. xxxi.

<sup>22</sup> In Ancor.

<sup>23</sup> In Rom. 17 Hom. et in 1 Cor. Hom. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Orat. I. contra Arian.

<sup>25</sup> De offic. l. ii. c. 2. — De Jacob. et Vitâ Beat. 2.

Antiquity. But, to what purpose do I instance in these, when as the Ex-purgatory Index of Spain hath purposely wiped both out of the table and text of Chrysostom,<sup>26</sup> Jerome,<sup>27</sup> Cyril,<sup>28</sup> most clear testimonies for the Sole Justification by Faith? the book is every where abroad: it is needless to recite the severals. See now the In-quisitors guilty to themselves, both of error and fraud. To whom I must sing the same note, that Ambrose did, of old, to the Arians: "Ye may blot out the letters; but the faith, you can never abolish: those blurs bewray you more; those blots condemn you more, than the writing."<sup>29</sup>

But some, perhaps, may think this a mere strife of words, and not hard to be reconciled: for, that, which to the Papists is inherent justice, is no other to the Protestants than sanctifi-cation: both sides hold this equally necessary: both call for it equally:—True; but do both require it in the

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<sup>26</sup> In Rom. 8. Chrys. Hom. de verbis Pauli. *Non solùm sed gloriamur in affl.* Tom. iii. p. 945. In Ep. ad. Tit. c. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Hier. in Epist. ad Rom. c. 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Fides sola justificat, deleatur ad Gal. ii.*

<sup>29</sup> *Literas quidem abolere potestis, &c.* Amb. de Sp. S. l. iii. c. 11.

same manner? do both to the same end? I think not. Yea, what can be more contrary, than these opinions to each other? The Papists make this inherent righteousness the cause of our justification; the Protestants, the effect thereof. The Protestants require it as the companion or page; the Papists, as the usher, yea, rather as the parent of justification.

“ But what matters it,” say they,<sup>30</sup> “ so both ascribe this whole work to God? As though it comes not all to one, to pay a sum for me, and to give it me to pay for myself:”—I know not how these things seem so little dissonant to these men’s ears, which the Spirit of God hath made utterly incompatible. *To him that worketh, the wages is not imputed of grace, but of debt. If by grace, now not of works; or else grace should be no more grace:* “ For neither is it grace any way, if it be not free every way;” saith Augustin.<sup>31</sup> But these men say, “ Therefore of grace, because of works.”

*Not of works, lest any man should boast;* saith the Spirit; Eph. ii. 9.

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<sup>30</sup> Exam. Pacif. Rom. iv. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Aug. de Cor. et Grat.

“ But of works ; and yet a man shall boast in the Lord ; ” saith Bellarmin. And wherefore shall he boast ? because he is just ? because void of sin ? Perhaps, some Isiodore<sup>32</sup> may say thus of himself, which voluntarily protested, that, for forty years’ space, he found not in himself any sin ; not so much as in his thought ; not so much as any consent to anger or inordinate desire : or, perhaps, some Baronius or Bellarmin may report this of their late St. Gonzaga :<sup>33</sup> or the offal of the Schools may say so of Bonaventure ;<sup>34</sup> in whom, if we believe them, Adam sinned not : or Manicheus<sup>35</sup> may say it of his elect masters : or, perhaps, Priscillian, Evagrius, Jovinian, the Messalians, may brag thus of themselves.

But, far otherwise is that speech of Ambrose :<sup>36</sup> “ I will not boast, because I am just ; but, because I am redeemed : I will boast, not because I am void of sin ; but because my sins are forgiven me. ” Otherwise, we shall come to that point, which Innocentius con-

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<sup>32</sup> Socr. l. iv. c. 18.

<sup>33</sup> In Vita ejus.

<sup>34</sup> In Bonaventurá non peccavit Adam.

<sup>35</sup> Qu. Vitam ejus.

<sup>36</sup> Hier. advers. Pelag. ad Ctesiphont.

demned in the Pelagians;<sup>37</sup> “What need have we now of God?”

But thou sayest, “God hath given me this, whereby I am just.” Indeed, this seems, at the first, a great and glorious praise of the grace of God; and, at the first hearing, sounds well to an ignorant ear: and yet, when it is better considered, under a pretence of piety, spoils Christ of his glory. Why dost thou not as well say, “He hath given me, wherewith I may redeem myself?” for, by the same, wherewith we are justified, we are redeemed: *Being justified by his blood*; Rom. v. 9. Behold, the blood of him, that is God and man, justifies us; and the same redeems us.

But, go on a little: God hath given thee this:—But hath he given it thee, without thyself? Is this done, without the intervention, without the operation of our free-will? Let the monks of Bourdeaux speak, in their Abjurations:<sup>38</sup> let Andradius, let Bellarmin (the flower of the Popish School), let any Papist deny this, if he dare.

It is only Christ's therefore, which is imputed: that, which is inherent, is

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<sup>37</sup> Theod. l. iv. c. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Abjurat. Artic. 45.

ours. "For all," saith Austin, "which are justified by Christ, are just, not in themselves, but in him. That, which is Christ's, because it is his, is most perfect: that, which is ours, because ours, is weak and imperfect. God hath made us men; not Gods. Our perfection is seasonable in heaven."

Justly doth Jerome deride Ctesiphon;<sup>39</sup> we, the Papists: "O blessed, O happy men, if that justice, which is not thought to be any where but in heaven, may be found with you only upon earth: in the mean time, it is sufficient for us, to mourn for our wants, to hate injustice." It is the very speech of Donatists, "I have nothing for thee to pardon."<sup>40</sup>

Let Bernard<sup>41</sup> now, to conclude, shut up this stage. "Not to sin," saith he, "is God's justice; but the justice of man, is the pardon of God."

To be imputed therefore, and to be inherent, differ no less than God and man, Trent and Heaven. Wherefore, let our Romanists confess, that, which both Scriptures and Fathers and all

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<sup>39</sup> Hier. advers. Pelag. lib. iii.

<sup>40</sup> Optat. l. ii. cont. Don. *Non habeo quòd ignoscas.*

<sup>41</sup> Ser. in Cant. et Ser. 4. de Verbis Esa. *Rectam sortitum justitiam, &c.*

their modester Doctors have both thought and reported to be the common voice of the former Church in all times; and we are agreed: otherwise, what fellowship hath God with Belial, light with darkness?

(2.) Bordering upon this, is the point of *Free-will*.

To let pass all lighter quarrels of the nature of our will, let us enquire of the power of it. And that, not in natural, human, or moral things: (here is all peace and silence, save that the words jangle with themselves; and, when the matter is agreed upon, who would not contemn words, as Augustin<sup>42</sup> saith well?) but, in spiritual and divine matters.

We do will, indeed. We will freely: neither can we otherwise will any thing. Who denies it? Here is no physical determination, no violence: but, to will that which is good, or to will well, we cannot.<sup>43</sup> We do freely believe; for faith is an act of the will: yea, and we do co-operate with grace: neither are we herein like to senseless stones, as Austin truly speaks.

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<sup>42</sup> Aug. de Ordin. 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Aliud est velle, aliud velle Bonum.* Bern.

But, whence is all this? Is it of ourselves, or of God? Is it of grace, or, which the Council of Arausica condemned, by the power of nature? This must be our question.

Both sides like well that speech of St. Augustin: "To will freely, is the work of nature; to will well, of grace; to will ill, of corruption:" but, when we come to the point, the Doctors of Trent are not more subtle, than the Jesuits inconstant.

It is yet good and safe, which Bellarmin<sup>44</sup> cites from his Ruardus: "A good work, as it is a work, is from free-will; as it is good, from grace; as both a work and good, both from free-will and grace."

But that is exceeding ingenuous, and truly evangelical, which the same Bellarmin<sup>45</sup> affirms, against some Semipelagian Catholics, in those things, which pertain to piety and salvation, that man's will can do nothing without the help of God's grace. It is the voice of Jacob. If the Cardinal would hold him there, cursed be he, that should oppose him.

I go on to hope and read: and see

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<sup>44</sup> Bell. l. vi. de Grat. c. 5, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Lib. vi. de Grat. c. 4, in titulo.

what stuff I meet with, soon after, in the same book ;<sup>46</sup> That our conversion is in the power of free-will ; because it may be always converted, when it will : and, yet further ;<sup>47</sup> That, before all grace, we have free-will, even in the works of piety and supernatural things. Before all grace ? what, before the grace of prevention ? It were well the Cardinal would set forth some better recognitions.

Now, then, God doth not prevent us, as Austin<sup>48</sup> said of old, that we might will ; but we prevent God, because we will.

But, lest this should seem too gross, this liberty is tied up ; and is altogether in the same state as the faculty of seeing, when a sensible *species* is absent : we can freely see, while the object is absent : we can freely will, in the absence of grace.

Let Bellarmin now tell me : are we any whit more free to evil, than he feigns us to good ? Did ever Pelagius dote thus much ? We can will evil ; but yet, unless it be determined,

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<sup>46</sup> Lib. vi. c. 15. Resp. ad Secund.

<sup>47</sup> Lib. vi. de Grat. c. ult. Sent. primâ.

<sup>48</sup> Aug. de Cor. et Grat. *Nolentem prævenit, ut velit ; volentem subsequitur, ne frustra velit.*

under some false semblance, by the verdict of our practical judgment, we will it not.

But, if we should yield him thus much, what help is this, that God gives us? To prevent, inspire, excite, and help, is of God: to incline the will, is of ourselves. How are we not now more beholding to ourselves, than to God? What is this, but that Pelagian conceit, so oft condemned by Augustin,<sup>49</sup> so to separate free-will from grace, as if, without it, we could do or think any thing answerable to the will of God?

That we are able, by the power of our will, to avoid sins; that we can overcome "the slighter motions of temptation," as Bellarmin<sup>50</sup> speaks; that we can keep God's commandments, as Scotus<sup>51</sup> and Durandus;<sup>52</sup> that we can reject or receive the inspiration of the Spirit, as the Tridentine Fathers;<sup>53</sup> that we can dispose

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<sup>49</sup> Aug. Epist. 46 et 47. Petr. Chrysol. Ser. 114. *Christus quicquid suarum virtutum est, refert ad glorium Patris; et homo, cujus suum nihil est, sibi vindicare quod per Christum resurrexit elaborat.*

<sup>50</sup> *Leviores quasque titillationes superare.* Bell.

<sup>51</sup> Scot. 2, d. 28.    <sup>52</sup> Dur. *ibid.* qu. 4.

<sup>53</sup> Sess. 6, c. 5, et Can. 4.

ourselves to the receiving of grace, as Thomas and Suarez; that we do naturally co-operate with grace, and make our conversion effectual, as Tapperus:<sup>54</sup> what is it else, but to steal glory from God, that we may prank up this carion-nature of ours?

Yet it was modestly done of Tiberius,<sup>55</sup> who, of those many buildings which he repaired and perfected, challenged not one to himself; but gave them still the names of those men, by whom they were begun to be built: but these men challenge the whole house, when as they have not laid so much as one tile upon the roof.

Far be this shameful sacrilege from us, when that truly jealous God challenges to himself, to work in us both the will and the deed: yea, that we can will to believe, is his work; as Austin<sup>56</sup> rightly speaks. See, then, he doth not excite, but work in us; *ἐνεργεῖ*. He *works in us, both, that which is first, to will; and, that which is last, to work.*

Jerome<sup>57</sup> says worthily, "To will, and to run, is mine: but, without

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<sup>54</sup> Citat. Bell. *ibid.*    <sup>55</sup> Xiphilin. Tiber.

<sup>56</sup> De Grat. et Lib. Ar. c. 16.

<sup>57</sup> Hier. ad Ctesiphont.

God's continual help, it will not be mine." *Without me, you can do nothing*, saith Christ; no, not think any thing, saith Paul. Alas, what can we do, who are not lame, but *dead in sins*? Eph. ii. 1. By the influence of God's Spirit, therefore, a new life must be created in us, that was not; Col. iii. 1, and not the former life excited: which was according to that of the Psalmist, *Create in me a clean heart*; Ps. li. 10, and not stir up that clean one I have. Neither, indeed, is there, as yet, any place for this: the first heart must be taken out; another must be put in. *I will take away their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh*, saith God, by the mouth of Ezekiel; ch. xxxvi. 26.

"He will give it, but," thou sayest perhaps, "into their breasts, which have predisposed and prepared themselves for the gift:" yea, contrarily, to those, that do not a little resist him. The wisdom of the flesh is enmity: but there are some enmities more secret, and which do not outwardly bewray themselves; but, behold, here is public resistance: *οὐκ ὑποτάσσεται*; *It is not subject*.

"But, perhaps, it will once yield of

itself:" *ὀ δύναται* ; *It cannot*, saith the spirit of God.

See in how rebellious an estate we are to God. What proneness is here, to will good ; what ability, to perform it ?

Let the Papists, if they will, sacrifice to themselves, as Sejanus<sup>58</sup> had wont of old ; or to their nets, as the Prophet speaketh : as for us, come what can come upon our opposition, we neither can nor dare arrogate unto ourselves those things, which, by a holy reservation and incommunicableness, are proper only to the Highest.

It is safe, indeed, for the Papists, when they will to come up to us ; but we cannot go down to them, without a fearful precipitation of our souls. Let Cassander<sup>59</sup> witness this for us. Let Bonaventure himself witness it for him : " This is the property of holy minds, to attribute nothing to themselves, but all to the grace of God : so that, how much soever a man ascribe to the grace of God, he swerveth not from true piety ; though, by giving much to grace, he withdraw something

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<sup>58</sup> Xiphil. Epit. Dionis.

<sup>59</sup> Consult. Cass. cit. Bonavent. in hæc verba, *Hoc piarum mentium est, ut nil sibi tribuunt, &c.*

from the power of nature or free-will: but, when any thing is withdrawn from the grace of God, and ought attributed to nature which is due to grace, there may be great danger to the soul." Thus far those two ingenuous Papists.

But, to infer, we give all to grace, the Papists something to nature; and what they give to nature, we give to God. Therefore, we do and say that, which is fit for holy minds: they, if Bonaventure may be witness, that, which swerves from piety, and is joined with much danger of their soul.

(3.) The foundation of Popish Justification is the freedom of our will; and, upon the walls of justification, is *Merit* raised.

We will have no quarrel about the word. The holy Fathers of old, as we all grant, took the word in a good sense, which the latter Divines have miserably corrupted.<sup>60</sup>

About the thing itself, we must strive eternally. We promise a reward to good works; yea, an everlasting one: It is a true word of the Jews,<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Bucer. cit. à Cass. Cypr. l. iii. ep. 20.

<sup>61</sup> Prov. Jud. *Qui laboravit in Vesperâ, comedet in Sabbatho.*

“ He, that labours on the Even, shall eat on the Sabbath:” for God hath promised it, and will perform: who yet crowneth us in mercy and compassion, as the Psalmist speaks; not, as the Papists,<sup>62</sup> “ in the rigour of justice;” not, as Andradius,<sup>63</sup> “ according to the due desert of our work:” “ by the free gift of God, and not our merits;” as Cajetan,<sup>64</sup> wisely and worthily: or, if any man like that word better, “ God doth it in justice, but in respect of his own promise; not the very dignity of our works.”

“ That a just man’s work in the truth of the thing itself, is of a value worthy of the reward of heaven,” which industrious and learned Morton cites out of the English Professor of Doway;<sup>65</sup> “ and hath a meet proportion both of equality and dignity, to the recompence of eternal life,” as Pererius; and that, “ in itself, without any respect of the merits and death of Christ,” which Suarez and Bayus shamed not to write;<sup>66</sup> seems justly to us little less than blasphemy.

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<sup>62</sup> Conc. Trident.    <sup>63</sup> *Orthod. Expl.* l. vi.

<sup>64</sup> Cajet. in Galat.

<sup>65</sup> Weston. de Trip. Hom. Off. l. ii.

<sup>66</sup> Vid. Protest. Appeal. l. ii. c. 11. Tom. 1, in Th. 3, d. 11.

“ But,” say our modern Papists, “ Christ hath merited this merit of ours :” “ neither can any other works challenge this to themselves, but those, which are done in God,” as Andradius speaks ; “ but those, which are dipped and dyed in the blood of Christ,” as our latter Papists elegantly and emphatically speak. But, what is this, but to cozen the world, and to cast a mist before the eyes of the unskilful ? Our sins are dyed in the blood of Christ ; not our merits : or, if they also, hath Christ then deserved that our works should be perfect ? how comes it about, that the works of the best men are so lame and defective ? Hath he deserved, that, though they be imperfect, yet they might merit ! what injury is this to God ! what contradiction of terms !

Behold now, so many Saviours, as good men ! What I do, is mine ; what I merit, is mine ; whosoever gives me, either to do or to merit.

Whosoever rides on a lame horse, cannot but move unevenly, uneasily, uncertainly. What insolent overweeners of their own works are these Papists, which proclaim the actions, which proceed from themselves, worthy of no less than heaven ! To whom

we may justly say, as Constantine said to Acesius the Novatian,<sup>67</sup> "Set up ladders, O ye Papists, and climb up to heaven alone."

Who can abide that noted speech of Bellarmin,<sup>68</sup> "A just man hath, by a double title, right to the same glory: one, by the merits of Christ imparted to him by grace; another, by his own merits?" contrary to that of the Spirit of God, *The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life*; upon which words, another Cardinal, Cajetan, speaks in a holier fashion, thus; "He doth not say, that the wages of our righteousness is eternal life; but, *the gift of God is eternal life*; that we may understand and learn, that we attain eternal life, not by our own merits, but by the free gift of God: for which cause also he adds, *by Jesus Christ, our Lord*; Rom. vi. 23. Behold the merit, behold the righteousness, whose wages is eternal life: but to us, in respect of Jesus Christ, it is a free gift." Thus Cajetan.<sup>69</sup> What could either Luther or Calvin, or any Protestant say more plainly?

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<sup>67</sup> Socr. l. i. c. 7. *Erigite vobis scalas, &c.*

<sup>68</sup> *Homo justus duplici titulo, &c.*

<sup>69</sup> Cajet. Com. in Rom. vi.

How imperfect doth the Scripture every where proclaim, both God's graces in us, and our works to him! and, though the graces of God were absolutely perfect, yet they are not ours: if our works were so, yet they are formerly due: and, if they be due to God, what recompence of transcendent glory is due to us? Behold, we are both servants, and unprofitable. *Not worthy*, saith God: "Worthy, and more," say the Papists. *By grace ye are saved through faith, and not of yourselves*, saith God; Eph. ii. 8: "By grace, indeed; but yet of ourselves," say the Papists. What insolency is this! Let our monks now go, and profess wilful poverty; while Hezekiah did never so boast of his heaps of treasure, as these of their spiritual wealth.

Jérôme said truly;<sup>70</sup> "It was more hard to be stripped of our pride, than of our gold and jewels; for even when those outward ornaments are gone, many times these inward rags swell up the soul."

Gregory Ariminensis, their old Schoolman, was ashamed of this wicked arrogance; and so was Durandus,

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<sup>70</sup> Hier. Epitaph. Fabiolæ.

and Pighius, and other their Divines of a more modest temper. I would the Jesuits could have had the grace to have been no less ashamed; and the Tridentine Doctors, together with their executioners, the Inquisitors.

But, what other men have holily and truly spoken, that they have perfidiously wiped out. Witness their Index of Madrid,<sup>71</sup> in these words: "Out of the book which is entitled, *The Order of Baptizing, together with the Manner of Visiting the Sick*, printed at Venice, in the year 1575, let these words be blotted out; 'Dost thou believe, that, not by thine own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt come to glory?'" And, soon after,<sup>72</sup> "Dost thou believe, that our Lord Jesus Christ died for our salvation; and that no man can be saved by his own merits, or any other means, but only by the merit of his passion?"

I wis, these are the scorpions and snakes of the ancient Divines; as Jerome<sup>73</sup> termed the errors of Origen; amongst which the reader must needs

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<sup>71</sup> Ind. Expurg. Madriticus, p. 149.

<sup>72</sup> Ex. eod. libro, fol. 34, ad Med.

<sup>73</sup> Hier. l. de Libris Orig. Περὶ ἀρχῶν.

have walked, had not the grave senate of the Inquisition wisely provided for our safety.

What hope is there now of peace? unless they could be content, which Bellarmin grants to be the safest way, renouncing the merits of their works, not so much for their uncertainty, as the imperfection of their justice and danger of vain-glory, both to resolve and teach men, to repose their confidence in the mercy and bounty of God: which we can, at once, both wish, and not hope for.

(4.) *Satisfaction* hath near affinity with merit; and, indeed, is but as another twig, arising from the same root: than which, no opinion could be devised more injurious and reproachful to the merits of Christ.

The word was not displeasing to the ancient Fathers; nor, in their sense, to us. Only this let me touch, in passing by: That the heedless abuses of words, to the great wrong of the Church, hath bred confusion of things: as, contrarily, that of Tertullian<sup>74</sup> is approved; "The assured sense of words is the safety of proprieties."

