first city
9 22 1843
GOLDEN REMAINS
of the ever Memorable
Mr. John Hales
of Eton College &c.

LONDON
Printed for Tim. Cartwright
at the Little North doore
do of St. Paul's.
1689

Reason.

Revelation.

CONTROVERSERS of the Times
Like Spirits in the Minerals, with
all their labor nothing is don.
pg. 37
To the Reader.

If that Reverend and worthy person Mr. Farindon had not died before the Impression of this Book, you had received from that excellent hand an exact account of the Authour's Life, which he had begun, and resolved to perfect, and prefix to this Edition. And as the loss of him is great in many particulars, so especially in this; because there was none to whom Mr. Hales was so thoroughly known as unto him, nor was there any so able to declare his worth, partly by reason of his own abilities eminently known, principally because he learned his Authour from an intimate converse, who was a man never to be truly express'd but by himself.

I am therefore to entreat thee, Reader, being deprived of the proper Plutarch, not to expect any such thing as a Life from me, but to accept of so much only as is here intended. If Mr. Hales were unknown unto thee, be pleased to believe what I know, and affirm to be true of him; if he were known, then only be satisfied that what is published in his name did really proceed from him: and a
more then this needs not to be spoken in reference to the 
advancement of this Work ; because he which knew 
or believeth what an excellent person Mr. Hales was, and 
shall be also persuadeth that he was the Author of this Book, 
cannot chuse but infinitely desire to see and read him 
in it.

In order to the First of these, I shall speak no more 
than my own long experience, intimate acquaintance, 
and high veneration grounded upon both, shall freely 
and sincerely prompt me to. Mr. John Hales, sometime 
Greek Professor of the University of Oxford, 
long Fellow of Eton College, and at last also 
Prebendary of Wincifor, was a man, I think, of 
as great a sharpness, quicknesse and subtity of wit 
as ever this; or, perhaps, any Nation bred. His 
industry did strive, if it were possible, to equall 
the largenesse of his capacity, whereby he became as 
great a Master of polite, various and Universall 
Learning as ever yet convers'd with Bookes. Pro-
portionate to his reading was his Meditation, which 
furnished him with a Judgement beyond the vulgar 
reach of man, built upon unordinary Notions, rais'd 
out of strange observations and comprehensif thoughts 
within himselse. So that he really was a most prodi-
gious Example of an acute and piercing Wit, of a vast 
and illimited Knowledge, of a severe and profound Judge-
ment.

Although this may seeme, as in it selfe it truly is, 
a grand
To the Reader.

a grand Elogium; yet I cannot esteem him less in any thing which belongs to a good man than in those intellectual perfections: and had he never understood a letter hee had other Ornaments sufficient to endear him. For he was of a Nature (as we ordinarily speake) so kinde, so sweet, so courting all mankind, of an affability so prompt, so ready to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it neer as easie a task for any one to become so Knowing as so Obligeing.

A a Christian, none more ever acquainted with the nature of the Gospel, because none more Studious of the knowledge of it, or more curious in the search, which being strengthened by those great advantages before mentioned could not prove otherwise then highly effectual. He took indeed to himselfe a liberty of judgeing, not of others, but for himselfe: and if ever any man might be allowed in these matters to judge, it was he who had so long, so much, so advantageously consider'd, and which is more, never had the least worldly designe in his determinations. He was not onely most truly and strictly just in his Secular transactions, most exemplarily Meeke and Humble notwithstanding his perfections, but beyond all example Charitable, giving unto all, preserving nothing but his Bookes to continue his learning and himselfe: which when he had before digested, he was forced at
To the Reader.

last to feed upon, at the same time the happiest and most unfortunate helluo of Books the grand example of learning and of the envy and contempt which followeth it.

This testimony may be truly given of his Person, and nothing in it liable to the least exception but this alone, that it comes far short of him, Which intimation I conceive more necessary for such as knew him not than all which hath been said.

In reference to the second part of my Design, I confess, while he lived none was ever more solicited and urged to write, and thereby truly to teach the world, than he; none ever so resolved (pardon the expression, so obstinate) against it. His facile and courteous nature learnt onely not to yield to that solicitation. And therefore the World must be content to suffer the losse of all his learning with the deprivation of himself: and yet he cannot be accused for hiding of his talent, being so communicative that his chamber was a Church and his chair a Pulpit.

Onely that there might be some taste continue of him: here are some of his Remaines recolle&ed; such as he could not but write, and such as when written were out of his power to destroy. These consist of two parts, of Sermons, and of Letters, and each of them proceeded from him upon respective obligations. The Letters though written by himself yet were wholly in the power of that Honourable person to whom they were sent, and by that means they were perservd. The Sermons preached on
To the Reader.

On several occasions were snatch'd from him by his friends, and in their hands the Copies were continued, or by transcription dispersed. Of both which I need to say no more then this, that you may be confident they are his.

The Editor hath sent these abroad to explore what well-come they shall find; He hath some more of his Sermons & Tracts in his hands, & desires if any Person have any other Writings of the same Author by him, that he would be pleased to communicate them to the Printer of this work, T. Garthwaite upon promise, and any other engagement, that he will take care to see them Printed, and let forth by themselves. This, Reader, is all the trouble thought fit to be given thee.

By JOHN PEARSON.
Mr. Garthwait.

Am very glad you chose so Judicious an Overseer of those SERMONS of Mr. Hales as Mr. Gunning, whom I always have had in high esteem both for his Learning and Piety; and I am of his Opinion, that they may pass for extraordinary. That Sermon of WRESTLING hard places of Scripture may well begin your Collection. The other on Rom. 14. 1. Him that is weak in the Faith receive, &c. was preach'd at Paul's Cross, and I moved him to print it. That of My Kingdom is not of this World; I once saw and returned to Mr. Hales with foure more which I saw him put into Mr. Chillingworth's hands: I with Dixi Custodiem were perfect, I have often heard him speak of it with a kind of Complacency. That of He speak a Parable that men ought always to pray, I believe is his by the passage of the Spunge and the Knife, which I have heard from his mouth. The Sermon which you had from D. Hammond upon Son remember, &c. was preach'd at Eaton Colledge. The other of Duels was either one or two, and preach'd at the Hague to Sr. D. Carlton and his company. That you call a Letter on I can do all things, is a Sermon. The Sermon of Peter went out and wept, &c.—is under his own hand.

One caution I should put in, that you print nothing which is not written with his own hand, or be very careful in comparing them, for not long since one shewed me a Sermon, which he said was his, which I am confident could not be; for I saw nothing in it which was not Vulgaris monetae, of a vulgar stamp, common, and flat, and low. There be some Sermons, that I much doubt of, for there is little of his spirit and Genius in them, and some that are imperfect, that of Genesis 17. 1. Walk before me, &c. is most imperfect, as appears by the Autographum which I saw at Eaton a fortnight since.
Mr. Farindons Letter.

For his LETTERS, he had much trouble in that kinde from severall friends, and I heard him speak of that friends Letter you mention, pleasantly, Mr. — He sets up Tops and I must whip them for him. But I am very glad to hear you have gained those Letters into your hands written from the Synod of Dort, you may please to take notice that in his younger days he was a Calvinist, and even then when he was employed at that Synod, and at the well pressing 3. S. John 16, by episcopium, — there, I bid John Calvin good night, as he has often told me. I believe they will be as acceptable, or in your phrase as saleable as his Sermons, I would not have you to venture those papers out of your hands to me, for they may miscarry, and I fear it would be very difficult to finde another Copy; peradventure I may shortly see you, at the Term I hope I shall, and then I shall advise you further the best I can about those other Sermons you have.

I see you will be troubled yet a while to put things in a right way. I have drawn in my minde the Model of his Life, but I am like Mr. HALES in this, which was one of his defects, not to pen any thing, till I must needs.

God prosper you in your work and business you have in hand, that neither the Church nor the Author suffer.

Your assured friend to his power.

Septemb.

Anthony Farindon.
CHOICE
SERMONS
PREACHT
ON
SEVERAL EMINENT OCCASIONS.

By Mr. John Hales of Eton College.

LONDON,
Printed for Timothy Garthwait, at the Little North-door of St. Pauls.
2 Pet. 3. 16.

Which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.

Which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.

He love and favour which it pleased God to bear our Fathers before the law, so far prevail'd with him, as that without any books and writings, by familiar and friendly conversing with them, and communicating himself unto them, he made them receive and understand his laws: their inward conceits and intellectual being after a wonderful manner as it were Figured, and Character'd, In Psalm 28. (as St. Basil expresses it) by his Spirit, so that they could not but see, and consent unto, and confess the truth of them. Which way of manifesting his will, unto many other gracious privileges which it had, above that which in after ages came in place of it, had this added, that it brought with it unto the man, to whom it was made, a preservation against all doubt and hesitancy, a full assurance both who the author was, and how far his intent and meaning reach. We that are their offspring ought, as St. Chrysostome tell us, so to have demeand ourselves, that it might have been with us as it was with them, that we might have had no need of writing, no other teacher, but the Spirit, no other books but our hearts, no other means to have been taught the things of God, nisi inspirationis divinae internam suavio-rémove doctrinam, ubi sine fons sermonum & sine elementis literarum, co dulcis quo secretius veritas loquitur; as faith Fulgentius. *Eun-
Abuses of hard places of Scripture.

L.3. Epis. 106. Isidorus Pelusitae: It is a great argument of our shame and imperfection that the holy things are written in books. For as God in anger tells the Jews, that he himself would not go before them as hitherto he had done, to conduct them into the promised land, but would leave his Angel with them as his deputy: to hath he dealt with us, the unhappy posterity degenerated from the ancient purity of our forefathers. When himself refused to speak unto our hearts because of the hardness of them, he then began to put his laws in writing. Which thing for a long time amongst his own people seems not to have brought with it any sensible inconvenience. For amongst all those acts of the Jews, which God in his book hath registered for our instruction, there is not one concerning any pretended ambiguity or obscurity of the Text and Letter of their Law, which might draw them into faction and schism; the Devil belike having other sufficient advantages on which he wrought. But ever since the Gospel was committed to writing, what age, what monument of the Churches acts is not full of debate and strife, concerning the force and meaning of those writings, which the holy Ghost hath left us to be the law and rule of faith? St. Paul, one of the first penmen of the Holy Ghost, who in Paradise heard words which it was not lawful for man to utter, hath left us words in writing, which it is not safe for any man to be too busie to interpret. No sooner had he laid down his pen, almost ere the ink was dry, were there found Syllabarum auncupes, such as St. Ambrose spoke of, qui ne scire aliquid erubescent, & per occasionem obscuritatis tehind laqueos deceptionis, who thought there could be no greater disparagement unto them, then to seem to be ignorant of any thing, and under pretence of interpreting obscure places laid gins to entrap the uncautelous: who taking advantage of the obscurity of St. Paul's text, made the letter of the Gospel of life and peace, the most forcible instrument of mortal quarrel and contention. The growth of which, the Holy Ghost by the Ministry of St. Peter, hath endeavoured to cut up in the bud, and to strangle in the womb, in this short admonition which but now hath founded in your ears. Which the unlearned, &c. In which words, for our more orderly proceeding, we will consider, First, the sin itself that is here reprehended, wringing of Scripture: where we will briefly consider what it is, and what
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what causes and motioners it findes in our corrupt understandings. Secondly the person's guilty of this offence, disciphar'd unto us in two Epithets, unlearned, unstable. Last of all the danger in the last words, unto their own damnation. And first of the sin itself, together with some of the special causes of it.

They wrest. They deal with Scripture as Chimicks deal with natural bodies, torturing them to extract that out of them which God and nature never put in them. Scripture is a rule which will not fit itself to the obliquity of our conceits, but our perverse and crooked discourse, must fit itself to the straightness of that rule. A learned writer in the age of our fathers, commenting upon Scripture spake most truly when he said, that his Comments gave no light unto the text, the text gave light unto his Comments. Other explications may give rules and directions for understanding their authors, but Scripture gives rules to exposition it self, and interprets the interpreter. Wherefore when we made in Scripture, non pro sententia divinarum Scripturarum, as St. Augustine speaks, sed pro nostra sita dimicantes ut tan velimus Scripturarum esse quae nostrae est: When we strive to give unto it, and not to receive from it the sense: when we factiously contend to fasten our conceits upon God: and like the Harlot in the book of Kings, take our dead and putrified fancies, and lay them in the bosome of Scripture as of a mother, then are we guilty of this great sin of wresting of Scripture. The nature of which will the better appear, if we consider a little, some of those motioners which drive us upon it. One very potent and strong mean is the exceeding affection and love unto our own opinions and conceits. For grown we are unro extremities on both hands: we cannot with patience either admit of other mens opinions, or endure that our own should be withstood. As it was in the Lacedemonian army, almost all were Captains: so in these disputes all will be leaders; and we take our selves to be much discountenanced, if others think not as we do. So that the complaint which one makes, concerning the dissension of Physicians about the diseases of our bodies, is true likewise in these disputes which concern the cure of our souls, hinc illae circa agros misere sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem sententiae, ne videatur accessio alterius. From hence have sprung those miserable contentions about the distemper of our souls, singulari-
gularity alone, and that we will not seem to stand as cyphers to make up the summe of other mens opinions, being caule enough to make us disagree. A fault anciently amongst the Christians to apperant, that it needed not an Apostolical spirit to discover it, the very heathen themselves to our shame and confusion, have justly, judiciously, and sharply taxt us for it. Ammianus Marcellinus passing his censuring upon Constantius the Emperour: Christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem (faith he: and they are words very well worth your marking) Christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem anili superstitione confudit. In qua scrutanda perplexin quam componenda graitis, excitavit disidia pluriua, qua progressa fuis aluit concertatione verborum, dum ritum omnem ad suum trabere conatur arbitrium. The Christian religion, a religion of great simplicity and perfection, he troubled with dotage and superstition. For going about rather perplexedly to search the controversies, then gravely to compose them, he raised great flirs, and by disputing spread them far and wide, whilst he went about to make himself sole Lord and commander of the whole profession. Now (that it may appear wherefore I have noted this) it is no hard thing for a man that hath wit, and is strongly posseft of an opinion, and resolute to maintain it, to finde some places of Scripture, which by good handling will be woed to cast a favourable countenance upon it. Pythagoras Schollers having been bred up in the doctrine of numbers, when afterward they diverted upon the studies of nature, fancied unto themselves somewhat in natural bodies like unto numbers, and thereupon fell into a conceit that numbers were the principles of them. So fares it with him that to the reading of Scripture comes foreposseft with some opinion. As Antipheorus Orates in Aristotle thought that every where he saw his own shape and picture going afore him: so in divers parts of Scripture where these men walk, they will easily perfwade themselves that they see the image of their own conceits. It was, and is to this day, a fashion in the hotter countreys, at noon, when the sun is in his strength, to retire themselves to their Closets or beds, if they were at home, to cool and shady places if they were abroad, to avoid the inconvenience of the heat of it. To this the Spouse in the Canticles alluding, calls after her-beloved, as after a Shepherd: Show me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest thy flock, where thou dost rest at noon. The

Donatists
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Donatists conceiving unto themselves that the Church was shut up in them alone; being urged by the fathers to shew how the Church being universal, came on a sudden thus to be confin'd to Africk: they had prefently their Scripture for it: for so they found it written in the Canticles: Indica, quem diligit anima mea, ubi pastas, ubi cules in meridie. In which text, meridies doubtles as they thought, was their Southern countrey of Africk, where the Shepherd of Isra’el was, and no where else, to feed his flocks. I may not trouble you with instances in this kinde: little observation is able to furnish the man of flendrest reading with abundance. The texts of Scripture which are especially subject to this abuse, are tho’ that are of ambiguous and doubtful meaning. For as Thucydides observes of the fat and fertile places of Greece, that they were evermore the occasions of flirs and seditions; the neighbouring nations every one striving to make it self Lord of them: so is it with thefe places that are so fertile, as it were, of interpretation, and yield a multiplicity of fense: they are the Palefira for good wits to prove masteries in, where every one desires to be Lord and absolute.

A second thing occasioning us to transgress against Scripture, and the discreet and sober handling of it, is our too quick and speedy entrance upon the practice of interpreting it, in our young and green years, before that time and experience have ripened us and fettled our conceits. For that which in all other busines, and here likewise doth most especially commend us, is our cautious and wary handling it. But this is a flower seldom seen in youths garden. Aristotle differencing age and youth, makes it a property of youth, πάντα εἰδέναι οἶοθαι μὲ διίυχεσθαι, to suppose they know all things and to be bold in affirming: and the heathen Rhetorician could tell us, that by this so speedy entering upon action, and so timely venting our crude and unconcocted studies, quod est ubique perniciosissimum, præceperit uires fiducia, a thing which in all cases is most pernicious, presumption is greater then strength, after the manner of those, who are lately recovered out of some great sickness, in whom appetite is stronger then digestion. These are they who take the greatest mysteries of Christian religion to be the fittest arguments to spend themselves upon. So Eckius in his Chrysopassus, as work of his so termed, wherein he discusses the question of predeftination, in the very entrance of his work tells us, that he therefore enterpris'd...
enterpris’d to handle this argument, because forsooth he thought it to be the fittest question in which he might juveniles calores exercere. The ancient Malters of fence amongst the Romans were wont to set up a post, and cause their young Schollers to practise upon it, and to join and fight with it, as with an adversary. Instead of a post, this young tencer hath let himself up one of the deepest mysteries of our profession to practise his freshmanship upon. Which quality when once it finds Scripture for his object, how great inconvenience it brings with it, needs no large discourse to prove. St. Jerome, a man not too easily brought on to acknowledge the errors of his writings, amongst those few things which he doth retract, cenlures nothing so sharply as the mistake of his youth in this kinde. In adolescentia provocatus ardore & studio Scripturarum, allegoricè interpretatus sum Abdiam Prophetam, cujus historiam nesciebam. He thought it one of the greatest sins of his youth, that being carried away through an inconsiderate heat in his studies of Scripture, he adventured to interpret Abdias the Prophet allegorically, when as yet he knew not the historical meaning. Old men, faith our best natural master, by reason of the experience of their often mistakes, are hardly brought constantly to affirm any thing, quasi προσθέασιν χαί τὸ ἵσωσίν ἐν τῷ τὰ χαῖ, they will always cautelously interline their speeches, with it may bees, and peradventures, and other such particles of wariness and circumspection. This old mens modesty of all other things best fits us in perusing those hard and obscure texts of holy Scripture. Out of which conceit it is that we see St. Austin in his books de Genesi ad literam, to have written only by way of questions and interrogations, after the manner of Aristotle in his Problemes, that he might not, (for lo he gives his reason, by being over positive prejudice others, and peradventure true interpretations: that every one might choose according to his liking, & ubi quid intelligere non poeit, Scripture Dei dei honorem, sibi timorem, and where his understanding cannot attain unto the sense of it, let him give that honour and reverence which is due unto the Scripture, and carry himself with that aw and respect which befits him. Wherefore not without especial providence it is, that the Holy Ghost by St. Paul giving precepts to Timothy, concerning the quality of those who were to be admitted to the distributing of Gods holy word, expressly prescribes against a young Scholler, least faith he, be be put up. For
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as it hath been noted of men, who are lately grown rich, that they differ from other rich men only in this, τω απαριτε μαλακοις και φανερωμεναι δειδυνμενοι και εχειν της νοηματως, that commonly they have all the faults, that rich men have and many more: to is it as true in those who have lately attained to some degree and mediocrity of knowledge. Look what infirmities learned men have, the same have they in greater degree, and many more besides. Wherefore if Hippocrates in his Physician required these two things, γλυστρια και πειραματος, great industry and long experience, the one as tillage to sow the seed, the other as time and season of the year to bring it to maturity: then certainly by so much the more are these two required in the spiritual Physician, by how much he is the Physician to a more excellent part.

I will add yet one third motioner to this abuse of Scriptures, and that is the too great presumption upon the strength & subtility of our own wits. That which the Roman Priest sometimes told an over pleasant, and witty vestal Virgin, Co] Deos sancte magis quam se:it: e, hath in this great work of explication of Scripture an especial place. The holy things of God must be handled sancte, magis quam se:it: e, with fear and reverence, not with wit and dalianse. The dangerous effects of this have appeared, not in the green tree only, in young heads, but in men of constant age, and great place in the Church. For this was that which undid Origen, a man of as great learning and industry, as ever the Church had any; whilst in sublimity of his wit, in his Comments on Scripture, conceiving Meteors and airy speculations, he brought forth those dangerous errors, which drew upon his person the Churches heaviest censure; and upon posterity, the loss of his works. Subtil witted men in nothing so much miscarry as in the too much pleasing themselves in the goodnes of their own conceits; where the like sometimes betas them which besel Xευς: the Painter, who having to the life pictured an old woman, so pleased himself, with the conceit of his work that he died with laughing at it. Heliodor Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, the Author of the Αηθιοπικ story, a polite and elegant 1 confess, but a loose and wanton work, being summoned by a Provincial Synod, was told, that which was true, that his work did rather endanger the manners then profit the wits of his Reader, as nourishing, loose and wanton conceits in the heads of youth: and having, his choice...
given him either to abolish his work, or to leave his Bishoick; not willing to loose the reputation of wit, chose rather to resign his place in the Church, and, as I verily think, his part in Heaven. And not in private persons alone, but even in whole nations, shall we finde remarkable examples of miscarriage in this kind. The Gre-
cians, till barbarism began to steal in upon them, were men of wond-
erous subtilty of wit, and naturally over indulgent unto themselves in this quality. Those deep and subtil heresies concerning the Tri-
unity, the Divinity of Christ and of the holy Ghost, the Union and Divi-
ion of the Divine Substance and Person, were all of them be-
gotten in the heat of their wits; yea, by the strength of them were they conceived, and born and brought to that growth, that if it had been possible for the gates of Hell to prevail against the Church, they would have prevailed this way. Wherefore as God dealt with his own land, which being sometimes the mirrour of the world for fer-
tility and abundance of all things, now lies subject to many curses, and especially to that of barrenness: so at this day is it with Greece. Where sometimes was the flow and luxury of wit, now is there no-
thing but extream barbarism and stupidity. It is in this respect fo de-
generated, that it scarcely for some hundredth of years hath brought forth a childe that carries any shew of his Fathers countenance.

God as it were purposely plaguing their miserable posterity with extream want of that, the abundance of which their fathers did so wantonly abuse. The reason of all, that hitherto I have in this point delivered, is this, Sharpness of wit hath commonly with it two ill companions, pride, and levity. By the first it comes to pafs that men know not how to yield to another mens reasonable positions; by the second, they know not how to keep themselves constant to their own. It was an excellent observation of the wife Gre-
cian, γαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c. Sad and dull spirited
men usually manage matters of State better then quick and nimble wits. For such for the most part have not learnt that lesson, the meaning of that voice that came to the Pythagorean, that was desirous to re-
move the ashes of his dead friend out of his grave, μὴ ἔνειδιν τὸ
ἀναμνήσθαι, things lawfully settled and composed must not be moved. ἀντιπάλ-
δεις καὶ πεῖσαι ἐνιαίος δύμας πολυπαθέως ἀνὴρ, faith, Italian.

Men over busie are by nature unfit to govern. For they move all things, and leave nothing without question and innovati-
on, το δεξιον ποιεμενοι τι δεξιωτετον, as Nazianzen speaks, out of desire to amend what is already well. And therefore we see that for the most part such, if they be in place of Authority, by unseasonable and unnecessary tampering, put all things into tumult, and combustion. Not the Common wealth alone, but the Church likewise hath receiv’d the like blow from these kinde of men. Nazianzen in his fifth and twentieth Oration, discoursing concerning the disorders committed in the handling of Controversies, speaks it plainly: ἔφεσις Θερμαλ και μεγάλαι ταυτες ἡς ταξιδυν αἰδίων, &c. Great wits, hot and fiery dispositions have raised these tumults. From these it is (faith he) that Christians are so divided. We are no longer a tribe and a tribe, Israel and Judah, two parts of a small nation: but we are divided kindred against kindred, family against family, yea, a man against himself. But I must hasten to my second general part, the persons here accounted guilty of abuse of Scripture.

The persons are noted unto us in two Epithets, unlearned, unstable. First, unlearned, It was Saint Jeroms complaint, that practitioners of other Arts could contain themselves within the bounds of their own Profession, Sola Scripturam ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vendicant. Hanc garrulam anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi presumpunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant: every one presumes much upon his skill, and therefore to be a teacher of Scripture: ὡς κινδυνεῖν τεχνικὸν εἶναι τὸ μέγα ἕμοι μυθήλον, (to Nazianzen speaks) as if this great mystery of Christianitie were but one of the common, base, inferior, and contemptible trades. I speak not this as if I envied that all even the meanest of the Lords people should prophesie: but onely that all kinde of men may know their bounds, that no unlearned beast touch the hill, least he be thrust through with a dart. It is true which we have heard, surgunt indolem & rapiunt regnum coelorum: they arise indeed, but it is as Saint Paul speaks of the resurrection, every man in his own order. Scripture is given to all, to learn: but to teach, and to interpret, onely to a few. This bold intrusion therefore of the unlearned into the chair of the teacher, is that which here with our blessed Apostle I am to reprehend. Learning in general is nothing else but the competent skill of any man in whatsoever he professes. Usually we call by this name onely our polite and Academicall studies: but indeed it is common to every one that is well skilfull, well practi-
esed in his own mystery. The unlearned therefore, whom here our Apostle rebukes, is not he that hath not read a multiplicity of Authors: or that is not as Moes was, skillful in all the learning of the Egyptians: but he that taking upon him to divide the word of God, is yet but raw and unexperienced; or if he have had experience, wants judgment to make use of it. Scripture is never so unhappy, as when it falls into these men's fingers. That which old Cato laid of the Grecian Physicians, quandocunque a/s$ gens literas suas debitt omnia corruppet, is most true of these men, whatsoever they shall begin to tamper with Scripture, and vent in writing their raw conceits, they will corrupt and defile all they touch. Quid enim molestiae trifitiæque temerarii si j presumpitores, &c. as De Genesi ad literam. S. Augustine complaints: for what trouble and anguish these rash presumpers (faith he) bring unto the discreetest sort of the brethren, cannot sufficiently be express: when being convinced of their rotten and ungrounded opinions; for the maintaining of that which with great levity and open falsehood they have averd; they pretend the authority of these sacred books, and repeat much of them even by heart, as bearing witness to what they hold: whereas indeed they do but pronounce the words, but understand not either what they speak, or of what things they do affirm. Be-like as he that bought Orpheus Harp, thought it would of itself make admirable melody, how unskilfully ever he toucht it: so these men suppose that Scripture will sound wonderful musically, if they do but strike it, with how great insolvency or incongruity forever it be. The reason of these men's offence against Scripture, is the same with the cause of their miscarriage in civil actions, ἡμεθεματικα µεν Σπαρτα, faith Thucydides, λοιποεσ Ενον ριθε. Rude men, men of little experience, are commonly most peremptory: but men experienced, and such as have waded in business, are slow of determination. Quintilian making a question, why unlearned men seem many times to be more copious then the learned (for commonly such men never want matter of discourse) answers that it is because whatsoever conceit comes into their heads, without care or choice they broach it, cum defitis fit electio & modus: whereas learned men are choice in their invention, and lay by much of that which offers itself. Wise hearted men, in whom the Lord hath put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary, like Bezaleel and Aholiah refuse much of the stuff which
is presented them. But this kinde of men whom here our Apostle notes, are naturally men of bold and daring spirits, quicquid dixere-rint, hoc legem Dei putanr, as Saint Jerome speaks, whatsoever conceit is begotten in their heads, the spirit of God is presently the father of it: Nec scire dignatur quid Prophetae, quid Apo- poli senserint, sed ad suum sensum incongrua aptant testimonia. But to leave these men, and to speak a little more home unto mine own auditory: Let us a little consider, not the weaknesses of these men but the greatness of the busines, the manage of which they undertake. So great a thing as the skill of exposition of the word and Gospel is, to fraught with multiplicity of Authors, so full of variety of opinion, must needs be confess to be a matter of great learning, and that it cannot, especially in our days, in short time with a mediocrity of industry be attained. For if in the Apostles times, when as yet much of Scripture was scarcely written, when God wrought with men miraculously to inform their understanding and supplied by revelation what mans industry could not yield; if I say in these times St. Paul required diligent reading, and expressly forbade greenefts of scholarfhip: much more then are these conditions required in our times, wherein God doth not supply by mira-acle our natural defects, and yet the burden of our profession is infinitely increasit. All that was necessary in the Apostles times is now necessary and much more. For if we adde unto the growth of Christian learning, as it was in the Apostles times, but this one circumstance ( to lay nothing of all the rest ) which naturally befallis our times, and could not be required at the hands of those who guided the first ages of the Church: that is, the knowledge of the state and succession of doctrine in the Church from time to time; a thing very necessary for the determining the controversifies of these our days: how great a portion of our labour and industry would this alone require? Wherefore if Quintilian thought it necessary to admonifh young men that they should not presume themselves satis instruxitos, si quem ex iis, qui breves circumferuntur, artis libellum edidicerint, & velut decretis technicorum tutos putent: if he thought fit thus to do in an art of so inferior and narrow a sphere; much more is it behooveful that young students in so high, so spacious, so large a profession, be advised nor to think themselves sufficiently provided upon their acquaintance with some Notitia, or Sytteme of some technical
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Technical divine. Look upon those sons of Anak, those Giant-like voluminous writers of Rome; in regard of whom our little tractats and pocket volumes in this kinde, what are they but as Grasshoppers? I speak not this like some seditious or factious pipe, to bring weaknesses of hands, or melting of heart upon any of Gods people: but εἰς ἀναζωbbeίν, to stir up and kindle in you the spirit of industry to inlarge your conceits, and not to suffer your labours to be copit and mued up within the poverty of some pretended method. I will speak as Joshua did to his people, Let us not fear the people of that land, they are as meat unto us, their shadow is departed from them: the Lord is with us, fear them not. Only let us not think, sedendo & votis debelle-rupse, that the conquest will be gotten by sitting still and wishing all were well: or that the walls of these strong Cities, will fall down, if we only walk about them, and blow rams horns.

But as the voice of Gods people sometime was, by the sword of God and of Gideon, so that which here gives the victory must be the grace of God and our industry. For by this circumcised, narrow and penurious form of study, we shall be no more able to keep pace with them, then a childe can with Hercules. But I forbear and pass away unto the second epithet, by which these rackers of Scriptures, are by St. Peter stiled Vastable.

In the learning which the world teaches, it were almost a miracle to finde a man constant to his own tenents. For not to doubt in things in which we are conversant, is either by reason of excellency and serenity of understanding throughly apprehending the main principles on which all things are grounded, together with the dirying of the several passages from them unto particular conclusions, and the diverticles and blind by-paths which Sophistry and deceit are wont to tread: and such a man can nature never yield: or else it is through a senseless stupidity, like unto that in the common sort of men, who conversing among the creatures, and beholding the course of heaven, and the heavenly host, yet never attend them, neither ever sinks it into their heads to marvel, or question these things so full of doubt and difficulty. Even such a one is he, that learns Theology in the School of nature, if he seem to partake of any searedness or composedness of conscience. Either it never comes into his head to doubt of any of those things, with which the world hath injured him: or if it doth, it is to no great purpose, he
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may smother and strangle, he can never resolve his doubt. The reason of which is this. It lies not in the worlds power to give in this case a text of sufficient authority to compose and fix the thoughts of a soul, that is dispos'd to doubt. But this great inconvenience which held the world in uncertainty, by the providence of God is prevented in the Church. For unto it is left a certain, undisputed, and sufficient authority, able to exalt every valley, and lay low every hill, to smooth all rubs, and make our way to open and passable, that little enquire serves. So that as it were a wonder in the school of nature to finde one settled and resolved: so might it seem a marvel that in the Church any man is unstable, unresolved. Yet notwithstanding even here is the unstable man found too, and to his charge the Apostle lays this sin of wresting of Scripture. For since that it is confessed at all hands, that the sense and meaning of Scripture is the rule and ground of our Christian tenets, whencsoever we alter them, we must needs give a new sense unto the word of God. So that the man that is unstable in his religion can never be free from violating of Scripture. The especial cause of this levity and flitting disposition in the common and ordinary sort of men, is their disability to discern of the strength of such reasons, as may be framed against them. For which cause they usually stay, and many times falls away, upon every objection that is made. In which too sudden entertainment of objections, they resemble the state of those, who are lately recovered out of some long sickness, qui et se reliquias effugerint, suspicionibus tamen inquietantur, & omnem calorem corporis sui calumniantur: Who never more wrong themselves then by suspecting every alteration of their temper, and being affrighted at every little passion of heat, as if it were an ague-fit. To bring these men therefore unto an evanes, and to purchase them a settledness of minde; that temper that St. Augustine doth require in him that reads his book, tales meorum Scriptorem velim judices, qui responsum non semper desiderent, quem hic quae leguntur audierint aliquid contradici: the same temper must be found in every reader of Scripture, he must not be at a stand and require an answer to every objection that is made against them. For as the Philosopher tells us that mad and fantastical men, are very apprehensive of all outward accidents, because their soul is inwardly empty and unfurnished of any thing of worth which might hold the inward attention of
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their mindes: so when we are so easily dord and amated with every Sophisme, it is a certain argument of great defect of inward furniture and worth, which should as it were ballance the minde and keep it upright against all outward occurrences whatsoever. And be it that many times the means to open such doubts be not at hand, yet as S. Augustine sometime spake unto his Scholler Licentius concerning such advice and counsel as he had given him: Nolo te causas ratione scoura rimari, quae etiam si reddi possint, sides tamen, qua mihi credis non eas debes: so much more must we thus resolve of those lessons which God teacheth us: the reasons and grounds of them, though they might be given, yet it fits not that credit and trust which we owe him, once to searce into, or call in question. And so I come to the third general part, the danger of wresting of Scripture, in the last words, unto their own damnation.

The reward of every sin is death. As the worm eats out the heart of the plant that bred it: so whatsoever is done amiss naturally works no other end, but destruction of him that doth it. As this is true in general, so is it as true, that when the Scripture doth precisely note out unto us some sin, and threatens death unto it, it is commonly an argument, that there is more then ordinary, that there is some especial sin, which shall draw with it some especial punishment. This sin of wresting of Scripture in the eye of some of the ancients seemed so ougly, that they have ranged it in the same rank with the sin against the holy Ghost. And therefore have they pronounced it a sin, μετου αυθεμνηγος, greater then can be pardoned. For the most part of other sins, are sins of infirmity or simplicity, but this is a sin of wit and strength. The man that doth it, doth it with a high hand; he knows, and sees, and resolves upon it. Again, Scripture is the voice of God; and it is confess by all that the sense is Scripture, rather then the words. It cannot therefore be avoided, but he that willfully strives to fasten some sense of his own upon it, other then the very nature of the place will bear, must needs take upon him the Person of God, and become a new inditer of Scripture: and all that applaud and give consent unto any such, in effect cry the same that the people did to Herod, the voice of God, and not of man. If he then that abases the Princes coin deserves to die, what is his desert that instead of the tried silver of God's word stamps the name and
and Character of God upon Nebuchadnezzar, upon base brazen stuff of his own? Thirdly, *No Scripture is of private interpretation, faith the Apostle*. There can therefore be but two certain and infallible interpreters of Scripture: either itself; or the holy Ghost the Author of it. It itself doth then expound itself, when the words and circumstances do sound unto us the prime, and natural, and principal sense. But when the place is obscure, involved and intricate, or when there is contained some secret and hidden mystery, beyond the prime sense; infallibly to shew us this, there can be no Interpreter but the holy Ghost that gave it. Besides these two, all other Interpretation is private. Wherefore as the Lords of the Philistines sometimes said of the king that drew the Ark unto Bethshemesh; *If they go of themselves, then is this from God; but if they go another way, then is it not from God, it is some chance that hath happened unto us:* so may it be said of all pretended sense of Scripture. If Scripture come unto it of itself, then is it of God: but if it go another way, or if it be violently urged and goaded on, then is it but a matter of chance, of man's wit and invention. As for those marvellous discourses of some, framed upon presumption of the spirits help in private, in judging or interpreting of difficult places of Scripture, I must needs confess I have often wondered at the boldness of them. The spirit is a thing of dark and secret operation, the manner of it none can descry. As underminers are never seen till they have wrought their purpose; so the spirit is never perceived but by its effects. The effects of the spirit (as far as they concern knowledge and instruction) are not particular Information for resolution in any doubtful case (for this were plainly revelation) but as the Angel, which was sent unto Cornelius, informs him not, but sends him to Peter to School; so the spirit teaches not, but stirs up in us a desire to learn: Desire to learn makes us thirst after the means: and pious sedulity and carefulness makes us watchful in the choice, and diligent in the use of our means. The promise to the Apostles of the Spirit which should lead them into all truth, was made good unto them by private and secret informing their understandings, with the knowledge of high and heavenly mysteries, which as yet had never entred into the conceit of any man. The same promise is made to us, but fulfilled after another manner. For what was written by revelation in their hearts
Hearts, for our instruction have they written in their books. To us for information, otherwise than out of these books, the spirit speaks not. When the spirit regenerates a man, it infuses no knowledge of any point of faith, but sends him to the Church and to the Scriptures. When it stirs him up to newness of life, it exhibits not unto him an inventory of his sins, as hitherto unknown; but either supposes them known in the law of nature, of which no man can be ignorant; or sends him to learn them from the mouth of his teachers. More then this in the ordinary proceeding of the holy spirit, in matter of instruction, I yet could never describe. So that to speak of the help of the spirit in private, either in adjudicating, or in interpreting of Scripture, is to speak they know not what. Which I do the rather note, first, because by experience we have learnt, how apt men are to call their private conceits, the spirit: and again, because it is the especial error, with which S. Austin long agoe charged this kind of men: *tanto sunt ad seditionem faciiores, quanto sibi videntur spiritu excellere*: by so much the more prone are they to kindle schisme and contention in the Church, by how much they seem to themselves to be endued with a more eminent measure of spirit then their brethren: whilst *ἐν προσπονήσει ἐξήγησες τὰ ἐκνευτὰ παρεισδιγμον, (as St. Basil's speaks) under pretence of interpretation they violently broach their own conceits.* Great then is the danger in which they wade, which take upon them this business of interpretation, *temeritas afferenda incertæ dubiaque opinionis*, faith St. Austin, *difficile sacrilægii crimen evitat*: the rashness of those that aver uncertain and doubtful interpretations for Catholick and ablolute, can hardly escape the sin of sacrilege.

But whereas our Apostle faith, *their own destruction*, is the destruction only their own: This were well if it stretched no farther. The ancients much complain of this offence, as an hinderer of the salvation of others. There were in the days of Isidorus Pelusioti some that gave out that all in the old Testament was spoken of Christ: be like out of extream opposition to the Manichees, who on the other side taught, that no text in the old Testament did foretell of Christ. That Father therefore dealing with some of that opinion, tells them how great the danger of their tenent is. *τὰ ὑπὸ μὴν εἰς αὐτόν εἰρημένα ἐκβιώσαμεν ἵνα τὰ ἀκριβῶς εἰρημένα ὑποτιθέσαι παρακεφαλώς εἴσον, for if, faith he, we strive with violence to draw and apply*
ply those texts to Christ, which apparently pertain not to him, we shall gain nothing but this, to make all the places that are spoken of him suspected; and so discredit the strength of other testimonies, which the Church usually urges for the refutation of the Jews. For in these cases a wrested proof is like unto a stubborn witness. It never doth help so much whilest it is presumed to be strong, as it doth hurt when it is discovered to be weak. S. Austin in his books de Genesid litteram, sharply reproves some Christians, who out of some places of Scripture misunderstood, fram'd unto themselves a kind of knowledge in Astronomy and Physiolog, quite contrary unto some part of heathen learning in this kinde, which were true and evident unto sense. A man would think that this were but a small error, and yet he doubts not to call it, turpenimis, & perniciosum & maxime cavendum. His reason warrants the roundness of his reproof. For he charges such to have been a scandal unto the word, and hinderers of the conversion of some heathen men that were scholars. For how, faith he, shall they believe our books of Scripture persuading the resurrection of the dead, the kingdom of heaven, and the rest of the mysteries of our profession, if they finde them faulty in these things, of which themselves have undeniable demonstration? Yea though the cause we maintain be never so good, yet the issue of diseas'd and crazie proofs brought to maintain it, unto all caules, be they never so good, weaknes of proof, when it is discovered, brings great prejudice, but unto the cause of religion most of all. St. Austin observ'd that there were some qui cum de aliquibus, qui sanctum nonem profiitentur aliquid crimini vel falsi sonuerit, vel veri patuerit, instant, satagunt, ambiant ut de omnibus hoc credatur. It fares no otherwise with religion itself, then it doth with the professors of it. Diverse malignants there are, who lie in wait to elpicer where our reasons on which we build are weak, and having deprehended it in some, will earnestly solicit the world to believe that all are so, if means were made to bring it to light: εκ ει τοις εαυταιν διαμασι την ιδιαν εχοντες, αλα' εν τοις διεστερων σαθροις ταυτην επεριοντος, as Nazianzen speaks: using for advantage against us no strength of their own, but the vice and imbecillity of our defense. The book of the Revelation is a book full of wonder and mystery: the ancients seem to have made a religion to meddle with it, and thought it much better to admire it with silence, then to adventure to ex-
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pound it: and therefore amongst their labours in exposition of Scripture, scarcely is there any one found that hath toucht it. But our age hath taken better heart, and scarcely any one is there who hath entertained a good conceit of his own abilities, but he hath taken that book as a fit argument to spend his pains on. That the Church of Rome hath great cause to suspect her self, to fear least she have a great part in the prophesies of that book, I think the most partial will not deny. Yet unto the expolorors of it, I will give this advice, that they look that that befal not them, which Thucidides observes to befal the common sort of men: who though they have good means to acquit themselves like men, yet when they think their best hopes fail them, and begin to despair of their strength, comfort themselves with interpretations of certain dark and obscure prophesies. Many plain texts of Scripture are very pregnant, and of sufficient strength to overthrow the points maintained by that Church against us. If we leave these, & ground our selves upon our private expolorations of this book, we shall justly seem in the poverty of better proofs, to rest our selves upon those prophesies; which, though in themselves they are most certain, yet our expolorations of them must, (except God give yet further light unto his Church) necessarily be mixt with much uncertainty, as being at the best but improbable conjectures of our own. Scarcely can there be found a thing more harmful to religion, then to vent thus our own conceits, and obtrude them upon the world for necessary and absolute. The Physicians skill as I conceive of it, stands as much on opinion, as any that I know, whatsoever. Yet their greatest master Hippocrates tells them directly: ἄλως ὑπόμαζεν ἑαυτῷ ἀλήθεια, &c. Then the Physicians presumption upon opinion, there is not one thing that brings either more blame to himself or danger to his patient. If it be thus in an art which opinion taken away, must needs fail; how little room then must opinion have in that knowledge, where nothing can have place but what is of eternal truth? Where if once we admit of opinion all is overthrown? But I conclude this point, adding only this general admonition, that we be not too peremptory in our positions, where express text of Scripture fails us: that we lay not our own collections and conclusions with too much precipitancy. For experience hath shewed us, that the error and weaknesses of them being afterwards discovered brings great disadvantage
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to Christianity, and trouble to the Church. The Eastern Church before S. Basil's time, had entertained generally a conceit, that that those Greek Particles, ἢν, σύν, διὰ, and the rest, were so divided among the Trinity, that each of the Persons had his Particle which was no way appliable to the rest. S. Basil having discovered this to be but a niceness and needless curiosity, beginning to teach so, raised in the Church such a tumult, that he brought upon himself a great labour of writing many tracts in Apology for himself, with much ado, ere matters could again be settled. The fault of this was not in Basil, who Religionly fearing what by way of consequence might ensue upon an error, taught a truth; but in the Church, who formerly had with too much facility admitted a conclusion to justly subject to exception. And let this suffice for our third part.

Now because it is apparant that the end of this our Apostle's admonition is to give the Church a caveat how she behave her self in handling of Scripture, give me leave a little, instead of the use of such doctrines as I have formerly laid down, to shew you, as far as my conceit can strecth, what course any man may take to save himself from offering violence unto Scripture, and reasonably settle himself, any pretended obscurity of the text whatsoever notwithstanding. For which purpose the diligent observing of two rules shall be thoroughly available. First, The literal, plain, and uncontro-versable meaning of Scripture without any addition or supply by way of interpretation, is that alone which for ground of faith we are necessarily bound to accept, except it be there where the holy Ghost himself teaches us out another way. I take not this to be any peculiar conceit of mine, but that unto which our Church stands necessarily bound. When we receded from the Church of Rome, one motive was, because she added unto Scripture her glosses as Canonical, to supply what the plain text of Scripture could not yield. If in place of hers, we set up our own glosses, thus to do, were nothing else but to pull down Baal, and set up an Ephod; to run round, and meet the Church of Rome again in the same point, in which at first we left her. But the plain, evident and demonstrative ground of this rule, is this. That authority which doth warrant our faith unto us, must every way be free from all possibility of error. For let us but once admit of this, that there is any possibility that any one point
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of faith should not be true; if it be once granted that I may be deceived in what I have believed; how can I be assured that in the end I shall not be deceived? If the author of faith may alter; or if the evidence and assurance that he hath left us be not pregnant, and impossible to be defeated, there is necessarily opened an inlet to doubtfulness and wavering, which the nature of faith excludes. That faith therefore may stand unshaken, two things are of necessity to concur. First, that the Author of it be such a one, as can by no means be deceived, and this can be none but God. Secondly, that the words and text of this Author upon whom we ground, must admit of no ambiguity, no uncertainty of interpretation, If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall provide himself to battle. If the words admit a double sense, and I follow one, who can assure me that that which I follow is the truth? For infallibility either in judgement, or interpretation, or whatsoever, is annexed neither to the See of any Bishop, nor to the Fathers, nor to the CounseLS, nor to the Church, nor to any created power whatsoever. This doctrine of the literal sense was never grievous or prejudicial to any, but only to those who were inwardly conscious, that their positions were not sufficiently grounded. When Cardinal Cajetan in the days of our grandfathers had forsaken that vein of postilling and allegorizing on Scripture, which for a long time had prevailed in the Church, and betaken himself unto the literal sense: it was a thing to distasteful unto the Church of Rome, that he was forc'd to find out many shifts, and make many apologies for himself. The truth is (as it will appear to him that reads his writings) this sticking close to the literal sense was that alone, which made him to shake many of those tenents, upon which the Church of Rome and the Reformed Churches differ. But when the importunity of the Reformers, and the great credit of Calvin's writings in that kinde, had forced the Divines of Rome to level their interpretations by the same line: when they saw that no pains, no subtlety of wit was strong enough to defeat the literal evidence of Scripture: it drave them on those desperate shelves, on which at this day they stick; to call in question, as far as they durst, the credit of the Hebrew text, and countenance against it a corrupt translation; to add traditions unto Scripture; and to make the Churches interpretation, so pretended, to be above exception. As for that restriction
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restriction which is usually added to this rule, that the literal sense is to be taken, if no absurdity follow, though I acknowledge it to be found and good, yet my advise is that we entertain it warily. S. Basil thought the precept of Christ to the rich man in the Gospel, Go sell all thou hast and give unto the poor, to be spoken as a command universally and eternally binding all Christians without exception. And making this objection, how possibly such a life could be amongst Christians, since where all are sellers, none could be buyers: μὴ ἐρώτα με (saith he) τὴν διανομὴν τῶν δεσποτικῶν περισταμένων, &c. Ask not me the sense of my Lords commands. He that gave the Law, can provide to give it possibility of being kept without any absurdity at all. Which speech, howsoever we may suppose the occasion of it to be mistaken; yet is it of excellent use, to repress our boldness, whereby many times, under pretense of some inconvenience, we hinder Scripture from that latitude of sense, of which it is naturally capable. You know the story of the Roman Captain in Gellius, and what he told the Shipwright, that chose rather to interpret, then to execute his Lords command: Corrupti aree dissoluti, omne imperantis officium, si quis ad id quod sacer jussus est non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondat. It will certainly in the end prove fater for us to entertain Gods Commandments obsequio debito, then to interpret them acumine non desiderato. Thoile other ways of interpretation, whether it be by allegorizing, or allusion or whatsoever, the best that can be said of them is, that which Basil hath pronounced: ὧς κεκομιζεμένον μὲν τὰν ἁγιὸν απὸ δεξιός μηδὲ διὰ θανώτατος εἶναι & τὰν δέσομέν. We account of them as of trim, elegant, and witty speeches, but we refuse to accept of them, as of undoubted truths. And though of some part of these that may be said which one said of his own work, quod ad usum luci, quod ad Auscius in mones, molestiam laboravi, in respect of any profit comes by them, they are but sport, but in respect of the pains taken in making of them, they are labor & travel; yet much of them is of excellent use in private: either to raise our affections, or to spend our meditations; or (so it be with modesty) to practice our gifts of wit to the honor of him that gave them. For if we absolutely condemn these interpretations, then must we condemn a great part of antiquity, who are very
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very much conversant in this kind of interpreting. For the most partial for antiquity cannot chuse but see and confess thus much, that for the literal sense the Interpreters of our own times, because of their skill in the Original Languages, their care of pressing the circumstances and coherence of the text; of comparing like places of Scripture with like, have generally surpaft the best of the ancients. Which I speak not to discountenance antiquity, but that all ages, all persons may have their due. And let this suffice for our first rule.