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<sup>74</sup> Tert. de Præscrip. *Fides nominum salus proprietatum.*

We have nothing to do here with Civil Satisfaction; nothing, with Ecclesiastical: whereof Luther not unfitly said,<sup>75</sup> even in Cassander's own judgment, "Our mother, the Church, out of her good affection, desiring to prevent the hand of God, chastises her children with certain Satisfactions, lest they should fall under the scourges of God." This Canonical Satisfaction, as many call it, hath been too long out of use, on both sides.

Yea, more than this, in all our sermons to our people, we beat importunately upon the necessity of penitence, and all the wholesome exercises thereof, as fruits worthy of repentance: not, as Cassander well interprets it, as if we desired they should offer unto God a ransom worthy and sufficient for the clearing of the score of their sins; but, that we teach them, those offices must be performed by them, which God requires of those sinners on whom he will bestow the satisfaction of his Son.<sup>76</sup>

Let them call these satisfactions, if

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<sup>75</sup> Consult. c. de Satisfact.

<sup>76</sup> *Satisfactio penitentialis, nihil aliud est, quàm conatus infectum reddendi quod factum est.* Alphons. Virvesius adv. Luth.

they will : we give them leave. But, that, after the most absolute passion of Christ, there should be yet behind certain remainders of punishment to be discharged by us, either here or in purgatory, with a purpose thereby to satisfy the divine justice, whether they be imposed by God, or by the priest, or by ourselves, as the Tridentine distinction runs, we neither may, nor can endure.

For, how nicely soever these men distinguish, it cannot be, but this sacrilegious opinion must needs accuse the truly propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, of some imperfection. I know they say, that both satisfactions may well stand together : that, of the Mediator ; and this, of man : whereof Bonaventure calls the one, perfect ; the other, semi-perfect. But these are words. Let the sophisters tell me : doth not the full vessel contain in itself the half ? or what need the one half apart, when we have the whole ? and, lastly, can any thing be added to that, which is perfect ?

But, some of their heedfuller Divines will neither have these two opposite nor subordinate to each other. For, it is a shame to speak, what

Suarez, what Durand, and other grosser Papists<sup>77</sup> have discoursed of this point. Let them rather, if they will, hold (which opinion yet hath been controlled, not by the Cardinal<sup>78</sup> only, but by three Popes<sup>79</sup> before him) that men's satisfactions serve only to apply unto us that, which the satisfactions of Christ have promerited for us. Yet even this shift will not serve: for Christ's satisfaction, as they teach, respects eternal punishment, and not temporal: how, then, can it once be imagined, that we, by our satisfaction, should procure, that his suffering, which was destined to the expiation of an eternal punishment, should serve to the discharge of a temporal? And, why should we do this, rather than Christ himself? Besides, how absurdly doth this sound, that He, whose bounty hath paid our pounds for us, hath yet left us, out of our poor stock, to pay some few farthings for ourselves!

Let me demand, then; Whether could not Christ undertake these temporal punishments for us, or would he not? That he could not, is impious;

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<sup>77</sup> Cit. Cass. Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Bellarm. de Indulg. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>79</sup> Pius V. Greg. XIII. Clem. VI.

that he would not, is bold to say, and illiberal to do: for, where is there any restraint? or what are the limits of his mercy?

“The fault is remitted,” saith the Conventicle of Trent: “the punishment is not pardoned.” The Eastern Church would never have said so, which always stoutly opposed herself to this error. And, indeed, what a shameful reproach is this to the Infinite Mercy of the Forgiver! what a wrong to his justice! Whereto is the punishment due, but to the fault? Did ever God inflict punishments, that were not due? Many a time, hath he forgiven to sinners those plagues, which both they had deserved, and he threatened: but never did he call back for those arrearages, which he had forgiven.

God punishes us, indeed; or chastens us, rather; and that, sometimes, well and sharply; after the remission of our offence: not, that he may give himself satisfaction of us; for how can it be so pleasing to him, that it should be ill with us? but, that he may confirm us to himself; that he may amend us. He lays no stroke upon us with a revenging hand, but with a fatherly.

We suffer, therefore, now; but we satisfy not. This is proper only to that Eternal Priest, and to his eternal priesthood; and is no more communicable to saints and angels, than his own person. And, certainly, that, which was his part, he hath performed: he hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law; and part of the Legal punishment is this temporal revenge.

For us, therefore, to give hands to them in this, it were no better, than perfidious and shamefully traitorous. And, if it be more than manifest, that this cannot be done, either by our own torments inflicted, or good works performed (how penal soever), how much less shall it be effected by others! There is none of the saints, which will not justly take up that answer of the wiservirgins, *There will not be enough for you and for us*; Matt. xxv. 9. But, as Jerome<sup>80</sup> said well; "There is no need of any great conviction, where the opinion carries blasphemy in the face."

(5.) Upon this conceit of satisfactions, depend those other fables of

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<sup>80</sup> Hier. adver. Ctesiphon. *Non necesse habet convinci, quod sub statim professione blasphemum est.*

*Purgatory* and Indulgences; pleasant ones both, and not unworthy of a satire: whereof so oft as I think, I cannot but remember the scornful frump of Luther, alluding to that of the Prophet, *Domine, non possum vesci stercore humano.*

Yet, if they had only doubtfully and problematically commended their purgatory to the Church, we might easily have favoured them with a connivance: although you cannot say, whether it would have been more worthy to set the spleen on work for laughter, or the bowels for commiseration. But now, when Bellarmin teaches us that it pertains to the Catholic Faith, and our Fisher of Rochester will have it altogether necessary to be known and believed; we cannot entertain this presumptuous folly, without indignation.

How miserably the Scriptures are wrested to this purpose, if any school-boy could not easily see, he were worthy of whipping. As Jerome<sup>81</sup> said of the heretics of his time, "They frame some unfitting testimonies to their own sense:" as if it were a worthy, and not rather an abominable

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<sup>81</sup> Hier. Paulin.

kind of teaching, to deprave sentences, and to drag the Scriptures perforce to their own bent.

Neither are the ancient Fathers better used in their citation: of which, Origen, Ambrose, Hilary, Lactantius, Nissen, Jerome, gave intimation of a quite other purgatory, from the Romish. Augustin speaks of it, at peradventure, waveringly, uncertainly. The rest never dreamed of any at all.

But, yet, I mistake it. Now I remember, St. Plato<sup>82</sup> is cited by Austin<sup>83</sup> and Eusebius,<sup>84</sup> for the patron of this opinion: and, who knows not, that St. Homer and St. Virgil are flat for it.

Yet this fire never began to burn out, but in Gregory's time; and, since that, the authority of the Alcoran hath not a little mended it.

This is it, that their Rochester ingenuously confessed of old, That this purgatory flame came but lately to the knowledge of the Church: but, for

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<sup>82</sup> Plato in Phædone. *Itaque, quicumque in vitâ quodammodo medium tenuisse ita comperiuntur, ad Acherontem profecti vehiculis, quæ unicuique adsunt, in paludem perveniunt Acherusiam; ibique habitant; purganturque, pœnas dantes injuriarum: et cùm purificati, &c.*

<sup>83</sup> Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xxi. c. 13, qui et Virgil. *ibid.* citat.

<sup>84</sup> Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. i. c. ult.

us, that of St. Paul shall never be wrung from our hands, *ἐὰν ἡ ἐπιγεια* *If, or when, this earthly house shall be dissolved, we have a building, not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens; 2 Cor. v. 1.* And, when is this St. Paul's *ἐὰν*? St. John shall interpret it: *ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπάρτι: Those, that die, à modo, from henceforth; Apoc. xiv. 13.* And when is this *à modo*? *To day, thou shalt be with me, saith Christ; even instantly, upon the egress of the soul. Let them commend their souls to God, saith St. Peter.*

But what of that? that, which doth utterly quench out this fabulous fire, the counterfeit Solomon (though true to the Papists) adds, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them;" *Wisd. iii. 1.* Behold, then, either the souls without a purgatory, or a purgatory without pain.

But what stick we at this? Let the Popish Doctors together agree among themselves, of the fire of their purgatory, of the torments of the subject, of the duration, of the executioners, of the condition of the souls there detained; and then, afterwards, let them look for our assent.

In the mean time, why is it not as free for us as for Suarez,<sup>85</sup> not to believe the walking ghosts of the dead, but metaphorically? or, why may not we as well deny the ordinary common purgatory, as Bellarmin may devise a new one, more noble and easeful than the first?

(6.) Purgatory is guilty of *Indulgences*, as their Rochester confesses. Both of them were bred by superstition, and nursed by covetousness. I touch these with a light hand only.

It is long, since all ingenuous clients of Rome were ashamed of this holy fraud.

I cannot but commend Cassander, which writes<sup>86</sup> thus modestly and truly: "The abatement or relaxation of canonical punishments, was of old called Indulgence: which, at this day, is drawn to all private satisfactions; and the full right of bestowing them withdrawn from all other Bishops, to the Bishop of Rome alone. About the use and practice whereof, all good men have desired a correction and moderation; as of things, which, being hitherto ill handled, have given the chief occasion of this breach in the Church.

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<sup>85</sup> Tom. 4, in Th. d. 46.

<sup>86</sup> Cap. de Indulg.

Here, therefore, it were to be wished, that the Popes would yield something to the public peace." Thus far Cassander. With whom agrees Polydore Virgil: both of them more worthy of a black coal, than their honest Rochester, whom Gregory of Valence hath so foully branded. Neither hath there wanted some of their own, as Bellarmin witnesseth,<sup>87</sup> which have called both the treasure of the Church and pardons into question. Neither have there wanted those, which have boldly and flatly denied them, either to be of use, or to be at all.

And, indeed, who, that is not too much intoxicate with the potions of that harlot, can endure, that, whilst the imputation of Christ's merits to the justifying of a sinner applied by God to us, is every where a common scoffing-stock to these men; yet, that the merits and sufferings of holy men, out of a certain common treasure, should by a man be imputed to men, for the deliverance of their souls from torment?

Who can abide, that any mortal man should over-satisfy God for his sins?

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<sup>87</sup> De Indulg. l. iv. c. 4.

Who can abide the prodigal grants, and shameful marts, of their pardons?

Who can endure to hear, that to the careless mumbling over of some short prayers (for if we believe their Casuists, there is no great need of any intention of mind, of any special devotion) there should be granted by John xxii<sup>nd</sup>. a pardon for no less than a million of years?<sup>88</sup>

Who can endure, since by their own confession this fire must last but till the conflagration of the world, that yet, in one little book,<sup>89</sup> there should be tendered unto credulous poor souls, pardons of but eleven thousand thousand of years? What should we make many words of this? There is now lying by me a wormeaten manuscript,<sup>90</sup> with fair rubrics, in which, beside other absurd and blasphemous promises, there is power given to one little prayer to change the pains of hell, due perhaps to him that says it, into purgatory; and, after that again, the pains of purgatory into the joys of heaven. Bellarmin had wisely re-

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<sup>88</sup> Horæ B. Virg.   <sup>89</sup> Stations of Rome.

<sup>90</sup> Rithmic. Horæ B. Mar. Virg. ad usum sacrum.

spected his own credit, if he had given his voice according to that, which he confesseth to have been the judgment of some others;<sup>91</sup> That these like bulls were not given by the Popes, but lewdly devised by some of his base questuaries, for an advantage. But that, which he should excuse, he defends. What ingenuity or shame is to be expected of Jesuits? and how clean hath an old parrot, as he said of old, forgotten the wand!

Who may abide this unjust and inhuman acceptation of persons? that the wealthier sort may, by their purses, redeem this holy treasure of the Church; and, by money, deliver the souls of themselves and their friends from this horrible prison: while the needy soul must be still frying in that flame, without all hope of pardon, or mature relaxation, until the very last Judgment Day?

Lastly, who can endure, that, while it is in the power of Christ's Vicar to call miserable souls out of this tormenting fire, which hell itself is said to exceed only in the continuance; yet, that he should suffer them to lie howling there, and most cruelly broil-

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<sup>91</sup> Lib. de Indulg.

ing still, and not mercifully bestow on them all the heaps of his treasure, as the spiritual ransom of so many distressed spirits? A wretched man is he, as Ambrose said<sup>92</sup> of the rich man, which hath the power to deliver so many souls from death, and wants the will. Why hath God given him this faculty of Indulgences, if he would not have it beneficial to mankind? and, where the owner of the house will be bountiful, it is not for the steward to be niggardly.<sup>93</sup> Let that Circe of Rome keep these husks for her hogs.

(7.) Pardons do both imply and presuppose that known distinction of *Mortal and Venial Sin*, which neither hath God ever allowed; neither, while he gainsays it, will ever the Protestants.

That there are certain degrees of evil, we both acknowledge and teach: so as we may here justly tax the dishonesty and shamelessness of Campion, Dureus, Coccius, and the Monks of Bourdeaux, who have upbraided us with the opinion of a certain Stoical and Jovinianish parity of sins: yea,

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<sup>92</sup> Amb. de Naboth.

<sup>93</sup> *Auth. operis imperfect.*

Bellarmin himself hath already done this kind office for us.

Some offences are more heinous than other; yet all, in the malignity of their nature, deadly: as, of poisons, some kill more gently and lingeringly, others more violently and speedily; yet both kill.

Moreover, if we have respect unto the infinite mercy of God; and, to the object of this mercy, the penitent and faithful heart; there is no sin, which, to borrow the word of Prudentius, is not venial: but, in respect of the anomy or disorder, there is no sin, which is not worthy of eternal death.

Every sin is a viper. There is no viper, if we regard the nature of the beast, but kills whom she bites: but, if one of them shall haply light upon the hand of Paul, she is shaken into the fire, without harm done. Let no man fear that harmful creature ever the less, because he sees the Apostle safe from that poison. So is sin to a faithful man.

St. John's word is, *All sin is ἀνομία, transgression of the Law*; 1 John iii. 4: St. Paul's word is, *The wages of sin is death*; Rom. vi. 23. Put these two together, and this conceit,

of the natural pardonableness of sin, vanishes alone.

Our Rhemists, subtle men, can no more abide this proposition converted, than themselves. "All sin indeed," say they, "is *anomia*, a transgression of the Law; but every transgression of the Law is not sin." The Apostle, therefore, himself turns it for us: *All unrighteousness*, saith he, *is sin*. "But every *ἀνομία* is unrighteousness," saith Austin upon the place; "for the Law is the rule of righteousness: therefore, the prevarication of the Law is unrighteousness." Yea, their very own word shall stop their own mouth: for, how is sin univocally distinguished into venial and mortal, if the venial be no sin? and *the wages of every sin is death*.

That, therefore, which the Papists presume to say, That this kind of sin deserves pardon, in itself; unless they will take the word merit, catachrestically, with Stapleton: and that, which Bellarmin and Navarrus add, That venial sins are not against, but beside the Law: and, lastly, that, which Franciscus à Victoria<sup>94</sup> writes, that a Bishop's blessing, or a Lord's Prayer,

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<sup>94</sup> Τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν, &c. Fr. à Vict. Summa Sacr. Pœnitentiæ, nu. 100, p. 63.

or a knock on the breast, or a little holy-water, or any such like slight receipt, without any other good motion of the heart, is sufficient to remit venial sin; is so shamefully abhorring from all piety and justice, that these open bands, both of nature and sin, must be eternally defied of us. It is an old, and as true a rule, "Easiness of pardon gives encouragement to sin."

And, beside, what manner of sins do they put in the rank of venials? Drunkenness, adultery, angry curses or blasphemies, covetousness, yea, stealing, lying, cursing of parents, (horrible offences!) shroud themselves, with them, under this plausible title of venial.<sup>95</sup> He must needs be shamelessly wicked, that abhors not this licentiousness.

Surely Socrates, the historian, prophesied, I think, of these men, "There are some," saith he,<sup>96</sup> "that let go whoredom, as an indifferent matter; which yet strive for a holy day, as for their life."

The ordinary, and not slight controversy, as Cassander thinketh, of the

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<sup>95</sup> Decr. 23, q. 4, *est injusta, &c.* Peter Alagona Comp. Manual. Navarri, p. 91, p. 267, p. 140, p. 191, p. 352, p. 100.

<sup>96</sup> Socr. l. v. c. 21.

name, nature, condition, punishment of "the first sin," as Chrysostom<sup>97</sup> calls it, I willingly omit. Neither do I meddle with their evangelical perfection of vows; nor the dangerous servitude of their rash and impotent votaries; nor the inconveniences of their monkery: which yet are so great and many, that the elect Cardinals of Paul the Third doubted not, with joint consent, to affirm, "All the Orders of Convents we think fit to be abolished."

But, for the condition of that single and solitary life, let that be done, which Cassander and Clingius the Franciscan advise in this case: that is, let all false conceit and preposterous confidence be removed from it; that the trust, which should only be put in the merit of Christ, be not placed upon these courses: and, let no man think, that hereby he deserves righteousness, remission, grace: and, lastly, which I add, remove but idleness, superstition, necessity, from this kind of life, and we do not, we will not disallow it.

Neither do we take our colleges for any other, than certain sacred *ἀσκητήρια*, Monastical Academies; wherein,

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<sup>97</sup> Πρώτη ἁμαρτία. Original.

according to the precept of Pelagius the Pope, we may be maturely fitted for these holy services of God and his Church. Such were the Monasteries of the Ancient: insomuch as Possidonius can witness,<sup>98</sup> that St. Austin, out of one little house, sent forth ten labourers into the Church.

SECT. 4.

*Impossibility of Reconciliation, arising from those opinions of the Romanists, which chiefly respect God:*

- (1.) *Concerning Scripture:—*[1.] *Its Canon:* [2.] *Its Insufficiency:* [3.] *Its Authority.*
- (2.) *Concerning the Person and Offices of Christ:—*[1.] *Against his Person, are* (a) *Transubstantiation:* (b) *The Multi-presence of his Body.* [2.] *Against his Priestly Office, are* (a) *The Sacrifice of the Mass:* (b) *The Number of Mediators, and the Invocation of Saints.*
- (3.) *Concerning the Superstitious, Heathenish, and Ridiculous Worship of the Papists.*

**N**OW, lest I be too tedious, it is time for me, from these points, which do directly concern ourselves;

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<sup>98</sup> Possid. in Vità Aug.

to hasten unto those, WHICH DO MORE CLOSELY TOUCH THE MAJESTY OF GOD, and do, as it were, send plain challenges into heaven.

And those do, either respect the Scripture, which is his expressed word; or Christ, which is his natural and substantial Word; or, lastly, the worship due unto his Name.

(1.) And, first, *the Scripture* complains justly of three main wrongs offered to it. The first, of Addition to the Canon: the second, of Detraction from the Sufficiency of it: the third, of Hanging all the Authority thereof upon the Sleeve of the Church.

For, of that corrupt translation of Scripture, which the Trent Divines have made only and fully authenticall, I forbear purposely to speak: although it were easy to shew, (that which Reuchlin, following the steps of Jerome,<sup>1</sup> hath averred) That the Hebrews drink of the well-head, the Greeks of the stream, and the Latins of the puddle. Neither will I so much as touch the injurious inhibition of those holy books to the laity.

[1.] Who can endure a piece of new cloth to be patched unto an old

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<sup>1</sup> Hier. advers. Helvidium.

garment? or, what can follow hence, but that the rent should be worse? Who can abide, that, against the faithful information of the Hebrews; against the clear testimonies of Melito, Cyril, Athanasius, Origen, Hilary, Jerome, Ruffinus, Nazianzen; against their own Doctors, both of the middle and latest age;<sup>2</sup> six whole books should, by their Fatherhoods of Trent, be, under pain of a curse, imperiously obtruded upon God and his Church? whereof yet, some propose to their readers no better than magical jugglings; others, bloody self-murders; others, lying fables; and others, heathenish rites; not without a public applause in the relation.

These indeed, Cajetan, ingenuously, as his fashion is, according to that he had learned of Jerome, would persuade us to have been admitted only by the Ancients, into the Canon of Manners, not of Faith.

And, surely, there be many precepts in Syracides, the counterfeit Solomon, and Esdras, which savour of excellent wisdom: but I wonder what kind of good manners can be learned from such like histories, even by those no-

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<sup>2</sup> I refer the reader, for the citation of these, to my "Dissuasive from Popery."

vices,<sup>3</sup> to whom Athanasius bequeaths these books ! Well may I say of these, as that Chian servant of his master which sold his wine and drank his lees, While they have good they seek for naught.

But, let these books, how questionable soever to Epiphanius,<sup>4</sup> be all sacred, let them be (according to the meaning of the Council of Carthage, and of Austin, so oft cited to this purpose) after Canonical : yet what man or angel dare presume to undertake to make them divine ? We know full well, how great impiety it is, to father upon the God of Heaven the weak conceptions of a human wit : neither can we be any whit moved with the idle crack of the Tridentine curse,<sup>5</sup> while we hear God thundering in our ears, *If any man add unto these words, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book ; Apoc. xxii. 18.*

[2.] Neither know I, whether it be more wickedly audacious, to fasten on

<sup>3</sup> Catechumeni.

<sup>4</sup> Epiph. l. i. sect. 5. 'Εν ἀμφιλεκτῷ δευτερο-κανονικοι.

<sup>5</sup> *Si quis l. Hester, Dan., Baruc., Eccl., Judith, Tob., Macca. pro Canonicis non recipierit, Anathema sit. sect. 4.*

God those things, which he never wrote; or, to weaken the authority, and deny the sufficiency, of what he hath written.

The Papists do both.

“We affirm,” saith Bellarmin,<sup>6</sup> “that there is not expressly contained in Scriptures all necessary doctrine, either concerning faith or manners.” And the Tridentine Fathers gave charge, that Traditions be received “with no less piety and veneration,”<sup>7</sup> than the books of Scripture. “Unwritten truths,” saith our witty Chancellor, More, “are equivalent to the word of God.”

What place is there for peace?

There are, we confess, certain things of a middle nature, indifferent rights, wherein much must be yielded to the Church, much to Traditions: but, that those things, which are simply necessary to salvation, whether to be known or to be done, should not be found in the Holy Scriptures, “either in their words or in their sense,” as Aquinas distinguishes,<sup>8</sup> we justly hold absurd;

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<sup>6</sup> Lib. iv. de Verbo non Scripto, c. 30. sect. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Pari veneratione, pari pietatis affectu.*

<sup>8</sup> *Per verba, per sensum.*

and, with Erasmus, contrary to all true divinity.

Some Constitutions<sup>9</sup> for public order are from the Church: but all necessary determinations of faith are to be fetched from the voice of God.

This is, as Nissen truly commends it, "the right and even rule of life."<sup>10</sup> *The Law of God is perfect, saith David; yea, and makes perfect, saith Paul. And what can be added to that, which is already perfect? or what perfection can there be, where some necessary points are wanting; yea, if we may believe Hosius, the greatest part?*

How much is the Spirit of God mistaken! He wrote these things, that we might believe; and, in believing, be saved. But, now, if Trent may be judge, although, we believe what he hath written, yet we cannot be saved, unless we do also receive and believe what he hath not written.

How ill was Constantine taught of old! how ill advised, in that public speech! for which yet we do not find, that any of those worthies of Nice did so much as jog him on the elbow, in

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<sup>9</sup> Διατύψεις. In Can. Nic. Græc. cod. Pisan. Binius Conc. Tom. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Κάνων ὀρθοῦ καὶ ἀδιάστροφου.

a mild reproof, while he said,<sup>11</sup> “The books of the Evangelists and Apostles, as also the Oracles of the Ancient Prophets do plainly instruct us, in the message and meaning of God.”

How miserably were every one of the learned Fathers of the Church<sup>12</sup> blinded, that they could never either see or acknowledge any other rule of faith!

And, what shall we say? Did God envy unto mankind the full revelation of his will, in the perpetual monuments of his written word? Or, did he not think it expedient to lay up all necessary doctrines in the common storehouse of truths, as Rochester calls it? Or, is that perhaps more uncertain, which is faithfully committed to writing; than that, which is carried about by the flying rumours of men, and by this airy conveyance derived unto posterity?

What a thing is it, as Irenæus

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<sup>11</sup> Theod. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Tert. de Præscr. et l. contr. Her.—Orig. in c. xvi. ad Rom.—Atha. in Synops.—Ambr. l. iii. — Hex. c. 3. — Aug. *Ego solis Scripturis, &c.* De Nat. et Gr. c. 61. — Opt. Milev. l. v. — Tho. in Mag. l. iii. d. 3, q. 1, ar. 1. Citat ex Hier. *Non mihi credas, si quid tibi dixerò, quod ex Novo Testamento vel Veteri haberi non possit.*

wisely said, that we should leave the voice of the Lord and his Apostles, and attend to these idle tattlers, that talk never a true word!

Or, if this be fitting, how vainly have you spent your labours, O all ye Registers of God, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists! And, as he said of the ointment, *to what purpose was all this waste?*

These paradoxes are pernicious to the Church; and shamefully derogatory from the glory, both of the wisdom and goodness of God. Hold these, who dare. Surely, we can never abide, that those two marks of heretics, which Irenæus long since set down,<sup>13</sup> (namely, not to rest in the bare authority of Scripture, and to vaunt of other Traditions) should both of them be justly branded on our sides.

[3.] But, this is yet most shamefully injurious, to deny unto the word of God credit of itself;<sup>14</sup> and so to hang the Scriptures upon the Church, that they must needs beg all their authority from the voices of men.

Honest Eckius, in his revised and corrected Enchiridion: "The Scripture," saith he, "is not authentical,

<sup>13</sup> Iren. l. ii. c. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Αὐτοπιστίαν.*

without the authority of the Church:" to which, as some golden and oracular sentence, there is added in the margin, a glorious and insulting applause; "An Achilles for the Catholics."<sup>15</sup>

I let pass the blasphemies of Hermannus and Hosius; perhaps, as Junius<sup>16</sup> construes it, in the name of Swinkfeldius. I pass over the horrible impiety of that shameless gloss,<sup>17</sup> which teaches, that Solomon's text borrows his credit from the Pope's canonization.

Bellarmin alone shall speak for all; who, going about to support the number of Seven Sacraments by the authority of the Tridentine Council (for this ever is their last hold). "The strength," saith he,<sup>18</sup> "of all the ancient Councils, and of all opinions, depends upon the authority of the present Church." And, a little before, "If we take away the authority of the present Church, and of the present Council," of Trent, "the decrees

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<sup>15</sup> Enchir. Eccii, 7, recogn. an. 1586, fol. 8, *Achilles pro Catholicis*.

<sup>16</sup> Animadvers. in Bellar.

<sup>17</sup> Glosse in Decret. l. ii. Tit. 23. 'Ἰερα ἀγκύρα.

<sup>18</sup> Bell. de Num. Sacr. et Effect. l. ii. c. 15, p. 300.

of all other Councils and the whole Christian Faith may be called into doubt and question."

O miserable, and miserably staggering souls of the Papists! How many, not persons only, but whole kingdoms, and those, as the Romanists themselves confess and bewail, mighty and flourishing, amongst themselves, do yet still resolutely reject all the authority of that Tridentine Council! "The whole Christian Faith?" "All doctrines and opinions?" What, even those, which are written by the finger of God? those, that are indicted by the Holy Ghost? What is this else, but to make God a slave to men; and to arraign the Maker of Heaven and Earth at the bar of human judgment? God will be God; the Scripture of God will be itself; in spite of Rome, Trent, Hell. And, unless we hold this, we can have no peace with God: unless we deny it, no peace with the Romanists.

(2.) These errors concern the Scriptures. Those, which follow, concern *either Christ's Person, or his Offices.*

[1.] I let pass that idle brabble, as Bellarmin himself judges it, which the Popish Censors have unjustly raised about the Son's Godhead of

himself;<sup>19</sup> and insist upon weightier quarrels.

(a.) I would that exploded opinion of Transubstantiation, and, which is the root of it, the multi-presence of Christ's Body, did not utterly overthrow the truth of his Humanity.

Good God! Is it possible, as Averroes jested of old, that Christians should make themselves a God of Bread? that any reasonable man can believe, that Christ carried his own body in one of his hands? that he reached it forth to be eaten by those holy guests of his, which saw him present with them, and heard him speaking to them; both while they were eating him, and when they had eaten the sacred morsel? that the self-same Son of Man should, at once, both devour his whole self, and yet should sit whole and entire at the table with them? that the glorious body of Christ should be carried through the unclean passages of our maws: and either be there turned into the substance of our

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<sup>19</sup> Genebr. l. i. de Trin. Lindan. 2, dial. Canisius in præf. lib. de Jo. Bapt. ἀποθνήσκοντες. Bell. l. ii. de Chro. c. 19. Calvinus, sine dubio, in modo loquendi erravit; sed, dum rem ipsam discutio, non faciliè audeo pronuntiare illum in errore fuisse.

body; or, contrary to that the Spirit said of old, *Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption*; Ps. xvi. 10, should be subject to putrefaction, or vanish to nothing, or return into that heaven wherein it was, ere it returned, while it returned: or, lastly, should be eaten with mice, (devout and holy vermin!) or, perhaps, mixed with poison, to the receiver?

What monsters of follies are these! How mad, yea, how impious is this obstinacy of foolish men, that they will overturn the very principles of nature, the order of things, the Humanity of their Saviour, the truth of the Sacrament, the constant judgment of Scripture, and, lastly, the very foundations of all Divinity; and confusedly jumble heaven and earth together, rather than they will, where necessity requires, admit but of a tropical kind of speech in our Saviour's consecration; while, in the mean time, the whole reverend senate of the Fathers cries out, and redoubles the names of symbols, types, signs, representation, similitude, figures, and whatever word may import a borrowed sense; notwithstanding all the indignation of heaven, all the scorn of pagans, all the reluctance of the Church!

This letter killeth ; as Origen truly speaks. Now, what likelihood is there, here, of agreement ?

That the true body of Christ is truly offered and truly received in the Sacrament, which of us hath not ever constantly taught and defended ? But, how is this ? not by any bodily touch, as Cyril and Ambrose say well ; but, by our faith. That it should be corporally, carnally, orally present ; and torn in pieces with our teeth, as good Pope Nicholas caused Berengarius<sup>20</sup> to say, and our Allen hath followed him unbidden ; hath ever seemed impious to us, and, as Austin<sup>21</sup> judges it, no less than flagitious.

We like well yet the ingenuity of Arius Montanus, in this point ; who, upon Luke xxii. *This is my body*, saith he, “ That is, my body is sacramentally contained in this sacrament of bread :” and, straight he adds, like another Nicodemus, Christ’s nightly disciple, “ The secret and most mys-

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<sup>20</sup> Tert. contra Mar. l. iv. Beatus Rhenanus confesses this error of Tertullian was confuted in Berengarius, Aug. Psal. iii. et Epist. 162, De Doct. Christ. iii. 16.—Chrys. Hom. 46, in Joh. &c. — Bell. l. i. de Euch. cap. 1.

<sup>21</sup> De Doct. Christ. l. iii.

tical manner whereof, God will once vouchsafe more clearly to unfold to his Christian Church." Thus he.

In the mean time, for us, this prodigious conceit of transubstantiation, which alone contains in it as many absurd errors, as there have been minutes of time, from the first forming of it, that is from the Council of Lateran until this hour, can look to be entertained no otherwise at our hand, than as such a devilish fancy deserveth, with hatred and execration.

(b.) But this sleeveless tale<sup>22</sup> of transubstantiation, was surely brought both into the world and upon the stage, by that other fable of the Multipresence of Christ's Body. Neither know I, whether I should prefer, for madness and sophistical cozenage.

That the same body of Christ should be in a thousand places, at once, of this sublunary world; while yet it is, in the mean time, entire in heaven: that the whole body of Christ should lie hid in a little thin wafer; yet so, that the parts and members thereof should not one run into another, but continue distinct, and severally disposed among themselves, and have a

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<sup>22</sup> \* *Ἀκεφαλὸν μύθος.*

shape and order agreeable to a man's body; which are Bellarmin's own words: it doth not only exceed reason, but faith.

Neither do they say now, as of old, *Behold, here is Christ, or there*; but, which is much worse, "Behold, Christ is both here and there."

That received Axiom of the Schools is of an eternal truth: "The numerical unity of a finite thing cannot stand without continuity."<sup>23</sup>

Who can choose, but be ashamed of the Jesuits here? The very places, in which Christ's body is, saith Bellarmin, are discontinued: yea, and the body of Christ itself is divided from itself, in respect of place; but not in respect of his proper substance, or quantity. As if there could be any division of a material substance, but by bounds of place: as if quantity were not both bounded and measured by place alone:<sup>24</sup> as if there were not an undoubted relation of the place to the thing placed.

But now, this doth not belong to Christ only. St. Xavier, in our age,

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<sup>23</sup> Jul. Scal. Exercit. in Card.

<sup>24</sup> Aug. Epist. 57. *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt.* Cited also by D. Sutcliffe, cont. Bell. de Euchar.

one of Loyola's brood, was seen, at once, both in the ship and in the boat. Tursellian reports it. Unto this fabulous saint, and his fellow-fabuler the reporter, I cannot devise to set a better match, than that Plautine Amphitrio: "Darest thou say, thou fond slave, that which never man yet saw, nor indeed can be done, that one man should, at the same time, be in two places at once?"<sup>25</sup>

How far wide is Aquinas, the honour of the Schools, which saith,<sup>26</sup> "By the same ground or reason, that an angel might be in two places, he might be in as many as you will!" See now either Xavier is every where, or else the carcase of a friar is more subtle than the nature of an angel. To conclude, either Aquinas is false, or the Papists ubiquitaries.

How over bold are the Jesuits, the patrons of this multi-presence! Bellarmin, scorning the modesty of Thomas, Egidius, Carthusian, Capreolus; "Because," saith he,<sup>27</sup> "we think that the

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<sup>25</sup> *Tun' id dicere audes, quod nemo unquam  
homo antehac*

*Videt, nec potest fieri, tempore uno  
Homo idem duobus locis ut simul sit?*

Plaut. Amphit. Act. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Tho. in Mag. l. i. d. 32, q. 1, art. 1.

body of Christ may be in many places at once, locally and visibly, therefore we say and hold, that the same body may be circumscriptively and definitively in more places at once: for, that a body may be circumscriptively in any place, nothing is required, but that it be fitly measured unto that place; so as the bounds of the place and the thing placed, be both together: but, it is not required, that it should not be elsewhere, as in another place." Thus he. What an absurd opposition is this! To be circumscribed in one place, and yet to be other-where! that the bounds of the place and the thing placed should be but one, and yet be in almost infinite! that another remote place should less hinder circumscription, than a part of the next place! What is to be mad, if this be to be wise? Who cannot but laugh at "the wise folly" of these men; as Irenæus said<sup>28</sup> of the Valentinians?

But, I willingly hear that of Chrysostom: "To conceive of divine things by philosophy, is no other, than to take out a red-hot iron with our fin-

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<sup>27</sup> Bell. de Euchar. l. vi. c. 4, p. 297, in 8.

<sup>28</sup> *Sapientem stultitiam.* Iren. l. i. cap. 9.

gers, and not with tongs : ” and that of Augustin : “ Yield God able to do something, which thou art not able to understand.” It is reported,<sup>29</sup> that Aristotle misled Ætius the heretic, into that filthy error of Arius : and Tertullian<sup>30</sup> hath taught us, that all heresies are suborned by philosophy. What hath Athens to do with Jerusalem ; the Academy, with the Church ? Away with arguments, where faith is in question ; as Thomas ingenuously says out of Ambrose.

But, what is all this to us ? It is well yet, and I do heartily congratulate it to our men, that the idle tale of Surius, concerning Melancthon, and Carolostadius, and other Protestants, abandoning of all philosophy, wherewith yet Binius<sup>31</sup> pleased himself of late, is thus hissed out of countenance, and vanished. Belike now, the Reformed Doctors are Philosophers, but too much.

For us, we do easily grant, that many things are done, which we cannot understand : but these things, we grant not ; because we understand they cannot be done.

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<sup>29</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 35.   <sup>30</sup> Tert. l. de Præs.

<sup>31</sup> Binius in Vitâ Adrian. VI.

God hath absolute power, as Thomas speaks truly, over the whole nature of the creature; but not so, as that he should cause it to be, and not to be, at once.<sup>32</sup> This, as Sadeel says wittily, *Deus potenter non potest*. The object of God's power, as the Jesuits' School willingly confesses, is, whatsoever implies not a contradiction in itself: now, that the self-same body should sit down, and yet not sit down; should be visible, and invisible; divisible and continued, and yet discontinued and indivisible; to be all here, to be all elsewhere; to be here greater, there less; to be one, and many; the same, and divers; to depart, and not to depart; to be contained in heaven, and not to be contained; to be a quantity, without space; to be measured by and fitted to a place, and not to take up any place; to be accidents, and yet not to be inherent; to be formerly, yet to be made; to be otherwise in places, than in a place; to be a true body, and yet to be spiritually: that boy were well worthy of whipping, that cannot discern and confess manifest contradictions.

But, what do I spend time in this

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<sup>32</sup> Petr. Mart. Dial. de Omni-præs.

thorny discourse? This one word shall shut and sum up all: That this wicked pair of opinions offers plain violence to the true Humanity of Christ; neither can ever, *salvâ fide*, be reconciled with the Evangelical Truth.

[2.] The Priestly Office of Christ is not a little impeached by the daily Oblation of the Missal Sacrifice, and Number of Mediators.

(a.) For the first; That in this Sacred Supper there is a sacrifice, in that sense wherein the Fathers spake, none of us ever doubted: but that is then, either latreutical, as Bellarmin distinguishes it not ill; or eucharistical: that is here, as Chrysostom speaks, “a remembrance of a sacrifice;”<sup>33</sup> that is, as Augustin interprets it, a memorial of Christ’s passion, celebrated in the Church. And, from this sweet commemoration of our redemption, there arises another sacrifice, the sacrifice of praise; and, from thence, a true peace-offering of the Christian soul.

These three sacrifices offer themselves to us here; but, for any propitiatory sacrifice, unless it be, as the gloss interprets it, representively, I find

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<sup>33</sup> ἀνάμνησις τῆς θυσίας.

none : none, essential ; none, as the Tridentines<sup>34</sup> labour to persuade, true and proper.

Neither, indeed, can there be. For, what? Doth the priest offer the same, that Christ hath offered, or another?

If another, then not propitiatory ; for only Christ is our propitiation.

If the same, then not an unbloody sacrifice ; for Christ's sacrifice was a bloody one : then, the natural being of Christ should again be destroyed : then, the blood of the Mediator, which I abhor to imagine, must be of a finite value and power. Yea, Christ himself did not sacrifice on the table, but on the cross : for, if the sacrifice which he offered in his supper were perfect and fully propitiatory, what needed he to die afterward ? wherefore was his blood shed upon the cross, which, by his transubstantiated blood, not yet shed, had formerly redeemed the world ?

But if it be unbloody, then it is not propitiatory : for, *without shedding of blood*, saith the Apostle, *is no remission* ; Heb. ix. 22.

Or, what opposition is there betwixt

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<sup>34</sup> Trid. Conc. Sess. 21.

the order of Melchisedec and Aaron, betwixt Christ and the priests of the old Law, if this office do equally pass and descend in a long pedigree of mortal successors? Or, why were the Legal sacrifices of the Jewish Synagogue so oft repeated, but because they were not perfect? and how can or why should that, which is most absolutely perfect, be reiterated?

To conclude; what can either be spoken or conceived more plain, than those words of God, *once offered, one sacrifice, one oblation?*<sup>35</sup> And yet these Popish shavelings, devout men! take upon them to crucify and sacrifice Christ again; and, while they solemnly offer the Son of God up unto his Father, they humbly beseech him, in a religious blasphemy, that he would be pleased to bless and accept that oblation.<sup>36</sup> It is not for us, I confess, to be so devout. We will remember this holy sacrifice of Christ, as Cas-sander well advises; and celebrate it with a thankful heart: we will not

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<sup>35</sup> Heb. ix. 28. *μία θυσία, μία προσφορά.*  
Heb. x. 12, 14.

<sup>36</sup> *Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus uasumus benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, ac rationabilem facere digneris: Munera quæsumus, oblatæ sanctifica, &c.* Canon. Miss.

repeat it. We will gladly receive our Saviour, offered by himself to his Father, and offered to us by his Father: we will not offer him to his Father. Which one point while we stick at, as we needs must, we are strait stricken with the thunderbolt of the Anathema of Trent. Here can be, therefore, no possibility of peace.

(b.) It doth not more belong to the priesthood of Christ, that he offered himself once for us, a spotless sacrifice, upon the altar of his cross; than that he daily offers to his Father the incense of our prayers, on the altar of heaven. As, therefore, many sacrifices, so many Mediators plainly seem to put Christ out of office.

Neither indeed hath the number of intercessors more increased in this old age of the world, than the impiety of imploring them. For the modester judgment of the former Schools so framed to itself a distinction of mediation, that it challenged one kind thereof as proper only to Christ, thinking the other might be imparted to saints: but our late Doctors, wilfully breaking the bars both of logic and divinity, have rashly encroached upon all the offices of a Mediator; and, whatsoever might by any right be-

long to an agent for peace, all that, if not more, have they attributed to the saints.