The Jewish Rabbins in their Comments on Scripture do oft as they met with hard and intricate texts, out of which they could not wrest themselves, were wont to shut up their discourse with this, Elias cum venerit, solvet dubia: Elias shall answer this doubt when he comes. Not the Jews only, but the Learned Christians of all ages have found many things in Scripture which yet expect Elias. For besides those texts of Scriptures, which by reason of the hidden treasures of wisdom, and depth of sense and mystery laid up in them, are not yet conceived, there are in Scripture of things that are ᾲτε ἐς ὅμοια, seemingly contras'd, ἄναρχομεν, carrying semblance of contrariety, anachronisms, metachronisms, and the like, which bring infinite obscurity to the text: there are I say in Scripture more of them, than in any writing that I know secular or Divine. If we mean not to settle our selves till all these things are answered, let us take heed least the like be laid to us, which S. Augustine said to some of the Gentiles, who refused to believe till all objections were satisfied sunt enim innumerabiles quæ non sunt finiendæ ante fidem, ne vita finiatur sine fide. The Areopagites in Athens, when they were troubled in a doubtful case in which they durst not proceed to sentence, were wont causam in diem longissimam diberre, to put it off till a day of hearing for some hundred years after, avoiding by this means the further being importun'd with the suit. To quiet our selves in these doubts it will be our best way in diem longissimam diberre, to put them to some day of hearing a far off, even till that great day, till Christ our true Elias shall come, who at his coming shall answer all our doubts, and settle all our wavering. Mean while till our Elias come, let us make use of this second rule. In places of ambiguous and doubtful, or dark and intricate meaning, it is sufficient if we religiously admire and acknowledge and confefs;
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confess: using that moderation of Ausine: Neutram partem affirmantes sive deftruentes sed tantummodo ab audaci affirmandi presumptione revoca-\nces: Qui credit, faith one, saitis illiquod Christus intelligat: To understand belongs to Christ the Author of our Faith: to us is sufficient the glory of believing. Wherefore we are to advise, not so much how to attain unto the understanding of the mysteries of Scripture; as how it best fits us to carry our selves when either the difficulty of the text, or variety of opinions shall distract us. In the sixth General Council Honoris Bishop of Rome is condemned for a Monothelit. Two Epistles there are of his which are produced to give evidence against him. For the first I have nothing to say. For the second (I speak with submission to better judgement) notwithstanding the sharp proceeding of the Council against him, I verily suppose that he gives unto the Church the best Counsel, that ever yet was given for the settling of doubts, and final decision of controversy. For that which he teaches in that Epistle, at least in those parts of it, which there are brought, stands to no other purpose but this: That whereas there was lately raised in the Church a controversy concerning the duality or unity of wills in Christ; since that hitherto nothing in the Church concerning either part hath been expressly taught, his Counsel was that men would rather cease to doubt, then to be curious to search for any solution of their doubts; and so abstain from teaching doctrinally either part, and content themselves with that express measure of faith, with which the Church hath hitherto rest satisfied. This to my conceit is the drift of his Epistle. How this advise of the Bishops was appliable or how it fitted the question then in controversy; or what reason moved the Council to think that it was absolutely necessary for them, to give an express decision, and determine for the one part, belongs not to me to discuss. But I verily persuade myself, that if it had pleased those, who in all ages have been set to govern the Church of God, betimes to have made use of this advise, to have taught men rather not to have doubted, then to have expected still solution of their doubts: to have stop'd and damm'd up the originals and springs of controversies, rather then by determining for the one part, to give them as it were a pipe and conduit to convey them to posterity, I persuade myself the Church had not suffered that inundation of opinions, with which at this day it is overrun. Is it not Saint Paul's own pra-
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Atfe, when having brought in a question concerning God's justice in predestination, he gives no other answer but this, O man, who art thou that disputest with God? Is it not his plain purpose to advise the disputter rather not to make the question, then to require a determination of it at his hands? How many of the questions even of our own times, even of those that are at home amongst us, might by this way long since have been determin'd? I have, I confess, the same disease that many us Parents in Paradise had, a desire to know more then I need. But I always thought it a very judicious commendation, which is given to Julius Agricola, that he knew how to bridle his desire in pursuit of knowledge, retinuitque, quod est difficilimum, ex scientia modum. Mallem guidem (as S. Austin's faith) eorum quae a me quaesivisti habere scientiam, quam ignorantiam; sed quia id non dum potui, magis eligi cautam ignorantiam consisteri, quam falsam scientiam profiteri. It shall well beseit our Christian modesty to participate somewhat of the Sceptike, and to use their ἐπεχεῖν, till the θέρμα, and remainder of our knowledge be supplied by Christ: In quem si credimus, ut si aliqua nobis non aperiat etiam pulsantibus, nullo modo adversus eum murmure debemus. To conclude, S. Austin in his eightieth Epistle discoursting of the speedy or slow coming of our Saviour to judgement, to shew that it is the fairest way to teach neither, but to suspend our belief, and confess our ignorance, ranging himself with men of this temper, obscro te (faith he to Hesychius, to whom he writes that Epistle) obscro te ut metalem non spernas. So give me leave to commence the same suit to you: obscro vos ut metalem non spernatis. Let me request you bear with me, if I be such a one, as I have S. Austin for example. For it is not depth of knowledge, nor knowledge of antiquity, or sharpenes of wit, nor authority of Councels, nor the name of the Church can settle the restful conceits, that possessthe mindes of many doubtful Christians: onely to ground for faith on the plain uncontroversial Text of Scripture, and for the rest to expect and pray for the coming of our Elias, this shall compose our waverings, and give final rest unto our souls.

Thus instead of a discourse which was due unto this time, concerning the glorious Resurrection of our blessed Saviour, and the benefits that come unto us by it, I have diverted my self upon another them, more necessary as I thought for this auditory, though
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less agreeable with this solemnity. Those who have gone afore me in that argument have made so copious a harvest; that the issue of my gatherings must needs have been but small, except I had with Ruth glean'd out of their sheaves, or strain'd my industry which is but small, and my wits which are none, to have held your attentiveness with new and quaint conceits. In the mean time, whether it be I or they, or whatsoever hath been delivered out of this place, God grant that it may be for his honor, and for the Churches good, to whom both it aud we are dedicate. To God the Father, &c.

Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations.

Light it so have pleased God that I had in my power the choice of my ways, and the free management of my own actions, I had not this day been seen, (for so I think I may better speak; seen may I be of many, but to be heard with any latitude and compass my natural imperfection doth quite cut off;) I had not I say in this place this day been seen; Ambition of great and famous Auditories I leave to those whose better gifts and inward endowments are Admonitioners unto them of the great good they can do, or otherwise thirst after popular applause. Unto myself have I evermore applied that of St. Hierome, mihi sufficit cum auditore & Lectore pauperculo in angulo Monaerii susurrare, a small, a private, a retired auditory better accords both with my will and my abilities. Those unto whose discretion the furniture of this place is committed, ought especially to be careful, since you come hither to hear, to provide you those who can be heard, for the neglect of this one circumstance, how poor soever it may seem to be, is no less then to offend against that faith which cometh by hearing; and to frustrate as much as in them is, that end for which alone these meetings were ordained. We that come to this place as God came to Elias in the mount, in a soft and still voice, to those which are near us, are that which the grace of God doth make us, unto the rest we are but Statues; such therefore as my
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my Imperfection in this kind shall offend, such as this day are my spectators only, know, I trust whom they are to blame. At my hands is only required truth in sincerely discharging a common care, at others, care of profitably delivering a common truth. As for me, the end of whose coming is to exhort you to a gracious interpreting of each other's imperfections, having first premised this Apology for my self, it is now time to descend to the exposition of that Scripture, which I have propos'd. Infirmum in fide recipite, &c. Him that is weak in the faith receive, &c.

Goodness, of all the attributes, by which a man may be stiled, hath chief place and Soverainity. Goodness, I say, not that Metaphysical conceit which we dispute of in our Schools, and is nothing else but that perfection which is inwardly due, unto the Being of every creature, and without which either it is not at all, or but in part, that whose name it bears: but that which the common sort of men do usually understand, when they call a man Good; by which is meant nothing else, but ἡ ἐνυγνομένη ἔνωσις ἡ ἀληθικὴ, a soft, and sweet, and flexible disposition. For all other Excellencies and Eminent qualities which raise in the mindes of men, some opinion of conceit of us, may occasion peradventure some strong respect in another kinde; but impression of love and true respect nothing can give but this. Greatness of place and authority may make us fear'd, Depth of Learning admir'd, Abundance of wealth may make men outwardly obsequious unto us; but that which makes one man a God unto another, that which doth tye the Souls of men unto us, that which like the Eye of the Bridegroom, in the book of Canticles, ravishes the heart of him that looks upon it, is Goodness, without this mankinde were but (as one speaks) Commissiones mereæ, & arena fine calce, stones heapt together without mortar, or pieces of boards without any cement to combine and tye them together. For this it hath singular in it, above all other properties, of which our Nature is capable, that it is the most Available to Humane Society, incorporating, and as it were kneading us together by softnes of disposition, by being compassionate, by gladly communicating to the necessity of others, by Transfusing our selves into others, and
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Receiving from others into our selves. All other Qualities, how excellent soever they are, seem to be somewhat of a melancholick and solitary disposition. They shine then brightest, when they are in some one alone, or attain'd unto by few; once make them common, and they lose their lustre. But Goodness is more sociable; and rejoice in equalling others unto it self, and loses its Nature, when it ceases to be communicable. The Hea-
then speaking of God usually stile him by two Attributes, Opt-
imus & Maximus, the one importing his goodnes, the other his Power. In the first place they call'd him Optimus, a name signi-
fying his goodnes, giving the precedence unto it; and in the se-
cond place Maximus, a name betokening his Power: yea, Good-
nes is that wherein God himself doth most delight himself; and therefore all the Acts of our Saviour, while he conversed on earth among men, were purely the issues of his tenderness without any aspersion of Severity, two only excepted: I mean his Chasing the Prophaners out of the Temple, and the Curse laid upon the in-
ocent Fig-tree: and yet in both these mercy rejoiced against judgment and his goodnes had the preheminence. For the first brought some smart with it indeed, but no harm at all, as Fathers use to chastise their Children by means that fear them more then hurt them. The second of it self was nothing, as being practis'd on a Creature dull and senseless of all smart, and punishment; but was meerly Exemplary for us, ferelititas nostra in sicu vnpulcr. Christ whips our fruitlessness in the innocent fig-
tree; like as the Manner was among the Persians, when their great men had offended, to take their Garments and beat them. Now that gracious way of goodnes which it pleased our Saviour, thus to tread himself before us, the same hath he left behind him to be gone by us, and hath ordained us a course of Religious and Christian service unto him, known by nothing more then goodnes and compassion. The very Heathen themselves, though utter enemies unto it, have candidly afforded us this Testimony. Ammianus Marcellinus taxing Georgius a factious and proud Bishop of Alexandria, for abusing the weaknesses of Constantius the Em-
peror by base tale-bearing and privy informations; notes pre-
cisely that he did it, Oblitus professionis sua, que nil nisi iustum suad-
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det & lene; quite besides the meaning of his profession, whose especial notes were Gentleness and Equity. And Tertullian tells us that anciently among the Heathen, the professors of Christianity, were called, not Christians, but Christiati, from a word signifying Benignity and sweetness of disposition. The learned of our times, who for our instruction, have written de Nois Ecclesiae by what notes and signes; we may know the Church of Christ may seem to have but ill forgotten, this which the Heathen man had so clearly discovered. For what reason is there, why that should not be one of the chiefest notes of the Church of Christ, which did so especially Charakterize a Christian man, except it were the decay of it at this day in the Church: of this thing therefore so excellent in itself, so useful, so principally commended by the precept and example of our blessed Saviour, one especial part is, if not the whole, which here by our Apostle is commended unto us, when he speaks unto us of kindly intreating, & making much of such, who are as he calls them weak in Faith.

Him that is weak in Faith, &c. To know the natural ground and occasion of which words, it shall be very pertinent, to note unto you, that with the Church of Christ, as it signifies a Company of men on earth, it fares no otherwise, then it doth with other Societies, and civil Corporations. One thing there is unavoidable, and natural to all societies, which is the greatest occasion, yea the very ground of division and dissent, I mean Inequality of persons and degrees. All are not of the same worth, and therefore all cannot carry the same esteem and countenance: yet all even the meanest are alike impatient of discontentment and contempt, be the persons never so great, from whence it proceeds. Wherefore we finde that in States governed by the people nothing did more exasperate the common fort, then the conceit of being contemned by men of greater place. For the taking away therefore of tumult and combustion, which through this inequality might arise, it was anciently accounted an excellent policy in the Romane state, that men of greater account and place, did as it were share the inferior fort, amongst themselves, and every one according to his Ability entertain'd some part of them as Clients, to whom they yielded all lawful favour.
favour and protection. *Even thus it fares with the Church of God, it cannot be, that all in it should be of equal worth, it is likewise distinguished into Plebs and Optimates. Some there are, and those that either through abundance of spiritual graces, or else of natural gifts do far outstrip a great part of other Christians, these are the Optimates, the Nobles of the Church whom our Apostle, some where calls strong men in Christ. Others there are, and those most in number, who either because God hath not so liberally blest them with gifts of understanding, and capacity; or by reason of some other imperfections are either not so deeply skill'd in the mysteries of Christ, and of Godliness, or otherwise weak in manners and behaviour, and these are the Plebs the Many of the Church, whom our Apostle sometimes calls Brethren of low degree, sometimes Babes in Christ, and here in my text the weak and sick in faith. Men, by nature querulous, and apt to take exception, ἃνοσίας ὡς ἐνοχίτας ἄτομα ἐμάτισσαν ἔλεαστρα in the Tragedy. A sick man is a pettish, and wayward Creature hard to be pleased; as therefore with the sick, so are we now to deal with a Neighbour weak and sick of his spiritual constitution, and much we are to bear with his frowardness, where we cannot remedy it. For as Varro sometimes spake of the Laws of Wedlock, ᾽ὔνοιας ἐνίπτωμα aut tollendum est aut fierendum, either a man must amend, or endure the faults of his wife, he that amends them makes his wife the better, but he that patiently endures them makes himself the better: so it much more true in dealing with our weak Brethren, if we can by our behaviour remedy their imbecillities, we make them the better, if not, by enduring them we shall make our selves the better; for so shall we encrease the vertue of our patience, and purchase to our selves at Gods hand a more abundant reward. A great part of the lustre of a Christian mans virtue were utterly obscure, should it want this mean of shewing itself; for were all men strong, were all of sufficient discretion, to fee and judge of Conveniency, where were the glory of our forbearance? As well therefore to increase the reward of the strong man in Christ, as to stop the whining and murmuring of the weaker fort, and to give content at all hands, our Apostle like a good Tribune in this Text...
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Text gives a rule of Christian popularity advising the man of worthier parts, to avoid all fleighting behaviour, to open the arms of tenderness and compassion, and to demerit by all courtesie the men of meaneer rank, to prevent all inconvenience, that might arise out of disdainful and respectlesse carriage; for God is not like unto mortal Princes, jealous of the man whom the people love. In the world nothing is more dangerous for great men, then the extraordinary favour, and applaute of the people. Many excellent men have miscarried by it. For Princes stand much in feare, when any of their subjects hath the heart of the people. It is one of the commonest grounds upon which Treason is rais'd, Absalom had the Art of it, who by being plausible, by commiserating the peoples wrongs, and wishing the redres; O that I were a Judge to do this people good, by putting out his hand and imbracing and kissing every one that came nigh him, to stole away the hearts of the people, that he had well-nigh put his Father beside his Kingdom: but what alters and undoes the Kingdoms of this world, that strengthens and increases the Kingdom of God, Absalom the popular Christian, that hath the art of winning mens souls, and making himself belov'd of the people, is the best subject in the Kingdom of grace, for this is that which our Apostle expresses in the phrase of Receiving the weak.

Now it falls out oftentimes that men offend through intempestive compassion and tenderness, as much as by over much rigidness and severity: as much by familiarity, as by superciliousness and contempt. Wherefore even our love and courtesie must be managed by discretion. St. Paul saw this well; and therefore he prescribes limits to our affections, and having in the former part of my text counselled us as Christ did Peter, to let loose our nets, to make a draught; to do as Joseph did in Egypt, open our garnerers and store-houles, that all may come to buy, to admit of all, to exclude none, from our indulgence and courtesie, in this second part But not to doubtful disputations; he sets the bounds how far our love must reach. As Moses in the 19. of Exodus, set bounds about Mount Sinai, forbidding the people, that they go not up to the Hill, or come within the borders of it, so hath the Apostle appointed certain limits to our love.
love and favour, within which it shall not be lawful for the people to come. Inlarge we the Phylacteries of our goodnes as broad as we lift, give we all countenance unto the meaner fort, admit we them into all inwardness, and familiarity; yet unto disputations and controversies, concerning profounder points of Faith and religious mysteries, the meaner fort may be by no means admitted. For give me leave now to take this for the meaning of the words: I know they are very capable of another lenfe: as if the Apostles counfel had been unto us to entertain withal courteous our weaker brethren, and not overbusily to enquire into, or cenfurc their secret thoughts and doubtings, but here to leave them to themselves, and to God who is the Judge of thoughts. For many there are, otherwise right good men, yet weak in judgement, who have fallen upon sundry private conceits, fuch as arc unnecessary differencing of meats and drinks, distinction of days or (to exemplifie my self in some conceit of our times) some singular opinions concerning the State of Souls departed, private interpretations of obscure Texts of Scripture, and others of the fame nature: of these or the like thoughts, which have taken root in the hearts of men of shallow capacity, those who are more surely grounded, may not presume themselves to bee judges, many of these things of themselves, are harmles, and indifferent, only to him that hath some prejudice opinion of them, they are not fo, and of these things they who are thus, or thus conceived shall be accountable to God, and not to man; to him alone shall they stand or fall. Wherefore, bear (faith the A p o s t l e) with these infirmities, and take not on you to be Lords of their thoughts, but gently tolerate these their unnecessary conceits and scrupulofities. This though I take to be the more natural meaning of the words, (for indeed it is the main drift of our Apostles discourse in this chapter) yet chufe I rather to follow the former interpretation. First, because of the Authority of sundry learned Interpreters, and because it is very requisite that our age should have something said unto it concerning this over bold intrusion of all forts of men into the discussing of doubtful Disputations. For Disputation, though it be an excellent help to bring the truth to light; yet many times by to much
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much troubling the waters, it suffers it to flip away unseen especially with the meaner sort who cannot so easily espie, when it is mixt with Sophistry and deceit. Infirnum autem in side recipite, but not to doubtful disputations.

This my text therefore is a Spiritual Regimen and diet for these who are of a weak and sickly constitution of minde, and it contains a Recipe for a man of crazie and dileased faith. In which by that which I have delivered, you may plainly see there are two general parts. First an admonition of courteous entertainement to be given to the weaker sort in the first words. *Him that is weak in the Faith receive,* &c. Secondly, the restraint and bound of this Admonition, how far it is to extend even unto all Christian offices, excepting only the hearing of doubtful disputations. In the first part we will consider; first, who these weak ones are of whom the Apostle speaks, and how many kindes of them there be, and how each of them may be the subject of a Christian mans goodness and courtesie. Secondly, who these persons are, to whom this precept of entertaining is given, and they are two, either, the private man, or the publick Magistrate. In the second general part we will see what reasons we may frame to our selves, why these weak ones should not be admitted to questions and doubtful disputations. Which points severally, and by themselves we will not handle, but we will so order them, that still as we shall have in order discovered some kind of weak man, whom our Apostle would have received, we will immediately seek how far forth he hath a right to be an hearer of Sacred disputation, and this as far only as it concerns a private man: And for an up-shot in the end, we will briefly consider by itself, whether, and how far this precept of bearing with the weak pertains to the man of publick place, whether in the Church or in the common-wealth. And first concerning the weak, as he may be a subject of Christian courtesie in private. And here because, that in comparison of him that is strong in Christ, every man of what estate soever, may be said to be weak, that strong man only excepted, we will in the number of the weak contain all persons whatsoever. For I confefs, because I wish well to all, I am willing that all should reap some ben-
fit by my text. As therefore the woman in the Gospel, who in touching only the Hem of Christ's garment did receive virtue to cure her disease: to all weak persons whatsoever, though they seem to come behind, and only touch the hem of my text, may peradventure receive some virtue from it to redress their weaknesses; nay, as the King in the Gospel that made a feast, and willed his servants to go out to the high-ways side to the blind, and the lame, and force them in that his house might be full: so what lame or weak person soever he be, if I finde him not in my text, I will go out and force him in, that the doctrine of my Text may be full, and that the goodness of a Christian man may be like the widows oyle in the book of Kings, that never ceased running so long as there was a vessel to receive it. Wherefore to speak in general: there is no kind of man, of what life, of what profession, of what estate and calling soever, though he be an heathen, and Idolater unto whom the skirts of Christian compassion do not reach. St. Paul is my author: Now whilst you have time (faith he) do good unto all men, but especially to the household of Faith. The household of faith indeed hath the preeminence; it must be chiefly, but not alone respected. The distinction that is to be made, is not by excluding any, but not participating alike unto all, God did sometimes indeed tye his love to the Jewish Nation only, and gave his laws to them alone: but afterward, he enlarged himself, and instituted an order of serving him promiscuously capable of all the world. As therefore our religion is, so must our compassion be, catholick. To tye it either to persons or to place, is but a kind of moral Judaisme. Did not St. Paul teach us, thus much common reason would. There must of necessity be some free entercourse with all men, otherwise the passages of publick commerce were quite cut off, and the common law of Nations must needs fall. In some things we agree, as we are men, and thus far the very heathen themselves are to be received. For the goodness of a man which in Solomon's judgement, extendeth even to a beast, much more must stretch itself to a man of the same nature with him, be his condition what it will. St. Paul loved the Jews, because they were his brethren according to the Flesh. We that are of the heathen by
the same anology ought to be as tenderly affected to the
reft our brethren, who though they be not as we are now, yet
now are that which we sometimes were. Facile est atque procli-
we, faith Augftine, malos odiffe quia mali sunt, rarum autem & pi-
rum eosdem ipsos diligere, quia homines sunt. It is an easie thing to hate
evil men, because they are evil, but to love them as they are men
this is a rare and a pious thing. The offices of common hospita-
ty, of helping diftrefTed persons, feeding the hungry, and the
dike are due not only betwixt Christian and Christian, but be-
tween a Christian and all the world. Lot, when the Angels came
to Sodom, and fate in the streets: Abraham when he saw three men
coming toward him stood not to inquire who they were, but
out of the fene of common humanity, run forth and met them,
and gladly entertained them, not knowing whom they should
receive. St. Chryfofome considering the circumstances of Abra-
hams fact, that he fate at his tent door, and that in the heat of
the day, that he came to meet them, thinks he therefore fate in
publick, and endured the inconvenience of the heat even for this
purpose, that he might not let fip any occasion of being hospi-
tal. The writings of the Fathers run much in commendation of
the ancient Moncks, and were they fuch as they report, well did
they deserve to be commended, for their manner was to fit in
the fields, and by the high way fides, for this end, that they
might direct wandring paftengers into the way, that they might
relieve all that were diftrefTed by want, or bruifing or breaking
of any member, and carry them home into their cells, and per-
form unto them all duties of humanity. This serves well to
tax us, who affect a kinde of intempeftive prudence, and unfe-
fonable discretion in performing that little good we do, from
whom fo hardly after long enquiry and entreaty drops fome
small benevolence, like the fun in winter long ere it rife and
quickly gone. How many occasions of Christian charity do
we let fip, when we refufe to give our alms, unless we firft cast
doubts, and examine the persons, their lives, their neceflyties,
though it be only to reach out SOME small thing, which is due
unto him, whatsoever it be. It was anciently a complaint a-
againft the Church, that the liberality of the Christians made

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many idle persons. Be it that it was to yet no other thing befel them, then what befals their Lord, who knows and fees that his Sun-shine and his Rain is every day abused, and yet the Sun become not like a Sack nor the Heavens as Brass; unto him muft we, by his own command, be like: and whom then can we ex- clude, that have a pattern of such courtesie proposed to us to follow? we read in our books of a nice Athenian being entertain'd in a place by one given to hospitality, finding anon that another was received with the like courtesie, and then a third, growing very angry. I thought, said he, that I had found here Ξενία, but I have found πανθερίον, I look't for a friends house, but I am fallen into an Inne to entertain all Comers, rather then a Lodging for some private & especial friends. Let it not offend any that I have made Christianity rather an Inne to receive all, then a private house to receive some few. For so both the precepts and examples I have brought, teach us, beneficia praefare non homini, sed homano generi, to extend our good, not to this or that man, but to mankind, like the Sun that ariseth not on this or that nation, but on the whole world. Julian observes of the fig-tree, that above all trees it is most capable of grafts & Sciences of other kinds, so far as that all variety will be brought to take nourishment from one flock: Beloved, a Christian muft be like unto Julians fig-tree, so Universally compassionate, that so all sorts of grafts by a kinde of Christian inoculation may be brought to draw life and nourishment from his root.

But I am all this while in a generality only, and I must not forget, that I have many particular sick Patients, in my Text, of whom every one muft have his Recipe, and I must visit them all ere I go. But withal, I muft remember my Method which was still as I spake, of Receiving the weak to speak likewise of excluding them from disputation. So muft I needs ere I pass away, tax this our age, for giving so general permission unto all to bufie themselves in doubtful cales of Religion. For nothing is there that hath more prejudiced the caufe of Religion, then this promiscuous and careles admission of all sorts to the hearing and handling of controversies, whether we consider the private caufe of every man, or the publick State of the Church. I will touch but one inconvenience which much annoyes the Church,
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by opening this gate so wide to all commers, for by the great precepts of people that come, the work of the Lord is much hindered. Not to speak of those who out of weakness of understanding fall into many errors, and by reason of liberty of bequeathing their errors to the world by writing easily finde heirs for them. There is a sort that do harm by being unnecessary, and though they sowe not tares in the field, yet fill the Lords floor with chaff; For what need this great breed of writers, with which in this age the world doth swarm? how many of us might spare the pains in committing our Meditations to writing, contenting our selves to teach the people \textit{viva voce}, and suffering our conceits quietly to die in their birth? The teaching the people by voice is perpetually necessary, should all of us every where speak but the same things; For all cannot use Books, and all that can have not the leisure; To remedy therefore the want of skill in the one and of time in the other, are we let in this Ministry of Preaching. Our voices are confin’d to a certain compass, and tied to the Individuating properties of 	extit{Hic} and 	extit{Nunc}: our writings are unlimited. Necessity therefore requires a multitude of speakers, a multitude of writers, not so. \textit{G. Agricola writing de Animantibus subterraneis reports of a certain kinde of Spirits that converse in Minerals and much infest those that work in them, and the manner of them when they come is, to seem to busie themselves according to all the custom of workmen; they will dig and cleanse and melt and sever mettals, yet when they are gone, the workmen do not finde that there is any thing done: so fares it with a great part of the multitude, who thrust themselves into the controversies of the times, they write Books, move questions frame distinctions, give solutions, and seem studiously to do, whatsoever the nature of the business requires, yet if any skilful workman in the Lords Mines shall come and examine their work, he shall finde them to be but Spirits in Minerals, and that withal this labor and stir there is nothing done. I acknowledge it to be very true, which S. *Augustine* spake in his first Book \textit{de Trinitate: Ittile est plures libros à pluribus fieri diversi filo, sed non diversà s fine, etiam de questionibus iisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat ad alios sì, ad alios vero sì. It is a thing very profitable that diverse Tradis...
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be written by divers men, after divers fashions, but according to the same Analogy of Faith, even of the same questions that some might come into the hands of all, to some on this manner to another after that. For this may we think to have been the counsel of the Holy Ghost himself, who may seem even for this purpose, to have registered the self same things of Christ by three of the Evangelists with little difference; Yet notwithstanding, if this speech of S. Auffine admit of being qualified, then was there no time which more then this age required it, should be moderated, which I note, because of a noxious conceit spread in our Universities to the great hindering of true proficiency in Study springing out from this Root. For many of the Learned themselves are fallen upon this preposterous conceit, that learning consisteth rather in varying of turning and quoting of sundry Authors, then in soundly discovering and laying down the truth of things. Out of which arises a greater charge unto the poor Student, who now goes by number rather then weight, and the Books of the learned themselves, by ambitiously heaping up the conceits, and authorities of other men increaseth much in the bulk, but do as much imbait in true value. Wherefore as Gedeons army, of two and thirty thousand by pre-\script\ from God was brought unto three hundred: So this huge army of disputes, might without any hazard of the Lords battles, be well contrasted into a smaller number. Justinian the Emperor when he found that the study of the Civil Law was surcharged and much confused, by reason of the great heaps of unnecessary writings, he calls an assembly of learned men, caus'd them to search the books, to cut of what was superfluous to gather into order and method the sum and substance of the whole Law: were it possible that some Religious Justinian might after the same manner implo[y] the wits of some of the best Learned in examining the controversys, and selecting out of the best writers what is necessary, defaulting unnecessary and partial discourses, and so digest into order and method, and leave for the direction of posterity as it were Theological pandects: infinite store of our books might very well lie by, and peaceably be buried, and after ages reap greater profit with smaller cost and pains.
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pains. But that which was possible in the world united under Justinian in this great division of Kingdoms is peradventure impossible. Wherefore having contented my self to shew what a great and irremediable inconvenience this free, and uncontrovertible ventring upon Theological disputes hath brought upon us, I will leave this project as a Speculation, and pass from this general Doctrine unto some particulars. For this generality, and heap of sick persons, I must divide into their kindes and give every one his proper Recipe.

The first in this order of weak persons, so to be received & cherish'd by us, is one of whom question may be made whether he may be called weak or no; he may seem to be rather dead: for no pulse of infused grace beats in him. I mean such a one who hath but small, or peradventure no knowledge at all in the mystery of Christ, yet is otherwise, a man of upright life and conversation, such one as we usually name a moral man. Account you of such a one as dead, or how you please, yet methinks I finde a Recipe for him in my text. For this man is even to be woed by us, as sometimes one heathen man wish'd of another, Talis eam fīs utinam noster esses: This man may speak unto a Christian as Ruth does unto Booz, spread the skirt of thy garment over me, for thou art a near kin'sman. Two parts there are that do compleatly make up a Christian man, A true Faith, and an honest conversation. The first, though it seem the worthier, and therefore gives unto us the name of Christians, yet the second in the end will prove the surer. For true profession without honest conversation, not only savor not, but increaseth our weight of punishment: but a good life without true profession, though it bring us not to Heaven, yet it lessens the measure of our judgement: so that a moral man so called is a Christian by the surer side. As our Saviour faith of one in the Gospels that had wisely and discreetly answered him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of Heaven: So may we say of these men, suppose that as yet they be not of, yet certainly far from the Kingdom of Heaven they cannot be, yea, this sincerity of life though seven'd from true profession, did seem such a jewel in the eyes of some of the ancient Fathers, that their opinion was and so have they
in their writings (erroneously doubtlesly) yet so have they testifi-
ed it, that God hath in store for such men not only this mitigating
mercy of which but now I spake, but even saving grace so far forth as to make them possessors of his Kingdom. Let it
not trouble you that I intitle them to some part of our Christian
Faith, and therefore without scruple to be received as weak
and not to be cast forth as dead. *Salvianus* disputing what
Faith is, *Quid est igitur credulitas vel fides?* faith he, opinor fideliter
hominibus Christo credere, id est, fideliter Deo esse, hoc est fideliter Dei manda-
ta servare. What might this faith be? (faith he) I suppose it is
nothing else, but faithfully to believe Christ, and this is to be
faithful unto God, which is nothing else but faithfully to *keep
the commandments of God*. Not therefore only a bare belief, but
the fidelity & trustfulness of Gods servants faithfully accomplishing
the will of our Master, is required as a part of our Chris-
tian Faith. Now all those good things which moral men by
the light of nature do, are a part of Gods will written in their
hearts, wherefore so far as they were conscientious in perform-
ing them (if *Salvianus* his reason be good) so far have they title
and interest in our Faith. And therefore *Regulus* that famous
Roman, when he endured infinite torments rather then he would
break his *Oath*, may thus far be counted a Martyr, and witness for
the truth. For the Crown of Martyrdom fits not only on the
heads of those who have lost their lives, rather then they would
cease to profess the Name of Christ, but on the head of every
one that suffereth for the testimony of a good conscience, and for
righteousness sake. And here I cannot pass by one very gene-
ral grosse mistaking of our age. For in our discourses concerning
the notes of a Christian man, by what *signes* we may know a
man to be one of the visible company of Christ, we have so
staid our selves to this outward profession that if we know no o-
 ther vertue in a man, but that he hath cond his *Creed* by heart,
let his life be never so profane we think it argument enough for
us to account him within the Pale and Circuit of the Church:
on the contrary side let his life be never so upright, if either he
little seen in, or peradventure quite ignorant of the *Mystery of
Christ*, we esteem of him but as dead; and those who con-
ceive
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eive well of those moral good things as of some tokens giving hope of life, we account but as a kinde of Manichees, who thought the very earth had life in it. I must confess that I have not yet made that proficiency in the Schools of our age, as that I could see; why the second table and the Acts of it, are not as properly the parts of Religion and Christianity, as the Acts and observations of the first. If I mistake, then it is S. James that hath abus'd me, for he describing Religion by its proper Acts, tells us, that True Religion and unfeyled before God and the Father is to visit the Fatherless and the Widow in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world. So that the thing which in an especial refine dialect of the new Christian language signifies nothing but morality and civility, that in the language of the holy Ghost imports true Religion. Wherefore any difference that the holy Ghost makes notwithstanding, the man of vertuous dispositions, though ignorant of the mystery of Chrifi, be it Fabricius or Regulus or any ancient heathen man, famous for sincerity and uprightnes of carriage, hath as sure a claim and interest in the Church of Christ as the man deepest skil'd in, most certainly believing, and openly professing all, that is, written in the holy books of God, if he endeavour not to shew his faith by his works. The Ancients therefore where they found this kinde of men gladly received them, and convers'd familiarly with them, as appears by the friendly entercourse of Epistles of S. Basil with Libanius of Nazianzen and Auspen with sundry others, and Antiquity hath either left us true, or forged us false Epistles betwixt Saint Paul himself and Seneca. Now as for the admitting of any of these men to the discoursing of the doubts in our Religious mysteries, who either know not, or peradventure contemn them, there needs not much be said: by a Cannon of one of the Councils of Carthage it appears, it had sometimes been the erroneous practise of some Christians to Baptize the dead, and to put the Sacrament of Christs body into their mouths. Since we have confest these men to be in a sort dead, as having no supernaturall quickning grace from above, to put into their hands the handling of the word of life at all, much more of discoursing of the doubtful things in it, were nothing else, but to Baptize a case,
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case, and put the communion bread into the mouth of the dead. Wherefore leaving this kind of weak person to your courteous acceptance.

Let us consider of another, one quite contrary to the former; a true professor, but a man of profane and wicked life, one more dangerously ill than the former, have we any recipe for this man? May seem for him there is no balm in Gilead, he seems like unto the Lepar in the law, unto whom no man might draw near, and by so much the more dangerous is his case, because the condition of conversing with heathen men, be they never so wicked is permitted unto Christians by our Apostle himself, whereas with this man all commerce seems by the same Apostle to be quite cut off. For in the 1 Cor. 6. St. Paul having forbidden them formerly all manner of conversing with Fornicators, infamous persons, and men subject to grievous crimes, and considering at length how impossible this was, because of the Gentiles with whom they lived, and amongst whom necessarily they were to converse and trade, he distinguishes between the fornicators of this world, and the fornicators which were Brethren. I meant not (faith the Blessed Apostle) expounding himself that ye should not admit of the Fornicators of this world, that is, such as were Gentiles; for then must ye have fought a new world. So great and general a liberty at that time had the world assumed for the practice of that sin of fornication, that strictly to have forbidden them the company of fornicators had almost been to have excluded them the society of mankind. But faith he, if a brother be a fornicator or a thief, or a raider with such a one partake not, no not so much as to eat. Wherefore the case of this person seems to be desperate. For he is not only mortally sick, but is bereft of all help of the Physician, yet notwithstanding all this we may not give him over for gone, for when we have well searched our boxes, we shall finde a Recipe even for him too, think we that our Apostles meaning was, that we should acquaint our selves only with the good, and not the bad; as Physicians in the time of pestilence look only to the sound, and shun the diseas'd? Our Saviour Christ familiarly conversed, eat, and drank with Publicans and Sinners, and gives the reason of it; because
because he came not to call the Righteous but sinners to repentance. Is Christ contrary to Paul? this reason of our Saviour concerns every one on whom the duty of saving of Souls doth rest. It is the main drift of his message and unavoidably he is to converse, yea, eat and drink with all sorts of sinners, even because he is to call not the righteous but sinners to repentance. Necessary it is that some means be left to reclaim notorious offenders, let their disease be never so dangerous. Nescio an in extremis aliquid tentare medicina sit, certè nihil tentare perditio est, who can tell whether in this extremity, were it at the last cast it may some way profit, to receive him, but this we all know that altogether to cast him out of the society of good men, is to cut him off from all outward means of health. The Leper in the law though he were excluded the multitude; yet had he access unto the Priest. Beloved the priest in the new law hath much greater privilege then the ancient had, he was only a judge and could not cure: but this is both a judge and a Physician, and can both discern and cure the leprosy of our souls; wherefore he is not to be excluded from the most desperately sick person. Neither doth this duty concern the priest alone. For as Tertullian sometimes spake in another case; In majestatis reos & publicos hosstes omnis homo miles est. Against Traitors and publick enemies every man is a soldier, so is it true in this. Every one who is of strength to pull a soul out of the fire, is for this business, by counsel, by advice, by rebuking a priest, neither must he let him lie there to expect better help. Again, no man so ill but hath some good thing in him, though it break not out, as being clouded and darkened with much corruption, we must take heed, that we do not pro solis comprehendere frequentissima mistake in thinking there is nothing else but evil, where we often see it. We must therefore entertain even near friendship with such a one to discover him. Nemo enim nisi per amicitiam cognoscitur, faith St. Austin. No man is perfectly discovered, but by his inward acquaintance. As therefore they who seek for treasure give not over by reason of clay and mire, so long as there is any hope to speed: so may we not cast off our industry, though it labour in the most polluted soul, ut ad quadem sanit in quorum delectione
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deletione acquiescamus per charitatis tolerantiam perducamur, that
so at length, through charitable patience and long suffering we
may discover in him some good things which may content us for
the present, and give hope of better things to come. For as
they that work in gold and costly matter, diligently save every
little piece that falls away: so goodness whatsoever it be, is a
thing so precious that every little spark of it deserves our care in
cherishing. Many miscarry through the want of this patience,
in those who undertake them, whilst they despair of
them too soon; dum ita obiurant quasi oderint, whilst
they rebuke us, as if they hated, and upbraid rather then
reprehend. Transit convitium et intemperantia culpatur, uterque
qui periere arguuntur. As unskilful Physicians, who suffer their
patients to die under their hands, to hide their error, blame
their patients intemperance: so let us take heed, least it be not
so much the strength of the disease, as the want of skill in us
which we strive to cover, and vail over with the names of con-
tumacy intemperance or the like. David received an express
message from the Prophet, that the childe conceived in adultery
should surely die, yet he cast not his prayers, & tears, and fasting:
as long as there was life in it: we receive no such certain message
concerning any man's miscarriage, and why then should we in-
termit any office which Christian patience can afford. Where-
fore, what Maccenas sometime spake lothly in another sense, de-
bilem facito manu, debilem pede, coxa; lubricos quae dentes: vita
dum superest bene est, that we may apply more properly to our
purpose, let our weak person here be lame, hand and foot, hip
and thigh, sick in head and heart, yet so long as there is life in
him, there is no cause we should despair. How knowest thou
how potent the word of God may be through thy ministr's, out
of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham? I cannot
therefore persuade my self, that this prohibition of St. Paul, of
which we but now spake, so far extended, as that it quite inter-
dicted good men the company of the sinners, be they never
so grofe. For when he delivered men unto Satan, (the
greatest thing that ever he did in this kinde) it was ad interitum
carnis, to the mortifying of the flesh, that so the spirit might be
safe in the day of the Lord. But this is worse, for by this pe-
remptory
remptory excluding the grosse sinner from the good, a greater gap is opened to the liberty of the flesh, and a more immediate way could not be found to bring final destruction on him at that day. The extent therefore of St. Paul's precept, though given in shew to all, I take to reach no farther then the weak, and such as are in danger of infection; for the weaker sort of men are always, evermore the most, and a charge given unto the most, is commonly given under the stile of all. Our Apostle therefore jealous of the tenderer sort, whom every unwholsome blast doth easily taint, seems, what he intended for the most to make general to all. The reason which the Apostle gives, does warrant this restraint. See ye not (faith he) that a little leaven sows the whole lump? If therefore there be any part of the lump, it out of shot and danger of souring and contagion, on it this precept can have no extent: and surely some wrong it were to the Church of Christ, to suppose that all were necessarily subject to souring and infection, upon supposal of some admission of leaven. Evil indeed is infectious, but neither necessarily, nor yet so, that it need fright us from those who are diseased with it. Contagious diseases which cease on our bodies, infect by natural force and means, which we cannot prevent: but no man drinks down this poison, whose will is not the hand that takes the Cup: so that to converse with men of diseas'd minde infects us not, except we will. Again, Aristotle in his problems, makes a question, why health doth not infect as well as sickness. For we grow sick many times by incautelously conversing with the diseas'd: but no man grows well by accompanying the healthy: thus indeed it is with the healthiness of the body: it hath no transient force on others, but the strength and healthiness of the minde carries with it a gracious kinde of infection: and common experience tells us, that nothing profits evil men more then the company of the good. So that strength of minde accompanied with the preservative of the grace of God, may not only without fear of contagion, safely converse with ungracious sinners, but by so doing, as it were infect them, and make them such as himself is. No cause therefore hitherto, why the true professors, though notorious sinners should not be partakers.
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of our Christian Courteties; and therefore as of the former, so of this my conclusion is, we must receive him. Only let me add St. Paul's words in another place, Te that are strong, receive such a one.

Having thus far spoken of his admission, let us now a little consider of his restraint; and see whether he may have any part in hearing and handling religious controversies; where plainly to speak my minde, as his admission before was, so his exclusion here is much more necessary, the way to these schools should be open to none, but to men of upright life and conversation: and that as well in regard of the prophane and wicked men themselves, as of the cause which they presume to handle: for as for themselves this is but the field, wherein they sow and reap their own infamy and disgrace. Our own experience tells us, how hard a thing it is for men of behaviour known to be spotless, to avoid the lash of those mens tongues, who make it their chief fence to disgrace the perasons, when they cannot touch the cause. For what else are the writings of many men, but mutual Pasquils and Satyrs against each others lives, wherein digladiating like Eschines and Demosthenes, they reciprocally lay open each others filthines to the view and scorn of the world. The fear therefore of being stained, and publickly disgraced, might be reason enough to keep them back from entreing these contentions. And as for the cause it self, into which this kind of men do put themselves, needs must it go but ill with it: for is it possible that those respects which sway and govern their ordinary actions, should have no influence upon their pens? It cannot be, that they who speak, and plot, and act wickedness, should ever write uprightly. Nam ut in vita, ita et in causis quos spec improbas habent: doubtless, as in their lives, so in the causes they undertake, they nourish hopes full of improbity. Besides all this, the opinion of the common sort is not to be contemned, whom no kind of reason so much abuses, and carries away, as when the discredit of the person is retorted on the cause, which thing our adversaries here at home amongst us know very well, a masterpiece, of whose policy it is to put into the hands of the people, such
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Such pamphlets which hurt not our cause at all, but only discredit our persons. Saint Chrysostome observes out of the ancient customes of the Olympian games, that whensoever any man offered himself to contend in them, he was not to be admitted till publick Proclamation had been made thorowout the multitude to this purpose, Whither any man knew him to be either a servant, or a thief, or otherwife of infamous life. And if any imputation in this kinde were proved against him, it was sufficient to keep him back. Had the Heathen this care that their vanities should not be discredited; how great then must our care be, that they which enter into these exercises, be of pure and upright condition? Let mens skill and judgement therefore be never so good, yet if their lives be notoriously subject to exception, Let them know that there is no place for them in these Olympicks. Men indeed in civil business have found out a distinction between an honest man and a good Common-wealths-man: and therefore Fabricius in the Roman story is much commended for nominating to the Consulship Ruffinus a wicked man and his utter enemy, because he knew him to be serviceable to the Common-wealth, for those wars which were then depending. But in the business of the Lord and Common-wealth of God, we can admit of no such distinction. For God himself in the book of Psalms, staves them off with a: Quid tua ut enarres mea, &c. What hast thou to do to take my words into thy mouth since thou hast not to be reformed? The world for the managing of her matters, may impoy such as her self hath fitted: but let every one who names the name of God depart from iniquity. For these reasons therefore is it very expedient, that none but right good men should undertake the Lords quarrels, the rather because there is some truth in that which Quintilian spake, Cogitare optima simul & deterrima, non magis est unius animi, quam ejusdem hominis bonum esse ac malum. As impossible it is that good and bad thoughts should harbor in the same heart, as it is for the same man to be joyntly good, and bad. And so from the consideration of this sick person, let us proceed to visit the next. The weak persons, I have hitherto treated of are the fewest as consisting in a kinde of extreme. For the greatest
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Fort of men are in a mediocrity of men eminently good or extraneously ill the number is smallest; but this rank of sick persons that now we are to view is an whole army and may be every one of us, if we do well examine our selves, shall finde our selves in it: For the weak whom we now are to speake of, is he that hath not that degree and perfection of faith and strength of Spiritual constitution that he ought to have; Wherefore our Recipe here must be like the Tree of life in the book of the Revelation, it must be medicine to heal whole nations. For who is he amongst men that can free himself from this weakness? Yea, we our selves that are set over others for their cure, may speake of our selves and our charge, as Jolau in Euripides doth of himself and Hercules children, σωφρονειας, we take care of these, our selves standing in need of others care for us. Hippocrates counsels his Phylician, to look especially, that himself be healthy to be ευνυξις, χαλευνυξις, fair of colour and full of flesh. For otherwise faith he how can he give comfort and hope of success to a sick patient, who by his ill colour and meagerness bewraies some imperfection of his own. But what Phylician of Soul and manners is capable of this counsel; or who is it that taking the cure of others doth not in most of his actions bewray his owne disease? even thus hath it pleased God to tie us together with a mutual fense of each others weakness, and as our selves receive and bear with others; so for our selves interchangeably must we request the same courtesie at others hands: Notwithstanding, as it is with the health of our bodies, no man at any time is perfectly well, only he goes for an healthy man, who is least sick: so fares it with our souls, God hath enclosed all under the name of weak, some peradventure is leas weak then others but no man is strong. Infelicissimi Consolationis genus est de miseriis hominum peccatorum capere solatia. It is but a miserable comfort to judge our own perfections only by others defects,yet this is all the comfort we have. Let us leave therefore those who by reason of being less crazy pass for healthy, and consider of those whom some sensible and eminent imperfection above others hath rankt in the number of the weak. And of those there are sun-
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dry kindes, especially two. One is weake because he is not yet fully informed, not so sufficiently Catechized in the Mysteries of Faith, whom farther Institution may bring to better Maturity. The other peradventure is sufficiently grounded for principles of Faith, yet is weak, by reason either of some passion or of some irritatory and troublesome humor in his behaviour, nullum unquam ingenium placuit sine venia. There is no man so perfect, but hath somewhat in his behaviour that requireth pardon. As for the imperfection of the former of these, It is the weakness of infancy and childhood in Faith rather then a disease: And with this weak man we are especially to bear above all others. For as for him that is weak through gross and wilful ignorance or contumacy or the like, it is pardonable, if sometimes we yeild him not that measure of curtesie, which were meet, but to be cruel against infancy and childhood were inhumanity. The manner of our Recipe for these men, our Apostle somewhore expresseth where he tells us of some that must be fed with milk and not strong meat: Unto these we must rather be as Nurses then Physicians, submittendo nos ad mensuram discentis, & manu dando & gradu nostrā minuendo, by gently submitting our selves to the capacity of the learner, by lending our hand by lessning our steps to keep them in equipace with us till they come up to their full growth. As Christ being God emptied himself, and became Man like to us, so must we lay down our gifts of wit, in which we flatter our selves and take our selves to be as Gods, and in shew and fashion become like one of them. Grave men have thought it no disparagement, to have been with their little sons, Ludere par impar equitare in arundine longâ, toying and practising with them their childish sports: and if any take offence at it, they are such as know not what it is to be Fathers. Those therefore who bear the office of Fathers amongst other men, to bring up the infancy of Babes in Christ, must not blush to practice this part of a Father, and out of Pauls lesson of becoming all to all, learn to become a child to children, do it he may very well, without any impeachment to himself. He that helps one up that is fallen, non se projicit ut ambo jaceant, sed incurvat tantum ut jacentem erigat, throws not himself
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himself down to lie by him, but gently stoops to lift him up again; but of this weak person, I have little need, I trust to speak. For no man in these days can be long weak, but by his own default, so long and careful teaching as hath been and every day is, must needs take from men all pretence of weak-ness in this kind. Nam quid aliud agimus docendo vos, quam ne semper docendi sitis. For what is the end of all this labor and pains in teaching, but that ye might at length not need a teacher. Wherefore from this I come unto that other weak person, strong in Faith, but weak in carriage and behaviour.