Hereupon, one says to the Blessed Virgin, "O Saviouress, save me:" another, "Obtain thou pardon, apply grace, prepare glory for me:" others, if we may believe Cassander, famous Divines, have said, that "God hath translated one half of his kingdom, which consists of mercy, to the Blessed Virgin Mary; reserving the other half, of justice, to himself:" others, that "we may appeal from the bar of God's justice, to Mary's court of mercy:" others have so compared their Francis with Christ, that, I tremble to speak it, whether of these was the typical Jesus, might seem questionable to the reader.

Hear the holy muse of Turselline :

Francis, that was, shall now be Christ  
to thee:

And, soon after,

And Christ, that was, Saint Francis  
now shall be.<sup>37</sup>

O tongue, worthy to be cut out of

<sup>37</sup> *Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit.*

*Jam Franciscus erit, qui modò Christus erat.*

that blasphemous mouth, as Jerome said of his Vigilantius, and made into gobbets !

Neither hath this impious parasite, or his Sedulius done more for their stigmatical Francis, than the holy Archbishop Antonius hath done for his Dominick,<sup>38</sup> in an emulation of blasphemy. There wants nothing, that I can see, but that “ Everlasting Gospel of the Friars : ” and it wanted not much, if histories say true, of prevailing :

Oh, what mad gowns have sway'd the  
Roman state !

as their poet<sup>39</sup> said of old.

Others have sacrilegiously turned Litanies, Creeds, Psalters, and whatever God meant to honour himself by, unto the name of the Holy Virgin. And, I would to God, this were only the private misdevotion of some superstitious old wife, or some idle and silly cloisterer. Fain would our charity conceive so, which is still credulous, and, as the Apostle commands, *thinks not evil* ; if Cassander did not directly

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<sup>38</sup> Hen. Steph. Apol. Herod. Fox in Martyr.

<sup>39</sup> Martial.

tell us, that they publicly sing in their very churches this devout Anthem,

O happy Mother of that Son,  
Which hast all our sins foredone :  
Out of a Mother's right, we pray thee  
Bid our Redeemer to obey thee :<sup>40</sup>

if all these were not openly approved by the holy censors of the Roman Church, severe controllers of manners! yea, by the voices of their own Popes : if, at this day, witness the muses of Bencius and Bonarcus, the Jesuits did not both speak and write thus.

But, let us leave these bold impieties, if you will, to their Bernardines, Antonines, Bartlemews of Pisa, Tursellines. Bring us forth their more sober Divines, Polydores, Cassanders, Vives : even their opinions will not down with us, which teach that the saints are, in any wise, to be prayed unto.

Indeed, the Protestants say, as, Bellarmin grants,<sup>41</sup> that the saints

<sup>40</sup> *O fœlix puerpera,  
Nostra pians scelera,  
Jure matris impera Redemptori.*

<sup>41</sup> Lib. de Beatit. Sanct. c. 15.—Cass. in Cons. c. de Invocat. Sanct. — The same is confessed by Luth. Oecol. Melanct. Brent. See Mort. Appeal, 1, 2, 12, s. 1.

pray for us ; but, only in a generality. Bucer said truly, that the saints have great love to their militant brethren ; great desire of their salvation ; and so, doubtless, have the angels : but, must we therefore single out any one of those blessed spirits to aid us, to sue for us in the court of heaven ? God forbid ! for, upon what faith must these prayers of ours be grounded ? unless perhaps, as Hosius saith, we must believe in the saints also.

Yea, how sure are we, that none of the saints can either search the heart, the fountain of our prayers ; or, at once hear ten thousand of their suppliants, distant in place from each other ! Yea, further, if, as there should be no limits set to religion, all the world over, devout clients should, at once, jointly commend and prostrate themselves humbly to some one saint ; it is not a swiftness of nature, as Jerome contends, that would serve the turn : a true ubiquity, as Bellarmin confesses, must be required to the hearing of all those prayers.

What hinders now, but that they, which, of sinful men, have made saints ; should, of their saints, make gods also ?

Besides, which of the Prophets, which of the Apostles ever commanded

this? which of the Saints of the former world hath ever done it? Or, what other, if credit may be given to Theodorit, did St. Paul forbid, under the worship of angels, to his Colossians? Or, what was the heresy of the Collyridians,<sup>42</sup> if this must go for piety?

That rule of Epiphanius shall be ever a safe course for us: "Let Mary be honoured; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost worshipped." Here is no fear of danger, but that we may go safely to that God which calls us to him; and prostrate ourselves to his Christ, our Gracious Saviour. None of the saints can envy God this honour: none of them ever did, either arrogate it to himself, or suffer it to be given him. Neither is there any of them, whom God ever allowed, either to take it to himself, or to impart it to others, or to accept it quietly being imparted to him by others.

The Papists, therefore, may come to us when they will, with safety and advantage: we may not yield to them, without manifest danger of idolatrous dotage.

(3.) But, if any good natured Reconciler shall be so indifferent, as to

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<sup>42</sup> Epiph. Hær. 79.

think these weighty points of difference not to be so heinous, but that every one might secretly maintain what opinion he list; yet so, that, as Constantine said to Alexander and Arius,<sup>43</sup> while the minds differ, the outward peace may be preserved; let him further understand, that *the continual practice of the religious worship and service of God*, will ever both raise and proclaim no less hostility, than matter of judgment.

In our devotions, and public exercises of piety, and places consecrated to this use, there is nothing, that can offend either the eye or the mind of a Papist, except the bareness of our walls, and the apostolical simplicity of ceremonies: an easy fault; and such, as it is no praise of their ingenuity to wink at: for, long since have those clauses of our Public Liturgy been purposely blotted out, which, in our grandfathers' days, did but lightly touch this galled sore of Popery.

But, contrariwise, in the Popish churches there is scarce any thing either said or done, whereof we can, with a clear and unwounded conscience, be either partakers or witnesses. Their

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<sup>43</sup> Socrat. l. i. c. 7.

very walls kill us dead : but their ridiculous or demoniacal service, who can endure ?

We honour, as we ought, the dear and happy memory of the Saints ; and, chiefly, the leader of that heavenly choir, the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God : and whatsoever she can think not too dishonourable to herself and her Lord and Saviour, we will most gladly give it her to the full.

Neither will we only glorify God in his saints, as Augustin hath taught Durand to speak ; but we will magnify the saints, as opportunity serves, for their excellent graces and worthy acts, both in God and in themselves : we will admire, extol, and, what we may, imitate their singular constancy, faith, sanctity ; as Sidonius said of his Claudian,

No tomb can either soul or glory shroud.<sup>44</sup>

But, to dig up their holy bones, that I may borrow Luther's word, out of their quiet graves ; and to fall down before these worm-eaten monuments of the saints ; to expect from them a divine power, whether of cure, or of sanctification ; equally to respect

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<sup>44</sup> Sidon. in Epita. Claud. Mamert.

Francis's cowl, Anna's comb, Joseph's breeches, Thomas's shoe, as Erasmus complains, with the Son of God himself; can seem no better to us, than a horrible impiety.

Neither can we abide, either to deify men, or to canonize beasts. It seems, that Cardinal could abide it well, in whose garden is yet to be seen this epitaph, which he wrote upon his too-dearly-beloved bitch :

This tomb for thee, dear bitch, I builded  
have,  
That worthier wert of heaven, than a grave.<sup>45</sup>

We, profane Huguenots, cannot skill of worshipping Martin's boots; or, George's scabbard; or, Crispin's paring-knife; or, which they say is kept in a certain town of Liguria, the tail of that ass which Christ rode upon; <sup>46</sup> or, Roche's dog; or, Antony's swine: and, surely, he had need of a very thick hide, that can do this.

But, in earnest, say we should yield these adorations to be lawful and godly, what Macarius, amongst so many woods of counterfeit trees, can shew us the true cross? or, what Helena

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<sup>45</sup> Poem. Illustr. Poet. Italarum.

<sup>46</sup> Mores in Scot. Orig. Pap.

amongst such heaps, yea hills of iron, can shew us the true nails? Assuredly, both these jugglers smile one upon another, while they shew these relics to their people: and now, even the silly vulgar begins, not without indignation, to descry this cozenage.

To omit, therefore, these ridiculous tricks and knavish conveyances of their shavelings, let us, in this case, appeal even to Cassander's own moderation; who, having first honestly acknowledged the ancient complaints of Basil, Ambrose, Augustin, about the business of these abuses, goes on thus: "It appears," saith he,<sup>47</sup> "that, in the latter times, there hath been too much given to the relics and monuments of the saints: so as even good men, and those which were zealously devout, were grown to that pass, that they placed the sum of all religion in gathering together the relics of the saints, and in garnishing them richly with gold and pearls, and building sumptuous chapels and temples to them. And, again, those, that were lewd and godless, put all their confidence, though vain and false, in the foolish and superstitious worship of relics: where-

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<sup>47</sup> Cass. Consult. de Reliq. Sanct.

fore, in the Council of Cabilon, those are reprov'd, who, in a pretence of devotion, go on pilgrimage to Rome, or Turon, or any other like places ; as if they thought, that the frequenting of these holy shrines could both purge them from sin, and license them to sin with impunity. And, unto this, yet another mischief hath been added, that, for covetousness' sake, to entice the simple people, false relics have been devised, and feigned miracles reported ; and, by those miracles, the superstition of the multitude was so fed, that they were rather taken up with an admiration of the wonders, than drawn to a holy imitation of the saints. And, many times, by the subtlety and illusion of the Devil, abusing the superstition of men, new relics were, by dreams and visions, revealed to the world ; and, by the operation of the same Devil, miracles seemed to be wrought for the confirmation thereof." Thus saith Cassander ; like a true German, shall I say, or like a true Israelite ?

But, we, that have been better taught, dare freely and confidently say of ourselves, as Jerome professed<sup>46</sup> of

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<sup>46</sup> Hier. ad Riparium adver. Vigil.

old, in the name of all Christians, " So far are we from adoring the relics of martyrs, that we worship neither sun, nor moon, nor angels, nor archangels, cherubin, nor seraphin, nor any name that is named either in the present world, or in the future; lest we should serve the creature, rather than the Creator which is blessed for ever.

Then, that from relics we may descend to images, is it possible, that we should not be ever displeased with that frantic superstition of the Romish Church? that, against the tables of God's Law, against the institutions of the Apostles, against the practice of the Ancient Church, against the manifest decrees of Councils, against the clear testimonies of Fathers, in defiance of God and men, the churches of Christians should be no less pestered with idols, than the temples of the Heathen? that, as Jerome complained<sup>49</sup> of old, the native beauty of the Church should be polluted with the filth of Paganism? that, which Eusebius justly taxeth of madness, there should be a visible and bodily image or representation made of the Invisible

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<sup>49</sup> Hier. Magno Oratori Rom.

and Spiritual God? that we should put our confidence in *Agnis Dei*, grains, tapers, roses, swords, ensigns, bells; ridiculously, after their manner, enchanted?<sup>50</sup> that, by certain magical exorcisms, the Devil should be driven out of those creatures, wherein he never was? Nay, let us even enter into league with Satan himself, if we shall give either allowance or connivance to such diabolical practices of will-worship.

I do purposely forbear to speak of that profane paradox of the sufficiency of the outward work done, without good inward dispositions; the idle mumbling up of prayers, in a foreign tongue; the number and virtue of sacraments; the sacrilegious mutilation of the eucharist; and a thousand other monsters, both opinions and ceremonies.

These, that I have reckoned, are errors more than enough. And, I would to God, those, which we have here particularized, were not such, that there is no remedy, but that we must eternally fall out, either with God or with Rome.

Since, therefore, neither truth can

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<sup>50</sup> Lib. Sacr. Cerem.

ever yield, nor obstinacy will yield; let us serve cheerfully under the colours of our Heavenly Leader; and both proclaim and maintain an unreconcilable war with these Romish Heresies.

## CHAP. III.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE MEANS OF  
RECONCILIATION.

**A**ND now, since no wise man can suspect of us, that we will ever grow to that height of madness, as to run perfidiously from the standard of God to the tents of that Roman Antichrist, is there any hope, that the Papists will ever be drawn back to the sound and pure judgment of the Primitive Antiquity? Oh, that God would vouchsafe this grace to the Christian World, that we could but comfort ourselves with the hope of so great happiness!

What a sight were this, how pleasant, how worthy of God and his angels, that, as it is said<sup>1</sup> of the Novatian faction and the orthodox of old, men, women, children of both parts, without all guile and close harbours of discon-

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<sup>1</sup> Socr. l. ii. c. 30.

tentment, should mutually bring stones and matter to the building up of this temple of another, yet true, Resurrection!

We will gladly speak unto them; and, if need be, upon our knees; in Cyprian's words:<sup>2</sup> "Since we may not come forth of the sound and true Church of God, and come unto you; let us beseech and entreat you, by whatsoever should be most dear unto you, that you would return to our fraternity, and into the bosom of that Mother Church whence ye are revolted:" and, as he said in Theocritus,<sup>3</sup> "yet, at last, be persuaded." We are both brothers of one blood: why will you needs fight more against yourselves, than your brethren?

But, alas, sooner may God create a new Rome, than reform the old. Yea, needs must that Church put off itself, and cease to be what it is, ere it can begin to be once again what it was: for, as the Comic Poet<sup>4</sup> said in the like

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<sup>2</sup> Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Theocr. Idyl. κβ': 'Αλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πείθεσθε, &c.

<sup>4</sup> ——— *nunc simul res, fides, fama, virtus,  
Decusque deseruerunt: ego sum in usu  
Factus nimio nequior—nec videor mihi &c.*  
Plaut. Mostellar.

“ both substance, credit, fame, virtue, honour, have at once forsaken her; and by long disuse have left her worse than nought: neither do I see how these houses can be repaired, but they must be pulled down to the very foundations, and then built from the ground.”

But, if there be any likelihood of remedy yet to be hoped for, surely, it must needs come either from herself or from others.

Can it be first from herself, which obstinately defends her errors, not only with tongue and pen, but with fire and sword too? which will not yield so much, as that she can err? which refused to amend those notorious abuses, which, by the moderate verdict of her elect cardinals, were condemned? And, lastly, which, by the palpable flatteries of her last and worst parasites, the Jesuits, is grown, not secure only, but prouder than ever she was?

Can it be then from others? How oft hath this been endeavoured, in vain! Rome may be sacked and battered, as it hath often been, by military forces; but, purged by admonitions, convictions, censures, it will never be. I remember, on this occasion, what Sisinnius the lector ad-

vised<sup>5</sup> Bishop Nectarius in the like case: That he had ever found disputations so far from reconciling of schisms, that they are still wont to inflame the minds of heretics to suffer contention.

What then? can it be from herself and others? Alas, how should it; unless either others had power, or herself had will to be redressed? For, certainly, if there be any one spark of good hope yet alive, it must be in the aid and determination of a General Council: and such a Synod is no less impossible, than reconciliation itself. For, who shall call it? who shall sit president in it? who shall be present, and give their voices? what shall be the rule of the decisions? what the order of execution?

Let them bring forth, if they will, the sister or the daughter of that their Tridentine Assembly:<sup>6</sup> who can hold from smiles and scorn? Forsooth, they would deal with us, as Luther wittily jested of the summoning of this Council by Paul the Third, much like unto them, that mock a hungry dog with a

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<sup>5</sup> Socr. l. v. c. 10. *Poteruntne verò pacem esse pati pacis dissolutores?*

<sup>6</sup> Synod. Ariminens.

crust and a knife; who, instead of giving him the bread, let him feel the haft. Well may we resolve, with Nazianzen, to avoid all such meetings of Bishops; for that no such Synod ever did good, but tended rather to the decay than advantage of the Church.<sup>7</sup>

I remember Isidore derives the Latin word *Concilium*, à *ciliis oculorum*; for that all direct the sight of their minds into one centre.<sup>8</sup> There can, therefore, be no Council held by those, which profess a general and public disagreement of judgment. In vain should we endeavour any such course, unless every one of them would resolve to think of peace at home; and would persuade his heart, laying aside all prejudice and wilful respects of faction, ingenuously to submit himself to the truth, when it once appears, and more to regard their souls than their estates.

For can we think it equal, as things now stand, that the same parties should be allowed, witnesses, plaintiffs, defendants, judges in their own cause? Or, shall we perhaps hope, that those

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<sup>7</sup> Ad Constan. Theod. l. ii. c. 19. πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπισκοπων; ὅτι μηδεμίας συνόδου τέλος χρηστον, &c. in Præfat. Concil. Binii.

<sup>8</sup> Optat. Milev. l. vii. Decr. 2. q. *Multi*.

privileges, which have hitherto been treacherously and tyrannically usurped by Papists, will now, upon better advisement, be ingenuously given up by them, and renounced? or, that they will now, at last, thunder and lighten Anathemas against their own heads? Some fools may hope for this, which are unacquainted with that old verse, so common in the mouth and pen of Lipsius,

*Moribus antiquis Res stat Romana, virisque.*

But, for us; unless he, that doth wonders alone, by his stretched-out arm from heaven, should mightily, beyond all hope, effect this; we know too well that it cannot be done.

Only this one thing, which God hath promised, we do verily expect; to see the day, when the Lord Jesus shall, with the breath of his mouth, destroy this *lawless man*,<sup>9</sup> long since revealed to his Church; and, by the brightness of his glorious coming, fully discover, and dispatch him. Not only in the means and way, but in the end also, is Rome opposite to heaven. The heaven shall pass away by a change of quality, not an utter destruction of

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<sup>9</sup> τὸν ἄνομον.

substance:<sup>10</sup> Rome, by destruction, not by change. Of us, therefore, and them, shall that old Bucolick Verse be verified :

Out of each others' breast their swords they  
drew ;  
Nor would they rest, till one the other slew.<sup>11</sup>

GLORY TO GOD, VICTORY TO THE TRUTH,  
WAR WITH HERESY, PEACE TO THE  
CHURCH. Amen.

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<sup>10</sup> Hier. in Matt. xxiv.

<sup>11</sup> Theocr. Idyl. κβ'. Τὼ δ' ἄορ' ἐκ κολεοῦν,  
&c.





**THE REMEDY OF DISCON-  
TENTMENT.**

**OR,**

**A TREATISE OF CONTENTATION IN  
WHATSOEVER CONDITION,  
FIT FOR THESE SAD AND TROUBLED  
TIMES.**



TO  
THE CHRISTIAN READER,  
GRACE AND PEACE.

**W**HAT can be more seasonable, than, when all the world is sick of Discontentment, to give Counsels and Recipes of Contentation?

Perhaps the patient will think it a time ill chosen for physic, in the midst of a fit: but, in this case, we must do as we may. I confess, I would rather have staid till the paroxism were happily over; that so, the humours being somewhat settled, I might hope for the more kindly operation of this wholesome medicine. But, partly, my age and weakness, despairing to outlive the public distemper; and, partly, my judgment, crossing the vulgar opinion for the season of some kind of Recipes; have now put me upon this safe and useful prescription.

God is my witness, that I wrote this in the depth of mine own afflictions; the particulars whereof, it were unseasonable to trouble the world withal: as one, that meant to make myself my own patient, by enjoining myself that course of remedies, that I pre-

*scribe to others ; and as one, who, by the powerful working of God's Spirit within me, labour to find my heart framed to those holy dispositions, which I wish and recommend to every Christian soul.*

*If there be no remedy, but the worst of outward troubles must afflict us ; it shall be happy yet, if we may find inward peace in our bosoms : which shall be, if we can reconcile ourselves to our offended God ; and calm our spirits to a meek undergoing of those sufferings, which the Divine Providence hath thought fit to measure forth unto us. This is the main drift of this ensuing labour.*

*Now the same God, who hath, in these blustering times, put into my heart these quiet thoughts of Holy Contentation, bless them in every hand, that shall receive them ; and make them effectual to the good of every soul, that shall now and hereafter entertain them ! that so their gracious proficiency may, in the day of the appearance of our Lord Jesus, add to the joy of my account ; who am the unworthiest of the servants of God and his Church.*

*J. N.*



## THE REMEDY OF DISCONTENTMENT.

### INTRODUCTION.

*The Excellency of Contentation ;  
and how it is to be had.—The  
Contrariety of Estates, wherein  
Contentation is to be exercised.*

**I**F there be any happiness to be found upon earth, it is in that, which we call Contentation. This is a flower, that grows not in every garden. The great Doctor of the Gentiles tells us, that he had it. *I have learned*, saith he, *in what estate soever I am, therewith to be content : I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound.*<sup>1</sup> Lo, he could not have taken out this lesson, if he had not learnt it : and he could not have learnt it of any other, than his Master in Heaven. What face soever philosophy may set upon it, all morality cannot reach it ; nei-

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<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 11. *ἔμαθον* : Verse 12, *μεμύημαι*.

ther could his learned Gamaliel, at whose feet he sat, have put this skill into him : no, he learnt it since he was a Christian, and now professeth it. So as it appears, there is a Divine Art of Contentation to be attained in the School of Christ : which whosoever hath learnt, hath taken a degree in heaven ; and now knows, how to be happy, both in want and abundance.

The nature of man is extremely querulous. We know not what we would have ; and, when we have it, we know not how to like it. We would be happy : yet we would not die. We would live long : yet we would not be old. We would be kept in order : yet we would not be chastised with affliction. We are loth to work : yet are weary of doing nothing. We have no list to stir : yet find long sitting painful.<sup>2</sup> We have no mind to leave our bed : yet find it a kind of sickness to lie long. We would marry ; but would not be troubled with household cares : when once we are married, we wish we had kept single. If, therefore, grace have so mastered nature in us, as to render us content

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<sup>2</sup> *Si sedeas, requies est magna laboris ; si multum sedeas, labor est.* Tert. Carm.

with whatever condition, we have attained to no small measure of perfection. Which way soever the wind blows, the skilful mariner knows how to turn his sails to meet it. The contrariety of estates to which we lie open here, gives us different occasions for the exercise of Contentation. I cannot blame their choice, who desire a middle estate, betwixt want and abundance; and to be free from those inconveniences, which attend both extremes. Wise Solomon was of this diet: *Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with the food of my meet allowance*; Prov. xxx. 8. Lo, he, that had all, desired rather to have but enough. And, if any estate can afford contentment in this life, surely this is it, in the judgment and experience of the wisest heathen.<sup>3</sup> But, forasmuch as this equal poise is hardly attainable by any man, and is more proper for our wishes and speculation than for our hopes, true wisdom must teach us so to compose ourselves, that we may be fit to entertain the discontentments and dangers of those excesses and defects, which we cannot but meet with in the course of our mortal life: and, surely, we shall find,

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<sup>3</sup> Senec. de Tranquil.

that both extremes are enemies to this good temper of the soul: prosperity may discompose us, as well as an adverse condition: the sunshine may be as troublesome to the traveller, as the wind or rain. Neither know I whether is more hard to manage, of the two; a dejected estate, or a prosperous; whether we may be more incommodated with a resty horse, or with a tired one.

## PART THE FIRST.

### CONTENTATION, IN KNOWING HOW TO WANT.

**L**ET us begin with that, which nature is wont to think most difficult: that, contrary to the practice of learners, we may try to take out the hardest lesson first. Let us therefore learn, in the first place, *HOW TO WANT*.

### CHAP. I.

#### WHAT IT IS TO KNOW HOW TO WANT, AND TO BE ABASED.

SECT. 1.—*How many do not know  
how to want.*

**C**OULD we teach men how not to want, we should have disciples

enough. Every man seeks to have, and hates to lack. Could we give an antidote against poverty, it would be too precious. And why can we not teach men even this lesson too? *The Lord is my shepherd*, saith David; *therefore can I lack nothing*; Ps. xxiii. 1: and most sweetly, elsewhere; *Oh, fear the Lord, ye that be his saints; for they, that fear him, lack nothing. The lions do lack and suffer hunger; but they, which seek the Lord, shall want no manner of thing that is good*; Ps. xxxiv. 9, 10. *Let God be true, and every man a liar.* Certainly, if we were not wanting to God, in our fear of him, in our faithful reliance upon him, in our conscionable seeking of him, he, whose the earth is and the fulness of it, would not suffer our careful endeavours to go weeping away. But, if it so fall out, that his most wise Providence finds it better for us to be held short in our worldly estate; as it may be the great Physician sees it most for our health to be kept fasting: it is no less worth our learning, to know how to want. For, there is many a one, that wants; but knows not how to want, and therefore his need makes him both offensive and miserable.

There are those, that are poor and proud; one of the Wise Man's three abominations; *Ecclus. xxv. 2*: foolish Laodiceans, that bear themselves for rich, increased with goods, and lacking nothing; when they are no other than wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked; *Rev. iii. 17*. These men know not how to want: their heart is too big for their purse: and, surely, pride, though every where odious; yet doth no where so ill, as in rags.

There are those, that are poor and envious; looking with an evil eye upon the better fare of others: as, surely, this vice dwells more commonly in cottages, than in palaces. How displeas'dly doth the beggar look upon the larger alms of his neighbour: grudging to another whatever falls beside himself; and misliking his own dole, because the next hath more! whose eye, with the discontented labourers, is evil, because his master's is good, *Matt. xx. 15*; neither do these men know how to want.

There are those, that want distrustfully; measuring the merciful provision of the Almighty, by the line of their own sense: as the Samaritan peer, when, in the extremity of a pre-

sent famine, he heard the Prophet foretel a sudden plenty; *Behold, if the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be?* 2 Kings vii. 2.

There are those, that want impatiently; repining at God's dealing with them, and making their own impotent anger guilty of a further addition to their misery: as the distressed king of Israel, in a desperate sense of that grievous dearth; *Behold, this evil is of the Lord; what should I wait on the Lord any longer?* 2 Kings vi. 33; and those wretched ones, who, when the fourth angel had poured out his phial upon the sun, being scorched with the extremity of the heat, blasphemed the God of Heaven; Rev. xvi. 9, 11. In this kind, was that sinful techiness of Jonah. When I see a poor worm, that hath put itself out of the cool cell of the earth, wherein it was lodged; and now, being beaten upon by the sun-beams, lies wriggling upon the bare path, turning itself every way in vain, and not finding so much as the shade of a leaf to cover it; I cannot but think of that fretting prophet, when, wanting the protection of his gourd, he found himself scalded with that strong reflection; looking up

wrathfully towards that sun, from whom he smarted, could say to the God that made it, *I do well to be angry, even to the death*; Jonah iv. 9.

Lastly, there are those, that are poor and dishonest, even out of the very suggestion of their want. It was the danger hereof, that made Agur, the son of Jakeh, pray against penury; *Lest I be poor, and steal; and, by forswearing it, take the name of God in vain*; Prov. xxx. 9.

SECT. 2.—*Who they are, that know how to want.*

**T**HESSE, and perhaps others, do and must want; but, in the mean time, they do that, which they know not how to do: There is a skill in wanting, which they have not.

**THOSE ONLY KNOW HOW TO WANT**, that have learnt to frame their mind to their estate; like to a skilful musician, that can let down his strings a peg lower, when the tune requires it; or like to some cunning spagirick, that can intend or remit the heat of his furnace, according to occasion: those, who, when they must be abased, can stoop submissly; like to a gentle reed, which, when the wind blows stiff, yields every way: those,

that in an humble obeisance, can lay themselves low at the foot of the Almighty, and put their mouth in the dust; that can patiently put their necks under the yoke of the Highest, and can say, with the Prophet, *Truly, this is my sorrow, and I must bear it*; Jer. x. 19: those, that can smile upon their afflictions; rejoicing in tribulation; singing in the jail, with Paul and Silas, at midnight: lastly, those, that can improve misery to an advantage; being the richer for their want; bettered, with evils; strengthened, with infirmities; and can truly say to the Almighty, *I know that of very faithfulness thou hast afflicted me*: never could they have come out so pure metal, if they had not passed under the hand of the refiner; never had they proved so toward children, if they had not been beholden to the rod.

These are they, that know how to want, and to be abased; and have effectually learned to be content with the meanest condition.

## CHAP. II.

### HOW TO BE ATTAINED.

**T**O which happy temper **THAT WE MAY ATTAIN**, there will be use of, 1. Certain **CONSIDER-**

RATIONS: 2. Certain DISPOSITIONS: and 3, Certain RESOLUTIONS. These three shall be as the Grounds and Rules of this our Divine Art of Contentation.

SECT. 1.— *Considerations for Contentment: which respect,*

- (1.) *The DIVERSITIES OF LIFE; as*  
 [1.] *Of the Valuation of Earthly Things; viz. (a.) The Transitoriness of Life, Honour, Beauty, Strength, and Pleasure; (b.) Unsatisfying Condition of them; (c.) Danger of over-esteeming them:—*  
 [2.] *Of Divine Providence overruling all Events:—* [3.] *Of the Worse Condition of Others:—* [4.] *Of the Inconveniences of Great Estates; viz. (a.) Expose to Envy; (b.) Macerate with Cares; (c.) Danger of Distemper, both bodily and spiritual; (d.) Torment in Parting; (e.) Account to be rendered:—* [5.] *Of the Benefits of Poverty; viz. (a.) Freedom from Cares; (b.) Freedom from Fears of Keeping; (c.) Freedom from Fears of Losing:—* [6.] *Of how little will suffice Nature:—* [7.] *Of the Miseries of Discontentment:—* [8.] *Of the Vicissitudes of Favours and Crosses:—* [9.] *Ex-*

*amples of Contentation, both within and without the Church of God.*

- (2.) **DEATH** *itself: wherein are to be considered, [1.] Remedies against the Terrors of Death; viz. (a.) Necessity and Benefit of Death; (b.) Conscience of a well-led Life; (c.) Final Peace with God; (d.) Efficacy of Christ's Death applied; (e.) Comfortable Expectation of certain Resurrection, and immediate Vision of God:—[2.] Miseries and Inconveniences of the continued Conjunction of Soul and Body; viz. (a.) Defilement of Sin Original; (b.) Proneness to Sin; (c.) Difficulty of doing well; (d.) Dulness of Understanding; (e.) Perpetual Conflicts; (f.) Solitude of Cares; (g.) Multiplicity of Passions; (h.) Retardation of Glory.*

**T**HESE CONSIDERATIONS respect, either the *Diversities of Life; or, Death itself.*

(1.) Those which respect the *Diversities of Life*, are such as follow:—

[1.] The First Consideration shall be, of the *Just Valuation of all these Earthly Things*: which, doubtless, is such, as that the wise Christian cannot but set a low price upon them; in respect, first, of their *Transitoriness*;

secondly, of their Insufficiency of Satisfaction; thirdly, the Danger of their Fruition.

(a.) At the best, they are but Glassy Stuff; which, the finer it is, is so much more brittle: yea, what other, than those gay bubbles, which children are wont to raise from the mixed soap and spittle of their walnut-shell; which seem to represent pleasing colours, but, in their flying up, instantly vanish? There is no remedy: either they must leave us, or we must leave them.

Well may we say that of the Psalmist, which Campian was reported to have often in his mouth; *My soul is continually in my hands*: and who knows, whether it will not expire, in our next breathing? How many have shut their eyes in a healthful sleep, who have waked in another world! we give too large scope to our account, while we reckon seven years for a Life: a shorter time will serve; while we find the revolution of less than half those years, to have dispatched five Cæsars and five Popes.<sup>1</sup> Nay, who can assure himself of the next mo-

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<sup>1</sup> Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Æl. Pertinax, Didius.—Anno D. 1275, 1276, Gregor. X. Innocent V. Hadrian V. John XX. vel XXI. Nicolaus III.

ment? It is our great weakness, if we do not look upon every day as our last. Why should we think ourselves in a better condition, than the Chosen Vessel, who deeply protested to *die daily*? 1 Cor. xv. 31. What a poor complaint was that of the great conqueror of the Jews, Titus Vespasian; who, putting his head out of his sick litter, querulously accused heaven, that he must die, and had not deserved it! when he might have found it guilt enough, that he was a man; and, therefore, by the very sentence of nature condemned, I know not whether to live or die. Indeed, what can we cast our eyes upon, that doth not put us in mind of our frailty? All our fellow-creatures die for us, and by us. The day dies into night. The trees, and all other plants of the earth, suffer a kind of autumnal mortality. The face of that common mother of us all, doth, at the least, in winter, resemble death. But, if the Angel of Death, as the Jews term him, shall respite and relieve us for the time; alas, how easily may we have over-lived our comforts! If death do not snatch us away from them, how many thousand means of casualties, of enemies, may snatch them away from us! He, that was the greatest man of

all the sons of the East, within a few days became a spectacle and proverb of penury; which still sticks by him, and so shall do to the world's end; "As poor as Job." The rich plain of Jordan, which, over-night, was *as the garden of the Lord*, is, in the morning, covered over with *brimstone, and salt, and burning*; Gen. xv. 10, Deut. xxix. 23. *Wilt thou cause thine eyes to fly upon that which is not?* saith wise Solomon! Prov. xxiii. 5; *for riches certainly make themselves wings: they fly away as an eagle towards heaven:* if we have wings of desire to fly after them, they are nimbler of flight to outstrip us; and leave us no less miserable in their loss, than we were eager in their pursuit.

As for Honour, what a mere shadow it is! Upon the least cloud interposed, it is gone; and leaves no mention where it was. The same sun sees Haman adored in the Persian Court, like some earthly deity; and, like some base vermin, waving upon his gibbet. Do we see the great, and glorious Cleopatra, shining in the pompous majesty of Egypt? stay but a while, and ye shall see her in the dust; and her two children, whom she proudly styled the Sun and the Moon, driven, like miserable

captives, before the chariot of their conqueror. *Man, being in honour, abideth not*, saith the Psalmist, Ps. xlix. 12. He perisheth: but his greatness, as more frail than he, is oftentimes dead and buried before him; and leaves him the surviving executor of his own shame. It was easy for the captive prince, to observe in the chariot-wheel of his victor, that, when one spoke rose up, another went down; and both these in so quick a motion, that it was scarce distinguished by the eye. Well, therefore, may we say of honour, as Ludovicus Vives said of Scholastical Divinity; *Cui fumus est pro fundamento.*<sup>2</sup> It is built upon smoke: how can it be kept from vanishing?

As for Beauty, what is it, but a dash of nature's tincture laid upon the skin, which is soon washed off with a little sickness? what, but a fair blossom, that drops off so soon as the fruit offers to succeed it? what, but a flower, which, with one hot sun-gleam, weltereth and falls? He, that had the choice of a thousand faces, could say, *Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity*; Prov. xxxi. 30.

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<sup>2</sup> Ludo. Vives in 3 de Civit. censurâ notatus Vallosillo.

Lastly, for Strength and Vigour of Body, if it could be maintained till our old age, alas, how soon is that upon us, ere we be aware! How doth it then shrivel our flesh, and loosen our sinews, and cripple our joints! Milo, when he looked upon his late brawny arms, and saw them now grown lank and writhled, lets fall tears; and bewrays more weakness of mind, than he had before bodily strength. But how often doth sickness prevent the debilitations of age; pulling the strongest man upon his knees; and making him confess, that *youth*, as well as *childhood*, is vanity! Eccl. xi. 10.

As for Pleasure, it dies in the birth; and is not therefore worthy to come into this Bill of Mortality.

Do we then, upon sad consideration, see and feel the manifest Transitoriness of Life, Riches, Honour, Beauty, Strength, Pleasure, and whatever else can be dear and precious to us in this world; and can we dote upon them so, as to be too much dejected with our parting from them? Our Saviour bids us consider the lilies of the field; Matt. vi. 28: and, he that made both, tells us, that Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Surely, full well are they worth our consider-

ing. But, if those beauties could be as permanent, as they are glorious, how would they carry away our hearts with them! now, their fading condition justly abates of their value. Would we not smile at the weakness of that man, that should weep and howl, for the falling of this tulip, or that rose; abandoning all comfort for the loss of that, which he knows must flourish but his month? It is for children, to cry for the falling of their house of cards; or the miscarriage of that painted gewgaw, which the next shower would have defaced: wise Christians know how to apprise good things according to their continuance; and can therefore set their hearts only upon the invisible comforts of a better life, as knowing that *the things, which are not seen, are eternal.*

(b.) But, were these earthly things exempted from that fickleness, which the God of Nature hath condemned them unto; were they, the very memory whereof perisheth with their satiety, as lasting, as they are brittle: yet, what comfort could they yield for the soul to rest in? Alas, their Efficacy is too Short, to reach unto a True Contentation! Yea, if the best of them were perpetuated unto us, upon the

fairest conditions that this earth can allow, how intolerably tedious would it prove in the fruition ! Say, that God were pleased to protract my life to the length of the age of the first founders of mankind ; and should, in this state of body, add hundreds of years to the days of my pilgrimage : woe is me, how weary should I be of myself, and of the world ! I, that now complain of the load of seventy-one years, how should I be tired out, ere I could arrive at the age of Parr ! but, before I could climb up to the third century of *Johannes de Temporibus*, how often should I call for death ; not to take up, but to take off my burden, and, with it, myself !

But, if any or all these earthly blessings could be freed from these grievances, wherewith they are commonly tempered ; yet, how little satisfaction could the soul find in them ! What are these outward things, but very luggage, which may load our backs, but cannot lighten our hearts ? Great and wise Solomon, that had the full command of them all, cries out *Vanity of vanities* : and a greater monarch than he, shuts up the scene with, “ I have been all things, and am never the better.” All these are of too narrow an extent, to fill the capacious soul of

man ; the desires whereof are enlarged with enjoying : so as, the more it hath, the less it is satisfied. Neither, indeed, can it be otherwise : the eye and the ear are but the purveyors for the heart ; if, therefore, the eye be not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing, (Eccl. i. 8.) how shall the heart say, It is enough ?

Now, who would suffer himself to be too much disquieted with the loss of that, which may vex him, but cannot content him ? We do justly smile at the folly of that vain lord, of whom Petrarch speaks ; who, when a horse, which he dearly loved, was sick, laid that steed of his on a silken bed, with a wrought pillow under his head ; and caused himself, then afflicted with the gout, to be carried on his servants' shoulders to visit that dear patient ; and, upon his decease, mourned solemnly for him, as if it had been his son. We have laughed at the fashion of the girls of Holland, who, having made to themselves gay and large babies, and laid them in a curious cradle, feign them to sicken and die, and celebrate their funeral with much passion. So fond are we, if, having framed to ourselves imaginary contentments here in the world, we give

way to immoderate grief in their miscarriage.

(c.) Neither are these earthly comforts more defective, in yielding full satisfaction to the soul, than Dangerous, in their Over-Dear Fruition: for too much delight in them, robs us of more solid contentments. The world is a cheating gamester; suffering us to win at the first, that at last he may go away with all. Our very table may be made our snare; and those things, which should have been for our wealth, may be unto us an occasion of falling; Ps. lxxix. 22. Leo, the fourth emperor of Constantinople, delighted extremely in precious stones: with these he embellishes his crown, which, being worn close to his temples, strikes such a cold into his head, that causeth his bane. Yea, how many, with the too much love of these outward things, have lost, not their lives only, but their souls! No man can be at once the favourite of God and the world; as that Father said truly: or, as our Saviour, in fuller terms, *No man can serve two masters, God and Mammon.* Shortly, the world may be a dangerous enemy: a sure friend, it cannot be.

If, therefore, we shall, like wise men, value things at their due prices,

since we are convinced in ourselves, that all these earthly comforts are so **Transitory** in their Nature, so **Unsatisfying** in their Use, and so **Dangerous** in their Enjoying, how little reason have we, to be too much affected with foregoing them ! Our blood is dear to us, as that, wherein our life is ; yet, if we find that it is either infected or distempered, we do willingly part with it, in hope of better health : how much more, with those things, which are farther from us, and less concerning us !

[2.] The Second Consideration is, of that *All-wise Providence which ordereth all events*, both in heaven and earth ; allotting to every creature his due proportion ; so over-ruling all things to the best, that we could not want, if he knew it better for us to abound. This station he hath set us in, this measure he hath shared out to us, whose will is the rule of good : what we have therefore, cannot but be best for us.

The world is a large chess-board : every man hath his place assigned him : one is a King ; another, a Knight ; another, a Pawn ; and each hath his several motion : without this variety, there could be no game played. A skilful player will not stir one of these

chips, but with intention of an advantage: neither should any of his men either stand or move, if, in any other part of that chequer, it might be in more hope to win.

There is no estate in this world, which can be universally good for all. One man's meat may be another man's medicine, and a third man's poison. A Turk finds health and temper in that opium, which would put one of us into our last sleep. Should the ploughman be set to the gentleman's fare, this chicken, that partridge or pheasant, would, as over-slight food, be too soon turned over; and leave his empty stomach, to quarrel for stronger provision: beef is for his diet; and, if any sauce needs besides his hunger, garlic. Every man hath, as a body, so a mind of his own: what one loves is abhorred of another.

The great Housekeeper of the World knows how to fit every palate with that, which either is or should be agreeable to it, for salubrity, if not for pleasure. Lay before a child, a knife and a rod, and bid him take his choice, his hand will be straight upon that edge-tool, especially if it be a little gilded and glittering; but the parent knows the rod to be more safe for

him, and more beneficial. We are ill-carvers for ourselves: he, that made us, knows what is fit for us; either for time, or measure: without his Providence, not a hair can fall from our heads.

We would have bodily health: I cannot blame us: what is the world to us, without it? he, whose we are, knows sickness to be for the health of the soul: whether should we, in true judgment, desire? We wish to live: who can blame us? life is sweet: but, if our Maker have ordained, that nothing but death can render us glorious, what madness is it to stick at the condition!