Having before proved that Christian curtesy spreads itself to all sorts of men, to the Infidel, to the gross notorious sinner, then will it without any streining at all come home to all the infirmities of our weaker brethren: For that which can endure so great a tempest, how can it be offended with some small drops. Is Christian patience like unto Saint Peters resolution, that durst manfully encounter the high Priests servant, yet was dented at the voice of a silly maiden, whatsoever it is that is irksome unto us in the common behaviour of our Brethren, it were strange we should not be able to brook. Epictetus con-considering with himself, the weakness which is usual in men, still to make the worst of what befalls us, wittily tells us that every thing in the world hath two handles one turn'd toward us which we may easily take, the other turn'd from us harder to be laid hold of; the first makes all things easeful, the second not so, The instance that he brings is my very purpose. "Be it faith be thy Brother hath offended thee, here are two hand-fasts, one of the offence, the other of thy Brother. If thou take hold of that of the offence it will be too hot for thee, thou wilt not easily endure the touch of it: but if thou lay hold of that of thy Brother, this will make all behaviour tolerable. There is no part of our Brothers carriage towards us but if we search it, we shall finde, some hand-fasts, some circumstance, that will make it easeful to be born." If we can finde no other, the circumstance of our Saviour Chrifts example will never fail. An example which will not only make us to endure the importunity of his ordinary behaviour, but all his outrageous dealing whatsoever. For faith S. Chryfostome, didst
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didst thou know that thy Brother intended particular mischief against thee that he would embrue his hand in thy blood, γινετε φιλανθον ην διογενις, yet kiss that hand, for thy Lord did not refuse to kiss that that mouth that made the bargain for his blood. It is storied of Protagoras that being a poor youth and carrying a burden of sticks, he piled so them, and laid them together, with such art & order, that he made them much more light and easie to be born. Beloved, there is an Art among Christians like unto that of Protagoras of so making up and ordering our burthens, that they may lie with much less weight upon our shoulders, this art, if we could learn it, would make us take all in good part at our Brothers hand, were he as bad as Nabal was, of whom his own servant complain'd that he was such a man of Belial that no man could speak unto him.

Wherefore leaving you to the study, and learning of this most Christian art, I will a little consider for what Reasons we may not admit of these two sorts of weak men to controversy. For as for the unlearned, in private, nothing more usual with them then to take offence at our dissensions, and to become more uncertain and unjoynted upon the hearing of any question discusst. It is their usual voyce and question to us: Is it possible that we should be at one in these points in which your selves do disagree? thus cast they off, on our backs the burthen of their back-fliding and neutrality, wherefore to acquaint them with disputation in Religion, were as it were to blast them in their infancy, and bring upon them some impropersous Disease to hinder their growth in Christ. Secondly, what one said of other contentions, in bellis civilibus audacia etiam valet singulorum, in civil wars no man is too weak to do a mischief, we have found too true in these our Sacra Bella; no man is to weak, (I say not) to do mischief, but to be a principal Agent and Captain in them. Simple and unlearned souls train'd up by men of contentious spirits have had strength enough to be Authors of dangerous herefies, Priscilla and Maximilla, silly women laden with iniquity were the chief ring-leaders in the error of the Montanists, and as it is commonly said, bellum incoant inertes, fortes finiunt, weaklings are
are able to begin a quarrel, but the prosecution and finishing is a work for stronger men, so hath it fared here. For that quarrel which these poor fouls had raised, Tertullian a man of great Wit and Learning is drawn to undertake: so that for a Barnabas to be drawn away to error, there needs not always the example and authority of a Peter. A third reason is the marvellous violence of the weaker sort in maintaining their conceits, if once they begin to be opinative. For one thing there is that wonderfully prevails against the reclaiming of them, and that is, the natural jealoufie they have of all that is laid unto them by men of better wits, stand it with reason never fo good, if it found not as they would have it. A jealoufie founded in the sense of their weakness arising out of this that they suspect all to be done for no other end, but to circumvent and abuse them. And therefore when they fee themselves to be too weak in reasoning, they easily turn them to violence. The Monks of Egypt, otherwise devout, and religious men anciently, were for the most part unlearned, & generally given over to the error of the Anthropomorphite, who held that God had hands and feet and all the parts that a man hath, and was in outward shape and proportion like to one of us. Theophilus a Learned Bishop of Alexandria having fallen into their hands was so roughly used by them, that ere he could get out of their fingers, he was fain to use his wits and to crave aid of his Equivocating Sophistry and soothly to tell them. I have seen your face as the face of God. Now, when Christian and Religious doubts, must thus be managed with willfulness and violence, what mischief may come of it is already so plain, that it needs not my finger to point it out. Wherefore let every such weak perflon lay unto himself, as Saint Austin doth, Tu ratiocinare, ego mirer, disputa tu ego credam, let others reason I will marvel. Let others dispute I will believe. As for the man strong in passion or rather weak, for the strength of passion is the weakness of the passionate; great reason hath the Church to except against him. For first of all from him it comes that our books are so fluft with contumelious malediction, no heathen writers having left the like example of chol- ler and gross impatience. An hard thing, I know it is to write without
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without affection and passion in those things which we love, and therefore it is free to do, to those who are Lords over themselves. It seems our Saviour gave some way to it himself. For somewhat certainly his Kinsmen saw in his behaviour, when as S. Mark reports they went forth to lay hold upon him thinking he was beside himself. But for those who have not the command of themselves, better it were they laid it by, S. Chrysostome excellently observeth that the Prophets of God, and Satan, were by this notoriously differenced, that they which gave Oracles by motion from the Devil did it with much impatience and confusion, with a kind of fury and madness but they which gave Oracles from God by Divine Inspiration, gave them with all mildness and temper. If it be the cause of God which we handle in our writings, then let us handle it like the Prophets of God with quietness and moderation, and not in the violence of passion, as if we were possessed, rather then inspir'd. Again, what equity or indifferency can we look for in the carriage of that cause, that falls into the handling of these men. Quius conferre duces meminit qui pendere causas? Qua fletit inde favet, what man overtaken with passion remembers impartially to compare cause with cause, and right with right. Qua fletit inde favet — on what cause he happens, that is he resolute to maintain, ut gladiator in arenam; as a Fencer to the Stage, so comes he to write, not upon confidence of quarrel, but because he proposes to contend, yea, so potently hath this humor prevail'd with men that have undertaken to maintain a faction, that it hath broken out to the tempting of God, and the dishonour of Martyrdom. Two Fryers in Florence in the action of Saxonoralla, voluntarily in the open view of the City, offer'd to enter the fire: so to put an end to the controversy, that he might be judged to have the right who like one of the three children in Babylon, should pass untouch't through the fire. But I hasten to visit one weak person more and so an end.

He whom we now are to visit, is a man weak through heretical and erring Faith, now whether or no, we have any receipt for him it may be doubtful; For S. Paul adviseth us to avoid the man, that is, a maker of Sects, knowing him to be damned.

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yet, if we spake of not admitting to us the notorious sinner, no not to eat, so we teach of this, that it is delivered respectively to the weaker sort; as justly for the same reasons we may do: we shall have a Recipe here for the man that erras in faith, and rejoyneth in making of Seets: which we shall the better do, if we can but gently draw him on to a moderation to think of his conceits only as of opinions; for it is not the variety of opinions, but our own perverse wills, who think it meet, that all should be conceited as our selves are, which hath so inconvenienced the Church, were we not so ready to anathematize each other, where we concur not in opinion, we might in hearts be united, though in our tongues we were divided, and that with singular profit to all sides; It is the unity of the Spirit in the band of peace, and not Identitie of conceit, which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians. I will give you one instance, in which at this day our Churches are at variance. The will of God, and his manner of proceeding in predestination is undiscernable, and shall so remain until that day, wherein all knowledge shall be made perfect, yet some there are, who with probability of Scripture teach, that the true cause of the final miscarriage of them that perish, is that original corruption that befell them at the beginning, increased through the neglect or refusal of grace offered. Others with no less favourable countenance of Scripture, make the cause of reprobation only the will of God, determining, freely of his own work, as himself pleases, without respect to any second cause whatsoever. Were we not ambitiously minded, familliam ducere, every one to be Lord of a Sect, each of these tenents might be profitably taught and heard, and matter of singular exhortation drawn from either; for on the one part, doubtless it is a pious and religious intent, to endeavour to free God from all imputation of unnecessary rigour, & his justice from seeming unjustice & incongruity; & on the other side, it is a noble resolution, so to humble our selves under the hand of Almighty God, as that we can with patience hear, yea, think it an honour, that so base creatures as our selves should become the instruments of the glory of so great a majesty, whether it be by eternal life, or by eternal death, though
though for no other reason, but for God's good will and pleasure sake. The authors of these conceits might both freely (if peaceably) speak their mindes, and both singularly profit the Church: for since it is impossible where Scripture is ambiguous, that all conceits should run alike, it remains, that we seek out a way not so much to establish an unity of opinion in the mindes of all; which I take to be a thing likewise impossible; as to provide that multiplicity of conceit, trouble not the Churches peace. A better way my conceit cannot reach unto, then that we would be willing to think, that these things, which with some shew of probability we deduce from Scripture are at the best, but our opinions for this peremptory manner of setting down our own conclusions under this high commanding form of necessary truths, is generally one of the greatest causes, which keeps the Churches this day so far asunder; when as a gracious receiving of each other, by mutual forbearance in this kinde, might peradventure in time bring them nearer together.

This peradventure may some man say, may content us in case of opinion indifferently, out of which no great inconvenience by necessary and evident proof is concluded: but what Recipe have we for him that is fallen into some known and desperate Heresie? Even the same with the former. And therefore anciently, Heretical and Orthodox Christians, many times even in publick holy exercise conversed together without offence. It's noted in the Ecclesiastick Stories, that the Arrians and Right believers so communicated together in holy prayers, that you could not distinguish them till they came to the δοξολογια, the gloria patri, which the Arrians used with some difference from other Christians. But those were times quorum lectionem habemus virtutem non habemus, we read of them in our books, but we have lost the practice of their patience. Some prejudice was done unto the Church by those, who first began to intermingle, with publick Ecclesiastical duties, things respective unto private conceits. For those Christian offices in the Church ought as much as possibly they may be common unto all, and not to descend to the differences of particular opinions. Severity against, and separation from heretical companies, took its beginning from the

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Hereticks themselves: and if we search the stories, we shall finde that the Church did not at their first arising thrust them from her: themselves went out, and as for severity: that which the Donatists sometimes spake in their own defence. Illam esse veram Ecclesiam que persecutionem patitur, non que facit, she was the true Church not which raised, but which suffered persecution was de facto true for a great space. For when heresies and schismes first arose in the Church, all kind of violence were used by the erring factions, but the Church seem’d not for a long time to have known any use of a sword, but only of a buckler, and when she began to use the sword, some of her best and chiefest Captains much misliked it. The first law in this kind that ever was made, was enacted by Theodosius against the Donatists, but with this restraint, that it should extend against none, but only such as were tumultuous, and till that time they were not so much as toucht with any mulct, though but pecuniary, till that shameful outrage committ’d against Bish. Maximian, whom they beat down with bats and clubs, even as he stood at the Altar: so that not so much the error of the Donatists, as their riots and mutinies were by Imperial laws restrained. That the Church had afterward good reason to think, that she ought to be salubrior quam dulciur, that sometimes there was more mercy in punishing, then forbearing there can no doubt be made. St. Austin (a man of as milde and gentle spirit as ever bare rule in the Church) having according to his natural sweetness of disposition, earnestly written against violent, and sharp dealing with Hereticks: being taught by experience, did afterward retract, and confess an excellent use of wholesome severity in the Church. Yet could I wish that it might be said of the Church, which was sometimes observed of Augustus. In nullius unquam suorum necem duravit: he had been angry with, and severely punish’d many of his kin, but he could never endure to cut any of them off by death. But this I must request you to take only as my private wish, and not as a cenfrue, if any thing have been done to the contrary. When Absalom was up in arms against his Father, it was necessary for David to take order to curb him, and pull him on his knees, yet we see how careful he was, he should not die, and
and how lamentably he bewail'd him in his death: what cause was it that drove David into this extream passion? Was it doubt of heire to the Kingdome? That could not be. For Solomon was now born, to whom the promife of the Kingdom was made, was it the strength of natural affection? I somewhat doubt of it. Three year together was Absalom in banishment, and David did not very eagerly desire to fee him. The Scripture indeed notes that the King long'd for him: yet in this longing was there not any such fiercenes of passion: for Absalom saw not the Kings face for two years more after his return from banishment to Hierusalem. What then might be the cause of his strength of passion, and commiferation in the King? I perswade my felf it was the fear of his fons final miscarriage, and reprobation, which made the King (fecure of the mercies of God unto himself) to wish he had died in his fteed, that fo he might have gain'd for his ungracious childe, some time of repentance. The Church who is the common mother of us all, when her Absoloms, her unnatural fons do lift up their hands and pens againft her, muft fo use means to repreff them, that she forget not that they are the fons of her womb, and be compassionate over them as David was over Absalom, loath to unfeath either fword, but most of all the temporal, for this were to fend them with quick dispatch to Hell.

And here I may not pass by that singular moderation of this Church of ours; which she hath most christianly expreffed towards her adverfaries of Rome, here at home in her bosome above all the reformed Churches, I have read of. For out of desire to make the breach feem no greater, then indeed it is, and to hold communion and Christian fellowship with her, fo far as we possibly can, we have done nothing to cut of the favourers of that Church. The reasons of their love and respects to the Church of Rome we wish, but we do not command them to lay down: their lay-Brethren have all means of instruction offered them. Our Edicts and Statutes made for their restraint, are such as ferve only to awake them, and cause them to consider the innocency of that caufe for refufal of communion, in which they endure (as they fuppofe) fo great losses. Those who are sent o-
ver by them, either for the retaining of the already perverted, or perverting others, are either return'd by us back again to them, who dispatcht them to us, or without any wrong unto their persons, or danger to their lives, suffer an easie restraint, which only hinders them from dispersing the poison they brought. And had they not been stickling in our state-business, and medling with our Princes crown, there had not a drop of their blood fallen to the ground; unto our Sermons, in which the swarvings of that Church are necessarily to be taxt by us, we do not binde their presence, only our desire is, they would join with us in those Prayers, and holy ceremonies, which are common to them and us. And so accordingly, by singular discretion was our Service-Book compiled by our Fore-fathers, as containing nothing that might offend them, as being almost meerly a compendium of their own Breviary and Missal, so that they shall see nothing in our meetings, but that they shall see done in their own, though many things which are in theirs, here I grant they shall not finde. And here indeed is the great and main difference betwixt us. As it is in the controversie concerning the Canonical books of Scripture: whatsoever we hold for Scripture, that even by that Church is maintained, only she takes 'upon her to add with much, which we cannot think safe to admit: so fares it in other points of Faith and Ceremony; whatsoever it is we hold for faith, she holds it as far forth as we; our ceremonies are taken from her; only she over and above urges some things for faith, which we take to be error, or at the best but opinion, and for ceremony which we think to be superstitition. So that to participate with us, is, though not throughout, yet in some good measure to participate with that Church; and certainly were that spirit of charity stirring in them, which ought to be, they would love and honour us, even for the resemblance of that Church, the beauty of which themselves so much admire. The glory of these our proceedings, even our adversaries themselves do much envy. So that from hence it is, that in their wrtings they traduce our judiciary proceedings against them, for sanguinary and violent, striving to perfwade other nations, that such as have suffred by course of publick justice for religion only, and not for treason
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treason have died, and pretend we what we lift, our actions are as bloody and cruel as their own: wherefore if a perfect pattern of dealing with erring Christians were to be sought, there were not any like unto this of ours, In qua nec seviendi, nec errandi per eroundique licentia permittitur, which as it takes not to it self liberty of cruelty, so it leaves not unto any the liberty of destroying their own souls in the error of their lives. And now that we may at once conclude this point concerning Hereticks, for prohibiting these men access to religious disputations, it is now too late to dispute of that, for from this that they have already unadvisedly entred into these battels, are they become that which they are: Let us leave them therefore as a sufficient example and instance of the danger of intempestive and immodest meddling in Sacred disputes.

I see it may be well expected, that I should according to my promise add instruction for the publick Magistrate, and show how far this precept in receiving the weak concerns him.

I must confess I intended and promised so to do, but; I cannot conceive of it, as a thing befitting me to step out of my study, and give rules for government to Commonwealths, a thing befitting men of greater experience to do. Wherefore I hope you will pardon me if I keep not that promise, which I shall with less offence break then observe: And this I rather do, because I suppose this precept, to concern us, especially if not only as private men, and that in case of publick proceeding, there is scarce room for it. Private men may pass over offences at their pleasure, and may be in not doing it, they do worse: but thus to do, lies not in the power of the Magistrate, who goes by laws, prescribing him what he is to do. Princes and men in authority do many times much abuse themselves by affecting a reputation of clemency, in pardoning wrongs done to other men; and giving protection to sundry offenders, against those who have just cause to proceed against them. It is mercy to pardon wrong done against our selves, but to deny the course of Justice to him that calls for it, and to protect offenders, may peradventure be some inconsiderate pity, but mercy it cannot be. All therefore that I will presume to advise.
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advise the Magistrate is, *A general inclinableness to merciful proceeding.*

And so I conclude, wishing unto them who plentifully sow mercy, plentifully to Reap it at the hand of God, with an hundred fold encrease; and that blessing from God the Father of mercies, may be upon them all, as on the sons of mercy, as many as are the sands on the Sea-shore in multitude. The same God grant, that the words which we have heard this day. &c.

Luke
A Sermon Preached on Easter-day at Eaton Colledge.

Son remember that thou in thy life time received'st thy good things.

Have heard a Proverb to this found, He that hath a debt to pay at Easter, thinks the Lent but short; How short this Lent hath seemed to me, who stand indebted unto you for the remainder of my meditations upon these words, is no matter of consequence; to you peradventure it may have seemed to long, that what you lately heard at Shrove-tide, now at Easter you may with pardon have forgotten. I will therefore recal into your memories so much of my former Meditations as may serve to open unto me a convenient way to pursue the rest of those lessons, which then, when I last spake unto you, the time and your patience would not permit me to finish. But ere I do this, I will take leave a little to fit my Text unto this time of Solemnity:

This time, you know, calls for a discourse concerning, the Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; of this you hear no found in the words, which I have read, and therefore you conclude it a Text unbesitting the day. Indeed, if you take the Resurrection for that glorious act of his Omnipotency, by which through the power of his eternal Spirit he redeems himself from the hand of the grave, and triumphs over death and hell, you shall in
these words find nothing pertinent; But if you take this Resurrection for that act, by which, through the power of saving grace, Christ the Son of righteousness rises in our hearts, & raises us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness, here in these words you may perchance finde a notable branch of it. For to raise our thoughts from this earth, and clay, and from things beneath (and such are those, which here Abraham calls the good things of our life) and to set them above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, this is that practick resurrection, which above all concerns us, that other of Christ in person, in regard of us, is but a resurrection in speculation, for to him that is dead in sin and trespasses, and who places his good in the things of this life, Christ is, as it were not risen at all, to such a one he is still in the grave, and under the bands of death; But to him that is risen with Christ, & seeks the good things that are above, to him alone is Christ risen: To know and believe perfectly the whole story of Christ's Resurrection, what were it, if we did not practice this Resurrection of our own? 

Cogita non ex acturum à Deum, quantum cognoveris, sed quantum vixeris, God will not reckon with thee, how much thou knowest, but how well thou hast lived: Epictetus, that great Philosopher makes this pretty parable, Should a Shepherd, faith he, call his sheep to account, how they had profited, would he like of that sheep, which brought before him his hay, his grass, and fodder, or rather that sheep, which having well digested all these, express himself in fat, in flesh, and wool? Beloved, you are the flock of Christ, and the sheep of his hands, should the great Shepherd of the flock call you before him, to see how you have profited, would he content himself with this, that you had well cond your Catechisme, that you had diligently read the Gospel, and exactly knew the whole story of the resurrection? would it not give him better satisfaction to finde Christ's resurrection expressed in yours: and as it were digested into flesh and wool? ἐὰν δὲ σελέν τῇ το ἐστὶν χρὴσις τον εἰρηνακίαν, To have read Chrysippus his Book, this is not virtue: To have read the Gospel, to have gathered all the circumstances of the resurrection of Christ, this is not Christianity: to have risen, as Christ, hath done, so to have digested the resurrection of Christ, as that we have
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have made it our own, this is rightly to understand the Doctrine
of the resurrection of Christ. For this cause have I refused to
treat this day of that resurrection, in the Doctrine of which I know
you are perfect, and have reflected on that, in the knowledge
of which I fear you are imperfect: which that I might the bet-
ter do, I have made choice to prosecute my former meditations,
been when I last spake unto you in this place; For so doing I
shall open unto you one of the hardest points of your Spiritual re-
surrection, even to raise your thoughts from the things of this life,
and seat them with Christ above.

To make my way more fair to this, I will take leave to put
you in minde, in short, how I proceeded in the opening of
these words, when I last spake unto you out of this place: You
may be pleased to remember, that after some instruction drawn
from the first word, Son, I proceeded to consider the ensuing
words, wherein having by an Alchimie, which then I used, changed
the word [Recordare] Remember, into [Cave] Beware, and so read
my text thus, Beware thou receive not thy good things in this life, I
shewed you that we had never greater cause to consult our best
wits, what we are to do, and how we are to carry our selves,
then when the world, and outward blessings come upon us; Upon
this I moved this Question, whether or not, if the things of
this world should by some providence of God knock and offer themselves
to us, we are bound to exclude them and refuse them, or we might open
and admit of them: I divided my answer according to the divers
abilities and strengths of men, first, qui potest capere capiat, he
that hath strength and spiritual wisdom to manage them, let him
receive them: But in the second place, he that is weak, let him
let strong diet alone, and feed on herbs, let him not intangle himself
with more than he can manage; Let him try, quid ferre rece-
cusat, Quid valeant humeri—to the first, the sum of what I spake
was this, Receive them we may, and that without danger of a
Receptis; first, if we so received them, as if we received them
not, secondly if we esteomed them not good, thirdly if we did not
esteem them ours: And here the time cut me off, and suffered
me not to descend unto the second part, upon which now I am ab-
bout to fall, Cave ne recipias, Take heed thou receive not thy good things.
In this matter of receiving & enterteining those outward and foreign good things, there have been two wayes commended to you, the one the more glorious, to receive them, of this we have spoken the other the more safe, not to receive them, of this we are now to speak; these wayes are trodden by two kindes of persons, the one is the strong man, and more virtuous, the other is weaker, but more cautelous, the one encounters temptation, the other avoids it: we may compare them to the two great Captains, Hannibal and Fabius, the one ever calling for the battel, the other evermore declining it. In one of these two rankes must every good man be found; If we compare them together we shall finde, that the one is far more excellent, the other far more in number: For to be able to meet and check our enemy, to encounter occasions, to act our parts in common life upon the common stage, and yet to keep our uprightnes, this indeed is truly to live, truly to serve God, and men, and therefore God the more, because men. On the contrary to avoid occasions, to follow that other vincendi genus, non pugnare, to overcome the world by contemning and avoiding it, this argues a wise, indeed but a weak and fainting spirit: I have often wondred at Antiquity, which doting extremely upon a sequestred, a solitary, retired, and monkish life, sticks not to give out, that all perfection is in it, whereas indeed there is no greater argument of imperfection in good men, quam non posse pari solemn, non multitudinem, not to be able without offence to walk the publick wayes, to entertain the common occasions, but to live onely to God and to themselves, utile ipse sibi fortas, in utile orbi, men of no great publike use, but excellent for themselves; Saints indeed in private, but being called forth into common life, are like Bats in the Sun, utterly ignorant of publike practice, like Scheubelius a great Mathematician, but by book onely, and not by practice, who being required sometime in an Army to make use of his Quadrant, knew not the difference between umbra vera, and umbra versa: yet, beloved, because this kinde of good men is by far the greatest in number, and secondly because it is both an usual and a dangerous error of many men, to pretend to strength, when they are but weak, and so forgetting their place, range themselves among the first, whereas they ought to
to have kept station among the second sort, I will take leave both to advise my self, and all that hear me, to like better of the safer, though the weaker side, and to avoid the exprobration of a Receipt here in my text, simply non recipiendo, by not receiving, not admitting at all of the outward, lower, and temporal good things, rather than by an improvident foolhardines to thrust ourselves upon occasions which we are unable to manage without offence. This I am the more willing to do, because there is not among men a greater error committed, and more frequent, than in this kind; for in most things in the world, men that have no skill in them, will be content to acknowledge their ignorance, and to give place to better experience: should we put the discussion of some point of Scholarship to the plough-bond, or a Cafe in Law to the Physician, or a point in Physick to the Lawyer, none of these will offer to interpofe, but will advise to consult with every one in his proper mystery; but let others be made of monies, lands, places of honour, and preferment, and who will excuse himself, who will acknowledge his ignorance, or weakness to manage them? Whereas in all the Arts and Sciences there are not so many errors committed, as in the unskilful use of these things, cum tamen nusquam periculosius erretur, and yet our errors are no where so dangerous: It is therefore a thing most necessary, that in this behalf we advise men, either to know their weakness or to suspect their strength. Malo cautior esse quam fortior, fortis sepe captus est, cautus rarisimine; better to be cautious and wary than strong, and hardy, the strong man hath been often captivated, but the wary man very seldom. We read in many places of Moses and Samuel of a race of men, greater in bulk and stature, than the ordinary men, unto whom men of common inches seemed but as Grasshoppers; such were the Anakims, the Enims, the Horims, the Zamzummims, the Rephaims, and the like, but if you read the Scriptures, you shall finde it observed unto your hand, that the men of lesser bodies allways drove them out; if you demand the reason, experience will answer you, that the one went upon the opinion of strength and hardnes, the other of wary wit, and policy; it fares no otherwise with these two orders of men, of which I have spoken, there is the Anakim; the
The man that goes forth in the conceit of his strength and valour, there is the man of mean stature, whose strength is his wariness; were there a survey taken of both those, it would be found, that more by far have perished by unadvised venturing upon the things of this world, than by discreet and sober retiring.

Wherefore, dost thou find that thou comest on, and thrivest in the world, that the good things of this world woo thee, and cast themselves into thy lap, that wealth, that honours, that abundance waits upon thee; take heed how thou presume of thy strength to manage them, look well upon them, and see if there be not written in the forehead of every one of them, Recepti; but, beloved, I perceive, I deceive my self, for these gay things of the world carry not their receptiis in their foreheads, as they come towards us, they are smooth and fair: you can prognosticate nothing by their countenance, but severe, and summer weather, our great master Aristotle hath told us, that if our pleasures did look upon us, when they come to us, as they do when they turn their back, and leave us, we would never entertain them; these goodly things have their receptiis written in their back, it is never discovered, till it be too late to mend it, when death summons us, when the world, the flesh, the glory and pomp of life turns its back & leaves us, then shal you read receptiis; Cave therefore, presume not, but be wary, and that thou mayest avoid a receptiis, cave ne recepias, be sure thou receive not; how many of those think you, who out of their opinion of skill and strength, have given free entertainment to the world, have made large use of the world, lived abundantly, fared costly, dwelt sumptuously, clothed themselves richly, when their time and hour came, would rather have gone out of some poor cottage, than out of a princely palace, and lived with no noise in the world, that so they might have died in some peace? See you not, what some great persons in the Church of Rome have often done? Charles 5. the Prince of Parma, sundry others, though they lived in all pomp and state, yet at their death, they desired to be buried in a poor Capuchins hood; miserable men, If to die in a state of perfect sequestration from the world were so precious, so available a thing, how much more precious, more available?
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available had it been, to live in it? For thus to die, not having thus lived, is nothing else, but to give sentence against their own life; for we shall not appear before God as we died, but as we lived. To profess hate, and desertion of the world at our death, as most do, to put on humiliation at our death, that live at ease and in state all our life, this is but to be buried in a Capuchins hood: what is it, beloved, that thus reforms our judgement, and clears our sight at that hour? Nothing but this, all our pleasures, all our honours, all the May-games of our life, they now shall shew themselves unto us, and every one cry out unto us, Receipti, Thou hast received thy good things.

Now, beloved, that I may a little the better strengthen with good reason this my advice, de non recipienda, of retiring from, and rejecting the goodly things of the world, give me leave a little to consult with my Topicks, and to try out of what place I may draw some arguments, to bring you on the easier.

And first of all, were there no other reason to persuade you, yet the very reading of this story, where I have taken my text, would afford arguments enough; for what meant Abraham, I beseech you, when he told the rich man, he had received his good things? Did he use some obscure and unknown phrase, which no circumstance of the story could open? It stands not with the goodness of the Holy Ghost, to tell us of our danger in unknown language; something therefore certainly we shall finde, to open the meaning: cast back your eye upon the description of the person, whom Abraham charges with this error, and see if you finde not a paraphrase there; the man to whom this phrase is applied is described by the properties, of which I understand not that any one is a virtue, first it is said, he was rich; secondly, he wore scarlet, and soft linen; thirdly, he was jovial, and feasted liberally every day; doth not this accurate description of the person shew his error? For to what other purpose else could this description serve? Either here is his error, or this character is in vain; it seems therefore we must conclude, that to be rich, to cloth our selves costly, to fare deliciously, thus to do, is to receive the good things in our life, except some favourable interpretation do help us out; but we

I 2

must:
The Rich man's Receptivi; Or,
must take heed how we do de scripturis interpretationibus ludere, dally with, and elude scripture by interpretations, veolou os γέγραπτα, when St. John describes the world, which he forbids us to follow, he makes three parts of it, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. Do not all these three appear here in the character of our man? where is the lust of the eye, if it be not in gaudy apparel? Where is the lust of the flesh, at least one great branch of it, if it be not in the use of dainty diet? Where is the pride of life, if not in riches? and what reason have you now to doubt, what should be the meaning of receptivi, thou hast received thy good things? He then that fears to hear a receptivi, if he be rich, let him not forget to distribute, and empty those bags, which lie up by him; if he be costly clad, let him turn his scarlet into sackcloth; if he feed deliciously, let him turn his costly dishes into temperance, and fasting: otherwise, what can we plead for our selves, that we should not, as well as this man in my text, when our time comes, hear our receptivi?

But I see what it is, peradventure, that troubles you, you will ask me, whether I will avouch it to be a sin to be rich, I must walk warily, least I lay my self open to exception; Pelagius grounding himself upon that of our Saviour. [It is impossible for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,] taught that lesson indeed, as the words do lie, and would by no means grant, that a rich man could be saved; but for this the Church noted him for an Heretick, for among his heresies this is scored up for one, together with that, that it is not lawful to swear; but if Pelagius had never otherwise erred, the Church might very well have pardoned him that here: he many times it falls out by the reason of the hardness of our hearts, that there is more danger in pressing some truths, than in maintaining some errors: that it is lawful sometime to sport our selves, that it is lawful to feast at Christmas, that it is lawful to swear, and many other things of the like nature, are all truths; yet there is no necessity we should press them in our sermons to the people, for there is no fear the people will ever forget these, Cavendum est ne nimium meminerint, better to labour that they do not too much remember them; he that will labour in repressing the abuses, which people ground.
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ground upon these truths, must remember the old rule. Ini-
quam petendum est, ut aquam feras, he must go very near to teach
for truth the contrary falshood. To return then from this di-
gression to our rich man, Pelagius, I grant, was deceived, when
he shut all rich men out of the Kingdom of Heaven;
but suppose we that he had prevailed in this doctrine, that he
had wrought all the world to this bent, that the Church had
received it for Catholick doctrine, shew me, he that can, what
inconvenience would have attended this error? If every rich
man should suddenly become liberal, and disburse his monies,
where his charity directed him; if every painted gallant did turn
his Peacocks feathers into sackcloth; if every glutton left his full
dishes, and betook himself to temperance and fasting, yea, and
thought himself in conscience bound to so to do, out of fear, least
he might hear of Recepists, I persuade my self the state of Greece
would never suffer the more for this, but the state of Christianity
would have thrived the more. Well had it been for our rich
man here, if he had been a Pelagian; for this point of Pelagia-
nisme is the surest remedy, that I know, against a Recepist; whereas on the contrary side, by reason of the truth, many rich
and covetous persons flatter themselves in their sin, whereof
they die well con upted, from which they had been freed, had
it been their good fortune to have been thus far deceived, and
been Pelagians. Let men therefore either quite refuse riches, if
they offer themselves, which is the advice I give, or if they will
give them acceptance, let them believe, that if they be rich,
they may be loved, but let them so live, as if they could not;
for the one shall keep them from error in their faith, the other
from sin in their Actions.

A second reason, persuading us to the neglect of these so
much admired things of the world, is the consideration of certain
abuses, which they put upon us, certain fallacies, and false glossers;
by which they delude us; for I know not how, the world hath
cried them up, and hath given them goodly titles, ut v. 1 laetis
gallinaeis sperare possis hauaturm, as Pliny speaks; men call them
blessings and favours, and rewards, and think those men most
blest of God, who enjoy most of them; these goodly titles serve
for
for nothing, but to set men on longing after them, and to fill those, that have them, with false persuasions, and those that have them not with despair and discontents; were they indeed blessings; were they rewards, then were our case very evil, and we ourselves in greater danger of a recepifit, than before: for as Abraham here tells the man of recepifit bona, thou hast received thy good things, so our Saviour tells more than once of some qui habent mercedem, have their reward; if then we shall beg, and receive these things at the hands of God, as a reward of our service, we shall be no more able, when we come to appear before our God, to shelter our selves from an habetis mercedem, you have your reward, then the rich man here could defend himself from a recepifit. They may indeed pass for rewards, and blessings, and that truly too, but to a sad, and disconsolate end; for their is no man, though never so wicked, but that some way or other doth some good; some cup of cold water hath been given, some small service enterprized even by the worst of men: now God who leaves no service unrewarded, no good office unregarded, therefore preserves these sublunary blessings of purpose, ut paria faciat, to clear accounts with men here, who otherwise might seem to claim something at his hand, at that great day; It is the question Ahafuerus makes, What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this? God is more careful of his honour, than Ahafuerus was; none more careful than he, to reward every service with some honour: Nebuchadnezzar was no Saint, I trw, yet because of his long service in the subduing of Tyre, God gives him Egypt for his reward, they are the Prophet Ezechiel's words: when therefore thou feest God willing to bring the world upon thee, to enrich thee, to raise thee to honours, Suspecte habe hac Domini indulgentiam, as Tertullian faith, be jealous of this courtesie of God, or rather cry out with St. Bernard, Misericordiam habe nolo Domine, O Lord, I will none of this kind of mercy: for how knowest thou whether he reward not thee, as he did Nebuchadnezzar only to even accounts with thee, and shew thee that he is not in thy debt, that thou mayest hear at the last either a recepifit, or an habes mercedem, thou hast thy reward? O quanta apud Deum merces, si in presenti premium non speraret, faith

St. Hie-
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St. Hierome, O how great a reward might many men receive at the hand of God, if they did not anticipate their reward and desire it in this life? Why do we capitulate with him for our services? Why not rather out of pious ambition desire to have God in our debt? He that doth God the greatest service, and receives here from him the least reward, is the happiest man in the world; there goes a story of Aquinas, that praying once before the Crucifix, the Crucifix miraculously speaks thus unto him, Bene de me scripsi, si Thoma, quam ergo mercedem accipies? Thou hast written well of me, Thomas, what reward dost thou desire? To whom Aquinas is made to answer, Nullam, Domine, prater Teipsum; no reward, Lord, but thyself: tis great pity this tale is not true, it doth so excellently teach, what to ask of God for our reward in his service. Let God but assure thee of this reward, cetera omnia vota Deo remittas, thou mayest very well pardon him all the rest: let us therefore amend our language, and leave off these folcetises and misapplied denominations of blessings, and favours, and rewards, names too high for any thing under the moon, and at our leisure finde out other names to express them; as for this great esteem, which we make of the things below, it comes but from this, that we know not the value of things above; did we believe our selves to be the heirs, and the sons of God, and knew the price of our inheritance in Heaven, it could not be, that we should harbour so high and honourable conceits of earthly things; it is a famous speech of Martin Luther, Homo perfec-
se credens esse haredem et filium Dei, non dicat superflues maneret, sed, statim immundo gaudeo aforberetur: Did a man indeed believe that he is a son and heir unto God, i could not be, that such a man should long live, but forth with he would be swallowed up, and die of immoderate joy: And certainly either our not believing, or not rightly valuing the things of God, or howsoever, not knowing them, is the cause of this our languishing, and impatient longing after earthly things; It is but a plain comparifon which I shall use, yet because it fits the person, to whom I will apply it, and because it is Theophylactis in his Comments on St. Lukes Gospel, I will not be ashamed to make use of it; Swine, faith he, have their eyes so fram'd, that they cannot look up to Heaven; their keepers therefore when
The Rich mans Recepti; or,

when they finde themselves troubled with their crying, are wont to cast them upon their backs, ή μεταστεγν τεθωσι βοών, and so make them cease their crying, for that beast being amazed to see the frame and beauty of Heaven, which before he had never seen, ἐκπληκτεὶ ἐκεῖνος, being stricken with admiration, forgets his crying; the eyes of many men seem to be framed like those of Swine, they are not able to cast them up to Heaven, for would they but cast themselves upon their backs, turn their face from earth, and view the beauty of things above, it could not be, but all this claim, or rather clamour after earthly things should utterly cease.

Again, (yet the more to quicken one to the neglect of these things below) among many other fallacies, by which they delude us, I have made choice of one more, they present themselves unto us, sometimes as necessaries, sometimes as Ornaments unto us in our course of vertue and happines; whereas they are but meer impertinences, neither is it any way material, whether we have them yea or no; virtus censum non requirit, nudum homine contenda est, Virtue and happiness require nothing else but a man: Thus lay the Ethnickes: And Christianity much more: For it were a strange thing that we should think that Christ came to make virtue more chargable: In regard of virtue and piety, all estates, all conditions, high and low, are alike: It is noted by Petronius for the vanity of rich men, Qui solas divitias extruere curant, nihil volunt inter homines melius credi, quia quod ipso tenent, those men whose minds are set upon wealth and riches, would have all men believe that it is best so to do: But riches and poverty make no difference, for we believe him that hath told us, there is no difference, Jew and Gentile, high and low, rich and poor, all are one in Christ Jesus, Non natura paupertas, sed opinionis est, faith S.Ambrose, Poverty, as men call it, is but a phantzie, there is no such thing indeed, it is but a Figment, an Idol, men first framed it, and set it up, and afterward feared it, oculi nostri tota hae lunuria est; as some Naturalists tell us that the Rain low is oculi opus, a thing framed onely by the eye, so this difference betwixt rich and poor is but the creature of the eye. Smindyrides the Sybarite was grown so extremely dainty, that he would grow weary with the sight of ano-
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another man's labour, and therefore when sometime he saw a poor man digging, and painfully labouring, he began to faint, and pant, and requires to be removed: Beloved, when we are thus offended to see another man meanly clad, meanly housed, meanly traded, all this is but out of a Sybaritish ridiculous daintiness, for all this is but to grow weary at the sight of another man's labour: would we follow our Saviour's precept, and put out this eye of ours, the greatest part of all this vanity were quite extinguished, for what were all outward state and pomp imaginable, were no eye to see or regard it?

Now, beloved, yet to see this more plainly, what is the main end of our life? What is it, at which with so much pain and labour we strive to arrive? It is, or should be nothing else but virtue and happiness: Now these are alike purchasable in all estates; Poverty, disease, distress, contempt, these are as well the object of virtue, as wealth, liberty, honor, reputation, and the rest of that forespoken rank. Happines therefore may as well dwell with the poor, miserable, and distressed persons, as with persons of better fortune, since it is confessed by all, that happiness is nothing else but Actio secundum virtutem, a leading of our life according to virtue; As great art may be express'd in the cutting of a flint, as in the cutting of a diamond, and to the workman do well express his skill, no man will blame him for the baseness of the matter, or think the worse of his work: Beloved, some man hath a diamond, a fair and glittering fortune; some man hath a flint, a hard, base, and desppicable fortune, let him bestow the same skill and care in polishing and cutting of the latter, as he would or could have done on the former, and be confident it will be as highly valued (if not more highly rewarded) by God, who is no accepter of persons, but accepteth every man according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not. To him let us commit our selves: To him be all honour and praise, now and for ever. Amen.

FINIS.
Numbers 35. verse 33.
And the Land cannot be cleansed of blood, that is shed in it; but by the blood of him that shed it.

These words are like unto a Scorpion: for as in that, so in these, the self-same thing is both Poison, and remedy. Blood is the poison, Blood is the remedy, he that is stricken with the Scorpion, must take the oyle of the Scorpion to cure him. He that hath poison'd a Land with the sin of blood, must yield his own blood for Antidote to cure it. It might seem strange, that I should amongst Christians thus come and deliver a speech of Blood. For when I read the notes and characters of a Christian in holy Scriptures, me thinks it should be almost a sin for such a one to name it. Possess your souls in patience: by this shall men know, that ye are my Disciples if ye love one another: peace I leave with you. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace in the Holy Ghost. Let your softness be known to all men: the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy. It is reported by Avenzoar a great Physician, that he was so tender-hearted, that he could not endure to see a man let blood: he that should read these passages of Scripture, might think that Christians were like Avenzoar; that the sight of blood should be enough to affright them. But is the Common Christian so soft?
So tender hearted, is he so peaceable, so tame and tractable a creature? You shall not finde two things of more different countenance and complexion, then that Christianity which is commended unto us in the writings of the Apostles, and Evangelists, and that which is current in use and practive of the times. He that shall behold the true face of a Christian, as it is deciphered and painted out unto us in the books of the New Testament, and unpartially compare it with that copie or counterfeit of it, which is express in the life and demeanor of common Christians, would think them no more like then those shields of Gold, which Solomon made, were unto those of brass, which Rehoboam made in their stead: and might suppose that the writers of those books had brought vo:amages, quam praecepts had rather fancied to themselves some admirable pattern of a Christian, such as they could wish, then delivered rules and laws, which seriously and indeed ought or could be practised in common life and conversation. St. James observes, that he which beholds his natural face in a glafs, goes his way, and immediately forgets what manner of man he was. Beloved how careful we are to look upon the glasses, the books of holy Scriptures, I cannot easily pronounce. But this I am sure of, we go our ways and quickly forget what manner of shape we saw there. As Jacob and Esau had both one father, Isaac; both one mother Rebecca, yet the one was smooth and plain, the other rough and hairy, of harsh and hard countenance, & condition: so these two kindes of Christians of which but now I spake, though both lay claim to one father and mother, both call themselves the sons of God and the sons of the Church, yet are they almost as unlike as Jacob and Esau; the one smooth, gentle, and peaceable, the other rough and harsh. The notes and characters of Christians, as they are described in holy Scriptures are patience easily putting up and digesting of wrongs, humility, preferring all before our selves: And St. James tells us, that the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated. St. James indeed hath given the first place unto purity, and it were almost a sin to compare Christian vertues together, and make them strive for precedence, and place. For what Solomon faith upon another
another occasion, is here much more true: say not why is this thing better then that: for everything in its time is seasonable. Yet he that shall mark how every where the Scriptures commend unto us gentleness and meekness, and that peace is it quam nobis Apostoli totis viribus spiritus sancti commendant, as Tertullian speaks, which the Apostles endeavour with all the strength and force of the Holy Ghost to plant amongst us, might a little invert the words of St. James, and read them thus. The wisdome that is from above, is first peaceable, then pure. The son of God, who is the wisdome of the Father, and who for us men came down from Heaven, first, and before all other virtues commended this unto the world. For when he was born, the song of the Angels was peace upon earth, and goodwill towards men. All his doctrine was peace, his whole life was peaceable, and no man heard his voice in the streets. His last legacie and bequest left unto his discipiles was the same. Peace, faith be, I leave unto you, my peace I give unto you: As Christ, to Christians. In the building of Solomons Temple, there was no noife of any hammer, of any instrument of Iron: so in the spiritual building and frame of a Christian, there is no sound of Iron, no noife of any weapons, nothing but peace and gentleness. Ex precepto, fidei non minus rea est sine ratione suscepta, quam in operibus legis homicidii, faith St. Austin, unadvised anger by the law of faith, is as a great sin, as murther was by the law of Moses. As some Physicians have thought, that in mans body the spleen hath very little use, and might well be spared, and therefore in dealing with sundry diseased persons, they endeavour by phystick to abate, and take away that part in them, as much as may be; so if we look into a Christian man, as he is proposed to us in the Gospel, we may justly marvel to what purpose God hath planted in him this faculty and passion of anger; since he hath so little use of it: and the Gospel in a manner doth spiritually diet, and phystick him for it, and endeavours much to abate, if not quite to purge out that quality. Beloved we have hitherto seen who Jacob is, and what manner of man the Christian is, that is described unto us in holy Scripture. Let us a little consider his Brother Esau, the Christian in passage, and who commonly in
A Sermon of Duels, &c. preach at the Hague.

the account of the world goes for one. Is he so gentle and tra-
ctable a creature? Is his countenance so smooth, his body so
free from gall and spleen? To trie this, as the Devil sometimes
spake unto Job. Touch him in his goods, touch him in his body, and
see if he will not curse thee to thy face: so touch this man a little in
his goods, touch him in his reputation and honour: touch him
in any thing that he loves, (for this is the only way to trie how
far, these commands of peace, and forbearance, and long suf-
ferring prevail with us,) and see if he will not forget and loose
all his patience. Which of us is there that understands the
words and precepts of our Saviour in their literal sense, and as
they lie? The precepts of suffering wrong, rather then to go to
law; of yielding the coat to him that would take the cloak, of
readiness to receive more wrongs, then to revenge one: these
and all the Evangelical commands of the like nature Interpreta-
mento detorqueumur. We have found out favourable interpreta-
tions, and glosses, restrictions, and evasions, to winde our selves
out of them, to shift them all off, and put them by, and yet
pas for found and currant Christians: we think we may be just-
ly angry, continue long suits in law, call to the Magistrate for
revenge, yea sometimes take it into our own hands, all this and
much more we think we may lawfully, and with good reason
do, any precept of Christ to the contrary notwithstanding.
And as it usually comes to pass, the permitting and tolerating
lesser sins, opens way to greater, so by giving passage, and in-
let to those lesser impatiances and discontents, we lay open a
gap to those fouler crimes, even of murther and bloodshed.
For as men commonly suppose that all the former breaches of
our patience, which but now I mentioned, may well enough
stand with the duties of Christians: so there are who stay not
here, but think, that in some cases it may be lawful, yea, perad-
venture necessary, at least very pardonable for Christians pri-
ately to seek each others blood, and put their lives upon their
swords, without any wrong to their vocation; out of this have
sprung many great inconveniences, both private and publick.
First, Laws made too favourable in case of blood-shed. Se-
condly, a too much facility and easines in Princes and Magi-
trates.
A Sermon of Duels, &c, preach'd at the Hague.

strates, sometimes to give pardon, and release for that crime. Thirdly and chiefly (for it is the special cause indeed that moved me to speak in this Argument) an over promptness in many youngmen, who desire to be counted men of valour and resolution, upon every slight occasion, to raise a quarrel and admit of no other means of composing, and ending them but by sword and single combat. Partly therefore to shew the grievousness & greatnens of this sin of bloodshed, and partly to give the best counsel I can for the restraint of those conceits and errors which give way unto it, I have made choice of these few words out of the Old Testament which but now I read. In the New Testament there is no precept given concerning bloodshed. The Apostles seem not to have thought, that Christians ever should have had need of such a prohibition. For what needed to forbid those to seek each others blood, who are not permitted to speak over hastily, one to another, when therefore I had resolved with myself to speak something concerning the sin of bloodshed, I was in a manner constrain'd to reflect upon the Old Testament, and make choice of those words. And the Land cannot be purged of blood that is shed in it, but by the blood of him that shed it.

In which words for my more orderly proceeding, I will observe these two general parts: First, the greatnens of the sin. Secondly, the means to cleanse and satisfy for the guilt of it. The first, that is the greatnens of the sin, is expressed by two circumftances. First, by the generality, extent, and largness of the guilt of it: and secondly, by the difficulty of cleansing it. The largeness and compass of the guilt of this sin, is noted out unto us in the word Land and the Land cannot be purged. It is true in some sense of all sins. Non sibi uni errat, no man sins in private, and to himself alone; For as the Scripture notes of that action of Jephte, when he vowed his daughter unto God, That it became a Custom in Israel: so is it in all sins. The error is only in one person, but the example spreads far & wide, and thus every man that sins, sins against the whole Land, yea against the whole world. For who can tell how far the example and infection of an evil action doth spread? In other sins the infection is no larger then the disease: but this sin like a plague: one brings the infection;
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The sin of blood diffuses and spreads itself above all other sins. For in other sins, noxa sequitur caput. The guilt of them is confined to the person that committed them. God himself hath pronounced them. The Son shall not bear the sins of the Father, the soul that sinneth shall die the death. But the sin of blood seems to claim an exception from this Law. If by time it be not purged, like the frogs of Egypt, the whole land stank of them. It leaves a guilt upon the whole land in which it is committed. Other sins come in like rivers, and break their banks to the prejudice and wrong of private persons: but this comes in like a Sea, raging and threatening to overwhelm whole countreys. If blood in any land do lie unreveenged, every particular soul hath cause to fear, lest part of the penalty fall on him. We read in the books of Kings that long after Saul's death God plagued the Land of Jewry with three years famine: because Saul, in his life time had without any just cause shed the blood of some of the Gibeonites; neither the famine ceased, till seven of Saul's Nephews had died for it. In this story there are many things rare and worth our observation. First, the Generality and extent of the guilt of blood-shed which is the cause for which I urged it) it drew a general famine on the whole Land. Secondly, the continuance and length of the punishment. It lasted full three years, and better. Thirdly, the time of the plague; it fell long after the person offending was dead. Fourthly, whereas it is said in my Text. That blood is cleansed by the blood of him that shed it: here the blood of him that did this sin, sufficed not to purge the Land from it. That desperate and woful end, that befell both Saul and his Sons in that last and fatal battle upon Mount-Gilboa, a man might think had freed the Land from danger of blood: yet we see that the blood of the Gibeonites, had left so deep a stain, that it could not be sponged out without the blood of seven more of Saul's offspring. So that in some cases it seems we must alter the words of my Text: The Land cannot be purged of blood, but by the blood of him and his posterity that shed it. Saint Peter tells us that some men's sins go before them unto judgement, and some men's sins follow after. Beloved here is a sin that exceeds the members of this division, for...
howsoever it goes before, or after us unto Judgement: Yet it hath a kinde of Ubiquity, and so runs afore, so follows us at the heels, that it stays behinde us too, and calls for vengeance long after that we are gone. Blood unrevenged passeth from Father to Son like an Heirloome or legacy: and he that dies with blood hanging on his fingers, leaves his Off-spring and his Family as pledges to answere it in his stead. As an Engineer that works in a Mine, lays a train, or kindles a Match, and leaves it behind him, which shall take hold of the powder long after he is gone, so he that sheds blood, if it be not betimes purged, as it were kindles a Match able to blow up not only a Parliament, but even a whole Land where blood lies unrevenged.