Oh, our gross infidelity, if we do not believe that great Arbitrer of the World, infinitely wise to know what is best for us, infinitely merciful to will what he knows best, infinitely powerful to do what he will! And, if we be thus persuaded, how can we, but, in matter of good, say with Blessed Mary, *Behold thy servant: be it unto me according to thy word?* and, in matter of evil, with good Eli, *It is the Lord, let him do what he will?*

[3.] In the Third place, it will be requisite for us, to cast our eyes upon the *Worse Condition of Others*, per-

haps better deserving than ourselves : for, if we shall whine and complain of that weight, which others do run away cheerfully withal, the fault will appear to be, not in the heaviness of the load, but in the weakness of the bearer.

If I be discontented with a mean dwelling, another man lives merrily in a thatched cottage : if I dislike my plain fare, the four captive children feed fair and fat with pulse and water ; Dan. i. 12, 13 : if I be plundered of my rich suits, I see a more cheerful heart under a russet coat, than great princes have under purple robes : if I do gently languish upon my sick bed, I see others patient under the torments of the cholic, or stone, or strangury : if I be clapped up within four walls, I hear Petronius profess, he would rather be in prison with Cato, than at liberty with Cæsar ; I hear Paul and Silas sing like nightingales in their cages : am I sad, because I am childless ? I hear many a parent wish himself so : am I banished from my home ? I meet with many, *of whom the world was not worthy, wandering about in sheep-skins, in goat-skins, in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of earth* ; Heb. xi. 38 : what am I, that I should speed better, than

the miserablest of these patients? what had they done, that they should fare worse than I? If I have little, others have less : if I feel pain, some others torture : if their sufferings be just, my forbearances are merciful ; my provisions, to theirs, liberal.

It is no ill counsel therefore, and not a little conducing to a contented want, that great persons should sometimes step aside into the homely cottages of the poor ; and see their mean stuff, coarse fare, hard lodgings, worthless utensils, miserable shifts ; and to compare it with their own delicate and nauseating superfluities. Our great and learned king Alfred was the better, all his life after, for his hidden retiredness in a poor neat-herd's cabin ; where he was sheltered, and sometimes also chidden, by that homely dame. Neither was it an ill wish of that wise man, That all great princes might first have some little taste, what it is to want ; that so their own experience might render them more sensible of the complaints of others.

Man, though he be absolute in himself, and stand upon his own bottom ; yet is he not a little wrought upon by examples, and comparisons with others : for, in them, he sees what he

is, or may be ; since no events are so confined to some special subjects, as that they may not be incident to other men.

Merits are a poor plea, for any man's exemption ; while our sinful infirmities lay us all open to the rod of divine justice : and, if these dispensations be merely out of favour, why do I rather grudge at a lesser misery, than bless God for my freedom from a greater judgment ? Those, therefore, that suffer more than I, have cause of more humbling ; and I, that suffer less than they, have cause of more thankfulness. Even mitigations of punishment are new mercies : so as others' torments do no other, than heighten my obligations. Let me not, therefore, repine, to be favourably miserable.

[4.] The Fourth Consideration shall be, of the *Inconveniencies, which do oftentimes attend a Fulness of Estate* : such, and so many, as may well make us sit down content with a little.

(a.) Whereof, let the first be Envy ; a mischief, not to be avoided of the great. This shadow follows that body, inseparably. All the curs in the street are ready to fall upon that dog, that goes away with the bone ; and every

man hath a cudgel to fling at a well-loaded tree : whereas a mean condition is no eye-sore to any beholder. Low shrubs are not wont to be struck with lightning ; but tall oaks and cedars feel their flames. While David kept his father's sheep at home, he might sing sweetly to his harp in the fields, without any disturbance ; but, when he once comes to the court, and finds applause and greatness creep upon him, now, emulation, despite, and malice, dog him close at the heels, wheresoever he goes : let him leave the court, and flee into the wilderness ; there, these blood-hounds follow him, in hot suit : let him run into the land of the Philistines ; there, they find him out, and chase him to Ziklag : and if, at the last, he hath climbed up to his just throne, and there hopes to breathe him after his tedious pursuit ; even there, he meets with more unquietness, than in his desert ; and, notwithstanding all his royalty, at last cries out, *Lord, remember David, and all his troubles ;* Ps. cxxxii. 1. How many have we known, whom their wealth hath betrayed, and made innocent malefactors ! who might have slept securely, upon a hard bolster ; and, in a poor estate, out-lived both their judges and

accusers ! Besides, on even ground, a fall may be harmless ; but he, that falls from on high, cannot escape bruising. He, therefore that can think the benefits of eminence can countervail the dangers which haunt greatness, let him affect to overtop others : for me, let me rather be safely low, than high with peril.

(b.) After others' envy, the next attendant upon greatness is our own Cares. How do these disquiet the beds, and sauce the tables, of the wealthy ! breaking their sleeps ; galling their sides ; embittering their pleasures ; shortening their days. How bitterly do we find the holiest men complaining of those distractions, which have attended their earthly promotions ! Nazianzen<sup>3</sup> cries out of them, as no other, than the bane of the soul : and that other Gregory, whom we are wont to call the last of the best Bishops of Rome and the first of the bad, passionately bewails this clog of his high preferment : " I confess," saith he, " that while I am outwardly advanced, I am inwardly fallen lower. This burthen-some honour depresses me ; and innumerable cares disquiet me, on all sides :

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<sup>3</sup> G. Naz. Carm. de Calam. suis.

my mind, grown almost stupid with those temporal cares which are ever barking in mine ears, is forced upon earthly things.”<sup>4</sup> Thus he. There are indeed cares, which, as they may be used, may help us on towards heaven: such as Melancthon owns to his Camerarius: “My cares,” saith he, “send me to my prayers, and my prayers dispel my cares:”<sup>5</sup> but those anxieties, which commonly wait upon greatness, distract the mind, and impair the body. It is an observation of the Jewish Doctors, that Joseph, the Patriarch, was of a shorter life, than the rest of his brethren; and they render this reason of it, for that his cares were as much greater, as his place was higher. It was not an unfit comparison of him,<sup>6</sup> who resembled a coronet upon the temples, to a pail upon the head; we have seen those, who have carried full and heavy vessels on the top of their heads; but then, they have walked evenly and erect under that load: we never saw any, that could dance under such a weight: if either they bend or move vehemently, all their carriage is spilled. Earthly greatness is a nice thing; and

<sup>4</sup> Greg. l. vii. Epist. 12. 7.

<sup>5</sup> In vita Melanct.

<sup>6</sup> Shichardus.

requires so much chariness in the managing, as the contentment of it cannot requite. He is worthy of honey, that desires to lick it off from thorns. For my part, I am of the mind of him, who professed, not to care for those favours, that compelled him to lie waking.

(c.) In the next place, I see greatness not more pale and worn with cares, than swollen up and sickly with Excess. Too much oil poured in, puts out the lamp.

Superfluity is guilty of a world of diseases, which the spare diet of poverty is free from. How have we seen great men's eyes surfeited at that full table, whereof their palate could not taste; and they have risen, discontentedly glutted with the sight of that, which their stomach was incapable to receive: and when, not giving so much law to nature, as to put over their gluttonous meal, their wanton appetite charging them with a new variety of curious morsels and lavish cups, they find themselves overtaken with feverous distempers; the physician must succeed the cook, and a second sickness must cure the first.

But, alas, these bodily indispositions are nothing to those spiritual evils,

which are incident into secular greatness. It is a true word of St. Ambrose,<sup>7</sup> seconded by common experience, that a high pitch of honour is seldom held up without sin : and St. Jerome tells us,<sup>8</sup> it was a common proverb in his time, That a rich man either is wicked, or a wicked man's heir : not, but that rich Abraham may have a bosom for poor Lazarus to rest in ; and many great kings have been great saints in heaven, and there is still room for many more : but that, commonly, great temptations follow great estates, and oftentimes overtake them : neither is it for nothing, that riches are, by our Blessed Saviour, styled, *The mammon of iniquity* ; and wealth is, by the holy Apostle, branded with deceitfulness, 1 Tim. vi. 9 : such as cheat many millions of their souls.

(d.) Add unto these, if you please, the torment of Parting with that pelf and honour, which hath so grossly bewitched us : such as may well verify that, which Lucius long since wrote<sup>9</sup> to the Bishops of France and Spain, That one hour's mischief makes us forget the pleasure of the greatest

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<sup>7</sup> Ambros. l. iv. Epist. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Hieron. Ep. ad Hedibium.

<sup>9</sup> Ep. Lucii ad Episc. Gall. et Hisp.

excess. I marvel not at our English Jew, of whom our story speaks, that would rather part with his teeth, than his bags : how many have we known, that have poured out their life together with their gold ; as men, that would not out-live their earthen god ! Yea, woe is me ! how many souls have been lost, in the sin of getting, and in the quarrel of losing this *thick clay*, as the Prophet terms it !

(e.) But, lastly, that, which is yet the sorest of all the inconveniences, is the sadness of the Reckoning, which must come in, after these plentiful entertainments : for there is none of all our cares here, but must be billed up : and great accompts must have long audits. How hard a thing it is, in this case, to have an *Omnia æquè !* in the failing whereof, how is the conscience affected ! I know not whether more tormented, or tormenting the miserable soul : so as the great owner is but, as witty Bromiard compares him, like a weary jade ; which, all the day long, hath been labouring under the load of a great treasure, and, at night, lies down with a galled back.

By that time, therefore, we have summed up all, and find here Envy,

Cares, Sicknesses both of body and soul, Torment in Parting with, and more Torment in Reckoning for these earthly greatnesses ; we shall be convinced of sufficient reason, to be well apaid with their want.

[5.] Let the Fifth Consideration be, the *Benefit of Poverty* : such, and so great, as are enough to make us in love with having nothing.

(a.) For, first, what an advantage is it, to be free from those gnawing cares, which, like Tityus's vulture, feed upon the heart of the great ! Here is a man, that sleeps, Ethiopian-like, with his doors open : no dangers threaten him : no fears break his rest : he starts not out of his bed, at midnight, and cries, "Thieves !" he feels no rack of ambitious thoughts : he frets not, at the disappointment of his false hopes : he cracks not his brain, with hazardous plots : he misdoubts no undermining of emulous rivals ; no traps of hollow friendship ; but lives securely in his homely cottage, quietly enjoying such provision, as nature and honest industry furnish him withal : for his drink, the neighbour-spring saves him the charge of his excise ; and, when his better earnings have fraught his trencher with a warm and

pleasing morsel, and his cup with a stronger liquor, how cheerfully is he affected with that happy variety, and, in the strength of it, digests many of his thinner meals! meals, usually sauced with a healthful hunger; wherein no incocted crudities oppress nature, and cherish disease. Here are no gouts, no dropsies, no hypochondriac passions, no convulsive fits, no distempers of surfeits: but a clear and wholesome vigour of body; and an easy putting over the light tasks of digestion, to the constant advantage of health.

(b.) And, as for outward dangers, what a happy immunity doth commonly bless the poor man! How can he fear to fall, that lies flat upon the ground? The great Pope, Boniface the Seventh, when he saw many stately buildings ruined with earthquakes, is glad to raise him a little cabin of boards, in the midst of a meadow; and there finds it safest to shelter his triple crown. When great men hoist their top-sail, and launch forth into the deep, having that large clue, which they spread, exposed to all winds and weathers; the poor man sails close by the shore: and, when he foresees a storm to threaten him, puts into the next creek; and wears out, in a quiet

security, that tempest, wherein he sees prouder vessels miserably tost, and, at last, fatally wrecked. This man is free from the peril of spiteful machinations: no man whets his axe to cut down a shrub; it is the large timber of the world, that hath cause to fear hewing. Neither is he less free inwardly, from the galling strokes of a self-accusing conscience: here is no remurmuring of the heart, for guilty subornations; no checks, for the secret contrivances of public villanies; no heart-breaking for the failings of bloody designs, or late remorse for their success; but quiet and harmless thoughts, of seasonable frugality, of honest recreation, with an uninterrupted freedom of recourse to heaven.

(c.) And if, at any time, by either hostile or casual means, he be bereft of his little, he smiles in the face of a thief; and is no whit astonished, to see his thatch on a flame; as knowing how easy a supply will repair his loss. And, when he shall come to his last close, his heart is not so glued to the world, that he should be loth to part: his soul is not tied up in bags; but flies out freely, to her everlasting rest. Oh, the secret virtue and happiness of poverty; which none but the right

disposed mind knows how to value ! It was not for nothing, that so many great Saints have embraced it, rather than the rich proffers of the world ; that so many great Princes have exchanged their thrones for quiet cells. Whoso cannot be thankful for a little, upon these conditions, I wish he may be punished with abundance.

[6.] Neither will it a little avail to the furtherance of our Contentation, to consider *How Little will Suffice Nature* ; and that all the rest is but matter of opinion.

It is the Apostle's charge, *Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content* ; 1 Tim. vi. 8. Indeed, what use is there, of more, than what may nourish us within, and cover us without ? If that be wholesome and agreeable to our bodily disposition, whether it be fine or coarse, nature passes not : it is merely Will, that is guilty of this wanton and fastidious choice.

It is fit, that civility should make difference of clothing ; and that weakness of body, or eminence of estate, should make differences of diets : else, why not russet, as well as scarlet ? beef, as pheasant ? The grasshopper feeds on dew, the chameleon on air : what care they for other viands ?

Our books<sup>10</sup> tell us, that those anchorites of old, that went aside into wildernesses, and sustained themselves with the most spare diet, such as those deserts could afford, outlived the date of other men's lives; in whom nature is commonly stifled, with a gluttonous variety. How strong and vigorous, above their neighbour-Grecians, were the Lacedemonians held, of old; who, by the ordinance of their lawgiver, held themselves to their black broth: which when Dionysius would needs taste of, his cook truly told him, that if he would relish that fare, he must exercise strongly, as they did, and wash in Urotas! Who knows not, that our island doth not afford more able bodies, than they, that eat and drink oats? And whom have we seen more healthful and active, than the children of poor men, trained up hardly in their cottages; with fare as little, as coarse?

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<sup>10</sup> *Paulo, primo Eremitæ, in speluncâ viventi, palma et cibum et vestimentum præbebat: quod cùm impossibile videatur, Jesum testor et Angelos, vidisse me Monachos, de quibus unus, per 30 annos clausus, hordeaceo pane et lutulentâ aquâ vixit. Hieron. de Vita Pauli. Revelatur Antonio nonagenario, de Paulo agente jam 113 annum, esse alium se sanctiorem Monachum.— Ibid.*

Do I see a poor Indian, husbanding one tree to all his household uses; finding, in that one plant, timber, thatch, meat, medicine, wine, honey, oil, sauce, drink, utensils, ships, cables, sails? and do I rove over all the latitude of nature, for contentment? Our appetite is truly unreasonable; neither will know any bounds. We begin with necessaries, as Pliny<sup>11</sup> justly observes; and, from thence, we rise to excess; punishing ourselves, with our own wild desires: whereas, if we were wise, we might find mediocrity an ease.

Either extreme is alike deadly. He, that over-afflicts his body, kills a subject; he, that pampers it, nourishes an enemy.<sup>12</sup> Too much abstinence turns vice: and too much ingurgitation is one of the seven; and, at once, destroys both nature and grace. The best measure of having or desiring, is, not what we would, but what we ought:<sup>13</sup> neither is he rich, that hath much; but he, that desireth not much. A discreet frugality is fittest, to moderate both our wishes and expenses: which if we want, we prove danger-

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<sup>11</sup> Plin. l. xxvi. c. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Hugo Instit. Monac. Reg. S. Columb.

<sup>13</sup> Senec. Epist. 88.

ously prodigal in both; if we have, we do happily improve our stock, to the advantage of ourselves and others.

[7.] The next inducement to Contentation, shall be the serious consideration of the miserable *Inconveniences of the Contrary Disposition.*

Discontentment is a mixture of anger and of grief; both which are wont to raise up fearful tempests in the soul. *He teareth himself in his anger*, saith Bildad, concerning that Mirror of Patience; Job xviii. 4. And, *The sorrow of the world worketh death*, saith the Chosen Vessel: so as the male-content, whether he be angry or sad, mischiefs himself both ways.

There cannot be a truer word, than that of wise Solomon, *Anger resteth in the bosom of fools*; Eccl. vii. 9. What can be more foolish, than for a man, because he thinks God hath made him miserable by crosses, to make himself more miserable by his own distempers? If the clay had sense, what a mad thing were it, for it to struggle with the potter! and if a man will spurn against strong iron pikes, what can he hope to carry away, but wounds? How witless a thing it is, for a man to torment himself, with the thoughts of those evils, that are

past all remedy! What wise beholder would not have smiled with pity and scorn, to have seen great Augustus, after the defeat of some choice troops, to knock his head against the wall; and to hear him passionately cry out, "O Varus, restore me my lost legions!" Who would not have been angry with that choleric Prophet, to hear him so furiously contest with his Maker, for a withered gourd? What an affliction was it to good Jacob, more than the sterility of a beloved wife, to hear Rachel say, *Give me children, or else I die!* Gen. xxx. 1: yea, how ill did it sound in the mouth of the Father of the Faithful; *Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless!* Gen. xv. 2. Yet, thus froward and techy is nature, in the best. If we may not have all we would have, all that we have is nothing: if we be not perfectly humoured, we are wilfully unthankful: all Israel is nothing worth to Ahab, if he may not have one poor vineyard. How must this needs irritate a munificent God, to see his bounty contemned, out of a childish pettishness! How can he forbear, to take away from us his slighted mercies? How can he hold his hand, from plaguing so

ungrateful disrespects of his favours ?

As for that other passion of Grief, what woeful work doth it make in ungoverned minds ! How many have we known, that, out of thought for unrecoverable losses, have lost themselves ! how many have run from their wits ! how many, from their lives ! yea, how many, that, out of an impatience to stay the leisure of vengeance, have made their own hands their hasty executioners ! And, even where this extremity prevails not, look about, and ye shall see men, that are not able matches to their passions, woefully macerating themselves, with their own thoughts ; wearing out their tedious days, upon the rack of their own hearts ; and making good that observation of the Wise Man, *By the sorrow of the heart, the spirit is broken ;* Prov. xv. 13.

Now all these mischiefs might have been happily prevented, by a meek yieldance of ourselves to the hands of an all-wise and an all-merciful God ; and, by an humble composure of our affections to a quiet suffering. It is in the power of patience, to calm the heart in the most blustering trials ; and, when the vessel is most tossed, yet to secure the freight ; Ps. xxxvii.

7. James v. 7. This, if it do not abate of our burden, yet it adds to our strength; and wins the Father of Mercies, both to pity and retribution: whereas, murmuring Israelites can never be free from judgments; and it is a dreadful word, that God speaketh of that chosen nation, *Mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest: it, still, yelleth against me; therefore have I hated it*; Jer. xii. 8. A child, that struggles under the rod, justly doubles his stripes; and an unruly malefactor draws on, besides death, tortures.

[8.] Furthermore, it is a main help towards Contentation, to consider the *Gracious Vicissitudes of God's Dealing with us*: how he intermixes favours with his crosses; tempering our much honey, with some little gall. The best of us are but shrewd children; yet, *he chides us not always*, saith the Psalmist; Ps. ciii. 9. He smiles often, for one frown; and why should we not take one with another? It was the answer, wherewith that admirable Pattern of Patience stopped the querulous mouth of his tempting wife, *What! shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* Job. ii. 10.

It was a memorable example, which

came lately to my knowledge, of a worthy Christian, who had lived to his middle age in much health and prosperity; and was now, for his two last years, miserably afflicted with the strangury: who, in the midst of his torments, could say, "O my Lord God, how gracious hast thou been unto me! thou hast given me eight and forty years of health, and now but two years of pain. Thou mightest have caused me to lie in this torture, all the days of my life; and now, thou hast carried me comfortably through the rest, and hast mercifully taken up with this last parcel of my torment. Blessed be thy name for thy mercy, in forbearing me; and for thy justice, in afflicting me." To be thankful for present blessings, is but ordinary; but, to be so thankful for mercies past, that the memory of them should be able to put over the sense of present miseries, is a high improvement of grace.

The very heathens, by the light of nature and their own experience, could observe this interchange of God's proceedings; and made some kind of use of them, accordingly. Camillus, after he had, upon ten years' siege, taken the rich city Veios, prayed that some

mishap might befall himself and Rome, to temper so great a happiness;<sup>14</sup> when one would have thought the price would not countervail the labour, and the loss of time and blood: and Alexander the Great, when report was made to him of many notable victories achieved by his armies, could say, "O Jupiter, mix some misfortune with these happy news." Lo, these men could tell, that it is neither fit nor safe, for great blessings to walk alone; but, that they must be attended with their pages, afflictions: why should not we Christians expect them with patience and thanks?