Secondly, another circumstance serving to express unto us the greatnes of this sin; I told you was the difficulty of cleansing it; intimated in those words, cannot be cleansed but by the blood of him that shed it. Most of other sins have sundry ways to wash the guilt away. As in the Levitical Law, the woman that was unclean by reason of Childe-bearinge, might offer a pair of Turtle-doves, or two young Pigeons; so he that travels with other sins, hath either a Turtle or a Pigeon, he hath more ways then one to purifie him: prayer unto God, or true repentance, or satisfaction to the party wronged, or bodily affliction, or temporary mutila. But, he that travels with the sin of Blood, for him there remains no sacrifice for sin, but a fearful expectation of vengeance, he hath but one way of cleansing, onely his blood, the blood of him that shed it.

The second general part which we considered in these words, was, that one mean which is left to cleanse blood express in the last words, the blood of him that shed it. The Apostle to the Hebrews speaking of the sacrifices of the Old Testament, notes that without blood, there was no cleansing no forgiveness. He spake it only of the blood of beasts of Bulls and Goats, who therefore have their blood that they might shed it in mans service, and for mans use. But among all the Levitical Sacrifices there was not one to cleanse the man-slayer: For the blood of the cattle upon a thousand Hills was not sufficient for this, yet was that sin to be purged with blood too, and that by a more constant and perpetual
tual Law, then that of Sacrifices. For the cleansing of other sins by blood is done away; the date of it is out; but to cleanse blood by blood remains as a Law to our times, and so shall unto the world's end, sanguine querendi reditus, out of blood no way to get but by blood, ἑρωείας; μαρτυρίαν; saith S. Basil, haft thou shed blood? wouldst thou be free from the guilt of it. Thy best way is to be a Martyr, and shed thy blood for Christ's sake. Now that what I have to say may the better be conceived and lodged up in your memories, I will comprehend and order all that I will speak to under three heads. First I will in General yet a little further, briefly shew how great a sin the sin of blood is. Secondly I will speak of the redress of some misorders very frequent in our age which give way to this sin, especially private revenge and single combat. Thirdly I will touch at the means of taking the guilt of blood away, which here the holy Ghost commends to those which are set in authority to that purpose. And first of the greatness of the crime and sin of blood.

Of sins in holy Scripture there be two sorts recorded. One sort is a silent, dumb and quiet sin. God doth as it were seek after it to finde it, as the people did after Saul, when he was hidden among the stuff. Of this nature are the ordinary sins of our life, which do more easily finde pardon at the hands of God; but there is a second sort of sin, which is a vocal and a crying sin, a sin like that importunate widow in the Gospel, that will not suffer the Judge to be quiet, till he hath done justice: and those are the more heavy and grievouser sins of our lives. Of this second sort, there are two sorts, to which the Scripture doth attribute this crying faculty. First the sin of Sodom; For so God tells Abraham, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is come up before me. The second is the sin of which I am now to speak, the sin of Bloodshed. For so God tells Cain. The voice of thy brother's blood criest unto me from the earth. The sin of Adam in Paradise doubtles was a great and hainous sin, which hath thus made us all the children of death; yet it seems to be but of the rank of mute sins, and to have had no voice to betray it, God comes unto Adam, convents him, examines him as if he had not known it, and seems not to believe
believe any such thing was done, till himself had confessed it. But blood is an unmanly, importunate, and clamorous sin, God shall not need to come and enquire after it, it will come up unto him, and cry as the souls do under the altar in the Revelation. *How long Lord, how long? Nec patimur—iraunda Deum ponere fulmina,* luffers not God to forget judgment, or entertain a thought of mercy. To satisfy therefore the cry of this importunate sin, and to shew men the grievousness of it, the Laws of God and men have wonderfully conspired in the avenging of blood; by what means, or by what creature soever it were shed. Beasts, unreasonable creatures, though whatsoever they do, they cannot be said to sin: for whatsoever they do, they do by force of that natural instinct, by which they are guided, and led as by their proper law: yet mans blood if they shed it, is revenged upon them. God himself is the Author of this law, (Gen. 9.) where he tells Noah; *The blood of your lives I will require; at the hands of every beast will I require it.* And accordingly in the 21. of Exodus, he precisely enacts a law. *De Bove perula, If an Oxe gore a man that he die, the Oxe shall be slain, and the flesh cast away as an abomination.* The laws of Natural men, who had no knowledge of God, come little behind this; yea, they may seem to have gone before it in severe revenging of blood: for amongst the laws, by which Athens that famous city of Greece was governed, there was one, that if a wall by chance had fallen down, and slain a man as the tower of Siloam did, of which we read in the Gospel, that then the Judges should sit, and formally arraign that wall, condemn it, and throw the stones of it out of the Countrey. This is a formal proceeding against unreasonable, against dull and senseless creatures, hath been thus joyntly both by God and man practised only for our example, to teach us how precious the life of man ought to be in our eyes: and it resembles that action of Christ in the Gospel, where for our instruction he curseth the barren fig tree: *Sterilitas nostra in sicubapulat, &c.*

Now as exemplary justice is severly done on these creatures for mans instruction: so much more if man himself kept not his hands clean from blood, did the laws of God proceed with much
much stricktness and severity: for to say nothing of gross, malignant, and wilful murder; if a man only in his haste strook another with a weapon, or with a stone, so that he died, though the striker intended but to hurt, yet he was to die for it. That he did it in anger, that he did it in his drink, that he did it provoked, that he did it in defence of his honour, and reputation: none of all these pretences might excuse him. Nay, which is yet more, God himself propounds the case; if faith he, a man cleaving wood, his axe head fly off, and hit his neighbour, so that he kills him, except he could recover one of the Cities of Refuge, he was to die: and having recovered a city of refuge, it before the death of the high Priest, he were taken without the walls of the city, he was to die. So strickst was God in the cause of chance-medly, (as they call it,) in a case which he takes unto himself, and makes himself the Author of. For in the 21. of Exodus, speaking of the man that thus sheds blood by chance and unwittingly, his words are these; If a man lie not in wait, sed Deus objecrit manuum ejus, but God put him into his hands, I will appoint him a city of refuge to fly unto. In which words God acknowledges, that he who thus dies by chance, dies by his providence, and not by the sin of him that shed him. If God (faith he) shall put him into his hands; yet you see, what a penalty he lays upon the innocent instrument of such blood shed. The blood that is shed in battle, and in times of lawful war you all suppose as lawfully shed. Yet notwithstanding Moses in the 34. of Numbers, gives charge, that the soldiers returning from battle, should stay a while without the Camp, even seven days, until they were cleansed. Again, when David advised with himself about the building of an house unto God, he sends him word to lay by all thought of that: he was no fit person to do it; and he gives the reason of it. Quis vir bellorum & sanguinum est tu. For thou art a man hast shed much blood, and fought many battles. Beloved the battles which David fought were called the Lords battles, and therefore whatsoever he did in that kind, he had doubtless very good warrant to do: and yet you see, that it is an imputation to him, that he shed blood, though lawfully, ut fundi sanguis ne jusse quidem, sine aliqua injustitiae pos-
Amongst the images, it seems blood cannot be so justly shed, but that it brings with it some stain and spot of injustice.

All this have I said to raise up in you as much as possibly I can, a right conceit of the height and hainousnes of this sin, and further, yet to effect this in you, as in the beginning and entrance into my discourse, I briefly touch at two reasons, shewing the greatness of this sin, occasion'd therunto by the words of my text: so will I as briefly touch at the two more tending to the same purpose; one drawn from respect of the wrong, which by this sin is done unto God; another from the wrong done to our selves. And first, what wrong is done unto God, God himself shews us in the 9. of Genesis: where giving this for an everlasting law. He that sheddeth mans blood, by man let his blood be shed; he presently addes the reason of it. For in the image of God made he man: we shall the better understand the force of this reason, if we a little look into civil actions. It is the usual manner of subjects, when they rebel against the Prince, to think they cannot more effectually express their hate: then by disgracing, breaking, throwing down the statues and images erected to his honor. The citizens of Antioch in a sedition against Theodosius the Emperor, in one night disgracefully threw down all his statues, which fact of theirs caus'd S. Chrysostom at that time preacher to that city, to make those famous Sermons, which from that action to this day are called his ειδριαιτεος his statues. This by so much the more is counted a great offence, because next unto wronging and disgracing the very person of the Prince, a greater insolence cannot be offered. For it expresseth with what welcome they would entertain him, if they had him in their power. Beloved man is the image of his maker erected by him as a Statue of his honour. He then that shall despitefully handle, batter and deface it, how can he be counted otherwise then guilty of highest Treason against his Maker. Rebellion, faith Samuel to Saul, is like the sin of Superstition and Idolatry. The sin of blood therefore equals the sin Idolatry, since there cannot be a greater sin of Rebellion against God, then to deface his image. Idolatry through ignorance sets up a faile image of God, but this sin through malice defaces, pulls down the true. Amongst the heathen,
heathen, sometimes the statues of the Emperours were had in such respect, that they were accounted sanctuaries, and such as for offence fled unto them, it was not lawful to touch. Beloved, such honour ought we to give unto a man, that if he have offended us, yet the image of God which shines in him ought to be as a sanctuary unto him, to save him from our violence, an admonition unto us, that we ought not to touch him. A second reason, yet further shewing the hainousness of this sin, is drawn from the wrong which is done to our selves. All other wrongs whatsoever they be admit of some recompence. Honors, wealth, preferments, if they be taken from us, they may return as they did unto Job in far greater measure, and the party wronged may receive full and ample satisfaction; but what recompence may be made to a man for his life? When that is gone, all the Kingdoms which our Saviour saw in the Mount, and the glory of them, are nothing worth, neither is all the world, all the power of men and Angels able to give the least breath to him that hath lost it. Nothing under God is able to make satisfaction for such a wrong: the revenge that is taken afterward upon the party that hath done the wrong, cannot be counted a recompence. That is done in terrorem viventium, non in subsidium mortuorum. It serves to deter the living from committing the like outrage, but it can no way help him that is dead: David at the same time committed two sins, great sins, Murther and Adultery; the reward of either of which by God's law, is nothing else but death. Yet for his Adultery he seems to make some satisfaction to the party wronged; for the text notes that David took her to his wife, made her his Queen, and that he went in unto her, comforted her: all which may well be counted at least a part of recompence. But for dead Vriias what means could David make to recompence, to comfort him. For this cause I verily suppose it is, that in his penitential Psalm, wherein he bewails his sin, he makes no particular confession, no mention of his Adultery: but of the other, of blood, he is very sensible, and expressly prays against it. Deliver me from blood guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation, as if Adultery in comparison of murder were no crime at all.
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I am sorry I should have any just occasion amongst Christian men, so long to insist upon a thing so plain; and least that the sin of blood is a great and hainous sin. But he that shall look into the necessities of these times, shall quickly see that there is a great cause, why this doctrine should be very effectually prest. For many things are even publickly done, which in part argue that men esteem of this sin much more fleightly then they ought. Aristotle observed it of Phaleas, (one that took upon him, to prescribe laws, by which a common wealth might as he thought, well be governed,) that he had taken order for the preventing of smaller faults, but he left way enough open to greater crimes. Beloved, the error of our laws is not so great as that of Phaleas was, yet we offend too, though on the contrary, and the less dangerous side; for great and grievous sins are by them providently curbed, but many inferior crimes finde many times too free passage. Murther, though all be abominable, yet there are degrees in it, some is more hainous then other. Grofs, malicious, premeditated and wilful murther, are by our laws, so far as humane wisdome can provide, sufficiently prevented; but murders done in haste, or besides the intent of him that did it, or in point of honour, and reputation, these finde a little too much favour; or laws in this respect are somewhat defective, both in preventing that it be not done, and punishing it when it is done; men have thought themselves wiser then God, presum'd to moderate the unnecessary severity (as they seem to think) of his laws. And hence it comes to pafs, that in military companies, and in all great cities and places of Mart and concourse few moneths, yea, few weeks pass without some instance and example of blood-shed, either by suddain quarrel, or by challenge to Duel and single combate. How many examples in a short space have we seen of young men, men of hot and fiery disposition, mutually provoking and disgracing each other, and then taking themselves bound in high terms of valour, and honour, to end their quarrels by their swords? That therefore we may the better discover, the unlawfulness of challenge and private combate; let us a little enquire and examine in what cases blood may lawfully, and without offence be shed; that
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that so we may see where, amongst these, single combate may finde its place.

The Maniches were of opinion that it was not lawful to violate any thing in which there was life, and therefore they would not pull a branch from a tree, because forsooth there was life in it. To think that mans life may be in no case taken from him, is but a branch of Manichisme: and the words of my text do directly crost it, where it is laid down, that for the cleansing of blood, blood may and must be shed. For the avoiding therefore of the extremities, we are to note that the lawful causes of bloodshed are either publick or private, publick cases are two: First in case of Justice, when a malefactor dies for his sin by the hand of the Magistrate. Secondly in case of publick war and defence of our Countrey, for the Doctrine of Christ is not (as some have supposed) an enemy to Souldiership, and Military Discipline. When John the Baptist began to Preach Repentance, and amendment of Life; amongst those that came forth to understand and learn their duty, the Text faith that the Souldiers came and askt him Master what shall we do. And John willed them not to lay down their weapons; or to take another course of life (which he ought and would have done, if that course had been unlawful) but he instructs them rather in their calling. For he gives them these two Lessons, Do no man wrong, And be content with your pay, your wages. Then which there could not have been better, or more pertinent counsel given to Souldiers, they being the two principal vices of Souldiers to wrong places where they live by forrage and pillage and to mutiny in dislike of their pay. When Saint Peter came to Preach to the Centurion in the Acts we finde not a syllable in all that Sermon prejudicial to a Souldiers profession. And therefore accordingly in the times of the Primitive Church Christians served even under Heathen Emperours, and that with the approbation of God himself.

For in the Ecclesiasticall story we read of the Legio Fulminatrix of a band of Souldiers called the Thundring Band. Because that at what time Marcus the Emperour lying with his Army in Germanie was afflicted with a great drought, and in great danger of the enemy, when they were now about to joyn battel, the Christians
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Atian Souldiers, (that Band) fell flat on their faces, and by their instant prayers obtained of God a great Tempest which to the Emperour and his army, brought store of cold refreshing water, but upon the enemy nothing else but fire and whirl-wind. The Emperors Epistle in which this story is related, is this day extant, recovered by Justin Martyr, who lived about the time the thing was done: wherefore we may not doubt of the lawfulnes of that profession, which it hath pleased God thus to grace, and honour with such a miracle. Besides these two there are no other publick causes of bloodshed. As for the causes in private, I know but one, and that is when a man is set upon and forced to it, in his own defence. If a thief be robbing in the night, and be slain, the Law of God acquires him that did it: and by the Roman Laws, Nocturnum sarem quomodo libet, diurnum sise telo defendit, it was lawful to kill a thief by night at any hand, and by day if he used his weapon, of private bloodshed there is no cause but this & this we must needs allow of. For in all other private necessities into which we may be driven, the Law and Magistrate have place to whom we must repair for remedy: but in case of defence of life against sudden onset, no law can be made except we would make a Law to yield our throats to him that would cut them, or our Laws were like the Prophet that came to Jero- boam at Bethel, and could dry up mens arms that offered violence, wherefore all cause of death, one only excepted, is publick and that for great reason. For to die is not a private action to be undertaken at our own, or at any other private mans pleasure, and discretion. For as we are not born unto our selves alone, but for the service of God and the common-wealth in which we live: so no man dies to himself alone but with the damage and loss of that Church or common-wealth of which he is a member. Wherefore it is not left to any private mans power to dispose of any mans life, no not to our own, only God and the Magistrate may dispose of this. As Souldiers in the camp must keep their station, neither may they move or alter, but by direction from the captain: so is it with us all. Our life is a warfare and every man in the world hath his station, and place from whence he may not move at his own, or at another mans pleasure, but only at
at the direction and appointment of God, his General, or of the Magistrates, which are as Captains & Lieutenants under him. Then our lawful times of death are either when our day is come, or to fall in battle, or for misdemeanor to be cut off by the publick hand of Justice, *Ut qui vivi prodesse voluerunt, eorum morte respub. utatur.* He which otherwise dies, comes by surreptition and stealth, and not warrantably unto his end.

And though we have spoken something in Apology and defence of War, yet you may not think, that in time of War your hands are loole, and that you may at your pleasure shed the blood of your enemy. *Misericorditer et am bella gerantur,* faith S. Augustine, even in war and battle there is room for thoughts of peace and mercy and therefore many of the ancient Heroes renowned Souldiers and Captains were very conscientious of shedding the blood of their enemies, except it were in battle, and when therewas no remedy to avoid it. In that mortal battle, Sam. 2. between the Servants of David and the Servants of Ish-bosheth; the Scripture reports that Abner fled, And Azazel Jofabs brother following him hard at heels to kill him, Abner advises him twice, *Turn aside,* faith he, *why should I smite thee to the ground.* But when Azahel would not hearken but followed him still for his blood, he stroke him with his spear, that he died. In the time of War when he might lawfully have done it, in the fury of the battle Abner would not shed blood, but by constraint. Xenophon would make us believe that the Souldiers in Cyrus his army were so well disciplin'd, that one of them in time of the battle, having lift up his arm to strike his enemy, hearing the Trumpet begin to sound the retreat, let fall his arm and willingly lost his blow because he thought the time of striking was now past: So far were these men from thinking it lawful to shed the blood of a Subject in the time of peace, that they would not shed the blood of an enemy in time of war except it were in the field. *J.Cesar was one of the greatest, & stoutest Captains that ever was in the World, he stood the shock of fifty set battels, besides all sieges and outroads, he took a thousand Cities and walled Towns; he overrun three hundred severall countreyes, and in his wars were slain well near twelve hundred thousand men, be-
sides all those that died in the civil wars, which were great numbers, yet this man protested of himself, and that most truly that he never drew blood but in the field, *nunquam nisi in aeternam* never slew any man, but in a set battle, I have been a little the bolder in bringing these instances of heathen men. First, because the Doctrine of Christ, through error is counted an enemy to policie of War and Martial Discipline. Secondly, because we have found out many distinctions, and evasions to clude the precepts of our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles. For as it hath been observed of the God-makers, I mean the Painters and Statuaries among the heathen, they were wont many times to paint their Goddesses like their mistresses, and then think them most fair, when they were most like what they best loved: so is it with many professors of Christian Religion they can temper the precepts of it to their liking, and lay upon them glosses and interpretations as it were colours, and make it look like what they love. Thirdly, because it is likely that the examples of these men will most prevail with those to whom I speak as being such to whom above all they affect to be most like. Except therefore it be their purpose to hear no other Judgement but only their own unruly and morderly affections; it cannot but move them to see the examples of men guided only by the light of reason, of men I say the most famous in all the world for valour and resolution to run so mainly against them. To come then unto the question of *Duels*; both by the light of reason, and by the practice of men it doth appear, that there is no case, wherein subjects may privately seek each others lives. There are extant the Laws of the Jews framed by God himself. The Laws of the Roman Empire made partly by the Ethnicks, partly by Christian Princes; A great part of the Laws of Sparta, and Athens (two warlike Common-Wealths especially the former) lie dispersed in our books: yet amongst them all is there not a Law or Custome that permits this liberty to Subjects. The reason of it I conceive, is very plain. The principal thing next under God by which a Common-Wealth doth stand is the Authority of the Magistrate whose proper end is to compose, and end quarrels between man and man upon what occasion soever they grow; For were men peaceable,
were men not injurious one to another, there were no use of Government. Wherefore to permit men in private to try their own rights, or to avenge their own wrongs, and so to decline the sentence of the Magistrate is quite, to cut off all use of Authority. Indeed it hath been sometimes seen that the event of a battle by consent of both armies, hath been put upon single combat, to avoid further effusion of blood: but combats betwixt Subjects for private causes till these later ages of the world was never allowed. Yet I must confess the practice of it is very Ancient. For Cain the second man in the world was the first Duelist, the first that ever challenged the field (in the fourth of Genesis) the Text faith, That Cain spake unto his Brother, and when they were in the field he arose and flew him. The Septuagint, to make the tense more plain do add another clause, and tell us what it was he said unto his Brother, διήλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, Let us go our into the field, and when they were in the field, he arose and flew him. Let us go out into the field, it is the very form and proper language of a challenge. Many times indeed our Gallants can formalize in other words, but evermore the substance, and usually the very words are no other but these of Cains, Let us go out into the field. Abel I persuade myself understood them not as a challenge: for had he so done, he would have made so much use of his discretion, as to have refused it, yet can we not chuse but acknowledge a secret Judgement of God in this that the words of Cain, should still be so Religiousy kept till this day as a Proem and Introduction to that action, which doubtless is no other, then what Cains was. When therefore our Gallants are so ready to challenge the field, and to go into the field, Let them but remember whole words they use, and so accordingly think of their action. Again, notwithstanding, Duels are of so ancient and worshipful a Parentage, yet could they never gain so good acceptance as to be permitted, much less to be counted lawful in the civil part of the world till barbarism had overran it. About five or six hundred years after Christ at the fall of the Roman Empire abundance of rude and barbarous people brake in and possess the civiler part of the world; who abollishing the ancient Laws of the Empire, set up many strange customs
customs in their rooms. Amongst the rest for the determining of quarrels that might arise in case of doubtful title, or of faile accu-
culation or the like, they put themselves upon many unusual forms of Tryal; as to handle red hot iron, to walk bare foot on burning coals, to put their hands and feet in scalding water, and many other of the like nature, which are reckoned up by Hottoman a French Lawyer: For they presumed so far on Gods providence, that if the party accused were innocent, he might do any of these without any smart, or harm. In the same cases, when by reason of un-sufficient, and doubtful evidence, the Judges could not pro-
ceed to sentence, as sometimes it falls out and the parties contend-
ing would admit of no reasonable composition, Their manner was to permit them to trie it out by their swords. That so the Conqueror might be thought to be in the right. They permitted, Isay, thus to do. For at the best it was but a permission to pre-
vent farther mischief; For to this end sometimes some known a-
bules are tolerated; So God permitted the Jews upon slight occasions to put their wives away. Because he law that other-
wise, their exorbitant lufts would not be bounded within these limits, which he in Paradise in the beginning had ler.

And it is oberved of the wise men which had the managing and bringing up of Nero the Emperor, that they suffered him to practice his lufts upon Aste one of his Mothers Chamber-maids, Ne in stupra faminaru m illu trium per rumperet st illa libidine prohi-
beretur. Leaft if he were forbidden that, he should turn his luft upon some of the Noble Women, permission and toleration warrants not the goodness of any action. But as Caiphas said bet-
ter one man die then all the people perish; so they that first per-
mitted Duels seem to have thought: better one or two mutinous persons, and disorderly die in their folly, then the whole Com-
mon-Wealth be put into tumult and combustion: yet even by these men it was never so promiscuously tolerated that, every, hasty couple, upon the venting of a little choler, should presently draw their swords, but it was a publick, or solemn action, done by order, with inspection, either of the Prince himself, or of some other Magistrate, appointed to order it. Now certainly there can be no very great reason for that action, which was thus
Yet that we may a little better acquaint our selves with the quality of it, Let us a little examine the causes and pretences which are brought by them who call for trial by single combat. The causes are usually two. First, disdain to seem to do or suffer any thing for fear of death. Secondly, point of Honour, and not to suffer any contumely, and indignity, especially if it bring with it disreputation, and note of cowardise. For the first disdain to fear death, I must confess I have often wondered with my self, how men durst die so ventroufly except they were sure they died well. In aliis rebus siquid erratum est post modum corrigit, in other things which are learnt by practising, if we mistake we may amend it: for the error of a former action may be corrected in the next. We learn then by erring, and men come at length not to erre, by having often erred. But no man learns to die by practising it. We die but once, and a fault committed then, can never afterward be amended, quia pana statim sequitur errorem, because the punishment immediately follows upon the error. To die is an action of that moment, that we ought to be very well advised, when we come to it, ab hoc momento pendet aeternitas, you may not look back upon the opinion of honour and reputation which remains behind you: but rather look forward upon that infinite space of Eternity either of bliss or bale which befalls us immediately after our last breath. To be loath to die upon every flight occasion is not a necessary sign of fear and cowardise. He that knew what life is, and the true use of it, had he many lives to spare, yet would he be loth to part with one of them upon better terms then thole our books tell us, that Aristippus a Philosopher being at Sea in a dangerous Tempest, and bewraying some fear, when the weather was cleared up, a desperate Russian came and upbraided him with it and tells him, that it was ashamed that he professing wisdome should be afraid of his life, whereas himselfe having had no such education, expressed no agony or dread at all. To whom
whom the Phylophoper replied, there was some difference between them two. I know faith he, my life may be profitable many ways, and therefore am I loth to loose it; but because of your life you know little profit, little good can be made, you care not how easily you part with it. Beloved it may be justly suspected, that they who esteem thus lightly of their lives, are but worthless and unprofitable men: our own experience tells us, that men who are prodigal of their money in Taverns and Ordinaries, are close hand-ed enough, when either pious uses, or necessary and publick expense requires their liberality. I have not heard that prodigals ever built Churches. So these men that are so prodigal of their lives in base quarrels, peradventure would be cowardly enough; if either publick service, or religion did call for their help; I scarcely believe any of them would die Martyrs, if the times so required it. Beloved, I do not go about to persuade any man to fear death, but not to contemn life; life is the greatest blessing God gives in this world, and did men know the worth of it, they would never so rashly venture the loss of it, but now lightly prizing both their own and others blood, they are easily moved to shed it, as fools are easily won to part with jewels, because they know not how to value them. We must deal with our lives, as we do with our money, we must not be covetous of it, desire life for no other use but to live, as covetous persons desire mony only to have it: neither must we be prodigal of life and trifle it away upon every occasion: but we must be liberal of our lives, know upon what occasion to spare, upon what occasion to spend them. To know where and when and in what cases to offer our selves to die, is a thing of greater skill, then a great part of them suppose, who pretend themselves most forward to do it. Nam impetu quodam & instinctu currere ad mortem cum multis commune est. For brutishly to run upon and haiten unto death is a thing that many men can do; and we see that bruit beasts many times will run upon the spears of such as pursue them. Sed deliberare & causas expendere utique suasertit ratio vitae mortisque consilium suscipere, vel ponere ingenti animi est, but wisely to look into, and weigh every occasion, and as judgement and true discretion shall direct: so to entertain a resolution either of life or death.
A Sermon of Duels, &c. preach'd at the Hague.

death this were true fortitude and magnanimity. And indeed this prodigality and contempt of life, is the greatest ground of this quarrellous and fighting humour. _Qui suam vitam contemptit, dominus est alienus._ There is a kinde of men, who because they contemn their own lives, make themselves Lords and Commanders of other mens, easily provoking others to venture their blood, because they care not how they loose their own. Few places of great resort are without these men, and they are the greatest occasioners of bloodshed, you may quickly know them. There are few quarrels wherein they are not either principalis, or seconds, or some way or another will have a part in them. Might there be publick order taken for the restraint of such men, that make a practice of quarrelling, and because they contemne their own lives, carry themselves so insolently and imperiously towards others. It will prevent much mischief, and free the Land of much danger of blood guiltiness.

The second caule, which is much alleged in defence of Duels, I told you was point of honour, a conceit that it is dishonourable for men of place and fashion quietly to digest and put up contumelye and disgrace, and this they take to be a reason of that authority and strength, as that it must admit of no dispensation; For answer. First, the true fountain and original of quarrel are of another kinde and honour is abused as a pretence. The first occasioners of a great part of them are indeed very dishonourable, let there an _inventory_ be taken of all the challenges that have been made for some time past, and you shall finde that the greatest part by far were raised either in Taverns, or Dicing houses, or in the streets. Pardon me, if in a case of this nature I deal a little plainly. _Drinking, Gaming, and Whores_, these are those rotten bones that lie hid under this _painted Sepulchre_ and title of honour.

Lastly, To conclude, It is a part of our profession, as we are Christians to suffer wrong and disgrace. Therefore to set up an other doctrine, and teach that honour may plead prescription against Christ's precepts, and exempt you from patient enduring of contumely and disgrace, you withstand Christ, and deny your vocation; and therefore are unavoidably Apostats.
A Sermon of Duels, &c. preacht at the Hague.

But we loose our labour, who give young men and un-
schooled persons good advice and counsel. The civil magistrate
must lay to his hand, and pity them, who want discretion to
pity themselves. For as Bees, though they fight very fiercely;
yet if you cast a little dust amongst them are presently parted,
so the enacting and executing some few good laws, would
quickly allay this greatness of stomach and fighting humour.
how many have been cenfured for Schiismaticks and Hereticks,
only because by probable conquence, and a far off they seemed
to overthrow some Christian principle: but here are men,
who walk in our streets, and come to our Churches, who γυ-
µυν εξαλαν openly oppose that great point of Christianity,
which concerns our patience, and yet for their restraint, no Sy-
nod is called, no magistrate stirs, no Church censure is pronoun-
ced. The Church of Rome hath long ago to the disgrace of the
reformed Churches shut them out of the number of Christians,
and pronounced them all excommunicated persons, who upon
what pretence soever durst enter the field for Duel and single
combate.

Theodosius the Emperour enacted it for a Law, and it is ex-
tant at this day in the Code, a Book of Laws, that if any man
spake disgracefully of the Emperour, Si ex levitate contemnem-
dum, si ex infamia miseratione dignum, si ex injuria remitten-
dum.

Lactantius. Summa virtus habenda patientia est quam ut caperet
homo justus voluit illum Deus pro inerte contemnui.

So great a virtue is patience, that for the attaining of it, it
is Gods will we should suffer ourselves to be contemned as Co-
wards.

Christ is an Example to us of suffering disgrace; let us as the
Israelites look up to this Serpent, and all the stinging of fiery
Serpents shall do us no harm.

We must forfake all and follow Christ: therefore Honour
and Reputation too; If we be ashamed of this pattern of pa-
tience, Christ will be ashamed of us.

Now that God may give a Blessing to what hath been delivered, let us, &c.

FINIS.
And he went forth, and wept bitterly.

Hus to commit to writing, as here our Evangelist hath done; and so to lay open to all posterity the many slips and errors which have much blemished and disgrac'd the lives and actions of the best, and most excellent men: may seem in the judgement of a reasonable man to participate of much envy and uncharitableness; so that their good life had remained upon record for our example, we might very well have suffered their errors to have slept and been buried with their bodies in their graves. St. Paul makes it the property of charity to hide the multitude of sins: whole property then is it thus to blazon them at mid-day, and to fill the ears of the world with the report of them? Constantine, the first-born among Christian Emperours, so far mislik't this course, that he professed openly, if he found any of his Bishops and Clergy, whom it especially concerned to have a reputation pure and spotless, committing any grievous sin, to hide it from the eye of the world, he would cover it with his own garment: he knew well that which experience had long ago observed, *Nzt tam juvare qua bene dicta sunt, quam nocere qua pessime*: things well said, well done, do nothing so much profit and further us, as the examples of ill speeches, ill actions
do mischeif and inconvenience us: and men are universally more apt from the errors and scapes of good men to draw apologies for their own, then to propose their good deeds for examples and patterns for themselves to follow. Neither is this my own speculation: St. Austin observed it long since, who discoursing upon the fall of David complaines, that from his example many framed unto themselves this apology, Si David, cur non et ego? If David did thus, then why not I? Preparas te ad peccandum, faith he, disponis pecare: Librum Dei ut pecces inspicis: Scripturas Dei ad hoc audis ut facias quod dissplicet Deo. Thou dost prepare thy heart to sin: thou providest thy self of purpose; thou dost look into the book of God, even therefore, that thou mightest sin. The Scriptures of God thou dost therefore hear, that by the example of those that fell, thou mayest learn to do that which is displeasing unto God. Yea, the greater is the person offending, the more dangerous is the example. For greatness is able of itself, as it were, to legitimate foul acts, to adde authority and credit unto ill doings. Facilius efficiet quisquis objectivit, crimen honestum, quam turpem Catonem: faith Seneca of Cato. Whosoever he be, faith he, that objects drunkenness to Cato, shall more easily prove drunkenness to be a vertue, then that Cato, who used it, was to blame. When St. Peter (Galath. 2.) had halted in his behaviour betwixt the Gentiles and those of the Circumcision, St. Paul notes, that many of the Jews, yea, Barnabas himself was carried away with their dissimulation. And to speak truth, whom would not the authority and credit of Peter have drawn into an error? So easilly the faults of great men, adolescent in exempla grow up and become exemplary, and so full of hazzard is it, to leave unto the world a memorial of the errors and scapes of worthy persons. Yet notwithstanding all this, the Holy Spirit of God, who bringeth light out of darkness, and worketh above and against all means, hath made the fall of his Saints an especial means to raise his Church: and therefore hath it pleased him by the Pen-men of the lives of his Saints in holy Scripture, to lay open in the view of the world many grosse faults and imperfections, even of the most excellent instruments of his glory. That which he tells the
the woman in the Gospel, who anointed him before his passion, that
wheresoever the Gospel should be preached, this fact of hers should be recorded in memorial of her: the same, as it
seems was his intent concerning his Saints; that wheresoever
the word of life should be taught, there likewise should be re-
lated the grievous sins of his servants. And therefore accord-
ingly, scarcely is there any one Saint in the whole book of God,
who is not recorded in one thing or other, to have notably over-
shot himself. Sometimes he hath made the Saints themselver
the proclaimers of their own shame. So he makes Moses to
regiter his own infidelity: so David in his one and fiftieth
Psalm, by the instinct of God's spirit leaves unto the Church
under his own hand, an evidence against himself for his adulter-
ry and murder. Sometimes he makes their dearest friends the
most exact chroniclers of their faults: for so St. Chrysostome ob-
serves of St. Mark, the companion and Scholer of Peter, who
hath more particularly registred the fall of his master, then any
of the other Evangelists. Who would not marvel, saith he, that St. Mark not only concealed not the grosse es-
scape of his master, but hath more accurately then any of the rest recorded the particulars of it, ἄντω τῷ μαθητῷ εἶναι, even because
he was his Disciple. As if he could have done his master no better
service, then to deliver a most exact relation of his fault. There
are yet two things further to be noted in this dispensation of Al-
mighty God. The first in regard of us, the second in regard
of the Saints, whose errors are recorded: for the first, who
can but marvel, that since all things that are written, are writ-
ten for our instruction, that if they be good, they may serve for
our imitation; if otherwise, for warnings to us: yet many sin-
fister actions of the Saints of God are so express in Scripture, without cenfure, without note, that it were almost some dan-
ger to pronounce of them? Abraham's equivocating with Ah-
imelech, Jacobs deluding his blinde father, Rachel abusing Laban
with a lie, Jephthah his sacrificing his daughter, Sampson killing
himself with the Philistins; these and many other besides are so
set down, that they may seem to have been done rather by di-
vine instinct, then out of humane infirmity. Wherein the Ho-
ly
ly Ghost seems to me tanguam adoriri nos ex insidiis, to set upon us out of ambush, to use a kind of guile, to see whether we have τὴν σὺν εἴν τὸν ἐνεργείαν spiritual discretion, to try whether we will attribute more to mens examples then to his precepts. Secondly, in regard of the Saints themselves, it is worth our noting, that God seems to have had more care to discredit them, then to honour them, in that their faults are many times particularly registered, but their repentance is wrapt up in silence: so the story of Noah is concluded with his drunkenness: after the report of Lot's incest, there is not a word of him throughout the Scriptures: as soon as the story of Salomon's idolatry is related, it immediately follows in the text: And Salomon died. We should very much wrong these men, if we should think that they past out of this life without repentance; because their repentance is concealed. Doubtless if we were worthy to search the mysteries of the spirit, we should finde that the Holy Ghost hath left something for our instruction even in this particular; for nothing in Scripture is done by chance. But as St. Chrysostome is wont sometime to tell his auditory, that he will not resolve all doubts, but leave some to meditate on by themselves: so will I now deal with you, I will leave this to your private considerations, to prattle your wits in the depths of christianity, and so to frame reasons unto your selves of this proceeding of the Holy Spirit.

In the New Testament, the Holy Ghost constantly holds the same course of relating the fall of the Saints: and so accordingly by all foure Evangelists sets down at large, the fearful sin of Peter in denying and forswearing his Master. But as it pleased him in mercy to give him repentance, so in these words which I have read unto you, hath it pleased him to leave unto the Church a memorial of it. Our first note therefore, before we come to the words, shall be a note of that exceeding use and profit which hath redounded to the Church by the registriug of Peter's repentance; for this is done by the Holy Ghost, to signifie unto us the necessity and force of repentance, and sorrow for sin. The concealing of Salomons reclaim hath occasioned some, upon acknowledgement of the necessity of repentance, to suppose...
post that Solomon past away without it, and to received the final reward of the impenitent. But he that should have read this story of Peter, and observed what authority he had afterwards, what especial favour our Saviour did him after his resurrection, notwithstanding his fall, if the manner of his recovery had not been recorded, might easily have entertained a conceit very prejudicial to repentance, Quid non speramus? Who might not hope to regain the favour of God without shedding a tear, if Peter notwithstanding so grievous a crime without repentance should again be reconciled? We might therefore with excuse have presumed upon a nonnecessity of repentance, as if it had been enough in case of sin to practise that which common morality teaches, barely to relinquish it without any more ado, that therefore we learn by this registaring of Peter's repentance is this, that for the clearing of a Christian man account unto God, it is not sufficient barely to cease from doing ill, to satisfy the law with we broke either with our life, or with our goods: to make recompence to our neighbour for wrong done him, all this and much more washes not away the guilt of sin before God. These are things which the very light of nature teaches us to do. It was not to be thought that David to his former adulteries and murder would have added new: he that hath been forc't to restore foursfold, that which he had taken away by stealth, will peradventure take warning to steal no more. But this doth not suffice him. There is a further duty, a duty of repentance required of every Christian man, a duty proper to him alone. For this doctrine of repentance Nature never taught in her school, neither was it ever found in the books of the learned. It is particular to the Book of God, and to the doctrine that came down from Heaven. In the sins against the first Table we offend immediately, and only against God: but in the sins against the second Table, there is a double guilt contrived, one against God, another against our Neighbour: In these sins, as there is a double fault, so there is a double satisfaction to be made, one unto God, another to our Neighbour: for this second satisfaction between man and man, many Heathen common-wealths have been very sufficiently furnished.
with store of excellent laws. But of an atonement over and above to be made to God, they scarce seem to have had any thought: and indeed to speak truth, to what purpose had it been to trouble their heads about it? It is impossible that it should ever fall within the conceit of any reasonable creature, to pronounce what satisfaction was to be made for offence committed against God. He is of infinite majesty, holding no proportion, no correpolsonce with any created being. What recompence then can he receive from the hands of dust and ashes? Ten thousand worlds, were we able to give them all, could not make satisfaction for any part of the smallest offence we have committed against him: when therefore the inventions of men were thus at a stand, when all discourse, all reason were posed, it pleased God in mercy to open his pleasure in his word, and to accept of true and unfeigned repentance, as the only means to wash away the guilt of sin against his majesty. A thing in the eye of flesh and blood altogether ridiculous. And therefore Julian, that accursed Apostata, scorning Constantine the Emperor for betaking himself to the Christian religion, in contempt and derision of Baptisme and Repentance, thus speaks: ὅσις ἐθορεύς, ὅσις μισίφονας, ὅσις εὐχηνος καὶ ἑδήλυπτς ἰτὸν Σαλή-σων, &c. Hoe, whosoever is a corrupter and a defiler of women, whosoever is a man-slayer, whosoever is an impure and unclean person, let him from henceforth be secure, and care for nothing. I will shew him a little water, in which, if he do but dip himself, he shall be forthwith clean: yea, though he desperately run again into the same crimes. I will give him this gift, if he but knock his breast and strike his forehead, (which are the gestures of the penitent,) he shall without any more ado become as pure as glass. 'Tis true indeed, in spight of unbelieving miscreants, it hath pleased God through the foolishness of Baptisme and Repentance to save those that are his. The water of baptisme, and the tears of true repentance, creatures of themselves weak and contemptible; yet through the wonderful operation of the grace of God annexed unto them are able, were our sins as red as twice-died scarlet, to make them as white as snow. The sentence of God denounced unto Adam, What day thou eatest of the Tree thou shalt
A Sermon of St. Peter's Fall, &c.

shall die, certainly was absolute and irrevocable neither could any repentance of Adams totally have revert it. Yet Abulensis cries out, O quam saulix humanum genus, &c. O how happy should mankind have been, if Adam after his fall had used the benefit of Repentance, and in time acknowledged his sin unto God. Yea, he goes further and seems to intimate, that it had been of force almost to restore us unto our primitive purity. For this way his words seem to look, when he faith, Quod seipsum accusasset nos omnes ab accusatione & judicio liberasset; If he had accused himself, doubtless he had freed us all from accusation and curse. Whatsoever his meaning was, thus much without danger we may think, that if our first Parents had not so strangely shuffled their fault from the one to the other, the man to the woman, the woman to the serpent, but had freely acknowledged it, and humbly begged pardon for it, God whose mercies were then as many and as ready as now they are, would, if not altogether have revok't, yet doubtless much have qualified and mitigated the sentence of the curse. If Adam had used more ingenuity in confessing, God would have used less rigour in punishing. Out of all this I draw this one lesson for your instruction. Whosoever he be that thinks himself quit of some sins into which either through weakness or carelessness he hath fallen, let him not presently flatter himself as if for this his book of debt unto God were cancel'd, as if he were in state of grace and new birth: but let him examine his own conscience, and Impartially sift all the manner of his reclaim. He may peradventure finde that upon some moral respect he hath broken off the practice of his sin: he may finde that he hath satisfied his neighbour, contented the Law, done many acts, by which he hath purchas'd reconciliation with the world. But if he finde not this passage of Repentance and hearty sorrow twixt God and his own soul, let him know that God is yet unsatisfied, that he is yet in his sin: his sin is yet unrepenented of and therefore still remains.

Thus from the necessity of registri St. Peter's Repentance I come to the words wherein it is registred, And he went...
In these words we will consider four things. First the person: He went forth; or, and going forth he wept. Secondly, the preparative to the Repentance, He went forth. Thirdly, the Repentance itself, comprised in the word wept. Fourthly, the extent and measure, and compass of this Repentance, in the last word, bitterly. 1. He, The way of man's life is a slippery way: no man whilst he is in it hath the priviledge of not slipping, just, and unjust, thus far, are of like condition: both fall. But here they differ, the just man riseth again. Not the eminency of Peters person, not his great understanding in the mystery of Christ, not his resolution in our Saviours quarrel, not the love and respect his Master bare him, kept him from falling. But Peter being fallen provides himself to rise, and therefore in the second place, he went forth, faith my Text, Peter was now in the High-priests Court, a place very unfit for one in Peters case. Princes Courts are no place for Repentance: To wear soft raiment, to fair deliciously every day, this is Courtiers guise. But ὁ Ἱερουσαλημιτὴς ἔξω ηγετός, the shirt of hair, the tears of Repentance; this is the habit of the penitent. But wherefore went Peter out? Did he as our Saviour observes of the Scribes and Pharisees, go out into the wildernes to see? to gaze and look about him? No, His eyes now must do him other service. He went out as Joseph did from the face of his Brethren, to seek a place to weep. Maldonat the Jesuite thinks it would have been a more godly thing, and far more befitting Peters resolution, if in the place he had offended in the same he had repented: if before those he had made a constant confession of Christ before whom he had denied him: But be the reasons what they will which moved Peter to go forth, we will not prescribe unto the Saints a form of Repentance we will cease therefore to dispute what Peter should have done, and rather gather lessons for our selves out of what he did: fourthly, and last of all, as Peters fault was great, so he contends that his Repentance may be as serious. The tears therefore he sheds are not slight, and perfunctory shed only for fashions sake, such as Quintilian spake of, nihil facilius lachrimis marescit, Nothing sooner grows dry then tears: but as the Text faith,
He wept bitterly: to summon up that Succoculum genus Christianorum, a sort of Christians, who never had tear dropt from their eye to witness their repentance: to teach us to enlarge the measure of our sorrow for our sins, and in case of grievous relapse not mince out our repentance, but to let loose the rains unto grief. And thus I come to handle the parts in order more particularly: and first of the person, He.

Amongst all the Saints of God whose errours are set down in holy Scriptures, there is none whole person was more eminent, or fall more dangerous then Saint Peters. That which wisemen have observed in great and eminent wits, that they evermore exceed, either they are exceeding good or else they are exceeding bad, in Saint Peter was true both ways. His gifts of Faith, of understanding in the mystery of Godlines, of resolution to die in our Saviours caufe, were wonderful: but yet his errours were as many and as strange, yea, so much the more strange, because in that thing he most offended, in which he was most eminent. It was a great argument of his Faith, when in the Tempest meeting our Saviour on the waters, he calls out unto him, if it be thou, command me to come unto thee on the waters; but no sooner was he come out of the ship, but through infidelity he began to sink. Again, of his great understanding in the mystery of Christ he gave a notable instance, when being questioned by our Saviour whom men took him to be, he gave the first evident, plain, and open testimony that ever was given him by man, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. John indeed gave testimony, and so did Simeon, and so did many more: but it was more involv'd, done in more covert terms, more dark: Whence we may and that not without some probability argue, that the understanding of these men was not so evidently, so fully, so perspicuously enlightened as was Peters. Signum est intelligentis posse docere: It is a great argument that a man doth passing well understand himself, when he is able perspicuously and plainly to speak to the understanding of another. This confession therefore of Peter, that carries with it greater light and perspicuity then any yet that ever was given, doth not obscurely intimate that he had a greater measure
fure of illumination, then any of his predecessors. Yet to see
the wonderful dispensation of the holy Ghost, scarce was this
confession out of his mouth, but in the very next bout where
our Saviour begins further to enform him in the particulars of
his Passion, and Death, and despiteful handling by the Jews, the
edge of his conceit was quite turned, quite blunted and dull.
Poor man, as if he had been quite ignorant of the end of
Christ's coming, out of a humane conceit and pity, he takes
upon him to counsel and advise our Saviour. Sir, favour your
self, these things shall not come unto you: and for this pains he is
rewarded with no less reproachful a name then that of Satan, of
a seducer, of a Devil. He that shall peruse the story of the Go-
fpel, and here stay himself, might think that that which we
read John the sixth, v. 70. Spoken of Judas, Have I not chosen you
twelve and one of you is a Devil: were here fulfilled in Peter, Last
of all his love to Christ, and resolution in his quarrel, he gave
an evident testimony, when he protested himself ready to lay
down his life for him. Greater love then this in the Aposles judg-
ment, no man hath then to lay down his life for his friend. This Saint
Peter had, if we may believe himself. Yea, he began to express
some acts of it, when in defence of his master he manfully drew
his sword, and wounded the servant of the high Priest. But
see how soon the scene is changed. This good Champion of
our Saviour, as a Lyon that is reported to be daunted with the
crowing of a Cock, is stricken out of countenance and quite
amazed with the voice of a silly Damself. Yea, so far is he
possessed with a spirit of fear, that he not only denies, but abjures
his master, and perjures himself, committing a sin not far be-
hind the sin of Judas; yea, treading it hard upon the heels. But
the mercy of God that leaves not the honour of his servant in
the dust of death, but is evermore careful to raise us up from
the death of sin, unto the life of righteousness; suffers not this
rock, this great pillar of his Church to be overthrown. He
first admonishes him by the crowing of a Cock: when that
would not serve, himself (full of careful love and goodness)
though in the midst of his enemies, forgets his own danger, and
remembers the danger of his servant. Himself was now as a
Sheep.
sheep before the shearer, dumb and not opening his mouth: yet forgets he not that he is that great shepherd of the flock, but David like rescues one of his foul'd from the mouth of the Lion and from the paw of the Bear. He turns about and looks upon him, faith the Text, he cries louder unto him with his look, then the cock could with his voice. Of all the members in the body the eye is the most moving part, that of-times is spoken in a look, which by no force of speech could have been uttered, this look of Christ did so warm Peter almost frozen dead with fear that it made him well-near melt into tears. As if he had cried out with the spouse, Cant. 6. O turn away thine eyes, for they have overcome me, he grows impatient of his looks, and seeks for a place to weep, what a look was this think you? Saint Jerome discoursing with himself what might be the cause that many of the Disciples, when they were called by our Saviour, presently without further consultation arose and followed him, thinks it not improbable, that there did appear some Glory and Majesty in his Countenance, which made them believe he was more than a Man that thus bespake them; whatsoever then appear'd in his Looks, doubtless in this Look of his was seen some Sovereign power of his Diety that could so speedily recover a man thus almost desperately gone: a man that had one foot in hell, whom one step more had irrecoverably cast away: It was this Look of Christ that restored Peter. Quos respectit Jesus plorant delictum, faith Saint Ambrose, thole weep for their sins whom Jesus looks upon. Negavit primo Petrus non fleuit, quia non respexerat Dominus. Negavit secundo: non flevit, quia adhuc non respexerat Dominus. Negavit tertio, et respexit: Jesus, et ille amarissimè fleuit. Peter denies him once, and repents not, for Jesus look't not back upon him: he denies him the second time, and yet he weeps not, for yet the Lord look't not back. He denies him the third time, and Jesus looks upon him, and then he weeps bitterly. Before I come to make use of this, it shall not be altogether impertinent to lay something unto some queries that here arise concerning the condition of Peter, and in him of all the Elect of God, whilst they are in state of sin unrepented of for, as for Peter's faith, which some makes O 2 doubt
A Sermon of St. Peters Fall, &c.

doubt of, there can as I conceive; no question be made. It is not to be thought that Peter had rever't with himself the confec-
tion that he had formerly made of Christ or that he thought
doubts I have er'd, this is not the person whom I took him to
be. Indeed, through fear and cowardize he durft not confess that
with his mouth unto salvation which in his heart he believed unto
righteousnes. Anything further then this, that speech of our
Saviour takes away, wherein he tells him before hand, I have
pray'd that thy faith might not fail. But since our Age hath had
experience of some, who because the Election of God stand-
se, and Christs sheep none can take out of his hands,
conclude therefore that for the Elec't of God there is no falling
from Grace, that to David & Peter no ill could happen, no though
(for so they have given it out) that they had died, in the very
act of their sin: To meet with such disputants, I will briefly
lay down what I conceive is to be thought in the point.
Wherefore parate fauces pani, as Saint Barnard speaks. Hi-
throto I have given you milk provide your stomacks now
for harder meat, and such as befits strong men in Christ. Pe-
ter and Judas (for I will couple them both together in my dis-
course, whilst they are both joined together in sin ) Peter,
I say, and Judas in regard of their own perions, were both, more
or less in the same case, both fallen from Grace, both in
state of sin and damnation, till the Repentance of Peter al-
tered the case on his part. But the Grace of God signified
two things: either the purpose of Gods Elec'tion, the
Grace and Favour Inherent in the Person of God, which he
still casts upon those that are his notwithstanding their man-
ifold backslidings: or else it signifies the habit of landi-
fying qualities Inherent in the Regenerat Man, those good
Graces of God, by which he walks holy and unblamea-
ble. Again, the state of damnation signifies likewise two things:
either the purpose of Gods reprobation, or else the habit of dam-
nable qualities in the sinful man: from the state of Grace,
as it signifies the purpose of God to save, the Elect can never fall:
In the state of damnation, as it signifies something inherent in us,
every man by nature is, and the elect of God, even after their
Cling.
Calling many times fall into it: that is, they may and do many times fall into those sins; yea, for a time continue in them, too (David did so for a while years space) which except they be done away by repentance, inevitably bring forth eternal death; for the state of mortal sin unrepented of, is truly and indeed the state of death; yea, the whole and sole reason of the condemnation of every one that perishes; for Christ hath said it, except ye repent, ye shall all perish. So then you see, that into the state of damnation, as it signifies something inherent in us, a man may fall, and yet not fall from the state of grace, as it signifies God's purpose of election: for both these are compatible for a time; if then we look upon the persons of Peter and Judas, both of them are in the state of mortal sin unrepented of; and therefore both in state of damnation: but if we look back unto God, we shall see a hand reach out unto Peter, pulling him back as he is now running down the hill, which hand we do not see reach out unto Judas. Christ had a look in store for Peter, which if it had pleased him to have lent unto Judas, Judas would have done that which Peter did. When then we pronounce Peter, and in him any of the elect of God, as they are in Peter's case to be fallen from grace; we speak not with relation to any purpose of God; but we mean only that they have not that measure of sanctification, which ought to be in every childe, which shall be an heir to life, and what hinders to pronounce that man fallen from grace, whom we must needs acknowledge to be in that state, in which if he continue, there is no way open but to death? What then may some man say, had Peter lost the spirit of adoption? Had he not those sanctifying qualities of faith, hope, charity, which are proper to the Saints, and are given them by divine inspiration in the moment of their conversion: was that immortal seed of the word quite kill'd? No verily; How then? Having all these, may he yet be called the childe of death? I answer, he may and is indeed so, for these do not make him that at no time he can be so, but that finally he shall not be so, for they are not armour of proof to keep out all darts, neither do they make our souls invulnerable, as the Poets faine the body of Cymus or Achilles to have been; but they are preci-
ous balms evermore ready at hand to cure the wound when it is given. They are not of force to hinder mortal sin, (for then every soul in whom they are were pure, undefiled, neither were it possible, that the Elect of God after their conversion should fall,) but they are of force to work repentance, which makes all our wounds remediable. He that is mortally sick and dies, and he that is likewise mortally sick, and through help of restoring physic recovers, in this both agree, that they are mortally sick, notwithstanding the recovery of one party. The wound of Peter and of Judas was mortal, and in both he died unto death; but there was balm in Gilead for Peter, for Judas there was none. The sting of the fiery Scorpion in the wilderness was deadly, and all that looked not on the brazen serpent died. The brazen serpent altered not the quality of the Scorpions sting, it only hindered the working of the poison: the sting of sin in Peter, and in Judas was deadly: but he that was lifted up on mount Calvary, as the brazen serpent was in the wilderness, at him did Peter look and live: Judas did not look, and therefore died. How comes it about beloved that God every where in Scripture threatens death, without exception to all that repent not, if the state of sin unrepentent of, in whomsoever it is, be not indeed the state of death. When David was intending to stay in Keilah; and suspecting the inhabitants of that city, asks of God whether the men of Keilah would deliver him over into the hand of Saul: God tells him they would: and therefore certainly had he stayed there, he had been betrayed unto Saul: to urge that Peter, because of God's purpose to save him, could not have actually miscarried, though he had died without repentance, (as some have not stuck to give out) is nothing else in effect, but to maintain against God, that David had he stayed in Keilah had not fallen into Saul's hands, because we know it was God's purpose to preserve David from the violence of Saul. All the determinations of God are of equal certainty. It was no more possible for Saul to seize on David, then it is for the Devil to pull one of God's elect out of his hand; as therefore the determinate purpose of God to free David from the malice of Saul, took not away that supposition, If David go to Keilah, he shall fall
fall into the hands of Saul, so neither doth the decree of God to
cave his elect destroy the supposition, if they repent not, they die
eternally, for the purposes of God, though impossible to be de-
feated, yet lay not upon things any violent necessity, they ex-
empt not from the use of ordinary means: they infringe not our
liberty, they stand very well with common caluality: yea, these
things are the very means by which his decrees are brought a-
bout. I may not stand longer upon this, I will draw but one
short admonition, and so an end: Let no man presume to look
into the Third Heaven, to open the books of life and death, to
pronounce over peremptorily of God's purpose concerning him-
self, or any other man. Let every man look into himself, and
trie whether he be in the faith or no; the truest means to trie
this, is to take an unpartial view of all our actions, many de-
ceive themselves whilst they argue from their faith to their
works, whereas they ought out of their works to conclude their
faith; whilst presuming they have faith, and the gifts of san-
etification, they think all their actions warrantable: whereas
we ought first thoroughly to sift all our actions, to examine them
at the Touch of God's Commandments, and if indeed we finde
them currant, then to conclude that they come from Sanctifying
Graces of the Holy Spirit. It is faith indeed that gives the tin-
ture, the die, the relish unto our actions, yet the only means
to examine our faith is by our works. It is the nature of the
Tree that gives the goodness, the favour and pleafantness to the
fruit, yea the fruit is the only means to us, to know whether the
tree be good. By their fruit ye shall know them, faith Christ: It is
not a rule not only to know others, but ourfelves too. To rea-
son thus, I am of the elect, I therefore have saving faith, and
the rest of the sanctifying qualities, therefore that which I do is
good: thus I fay to reason is very preposterous. We must go
a quite contrary course, and thus reason: my life is good, and
through the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, shall stand with
God's Justice: I therefore have the Gifts of Sanctification, and
therefore am of God's Elect: for Peter to have faid with him-
selt, I am of the Elect, this sin therefore cannot indanger me,
had been great presumption, but thus to have reasoned, my firn
is deadly, therefore except I repent, I am not of the number of Gods Elect, this reasoning had well bethitted Peter, and becomes every Christian man, whom common frailty drives into the like distress.

I made my entrance into my Sermon with the consideration of the wisdom of God, in permitting his chiefest servants to fall dangerously: I have largely exemplified it in the person of Peter: give me leave to make this further beneficial unto you by drawing some uses from it; for great profit hath redounded to the Church through the fall of these men; Felicius ille cecidit quam ceteri sicut unt, faith St. Ambrose of this fall of Peter. His fin hath more avail'd us, then the righteousness of many others; for wheresoever it pleases the Holy Spirit of God to work effectually, (I speak cautelously, because I would give no place to presumption) in him he makes excellent use oftines, even of fin and evil. First of all it is a tried Case, that many times through negligence and carelessness, we suffer our selves to lie open to many advantages. In such a case as this, a blow given us, serves us for a remembrance to call our wits about us, éva òvppó, to stir up the Grace of God that is in us, which many times is interlunio lies covered like fire under ashes; for as a skilful wrestler having suffered his adversary to take advantage upon some oversight, recollects himself, and comes forward with greater strength and wariness; et pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus; the shame of the fiol and impatience of disgrace, adds strength unto him and kindles him; so oft times is it with the Saints of God. The shame of having fallen makes them summon up their forces, to look better about them, to fulfil their duty in larger sort, then if they had not flipt at all. Hence it is, that we see that of the bitterest enemies of the Church, have been made the best converts; of this we have a notable example in S. Paul; how eager was he in the quarrel of the Jews against Christ? None a more mischievous enemy to the Christians then he; yet, when it pleased God to shew him his error, he proved one of the most excellent instruments of Christ's glory, that ever was on earth. And so accordingly he gives himself a most true testimony: I have laboured more abundantly, not then one or two-
of them, but, then they all: his writings being as much in quan-
tity, as of them all: and St. Lukes story being nothing else al-
most but a register of the acts of St. Paul, The sense and con-
science, I doubt not, of that infinite wrong done to the Church
provoked him to measure back to the utmost of his power, his
pains and labour in making up the breach, he had formerly
made: here then is a notable lesson for us, teaching us to make
our former sins and impieties, admonitioners unto us to know
our own strength, & by Christian care & watchfulness to prevent
all advantages, which the Devil may take by our recklessness and
negligence; for beloved, it is not so much our impotency and
weakness, as our sloth and carelessness, against which the com-
mon enemy doth prevail; for through the Grace of him that
doeth enable us, we are stronger then he: and the policie of Chri-
tian warfare hath as many means to beat back and defend, as
the deepest reach of Satan hath to give the on-let. The Envious
man in the Gospel runth not into the field in despite of the hu-
bandman, and the servants, but came and fowed his tares,
whilst men slept faith the text. Our neglect and carelessness is the
fleap that he takes advantage of; when David was so strangely
overtaken, the Scripture tells us he rose from his bed, to walk on
the top of his pallace, from his bed indeed he arose, but not from
his sleep; for mark I beseech you: David had spent much of his
time about the Court, he had been abroad, and seen and ran-
fack'd many cities, and doubtless he had seen many women as
fair as the wife of Vriah, and that in his younger days, when he
was more apt to kindle. Why then now commits he so great an
over sight? Look on him a while as now he is. He is now
at rest in his pallace, at ease on his bed, and to solace himself
he must rise and walk at the top of his house, and idely gaze up-
on a naked dame: of this his idlenefs the Devil takes advantage:
this is the fleep in which he comes and sows tares in Davids heart,
even al manner of lust. So that David fell as Adam did in Paradifi,
not as a man that falls before an enemy stronger then himself.
The greatest part of the sins which we commit, are in this
rank with Davids fin: He is faithful, faith the Apostle, and suf-
fers no man to be tempted above his strength. Many creatures,
if they knew their strength, would never suffer themselves to be aw'd by man as they are. Beloved, we are become like horse and mule without understanding, we know not our strength we are more blinde then the servant of Elizeus, and lee not that they that are with us are more, and more mighty then they that are against us. The Angels are ministring spirits, tent out of purpose to guard us, and doubtles do many and great services for us, though we perceive not. We have the army of God, ubi mile clipei & omnis armatura fortium, where are a thousand bucklers and all the weapons of the mighty, the helmet of Salvation, the sword of the Spirit, the sheild of Faith to quench all the fiery darts of sin: only let us not neglect to buckle it on, and make use of it. We have to strive with an enemy, such a one as Anibal reported Marcellus to be, Qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam post effe victit, serociter instat vicitis; seu vicit eff, insaurat cum victoribus certa'men; a restless enemy that is never quiet, howsoever the world goes, if he conquer us, he insolently insults upon us; if we foil him; he still verthinks himself how to set upon us afresh. Let us not therefore suppose sedendo & votis debellari posse, that the conquest will be gotten by sitting still and wishing all were well. We oft maintain against the Church of Rome, that our natural abilities whilest we live serve us not to fulfill the Law of God. What bootes it thus to dispute? shall the con-
tession of our unablenes to do what we ought, excuse us at all if we do not that which we are able? S. Austin was of opinion how justly I will not dispute but of that opinion he was, and it was the occasion of his book, de spiritu & litera ad Marcellinum: that it was possible for us even in this natural life seconed by the grace of God, perfectly to accomplish what the Law requires at our hands. Let the truth of this be as it may be; certainly that is most true which the same Father adds: that let our strength be what it will, yet if we know not our duty we shall do it no more then the traveller found of body or limb, can go that way aright of which he is utterly ignorant. Yea, let our a-
bility be perfect, and let our knowledge be also absolute, yet if we have no minde; if we want a love unto our duty, if we suffer our selves to be overswayed by affection to other things, yet shall
we not do our duty. For which of us being at liberty will do
that which he hath no love unto? Beloved, as for or know-
ledge God hath left unto us Scripture, the perfect register of
all our duty the absolute itinerary and map of all the course
which in this life we are to run: & as for love he plentifully sheds
it in the hearts of all those that by faithful prayer beg it of him.
If we shall search the Scripture to improve our knowledge, if
we shall earnestly beg at his hands to inflame our love. Let our
natural possibilities be what they will; he that now doth little
amongst us shall do much, and he that doth much shall do much
more; and the promises made unto the Jews concerning their
carnal enemies, shall be made good on us concerning our spi-
ritual and ghostly enemies, one of us shall chase a thousand, and
if they come out against us on way, they shall fly before us seven
ways. And thus much for the first use.

There is a second benefit of great weight and moment, which
we reap out of the consideration of the errors of these excellent Ministers of God: namely a lesson teaching us to beware of
spiritual pride. Of all the vices which our nature is subject un-
to, this is the most dangerous, and of which we had need be most
cautelous. For whereas all other vices proceed from some ill
in us, from some sinful imbecillity of our nature, this alone
arises out of our good parts; other sins draw their being from
that original corruption which we drew from our Parents, but
this may seem to be the mother of that; as by which even na-
tures unstained and in their primitive purity may most easily
fall. And therefore not without some probability is it concluded
in the Schools, That no other crime could throw the Angels down
from heaven but this. That which one leaves for a memorial to
great men, that in dangerous times, non minus periculum ex
magna fama quam ex mala, it was a matter of like danger to
have a good name as an ill, that may I pronounce of a Christi-
an man, the danger of his innocency is not much less then of
his faults. For this Devil when he cannot drive us to despair by
reason of our sin, takes another course to see if he can make us
presume upon conceit of our righteousness. For when by the pre-
venting grace of God we keep our selves from greater offences

P 2
if we finde our selves to have a love unto the word of God, and the true professours of it, to be rich in almsdeedes, to have a part in other acts of righteousness, he makes us first take notice of these good things in us, notice taken draws us to love and admire them in us: self-love draws us on to compare our selves with others, then to prefer our selves before others, and thirdly to disdain others in respect of our selves. Here now is a gap laid open to a thousand inconveniences. And hence it is that we see divers times men other wise of life and reputation pure and unblameable, upon conceit and unconsiderateness by a secret judgement of God to fall upon extremes no les fearful then are the issues of open profanenes and impiety. To cut of therefore, all way that may be opened to let in spiritual pride, it hath pleased God to make use of this as of a sovereign remedy namely to permit even in his most chosen vessels, evermore secret and hidden infirmities and sometimes gross and open escapcs, which may serve when they look into themselves to abate all overweening conceit of their own righteousness, and when they shall look into the errors of others, may be secret admonitioners unto them, not rashly to condemn them, considering their own weakness. I will therefore shut up this place with the saying of Saint Ambrose, etiam lapsus sanctorum utilis est, Nihil mihi obsuit quod negavit Petrus, etiam profuit quod emendavit. The fall of the Saints is a very profitable thing. It hurts not me that Peter denied Christ, and the example of his amendment is very beneficial unto me. And so I come unto the preparative unto Peters Repentance, in these words, and he went forth.

The wisdom of God hath taught the Church sometime by express message delivered by words of mouth, sometime by dumb signes and actions. When Jeremy walk't up and down the city with a yoke of wood about his neck, when Ezekiel lay upon his side, besieged a Slate with the draught of Jerusalem upon it, and like a banished man carried his stuff upon his shoulders from place to place: they did no les prophesie the captivity, desolation, famine and wo, which was to fall upon
upon Jerusalem, then when they denounced it by direct word and speech: yea, many of the ordinary actions of the Patriarchs, which seem to participate of chance, and to be in the same rank with those of other men, themselves (as a learned divine of our Mercerus age observes) not intending or understanding any such thing, contained by the dispensation of the Holy Ghost, especial lessons and instructions for us. That speech of Sarah, cast out the bondwoman and her son, &c., seemed to Abraham only a speech of curst heart, and she her self perceives not her self to speak by direction from God, but moved with impatience of Ismaels petulant behaviour toward her son. Yet the Holy Ghost himself hath taught us, that this act of hers prefigured a great mystery. Many disputations there are concerning the cause of this action of Peter going forth: whether it were out of the common infirmity that is in most men, namely a greater shame to repent then to offend: or whether it were out of modesty and good nature, that he could not endure the sight of Christ, whom he had so grievously offended. Howsoever it were, we shall do this Scripture no wrong, if we think it to contain an act in outward shew casual, and like unto the actions of other men, but inwardly indeed an especial action of a person great in the sight of God; and therefore comprehending some especial instruction. And to speak plainly, this abandoning the place wherein he fell, the company for fear of whom he fell, and those things that were occasioners of his sin, doth not obscurely point out unto us an especial duty of speedy relinquishing and leaving of all, either friends or place, or means, or whatsoever else, though dearer unto us then our right hand, then our right eye; if once they become unto us inducements to Sin. In former days before the Fulness of time came, the Calling of the Elect of God was not by any one act more often prefigured, then by this action of going forth. When the purpose of God was to select unto himself a Church, and to begin it in Abraham, come forth, faith he unto him, out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house. When Israel being in Egypt, it pleased God to appoint them a set Form and manner of leaving him, before this could be done, they and all theirs must come forth of Egypt.
they must not leave a hoof behind them. When the time of the Gospel was come, our Saviour holds the same course: none must be of his company, but such as come forth, leave all and follow him. And therefore the Apostle putting the Hebrews in minde of their duty, expresses it in this very tearm; Let us go forth, therefore unto him, faith he without the camp, bearing his reproach. And in the original language of the New Testament, the Church hath her name from this thing, from being called forth; so that without a going forth there is no Church, no Christianity, no Service to God, the reason of all which is this: we are all by nature in the High Priests court, as Peter was, where we all deny and forswear our Master as Peter did: neither is there any place for Repentance, till with Peter we go forth and weep.

For our further light we are to distinguish the practice of this our going forth, according to the diversity of the times of the Church. In the first ages, when Christianity was like unto Christ, and had no place to hide its head, no entertainment but what persecution, and oppression, and fire, and sword could yield it; there was then required at the hands of Christians, an Actual going forth, a real leaving of riches, and friends, and lands, and life for the profession of the Gospel. Afterward, when the Tempests of persecutions were somewhat slay’d, and the skie began to clear up, the necessity of actual relinquishing of all things ceast, Christians might then securely hold life and lands, and whatsoever was their own, yet that it might appear unto the world, that the resolution of Christian men was the same as in times of distress and want, so likewise in time of peace and security, it pleased God to raise up many excellent men, as well of the Laity, as of the Clergy, who without constraint, voluntarily, and of themselves, made liberal distribution of all they had; left their means and their friends, and betook themselves to deserts and solitary places, wholly giving themselves over to meditation, to prayer, to fasting, to all severity and rigindness of life, what opinion our times hath of these, I cannot easily pronounce: thus much I know safely may be said, that when this custome was in its primitive purity, there was no one thing more
more behoofful to the Church. It was the Seminary and nursery of the Fathers, and of all the famous Ornaments of the Church. Those two things which afterwards in the decay and ruine of this discipline, the Church sought to establish by Decrees and Constitutions, namely to estrange her Priests from the world and bind them to single life, were the necessary effects of this manner of living, for when from their childhood they had utterly requestred themselves from the world and long practised the contempt of it; when by chastising their body and keeping it under with long fasting they had killed the heat of youth, it was not ambition nor desire of wealth, nor beauty of women that could withdraw them or lway their affections.

That which afterwards was crept into the Church and bare the name of Monkery, had indeed nothing of it but the name, under pretense of poverty they seized into their possession the wealth and riches of the world. They removed themselves from barren woods into the fatterst places of the land, from solitary deserts into the most frequented cities; they turned their poor cottages into stately palaces, their true fasting into formalizing and partial abstinence. So that instead of going forth they took the next course to come into the world; they left not the world for Christ, but under pretense of Christ they gain'd the world:

\[\text{ὅπερ ὅικ ἀμείβεται τῷ πον, ἄλλα ἀφομοίῳ τὸ γίνεται ἔργα ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἐμφανίσεται, as Nastsanzen speaks. One of their own, Saint Jerome by name, long ago complain'd of it. Nonnulli sunt diti-ores Monachi, quam fuerant seculares, & clerici qui possideant opes sub paupere Christo, quass sub fallaci & locuplete diabolo non habuerunt ut suspiret eos ecclesia divites: quos tenueit mundos ante mendicos. But I forbear and come to commend unto you another kind of going forth, necessary for all persons, and for all times. There is a going forth in act and execution, requisite only at some times and upon some occasions; there is a going forth in will and affection; this let the persons be of what calling soever, and let the times be never so favourable, God requires at the hands of every one of us. We usually indeed distinguish the times of the Church into times of peace, and times of persecution: the truth is, to a true Christian man the times are always the same. Habet eisiam.} \]
etiam pa x suos martyres, faith one: there is a martyrdom even in
time of peace; for the practice of a Christian man in the calm-
est times, in readiness and resolution must nothing differ from
times of rage and fire. Josephus writing of the Military exercizes'
practised amongst the Romans, reports that for seriousness they
differed from a true battell only in this, the battell was a bloody exer-
cise, their exercise a bloodless battell. Like unto this must be the Chri-
tian exercize in times of peace, neither must there be any differ-
ence betwixt those days of persecution, and these of ours, but only
this, those yeelded Martyrs with blood, ours without. Let therefore ev-
e ry man throughly examine his own heart, whether upon supposal of
times of tryal and persecution, he can say with David, My heart
is ready, whether he can say of his dearest pledges, all these have I
counted dung for Christ's sake, whether he finde in himself that he
can, if need be, even lay down his life for his profession. He that
cannot do thus, what differs his faith from a temporary faith, or
from hypocritie? Mark, I beseech you what I say, I will not
affirm, I will only leave it to your Christian discretion. A tem-
porary faith, that is, a faith resembled to the seed in the Gospel,
which being sown on the stony ground, withered as soon as the
sun arose, a faith that fails as soon as it feels the heat of persecution,
can save no man. May we not with some reason think that
the faith of many a one, who in time of peace seems to us, yea,
and to himself too peradventure to dy possessed of it, is yet notwithstanding no better than a temporary faith, and therefore comes not so far as to save him that hath it? Rufus a certain Philosopher
whenever any Scholars were brought unto him to receive edu-
cation under him, was wont to use all possible force of argument
to diswade them from it: if nothing could prevail with them but
needs they will be his hearers, this their pertinacy he took for a
sure token of a mind thoroughly settled, &c led as it were by instinct
to their studies. If God should use this method to try who are
his, and bring on us those Temptations, which would make the
man of temporary faith to shrink: think we that all those who in
these times of peace have born the name of Christ unto their
graves, would have born unto the rack, unto the sword, unto the
fire? Indeed to man who knows not the thoughts of his friend
some
A Sermon of St. Peters Fall, &c.

Some trials sometimes are very necessary. But he that knew and foretold David what the resolution of the men of Keilah would be, if Saul came to them, knows likewise what the resolution of every one of us would be if a fiery trial should appear. Who knows therefore whether God hath numbered out the Crowns of life, according to the number of their souls, who he foreknew would in the midst of all Temptations and trials continue unto the end? for what difference is there betwixt the faith that fails upon occasion, or that would fail if occasion were offered, for the actual failing of faith is not that that makes it temporary, it is only that which detects it, which bewrays it unto us to be so. The faith therefore of that man which would have sunk as fast as Peter did, if tempests had arisen, notwithstanding that through the peace of the Church he dies possessed of, is no better then a temporary, and cometh short of a saving faith. Durus sermo, it as a hard speech some man may say: but let him that thinks thus, recount with himself that Dura via, it is a hard way that leads to life. Beloved, deceive not your selves: heaven never was, nor will be gotten without Martyrdom: In a word my Brethren try therefore your selves, whether you have in you true resolution, summon up your thoughts, surseige every path in which your affections are wont to tread: see whether you are prepared to leave all for Christ. If you find in your selves but one affection looking back to Sodom, to the things of this life, remember Lots wife, her case is yours, you are not yet sufficiently provided for the day of battle.

FINIS.
Christian Omnipotency.

Philip. 4. 13.

I can do all things, through Christ, that enableth or that strengtheneth me.

From henceforth let all complaint concerning the frailty, and weaknels of mans Nature, for ever cease. For behold our weaknels swallow'd up of strength, and man is become Omnipotent. I can do all things, faith my Apostle. The strongest reason, which the subtilest above all the beasts of the field, could invent, to draw our first Parents from their allegiance, was this, Ye shall be like Gods. Our Saviour who is infinitely wiser to recall us, then our adversary was to seduce us, takes the same way to restore as he did to destroy, and uses that for Physick, which the Devil gave for poylon. Is this it, faith he, unto us, that hath drawn ye from me, that ye would be like unto Gods; why, then return again, and ye shall be like Gods, by a kinde of Communicatio idiomatum, by imparting unto you such excellencies, as are proper unto my self.
Yet which but as our Nation, quod imbecillis sit. It was the observation of the Heathen Historian, that it is an error in men, thus to complain of the infirmities, and weaknesses of their Nature. For man indeed is a creature of great strength, and if at any time, he finde himself weak, it is through his fault, not through his nature. But he that shall take into consideration these words of my Text, shall farre better then any natural man, be able to perceive, that man hath no caufe to complain of his weakness. *Fid. duævæliαν τὴν τὴν Πολει πεσείναι ταῦτα μεντοι τῆς θεος ἀν' ἐν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμερτής, ἐπὶ τὸ Βλατνον τρῆσαι, faih Aristophanes. It was a tale that passed among some of the Heathen, that Vulcan offended with the men of Athens, told them that they should be but fools: but Pallas that favour'd them, told them they should be fools indeed, but folly should never hurt them. Beloved our case is like to that of the men of Athens, Vulcan the Devil hath made us fools, and weak, and so we are indeed of our selves: but the Son of God, the true Pallas, the wildome of the Father hath given us this gift, that our weakness, shall never hurt us. For look what strength we lost in Adam, that with infinite advantage is suppli'd in Christ. It was the Parable of Iphicrates, that an Army of Harts, with a Lyon to their Captain, would be able to vanquish an armie of Lyons, if their captain were but an Hart. Beloved, were mankinde indeed but an army of Harts, were we Hinnuleo smiles, like unto the fearful Hinde, upon the Mountains, that starts at every leaf that shakes: yet through Christ, that strength eth us, having the Lyon of the tribe of Judah for our Captain, and Leader, we shall be able to vanquish all that force; which the Lyon that goeth up and down seeking whom he may devour, is able to bring against us. Indeed we do many times sadly bemoan our case, and much rue the losse, which through the recklessness of our first parents hath befallen us; Yet let us cheer up our selves, our fear is greater then our hurt: as Elkanah speaks unto Hannah in the first of Samuel. *Why weepest thou? Am not I better unto thee then ten Sons.* So will we comfort our selves in the like manner. Let us sorrow no more for
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our lofs in Adam. For is not Christ ten fold better unto us, then all the good of Paradise. The Mulbery tree indeed is broken down, but it is built up again with Cedar. The lofs of that portion of strength, wherewith our Nature was originally endued, is made up with fulnes of power in Christ; It is past that conclusion of Zeba and Zalmana unto Gideon, in the Book of Judges, As the man is, so is his strength; for now Beloved, as is God so is our strength. Wherefore as St. Ambrose spake of Peters fall: Non mihi obsuit quod negavit Petrus, immo profuit, quod emendavit: So may we speak of the fall of our first Parents, it hurts not us that Adam fell; nay our strength and glory is much improved, that by Christ we are redeemed. Our natural weakness be it never so great, with this supply from Christ, is far above all strength, of which our Nature in its greatest perfection was capable. If we survey the particulars of that weakness, which we drew from the loines of our first parents, we shall finde the chiefeft part of it to be in the lofs of immortality. For as for the lofs of that pleasant place, the blindness of understanding, and perversenes of will, being suppos’d to betide us immediately upon the fall, these seem weaknesses far inferior to our mortality. For, God forbidding us the fruit of the tree of knowledge, & letting down the penalty that should ensue, making choice (as it is most likely) of the fearfullest judgement, and what he law in his wisdome, was most likely to awe us, threatens neither blindness of understanding, nor crookednes of Nature, but tells us, what day ye eat of it, ye shall die. Yet see beloved, with how great strength this mortal weakness is repair’d: For thus to be able to encounter with death, the fearfullest of all Gods curses, and through Christ to overcome it, as all true Christians do, to turn the greatest curse into the greatest blessing, is more then immortality.

Si non errasset, fecerat ille minus. Had not man been thus weak, he had never been thus strong. Again, on the contrary, let us conceive unto the utmost, what our strength might be in our first estate, let us raise our conceit unto the highest note we can reach, yet shall we never finde it to be greater, then what here is express in my Text. For greater ability, then power to do
do all things, is not imaginable, I can do all things. Beloved, these words are Anakims, they be seem not the mouth of a man of ordinary strength. He that hath right unto them, must be one of the race of the Giants at least, for he faith not simply, Εὐκόνως, I can, though peradventure with some difficulty, hardly with much labour, and pains, but he faith Εὐκόνως, I can with ease, I have valour and strength to do them. I ask then first as the Eunuch doth in the Acts: of whom speaks our Apostle this, of himself or of some other man? I answer both of himself, and all other Christians; For every Christian man by reading it as he ought, makes it his own, for in reading it as he ought, he reads it with the same spirit, with which St. Paul wrote it. Wherefore as St. Paul some where records of himself, that he was not found inferior to the chief Apostles, so is it true that the meanest Christian that hears me this day, in all that is contained in my Text, is parallel'd, is nothing inferior unto St. Paul, unto the chief Apostles. What a comfort then is this unto the brother of low degree, when he considers with himself, that how mean soever he may seem to be, either in the Church or common weal, yet notwithstanding in so great a priviledge, as is this omnipotent power of doing all things; he is equal unto Peter, unto Paul, the greatest Peers of the Church. If then the weaknesses of Christians be so strong, as to deserve the name of Almightyness, what name, what title doth the strength of a Christian delerve to bear?

Secondly, I ask what meaning hath this word Εὐκόνως, this can do in my Text? I answer very large: first, though it be rendred by this word doing, yet it comprehends sufferings too; for poss-down: valeo, I can, is as well to suffer as to do, and that our blest Apostle amongst other things so meant it, is apparent by the words foregoing my text. And here is the first part of a Christians omnipotency: his patience is infinite, it suffers all things. Never any contumely, never any loss, never any smart so great, as could weary out Christian patience. Tullia (faith Tertullian,) tantaque documenta, quorum magnitudo penes nationes destratis sibi est, penes nos vero, ratio, & frustra. Such examples, such precepts, have we of Christian patience, as that with infidels they seem incredible, and call in question the truth of our profession.
but with us they are the ground and foundation of faith. God himself did never yet trie the utmost of a Christians patience: neither hath he created any object, that is able to equal it, yet he seems for our instruction to have gone about to trie, what might have been done: he commanded Abraham to sacrifice his dear and only Son. Tam grave præceptum, quod nec Deo perfici placebat, patienter et audīvit, & si deus voluisset, impleisset, faith Tertullian. So heavy was the command, that God himself lik'd not it should be acted, yet Abraham heard it patiently, and had fulfilled it, if God would have given him leave. What should I speak of poverty, of diseafe, of the sword, of fire, of death it self, διὰ ζημίαν, faith Gordius the Martyr in St. Basil, μὴ συνάψεως ἕτερ Χερσονησίας, ἀποθανεῖν. O at what a loss I am, faith he, that I can die but once for my Saviour. Take the greatest instance of Gods fury and wrath, even the pains laid up in Hell for the sinner, and we'll all finde that there have been Christians, who for the glory of God, would gladly have endured them. St. Paul is the man amongst all the Saints of God, the greatest and worthiest example of this wonderful strength, of this omnipotency of a Christian man. What evil is imaginable, which he did not either indeed, or at least in will, and affection undergo? Omne patientia speciem adversus omne diabolivm expunxit, εξαλογισας, I am on fire faith Saint Chrysostome, when I speak of St. Paul, and indeed whom would it not inflame, to read that admirable Synapfs and brief of his sufferings registred in the second of the Corinthians, at the Eleventh Chapter. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft, and could he do more? Yes, he could; Sed ubi historiam prestare non potuit, votum attulit. Hither to he reports historically what was done, and as if that were not enough, he tells us what he would have done, and that his patience was able even gladly to have encountred Hell it self, ἡχάριν, faith he in the ninth of the Romans, I have prayed unto God, I have beg'd it at his hands, as a favour, that for the increafe of his glory through the Salvation of Israel my Kinsmen, according to the flesh, I might become a cast-away, and endure the pains of eternal fire. Tertullian considering the wonder-
derful patience of our Saviour upon his cross; thinks that if
there had bin no other argument to prove him to be God, yet this
alone had been sufficient. Hanc vel maximè, Pharisei Dominum
agnoscere debuitis: patientiam hujusmodi nemo hominum perpetraret.
In like manner may we truly say were there no other argument
to prove that Christ doth dwell in us, doth mightily stren-
then and enable us, yet this wonderful measure of patience in
so finite a creature, could never subsist, if God were not in us of
a truth.

Again ἑκοτω, this word of doing here in my text, signifies not
only sufferings, and patience, this were to make a Christian but a
kind of Stone: A Christian hath not only a Buckler to resist,
but he must have a Sword to strike. Wherefore this word of
doing, must signify yet further, some action and life; And so
indeed it doth: For it notes unto us the most glorious and emi-
nent kind of Christian action, Victory and Conquest; and when
my Apostle here faith, I can do all things, his meaning is, I can over-
come and conquer all things. And here is the second and most glo-
rious part of Christian Omnipotency; Never was any true Chri-
tian overcome or can he; For look how much he yields unto his ene-
my, so much he fails of his profession and title. David complains of
Joab and his Brethren; These sons of Zeruiah are too strong for me.
But, Beloved, a Christian man finds none of these sons of Zeruiah,
whom he needs to fear, or of whom he needs to complain. For as
Aristotle tells us that a magnanimous man is he, ἄνεσις μεγάλα, who thinks nothing great, but conceits all things as inferior to
himself: So may we define a true Christian to be such a one as to
whom nothing is dreadful, in whose eye nothing under God
carries any shew of Greatness, S. Paul hath left us a Cata-
logue in the end of the eight to the Romans, of all the forces, out-
ward and inward, bodily and ghostly, that can be mustred ag-
ainst us, life, death, Angels, principalities, powers, things pre-
fent, things to come, height, depth, any creature imaginable and
pronounces of them, that in all these we are Conquerors, Con-
quers is too mean a word ἐπερνοῦμεν, we are more then Con-
quers, μελ ἐπολίς ἀπὸς ἠνεὶ ἐνοὲν πνευμ, καὶ ἔσωτεν, saith
Saint Chrysostome, we conquer them with ease, without any pains

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or sweat? Paucas victoria dextrar — exiguit, we shall not need to bring forth against them all our forces; a small part of them will be sufficient to gain the day; and not only overcome them, but turn them to our benefit and behoof. For sin is like unto Sampson's Lyon: it comes upon us with open mouth to devour us; but when we have slain it, we shall finde hony in the belly of it, wonderful therefore is the power of a Christian, who not onely overcomes and Conquers, and kills the viper, but like the skillful Apothecary makes Antidote, and Triangle of him. Indeed our Adversaries seem to be very great. S. Paul calls them by wonderful names, as if he meant to affright us: powers, principalities, bodon, depths, the Prince that ruleth in the Air, the God of this world, and what not? Yet notwithstanding as one speaks in Livie of the Macedonian war, as I remember: non quae magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaverit victoriam; we must not think there will be any doubt of the Victory, because it is a war of great name, and noise; For me thinks, I discover in our Apostle, when he ues these strange astonishing words, a spiritual stratagem: by which to stir us up, and make us stand upon our guard, he makes the largrest report of our enemies forces. We read that one of the Roman Captains, perceiving his Souldiers unneccessarily to faint draws out letters before them, and reads the news of that which never was, of, I know not what Kings with Armies and multitude coming forthwith against them, which art of his did much avail him to gain the victory; because it made the Souldiers to recollect themselves, and fight withal their might. Beloved, I may not think, that the Apostle in making this report of our enemies forces, relates that which is not, but this, I think, I may safely say that he makes the most of that which is; For it can never hurt us to take our enemie, to be as strong as he is; or peradventure stronger, for this is a very profitable error, it makes us more wary, and provide our selves the better. But to flight, and contemn our enemy, to erre on the contrary side, and think him to be weaker then he is, this hath caused many an overthrow. It is a rule which Vigetius gives us: Difficilium vincitur, qui verè potest de suis, & de adversariis copias judicare. It is an hard matter
matter to overcome him that truly knoweth his own strength, and
the strength of his adversary. And here, beloved, is the error
of most Christians; we do not know of what strength we are.
We look upon this body of ours, and suppose that in so weak
and faint a subject there cannot subsist so great strength, as we
speak of; as if a man should prize the liquor by the baseness of
the vessel in which it is. As divers Landlords have treasures hid-\n
den in their fields, which they know not of, so many of us have this


treasure of omnipotency in us, but we are not to discover it, & to

know it, did we but perfectly know our own strength and would

we but compare it with the strength of our enemies: we should

plainly discover, that we have such infinite advantage above

them, that our conquest may seem not to be so great, as is pre-
tended. For the greater the advantages are, the glory of the victo-

ry is the less: and that which makes a conquest great, is not so

much the greatness of him that Conquers; as the strength and
greatness of him that is overthrown. Now what proportion is

there betwixt the strength of God himself dwelling in us, and

all the strength of Heaven, Earth, and Hell besides, how then

can we count this spiritual war so fearful, which is waged

upon so unequal terms. In quo si modo congressus cum hoste sis,
viceris, in which if we but give the onset, we are sure to gain the
victory: resistit se vicisse est; To resist is to conquer for so faith
the Apostle, Resist the Devil and he shall flee from you. There was

never yet any Christian conquer'd, that could not: and in this
war not to yield the victory, is to get it. As therefore one spake
of Alexander's expedition into India: Benè ausus est vana contem-

nere; the matter was not much, which he did, the greatest
thing in it was, that he durst do it: so considering our strength,
and the weakness of our adversaries, we may without prejudice
speak even of the worthiest Souldiers, that ever fought
these Spiritual Battels, Benè ausi sunt vana contemnere. The


greatest thing that we can admire in them is, that they durst do
it. Would we but a little examine the forces of our adver-
saries, we should quickly finde it to be as I have said; When
Alcibiades a young Gentleman of Athens was afraid to speak be-
fore the multitude, Socrates to put him in heart, asks him; Fear
you faith he, such a one? and names one of the multitude to him;

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No faith Alcibiades, he is but a Tradesman; Fear you such a one, faith he, and names a second; No for he is but a Peasant: or such a one, and names a third? No, for he is but an ordinary Gentleman? Now faith he, of such as these doth the whole multitude consist: and by this device, he encouraged Alcibiades to speak: He that shall fear to encounter the multitude, and army of Spiritual adversaries which are ready to set themselves against him: Let him do by himself as Socrates did by Alcibiades. Let him sit down and consider with himself his enemies one by one, and he shall quickly discover their weakness, Primi in prælis vincunt oculi. Its a laying that the first thing that is overcome in a Soldier, is his eye, while judges of his enemy, by his multitude, and provision, rather then by his strength. Beloved, if we judge not of our adversary in gross, and as it were by the eye: we shall easily see, that we shall not need to do as the King in the Gospel doth, tend to his enemy with conditions of peace; For there is no treaty of Peace to be had with thefe, Had Zimri peace that flew his Master, faith the Scripture: And there is no peace unto the wicked faith my God. Not only Zimri and the wicked but no Christian hath or can have peace, he must be always as fighting and always conquering: Let us single out some one of this army and let us examine his strength, Is it sin doth so much affright us? I make choice of it, because it is the dreadfuleft enemy that a Christian hath: Let us a little consider its strength and we shall quickly see, there is no such need to fear it. Sins are of two sorts, either great and capital, or small and ordinary sins. I know it were a paradox in nature to tell you that the greatest and the mightieft things are of leaft force. Yet this is true in the case we speak of: the greatest things are the weakeft. Your own experience tells you that rapes, and murthers, parricide, poisoning, treason and the rest of that rabble of arch sins, are the sins of the feweft, and that they have no strength at all but upon the weakeft men. For doubtles if they were the strongest, they would reign with greatest latitude, they would be the commonest, they would be the sins of the most: But wandring thoughts, idle words, petty lusts, inconsiderate wrath, immoderate love to the things of the world, and the rest of that
swarm of ordinary sins, these are they that have largest extent and Dominion, and some of these, or all of these, more or less prevail with every man. As the Magicians in Exodus, when they saw not the power of God in the Serpents, in the blood in the frogs; at the coming of the plague of the Lice presently cryed Digitus Dei his est; this is the finger of God: so I know not how it comes to pass, though we see and confess that in those great and hainous crimes, the Devil hath least power, yet at the coming of Lice, of the rout of smaller and ordinary sins, we presently yield our selves captives and cry out Digitus Diaboli: the strength of the Devil is in these, as if we were like unto that fabulous rack in Plinie, which if a man thrust at with his whole body, he could not move it, yet a man might shake it, with one of his fingers. Now what an error is it in us Christians, when we see the principal and captain sins so easily vanquish, to think the common Soldier or lesser fort invincible? For certainly if the greatest sins, be the weakest, the lesser cannot be very strong; Secondly is it Original corruption that doth so much affright us. Let us consider this a little, and see what great cause we have to fear it. And first beloved let us take heed that we seem not oxiaexyer, to fight with our own fanatic, and not so much to finde, as to fain an enemy: Mistake me not, I beseech you, I speak not this as doubting that we drew any natural infection from the loins of our Parents: but granting this, I take it to be impossible to judge of what strength it is, and deny that it is any such cause why we should take it to be so strong, as that we should stand in fear to encounter it, and overcome it: For we can never come to discover, how far our nature is necessarily weak. For whilest we are in our infancy, and as yet not altered a puris naturalibus from that which God and nature made us, none of us understand our selves: and ere we can come to be of years to be able to discover it, or define any thing concerning the nature of it, custom, or education either good, hath much abated, or evil, hath much improved the force of it, so that for any thing we know the strength of it may be much less then we suppose, and that it is but a fear that makes it seem so great, ais deflai phioces plionex taw oivov avapladtvov dunavai;
faith Chrysostome. It is the nature of timorous and fearful men evermore to be framing to themselves causless fears, I confess, it is a strange thing, and it hath many times much amazed me, to see how ripe to sin many children are, in their young and tender years: and ere they understand what the name of Sin and evil means, they are unexpectedly and no man knows by what means, wonderfully prompt and witty to villany, and wick-edness; as if they had gone to school to it in their mothers womb. I know not to what caufe to impute this thing; but I verily suppose, I might quit original sin from the guilt of it: For it is a ruled cafe, and concluded by the general consent of the Schools, that original sin is alike in all: and S. Paul seems to me to speak to that purpose, when he faith, that God hath alike concluded all under sin, and that all are alike deprived of the glory of God. Were therefore Original sin the cause of this strange ex-orbitancy in some young children, they should all be so: a thing which our own experience teaches us to be falfe: For we see many times even in young children many good and gracious things, which being followed with good education, must needs come to excellent effect, In pueris elucet spes plurimum, faith Quintilian, que ubi emoritur atae, manifestum est, non defecisse naturam sed curam: In children many times an hope of excellent things appears, which in riper age for want of cherishing, fades and withers away: A certain sign that nature is not so weak as Parents and Tutors are negligent: whence then comes this difference? Certainly not from our Nature, which is one in all: but from some other caufe. As for Original sin, of what strength it is I will not discus: only thus much I will say there is none of us all, but is much more wicked, then the strength of any Pri-mitive corruption can contrain. Again, let us take heed that we abuse not our selves, that we use not the names of original weakness, as a stale, or flaking-horse as a pretence to choak, and cover somewhat else: For oftentimes when evil education, wic-ked examples, long custome, and continuance in sin hath bred in us an habit, and necessity of sinning, prefently Original sin, and the weakes of mans nature bear the blame: Ubi per se-cordian, vires, tempus, ingenium, defluxere, nature insirmitas accusa-tur;
tur, When through sloth and idlenes, luxurie and distemper, our time is lost, our bodies decay'd, our wits dull'd, we cast all the fault on the weakness of our nature; That Law of sin in our members, of which S. Paul spake, and which some take to be original corruption; S. Austin once pronounced, of it (whether he meant to stand to it, I know not, but so he once pronounced of it) Lex peccati est violentia consuetudinis; That Law of sin, that carries us against our wills, to sin, is nothing else, but the force and violence of long custome and continuance in sin: I know, that by the error of our first Parents the Devil hath blinded, and bound us more then ever the Philistines did Samson. Yet this needs not to make us thus stand in fear of Original weakness: For blinde and bound as we are, let the Devil build never so strong, yet if our hair be grown, if Christ do strengthen us, we shall be able Samson-like to bear his strongest pillars, and pull down his house about his ears.

Thirdly, is it the Devil that we think so strong an adversary? Let us a little consider his strength; he may be considered either as an inward enemy, suggesting unto us sinful thoughts: or as an outward enemy, lying in wait to afflict us in body, in goods, or the like. First, against us inwardly, he hath no force of his own; From our selves it is, that he borrows this strength to overthrow us. In Paradise, he borrowed the Serpent to abuse us, but now every Man is that Serpent, by which himself is abused. For as Hannibal having overthrown the Romans took their armour and fought against them with their own weapons. So the Devil arms himself against us with our own strength, our senses, our will, our appetite: with these weapons, he fights against us, and uses us against our selves; Let us but recover our own again and the Devil will be disarm'd: Think you that the Devil is an immediate stickler in every sin that is committed? I know ye do. But take heed, least this be but an excuse to unload your faults upon the Devil, and to build them upon his back. For S. Chrysostome thought otherwise, & γάρ δέ πάλαι, εὐτὸς καλασκεύας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ, καὶ ἀπὸ μῖν γένεται η τεθειάς ἤις ἰθήες. The Devils hand says he, is not in every fault, many are done meerly by our own carelessness ὅ δὲ δεῖν ναῦ.
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A negligent careless person sins, though the Devil never tempt him. Let the truth of this lie where it will, I think I may safely speak thus much, that if we would but shut up our wills and use that grace of God which is offered. I doubt not but a great part of this suggesting power of his, would fall to nothing; as for that other force of his, by which he lies in wait to annoy us outwardly, why should we so dread that? Are there not more with us both in multitude and strength to preserve us? The Angel of the Lord (faith the Psalmist) pitches his tents round about those that fear him, to deliver them. And the Apostle assures us, that the Angels are ministering Spirits, sent forth for those, that shall be heirs of Salvation; shall we think, that the strength of those to preserve, is les than that of the evil Angels to destroy? One Carcas writing upon the Meteors, told me long since, that whereas many times before great tempests, there is wont to be heard in the air above us great noise, and rushing, the cause of this was the banding of good, and evil Angels, the one striving to annoy us with tempests, the other striving to preserve us from the danger of it. And I doubt not, but as about Moses body, so about every faithful person, these do contend, the one to hazard, the other to deliver. Yea, but the Devil inspires into us evil thoughts: well, and cannot good Angels inspire good; they are all for any thing appears, by the law of their creation equal, and shall we think that God did give unto the Devil an inspiring faculty to entangle, which he denied to his good Angels to free us? Though good Angels could not inspire good thoughts, yet God both can and doth. So that for any thing yet appears, we have no such cause to stand in fear of the strength of the Devil, either inwardly or outwardly. Thus have I examined the force of three of our principal enemies; I could proceed to examine other particulars of this armie of our adversaries, the world, the flesh, persecutions, and the rest, and make the like question of them, as I have done of these, and to conclude as Socrates did to Alcibiades. If you have just cause to fear none of these, why should you fear them all, since that of such as these the whole knot of them consists? But I must proceed to search
search out yet another meaning of this word of doing in my text; and that briefly.