They say, thunder and lightning hurts not, if it be mixed with rain. In those hot countries, which lie under the scalding zone, when the first showers fall after a long drought, it is held dangerous to walk suddenly abroad; for that the earth, so moistened, sends up unwholesome steams: but, in those parts, where the rain and sunshine are usually interchanged, it is most pleasant to take the air of the earth, newly refreshed with kindly showers. Neither is it otherwise, in the course of our lives. This medley

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<sup>14</sup> Livius.

of good and evil conduces, not a little, to the health of our souls : one of them must serve to temper the other ; and both of them to keep the heart in order.

Were our afflictions long, and our comforts rare and short, we had yet reason to be thankful : the least is more than God owes us : but now, when if *heaviness endure for a night, joy cometh in the morning*, and dwells with us, so that some fits of sorrow are recompensed with many months of joy ; how should our hearts overflow with thankfulness, and easily digest small grievances, out of the comfortable sense of larger blessings !

But, if we shall cast up our eyes to heaven, and there behold the glorious remuneration of our sufferings, how shall we contemn the worst, that earth can do unto us ! There, there is glory enough, to make us a thousand times more than amends, for all that we are capable to endure. Yea, if this earth were hell, and men devils, they could not inflict upon us those torments, which might hold any equality with the glory which shall be revealed ; and, even of the worst of them, we must say, with the blessed Apostle ; *Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more*

*exceeding, eternal weight of glory*; 2 Cor. iv. 17. When the blessed proto-martyr Stephen had stedfastly fixed his eyes on heaven; and, that curtain being drawn, had seen the heavens opened, and therein the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, Acts vii. 56, do we think he cared ought, for the sparkling eyes, and gnashed teeth, and killing stones of the enraged multitude? O poor impotent Jews, how far was that divine soul above the reach of your malice! how did he triumph over your cruelty! how did he, by his happy evolation, make all those stones precious!

[9.] Lastly, it cannot but be a powerful motive unto Contentation, that we lay before us the notable *Examples of Men, whether worse or better than ourselves*, that have been eminent in the practice of this virtue: men, that, out of the mere strength of morality, have run away with losses and poverty, as a light burden; that, out of their free choice, have fallen upon those conditions, which we are ready to fear and shrink from.

What a shame is it for Christians, to be outstripped herein by very Pagans?

If we look upon the ancient philosophers, their low valuation of these outward things, and their willing abdication of those comforts wherewith others were too much affected, made them admired of the multitude. Here do I see a cynic housed in his tub, scorning all wealth and state; and making still even, with his victuals and the day:<sup>15</sup> who, when he was invited to supper to one of Alexander's great lords, could say, "I would rather lick salt at Athens, than feast with Craterus." Here I meet with him, whom their oracle styled the wisest of men, walking bare-foot in a patched, thread-bare cloak; contemning honours, and all earthly things: and, when that garment would hang no longer on his back, I can hear him say, "I would have bought a cloak, if I had had money:" "After which word," saith Seneca, "whosoever offered to give, came too late:" Apollodorus, amongst the rest, sends him a rich mantle, towards his end; and is refused: with what patience, doth this man bear the loud scoldings of his Xantippe; making no other of them, than the creaking of a cart-wheel! with what brave resolution,

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<sup>15</sup> ἡμερόβιος.

doth he repel the proffers of Archelaus ; telling him how cheap the market afforded meal at Athens, and the fountains water ! Here I meet with a Zeno, formerly rich in his traffic for purple, now impoverished by an ill sea-voyage ; and can hear him say, “ I sailed best, when I shipwrecked.” Here I see an Aristippus, drowning his gold in the sea, that it might not drown him. Here I can hear a Democritus, or Cleanthes, when he was asked how a man should be rich, answer, “ If he be poor in desires.” What should I speak of those Indian Sophists, that took their name from their nakedness ; whom we hear to say,<sup>16</sup> “ The sky is our house, and the earth our bed : we care not for gold : we contemn death ?” One of them can tell Onesicritus, “ As the mother is to the child, so is the earth to me : the mother gives milk to her infant ; so doth the earth yield all necessaries to me.” And, when gold was offered to him, by that great conqueror, “ Persuade,” said he, “ if thou canst, these birds, to take thy silver and gold, that they may sing the sweeter ; and, if thou canst not

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<sup>16</sup> *Inter Opera Ambrosii, De Moribus Brachmannorum.*

do that, wouldst thou have me worse than them?" Adding, moreover, in a strong discourse, "natural hunger, when we have taken food, ceaseth; and, if the mind of man did also naturally desire gold, so soon as he hath received that which he wished, the desire and appetite of it would presently cease; but, so far is it from this satiety, that the more it hath, the more it doth, without any intermission, long for more; because this desire proceeds not from any motion of nature; but only out of the wantonness of man's own will, to which no bounds can be set." Blush, O Christian Soul, whosoever thou art that readest these lines, to hear such words falling from heathen lips; when thou seest those, that profess godliness, dote upon these worthless metals, and transported with the affection and cares of these earthly provisions.

If, from these patterns of men that should be below ourselves, we look up to the more noble precedents of Prophets and Apostles, lo, there, we find Elijah, fed by ravens; Elisha, boarding with his poor Sareptan hostess; a hundred prophets, fed by fifty in a cave, with bread and water, 1 Kings xviii. 13, the sons of the prophets,

for the enlarging of their over-strait lodgings, hard at work : they are their own carpenters, but their tools are borrowed ; 2 Kings vi. 2-5. There, we shall find a few barley loaves and little fishes, the household provision of our Saviour's train. Yea, there, we find the most glorious Apostle, the great Doctor of the Gentiles, employing his hands to feed his belly ; busily stitching of skins for his tent-work.

Yea, what do we look at any or all of these, when we see the Son of God, the God of all the World, in the form of a servant ? Not a cratch to cradle him in, not a grave to bury him in, was his own : and he, that could command heaven and earth, can say, *The foxes have holes, and the birds have nests ; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head ;* Matt. viii. 20.

Who now can complain of want, when he hears his Lord and Saviour, but thus provided for ? He could have brought down with him a celestial house, and have pitched it here below, too glorious for earthen eyes to have looked upon : he could have commanded all the precious things, that lie shrouded in the bowels of the earth, to have made up a majestic palace for him, to the dazzling of the eyes of

all beholders : he could have taken up the stateliest court, that any earthly monarch possessed, for his peculiar habitation : But his straitness was spiritual and heavenly : and he, that owned all, would have nothing ; that he might sanctify want unto us ; and that he might teach us, by his blessed example, to sit down contented with any thing, with nothing.

By that time, therefore, we have laid all these things together, and have seriously considered of the Mean Valuation of all these Earthly Things, for their Transitoriness, Unsatisfaction, Danger ; of the over-ruling Providence of the Almighty, who most wisely, justly, mercifully disposeth of us, and all events that befall us ; of the worse Condition of many thousand Others ; of the great Inconveniencies that attend Great and Full Estates ; of the secret Benefits of Poverty ; of the Smallness of that Pittance that may suffice Nature ; of the Miseries that wait upon Discontentment ; of the merciful Vicissitudes of Favours, wherewith God pleaseth to interchange our Sufferings ; and, lastly, the great Examples of those, as well without as within the bosom of the Church, that have gone before us, and led us the way to Con-

tentation: our judgment cannot chuse, but be sufficiently convinced, that there is abundant reason to win our hearts, to a quiet and contented entertainment of want, and all other outward afflictions.

(2.) But all these intervenient miseries are slight, in comparison of the last and utmost of evils, *Death*. Many a one grapples cheerfully with these trivial afflictions, who yet looks pale and trembles at the King of Fear. His very name hath terror in it; but his looks more. The courageous champion of Christ, the blessed Apostle, and, with him, every faithful soul, makes his challenge universal, to whatsoever estate he is in: to the estate of *Death*, therefore, no less than the afflictive incidents of life. When, therefore, this ghastly giant shall stalk forth, and bid defiance to the whole host of Israel; and when the timorous unbelievers shall run away at the sight of him, and endeavour to hide their heads from his presence; the good soul, armed, not with the unmeet and cumbersome harness of flesh and blood, but with the sure though invisible, armour of God, dares come forth to meet him; and, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, both bids him battle, and foils him in

the combat ; and now, having laid him on the ground, can triumphantly say, *O Death, where is thy sting ? O Grave, where is thy victory ?*

[1.] Five smooth pebbles there are, which if we carry in our scrip, we shall be able to Quell, not only the Power of Death, but the Terror too.

(a.) Whereof the first is, a sure apprehension of both the unavoidable Necessity and certain Benefit of Death : a Necessity, grounded upon the just and eternal decree of heaven. *It is appointed to all men, once to die,* Heb. ix. 27 ; and what a madness were it, for a man to think of an exemption from the common condition of mankind ! Mortality is, as it were, essential to our nature : neither could we have had our souls, but upon the terms of a re-delivery, when they shall be called for. If the holiest saints or the greatest monarchs sped otherwise, we might have some colour of repining : now, grieve if thou wilt, that thou art a man ; grieve not, that, being man, thou must die. Neither is the Benefit inferior to the necessity. Lo here the remedy of all our cares, the physic for all our maladies, the rescue from all our fears and dangers ; earnestly sued for by the painful, dearly welcome to

the distressed: yea, lo here the cherub, that keeps the gate of paradise: there is no entrance, but under his hand: in vain do we hope to pass to the glory of heaven, any other way, than through the gates of death.

(b.) The second is, the Conscience of a Well-led Life. Guiltiness will make any man cowardly, unable to look danger in the face; much more, death: whereas, the innocent is bold as a lion. What a difference therefore there is, betwixt a martyr and a malefactor! This latter knows he hath done ill; and, therefore, if he can take his death but patiently, it is well: the former knows he hath done well; and, therefore, takes his death not patiently only, but cheerfully.

(c.) But, because no mortal man can have so innocently led his life, but that he shall have passed many offences against his most holy and righteous God; here must be, thirdly, a Final Peace firmly made betwixt God and the Soul. Two powerful agents must mediate in it; a lively faith and a serious repentance: for those sins can never appear against us, that are washed off with our tears; and, *being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord*

*Jesus Christ*; Rom. v. 1. Now, if we have made the judge our friend, what can the sergeant do?

(d.) The fourth is, the Power and Efficacy of Christ's Death, applied to the soul. Wherefore died he, but that we might live? Wherefore would he, who is the Lord of Life, die, but to sanctify, season, and sweeten death to us? Who would go any other way, than his Saviour went before him? Who can fear that enemy, whom his Redeemer hath conquered for him? Who can run away from that serpent, whose sting is pulled out? O Death, my Saviour hath been thy death; and, therefore, thou canst not be mine.

(e.) The fifth is, the comfortable Expectation and Assurance of a certain Resurrection and an immediate Glory. I do but lay me down to my rest: I shall sleep quietly, and rise gloriously. My soul, in the mean time, no sooner leaves my body, than it enjoys God. It did lately, through my bodily eyes, see my sad friends, that bid me farewell with their tears: now, it hath the bliss-making vision of God. I am no sooner launched forth, than I am at the haven, where I would be. Here is that, which were able to make amends for a thousand

deaths; a glory, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible.

This spiritual ammunition shall sufficiently furnish the soul, for her encounter with her last enemy: so as, she shall not only endure, but long for this combat; and say, with the Chosen Vessel, *I desire to depart, and to be with Christ*; Phil. i. 23.

[2.] Now, for that long conversation causeth entireness; and the parting of old friends and partners (such the soul and body are) cannot but be grievous, although there were no actual pain in the dissolution: it will be requisite for us, seriously to consider the State of this Conjunction; and to enquire, what good offices the one of them doth to the other, in their continued union, for which they should be so loth to part.

And here we shall find, that those two, however united to make up one person; yet, as it falls out in cross matches, they are in continual domestic jars one with the other, and entertain a secret familiar kind of hostility betwixt themselves: *For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other*; Gal. v. 17. One says well, that if

the body should implead the soul, it might bring many foul impeachments against it; and sue it, for many great injuries done to that earthly part: and the soul, again, hath no fewer quarrels against the body: betwixt them both, there are many brawls, no agreement.

Our Schools have reckoned up, therefore, Eight main Incommodities, which the soul hath cause to complain of, in her conjunction with the body.

(a.) Whereof the first is, the Defilement of Original Sin, wherewith the soul is not tainted, as it proceeds, alone, from the pure hands of its Creator; but, as it makes up a part of a son of Adam, who brought this guilt upon human nature: so as now, this composition, which we call man, is corrupt. *Who can bring a clean thing out of that, which is unclean?* saith Job.

(b.) The second is, a Proneness to Sin, which, but by the meeting of these partners had never been. The soul, if single, would have been innocent: thus matched, what evil is it not apt to entertain! An ill consort is enough to poison the best disposition.

(c.) The Difficulty of Doing Well, is the third: for, how averse are we, by this conjunction, from any thing that is good! This clog hinders us

from walking roundly in the ways of God. *The good, that I would do, I do not*: saith the Chosen Vessel; Rom. vii. 19.

(d.) The fourth is, the Dulness of our Understanding, and the dimness of our mental eyes, especially in the things pertaining unto God; which now we are forced to behold through the vail of flesh. If, therefore, we misknow, the fault is in the mean, through which we do imperfectly discover them.

(e.) The fifth is, a perpetual Impugnation and Self-conflict; either part labouring to oppose and vanquish the other. This field is fought in every man's bosom, without any possibility of peace or truce, till the last moment of dissolution.

(f.) The sixth is, the racking Solicitude of Cares, which continually distract the soul; not suffering it to rest at ease, while it carries this flesh about it.

(g.) The seventh is, the Multiplicity of Passions which daily bluster within us, and raise up continual tempest in our lives; disquieting our peace, and threatening our ruin.

(h.) The eighth is, the Retardation of our Glory: for, *flesh and blood*

*cannot inherit the kingdom of God* : we must lay down our load, if we would enter into heaven. The seed cannot fructify, unless it die. I cannot blame nature, if it could wish not to be *unclothed*, but to be *clothed upon*; 2 Cor. v. 4 : but so hath the Eternal Wisdom ordered, that we should first lay down, ere we can take up; and be divested of earth, ere we can partake of heaven.

Now then, since so many and great discommodities do so unavoidably accompany this match of soul and body, and all of them cease instantly in the act of their dissolution, what reason have we, to be too deeply affected with their parting? Yea, how should we rather rejoice, that the hour is come, wherein we shall be quit both of the guilt and temptations of sin; wherein the clog shall be taken away from our heels, and the vail from our eyes; wherein no intestine wars shall threaten us, no cares shall disquiet us, no passions shall torment us; and, lastly, wherein we may take the free possession of that glory, which we have hitherto looked at only afar off, from the top of our Pisgah!

SECT. 2.—*Holy Dispositions for Contentment.*

(1.) *Humility* :—(2.) *Self-Resignation* :—(3.) *True Inward Riches.*

**H**ITHERTO we have dwelt in those powerful considerations, which may work us to a quiet contentment with whatsoever adverse estate, whether of life or death : after which, we address ourselves to those meet DISPOSITIONS, which shall render us fully capable of this blessed Contentation ; and shall make all these Considerations effectual to that happy purpose.

(1.) Whereof the first is true *Humility* ; under-valuing ourselves, and setting a high rate upon every mercy that we receive : for, if a man have attained unto this, that he thinks every thing too good for him, and himself less than the least blessing, and worthy of the heaviest judgment ; he cannot but sit down thankful for small favours, and meekly content with mean afflictions. As, contrarily, the proud man stands upon points with his Maker ; makes God his debtor ; looks disdainfully at small blessings, as if he said, “ What, no more ? ” and looks angrily at the least crosses, as if he said, “ Why thus much ? ”

The Father of the Faithful hath practically taught us this lesson of humility; who comes to God with dust and ashes in his mouth; Gen. xviii. 27. And the Jewish Doctors tell<sup>17</sup> us truly, that, in every disciple of Abraham, there must be three things; a good eye, a meek spirit, and an humble soul. His grandchild Jacob, the father of every true Israelite, had well taken it out; while he can say to his God, *I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy servant*; Gen. xxxii. 10.

And, indeed, in whomsoever it be, the best measure of grace is humility: for, the more grace still, the greater humility; and, no humility, no grace. Solomon observed of old, and St. James took it from him, that *God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble*; Prov. iii. 34. James iv. 6: so as he, that is not humble, is not so much as capable of grace; and he, that is truly humble, is a fit subject for all graces, and, amongst the rest, for the grace of Contentation.

Give me a man therefore, that is vile in his own eyes; that is sensible

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<sup>17</sup> Pirke Avoth.

of his own wretchedness; that knows what it is to sin, and what belongs to that sin whereof he is guilty: this man shall think it a mercy, that he is any where out of hell; shall account all the evils that he is free from, so many new favours; shall reckon easy corrections amongst his blessings; and shall esteem any blessing infinitely obliging.

Whereas, contrarily, the proud beggar is ready to throw God's alms at his head; and swells at every lash, that he receives from the divine hand.

Not without great cause, therefore, doth the Royal Preacher oppose *the patient in spirit, to the proud in spirit*; Eccl. vii. 8: for the proud man can no more be patient, than the patient can be discontent with whatsoever hand of his God. Every toy puts the proud man beside his patience: if but a fly be found in Pharaoh's cup, he is straight in rage, as the Jewish tradition lays the quarrel; and sends his butler into durance: and if the emperor do but mistake the stirrup of our countryman Pope Adrian, he shall dance attendance for his crown: if a Mardochee do but fail of a courtesy to Haman, all Jews must bleed to death: and how unquiet are our vain dames,

if this curl be not set right, or that pin misplaced ! But the meek spirit is incurious ; and so thoroughly subacted, that he takes his load from God, as the camel from his master, upon his knees : and, for men, if they compel him to go one mile, he goes twain ; if they smite him on the right cheek, he turns the other ; if they sue away his coat, he parts with his cloak also ; Matth. v. 39, 40, 41.

Heraclius, the emperor, when he was about to pass through the golden gate, and to ride in royal state through the streets of Jerusalem, being put in mind by Zacharias, the Bishop there, of the humble and dejected fashion, wherein his Saviour walked through those streets towards his Passion, strips off his rich robes, lays aside his crown, and, with bare head and bare feet, submissively paces the same way, that his Redeemer had carried his Cross towards his Golgotha. Every true Christian is ready to tread in the deep steps of his Saviour ; as well knowing, that if he should descend to the gates of death, of the grave, of hell, he cannot be so humbled, as the Son of God was for him.

And, indeed, this, and this alone, is the true way to glory. He, that is

Truth itself, hath told us, that *he, who humbles himself, shall be exalted*: and wise Solomon, *Before honour is humility*; Prov. xv. 33. The fuller treads upon that cloth, which he means to whiten: and he, that would see the stars by day, must not climb up into some high mountain, but must descend to the lower cells of the earth. Shortly, whosoever would raise up a firm building of Contentation, must be sure to lay the foundation in Humility.

(2.) Secondly, to make up a true contentment with the most adverse estate, there is required a faithful *Self-Resignation* into the hands of that God, whose we are; who, as he hath more right in us than ourselves, so he best knows what to do with us.

How graciously hath his mercy invited us to our own ease! *Be careful, saith he, for nothing; but, in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God*; Phil. iv. 6. We are naturally apt, in our necessities, to have recourse to greater powers than our own; even where we have no engagement of their help: how much more should we cast ourselves upon the Almighty, when he

not only allows, but solicits our reliance upon him !

It was a question, that might have befitted the mouth of the best Christian, which fell from Socrates: "Since God himself is careful for thee, why art thou solicitous for thyself?" If evils were let loose upon us, so as it were possible for us to suffer any thing that God were not aware of, we might have just cause to sink under adversities; but now, that we know every dram of our affliction is weighed out to us, by that all-wise and all-merciful Providence; Oh, our infidelity, if we do make scruple of taking in the most bitter dose !

Here then is the right use of that main duty of Christianity, to live by faith. Brute creatures live by sense; mere men, by reason; Christians, by faith. *Now, faith is the substance of things hoped for; the evidence of things not seen; Heb. xi. 1.* In our extremities, we hope for God's gracious deliverance: faith gives a subsistence to that deliverance, before it be. The mercies, that God hath reserved for us, do not yet shew themselves: faith is the evidence of them, though yet unseen.

It was the motto of the learned and

godly Divine, Mr. Perkins, *Fidei vita vera vita*; "The true life, is the life of faith;" a word, which that worthy servant of God did both write and live.