Thirdly, therefore we may take this word of doing in its largest sense: as if the Apostle had meant literally, that indeed a Christian can do all things, that he had such a power and command over the creature, as that he could do with it, what he lift. In which sense it is likewise true, though with some limitation, and here is the third degree of our Christian Omnipotency. In the former parts the omnipotence of a Christian suffered no restraint: it was unlimited, unconfin'd. He is absolutely omnipotent in his patience, and can suffer all things: he is likewise absolutely omnipotent in battle, and can conquer all his enemies. But in this third signification, his power seems to be strengthned: for how many things are there which no Christian man can do? Yet is he so strengthned, as that his Omnipotency suffers not. We are taught in the Schools, though God be omnipotent, yet many things may be named, which he cannot do: he cannot deny himself, he cannot lie, he cannot sin, he cannot die. Yet may we not conclude, that therefore God is not Omnipotent; for therefore is he the more omnipotent, because he cannot do these things: for ability to do these things, is imperfection, and weakness, but in God we must conceive nothing but what argues perfection and strength. In some degree we may apply this unto our selves, in things that tend to Christian perfection, every christian is omnipotent; he cannot raise the dead, turn water into wine, speak with tongues. True, but if he could, had he for this any further degree of perfection above other Christians? Our Saviour seems to deny it: For many ( faith he ) at that day shall come and say, have we not cast out Devils, and wrought miracles in thy name, and he will answer them, away, I know you not. Beloved, our Saviour loves not to slight any part of Christian perfection: yet my meaning is not to deny unto a christian the power of doing miracles, for every christian man doth every day greater miracles, then yet I have spoken of. But beloved, in this matter of miracles, we do much abuse our selves; for why? Seems it unto us a greater miracle, that our Saviour once turn'd a little water into wine, then every
year in so many Vine-trees to turn that into wine in the branches; which being received at the root was meer water; or why was it more wondersfull for him once to feed five thoulards with five Loaves: then every year to feed the whole world, by the strange multiplication of a few seeds cast into the ground? After the same manner do we by the dayly actions of christian men. For why is it a greater miracle to raife the dead, then for every man to raife himself from the death of sin, to the life of righteousness? Why seems it more miraculous to open the eyes of him that was born blinde, then for every one of us to open the eyes of his understanding, which by reason of original corruption was born blinde. For by the same finger, by the same power of God, by which the Apostles wrought these miracles, doth every christian man do this: and without this finger, it is as impossible for us to do this, as for the Apostles to do the miracles they did, without the assistance of the extraordinary power of Christ. So that hitherto in nothing are we found inferior unto the chief Apostles: what if there be some things we cannot do? Shall this prejudice our power? It is a saying in Quintilian oportet Grammaticum quadem ignorare. It must not impeach the learning of a good Grammarian to be ignorant of some thing: for there are many unnecessary quillets, and quirks in Grammar, of which to purchase the knowledge, were but loss of labour and time. Beloved, in the like manner may we speak of our selves. Oportet Christianum quadem non posse, it must not disparage the power of a Christian, that he cannot do some things. For in regard of the height, and excellency of his profession, these inferior things, which he cannot do, they are nought else but Grammar quirks, and to be ambitious to do them, were but a nice, minute, and over-superstitious diligence. And yet a christian if he lift, may challenge this power, that he can do all things; yea, even luch things as he cannot do. Saint Austin answering a question made unto him, why the gift of tongues was cealed in the Church; and no man spake with that variety of languages, which divers had in the Primitive times: wittily tells us, that every one may justly claim unto himself that miraculous gift of tongues. For since the Church, which is the bo-
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dy of Christ, of which we are but members, is far and wide
dispers'd over the earth, and is in sundry nations, which use
sundry languages, every one of us, may well be said to speak
with divers tongues; because in that which is done by the whole,
or by any part of it, every part may claim his share. Beloved,
how much more by this reason, may every one of us, lay a far
director claim to an absolute power of doing all things, even in
its largest extent, since I say not some interior member, but
Christ, who is our head, hath this power truly resident in him.
Howsoever therefore in each member, it seems to be but partial,
yet in our head it is at full; and every one of us may assume
to our selves this power of doing all things, because we are sub-
ordinate members unto that head, which can do all things, but
I must leave this, and go on to the remainder of my Text.

Hitherto I have spoken first of the person, I. Secondly, of
his power can do, I should by order of the words proceed in the
third place, unto the subject or object of this power pointed out
unto us in this word πάντας ἄλλα ἔργα. But the subject of this
Christian power hath been so necessarily wrapped up, and tied
together with the power; that for the opening of it, I have been
constrain'd to exemplifie at large, both what this πάντας, this
all things is, and how far it doth extend: so that to enter upon
it a new, were but to trouble you with repetition of what is al-
ready sufficiently opened. I will go on therefore unto the se-
cond general of my Text. For here me thinks that question
might me asked, which Dalilah asked of Sampson: Tell me I pray
thee, wherein this great strength lieth. Behold, beloved it is ex-
pressed in the last words, through Christ that strengtheneth.

This is as I told you that hair, wherein that admirable strength
of a Christian doth reside. I confess, I have hitherto spoken of
wonderful things, and hardly to be credited; wherefore μὴ το
παρέδοθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς καθαροῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθάλμους;
least the strangeness of the argument call my credit into question.
Loe here I present unto you the ground of all this: A small matter sometimes seems
wonderful till the cause of it be discovered, but as soon as we
know the cause, we cease to marvel: how strong forever my
$
Christian Omnipotency,
discourse of Christian Omnipotency doth seem, yet look but upon this cause, and now nothing shall seem incredible. For to doubt of the omnipotency of a Christian, is to question the power of Christ himself. As the Queen of Sheba told King Solomon, that she had heard great things of him in her own country, but now she saw truth did go beyond report, so, beloved, he that travels in the first part of my Text, and wonders at the strong report of a Christian man's power. Let him come to the second part, to our Solomon, to him that is greater than Solomon, to Christ, and he shall finde that the truth is greater than the fame of it; for if he that was possess'd of the evil spirit in the Gospel, was so strong, that he being bound with chains and fetters, he brake them all; of what strength must he be then, whom it pleaseth Christ to enable, or what chains or fetters shall be put upon him, which he will not break? From this doctrine therefore that Christ is he, that doth thus enable us, we learn two lessons, which are as it were two props to keep us upright, that we lean not either to the right hand, or to the left. First, not to be dejected or dismay'd, by reason of this outward weakness and baseness, in which we seem to be. Secondly, not to be puffed up, upon opinion and conceit of that strength, and glory which is within us and unseen. For the first, for our own outward weakness, be it what it will, we cannot be more weak, more frail than Gideon Pitches; now as in them their frailty was their strength, and by being broken they put to flight the army of the Midianites: so where it pleases Christ to work, that which seems weakness shall become strength, and turn to fight the strongest adversary, Satis sibi copiarum cum Publio Decio, & nunquam nimium Hostium fore, said one in Livie, we may apply this unto our selves: be we never so weak, yet Christ alone is army and forces enough, and with him, we can never have too many enemies. The flesh indeed is weak; for our Saviour tells us, yet this weakness of the flesh is no prejudice at all to the strength of a Christian; for though the flesh be weak, yet the spirit is strong, and so much our Saviour tells us too: and why then do we not follow the stronger part?
part? Si spiritus carne forti.or, quia generosior, nostra culpa infirmiora seclamur, faith Tertullian. If the spirit be stronger then the flesh, what madness is it in us to make choice of, and follow the weaker side?

Nulla siles unquam miseros elet amicos.

Which of you is so improvident, as in a faction, to make choice of that side, which he sees to be the weakeft, and which he knows must fall. Again, this weakness of a Christian is only outward, within what he is, the words of my Text do sufficiently shew. Socrates outwardly was a man of deformed shape, but he was one of an excellent spirit; and therefore Alcibiades in Plato compares him to an Apothecaries box, which without had painted upon it, an Ape or a Satyr, or some deformed thing, but within was full of sweet and precious ointment. Thus beloved it is with a Christian, whatsoever outward deformity he seems to have, howsoever he seems to be nothing but rags without, yet he is totus purpureus, all scarlet and glorious within: I have said, ye are Gods, faith the Scripture, the Magistrate is wont to ingrosse, and improper this Scripture to himself; because fitting in place of Authority, for execution of Justice, he carries some resemblance of God: but to whom can this Scripture better belong then to the Christian man? For the magistrate carries indeed some shew of God without, but many times within is full of corruption and weaknesses; the Christian carries a shew of weaknesses without; but within is full of God and Christ. The second thing which I told you, we learnt was a lesson teaching us, not to be puffed up with opinion and conceit of our own inward strength and glory: for if any man, because of this, shall begin to think of himself, above what he ought, let him know that he may say of his exceeding strength, no otherwise then the man in the book of Kings, spake, when his axe was fallen into the water; Alas Master, it was but lent. Those that
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that build houses make Anticks, which seem to hold up the beams, whereas indeed as St. Paul tells the Olive branch; Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee: So is it true in them, they bear not up the house, the house bears up them. Beloved, seem we never so strong, yet we are but Anticks, the strength, by which the house of Christ doth stand; is not ours, it is Christ's, who by that power, by which he is able to subdue all things to himself, doth sustain both himself and us.

FINIS.

Luke
And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray and not to faint.

Y Text is like the Temple at Hierufalem: It is the house of prayer, wherein we may learn many special points of the skill and practice of it. Now as that Temple had two parts; First, the Forefront the porch, the walk before it; and secondly the Temple it self: So have these words likewise two parts; First, there are words which stand before like a porch or walk, and they are these, And he spake a parable unto them: Secondly, here are words like unto the Temple it self: That men ought always to pray, and not to faint. If you please before we enter into the Temple, or speak of these words, That men ought always to pray, Let us stay and entertain our selves a little in the porch, and see what matter of meditation it will yield; And he spake a parable unto them, &c. To instruct and teach the ignorant, no method no way so speedy and effectual as by parables and Fables Strabo gives the reason of it φιλεύθηκεν ὑπὸ ᾿Ανθρώπος προοιμίου δι' ἕτη το φιλάθλου; For man is a creature natural desirous

to know but it is according to the proverb, as the Cat desires fish, loath to touch the water, loath to takes the pains to learn, knowledge is indeed a thing very pleasant; but to learn is a thing harsh and tedious above all the things in the world; the book which Saint John eats in the tenth of the Apocalypse was in his mouth sweet as honey but bitter in his belly. Beloved those Librorum bellumones students that like S. John eat up whole volumes, these finde the contrary: For in the mouth in the perusal, their books are harsh and unpleasant; but in the stomach when they are understood, and digested then are they delightful and pleasurable: yet one thing by the providence of God our nature hath which makes this rough way to learn more plain and easy: it is quibus modis, common experience shews, we are all very desirous to hear narrations and reports either pleasant or strange: Wise men therefore and God himself which is wiser then men being to train up mankind Genus indolcile, a subject dull of hearing, and hardly drawn to learn, have from time to time wrought upon this humor, upon this part of our disposition and mitigated, sugred as it were the unpleasantness of a difficult, and hard lesson with the sweetness of some delightful parable or fable: And S. Chrysostome tells us of a Physician, who finding his patient to abhor Physick, but infinitely long for wine, heating an earthen cup in the fire, and quenching it in wine, put his potion therein, that so the sick person being deceived with the smell of wine, might unawares drink of the Physick: or that I may better draw my comparison from Scripture, as when Jacob meant to be welcome to his father Isaack, he put on his brother Esau's apparel and so got access: So beloved, wise men when they meant either to instruct the ignorant, or to reprove offenders to procure their welcome, and make their way more passable, have been wont for the most part, as it were to clothe their lesson or reproof in a parable, or to serve it in a dish favouring of wine, that so Jacob might be admitted under Esau's coat, that the smell of the pleasantness of wine might draw down the wholesome-ness of Physick: Great and singular have been those effects which this kind of teaching by parables hath wrought in men, by informing their ignorance, reprob-ing their error, working patience.
And he spake a Parable, &c. 143
tience of reproof; opening the understanding, moving the af-
fections and other sovereign commodities, 
And for this cause not only our Poets, and pro-
fane Authors, but whole cities, and men which gave Laws to
Common-wealths have made especial choice of this course;
Yea, our Saviour Christ himself hath filled the Gospels with
parables, made them like a Divine and Christian Aesop's Fables,
because he found it to be exceeding profitable. For first of all it
is the plainest and most familiar way, and above all other stumps
to the capacity of the learner, as being drawn either from trees,
or beasts, or from some ordinary common and known actions of
men: As from a shepheard attending his flock, from an husband-
man sowing corn in his field, from a fisher casting his net into
the Sea, from a woman putting leaven into her dough, or the
like. So that in this respect a parable is like Moses Tabernacle
which outwardly was nothing but goats skins, or some ordinary
stuff, but within it was silk, and purple and gold. And indeed
since those we teach are either children or ignorant persons who
are but children (ιδιώτικος ὁ πᾶς καὶ ἀπαλλέλων ἵππον 
παις ἂν, for every man in what he is ignorant is no better than a
child), that manner of information fits best, which is most ea-
sie and familiar: Again, a parable is a kind of pattern and ex-
ample expressing unto us what we heare; Now nothing doth
more illustrate and explain than instance and example ἀντι
πλαν οὐκ ἂν, in a parable as it were upon a stage, the thing that
we are taught is in a manner acted, and set forth before our
eyes. Secondly, parables do not only by their plaines open the
understanding but they work upon the affections, and breed de-
light of hearing by reaon of that facetenels and wittiness which
is many times found in them, by reaon of which they infinuate
themselves, and creep into us, and ere we are aware work that
end for which they were delivered: who is not much moved
with that parable of Jotham in the book of Judges, that the trees
went forth to chuse a king, or that of Menenius Agrippa in Livie,
that the parts of the body conspired against the belly, by which
the one shewed the wickedness of the men of Sesehim against
the
the sons of Gideon, the other the folly of the common people in conspiring against the Senators and noble-men. And no marvel beloved, if this faceteness of parables doth thus work with men, since it seems to have had wonderful force with God himself. For when the Canaanitish woman in the Gospel had long importuned our Saviour in the behalf of her daughter, and our Saviour had answered her with that short cutting and reproachful parable; *It is not meet to take the childrens bread and cast it unto dogs,* the facetely and wittily retorts and turns upon our Saviour his own parable. *Truth Lord, faith she, yet dogs do eat the crumbs that fall from their masters Table: be it that I am but a dog: I require no more then is due to a dog: even the crumbs that fall from your table, with which speech our Saviour was so far taken, as that he seems to have been stricken into a wonderment: for he presently cries out, *O woman great is thy Faith.* Thirdly, there is one thing that this way of instruction by parable hath above all other kindness of teaching. It serves excellently for reproof; for man is a proud creature, impatient of plain and open check and reprehension: *πολλακις απαλησις δεν: many times no way of dealing with him, when he hath offended, but by deceiving him with wiliness and craft, ὅτι εἰς εὐθείας προσενεχθεὶς κακὰ μεγάλα τὸν ἐκ απαληθεστα εἰργαστο: he that comes rudely and plainly to reprehend, doth many times more hurt then good. I speak not this only in regard of ministerial reprehension, used by the preacher of the word: but of all other: for to reprove offenders is a common duty, and belongs to every private man as well as to the Minister. St. Austin in his book *de civitate Dei,* handling the question, why in common calamities the good do bear a part as well as the evil, amongst many other reasons gives this as a special one, that good men are not careful enough in reproofing the errors of their offending brethren, but by connivency and silence in a manner partake in their sins, and as it were by consent, make them their own. It shall not be amiss therefore, even for you of the Laity to hear something concerning this art of reprehension, as a duty concerning you as well as the Preacher. For the wisdome and gentleness of a Christian is never better seen, then in reproving.
Now one common error of reprehenders is their over-blunt, and plain manner of rebuking, *dum sic objurgent quasi oderint*, while they reprove the vice, as if they hated the person, and upbraid rather then reprehend. By this our importunity we destroy more sinners then we save. It is an excellent observation in St. Chryfotome, *νομίζω δὲ ἐπειδὴν ἀπερευβίζως βιαζῆν εἰς ἄναγνισίαν ἑκατεῖς*, unsealable and importunate reprehenders make offending persons, *depudere* to steal their forehead, and to set a good face upon their fault, as the phrase of the world is, and to seek our excuses and Apologies for their sinne. Tully tells us, that *Antonie* the Orator being to defend a person, who was accused of faction and sedition, bent his wits to maintain sedition was good, and not to be objected as a fault. That we force not our offending Brethren unto this degree of impudence, let us consult with our charity; and know the quality and nature of the offender. Husbandmen tell us, that the young and tender branches of a Vine are not to be prun'd away with a knife, but gently pull'd away by hand. Beloved, before we reprove, let us know the condition of our brother, whether he be not like the young Vine soft and tender, and so to be cured rather with the hand, then with the knife: and if he be grown so hard, that he shall need the knife, we must not rashly adventure of it, but know there is a skill likewise in using the knife; as *Ehud* in the book of Judges, when he went to kill Eglon carries not his Dagger in his hand, but comes unto him with a present, and had his Dagger girt privately under his garment, or as a skilful Physician of whom we read, being to heal an impostume, and finding the sick person to be afraid of Lancing, privately wrap't up his *knife in a spunge*, with which whilst he gently smoothed the place, he lanced it: so beloved, when we encounter our offending Brother, we must not openly carry the Dagger in our hand, for this were to defie our Brother: but we must wrap our knife in our spunge, and lance him whilst we smooth him: and with all sweetnefs, and gentlenesse of behaviour cure him; as *Esay* the Prophet cur'd *Hezekias*, by laying a plaister of Figs upon the fore. Men when they have offended are like unto fire, we must take heed how we come too near them;
them; and therefore as the Cherubim in the book of Esays prophetic takes a cole from the Altar with the tongs: so when the prophets dealt with them, they did not rudely handle them with their hands; but they came upon them warily under parables, as it were with the Cherubins tongs. How could Nathan have come so near unto King David, and drawn from him an acknowledgement of his sin, had he not come with the Cherubins tongs, and deceived him with a parable, or how should the prophet made King Ahab see his error in letting go King Benhadad, if he had not as it were put a trick upon the King, and disguised both himself and his speech, and mask’d his errand with the parable of him, who let go the prisoner that was committed to his charge. So that in this respect, if we would define a parable we must pronounce it to be Piam fraudem a civil or spiritual Stratagem, by which persons who need instruction are honestly and piously beguiled for their own profit. No marvel therefore, if our Saviour Christ in his preaching doth every where drive upon parables. For being to deliver to us so many lessons, so strange, so uncouth, so hard to learn, it was meet he should make choice of that method of teaching, which hath most likelihood to prevail and commend them unto us. The doctrine which our Saviour in my text labours to beat into us, is the continuing and perpetuating of our prayer and religious meditation. A lesson hard to be attained, and therefore thrice he commends it unto us; once by example, twice by parable, both of them very effectual means to teach: by example of that importunate Canaanitish woman in the 15. of Saint Matthew: by parable first in the 11. of Luke, of him that lying warm in his bed, and loath to rise, yet at his Friends importunity gets up, and lends him bread: and secondly, by the parable of the unjust Judge here in my text.

But all this while I must not forget, that I am but in the περακόσιον the Porch, and entrance into the Temple, where to walk too long, were, if not to loose, yet to abuse my time. Let us now therefore enter into the temple itself, and consider the main words of my text: That men ought always to pray, and not to faint: which words have a double meaning. First, there is Sen-
And he spake a Parable, &c.

Su quern faciunt; there is a sense which the words themselves yield as they lie. Secondly, Sensus quo siant, the sense and meaning in which the Holy Ghost intended and spake them. If we look upon the sense which the words themselves do give; it seems we are advised by them to be like Anna the Prophetess in the second of Luke, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day. In all places, at all times, in season, out of season, upon occasion, upon no occasion, perpetually without intermission to pray. For thus the words do run, that we ought always to pray, and not to faint. But if we look upon the sense in which the Holy Ghost spake these words, and consider what was his intent, when he wrote them, we shall finde that the lesson which we are hence to learn is, that we be like unto Jacob in the book of Genesis, wraffle with God, and tell him to his face, That we will not let him go till he hath given us his blessing. That we become like bold fact's suitors or impudent beggars that will not be put by with a denial; but when we have powred out our supplications unto God, and finde his ear lockt up against us, yet to commence them again and again, and the third time; yea, without any fainting or giving over, till by a kinde of importunate and unmanerly devotion we have constrain'd God to let a blessing fall: and that this was the intent of the Holy Ghost in this place, it appears upon the very reading of the parable. I will briefly speak unto you of both these senses in their order, and first of the sense which the words do give. That we ought always without intermission to pray. Devotion in ordinary persons is a thing easily raised, and easily alayed, Every strange event, every fear, every little calamity or distres is enough to put us into a strain of religious meditation, but on the contrary side, a small matter doth again as quickly kill it. It seems to be like a quotidiean Ague, it comes by fits, every day it takes us, and every day it leaves us: or like flax or straw, or such light and drie stuffe, which easily kindles, and as soon goes out. Indeed it is a good thing when we finde our hearts thus tender, and upon every occasion ready to melt into devotion: for as to be quick of sense is a sign of life, and the purest and best complexions are quickest
of sense: so it is a great argument of spiritual life in us, and of purity of soul, when we are evincit, so easily apt to fall upon devour meditation. But our Saviour requires yet another quality in our devotion: it must be as lasting as it is quick. Quintilian advises his Orator to beware how he stand too long upon a place of passion: because that passion is not lasting, & nihil facilior lacrymis in arcescit; and men cannot long weep. But beloved our Saviour gives other precepts of Christian Oratory: he wills, if we will prevail with God to insist and dwell long upon a place of religious passion, and provide that our tears may be perpetual and never drie: an hard thing you will take it to be; yet certainly it is very possible. There is a question raised among the great masters of Natural learning, whether or no there may be a lamp so provided, that it may burn for ever. And they think it may be done: beloved, our Saviour here teaches to practise that in spirituals, which hath been but a matter of speculation in Naturals, even so to kindle and dress our lamps, as that they shall never go out, but be like unto the good Hufwifes candle in the Proverbs, that goes not out by night, or rather like the sun which shines for evermore. Daniel is said to have kindled this lamp, and to have made his prayer thrice a day, David seven times a day, but this is not enough; for in that the one is noted to have prayed seven times a day, the other thrice: It is likely at other times they did not pray, but God is not contented with this Intermittent prayer; for if we look upon my text, we shall see that there must be no instant free from prayer: we must not measure our prayers by number. Number is a Discrete quantity as we call it, the parts of it are not connex, are not ryed together, there is a separation, a distance betwixt them. That that measures out our prayer must be line and length, some continued quantity, whose parts have no separation, no intermission: For so faith my text, men ought always to pray. Always, the whole life of a man ought to be but one continual prayer. But let us a little consider how possible this is, and see if there be any thing, that doth necessarily enforce intermission of prayer. And first, that wonderful lamp of which I but now told you great Schollers had spoken, is not yet made,
And he spake a Parable, &c.

made, because they are not agreed of what matter to make it. And indeed in the world, things either are not at all, or being, do at length cease to be, either because there is no fit matter whence they may be framed, or else the matter of which they are made, vanishes and dies. But beloved, prayer is a strange thing, it can never want matter: It will be made dvebeye l

xæs e qualibet out of any matter, upon any occasion whatsoever, whatsoever you do, wheresoever you are, doth minister occasion of some kind of prayer, either of thanksgiving unto God for his goodness, or of praying, and admiring his greatness, or of petitioning to him in case of want or distress, or bewailing some fin or neglect committed. Is it the consideration of God's benefits, that will move us to thankfulness? Then certainly our thankfulness ought to be perpetual, there is no person so mean, no soul so poor, and distressed and miserable, but if he search narrowly, he shall finde some blessing, for which he owes thankfulness unto God. If nothing else, yet his very misery and distress is a singular blessing, if he use it to that end for which it was sent. Is it the consideration of distress and affliction, and some degree of the curse of God upon us that will stir our devotion? Indeed this is it with most men that kindles the fire of prayer in our hearts. Men for the most part are like unto the unflak't Lime, which never heats till you throw water upon it; so they never grow warm in devotion till somewhat contrary to their wishes and disposition begins to afflict them: then certainly our petitions to God ought never to cease. For never was there man in any moment of his life entirely happy, either in body, goods, or good name, every man hath some part of affliction? Blessing and cursing, though they seem to be enemies, and contrary one to another, yet are never severed, but go hand in hand together. Some men have more of one, some of another, but there is no man but hath some part of both; wherefore as it seems not only prayer in general, but all kind, all sort of prayer ought to be continual. Prayer must not be, as it were of one thread, we must blend and temper together all kind of prayer, our praise or thanks, our sorrow, and make our prayer like Josephs particolored Coat, like a beautiful garment of sundry
fundry colours. So then as fire, goes not out so long as it hath matter to feed on, so what shall be able to interrupt our devotion which hath so great and everlasting store of matter to continue it.

Secondly, many things in the world are necessarily intermitted, because they are tied to place or times; all places all times are not convenient for them; but in case of prayer it is otherwise, it seeks no place, it attends no time; It is not necessary we should come to the Church, or expect a Sabbath or an holy-day, for prayer indeed especially was the Sabbath ordained, yet prayer itself is Sabbothless, and admits no rest, no intermission at all: If our hands be clean we must as our Apostle commands us lift them up everywhere at all times and make every place a Church, every day a Sabbath, every hour Canonical, εἰς ἀνθρώπου ἐν ἡγομένη ἐμπλήκτουν καὶ καθ' ἐκείνη βασιλείας ἐν χάρι ἐπικείσαι ἐκλειστ: As you go to the market, as you stand in the streets, as you walk in the fields in all these places ye may pray as well and with as good acceptance as in the Church. For you your selves are temples of the holy Ghost, if the grace of God be in you more precious then any of those which are made with hands; The Church of Rome hath made a part of her Breviary, or Common Prayer Book, which she calls Itinerarium Clericorum, and it is a set form of prayer, which Clergy-men ought to use when they let out in a journey and are upon their way, why she calls it Itinerarium Clericorum, and impropriates it unto the Clergy, I know not, she might, for ought I see, have called it Itinerarium Laicorum. The Itinerary of the Laity: since it is a duty belonging unto them as well as to the Minister. Yet thus much the example of that Church teaches, that no place no occasion excludes Prayer. We read in our books that one of the Ethnick Emperors was much taken when he saw a woman going in the streets with her vessel of water on her head, her child at her girdle, her spindle in her hand twisting her thread as she went: He thought it a wonderful portion of diligence thus to employ all places and times indifferently. Beloved if it be thus with bodily labor, how much more should it be so with the labor of the soul, which is far more easie and needs not the help
help of any bodily instrument to act it. And how welcome a spectacle will it be think you unto the great King of Heaven and Earth when he shall see that no time, no occasion, is able to interrupt the labour of our devotion? Is it the time of Feasting and Jollity, which seems to prescribe against prayer: Indeed prayer is a grave and sober action and seems not to stand with sport and merriment; yet notwithstanding it is of so pliable a nature, that it will accommodate and fit itself even to feasts and sportings; we read in the book of Daniel that when Belshazzar made his great and last feast to his Princes and Lords that they were merry and drank wine in bowls and prayed the Gods of Gold and Silver, of Brass, and of Iron, of Wood, and of Stone. Beloved, shall Ethnick feasts fine room for their Idolatrous worship, and praise of their Golden, Brazen, Wooden Gods, and shall not our Christian Feasts yield some place for the praise of the true God of Heaven and Earth. Last of all is it time of sleep that seems to give a vacation, and otium to prayer? Beloved, sleep is no part of our life, we are not accountable for things done or not done then. Tertullian tells us that an unclean dream shall no more condemn us then a dream of Martyrdom shall crown us: and the Casuists do teach that loose dreams in the night shall never be laid to our charge if they be not occasioned by lewd thoughts in the day: for they are cogitationes injecundae, non eaque, they are not thoughts springing out, but cast into our hearts by the Devil, upon his score shall they go and we shall not reckon for them: So then though sleep partake not of our devotion, yet this hinders not the continualness of it. Aristoteles tells us that men who sleep perceive not any part of time to have passed; because they tie the last moment of their watching with the first moment of their awaking, as having no sense of what past betwixt, and so account of it, as one continued time. Beloved, if we do with our devotion, as we do with our time, if we shut up the last instant of our watching with a prayer, and resume that prayer at the first instant of our waking, we have made it one continued prayer without interruption.

Thirdly, and last of all the greatest reason why many busineses of:
of the world cannot be acted perpetually, is because they must give room to others, *unicum arbus tum non alit duos Erith aco s*: The actions of the world are many times like unto quarrelsome birds, two of them cannot peaceably dwell in one bush. But prayer hath that property which Aristotle gives unto substance *nuli e ffe contrarium*, it is at peace and holds good terms with all our cares of the world. No business so great, or that so much takes up the time and minde of a man as that it needs exclude prayer: It is of a soft and sociable nature, and it can incorporate and sink into our business like water into Ashes and never increase the bulk of them: It can mix and interweave it self with all our cares without any hinderance unto them: Nay, it is a great strength and improvement unto them, ἦστε γὰρ δεῖ τὰς πλάνθες ὑπωθομνοὺς μελλοντες, &c. For faith S. Chrysostome as they that build houses of clay, must every where place studs and pieces of timber and wood to to strengthen the building, οὐκ ἔγνως διασκέδασεν ἀνακτίνως καθάπερ ἠμαθήσατο τοιο ἐνσαλὼν τῷ συνεχείᾳ τῶν ἐν χαλὶ διαλαμεδένειν δει, so all our cares of this life, which are no better then buildings of dirt and clay we must strengthen and compact together with frequent and often prayer, as with bonds and props of tumber: Let no man therefore think it, μεγά λίαν ἀντιμα, that it is too much to require at the hands of men at one and the self same instant both to attend their vocation and their prayer: For the minde of a man is a very agile and nimble substance, and it is a wonderful thing to see how many things it will at one moment apply it self unto without any confusion or let. Look but upon the Musician while he is in his practice, he tunes his voice, fingers his Instrument, reads his ditty marks the note, observes the time, all these things simul & semel at one and the same instant without any distraction or impediment: Thus should men do in case of devotion & in the common acts of our vocation let prayer beare a part: For prayer added unto diligent labor is like a sweet voyce to a well tuned Instrument and makes a pleasing harmony in the ears of God, ἥξεις καὶ γυναικα ἡλαχάτων κατέχεσαν καὶ ἰσεργήσαν ἀναβλήθαι εἰς τὸν ἑαυτὸν τῇ διάνοιᾳ καὶ καλέσαι μετὰ θερμοστηθὰ τὸν ὑδών;

The
The good Huswife faith St. Chrysostome, as she sits at her distaff, and reaches out her hand to the flax, may even then lift up, if not her eyes, yet her minde unto Heaven, and consecrate and hallow her work with earnest prayer unto God. "Arator fulvis temens Hallelujah secantet, sedans melior Psalmis se se evocat & curvæ attendens falsa vites visitor aliquid Davidicum canit." The Husbandman (faith St. Hierome) at the Plough-tail may sing an Hallelujah, the sweating Harvest-man may refresh himself with a Psalm, the Gardiner while he prunes his Vines and Arbors, may record some one of David's sonnets. The reason of this pliable nature of prayer is, because it is a thing of another condition, then the acts of the world are. It requires no outward labour of the body, no outward fashion and manner of doing, but is internally acted in the soul itself, and leaves the outward members of our bodies free to perform those offices which require their help. Our legal busines in the world must be done in certain forms of breves and writs, and I know not what variety of outward ceremony, or else it is not warrantable. But prayer, beloved, is not like an obligation or indenture, it requires no outward solemnity of words and ceremony. Quaint, witty, and set forms of prayer proceed many times from ostentation more than devotion: for anything I know, it requires not so much as the moving of the lips or tongue. Nay, one thing I know more, that the most forcible prayer transcend and far exceeds all power of words. For St. Paul speaking unto us concerning the most effectual kind of prayer, calls it τὸν δήμαρχον τοῦ μωσίου, sighs and groans that cannot be expressed. Nothing does cry so loud in the ears of God, as the sighing of a contrite and earnest heart, we read in the 14. of Exodus, that God speaks unto Moses, why criest thou unto me, command the children of Israel that they go forward: yet there appears not in the text any prayer that Moses made, or word that he spake. It was the earnestness of Moses heart, that was so μεγαλόμοιμα, that did so found in the ears of the Lord. Wherefore true prayer hath no commerce with the outward members of the body, ędzi τῷ παραπότῳ χρείας ὡς διανοῶς ἡ ἑκτάσις χεριῶν ὡς συντεταμένης ὑπὸ χειρός ἤ δὲ χρυσάτῳ, ἀλλὰ φαντασίατο, for it requires
not the voice, but the minde, not the stretching of the hands, but the intention of the soul; not any outward shape or carriage of body, but the inward behaviour of the understanding. how then can it slacken your worldly business and occasions; to mix with them sighs and groans, which are the most effectual kindes of prayer. And let this suffice concerning the first meaning of the words; I will briefly speak concerning the second meaning which I told you was the tense intended by the Holy Ghost when he wrote, and it is an exhortation to a religious importunity in our prayers: not to let our suits fall, because they are not presently granted, but never to leave soliciting, till we have prevailed, and so take the blessings of God by violence, Gratissima vis. This force, this violence is a thing most welcome unto God; for if the importunity of Esau's fall, feigned, and malicious tears drew a blessing from his Father Isaac, who yet had no greater store of blessings, as it seems, how much more shall the true religious importunity of zealous prayer pull a blessing out of the hands of God, who is rich in blessings above the sands of the Sea in multitude? It is the Courtiers rule, that over modest suitors seldome speed. Beloved, we must follow the same rule in the Court of Heaven: intemperate bashfulness gets nothing there. Qui timide rogat, docet negare. Faint asking does invite a denial; will you know the true name of the behaviour which prevails with God; St. Luke in his xi. Chapter calls it áναιξβλαύντω, and St. Chrysostome speaking of the behaviour of the Canaanitish woman in the 25. of St. Matthew tells us, Καὶ ἀναίξβλαύνσε τὴν ἀναίξβλαυν, ἀναιξβλάυνε, improbity, importunity, impudence, these be the names of that person & behaviour, which you must put on, if you mean to prevail in your suits with God. And indeed, if we consider that habit and manner, that God is wont to put on, when his children do become suitors unto him, how he puts on a rigid, rough and untractable carriage, even towards his dearest children, even then when he means them most good, we shall plainly see, we must use such kindes of behaviour, if we will prevail with him, for the more effectually to express this demeanor of God toward his children, and to assure us it is so, and to teach us importunity,
our Saviour Christ, that great Master of requests, may seem to
have done himself some wrong; first, by drawing in a manner
odious comparisons, and likening the behaviour of God in these
cases to a slothful friend, that is loath to leave his warm bed,
to do his friend a pleasure, and here in my text to an unjust
Judge, that fears neither God nor man; and secondly, by his
own behaviour toward the Canaanitish woman. It is strange to
observe, how though he were the meekest person that ever was
upon earth, yet here he strives as if were to unnaturalize him-
self, and lay by his natural sweetness of disposition, almost to
forget common humanity, and puts on a kind of sullen, and
fury person of purpose to deter her: you shall not finde our Sa-
vior in all the New Testament in such a mood, so bent to con-
temn and vilifie a poor suitour. St. Austin comparing together
St. Matthew and Mark, who both of them record the same sto-
ry, and gathering together the circumstances out of them both,
tells us, that first he follows our Saviour in the street, and that
our Saviour takes house as it were to shelter himself from her,
but she comes after, and throws her self at his feet: and he as
offended with her importunity, again quits the house to be rid
of her, and all this while deigns her not a word. If any beha-
viour could have daught a suit, and broken the heart of a poor
suitor, this had been enough, but here's not all, we have a civil
precept, that if we be not disposed to pleasure a suitour, yet to
give him good words and shape him a gentle answer, it is hard
if we cannot afford a suitour a gentle word. We read of Tib'e-
vius the Emperour, (as I remember) that he would never suf-
fery any man to go fad and discontented from him, yet our Savi-
our seems to have forgot this part of civility, being importun'd
to answer her, gives her an answer worse than silence, and
speaks words like the piercing of a sword, as Solomon speaks, I
may not take the children's bread and cast it unto dogs. And yet after
all this strange copie of countenance, he fully subscribes to her
request. Beloved, God hath not only expressed thus much in pa-
rables, and practised these strange delays upon Canaanitish wo-
men, but he hath acted it indeed, and that upon his dearest
Saints. David one of the worthieft of his Saints, yet how pas-
nonately
onately doth he cry out, *How long Lord wilt thou forget me? How long shall I seek counsel in my soul and be vexed in my heart.* Not only the Saints on earth, but even those in heaven do seem to partake in this demeanor of God; we read in the book of the Revelation that when the souls of the Martyrs under the Altar cried out, *how long Lord just and holy dost thou not avenge our blood from off the earth?* they received this answer, *have patience yet a little while.* It is storyed of Diogenes, that he was wont to supplicate to the statues, and to hold out his hands and beg of them, that so he might learn to brook and devour denial, and tediousness of suit. Beloved, let us but meditate upon these examples, which I have related, and we shall not need to practice any of the Cynics art. For if the Saints and blessed Martyrs have their suites so long depending in the Courts of Heaven then good reason that we should learn to brook delays, and arm our selves with patience and expectation, when we finde the ears of God not to open to our requests. When Josephs brethren came down to buy corn, he gave them but a course welcome he spake roughly unto them, he laid them in prison; yet the text tells us that his bowels melted upon them and at length he opened himself, and gave them courteous entertainment. Beloved, when we come unto God as it were to buy corn, to beg at his hands such blessings as we need though he speak roughly, though he deal more roughly with us, yet let us know he hath still Josephs bowels, that his heart melts towards us, and at length he will open himself, and entertain us lovingly. And be it peradventure that we gain not what we look for: yet our labor of prayer is not lost. The blessed souls under the Altar of which I spake but now, though their petition was not granted, *yet had they long white garments given them.* Even so, beloved, if the wisdom of God shall not think it fit to perform our requests, yet he will give us the long white garment; something which shall be in lieu of a Suit; though nothing else, yet patience and contentment which are the greatest blessings upon earth.
John 18. 36.

Jesus answered, my Kingdom is not of this world: If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, &c.

S in the Kingdomes of the world, there is an art of Courtship, a skill and mystery teaching to manage them: so in the spiritual Kingdom of God, and of Christ, there is an holy policie; there is an art of spiritual Courtship, which teaches every subject there, how to demean and bear himself. But, as betwixt their Kingdomes, so betwixt their arts and Courtship, betwixt the Courtier of the one, and the Courtier of the other, there is, as Abraham tells the rich man in St. Luke, μεγενηκωμός, a great distance, a great difference, and not only one, but many. Sundrie of them I shall have occasion to touch in the proces of my discourse; mean while I will single out one, which I will use as a prologue, and way unto my text. In the Kingdomes of earthly Princes, every subject is not fit to make a Courtier; yea, were all fit, this were an honour to be communicated only unto some: Sic opus est mundo. There is a necessity of disproportion and inequality between men and men: and were all persons equal...
equal the world could not confit: Of men of ordinary fashion and parts some must to the Plough, some to their Merchandize, some to their Books, some to one Trade some to another: only δ χαλεντες και πρασινοι, as Aristotle calls them, men of more then common wit and ability, active, choice, pickt out of a thousand, such must they be that bear honors, attend on Princes persons, and serve in their Courts. The Scripture tells us that when King Solomon law that Jeroboam was an active, able, and industrious young man, he took him and made him ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph. Again, when David invited old Barzillai to the Court, the good old man excuses himself: I am, faith he, fourscore years of Age, and can thy servant taft what I eat, or what I drink: can I bear any more the voyce of singing men and singing women: Lo here my son Chimham, he shall go with my Lord the King, and do with him as shall seem good in thine eyes. Jeroboam and Chimham, strong and able, and active persons such are they that dwell in Kings houses: of the rest some are too old, some too young, some too dull, some too rude, or by some means or other unfit for such an end. Thus fares it with the honors of the world, they seem to participate of envy, or melancholy, and are of a solitary disposition they are brightest when they are alone, or but in few make them common and they loose their grace, like lamps they may give light unto few, or to some one room, but no farther. But the honors in the Court of the great King of Heaven, are of another nature, they rejoice in being communicated, and their glory is in the multitude of those that do partake in them. They are like unto the Sun that rises non homini sed humano generi: not to this or that man, but to all the world; In the Court of God no difference between Jeroboam and Barzillai, none too old, none too young: no indisposition, no imperfection, makes you incapable of honors there; Be but of his Kingdom, and you are necessarily of his Court: Every man who is a subject there, is a Courtier; yea, more then a Courtier, he is a Peer; he is a King, and hath an army of Angels at his service to pitch their tents about him, to deliver him; a guard of Ministring Spirits sent out to attend him for his safety.
It shall not therefore be unseasonable for the meanest person that hears me this day to hear as it were a Lecture of Spiritual policy and Courtship: For no Auditory can be unfit for such a lesson. Aristotle was wont to divide his lectures and readings into Acroamatical, and Exoterical, some of them contained only choice matter, and they were read privately to a Select Auditory: others contain'd but ordinary stuff and were promiscuously and in publick exposed to the hearing of all that would. Beloved we read no Acroamatick Lectures: The secrets of the Court of Heaven (as far as it hath pleased the King of Heaven to reveal them) lie open alike to all. Every man is alike of his Court, alike of his Council: and the meanest among Christians must not take it to be a thing without his Sphere, above his reach, but must make account of himself as a fit hearer of a lesson in Spiritual and saving policy; since if he be a subject in the kingdom of Christ, he can be no less then a Courtier.

Now the first and main lesson to be learned by a Courtier, is how to discover and know the disposition, & nature of the Lord, whom he is to serve, and the quality of that Common-wealth in which he bears a place, ad consilium de republica dandum caput est. That therefore our heavenly Courtier may not mistake himself, but be able to fit himself to the place he bears. I have made choice of these few words, which but now I read, words spoken by the King of that Common-wealth, of which I am to treat, unto such as mean to be his Liege-men there: words which sufficiently open unto the Christian polititian the state and quality of that Court in which he is to serve: My kingdom is not of this world, for if it were then would my servants fight; which words seem like the Parthian horfmen, whose manner was to ride one way, but to shoot another way, they seem to go apace towards Pilate, but they aim and shot at another mark, or rather like unto the speaker of them unto our Saviour himself when he was in one of the Villages of Samaria, Luke the ninth, where the text notes that though he were in Samaria, yet his face was set towards Hierusalem: so beloved, though those words be spoken to a Samarian to an infidel to Pilate, yet their face is toward Hierusalem.
A Sermon on S. John 18. 36.

Iem, they are a lesson directed to the subjects of his Spiritual Kingdom of that Hierusalem which is from above and is the Mother of us all. In them we may consider two General parts. First, a Denunciation and message unto us; and Secondly, a signe to confirm the truth of it. For it is the manner and method as it were which God doth use, when he dispatches a message, to annex a signe unto it, by which it may be known. When he sent Moses to the Israelites in Egypt, and Moses required a signe, he gave him a signe in his hand, in his Rod; when he sent Gideon against Midian he gave him a signe in the Fleece of Wool which was upon the Floor; when he sent the Prophet to Hieroboam to prophesie against the Altar in Bethel, he gave him a signe that the Altar should rend, and the ashes fall out, when he sent Esay with a message to King Ahaz, he gave him a signe; Behold a Virgin shall conceive: So Beloved in these words, There is a Message, There is a Signe: The first words are the Message; My Kingdom is not of this world, &c. The next words, For if it were then would my servants fight, &c. These are Moses rod and Gideons Fleece they are the signe which confirm the Message. The first part is a general proposition or Maxime: the second is an example, and particular instance of it. For in the first our Saviour distinguishes his Kingdom from the kingdoms of the world, and from all the fashions of them. In the second, amongst many other he chuses one instance, Wherein particularly he notes, that his Kingdom is unlike to earthly kingdoms. For the kingdoms of the world are purchased and maintain'd by violence and blood, but so is not his. The reason why our Saviour fastens upon this reason of dissimilitude and unlikeness is, because in gaining and upholding temporal Kingdomes, nothing so usual as the sword and war. No Kingdom of the world, but by the sword is either gotten or held, or both. The sword in a secular common wealth is like the rod in a School, remove that away and men will take their liberty. It is the plea which the Tarquins used to King Porfenna in Livie. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis, nisi quantà vidisses civitates eam expetant tantà regna reges defendant, aquare summa insimis
My Kingdom is not of this world, &c.

Infinis adeffe finem regnis rei inter Deos hominesq; pulcherrima. The taste of liberty is so sweet, that except Kings maintain their authority with as great violence, as the people affect their liberty, all things will run to confusion; and Kingdomes which are the goodliest things in the world, will quickly go to wrack: when God gave a temporal Kingdom unto his own people, he sent Moses and Joshua before them to purchase it with the sword, when they were poftlef of this Kingdom, he lends then Gideon and Sampson, and David, and many worthies more to maintain it by the sword. But now being to open unto the world another kinde of Kingdom, of rule and government, then hitherto it had been acquainted with; he tells us, that he is a King of a Kingdom which is erected and maintained not by Joshua and David, but by Peter and Paul, not by the sword, but by the spirit, not by violence, but by love, not by striving, but by yielding, not by fighting, but by dying. Pilate had heard, that he was a King. It was the accusation which was fram’d against him, that he bare himself as King of the Jews; But because, he saw no pomp, no train, no guard about him, he took it but as an idle report. To put him therefore out of doubt, our Saviour assures him, that he is a King, but of such a Kingdom as he could not skill of: My Kingdom is not of this world, &c. For the better unfolding of which words; first we will consider what the meaning of this word Kingdom is, for there lies an ambiguity in it. Secondly, we will consider what lessons for our instruction the next words will yield, Not of this world; first of this word Kingdom.

Our Saviour is a King three manner of wayes, and so correlative hath three distinct several Kingdomes. He is first a King in the largest extent and meaning which can possibly be imagined, and that is, as he is Creator and absolute Lord of all creatures. Of this Kingdom, Heaven, Earth, and Hell are three large provinces. Angels, Men, and Devils, his very enemies, every creature visible and invisible are subjects of this Kingdom. The glory and strength of this Kingdom consists least of all in men, and man is the weakest part of it. For there is scarcely a creature in the world, by whom he hath not been conquer'd.
conquer'd. When Alexander the great had travelled through India, and over-run many large provinces, and conquer'd many popular Cities; when tidings came, that his Soldiers in Greece had taken some small towns there, he scorn'd the news, and in contempt, me thinks (said he) I hear of the battel of Frogs and mice. Beloved, if we look upon these huge armies of creatures, and consider of what wonderful strength they are, when the Lord summons them to battel; all the armies of men, and famous battels, of which we have so large histories in the comparison of these, what are they, but a σατέρχομομαχία, but Homer's tale, a battel of Frogs and Mice. Infinite legions of Angels attend him in Heaven, and every Angel is an Armie: one Angel in the Book of Kings is sent out against the army of the Assyrians, and in one night four-score thousand persons die for it. Base and contemptible creatures, when God calls for them, are of strength to conquer whole Countreys. He over-runs Egypt with his armies of Frogs, and Flies, and Lice, and before his own people with an armie of Hornets chases the Canaanites out of the Land. Nay, the dull and senseless elements, are up in arms when God summons them. He shoots his Hail-shot; with his Hail-stones from Heaven he destroyes more of the Canaanites, then the Israelites can with their swords. As for his armies of fire and water, what power is able to withstand them; every creature, when God calls, is a soldiery. How great then is the glory of this Kingdome of which the meanest parts are invincible. Secondly, again our Saviour is a King in a more restrain'd and confin'd sense, as he is in Heaven attended on by Angels, and Arch-angels, powers, principalities, and all the heavenly hostes. For though he be omnipresent and fills every place both in Heaven and Earth; yet Heaven is the Palace and Throne of this Kingdome, there is he better seen and known, there with more state and honour heaved, and therefore more properly is his Kingdome said to be there. And this is called his Kingdome of glory. The rules, and laws, and admirable orders of which Kingdome, could we come to see and discover, it would be with us, as it was with the Queen of Saba, when she came to visit Solomon, of whom the Scripture notes; that
when she heard his wisdome, and had seen the order of his serv-
vants, the attendance that was given him, and the manner of his table. There was no more Spirit left in her. Beloved, Dum Spiritus hoc regit artus. Whilest this Spirit is in us, we cannot pellibly come to discern the laws and orders of this Kingdome, and there-
fore I am constrained to be silent.

Thirdly, our Saviour is a King in a sense, yet more impropi-
ated. For as he took our nature upon him, as he came into the world to redeem mankinde, and to conquer Hell and death, so is there a Kingdome annexed unto him; A Kingdome, the purchase whereof cost him much sweat and blood, of which neither Angels, nor any other creature are a part, only that remnant of man-
kinde, that E rebutus titio. That number of blessed Souls, which like a brand out of the fire, by his death and passion he hath recovered out of the power of sin; and all these alone are the subjects of that Kingdome. And this is that, which is called his King-
dome of Grace, and which himself in Scripture every where calls his Church, his Spouse, his Body, his Flock: and this is that King-
dome, which in this place is spoken of, and of which our Savi-
our tells Pilate. That it is not of this world; My Kingdome is not of this world.

Which words at the first reading, may seem to favour of a little imperfection; for they are nothing else but a Negation or denial. Now our Books teach us, that a Negation makes nothing known; for we know things by discovering not what they are not, but what they are: yet when we have well examin’d them, we shall finde that there could not have been a speech delivered more effectual for the opening the nature of the Church, and the discovery of mens errors in that respect. For I know no error so common, so frequent, so hardly to be rooted out, so much hinder-
ing the knowledge of the true nature of the Church, as this, that men do take the Church to be like unto the world. Tully tells us of a Musician, that being asked what the Soul was, answ-
red, that it was Harmonie, et is ( faith he ) à principis artis sua non recepit. He knew not how to leave the principles of his own art. Again Plato’s Schollers had been altogether bred up in Ar-
ithmetick, and the knowledge of numbers, and hence it came,
that when afterward they diverted their studies to the knowledge of Nature, or Moral Philosophy; whatsoever they walked, they still tended to themselves some what like unto Numbers: the world they supposed was fram'd out of numbers, Cities, and Kingdomes, and Common-wealths they thought stood by numbers, Number with them, was sole principle and creator of every thing. Beloved, when we come to learn the quality and state of Christ's Kingdom, it fares much with us, as it does with Tullies Musician, or Plato's Schollers, difficultier à principis artis nostræ recedimus. Hardly can we forfake those principles, in which we have been brought up. In the world we are born, in it we are bred, the world is the greatest part of our studie, to the true knowledge of God and of Christ, till we fancy unto us something of the world. It may seem but a light thing that I shall say, yet because it seems fitly to open my meaning, I will not refrain to speak it: Lucian, when Priam's young son was taken up into heaven, brings him in calling for milk and cheese, and such country cates as he was wont to eat on earth. Beloved, when we first come to the Table of God, to heavenly Manna and Angels food, it is much with us, as it was with Priam's young son, when he came first into Heaven, we cannot forget the milk and cheese, and the gross diet of the world. Our Saviour and his blessed Apostles had great and often experience of this error in men; when our Saviour preach't to Nicodemus the doctrine of regeneration, and new birth, how doth he still harp upon a gross conceit of a re-entry to be made into his mothers womb. When he preach't unto the Samaritane women concerning the water of life, how hardly is she driven from thinking of a material Elementary water, such as was in Jacobs well. When Simon Magus in the Aths law, that by laying on of hands, the Apostles gave the Holy Ghost, he offers them money to purchase himself the like power. He had been trafficking, and merchandizing in the world, and saw what authority, what a Kingdome money had amongst men: he therefore presently conceitedolum venale Deumque: that God and Heaven, and all would be had for money. To teach therefore the young Courtier in the Court of Heaven that he commit no such Solecisms, that hereafter he speak the true language,
My Kingdom is not of this world, &c. 165

Language, and dialect of God, our Saviour lets down this as a principal rule in our Spiritual Grammar: That his Court is not of this world; Nay, beloved not only the young Courtier, but many of the old servants in the Court of Christ are stain'd with this error. It is storied of Leonides, which was School-master to Alexander the great, that he infected his non-age with some vices, que robustum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt prosecta, which followed him then, when he was at mans estate. Beloved the world hath been a long time a School-master unto us, and hath stain'd our nonage with some of these spots which appear in us, even then when we are strong men in Christ.

When our Saviour in the Acts after his Resurrection was discourseing to his Disciples concerning the kingdom of God, they presently brake forth into this question, Wilt thou now restore the kingdom unto Israel? Certainly this question betrays their ignorance, their thoughts still ran upon a kingdom like unto the kingdoms of the world, notwithstanding they had so long, and so often heard our Saviour to the contrary, Our Saviour therefore shortly takes them up; Non est vestrum, your question is nothing to the purpose; the kingdom that I have spoken of is another manner of kingdom then you conceive. Sixteen hundred years, Et quod Excurrit, hath the Gospel been preached unto the world, & is this stain spunged out yet; I doubt it, whence arile those novel & late disputes, de nois Ecclesie, of the notes & visibility of the Church, Is it not from hence that they of Rome take the world & the Church to be like Mercury and Sofia in Plautus his comedies so like one another that one of them must wear a toy in his cap, that so the spectators may distinguish them; whence comes it that they stand so much upon State and Ceremony in the Church? Is it not from hence that they think the Church must come in like Agrippa and Bernice in the Acts, μετὰ πολλὰς παθασιας, as S. Luke speaks with a great deal of pompe, and train and shew, and vanity, and that the service of God doth necessarily require this noise; and tumult of outward State and Ceremony. Whence comes it that We are at our wits ends, when we see persecution, and sword, and fire to rage against the true professors of the Gospel? Is it not because, as these bring ruine and defolation upon the kingdoms of the world; so we suppole-
pose they work no other effect in the kingdom of Christ; all these
conceits and many more of the like nature spring out of no other
fountain, then that old inveterate error which is so hardly wiped
out of our hearts; that the State of the Church and Kingdom of
Christ doth hold some proportion? Some likenesses with the state
and managing of temporal kingdoms; wherefore to pluck out of
our hearts, Opinionem tam instam, tam vetustam, a conceit so ancient,
so deeply rooted in us, our Saviour spake most excellently, most
pertinently, and most fully when he tells us that his Church, that
his Kingdom is not of this world.

In which words of his, there is contained the true art of disco-
verying and knowing the true nature and essence of the Church.
For as they which make Statues, cut and pare away all superflu-
ties of the matter upon which they work, so our Saviour to shew
us the true proportion and feature of the Church, prunes away
the world and all superfluous excrescencies, and sends her to be
seen as he did our first Parents in Paradise, stark naked; As those
Elders in the Apocryphal story of Susanna, when they would see her
beauty, commanded to take off her mask: So he that longs to see
the beauty of the Church, must pull of that mask of the world &
outward shew. For as Juda in the book of Genesis when Thamar
fate vail’d by the way side, knew not his daughter from an whore:
so whilst the Church, the daughter and spouse of Christ vail’d
with the world and pompe, and shew, it will be an hard matter to
discern her from an harlot; But yet further to make the difference
betwixt these kingdoms the more plainly to appear, and the bet-
ter to fix it in your memories, I will briefly touch some of these
heads in which they are most notoriously differentiated.

The first head wherein the difference is seen, are the persons
and subjects of this kingdom; For as the Kingdom of Christ is not
of this world, so the subjects of this Kingdom are men of another
world, and not of this; Every one of us bears a double person,
and accordingly is the subject of a double Kingdom. The holy
Ghost by the Psalmist divides heaven and earth betwixt God and
man, and tells us as for God, he is in heaven, but the earth hath be
given to the children of men: So hath the same spirit by the Apostle
Saint Paul divided every one of our persons into heaven and earth
earth into an outward and earthly man, and into an inward and heavenly man: This earth, that is, this body of clay hath he given to the sons of men, to the Princes under whose government we live, but heaven that is the inward and spiritual man hath he reserved unto himself; They can restrain the outward man, and moderate our outward actions, by edicts and laws, they can tie our hands and our tongues—illa se jaquet in aula Eolus. Thus far they can go, and when they are gone thus far, they can go no farther. But to rule the inward man in our hearts, & souls, to set up an Imperial throne in our understandings, & wills, this part of our government belongs to God & to Christ; These are the subjects, this the government of his Kingdom, men may be Kings of Earth, & bodies; But Christ alone is the King of Spirits and Souls: Yet this inward government hath influence upon our outward actions: For the Authority of Kings over our outward man is not so absolute, but that it suffers a great restraint; It must stretch no further then the Prince of our inward man pleases: for if secular Princes stretch out the skirts of their Authority to command ought by which our souls are prejudiced, the King of Souls hath in this case given us a greater command, That we rather obey God then men.

The second head wherein the difference betwixt these Kingdoms is seen is in their laws; For as the kingdoms & the lawgivers so are their laws very different: First, in their Authors, the laws by which the Common-wealth of Rome was anciently govern'd, were the works of many hands, some of them were Plebiscita the acts of the people, others were Senatus-consulta the decrees of the Senate, others Edicta Praetorum, the verdict of their Judges, others Responda Prudentum the opinions of Wisemen in cases of doubt. Others Re Scripta Imperatorum, the Refcripts and answers of their Emperors, when they were consulted with; But in the kingdom of Christ there are no Plebiscita or Senatus-consulta, no people, no Senate, nor wise men, nor Judges, had any hand in the laws by which it is governed. Only Re Scripta Imperatoris the Refcripts and Writs of our King run here, these alone are the Laws to which the Subjects of this Kingdom owe obedience. Again, the Laws of both these kingdoms differ in regard of their quality and nature; For the laws of the Kingdom of Christ are Eternal,
Substantial, Indispensable, but Laws made by humane authority, are but light, superficial and temporary. For all the humane authority in the world can never enact one eternal and fundamental Law. Let all the Laws which men have made be laid together, and you shall see that they were made but upon occasion, and circumstance either of time, or place, or persons in matters of themselves indifferent, and therefore either by discontinuance they either fell or ceased of themselves, or by reason of alteration of occasion and circumstance were necessarily revoked; Those main fundamental Laws upon which all the Kingdoms of the world do stand, against theft, against murder, against adultery, dishonouring of Parents or the like, they were never brought forth by man, neither were they the effects of any Parliamentary Sessions; they were written in our souls from the beginning, long before there was any authority Regal extant among men. The intent of him who first enacted them was not to found a temporal, but to bring men to an eternal Kingdom; and so far forth as they are used for the maintaining of outward state they are usurped, or at the best but borrowed, So that in this work of settling even the Kingdoms of this world, if we compare the Laws of God with the Laws of men we shall finde that God hath as it were founded the palaces and castles, and strength of them, but men have like little children built houses of clay, and dirt which every blast of wind overturns.

The third head by which they may be seen is in the notes and marks, by which they may be known: For the Kingdoms of the world are confin'd, their place is known, their subjects are discernable, they have badges and tokens, and Arms by which, they are discovered; But the Church hath no such notes, and marks, no Herauld hath as yet been found that could blazon the arms of that Kingdom. Ἀεσκύλης the Poet in his Ἀχιλλαὶ Ἴδε θῆβαίς, describing the captains, that came either for the siege or defence of the City of Thebes in Boeotia brings them in, in their order every one with his shield, and upon his shield some device, and over that device a Motto or word according to the usual fancies of men in that kind; but when he comes to Amphirous, he notes of him that he had no device in his shield, no impress or word, and he gives
My Kingdom is not of this world, &c.

gives the reason of it; because he affected not to shew, but to be that which others profess. But to carry marks and notes and devices, may well be seen the world which is led by fancy and shew; but the Church is like Amphiarus, she hath no device, no word in her shield, mark and essence with her are all one, and she hath no other note but to be. And but that learned men must have something to busie their wits withal these large discourses de nois Ecclesiae, of the notes and marks by which we may know the Church might very well lie by as containing nothing else but doctas ineptias, Laborious vanities, and learned impertinences. For the Church is not a thing that can be pointed out: The Devil could shew our Saviour Christ all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them, I hope the Church was none of these; It is the glory of it not to be seen, and the note of it to be invisible; when we call any visible company of professors a Church it is but a word of courtesy. Our of charity we hope men to be that which they do profess, and therefore we so speak as if they were indeed that, whose name they bear, where and who they are that make up this kingdom, is a question unfit for any man to move: For the Lord only knoweth who are his. It is but popish madness to send men up and down the world to finde the Church; It is like unto the Children of the Prophets in the second of Kings, that would needs seek Elias or like the nobles in Hierusalem, that would needs go seek Jeremie the Prophet, but could not finde him, because the Lord had hid him: For in regard of the profession; The Church (as our Saviour speaks) is like a City set upon an hill, you may quickly see and know what true Christianity is. But in regard of the persons the Kingdom of Heaven is, as our Saviour again tells us like a treasure hidden in a field. Except the place of their abode, and their persons were discernable, who can tell, we go thus to seek them, whether we do not like falle hounds hunt Counter (as the hunters phrase is) and so go from the game, when Saul went to seek his Fathers Asses, he found a Kingdom: Let us take heed leaft the contrary befal us, leaft while we seek our Fathers Kingdom thus, we finde but Asses. Will you know where to find the Kingdom of Christ, our Saviour directs you in the Gospel, The Kingdom of Heaven, faith he, cometh not by observation, nei-
there shall ye say, Lo here, or lo there, but the Kingdom of Heaven is with
in you: Let every man therefore retire into himself and see if he
can finde this kingdom in his heart; For if he finde it not
there, in vain shall he finde it in all the world besides.

The fourth head wherein the difference of these kingdoms is
seen is outward state and ceremony; for outward pompe and shew
is one of the greatest stays of the Kingdom of this world. Some
thing there must be to amaze the people, and strike them into
wonderment, or else Majesty would quickly be contemned. The
Scripture recounting unto us King Solomon's Royalty tells us of his
Magnificent buildings, of his Royal throne, of his servants, and his
attendants, of his cup bearers, of his meats, and these were the
things which purchased unto him, the reputation of Majesty, a-
bove all the Kings of the earth. Beloved, the Kingdom of Christ
is not like unto Solomon in his Royalty, It is like unto David when
he had put of all his Royalty, and in a linen Ephod danced be-
fore the Ark: and this plain and natural simplicty of it, is like
unto the Lillies of the field, more glorious then Solomon in all his
Royalty. The Idolatrous superstititions of Paganism stood in great
need of such Pompous Solemnities, Ut opinionem suspendio cognitionis edificant, atq; ita tantam majestatem exhibere videantur quam a
prestruxerunt cupiditatem, as Tertullian tells us; For being nothing
of themselves, they were to gain reputation of being something
by concealment, and by outward state make shew of something
answerable to the expectation they had raised: The care of the
kingdoms of the world is the same: For all this State and Mag-
nificence used in the Managing of them is nothing else but Secu-
lar Idolatry, used to gain veneration, and reverence unto that
which in comparison of the Kingdom we speak of is meer vanity.
But the scepter of the Kingdom of Christ is a right scepter, and
to add unto it outward state, and riches, and pomp, is nothing
else but to make a Centaure, marry and joyn the Kingdom of
Christ with the Kingdom of the world, which Christ expressly
here in my text hath divorced and put a funder. A thing which I
do the rather note; because that the long continuance of some
ceremonies in the Church, have occasioned many especially of
the Church of Rome, to think that there is no religion, no ser-
My Kingdom is not of this world, &c. 17

vice without these ceremonies. Our books tell us of a poor Spartan, that travelling in another country, and seeing the beams and posts of houses squared and carved, askt if the trees grew so in those countries? Beloved, many men that have been long acquainted with a form of worship, squared and carved, trickt and set out with new and ceremony, fall upon this Spartans conceit, think the trees grow so, and think that there is no natural shape and face of Gods service but that. I confess the service of God hath evermore some ceremony attending it; and to our Fathers, before Christ may seem to have been necessary, because God commanded it: But let us not deceive our selves, for neither is ceremony now, neither was sacrifice then esteemed necessary, neither was the command of God concerning it, by thole to whom it was given, ever taken to be peremptory; I will begin the warrant of what I have said out of St. Chysoftone; for in his comments upon the tenth of the Hebrews, he denies that ever God from the beginning requireth, or that it was his will to ordain such an outward form of worship; and asking therefore of himself ποιεῖς ἡ τινί ταξις, how then seems he to have commanded it? he answers συναρταβαλων, by condiscending only, and submitting himself unto humane infirmity, now this συναρταβαλων, this condescending of God, wherein it consists Oecumenius opens. For because that men had a conceit, that if was convenient to offer up some part of their substance unto God, and so strongly were they poffefed with this conceit, that if they offered it not up to him, they would offer it up to Idols: God saith he, rather then they should offer unto Idols, required them to offer unto him. And thus was God understood by the holy men themselves, who lived under the shadow of those ceremonies: for David when he had made his peace with God, after that great sin of his opens this mystery. For thou requirest not sacrifice, faith he, else would I have given it thee, but thou delightest not in burnt offerings; The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a troubled and a contrite heart, O God, dost thou not despise. After the revolt of Jereboam and the ten Tribes from the house of David; there were many devout and religious persons in Israel, and yet we finde not that they used the outward form of worship, which was commanded. Elias
A Sermon on S. John 18. 36. &c.

and Elizeus two great prophets in Israel, did they ever go up to Jerusalem to worship, Obadiah a great courtier in King Absas Court, and one that feared the Lord exceedingly; the heaven thousands which bowed not their knees to Baal, when came they up to the Temple to offer. A thing which doubtless they would have done, if they had understood the commandement of God in that behalf, to have been absolute indeed; if we live in places where true religious persons do resort, and assemble for the service of God, it were a sin to neglect it. But otherwise it is sufficient, if we keep us from the pollutions of that place to which we are restrain'd. Quid juvat hoc nostris templis admittere mores? why measure we God by our selves, and because we are led with gay shews, and goodly things, think it is so with God? Seneca reports, that a Pantomimus, a puppet player and dancer in Rome, because he pleased the people well, was wont to go up every day into the Capitol, and practised his Art, and dance before Jupiter, and thought he did the God a great pleasure. Beloved, in many things, we are like unto this puppet-player, and do much measure God by the People, by the World.

FINIS.
A SERMON
On 1. SAM. 24. 5.

And it came to passe afterward, that David's heart smote him, because he had cut off Saul's skirt.

Emptation is the greatest Occasioner of a Christian's Honour: indeed like an Enemy it threatens and endeavours his ruine; but in the conquest of it consists his Crown and Triumph. Were it possible for us to be at league and truce with this Enemy, or to be γύναικές, without danger of Gun-shot, out of its reach, like the Candle in the Gospel that is put under a bushel, the brightest part of our glory were quite obscur'd. As Maximus Tyrinus Spake of Hercules, if you take from him τὰ σέρες ἀληθῶς, the savage beasts that he flew, and the Tyrants whom he supp饰elts, his journeys and labours, ἤποθενέως τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἑρκύλεως, you lop and cut off the manifest Arms and Limbs of Hercules renown. So, take from a Christian his Temptations, his Persecutions, his Contentions, remove him from the Devil, from the World, ἤποθενέως τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξειράσθε, you deprive him of the chief matter and subject of his glory. Take Job from the Dunghill, David from Saul, Daniel from the Lions, the blessed Martyrs from the rack, from the fire, from the sword, and what are they more then other men. As Samson tells Dalilah in the Book of the Judges, If my hair be cut, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and like unto another man; so Beloved, these things are as it were the hair wherein their strength lay, shave that away, and they shall presently become weak, and like unto other men. But Temptations are of two
two forts: some are like profligate and open Enemies, which proclaim open war against us, like Goliath they publiquely come forth and challenge us. And such are the outward Evils that befall us, Loss of Goods, Sickness, Disease, Dishonor, Infamy, Persecutions, and the like. Others there are of a more secret, close, and retired nature, like unto Traytors, that bear the behaviour and countenance of Friends; that spy out their advantage and set privately upon us: the most troublesome kind of Enemies, per quos nec licet esse tanquam in bello paratos, nec tanquam in pace securos: with whom we can have neither peace nor war, and against whom we can neither be provided nor secure, these are our own corrupt Thoughts and Imagination, which secretly lie in our hearts, and watch their times to let on us, as the Philistines did in Dalsilah's chamber to surprize Samsun. For let a man but descend into himself, examine his own soul, take as it were an Inventory of the passions, affections, thoughts of his own heart, look but what the number of them is, and let him make account of so many enemies. Tot venena, quot ingenia; tot perversies quod & species, tot dolores, quot colores; as Tertullian terms it. A sort of Enemies by so much the more dangerous, because that all those outward enemies, of which I but now spake, cannot come so near as to raise our skin, or endanger one hair of our head, if these give them no way: from these our aspis a vepora venenum, as the Asp borrows poison from the Viper, do those other Temptations borrow all their power and strength to hurt us. For let us take a survey of all the outward affections, miseries and calamities, which have befallen all the Saints of God in Holy Scripture, and let us suppose them to be all set and bent against some one alone, yet notwithstanding, as the three children in Daniel walk in the midst of the fire untoucht, or as our Saviour Christ pass'd away through the midst of the people, that were gathered together to mischief him, and throw him down the Hill, shall he be able to pass from them all without any hurt or harm, if some discontented, or distrustful, or despairing, or proud, or angry, or impure and lustful thought do not betray him unto them, and as it were open a door, and let them in. David who is here the subje & of my Text, had very much ado with both sorts of enemies, and by his own experience found, that this latter rank of secret and privy enemies in strength far surpassed the former. For whom neither the Lion
And Davids heart smote him, &c.

Lion nor the Bear, nor Goliab, nor Saul, nor the Philistines could ever fasten upon, or drive to any inconvenience, one lustful thought forced to Adultery and Murder, one proud conceit stirr’d up to number the people, and drew from God great inconveniences and plagues both upon himself and his Kingdom. How careful then ought we to be, and to stand on our guard, and keep a perpetual watch over our hearts, diligently to try and examine our thoughts, Nunquam securo triumphat urbe, sed tantum sollicita premuntur imperio, August. Nor while we live shall we be able perfectly to master, or securely to triumph over them: the only way to suppress and keep them down is, to have a perpetual and careful jealousy of them. Now of this Religious care and watchfulness over our own thoughts, hath the Holy Ghost recorded for our use a notable example in these words, which but now I read, And it came to passe, &c.

To relate unto you at large the occasion of these words, and the story from whence they depend, were but to wrong you, for I cannot think so meanly of your knowledge in Scripture, as that any of you can be ignorant of so famous a passage. Yet thus much for the better opening of my way unto such doctrines, as I shall draw from this Text, I will call back unto your memories, that Saul hunting after David to kill him, unwittingly stept into a Cave where David was; David having now his enemy in his hand, and opportunity to revenge himself, let slip all thought of revenging, and only cuts off privately the lap of his Garment. For this deed so harmless so innocent the Scripture tells us that his heart smote him, that he suffered great anguish and remorse in Conscience for it. That which I will require you to note, is the tenderness of Conscience, and strange scrupuloufness in David for so small an action; for it will yield us a great Lesson. I say it appeareth not by Scripture, that David intended any mischief or treason to Saul, or that he harbour’d in heart any disloyal thought against him. This purpose of cutting off the lap of Saul’s garment was no other than to purchase to himself a harmless and honourable testimony of his Innocency, and to prove unto Saul, that there was no likelihood that he fought his blood, whom he spared, having him at so great an advantage. Yet notwithstanding, as if the rending of Saul’s garment, had been the wounding of Saul’s body, or the shedding of his blood, David stands amazed, and is affrighted at

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A Sermon on 1. Sam. 24. 5.

so honourable, so innocent a thought. His heart smote him, faith the Scripture. As men that have been at sea, and indanger'd through the raging of windes, and tempests, and floods, when afterward the weather is cleared up, the windes allayed, the sea smoothed, and all calm, yet scarcely dare they set sail again, and trust to so uncertain, so fickle an Element: so seems it to have fared with David in this place. He was a man subject to the same passions with other men, and doubtles, through the raging of unruly and disorderly affections, he had many times been in danger of spiritual shipwreck; wherefore licet in morem & fanguis aequor arrideat, and though now he could discover no tempest in his heart, though the face of his thoughts were as smooth as glafs; yet when he looks upon fuch fair and calm affections, his heart misgives him, and he dares not trust them: magnis hic campus montes habet, tranquilitas est a tempestatas ef. The care he hath over his own heart fills him with fufpitions, and flill he thinks, something he knows not what, may be amifs. But I must come unto the words. And it came to pass afterwards, &c.

In these words we will consider these three things.

1. The Person, David, and David's heart smote him.

2. David's Sollicitousness, his care and jealousy, very significantly expressed in the next words; His heart smote him.

3. The caufe of this his care and anxiety of minde in the laft words, Because he had cut off Saul's skirt.

In the first point, that is, in the Person, we may consider his greatness, he was a King in expectation, and alreaday anointed. A circumstance by so much the more considerable, because that greatness is commonly taken to be a Privilege to sin: to be over carefull and conscientious of our courses and actions are accounted virtues for private Persons, Kings have greater busineses then to examine every thought that comes into their hearts. Pater meus obliviscitur se esset Caesaris; ego vero memini me Cesari filiam. It is the anfwer of Julius Augustus the Emperor's daughter, when she was taxed for her too wanton and licentious living, and counsel'd to conform herself to the Sobriety and Gravity of her Father. My Father, faith she, forgets himself to be Caesar the Emperor: but I remember myself to be Caesar's daughter. It was the speech of Ennius the Poet, Plebs in hoc Regi antefac loco; licet lachrimari plebi, Regi honeste non licet: Private men in this have
have a privilege above Princes; but this to do becomes not Princes:
and if at any time these sad and heavy hearted thoughts do surprize
them, they shall never want comforters to dispell them. When
Ahab was for fullness fallen down upon his bed, because Naboth
would not yield him his Vineyard, Jezebel is presently at hand and
asks him, Art thou this day King of Israel? When Amnon pined a-
way in the incestuous love of his Sister Thamar, Jonadab his companion
comes unto him, and asks, Why is the Kings Son sad every day? So that,
as it seems great Persons can never be much or long sad. Yet David
forgets his greatness, forgets his many occasions, gives no ear to
his companions about him, but gives himself over to a scrupulous and
serious consideration of an Action in shew and countenance but light.
Secondly, as the Person is great, so is the care and remorse
congeived upon the Consideration of his action exceeding great,
which is our Second part: And therefore the Holy Ghost express-
est it in very significant terms: His heart smote him, a phrase in scripture
used by the Holy Ghost when men begin to be sensible and repent them
of some sin. When David had committed that great sin of numbring
the people, and began to be apprehensive of it, the Scripture tells
us that Davids heart smote him, when he had commandd Jeab to
number the People. Wherefore by this smiting we may not here
understand some light touch of Conscience, like a grain of powder
presently kindled and presently gone, for the most hard and flinty
hearts many times yield such sparks as these. He that is most fleithe in
sin, commits it not without some remorse; for sin evermore leaves
some scruple, some thing, some lothfulness in the hearts of those
that are most inamour'd of it. But as Simeon tells the blessed Virgin
in St. Lukes Gospell, Gladius pertransibit animam tuam; a sword thall
pierce through thine heart; so it seems to have been with David.
It was not some light touch to raise only the surface and skin of the
heart, but like a sword it pierced deep into him. To teach us one lesson,
that actions spotted, though but with the least suspicion of sin, ought
not carelessly to be past by, or lightly glanced at, but we ought to be
deeply apprehensive of them and bestow grater care and considera-
tion upon them.

The third part of our Text containeth the caufe of Davids remorse
in the last words. Because he cut off Sauls skirt, in the two for mer
parts
parts we had to do with greatness: there was 1. a great person, and
2. great Remorse, can we in this third part find out any great cause
or reason of this, so to make all parts proportionable? Certainly he that
shall attentively read and weigh these first words of my Text, and
know the story, might think that David had committed some notable error, as some great oppression, or some cruel slaughter, or some
such royal sin, which none but Kings and great men can commit. But
believed this my Text seems to be like the Windows in Solomon's Temple,
broad within, but narrow without: or like a Pyramide large and spacious at the Basis and ground of it, but small and sharp at the top.
The Person and Remorse, which are the Ground and Subject of my
Text both are great and large, but the cause which is the very crown
and top of all, that is very small, yea peradventure none at all.
For whether it be that myself accustomed to greater sins, and now
grown old in them, have lost all sense of small and petty errors, or
whether indeed there be no error at all in this action of David, but
only some fancy, some jealousy arising out of that Godly and care-
full watch he kept over all his ways, or whatsoever else it was that
caus'd this scruple or remorse in David, it is a very hard matter to
discover, and yet notwithstanding that we may make more open
pass unto such Doctrines as I shall raise out of these words, let us a
little scan and consider what it was in this action that made David
thus strangely scrupulous.

And first of all was it for that he had touch'd and taken that which
was none of his own, and therefore might seem to fall within com-
pass of the Law against injury and purloining? This seems not probable: for when afterwards in the like case he came upon Saul as he
was sleeping in the Camp, and took from him the Spere and the
pot of Water which stood at his head, we do not read that his heart
smote him, and yet he took what was none of his.

Or 2ly. was it that he did wrong and dishonour Saul in mangling
his garment? Indeed the Jews have a tradition that this was the sin
of which David was here so sensible. And therefore say they, whereas
we read in the first of Kings, that when David grew old they covered
him with clothes, but he got no heat, this was the punishment of his
sin committed against Saul: God so providing that garments should
not be serviceable to him, who had offended in wronging Saul's gar-
ments. But this I must let go as a fable.
And David's heart smote him, &c.

Or 3ly, was it that he had unadvisedly given way to some disloyal thought, and at first resolved to revenge himself on Saul, having him at the advantage, though afterward he repented? Indeed St. Chrysostome thinks so; and therefore on those words at the latter end of the verse next before my Text, And David arose, he notes εἶπεν τὸν Ἰσαῖαν τὸν ἐξίζων ἔχειν. See you not, faith he, what a tempest of rage and anger begins to rise in him; for he supposeth him to arise in heat and fury, with a resolution for blood: but it pleased God in the way, to make him relent and change the purpose of revenge into the Action of cutting off his skirt: and that this smiting of David's heart was nothing else but his repenting himself of giving over hasty entertainment to such a rebellious thought. But beloved, who shall lay anything to the charge of God's else? David's thoughts were known only to God and himself. Since therefore God gives not this as a reason of David's remorse, but another thing; far be it from me, that I should wrong David so far, as to burden him with that, with which none but God can charge him. I rather choose to follow St. Basil's rule: τὸ ἵλος ἐὰν ἀεικράντας, let the Scriptures be understood as they lye. The Scripture tells us, David's heart smote him, because he cut of the skirt of Saul's garment, and not because he had conceived against Saul any thought of blood. But what cause then shall we give of David's remorse, none other. Beloved, but that Religious and careful jealousy which still he had over his own thoughts, which made him pietatis affectu etiam que tuta sunt formidare, Hieron. To suspect all things be they never so safe, and never to think himself secure from the contagion of sin. It was with David as it is wont to be with men that are often troubled with sicknesses and diseases, suspicionibus inquietantur, medicinsque jam sani manum porrigunt, & omne calorem corporis sui calunniantur, Senec. Disturb themselves with every little alteration in their Bodies, repair to the Physicians when they are well, and think every heat to be an Ague fit. Horum corpus non est parum sanum, sed sanitati parum affuevit: these men are not sick, but they do not know what it is to be in health. In the same state is David, he had been often infected with Spiritual weakness and disease, and therefore he suspects every motion of his heart, and takes every thought to be a temptation. Hujus animus non erat parum sanus, sed sanitati parum affuevit, his Soul was not sick of any sin, but he did not know what it was to be in Spiritual health.
For us and for our use hath the Holy Ghost registred this example of scruple and tenderness of conscience. Let us returne to our selves and see what lessons we may learn hence for our behoof. Men usually are either grown old in sin, & therefore their eyesight is decayed, they cannot easilie see and discerne smaller sins: or else as Hagar in the Book of Genesis, laid Ismael afar off from her, that she might not be griev'd with the sight of him: so we labour to lay our sins far out of kenn, that the memory and sight of them might not exasperate and trouble us. For the cure of both these infirmities I have borrowed out of the Lords treasury a Spectacle or Optick Glass, which if we use it, will restore our decayed eyesight and quicken and make us read our sins in the smallest print; and let them ly never so farr from us, yet will it present them unto us in their true quantity and greatness. Towards the better use of which Spirituall Glass, one lesson would I especially commend unto you; to be perpetually Jealous and suspitious of your thoughts, and to be quick-sent, easily to trace the footing of sin, to be easilysensible of it, when we think our selves to have done amiss: a lesson naturally arising, as I take it, out of Davids example, commended unto us in this place. Now how absolutely behoofefull it is for us to hold a perpetuall Watch over our hearts, and be jealous of such thoughts as spring out of them it will appear by these Reasons.

First, because that sin is of such a fly inticing nature, that it will privily creep in, and closely cleave to our thoughts and intents, though we perceive it not. For as waters though of themselves most pure, will relish and favour of the Earth and soyl through which they passe. So thoughts in themselves good, passing through the corrupt and evil ground of our hearts, cannot but receive some tincture, some dye, some relish from them. When David had an intent to build God an house, he doubtless conceived no otherwise of this his intent, then of a religious and honourable purpose, and in outward appearance there was no cause, why he should doubt of Gods acceptance yet we see this purpose of his misliked by God, and rejected, and the reason given, quia vir sanguinum est tu, because thou art a man of blood. How shall we then secure our selves of any thought, if such an intent as this, so favouring of Zeal, of Sanctification, of love unto the glory of God, have such a flaw in it as makes it unprofitable; and how necessary is it that we bring all our imaginations and intents to the fire and
and to the refining pot, so thoroughly to try them, and bring them to their highest point of purity & perfection. Be it peradventure, that the act-
on be in itself good; if it be lyable to any suspicion of evil, it is enough
to blast it. It is the Holy Ghosts rule given by the blessed Apostle, that we
abstain from all shew and appearance of evil, that we refrain as much as
possible from all such actions, as are capable of misconstruction. What
is more lawful, then for the labourer to have his hire, then for those
that labour in the Gospell, to live by the Gospell? Yet we see St. Paul re-
frained this Liberty, and chose rather to work with his own hands; only
for this reason, because he would not give occasion to any, that would
misinterpret his Action, to live at others cost & feed on the sweats of
others brows. What befalls princes many times and great persons, that
have abused their Authority, the people rise and suppress them, deface
their statues, forbid their coin, put away all things that bear any me-
mon of them: So seems our blessed Apostle to deal here: look what ac-
tions they be which bear any inscription, any image & title, any show, or
spot of sin, these hath he thought good even to banish & quite prohibit.
Our prophane stories tell us, that when Julius Caesar had divorced his
wife; being asked why he did so, since nothing was brought against her
to prove her dishonour, his answer was, that she that will be wife of Caesar,
must not only be free from dishonour, but from all suspicion of it. Beloved,
St. Paul tells the Corinthians that he had espoused them unto one Husband,
that he might deliver them as a chaste Virgin unto Christ. And God every
where in Scripture compairs his Church unto an espoused wife, & himself
unto an Husband, a Husband far more jealous then ever Caesar was.
How careful then must that Soul be, that intends to marry it self to
such a jealous Husband, to abstain not only from all pollution of sin,
but from all suspicion of it. Last of all it is Tertullians speech: Quanto fac
licita timetis, qui etiam licita verebitur. It is wisdom sometimes to sus-
pect and shun things that are lawful. For there are many actions in
themselves good which yet to many men become occasions of sin and
scandal. For it is with our Actions as it is with our meats & drinks. As,
divers meats fit not divers constitutions of Body; so all Actions accord
not well with all Tempers of mind. As therefore what Dish
it is we easily Surfeit of, though it be otherwise good it is
wise, some totally to abstain from: so look what actions they be
in which we find our selves prone to sin; it is good spirituall Physick to
A a
use abstinence & quite to leave them. For if our Savior command us to pluck out our eyes, and pare off our hands, if once they become unto us cause of sin, how much more then must we prune away all inward thoughts, all outward circumstances, which become occasion of offence unto us.

A 2d. reason, why I would persuade you to entertain a jealousy of all your thoughts and actions, is a natural overcharitable affection, which I see to be in most men unto their own ways, and which is strange; the worse they are, the more are we naturally inclined to favour them. The reason is because the worse they are, the more they are our own. When question was sometime made, why good herbs grow so sparingly, and with great labour and pains, whereas weeds grow apace without any culture and tilling; it is was answer'd, that the earth was a natural Mother to the one, to the other she was a Step-Mother; the one she brought forth of her self, to the other she was constrain'd. Beloved, it is with our hearts as it is with the Earth, the natural fruit of them is weeds and evil thoughts, unto them our hearts are as mothers, injusta virescum, they spring up in us of themselves without any care or manuring; but as for good thoughts if they be found in our hearts, they are not natural, they are set there by a high hand, they are there by a kind of spiritual inoculation and grafting, as men graft Apples and kind fruits upon Thornes and Crabs. No marvel then, if like choice herbs and fruits they grow so tenderly, and need so much care and cherishing. As therefore parents, though their own children be very deformed, yet love them more then others, though more beautiful: so corrupt and evil thoughts are naturally dearer unto us then good, because we are as Mothers unto them, to the rest we are but Stepdaughters. Two notable Fruits there are of this overcharitablebeness to our own actions. First a willingness that we have to flatter, to deceive and abuse our own selves by pretences and excuses. There is a plain, a downright, and as it were a Countrey reprobarum, one that sees his sin and cares not much to excuse it, and is content to go on, and as it were in simplicity to cast himself away. There is a more witty, more refined, and as it were a Gentlemanlike reprobarum, one that strives to smooth and guild over his sin, to deceive others and himself with excuses and apologies, μεν τὸνος τίχυν, καὶ πεπονάτος, καὶ αἰγαμαλήτως αὐτάφοι, as St. Basil speaks, to take great pains, and with the expense of a great
great deal of wit and art to damn himself. When Saul, being sent against Amalek, had spared Agag and the best and fairest of the prey, at Samuels coming to visit him, how doth he wipe his mouth, as if all had been well, and trimly composes himself to entertain him, Blessed art thou of the Lord, I have performed the commandment of the Lord. And when Samuell had shewed him his error, how quickly hath He his excuse at his fingers ends: we have spared the best of the Sheep and of the Oxen to Sacrifice unto the Lord, Et Deo adulatur & sibi lenocinatur, as Tertulian speaks, he thinks to gull Almighty God with fair and flattering pretences, and becomes a baud to his own vice, minium idem omnes fallimur, it is the common error of us all, and in most of our Actions we do as Saul did, endeavour to put tricks upon our selves. Beloved, were we not partiall, but rigid cenurers of our own thoughts, this corrupt fruit would quickly rot, and fall away. Again their is a 2d. fruit springing out of this favour and dotation on our own actions, an error as common though, not so dangerous, for we are content many times to acknowledge that something is amiss in our actions, we will confess them to be sins, but we accoutant of them as little sins, sins of a lesser size, not so fearful, easilly pardonable. There is a sinner who by committing some great and heinous crime (crimen devoratorium salutis, as Tertulian calls it, such a sin as with open mouth devours salvation) doth as it were with one step leap into Hell? and of this kind of sinners the number is fewer. But abundance there are, who avoiding great and heinous sins, by committing lesser sins, as they think, can be content to go by degrees and as it were step by step, into Hell. Beloved, let us a little put on the spectacle I but now take of, that we may see whether any sin be so small, as we take it. I know there is difference of sins. Our Saviour tells us that there is a beam and there is a mote: but withall this, I know, that the best way to keep us from sin, is minima pro maximis caverere, to loath even the least, as if it were the greatest: if we look through this Glass it will make us think every mote a beam. Sins in themselves are unequall, but in regard of us and of our endeavour to avoid them, they are all equal. Fly from evill, faith the Psalms: he tells us not, that there is one greater evil from which we must fly, and another less from which tis enough if we do but go: but he bids us fly, and to make haste alike from all. To
think that a sin is less then it is, may be dangerous for it makes us the less careful to avoid it: but to mistake on the other hand, and think a sin greater then it is, this is a very profitable error. *Utiam sic semper erraveras*; would God we did alwaies thus err; for besides that there is no danger in it, it makes us more careful to commit sin. Our Saviour reprehends the Pharisees in the Gospel because they could strain at *gras* but swallow *Camells*, but yet it is true, that men learn at length to swallow *Camells* by swallowing *Gnars* at first. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, no sinner so hardy as to set upon the greatest sins at first. The way by which men train up themselves to the committing gross and heinous sins, is by not being at first conscientious of lesser sins, *Et sane nescios faith Paulinus in St. Hierom, an possumus love aliquod peccatum dicere quod in Dei contemptum admittitur*: who dares call any sin little, that is committed against God; small contempts against great Princes are accounted great oversights; for what is wanting in the thing is made up in the worth of the Person. How great a sin then is the smalllest contempt that is done against God? *Prudentissimus ille est, qui non tam considerat quid justum sit, quam illum, qui jussit nec quantitatem imperii, sed imperantis cogitat dignitatem*. It is the best wisdom for us, not so much to consider, what is commanded, as who it is that commandeth it; to consider, I say, not the smallness of the Law, but the greatness of the Lawgiver. Sins comparatively may be counted greater or less, but absolutely none can be counted small. To conclude then this point: *Charity suspecteth no harm* faith St. Paul: true, but we must note, that some vertues in us concern our selves, as Faith, Hope, Temperance, and the like: some vertues concern not our selves, but others, but such an one is Charity. Charity that wills Christians to think well of all others, can have little room upon our selves. Let us then make use of this Charity towards our Neighbours; hope the best of all their actions; but let us take heed how we are overcharitably minded to our selves. *Cesar profet: that he would rather dy then, suspet his friends*; and he sped accordingly: for he dyed by the treachery of those Friends whom he suspected not. Let us take heed how we be overkind unto our own thoughts how we think it an error to be two suspicious of them. *x
do 

reason
Reason. A third reason why I shall advise you to this jealousy over your own thoughts, is the difficulty of discovering them betime, and ing of what spirit they are. For our heart is like that Field in the Gospel, in which the Husbandman Sowes good Corne, and the enemy Sowes tares. God infuseth good thoughts, and the Devil ill. Now as weeds many times at their first budding are hardly known from good herbs; so at the first springing and budding of our thoughts a hard matter it is, to know the weed from the good herb, the Corn from the tare. As Judah in the Book of Genesis, knew not Tamar, till the fruit of his sin committed with her began to shew itself: so till the fruits of our thoughts and purposes begin to appear, except we search very narrowly, we can scarcely discover of what rank they are. Tunc ferrum quod latebat in fundo supernatabat aquæ, & inter palmarum arbores myrthe amaritudo reperta est. Then the iron that lay in the bottom, will swim at the top of the water, and among the pleasant Palmtrees will be found the bitterness of mirth. We read in the 2d. of Samuel, that when the Arke was brought from Kirithjearim, the Oxen that drew the cart shook it, and Uzzab reaching out his hand to save it from falling, for his good service was laid dead in the place. Doubtless Uzzab his accompanying the Arke was a sign of his love unto it: his love unto it begat in him a fear to see it in danger: his fear to see it in danger bred in him a desire to keep it from danger. See beloved, what a number of Golden thoughts are here: yet as we read in the book of Job, when the servants of God came and stood before him, Satan also came and stood amongst them: So in this chorus and quire of these Angelicall thoughts the Devil finds a place to rest himself in. For this desire of Uzzab to save the Arke from danger, made him forget what was written, that none should touch the Arke save only the Priests: the breach of which precept brought that fearfull judgment upon him. You see Beloved that though the course of our thoughts be like Jacobs Ladder, and God himself be at one end of them, yet Satan, if he can, will be at the other. Let us learn by this example of Uzzab, betimes to discover our thoughts, and not to suffer them to grow till their fruit betray them. Indeed our Saviour hath given us a rule, 

You shall know them by their fruits; but we must take heed that we extend not this rule to far. Uzzab felt the fruit of his thoughts to his own cost. It is never good trying conclusions there, ubi penna statim sequitur creorem.

Ad 3
Let us learn to decipher our thoughts, then, when we may do it without danger, whilst they are in semine whilst they are yet but budding and peeping above ground, donec carculo tantum opus est, non securi, whilst yet there is only need of the weedhook, and not of the hatchet.

A fourth reason yet there is, for which I would counsel you to hold a strict hand over your thoughts, and it is, because that from outward sins we can better preserve our selves, then from our sins in thought. Beloved, there is a transieut sin, and there is an imminent sin, there is a sin that is outwardly acted by the service of the body; there is a sin that requires not the help of the body, but is committed inwardly in the very thought and Soul, a speculative or an intellectual sin. Outward sins are many ways past'd by, means may be wanting, company may hinder, time and place may be inconvenient; but for speculative sins, or sins in thought, all times, all occasions, all places are alike: χ' τε της τον σθεραν χ' την ταυμινον, faith Saint. Basil: A man, faith he, of great gravity and countenance sits in the midst of the market-place, with many hundreds about him, and looking upon him, yet notwithstanding this man, ἀπέθανε τι διασελσαλε τον της ἄμας τίνος, και ἑκάτο την γαϊαν τα σαμάλγηεν, even this man in the midst of all the company fancies to himself what he desires, and in his imaginations goes unto the place of sin, or rather retires into his own heart, and there he finds place and means to commit ἀμας ἰδος ἠμας, a sin that hath no witness but God. If we retire to our private Chambers, these sins will follow us thither, and as Bana'ab and Richab did by Isboeshah Sauls son, they will finde us out upon our beds, and slay us there. If we go to the Church, they will finde us out there, and as Adramelech and Sharezer flew Sennacherib whilst he was worshipping his God; they will set upon us even in the midst of our holiest meditations and prayers: neither Chamber nor Church, no place so private, none so holy, that can give us Sanctuary, or shelter us from them. S. Hierom confesses thus much of himself, that when he had forsaken the world, all outward occasions of sin, and gone into the Desart, and shut himself up in a poor Cell, and mace-rated his body ευαγνυς, ξυνεποσοτις, with watchings, with fastings, and perpetual prayers and religious exercise, yet could he not be secure from them. Παλλαβαντ ορα jejunis, & mens desiderii anualis in frigo corpore: his body was now grown pale, and meager, and cold, but
but yet his heart burnt with unlawful desires. Again they are sins of quick and easy dispatch, they are done ἀπέθανος, ἀκούσας, ἀπαραγματικῶς, as S. Basil notes; in a moment of time, without labour of body, without care of minde: One wanton look makes us guilty of Adultery, one angry conceit guilty of Murder, one covetous conceit guilty of Robbery. Whatsoever is outwardly committed either with difficulty of circumstance, or labour of body, or danger of Law, that is inwardly committed in the soul without any trouble at all: Thirdly consider but the strength of your thoughts, and you will see there is great reason to keep them low; for there was no man yet that ever was foil'd but by them, and not by the outward acting of sin. For the outward action is but the Cortex, the bark of the sin: but the very body and substance of sin is the wicked thought. Beware of men, faith our Saviour, when he gave his Apostles counsel how to provide for their safety in times of outward danger: but if we will provide against inward dangers, we shall not need to beware of men, or of any outward force whatsoever. Let every man beware of himself, for in this case every man is his own greatest enemy. To draw then to a conclusion: That sins of thoughts prevail not against us, our way is by a jealous care first to prevent them; and to this hath the greatest part of my discourse hitherto tended. Secondly if we have suffered them to gain a little ground upon us, let us betimes take the rains into our own hands and pull them back again, and cast out our Adversary, whilst he is yet weak. πρᾶξει τῷ αὐτῷ ἐὰν ἐξελθῃ, ἕναν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκτενῶς, faith S. Chrysost. Such are the souls of holy men: their recovery is so quick, that they may seem to have risen before they fell. It is a great signe of spiritual life in us to be quickly sensible of the first track and footing of sin. For as bodies of the best and purest complexion have their fences quickest; so that soul which soonest perceives the first sent of sin, is of the Divinest temper. Our books tell us, that Dionysius the Tyrant was grown so gros and fat, that though men thrust bodkins into him, he could not feel it. Beloved, there is a sinner like unto this Dionysius. David tells us of him, when he describes unto us a sinner whose heart is fat as brawn. That we fall not therefore into that like ἀκανθῶν, stupidity and senselesnes, our way is to catch those young Foxes, and strangle them in the nest: Nolo sins cogitationem cresceare, faith S. Hierom, suffer not your thoughts to encrease and gather strength upon
upon you. For as the man that touches only at hot iron, and stays not on it, burns not his hand, so the first glances of evil thoughts harm us not; the harm is, if by consent, though never so little, you stay upon them. To be free from all onset of evil thoughts is a matter impossible, whilst we have these hearts of flesh. Ille laudatur qui ut cæperit cogitare sordida, statim interficit cogitata, & allidid ad petram, petra autem est Christus. That man is praiseworthy, who as soon as any unclean thought, any child of Babylon is born in his heart, straightway strangbles it in the birth, and dashes it against the rock, which Rock is Christ. Thus, &c.
Mr. HALEs

LETTERS

From the Synod of Dort

To the

Right Honourable Sr. DUDLEY CARLTON,
Lord Ambassador, &c.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Ay it please your Honor; Wee arrived at Dort this last night betwixt six and seven of the clock; our passage was without any impediment at all, and wheresoever we were to take boat still we found some ready to put off, as if they had waited our coming. Immediately upon my arrivall I went to My Lord Bishop, and as soon as I had done my message unto him, I forthwith went to Monfieur Bogermanus, who humbly thanks your Honour for your great courtezie towards him, and promises to acquaint your Lordship by me with whatsoever passes in the Synod: had he known of so convenient means of writing to your Lordship, I suppose he would have written: but when I spake with him I knew not so much my self. Festus Homminus and Polyanter I have not yet seen, and it will be the afternoon ere I shall speake with them, because this morning they have a sitting. Whatsoever hath past in the Synod formerly, your Lordship shall understand by a packet from my Lord Bishop; whatsoever speeches or other passages are to be copied I shall this afternoon get of Mr. President, and I will not fail to send your Honour the transcripts of them, when Daniel returns. What shall be disputed of or decided in the next Sessions at the Synod I will at large inform your Lordship by the next messenger, mean time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort this 5½. of Novemb. 1618.

* A

Your Lordships Chaplain,
and bounden in all Duty,
Jo: Hales.

Right
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Your Honour shall here receive inclosed an index of all the acts of the Synod since the beginning, till the 1/18. of this present. It is not that which I required, but is so much as Festeus Homninus (whose writing it is) could spare your Lordship. My desire was to obtain not only the bare conclusions, but the whole manner of proceeding, with all particulars propounded and concluded in the Synod: but it seems this was thought nimis grande postulatum. If I can come so far to perfect my notes of all the former sessions, as that I shall be able to express them in form as I did the session on Saturday last, and by God's help will express the following sessions, I will in time acquaint your Lordship with it. Mean while I come to the session on Monday morning, the 1/18. of this present.

It had been in some of the former sessions determined that there should be chosen six Divines for the Translation of the Bible, three for the Old Testament, and three for the New with the Apocrypha: and likewise Revisors, one out of every Province, to whom the work being done should be brought to be revised and censor'd. In this present session they proceed to the choice of them. The manner of election was by Scrutiny: the Deputies of every Province in Scripto exhibiting one. The Scrutators were two of the Seculars, D. Simon Schottus, Secretary of Middleburgh, and President this week, and Martinus Gregorii, these calculated the voices and pronounced the election. And first for the translation of the Old Testament were chosen these three, Ioh. Begermannus, Guili. Bandarius, and Gerson Bucerus: for the translation of the New, were chosen Iac. Rolandus, Hermannus Fa Huckelius, and Petrus Cornelii. From these they proceed to the nomination of the revisors. Here arose a doubt concerning the province of Utrecht. For because they are equally divided three Contra-Remonstrants, and three Remonstrants, they could not agree upon the nomination of a Revisor for that Province, which thing bred a demurr in the Synod. The Præses required the judgment of the Synod, what they thought fit to be done. Some thought they might be altogether past by. For there would be Revisors enough, though that Province chose none. Others thought it should be deferred till the end of the Synod, and then some one of that Province should be chosen communiibus suffragis totius Synodi. A third sort determined that it should be deferred till that Province were reconciled in itself, (which it was hoped would be at the end of the Synod) and then they should name some one of their Province to be approved by the rest of the Translators and Revisors; and this sentence pass for currant. So that for the present there is
To the R. Honourable Sr. D. Carlton L. Embassador.