Neither indeed is any other life truly vital, but this: for, hereby, we enjoy God, in all whatsoever occurrences. Are we abridged of means? we feed upon the cordial promises of our God. Do we sigh and groan under varieties of grievous persecutions? out of the worst of them we can pick out comforts; while we can hear our Saviour say, *Blessed are they, which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; Matth. v. 10.* Are we deserted and abandoned of friends? we see him by us, who hath said, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee; Heb. xiii. 5.* Do we droop under spiritual desertsions? we hear the God of Truth say, *For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercy will I gather thee: in a little wrath, I hid my face from thee; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord, thy Redeemer; Is. liv. 7, 8.* Are we driven from home? *If we take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there also shall*

*thy hand lead us, and thy right-hand shall hold us; Ps. cxxxix. 8, 9, 10. Are we dungeoned up from the sight of the sun: Peradventure the darkness shall cover us; but then shall our night be turned into day; yea, the darkness is no darkness with thee; vv. 11, 12. Are we cast down upon the bed of sickness? He, that is our God, is the God of Salvation; and, unto God the Lord belong the issues from death; Ps. lxxviii. 20.*

It cannot be spoken, how injurious those men are to themselves, that will be managing their own cares; and plotting the prevention of their fears; and projecting their own, both indemnity and advantages: for, as they lay an unnecessary load upon their own shoulders, so they draw upon themselves the miseries of an unremediable disappointment. Alas, how can their weakness make good those events, which they vainly promise to themselves; or avert those judgments, they would escape; or uphold them in those evils, they must undergo? Whereas, if we put all this upon a gracious God, he contrives it with ease; looking for nothing from us, but our trust and thankfulness.

(3.) In the third place, it will be

most requisite to furnish the soul with *True Inward Riches*: I mean not of mere moral virtues, which yet are truly precious when they are found in a good heart; but of a wealth as much above them, as gold is above dross; yea, as the thing, which is most precious, is above nothing.

And this shall be done, if we bring Christ home to the soul; if we can possess ourselves of him, who is God all-sufficient. For, such infinite contentment there is, in the Son of God made ours, that whosoever hath tasted of the sweetness of this comfort, is indifferent to all earthly things; and so, insensible of those extreme differences of events, wherewith others are perplexed. How can he be dejected with the want of anything, who is possessed of him, that possesseth all things? How can he be over-affected with trivial profits or pleasures, who is taken up with the God of all Comfort?

Is Christ mine, therefore? how can I fail of all contentment? How can he complain to want light, that dwells in the midst of the sun? How can he complain of thirst, out of whose belly flow *rivers of living waters*? John vii. 38. What can I wish, that my Christ is not to me? Would I have

meat and drink? *My flesh is meat indeed; and my blood is drink indeed;* John vi. 55. Would I have clothing? *But, put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ,* saith the Apostle; Rom. xiii. 14. Would I have medicine? He is *the Tree of Life, the leaves whereof are for the healing of the nations;* Rev. xxii. 2. Would I have safety and protection? *He truly is my strength and my salvation: he is my defence, so as I shall not fall. In God is my health and my glory; the rock of my might; and in God is my trust;* Ps. lxii. 6, 7. Would I have direction? *I am the way, and the truth;* John xiv. 6. Would I have life? *Christ is to me to live;* Phil. i. 21. *I am the resurrection and the life;* John xi. 25. Would I have all spiritual good things? We are in Christ Jesus, *who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption;* 1 Cor. i. 30.

Oh, the happy condition of the man that is in Christ, and hath Christ in him! Shall I account him rich, that hath store of oxen, and sheep, and horses, and camels; that hath heaps of metals, and some spots of ground? and shall I not account him infinitely more rich, that owns and enjoys him,

whose the earth is, and the fulness of it; whose heaven is, and the glory of it? Shall I justly account that man great, whom the king will honour and place near to himself? and shall I not esteem that man more honourable, whom the King of Heaven is pleased to admit unto such partnership of glory, as to profess, *To him, that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne; even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne; Rev. iii. 21.*

It is a true word of St. Augustin, that every soul is either Christ's Spouse, or the Devil's Harlot. Now, if we be matched to Christ, the Lord of Glory; what a blessed union is here! What can he withhold from us, that hath given us himself? I could envy the devotion of that man, though otherwise misplaced, whom St. Bernard heard to spend the night in no other words, than, *Deus, meus, et omnia;* "My God, and all things." Certainly, he, who hath that God, hath more than all things: he, that wants him, whatever else he seems to possess, hath less than nothing.

SECT. 3.—*Holy Resolutions for Contentment.* (1.) *That our present estate is best for us:—*(2.) *To abate of our Desires:—*(3.) *To digest smaller Inconveniencies:—*(4.) *To be frequent and fervent in prayer.*

**A**FTER these serious Considerations and meet Dispositions, shall, in the last place, follow certain firm RESOLUTIONS, for the full actuating our Contentment.

(1.) And, first, we must resolve, out of the unfaillable grounds of Divine Providence formerly spoken of, *That the present estate wherein we are, is certainly the best for us; and, therefore, we must herein absolutely captivate our understanding and will, to that of the Highest.*

How unmeet judges are flesh and blood, of the best fitness of a condition for us! As some palates, which are none of the wholesomest, like nothing but sweetmeats; so our nature would be fed up, with the only delicacies of pleasures and prosperity: according to the false principle of Aristippus, that he only is happy, which is delighted. But the all-wise God knows another diet, more fit for our health; and, therefore, graciously

tempers our dishes, with the tart sauces of affliction. The mother of the two sons of Zebedee and her ambitious children, are all for the chief peerage in the temporal kingdom of Christ; but he calls them to a bitter cup and a bloody baptism, rather: and this was a far greater honour, than that they sued for.

There is no earthly estate absolutely good for all persons; like as no gale can serve for all passengers. In Afric, they say, the north wind brings clouds, and the south wind clears up. That plant, which was starved in one soil, in another prospers: yea, that, which in some climate is poison, proves wholesome in another. Some one man, if he had another's blessings, would run wild; and if he had some otherman's crosses, would be desperate.

The infinite wisdom of the great Governor of the World allots every one his due proportion. *The fitches are not thrashed with a thrashing instrument, neither is a cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod, saith Isaiah; ch. xxviii. 27.*

And, no otherwise, in matter of prosperity: Joseph's coat may be party-

coloured; and Benjamin's mess may be five times so much as any of his brethren; Gen. xliii. 34. It is marvel if they, who did so much envy Joseph for his dream of superiority, did not also envy Benjamin for so large a service, and so rich gifts at his parting: this, it seems, gave occasion for the good Patriarch's fear, when he charged them, *See that you fall not out by the way*; Gen. xlv. 24. But, there had been no reason for so impotent an envy: while the gift is free, and each speeds above his desert, who can have cause to repine? It is enough, that Joseph knew a just reason of so unequal a distribution, though it were hidden from themselves. The elder brother may grudge the fat calf and the prime robe to the returned unthrift; but the father knows reason to make that difference.

God is infinitely just and infinitely merciful, in dispensing both his favours and punishment. In both kinds, every man hath that, which is fittest for him; because it is that, which God's will hath designed to him; and that will is the most absolute rule of justice.

Now, if we can so frame our will to his, as to think so too, how can we be

other than contented? Do we suffer? There is more intended to us, than our smart. It was a good speech of Seneca, though a heathen, (what pity it is that he was so!) "I give thanks to my infirmity, which forces me not to be able to do that, which I ought not will to do." If we lose without, so as we gain within; if, in the perishing of the outward man, the inward man be renewed (2 Cor. iv. 16.), we have no cause to complain, much to rejoice. Do I live in a mean estate? If it were better, I should be worse; more proud, more careless: and what a woeful improvement were this! What a strange creature would man be, if he were what he would wish himself! Surely, he would be wickedly pleasant, carelessly profane, vainly proud, proudly oppressive, dissolutely wanton, impetuously self-willed; and, shortly, his own idol, and his own idolater. His Maker knows how to frame him better: it is our ignorance and unthankfulness, if we submit not to his good pleasure.

To conclude, we pray every day, *Thy will be done*: what hypocrites are we, if we pray one thing, and act another! if we murmur at what we wish! All is well between heaven and

us, if we can think ourselves happy to be what God will have us

- (2.) Secondly, we must resolve *To abate of our desires*: for it is the illimitedness of our ambitious and covetous thoughts, that is guilty of our unquietness.

Every man would be and have, more than he is; and is, therefore, sick of what he is not. It was a true word of Democritus, "If we desire not much, we shall think a little much:" and it is suitable to one of the rules of St. Augustin; "It is better to need less, than to have more." Paul, "the richest poor man," as Ambrose<sup>18</sup> well, could say, *As having all things, yet possessing nothing.*

It is not for a Christian, to be of the dragon's temper, which, they say, is so ever thirsty, that no water will quench his drought; and, therefore, never hath his mouth shut: nor, with the daughters of the horse-leech, to cry always, *Give, give*; Prov. xxx. 15. He must confine his desires; and that, to no over-large compass: and must say to them, as God doth to the sea, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no fur-*

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<sup>18</sup> Ambros. de Vitiorum et Virtutum Conflictu.

ther; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed; Job xxxviii. 11.

What a cumber it is, for a man to have too much! to be in the case of Surena, the Parthian lord, that could never remove his family with less than a thousand camels! What is this, but, tortoise-like, to be clogged with a weighty shell, which we cannot drag after us, but with pain? Or, like the ostrich, to be so held down with a heavy body, that we can have no use of our wings? Whereas, the nimble lark rises and mounts, with ease; and sings cheerfully, in her flight.

How many have we known, that have found too much flesh a burden! and, when they have found their blood too rank, have been glad to pay for the letting it out! It was the word of that old and famous Lord Keeper Bacon, the eminent head of a noble and witty family, *Mediocria firma*. There is neither safety, nor true pleasure, in excess. It was a wise and just answer of Zeno, the philosopher; who, reproving the superfluity of a feast, and hearing by way of defence that the maker of it was a great rich man and might well spare it, said; "If thy cook shall oversalt thy broth, and when he is chid for it, shall say, 'I have

store enough of salt lying by me,' wouldest thou take this for a fair answer?"

*My son, eat thou honey, saith Solomon; because it is good; Prov. xxiv. 13, but, to be sure, for the preventing of all immoderation, he adds soon after; Hast thou found honey? eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith; Prov. xxv. 16.* If our appetite carry us too far, we may easily surfeit. This, which is the emblem of pleasure, must be tasted, as Dionysius the Sophist said of old, on the tip of the finger; not to be supped up in the hollow of the hand.

It is with our desires, as it is with weak stomachs; the quantity offends, even where the food is not unwholesome: and, if heed be not taken, one bit draws on another, till nature be over-laid. Both pleasures and profits, if way be given to them, have too much power to debauch the mind, and to work it to a kind of insatiableness. There is a thirst, that is caused with drunkenness; and the wanton appetite, like as they said of Messalina, may be wearied, but cannot be satisfied. It is good therefore, to give austere repulses to the first overtures of

inordinate desires ; and to give strong denials to the first unruly motions of our hearts: for, St. Chrysostom, well; “ Pleasure is like a dog, which, being coyed and stroked, follows us at the heels ; but if rated and beaten off, is driven away from us with ease.”

It is for the Christian heart, to be taken up with other desires ; such as, wherein there can be no danger of immoderateness : these are the holy longings after grace and goodness. This only covetousness, this ambition, is pleasing to God, and infinitely beneficial to the soul. *Blessed are they, which hunger and thirst after righteousness ; for they shall be filled ;* Matt. v. 6. Spiritual blessings are the true riches ; whereof we can never have enough. St. Ambrose<sup>19</sup> said truly, “ No man is indeed wealthy, that cannot carry away what he hath with him. What is left behind, is not ours ; but other men’s. Contemn thou while thou art alive, that, which thou canst not enjoy, when thou art dead.”

As for this earthly trash and the vain delights of the flesh, which we have so fondly doted on, we cannot carry them indeed away with us : but the sting of

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<sup>19</sup> Ambros. Epist. 27.

the guilty mis-enjoying of them, will be sure to stick by us; and, to our sorrow, attend us both in death and judgment. In sum therefore, if we would be truly contented, and happy, our hearts can never be enough enlarged, in our desires of spiritual and heavenly things; never too much contracted, in our desires of earthly.

(3.) Our third resolution must be, to inure ourselves *To digest smaller discontentments*; and, by the exercise thereof, to enable ourselves for greater: as those, that drink medicinal waters, begin first with smaller quantities; and by degrees arise, at last, to the highest of their prescribed measure: or, as the wise *Lacedemonians*, by early scourgings of their boys, inured them, in their riper years, to more painful sufferings. A strong *Milo* takes up his calf at first; and, by continual practice, is now able to carry it, when it is grown a bull.

Such is our self-love, that we affect ever to be served of the best; and that we are apt to take great exceptions at small failings. We would walk always in smooth and even paths, and would have no hindrances in our passage: but, there is no remedy; we must meet with rubs, and perhaps cross shins,

and take falls too in our way. Every one is willing and desirous to enjoy, as they say the city of Rhodes doth, a perpetual sunshine : but we cannot, if we be wise, but know, that we must meet with change of weather ; with rainy days, and sometimes storms and tempests. It must be our wisdom, to make provision accordingly ; and, some whiles, to abide a wetting ; that, if need be, we may endure a drenching also.

It was the policy of Jacob, when he was to meet with his brother Esau, whom he feared an enemy, but found a friend ; to send the droves first ; then, his handmaids, and their children ; then, Leah, with her children ; and, at last, came Joseph and Rachael ; Gen. xxxii. 14, &c. and xxxiii. 5, 6, &c. as one, that would adventure the less dear, in the first place ; and, if it must be, to prepare himself for his dearest loss. St. Paul's companions in his perilous sea-voyage, first, lighten the ship of less necessaries : then, they cast out the tackling ; then, the wheat ; and, in the last place, themselves ; Acts xxvii. 18, 19. It is the use, that wise Socrates made of the sharp tongues of his cross and unquiet wives, to prepare his patience for public sufferings. Surely, he, that cannot en-

sure a frown, will hardly take a blow; and he, that doubles under a light cross, will sink under a heavier: and, contrarily, that good martyr prepares his whole body for the faggot, with burning his hand in the candle.

I remember Seneca, in one of his Epistles, rejoices much, to tell with what patient temper he took it, that, coming unexpectedly to his country-house, he found all things so discomposed, that no provision was ready for him; finding more contentment in his own quiet apprehension of these wants, than trouble in that unreadiness: and thus should we be affected, upon all occasions. Those, that promised me help, have disappointed me: that friend, on whom I relied, hath failed my trust: the sum, that I expected, comes not in at the day: my servant slackens the business enjoined him: the beast, that I esteemed highly, is lost: the vessel, in which I shipped some commodities, is wrecked: my diet and attendance must be abated: I must be dislodged of my former habitation: How do I put over these occurrences? If I can make light work of these lesser crosses, I am in a good posture to entertain greater.

To this purpose, it will be not a lit-

tle expedient, to thwart our appetite, in those things, wherein we placed much delight; and to torture our curiosity, in the delay of those contentments, which we too eagerly affected. It was a noble and exemplary government of these passions, which we find in King David; who, being extremely thirsty, and longing for a speedy refreshment, could say, *Oh, that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem!* but, when he saw that water purchased with the hazard of the lives of three of his Worthies, when it was brought to him he would not drink it, but poured it out unto the Lord; 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, 16, 17. Have I a mind to some one curious dish, above the rest? I will put my knife to my throat; and not humour my palate, so far, as to taste of it. Do I receive a letter of news from a far country, over-night? it shall keep my pillow warm till the morning. Do my importunate recreations call me away? they shall, against the hair, be forcibly adjourned till a further leisure.

Out of this ground it was, that the ancient votaries observed such austerity and rigour, in their diet, clothes, lodging; as those, that knew how re-

quisite it is, that nature should be held short of her demands, and continually exercised with denials, lest she grow too wanton and impetuous in her desires. That, which was of old given as a rule to Monastic persons, is fit to be extended to all Christians: They may not have a will of their own; but must frame themselves to such a condition and carriage, as seems best to their Superior.

If, therefore, it please my God, to send me some little comfort, I shall take that as an earnest of more: and, if he exercise me with lesser crosses, I shall take them as preparatives to greater: and endeavour to be thankful for the one, and patient in the other; and contented with God's hand, in both.

(4.) Our last resolution must be, *To be frequent and fervent in our prayers to the Father of all Mercies*, that he will be pleased to work our hearts, by the power of his Spirit, to this constant state of Contentation; without which, we can neither consider the things that belong to our inward peace, nor dispose ourselves towards it, nor resolve ought for the effecting it; without which, all our Considerations, all our Dispositions,

all our Resolutions, are vain and fruitless. Justly, therefore, doth the blessed Apostle, after his charge of avoiding all carefulness for these earthly things, enforce the necessity of our Prayers and Supplications, and making our requests known unto God; Phil. iv. 6. who both knows our need, and puts these requests into our mouths. When we have all done, they are the requests of our hearts, that must free them from cares, and frame them to a perfect contentment.

There may be a kind of dull and stupid neglect, which, possessing the soul, may make it insensible of evil events, in some natural dispositions; but a true temper of a quiet and peaceable estate of the soul, upon good grounds, can never be attained, without the inoperation of that Holy Spirit, from whom every good gift, and every perfect giving proceedeth; James i. 17.

It is here contrary to these earthly occasions: with men, he, that is ever craving, is never contented; but, with God, he cannot want contentment, that prays always.

If we be not unacquainted with ourselves, we are so conscious of our own weakness, that we know every puff of temptation is able to blow us over:

they are only our prayers, that must stay us from being carried away, with the violent assaults of discontentment; under which, a praying soul can no more miscarry, than an indevout soul can enjoy safety.

## PART THE SECOND.

CONTENTATION, IN KNOWING HOW TO  
ABOUND.

*The Difficulty of Knowing how to abound: and the Ill Consequences of Not Knowing it.*

**L**ET this be enough for the remedy of those distempers which arise from an Adverse condition.

As for *PROSPERITY*, every man thinks himself wise and able enough, to know how to govern it, and himself in it. A happy estate, we imagine, will easily manage itself, without too much care. Give me but sea-room, saith the confident mariner; and let me alone, whatever tempest arise.

Surely, the great Doctor of the Gentiles had never made this holy boast of his divine skill, *I know how to abound*, if it had been so easy a matter, as the world conceives it.

Mere ignorance, and want of self-experience, is guilty of this error.

Many a one abounds in wealth and honour, who abounds no less in miseries and vexation. Many a one is carried away with an unruly greatness, to the destruction of body, soul, estate. The world abounds every where, with men, that do abound; and yet, do not know how to abound: and those, especially, in three ranks; the Proud, the Covetous, the Prodigal: the Proud is thereby transported to forget God; the Covetous, his neighbour; the Prodigal, himself.

Both wealth and honour are of a swelling nature; raising a man up, not only above others, but above himself; equalling him to the powers immortal; yea, exalting him above all that is called God. Oh, that vile dust and ashes should be raised to that height of insolence, as to hold contestation with its Maker! *Who is the Lord?* saith the king of Egypt; Exod. v. 2. *I shall be like to the Highest: I am; and there is none besides me;* saith the king of Babylon; Isa. xiv. 14. xlvii. 8. *The voice of God, and not of man,* goes down with Herod; Acts xii. 22. And how will that Spirit trample upon men, that dare vie

with the Almighty ! Hence are all the heavy oppressions, bloody tyrannies, imperious domineerings, scornful insultations, merciless outrages, that are so rife amongst men, even from hence, that they know not how to abound.

The Covetous man abounds with bags, and no less with sorrows ; verifying the experience of wise Solomon : *There is a sore evil, which I have seen under the sun, riches kept for the owners thereof, to their hurt ; Eccl. v. 13.* What he hath got with injustice, he keeps with care, leaves with grief, and reckons for with torment. I cannot better compare these money-mongers, than to bees : they are busy gatherers ; but it is for themselves : their masters can have no part of their honey, till it be taken from them ; and they have a sting ready for every one, that approaches their hive ; and their lot, at the last, is burning. What maceration is there here, with fears and jealousies ! What cruel extortion and oppression exercised upon others ! and all, from no other ground, than this, that they know not how to abound !

The Prodigal feasts and sports, like an Athenian ; spends, like an emperour, and is ready to say, as Heliogabalus

did of old, "Those cates are best, that cost dearest;"<sup>20</sup> caring more for an empty reputation of a short gallantry, than for the comfortable subsistence of himself, his family, his posterity: like Cleopes, the vain Egyptian king, which was fain to prostitute his daughter for the finishing of his pyramid. This man lavisheth out, not his own means alone, but his poor neighbours; running upon the score with all trades, that concern back or belly; undoing more with his debts, than he can pleasure with his entertainments: none of all which should be done, if he knew how to abound.

Great skill, therefore, is required to the governing of a plentiful and prosperous estate; so as it may be safe and comfortable to the owner, and beneficial unto others. Every corporal may know how to order some few files; but, to marshal many troops in a regiment, many regiments in a whole body of an army, requires the skill of an experienced general. But the rules and limits of Christian Moderation, in the use of our honours, pleasures, profits, I have at large laid

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<sup>20</sup> Ælius Lamprid.

forth in a former Discourse. Thither I must crave leave to send the benevolent reader; beseeching God to bless unto him these and all other labours, to the happy furtherance of his grace and salvation. Amen.

**THE END.**



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