...no Revisor for the Province of Utrecht. Another doubt yet was moved for one of the Provinces, had named two paribus suffragiis: the question was who should stand. It pleased the Synod to put it to Lots. And so the Preses wrote their names in two little Tickets of paper, each by it self, and rould them up, and deliverd them to Martinus Gregorius; that which he took, stood, that which he refused, was presently tore. The Revisors for the Old Testament were these, ex Geldria Ant. Tyfus; ex Suyd-Hollandia Io. Polyander: ex North-Holl. P. Plancius, ex Zelandia Iod. Larenus: ex Frisia Sibrandus Lubbertus: ex Transsilvania Iac. Revisus: ex Groning. D. Gomarus: ex Drentia Ovias Boethus. The Revisors for the New Testament were these. Ex Geldria Seb. Dammannus: ex Suyd-Holl. Festus Homminius: ex Northoll. Gofwinus Geldorpis: ex Zelandia Ant. Walen, ex Frisia Bern. Fulenius, ex Transsilvania Jo. Langius, ex Groning. Ulbo Emmius, ex Drentia Jo. Cuperus. It was further enacted, that if any of the Translators should die, or by Sickness become unable for the Service, that then he that was next him in number of voices in the Scrutiny should succeed in his place: If any of the Revisors should die, or be sick, power was given to the Preses, the two Asseffors, and the two Scribes to depute another in his room: and so this Session concluded; "in which though little was done, yet was it long adoing, by reason of the Scrutiny.

Upon Tuesday the 2/3 of this present, the Deputies met in the morning, where the first thing that was proposed was concerning those of Drenh. For whereas the day before they had named two Revisors for the Translation, they now upon better advice require to be excused in that behalf, because in their Province the Belgick Tongue was not well-known. Which Petition of theirs was accepted. In the second place it was thought good, that since all the business concerning the Translation was determined of, there should be a repetition made in the Synod of all that had past'd about it: to this purpose, that if any thing were either omitted or misrelated, it might be rectified: forthwith followed a Narration of all that had been done, where some small exceptions not worth relating were stood upon. In the third place was proposed the defect of the Afternoon Sermons and Catechizing, especially in the Countrey Villages; and the Synod was moved to deliver it self concerning Remedies of this Defect. What had been heretofore decreed in some of their Synods concerning this matter was publickly read. The Impediments were, First the negligence of the Pastors; Secondly Combinations, that is double Benefices, when men having two Cures could not sufficiently attend both: Thirdly the difficulty of reclaiming the Country people on the Sundayes either from the Sports, or their Work. The Synod beginning to consider of means to cut
off these abuses, Fests Hominius amongst other things complain'd that through the negligence of the Remonstrants, it came that Catechizing was so much decay'd; which words of his, it is thought, will be an occasion of some choler, though for the present they pass'd uncontroll'd. Many delivered their opinions how the forementioned hinderances of Afternoon Sermons and Catechizing might be removed. First by imploring the help of the States General, that it would please them by their Authority to prohibit that ordinary prophanation of the Sabbath by working or playing: Secondly by requiring the like help of the particular Magistrate in every Town and Village: Thirdly by taking away those Combinations: Fourthly by providing of sufficient Scholes-Masters in every Village, who should not only teach Grammar, but instruct Youths in the principles of Religion: Fifthly that the Pastors should not omit afternoon Sermons by reason of the negligence of their Auditors, but should perform them, though they brought to the Church none but their own Family: that the Pastors and Deacons and Seniors should deal with their Friends and Acquaintance and bring them to Church with them. Sixthly that if any Pastor neglected to perform this Duty, he should be subject to Ecclesiastical Censure. Seventhly that the Deputies of other Nations should be requested to make overture of their Customs in this behalf. Lastly that diligent enquiry should be made throughout all the Classes, whether Catechizing and Afternoon Sermons were observed. It was decreed that in every Parish there should be two Sermons every Sunday, of which that in the Afternoon was to be Catechetical. That the Ministers should give good example by bringing their own Family to Church; that the help of the Magistrate should be implored; that Combinations should be taken away. When all was done, then was that requir'd which should have been done afore: the Deputies of other Nations were desired to deliver their Customs in this behalf. Where first my Lord Bishop shewed that with us in England the Magistrate imposed a pecuniary Mulk upon such as did absent themselves from divine duties; which pecuniary Mulk generally prevail'd more with our people, then any pious admonitions could. Those of the Palsgrave's Countrey shewed that each Sunday they had two Sermons, and such as were absent, were first admonish't by the Clergie, and if this sufficed not, they required the help of the Civil Magistrate. Those of Geneva told us, that in the Churches in their Cities they had every Sunday four Sermons, &c. Those of Brenc that they had three Sermons, of which one was Catechetical; and to avoid prophanation of the Sabbath, it was not lawful to celebrate any Marriage-feast, or such like upon the Sunday, till ten a clock in the Evening. Many other things of this nature were related, of which a great deal I could not understand.
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And when all had spoken, the Preses told them that this proposal was not made because in the Belgick Churches there had not been order taken for Catechizing and Sermons, but because the Laws formerly made in this behalf were neglected: and that now means was thought of to bring them in force again. And so they brake up.

I received your Honors Letters of the 26 of this present, in which your Honour requires to be informed of such Proposals as Episcopius lately made in behalf of the Arminian Party. The thing is this. Shortly after that the Letters of Citation were sent to the Arminians, Episcopius with other of the Remonstrants came privately to the Deputies of the States, and exhibited a Remonstrance, in which they required especially these things. First that all of their Party throughout the Provinces might be allowed to make one Body, and out of it depute such as they thought good, whom they might send to the Synod to plead in their behalf. Secondly that it might be lawful for them instead of some of those who are written unto, to substitute others. Thirdly that Utenbo- gart and Grevinbovius might have safe Conduct and free access to the Synod. The Delegates immediately sent for the Preses, the two Aeffors and the two Scribes, and required their opinion in this business. For the first point, the Clergie men thought it not to be granted, as being fear'd would be prejudicial to the Belgick Churches. The Deputies for the Seculars answered, that they had given Episcopius this answer. For the two later, the Clergie thought that if it pleas'd the Seculars it might be done. Reply was made by the Seculars, that they were men infamous, tumultuous, on whom the Church cenure, for Grevinbovius had extended, and therefore they would permit them no place in the Synod. So was Episcopius and his Company dismiss'd. "This was a thing done only in private: the Synod had no notice of it, neither is it recorded in any publick Register. What more pass'd between the Seculars and the Remonstrants at this meeting is not known, and the Clergie know no more then is pleased the Seculars to impart. Of this I heard nothing, till by reason of your Lordships Letters I enquired into it.

Whilst the Synod was sitting on Tuesday morning, there came in Newes of the death of one of their Company, Henricus ab Hel, Senior of the Church of Zutphaw, who died in the time of the Session. I am desirous to know whether my Letters upon Munday containing the Saterday Session came to your Lordships hands. I intended them by way of Roterdam, but Daniel tells me he delivered them to a Gentleman that went immediately for the Hague, marie what he was he knew not, this hath made me a little jealous. I beseech your Honour, by the next that comes from you hither, by word of mouth to let me know. Mr Preses, Festus Homminus, Polyander, Tronchirius of Geneva requir'd me to re-
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member their Love and service to your Honour: and so for this time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort this 18 of Noveumb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

Upon Saturday, the day after my coming to Dort, I went to Festus Homminis, and delivered him your Honours Letters, upon perusal of which, he liberally promised me an Index of all whatsoever had past in the Synod until my coming to town. The time of making his promise good was Sunday morning. When I saw it came not at the time, after dinner I wrote a little note unto him, to put him in minde of his promise, but yet I heard nothing of him. I suppose this falls out by reason of his multiplicity of business, not that he would sleight your Lordship; though I remember in the speech that past between him and me, he told me that their past'd among the brethren of the Synod a consent de non eliminandis, &c. of not divulging of any passage till all was done, which I interpreted as spoken only upon the bys, not with any intent of hindring any intelligence which should be given your Honour. I dealt with Mr. Preses and with Festus for a Copie of Martinus Gregorii his oration: the answer from them both was the same, that he would not at any hand be intreated to deliver a Copie of it, no not so much as the summe of it: whether it was because of some matter that was in it, as that he spake somewhat roughly in disgrace of the Spanyard, or that the Politicks have some end in it, or that he himself is desirous to have it thought that he delivered it only ex tempore, or for what other reason I know not. As concerning what hath past'd in the Synod, till I hear farther from Festus, I will acquaint your Honour with what past there since my coming.

On Saturday the 18th of this present, in the Morning the Deputies met, and debated some things of no great moment, concerning their intended TRANSLATION of the BIBLE. The first thing proposed was, whether the name JEHOVAH should be retain'd untranslated, or rendred by the Dutch word Heere, as the Greeks Κυριας, the English Lord. The Preses thought it should be rendred Heere, because the Holy Ghost in the New Testament, citing some things out of the Old, renders the Hebrew Jēbo'wah, by the Greek Κυριας, according as the Septuagint had done. This past for currant, till it came to Martinus of Brem, who divided the sentence, and thought that it might ordinarily so be rendred, if
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if some places were excepted. And to this purpose he cited some places of Scripture, where the word Jehovah had a peculiar energy and force, which the Belgick Heere could not attain unto. To the same effect did others speak: and great disputation would have arisen about this point, as whether the Name Jehovah had any points of its own, or borrowed his points from Elohim and Adonai, and the like, but that the Preface still cut them off. It was at length by the greater part concluded, that it should be rendered by the Belgick Heere, which was always to be express in Capital Characters, and concerning this the Reader should be advertized farther in the Preface. And when there should be in any place some peculiar force in that word, which the Belgick word did not express, of this the Reader should be admonished by a marginal gloss.

The second Proposal was, whether the Hebrew proper Names, should be retained, or translated likewise into Dutch. It was concluded they should be retaining, for avoiding of all unnecessary novelty and alteration. The third proposal was, whether the ancient Division of Chapters should remain, for many Hebrew Copies differed from our Common in this point, and sometime the old division did seem somewhat inconvenient, as that somehow it brake off in the midst of a matter, somewhere in the midst of a sentence. It was concluded that the old division should remain. For there would arise great confusion in quotations, if the number of Chapters and Verses should alter. As for the variety of other Copies, and inconvenient division, of this the Reader should be advertized in the Margin. The fourth proposal was, whether there might not be added some Appendices to the Bible, as Chorographical and Topographical Tables, Genealogies, and the like. It was thought it they should, provided that in the Tables and Maps there were no pictures and babies, for avoiding superstition. The fifth proposal was concerning the appointing of persons fit for the work of the Translation. The Preface willed that every Province should exhibit by Bill the Names of those, who they knew in their Provinces were of sufficiency for the Translation, which forthwith was done, and the Names that were exhibited were all pronounced in the Synod; but out of these who should be chosen for the work was differ'd, until the next Session appointed upon the Monday following, and so with prayer they brake up the meeting.

As I have done in this Session, so will I do in all the rest, if I shall get convenient place where I may stand and note. For, for any thing I see, mine own notes must be my chiefest help. The matters are but small, but I suppose they will amend when the Arminian Party shall make their appearance. Here is your Honours old Friend come to Town, and passes under the name of a Doctor of Physick. He is to dine with
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with my Lord Bishop this day, but I have discovered him unto his Lordship what he is. I have presumed to keep Daniel with me longer then I determined at my departure; the reason is, because I am unskilful of the streets, and I have not Dutch enough to enquire my way: I will shortly send him home. What shall be done in the following Sessions, I will not fail to inform your Lordship by the next Messenger, in the mean while I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 15th of Novemb.
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo.Hales.

I have sent your Honour a Catalogue of the Synod Printed here with us.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

On Wednesday the 15th of November, those of the Synod met in the morning. This Session was only deliberative, for they concluded nothing. The proposal was, what form of catechizing both for children and youths should be thought fittest to be put in practice in the Belgick Churches. The Preses first spake many things learnedly of the necessity of Catechizing, that it was the basis and ground of Religion, and the sole way of transmitting the principles of Christianity into men: that it was very ancient, practised by the Patriarchs, by the Apostles, by Origen, and approved by the consent of the fathers: that from the neglect of this came the ignorance of the common sort, and that multitude of sects amongst them, of Papists, Anabaptists, Libertines, &c. whereas if an uniform course of teaching them their first principles had been taken up, there would not have been so many differences: that there was now greater necessity then ever of reviving this custom, because of the Jesuits who mightily labour in this kind, as appeared by some of their acts lately in Friesia, &c. Next were the Deputyes for the strangers called upon to deliver what forms of Catechizing were in their Churches put in use: which they did, and gave them to the Preses in writing. After these, the Professors, and the other Deputyes spake their mindes, and almost all gave them up in writings, which were immediately pronounced in publick by the Scribe; and such as spake memoriter, promised to set down their opinions in scripto, and deliver them to the Preses after dinner. The principall heads on which they insisted, were these: that there might be three degrees of Catechizing, one Domesticall, to be practised by Fathers and Malters in their families: another Scholasticall to be
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be used by Scholomasters in publick Scholes: and a third Ecclesiasticall to be practised by the minister in the Church, that so fathers might fee their children for the Scholes, the Scholes for the Church: That therefore parents and masters should be admonished to look to this duty in their families: That Scholomasters should be chosen, such as were skilful themselves to catechize, and that they should be carefull to bring their Scholars to catechetical sermons: that from sermons they should presently call them to the Schole, and there examine them how they had profited: The minister of every parish together with the Seniors and Deacons should monethly or quarterly visit the Scholes, and know the Scholars proficiency in this behalf: that the Ministers before the times of the Communicon should repair unto private Families, and Catechize: that the Magistrates would be pleased to provide stipends for Schole-Masters, so to make them the more cheerful: that there should be variety of Catechizing according to the variety of the age, one for Children, which should contain the Lords Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, the Doctrine of the Sacraments, &c. that for such as were elder, other things should be added according to their capacity: that to take away confusion one form of Catechism in each kind should be used; that the Jesuits Catechismes of Lefius, Canius, Ledesma, &c. should be abolisht. All this and more by sundrie men was exhibited in writing, and read in the audience of the Synod.

That which hitherto hath been done concerns only the manner of Catechizing, as for the matter of the Catechism, that was not now thought fit to be spoken of, but was put off till the end of the Synod. When all had spoken their pleasures the Presidents signified, that he together with the Aitfors and Scribes would compare all these Writings together, and out of them all gather one forme of Catechizing as they thought best, and exhibit it unto the Synod to be approved of, or altered to their liking. And to the Session ended. Amongst the rest, there were some particulars told. One of the Deputies of Geldria, to shew the force of private Catechizing, related that amongst them there was a Minister, who when he first came to his Living, found his Church quite empty, because all his Parishioners were Papists; and therefore if he would preach, he was to preach to the bare Walls: but he takes so much pains as to go to every of his Parish privately unto their houses, and there by familiar conversing with them, and expounding unto them the grounds of Religion, he so far prevailed with them, that in the compas of a year he gain'd them all to come to Church, and by this means hath scarce a Papist in his Parish. But doubtless the most effectual way of all the rest to bring young persons to learn their Catechism, was that which was related by one of the Helvetian Deputies. For he told
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us that in his Country the manner was, that all young persons that meant to marry were to repair, both he and she, unto their Minister, a little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examin'd how well they had commend'd their Catechism: if they had not done it perfectly to his mind, he had power to deferre their Marriage till they had better learnt their Lessons. I was much affected to this course when I heard it; and I thought that doubtles it was a speedy way to make all young persons, excepting my self and two or three more that mean not over hastily to marry, to be skillfull in their Catechism. The Synod shall be ill advis'd, if they make no use of it.

Mr. Dean this day is to make a Latin Sermon in the Synod-house, and after that there are certain Supplications exhibited to the Synod to be considered of. What they are, and what they contain I will inform your Honour by the next convenient Messenger. I have suffered Daniel to come home, and supply himself of some necessaries, but to return to me again upon Saturday, except your Honour shall otherwise appoint. His lodging and dyet are provided, and he will be serviceable to me this ill wether, to be sent in business, my self not being so well able in dirt and snow to trace the streets. But this I leave to your Lordships consideration, and for this present I humbly take my leave.

From Dort this 12 of Novemb. 1618. Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

Upon Thursday, 29 of this present, the Synod being met together, Mr. Dean of Worcester made in the Synod-house a polite and pathetic Latin Sermon; the portion of Scripture he chose for his Theme was the 17 verse of the 6th of Ecclesiastes, Noli esse justus nimium, neque esto sapiens nimis. After a witty coming upon his text, how it should come that Righteousnes and Wisdom, which are every where commended unto us, should here seem to receive a check, he shewed how men might seem to be too just; First the Seculars, when sitting in place of Justice they stood too strictly in keeping the Letter of the Law, and then by inflicting too heavy punishments, when in equity lighter would serve: next in the second word sapiens nimis, he tass the Divines for presuming too far in prying into the Judgements of God, and so came to reprove the curious Disputes which our age hath made concerning Predestination; that this Dispute for its endlessness was like the Mathematical line, divisibils in semper divisibilia; that it was in Divinity, as the Rule of Cos is in Arithmetick. For the ending of these Disputes his advice—
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advice unto the Synod was, that both parts contending should well consider of S. Pauls discourse in the ninth to the Romans, and for their final determination both should exhibit unto the Synod a plain perspicuous and familiar paraphrase on that Chapter. For if the meaning of that Discourse were once perfectly opened, the question were at an end. From hence he came to exhort them to stand to the former determinations, which had hitherto most generally past in the Reformed Churches, in these points: and told them that it was an especial part of his Majesties Commission to exhort them to keep unalter'd the former Confessions. How fit it was to open so much of their Commission, and thus to express themselves for a party against the Remonstrants your Honour can best judge. After this he brought a very pathetical conclusion, consisting of a vehement exhortation to peace and union, and so he ended. The Preses gave him thanks for his good pains, and then told us, whereas it was once purposed to lay open before the Synod certain Libelli supplices (which I mentioned to your Honour in my last Letters) he might not now do it, for some reasons which he then conceal'd. And so he dismissed the Synod without doing any thing farther. What these Libelli supplices contain, is unknown. Some imagine it to be from the Remonstrant party; others more probably think, that the subject of them were certain Gravamina of the Countrey Ministers.

Mr. Deans Sermon was taken well, for any thing I can yet learn to the contrary; but your Lordship shall understand, there was a little doubt made concerning these Latine Sermons. Mr. Preses, when the Letters were directed to the Arminian party, requesltd the Forreigners that they would be pleased to bestow in their Courses some Latin Sermons to entertain the Synod till the Arminians made their appearance; and first commend this unto the English. My Lord Bishop refused it be-cause of the sudden warning: but Mr. Dean would needs undertake it. But certain of the Exerti came to the Bishop, and shewed him how dangerous this might be. For it was, as they thought, a very hard matter so to walk, as not to touch upon some points that are in Controversy, which could not be without the offence of one party. My Lord Bishop and the other two, for this reason thought the motion very inconvenient: but Mr. Dean would by no means apprehend of it, but as of a business very fit to be done. It seems this was the general conceit of the Forreigners, which was the cause that there was in this kinde nothing done till now, notwithstanding that the motion was made a pretty while before my coming to Dort. But how well this example is approved, it will appear, if others of the Forreigners do follow it. Here is a rumour of a certain Jesuitical book, lately set forth in disgrace of our Synod. I have not yet seen it, but I understand it is
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in the hands of the President unto whom I had repair’d to have looked into it, but that I conceive him to be exceeding full of business. As soon as I can learn what it is, I will acquaint your Honour with it. We have much speech of a strange Comet of an unusual length seen this morning. I saw it not; and peradventure it is no Newes unto your Lordship, if it have appeared in the Horizon of the Hague. My Lord Bishop and his Company remember their Love and Service to your Honour, and thank you for your Letter of English Newes, which they here return. I have sent according to your Lordship’s Will six Catalogues of the Synod, printed with us in Latin. And so for this time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort this 15th of Novemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Friday the 25th of Novemb. the Deputies met in the Morning: where first of all, there were recited the Judgements of some concerning the manner of Catechizing which was yet depending, who had not delivered their minds in writing the day before. In this was there nothing extraordinary, save only the advice of the Remonstrants of Utrecht. For the Deputies of that Province gave their Judgments severally, the Contra-Remonstrants by themselves, and the Remonstrants by themselves. These first blamed the common Catechisme passing amongst them, as being too obscure for the Simple, and too long for the Memory. Secondly they thought it not necessary that there should be a threefold Catechism, for one well learnt might serve for all the rest. Thirdly, they would have a Catechism so made, that the Answers might be nothing else but bare Texts of H. Scriptures. For they thought, that if Scripture alone were taught, and not any mens glosses, it would be a more immediate means to gain the Anabaptists and other Schismatics to accept of the Catechism. Fourthly, they thought it that in the Preface to these Catechisms, there should be a note given to this purpose: that these kinds of writing by Catechisms, &c. were to be esteemed only as the Apochryphal Scriptures. To the third point some little thing was answered to this purpose; that this was a mean utterly to extirpate all other Forms of Catechizing out of the Church, there never yet having been any form of Creed or Catechism so conceived. Yet there might be a time hereafter for the Synod to consider of it, when they pleased. After this followed the Form of Catechizing, which the President and Assistors had agreed upon. My purpose was to have taken an extract of it and sent it to your
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your Honor, and I dealt with Festus Hommius about it; but his answer was, that he was to communicate about this with the Preses, and that it was in the hand of Sebaſt. Dammannus his fellow Scribe. To Dammannus I was not known, neither did I understand of any acquaintance he had with your Honor, and therefore I let it rest. The summe of it was this. That there should be observ’d a threefold Catechizing. 1. At home by the Parents. 2. In the Schole by the Schole-maſter; 3. A third in the Church by Catechetical Sermons: then, that there should be a threefold Catechizm, one for Incipientes, containing the Lords Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and the Church Discipline. A second for the Middle sort, which should be a brief of the Palatine Catechism; a third for Touths, the Palatine Catechism itself. That every one that was admitted Scholemaster should be bound to teach no other Catechism, and that all other Forms should be abolish’d: that if either Scholemasters in the Scholes, or Ministers in the Church, should refuse or neglect to Catechize, they should be subject to censure, &c. When this Form was read, the Provinces were in order askt what they would have alter’d or supplied. Thoſe of Geldria thought it fit that the Minifter before his Catechetical Sermon, should not only take the words of the Catechism (as the custom had in moſt places been) but likewise some Text of Scripture upon which the doctrine of the Catechism was grounded. For, as it seems, the custom is in Catechifical Sermons, not to take a Text of Scripture, but a portion of the Catechism for their Text and Theme. It was answered that this custom had been a long time laid down, and could not now conveniently be recall’d: the fame Deputies proposed, whether it were not fit, that whereas in the Decree there is mention made of a censure to pass on thoſe who neglected it, there should be some particular form of Censure fet down by the Synod. The thing being put to voices, it was decreed, that it should be left to the Judgement of the Classes how they should be cenſur’d. The South Hollanders thought it neceſsary there should be publicke, catechizing in the Church by way of Question and Answer. It was answered, that this could not be by reaſon of the frequency of Sermons. Thoſe of Overſell proposed somewhat concerning the form of catechetical Sermons. It was aſwer’d that this should hereafter be thought of. "Which-answer is a civil way which the Preses uses, when he means to put by an impertinent question. Last of all, thoſe of the Walon Churches requir’d that this Decree should not prejudice them, who had already accepted of Beza’s Catechism in their Churches. Now whereſe there were three Catechisms propos’d, of which there was but one in being, namely the Palatine, they consult’d of deputing some, who should make the other two. The matter being put to Scrutiny,
tinye, there were chosen these six, Polyander, Gomarus, Tyius, Lylius, Fauchelius, Utemanus. Here the Preses proposed to the Synod, that they would think of fit means for the Education and training up of those who should enter the Miniftery: but those of North Holland proposèd a doubt, wherein the Church of Amsterdam requir'd the determination of the Synod. The matter is this. The Merchants of Amsterdam having Traffick into the East India, took into their Families many of the Youths and Infants of that Country, but doubted whether they were to be baptized or no. The question was thus proposed, "Whether the children of Ethnicks parents adopted into the Families of Christians were to be baptized, if so be they who did offer them to be baptized did undertake that they should be brought up in the Christian Faith. But both these questions were put over to the next Session, and so the Synod brake up. This afternoon the Dutchess of Tremullio came to Town. The English went to entertain her, where my Lord Bishop made a speech unto her in Latin, which by her Chaplain was interpreted unto her, who likewise in her name returned answer. But of the particulars of this entertainment, I suppose My Lord Bishop in his Letters relates more fully to your Honour, then I can; for I was not there.

On Saterday the first of December, stylo novo, the Deputies being met in the morning, the question concerning means of education of those who should be fitted for the Miniftery was proposed; where, because they found it to be a greater matter then it seem'd when at first it was propos'd, the Provinces requested further reftire, excepting the Ze-landers and South Hollanders, who there delivered up their Judgements in scripto. The substance of what the Zelanders delivered was this: that it would please the States General to appoint that a certain number of Youths might be bred up for the Miniftery at the charge of the publike purfe. That the wealthier fort would fend fuch of their children to the Scholes, as they thought fittest to make Scholars. That out of these should be chosene Youths of ingenious Parentage and Manners, of good wit, of strength and health of body, which should be sent unto the Univerfity. That in the Univerfity there might be fettl'd Colledges for every Province, and in these Colledges there might be Regents and Supervifors, which might prescribe unto Youths a Method of Study, and not suffer them to wander in variety of Study, and not perfit themselves in fome one kinde. That there might some time be prefixed for their abode in the Univerfity, as five or fix years. And because many upon two years study feck for preferment in the Church, and others on the contrary fay in the Univerfity over long; for remedy of both these there might a time be fett wherein the whole course of Study should be abolv'd. That these Students every year should give an account of their
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their proficiency to their Parents and Benefactors, and such as bred them up: that after this they should go and visit foreign Churches and Universities to see and observe. That at their coming home they bring with them the Testimonies of the Pastors and Governors of the Churches and Universities wherein they have been, and exhibit them to the Classes where they are to live; and expect their calling to the Ministry. That they should publickly in the Church read the Scriptures before the people, for this would make them known to the Church, embolden them to speak to the multitude, and mend their voices and delivery. That by consent of the Classes they be permitted to be with the Pastors, to conferre with them in Cases of Conscience, to go with them when they visit the sick, that thus they may learn how to deal in these cases, and how to conceive prayers upon occasion. That to fit them for the Church Regiment, which is a thing not learnt in Scholes, some moneths before their Institution, they converse in the greater Cities, to be present in the Presbyteries and the Meetings of the Deacons, to understand how Voices may be asked and gathered, how Church Discipline is to be exercis'd, and what in divers cases is to be done. That they be examin'd how fit they be to reform mens manners. That it were fit that even in Universities Youths were train'd up in Prædict Divinity and Cases of Conscience. The substance of what the South-Hollanders delivered was this. First that Youths should stay at least two years in the University, and publickly read the Scriptures in the Church. Secondly, that after this they publickly dispute of some difficult question in Religion. Thirdly, that they be examined of all the Articles in Religion, and if they give satisfaction, then they may be admitted ad Propositiones, (what these are I know not) and after a years exercise in them, they may be examined by the Classes, who if they finde them fit may give them leave to exercise themselves in Catechizing and Preaching. That to learn Church Government they be admitted to Consistories and Classes to see what there is done; so that what there they see they keep in silence. That they leave not the studies of Divinity to meddle with other things. That they may have leave to Baptize, if the necessity of Rural Churches require. Yet they must expect a year ere they be admitted, which is not to be done without sufficient Testimony that all hath been done which is requir'd. The rest of the Provinces requir'd respite till Monday: and so they past to the Question which was proposed in the Name of the Churches of Amsterdam, concerning the Baptizing of the Children of Ethnicks. Parents. The English first exhibited their mindes in Writing to this effect. That Infants, if they were justly taken, as, if they were given, or bought, or the like, (for it might not be lawful fraudulently or violently
Mr. Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort

violently to take them from their Parents ought to be baptized. For so it is recorded of Abraham, that he circumcised every one in his house, even those whom he had bought with his Mony: but if they were Adults, they might not be Baptized till they made Profession of the Christian Faith. With these agreed the Bremens and the Professors. On the contrary the Helvetians and South-Hollander concluded, that the Infants of Ethnick Parents ought not to be baptized, till they came to be of years to declare their Faith. Their chief reason was, because Baptism was a Sign of the Covenant: but the Infants of Ethnick Parents are not born within the Covenant, and therefore they cannot be partakers of this Signe. "Here was a little indirect dealing between the Helvetians and the Bremens. The Helvetians Scribe had by some means or other suffered a copie of the reasons for their opinion to be brought aforehand to those of Bremen, who openly in the Synod house, in scripto refuted them: which thing is feared will cause some choler. And this was all that this day was done concerning this question, and so both the questions yet depend. The Synod did the sooner end, because they were at eleven a clock to go to the Funeral of Henricus ab Hell, who died lately, as I think I told your Honour. The Solemnity was no more but this. Some of the chief of the Town together with the whole Synod went to the House where he died, accompanied him to the Church, laid him in his Grave, and went home again, almost in as little space as I have told you. The Dutchers of Tremullio was at this Session, and as I hear, spake very well of the Synod, commending it both for Piety and good Order.

The Remonstrants are now every day expected. We understand that they are already met together at Leyden. "Mr. Preses came this day to my Lord Bishop, and under Benedicite told him, that it was thought the Remonstrants would become Sitters to the Secular Deputies, for some greater respect in the Synod, then it is likely otherwise they should have: and that for this they would use the English as Mediators. Then, that they would call in question the right of his Presidentship, as being made only by the Provincials without any respect had unto the Forreigners. To this my Lord Bishop replyed, that for the first, since they were Members of the Synod, they would not do any thing clandestinely without the Consent and Pri-vity of the whole Company. To the second he answerd, that hitherto they had acknowledged him for their Preses, and so they would continue to do, notwithstanding any objection might be fancied, so that of them he might secure himself. And this is all hath hapned since Friday Morning, at what time I addrest my last Letters
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Letters unto your Honour: and for this time commending your Lordship to God's good Protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort, Decemb. 2. 1618. Stylo novo. Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

My Letters containing the acts of our Synod upon Friday and Saturday, I dispatched this morning unto your Honour by a Soldier whom I knew not, and he delivered them to a Skipper whom he knew not, and whether or no they came to your Lordships hands I am uncertain. There are to come with them Letters from my Lord Bishop to your Honour. Upon Monday the third of Decemb. the Deputies being met, they prosecuted the two questions before left undecided; First of the Baptizing of children born of Ethnick parents: secondly, of means considerable how to breed up those who are to enter the Ministry. In the first, concerning the adulis, the Synod agreed, that if they made profession of the Christian Faith they might be baptized, etiam invitus parentibus. Their reason was, because that after children came to be of years, in case of Religion they depended not from the power of their parents, but might make their own market. All the difficulty was of infants, and children not yet of discretion to make their choice. The English, the Professors, those of Hassia, those of Breme, of Zeland, of Freeiland thought it necessary they should be baptized, if they were rightfully adopted into Christian Families, and that their parents had altogether resigned them into the hands of the Christians. They grounded themselves upon the examples of Abraham circumcising all that were of his Family; of Paul baptizing whole households, of the primitive Church recorded in S. Auftin, who shews, that anciently children that were expostitiii were wont to be taken up by the Christians and baptized. Now such were the children of Ethnick parents; for it was never esteem'd lawful for Christians to expose their children. All the rest were peremptory that they were not to be baptized, till they came to be of years of Discretion, to make profession of the Faith. The North Hollanders themselves, whose business it was, and who moved the Synod in it, were expressly against it; whether they were bought, given, taken in war, or howsoever. Their reasons were, because they are immundi; because they are extra fædus, of which Baptisme is a signe; because Adoption could entitle them only to terrene, not to an Heavenly inheritance, &c. So that if plurality of voices carry it, the

* C nega-
negative part prevails. The \textit{Praeses} requir'd some time to compare the opinions together, and so for that time forbare to pronounce sentence. And because the examples of \textit{Abraham} and \textit{Paul} were much stood upon by those who held the affirmative, he proposed these two things to be considered of. First, whether it were likely that in \textit{Abrahams} Family, when he put circumcision in act, there were any Infants, whose Parents died uncircumcised. Secondly, whether it were likely that in the Families baptized by \textit{Paul}, there were any Infants, whose Parents died unbaptized: and so he past away to the second Question, concerning the manner of training up those who were to enter the Ministry. In my last Letters to your Honour I related at large the advice given in this point by the \textit{Zelanders} and \textit{South Hollanders}. It was now proposed to the Synod, whether they did approve their counsel, or except against it. Some thought it was unlawful for men not in Orders to preach publickly, or baptize; (for the \textit{South Hollanders} in their advice, had determined they should,) others thought it unmeet, that they should be present in the Consistories and meetings of Deacons, or that they should read the Scriptures publickly in the Church (which was the joint advice of the \textit{Zelanders} and \textit{South Hollanders}.) Lastly, it was doubted whether the Synod could make any Decree in this Question; because of the several customs in several Provinces, which it lay not in the power of the Synod to prejudice. So that instead of deciding this one doubt the \textit{Praeses} proposed five more to be considered of.

1. Whether men not in Orders might make publiclike Sermons. 2. Whether they might baptize. 3. Whether it were fit they should come into the Consistories. 4. Whether they should read the Scriptures publickly. 5. Whether the Synod could make a Decree in this business, for the reason above mentioned, or only give advice. The Synod had begun to speak to the two first, and it was the general opinion that they might not baptize. In the point of preaching they differ'd. Some thought absolutely it might be permitted them: others on the contrary thought no: some took a middle course, thinking they might preach privately before a select Auditory, who were to be their Judges how sufficient they were for that end: some that they may do it openly, so that it were understood they did it not \textit{cum potestate solvendi et ligandi}. But when part of the Synod had spoken their minds, because the time was much past'd, they brake up, and put off the determination to the next Session.

Here is a rumor that some of the Remonstrants are come to Town, who they are I cannot yet learn. I shall to morrow make inquiry, and by the next Messenger acquaint your Lordship with it. In the mean time I humbly take my leave.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Tuesday the fourth of December, Style nova, the Deputies being met in the morning they proceeded to determine of those doubts, which were moved the Session before. In the matter consulted concerning the training up of those who were to take upon them the Ministry, there were five questions moved. 1. Whether it were fit they should preach publicly. 2. Whether they should baptize. 3. Whether they should come to the Consistory and meetings of the Classis. 4. Whether they should read the Scriptures publicly in the Church before the people. Lastly, whether they should make a Decree to bind all Provinces necessarily, or only to advise them. To the first two the Exteri had given their answer in the former Session. For the question of Baptism, no man stood upon it, but all accounted it unlawful, for men not in orders to take upon them to baptize: the doubt was concerning Sermons. Jo. Polyander thought it very fit that such as intended the Ministry, before they were admitted should practise preaching. First because it was the practice of some of the Belgick Churches. Secondly, because it took from them the work of many men, by which they feared to speak unto the people. Thirdly, because it was convenient that they should be known for men fit for that duty, before they should enter upon it. Fourthly, that they might approve themselves to their Parents and Benefactors, who had been at the charge of their Education. Provided that it were with these conditions: first that it were done with consent of the Classis; Secondly that it were practised only when the Church was unsupplied, either by the death, or absence, or sickness of their Pastor, or in case of necessity. With Polyander did Wallaeus of Middleburgh agree, and grounded himself upon the practice of the Jews, amongst whom not only the Levites, but others also publicly taught the Law, as it appears by the story in the Acts, where Paul and Barnabas coming into the Synagogue, the Rulers call’d unto them, that if they had any word of exhortation, they should speak unto the people. Contrary unto both these was D. Gunarius, who held it utterly unlawful for any to preach before they were admitted to the Ministry. First, because they had no Mission; and who can preach except he be sent. Secondly, because they had not the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Thirdly, it was granted that they could not baptize: now Christ hath put Baptism and Preaching together, Go teach all Nations baptizing them: & que Deus conjunxit homo ne separet. Last of all, though there had been a custom
in some places to the contrary, yet fitter it was that custom should conform it self to Truth, then Truth to custom. With Gomarus agreed Thysius, and thought his argument drawn from Mission to be unanswerable; and for mine own part I thought fo to. D. Gomarus is a man of great note; but I never heard him speak with any strength of reason in the Synod till now. What Silvanus his opinion was concerning the point I know not; for he doth so favour his voice, that I can never tell what he faith: and I imagine I have no great loss of it. After the Professors was there little said, which was not said before, only Lydus of South Holland thought certainly to confute Gomarus, and told us, that such men might preach, and that they had Vocation so to do. For first that inward Vocation which they had from the Spirit, and then their Examination and Admission by the Classes was warrant for them sufficient to preach, though they had no particular charge. For this good News did Mr. Dean of Worcester publiquely applaud D. Lydus in the Synod. I marvel'd much with my self to see Mr. Dean and Lydus so wide of the mark. For there was no question of those who were admitted by the Classes, but only of such who fitted themselves to be admitted. The Examination and Admission by the Classes is the very form of their Ministry, and not their being placed over a particular Church. And thus much at length did the Profes tell us. When all had spoken, Mr. Profes pronounced that it was concluded by the Synod, that it should not be lawful for them to baptize: but for the matter of Sermons, it was thought good by the Synod, that it should be left to the Judgement and Discretion of the particular Classes. In the third question concerning the Admission of the Proposentes (as they call themselves) to the Consilories, little was said, and so in the fourth, concerning the publike reading of Scripture in the Church; Some thought it that the ancient custom of Antignote in the Church should be revived: others thought it some disparagement to publike Reading, that it was committed to Tradesmen, and many times to men unskilful, that knew not well to read: In both these the Synod determined nothing, but left them free to the discretion of the Classes; and the later was to be left to the Liberty of the Proposentes, whether they would read or no; and that they were not to be informed to it, if they would not. In the last question whether they should make any necessary Decree binding all, or only by way of Counsel, my Lord Bishop being asked what he thought fit, made an answer, that they were to distinguish betwixt things necessary, and not necessary. Things absolutely necessary should be absolutely decreed: other things should be left arbitrary. Which sentence pas'd by the major part of voices, and was Synodically concluded. Here the Deputies for the Remonstrants of Utrecht exhibited
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To the Synod in Writing. A Bill, containing some exceptions against what hitherto had pass'd in the matter of the Catechism. First they disliked that any such form should be forced upon them. Secondly, that all Scholemaisters should be so strictly bound to that form, as that it should not be lawful to recede from it. For this did prejudice all other forms now currant, and might discontent the Lutherans and others, who had admitted of another form. Thirdly, they charged the Preses with some indirect dealing. For whereas he had, while the business was in fieri, solemnly protested, that there was no intent concerning the matter, but only concerning the form of Catechizing, yet in the issue they had confirmed the Palatine Catechism, which contained as well matter as form. Fourthly, they disliked the Decree concerning the not premising of a Text of Scripture before catechetical Sermons. Lastly, they required that this their dissent might be registred. To this the Preses replied, that the Synod had only express'd what it thought fittest to be done. As for the necessity of Execution, that was not in the power of the Synod, but of the States General, who when all was done, might either pass or recall what they thought good. Secondly to the point concerning himself, he answered, he had done so, and thought it fittest so to do (but the Synod thought otherwise) and since there was a matter of Catechism to be concluded, they thought they might confirm this as well as any other; and this was not so confirm'd, but that it was in the power of the Synod to alter what they please. To the point of premising a Text of Scripture before the catechetical Sermon, he answered that the determination of the Synod was not to take that custom away there where it was in use, but only to prohibit the urging of it there where it had a long time been disused. To the last, concerning the Registering of this their dissent, he answered, he saw not how this could be granted them; since the States General had concluded, that what pass'd by a major part of voices, should alone be accounted the Act of the Synod; and by the same proportion every one that pass'd not his voice with the major part might require his dissent to be registred. After this the Preses signified that concerning the question of the baptizing of Ethnicks children put up by the Church of Amsterdam; he required yet farther respite, because of the opinion of some of the Synod, which was somewhat ambiguous and obscure. He was therefore to conferre with the Authors of it, and therefore desir'd that the resolution might be put off till the next Session; and withall he commended to the Synod the consideration how the liberty of printing to promiscuously all kinds of scandalous and libellous Pamphlets might be repress'd, and so he dismissed the Synod.

The
Mr. Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort

The Remonstrants are in Town, but because they keep themselves private, and have not presented themselves unto the States and Deputies, there is no notice taken of it. And so commending your Honor to Gods good Protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 4. of Decem.
1618. stylo novo. Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

Upon Wednesday the 5. of December, stylo novo, the Deputies being met in the morning, the first thing which was done, was the admission of a Senior or Elder for those of Groninge, whose number as it seems was not yet full. The thing was transacted in Dutch, and yet the consent of the English was askt: at which I did not a little muse. Next followed the advice of the Helvetians, what course was to be taken with those, who are to enter the Ministry; in which there was no great matter from what before was intimated. The Palatini promised the like, and therefore the Prefes requir'd yet farther repition before they did conceive any form of Decree in this behalf. Then followed the Decree of the Synod concerning the question moved by those of Amsterdam, about the Baptism of children born of Ethnique Parents. The Decision consist'd of two parts. The first concern'd the Adulti, and it was this; That such as were of years and capacity should be diligently taught and catechiz'd, and then, if they did desire it, they should be baptized. The second concern'd Infants, and it was, That till they came to years of discretion, they should by no means be baptized. A strange decision, and such as, if my memory or reading fails me not, no Church either Ancient or Modern ever gave. When it was objected, what if they were in danger of death; their answer was, that the want of Baptism would not prejudice them with God, except we would determine as the Papists do, that Baptism is necessary to salvation. Which is as much to undervalue the necessity of Baptism as the Church of Rome doth overvalue it. Here followed a recitation of all that had been done since the business of the Catechism had been set on foot: amongst the rest was registred the exceptions of the Remonstrants of Utrecht, and it was added, atque illas est a Preside satisfactionis. Those of Utrecht excepted against that word satisfaction, they had, said they, an answer, given them, but no satisfaction. For they persisted in their former opinion: and forthwith that word was alter'd. Here was a doubt mov'd, whether it were not fit that some of the especial
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especial Reasons brought by the Synod in the Question of the Baptism of Infants should not be added to the Decree. It was answered, That Reasons were obnoxious to cavil and exceptions, and it was not for the Authority of the Synod to Reason but to Decree. After this the Præses signified to the Synod that the time prefixed for the appearance of the Remonstrants was now expiring, and yet nothing was signified concerning their appearance neither to the Secular President, nor Ecclesiastical. Wherefore naming them all, he thought good to cite them to appear. It was answered by those of Utrecht, that they did provide and would shortly be forth coming. In the mean while to take up the time, Mr. Præses thought good to commend to the Synod the consideration and redress of those abuses which were in Printing. Every man was suffered to print what he list, whence came abundance of heretical, obscene and scandalous Pamphlets. Many here delivered their opinions, others required farther time to think of it. The English first thought fit that the States General should be requested to take the care of this into their hands. That there should be Cenfors to approve all such Books as should go to the Præs. That no man should print, but such as were known to be of the Reformed Religion. Unto this advice divers things were added by others; as that there should be a set number of Printers: that they should be sworn: that there should be certain Laws prescribed unto them: that they should print no Heretical Books, especially the Books of David Georgius, H. Nicolau Socinii: that no libels, no unlawful pictures, either obscene, or made to any mans disgrace, should be permitted: that no Book should be printed without the names of the Author, Printer, Place, except the Synod or the Magistrates did in some cases otherwise think good: that there should be care that the Correctors for the Præs were good Scholars: and many other things of the like nature. Then were there read certain Canons made in some Synods before, concerning this business. Theodatus of Geneva told us, that in his travails, at Venice he had observed that there was a Colledge of sundry persons, secular and spiritual, to whose care was committed all the business of Printing. He thought it fit there should be such Colledges here erected. When all had spoken that would, the Præses told them that Adrian Socinius had written a little Book in the Belgick Tongue unto the Synod, and sent the copies of it to him to be distributed. And so requiring them to take in good part the good will of the man, for want of more business the Synod brake up.

At length are we coming to the main battle. The Armies have been in sight one of another, and have had some parley. The manner was this. Upon Thursday the 6. of December, stylo novo. The Synod being set in the
the morning, the Prefes signified, that there had come unto him in the
name of the Remonstrants these power, H. Leo, Niellius, Matthius, and
Pinakerus, to give notice that the Remonstrants were ready according
to their Citation; but because they had but lately come unto the Town,
that yet convenient Lodgings were not provided, their papers, books
and stuff were confused, therefore they requir’d respite either till Sat-
terday, or at least Friday morning. The President of the Politicks re-
plied, that they should come, and personally make appearance before
the Synod, and there propose their mindes, and if the Synod approved
their causes, they might be deferr’d. Upon this were two of the De-
puties of Utrecht sent forth, to give them warning to provide for their
present appearance. In the mean while, till they came, the Prefes
thought fit, that such as in the former Session delivered not themselves
concerning the Reformation of abuses in Printing, should now do it.
Here was little delivered, besides what was said the day before, only
some few particulars, as that order should be taken to repress this long-
ing humour in many men of coming to the Prefes: that there should be
no Impression of the Bible at any time without leave had: Forreign
Books brought out of other Countreys should not be distracted here
without peculiar leave, after their being perused by the Censurers: to
cafe the Censurers, that they might not be troubled with reading too
great a multitude of improftable books, it was thought fit, that the
books should first be brought to the Classis, and what they approved
should be brought to the Censurers, &c. In the mean while the Remon-
frants came, all that were cited by Letters, and were admitted into the
Synod. There is in the midst of the Synod-House a long Table, set, as
it seems, for them; for it hath hitherto been void, no man sitting at it:
here Chairs and Forms being set, they were willed to sit down. The Prefes
told them, that he had commended to the Synod their Suit of being a
little respite: but it was the will of the Deputies for the States, that
they should come before the Synod, and propose their cause themselves.
Episcopius standing up, spake to this effect. « First he prayed God to
give a blessing to this Meeting, and to pourre into their mindes such
conceits, as best fitted men come together for such ends: then he
signified, that according to their Citation they were now come ad
collationem infritvendam, concerning that cause, which hitherto with
a good Conscience they had maintaine’d. As for the point of delay,
true it is they spake to the Prefes concerning a respite until Saturday
or Friday, by reason of that great distraction of their books and pa-
pers, and want of convenient lodging, but not as a petition to be
moved in that behalf unto the Synod; but only as a thing which out
of common equity they might have presumed on without acquainting
the
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The Synod with it. For they were ready, even at that present to begin the business they came for, without any further delay. But this they left to the Deputies Secular and Ecclesiastical to determine of. Then were they requested to withdraw a little into a chamber near the Synod House; and immediately was it proposed unto the Synod, what time was to be set for to begin. The time prefix was the morrow after. Jo. Polyander took hold of those words, ad collationem, and told the Synod, that it was fit the Remonstrants were told the end of their coming, and the manner of proceeding which should be taken with them; that they might know what they were to look for, and so provide. They were to be informed, that they came not to conference; neither did the Synod profess it self an adverse party against them. Conferences had been heretofore held to no purpose. They ought to have heeded the words of the Letters by which they were cited. They were called, not to conference, but to propose their Opinions with their Reasons, and leave it to the Synod to judge of them. The Synod would be a Judge, and not a party. Then were they call’d in again, and all this was told them. Episcopius answered, that for the word Collatio he stood not on it, and how they would carry themselves it should appear the day following. Mean while one thing they would request of the Synod: that is, that Grevinchovius and Goulartius should be sent for to the Synod as Patrons of this cause. That they had this last week exhibited a Supplication to the States General to this purpose, and receav’d this answer, that they should put this matter to the Synod, and if the Synod thought it fit to be granted, they would not be against it. Neither did they propose this to seek delays. For they were ready, whilst these men should be sent for to proceed to the action. Only they thought fit, that to maintain their cause they should be sent for, who could best do it. Then were they again dismiss’d: and one was sent to them, to call for their Supplication to the Lords, and the Lords Answer. To this they return’d, that the Lords gave this answer, not in writing, but by word of mouth, and for the copy of their Supplication, they called not for it any more. Then was the thing propos’d unto the Synod, and the Secular Deputies replied, that they would return their answer on the morrow: and the same was the answer of the Synod. Mr. Prefes thought that Grevinchovius might be admitted, salvis censuris Ecclesiasticis: yet notwithstanding he thought good to acquaint the Synod with the quality of this man, and therupon he produced the Act of the Provincial Synod of South Holland, wherein it was witnessed, that the Synod, because he did refuse to appear when they cited him, and because of many blasphemies in his Book, and of many reproachful speeches against the Magistrates and against the Ministers, had...
suspended him ab omnium munere Ecclesiastic. From this Grevinbovius had not appealed to the National Synod, and therefore it was in the power of the Synod to do what they thought fit. Then were the Remonstrants again called in, and it was signified unto them, that on the morrow they should understand the will of the Synod concerning their motion made, and so were they again dismissed; and the Session ended, the Prees having first premised, that all other things yet depending, as the Decree concerning the Proponentes, together with the Remedies concerning the abuses in Printing, and what else soever, must be deferred, and the business in hand alone attended.

My Lord Bishop was desirous that Mr. Carleton should stay this day, to see the coming of the Remonstrants. I would have had him stay to-morrow likewise, that he might have seen the manner of proceeding with them; but he would not. Here is speech that Sulpicius is to make the next Latin Sermon; but when we know not. There is a rumour that Plutinus is gone from Tergone, but of this I suppose your Honour may have better information than I can give; therefore ceasing to trouble your Honour any longer I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 6. of Novemb. 1618. stylo novo. Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

In my last Letters to your Honour, I related a doubt concerning the Deputies for the Remonstrants of Utrecht; whether they were to be a part of the Synod, or in the number of the Remonstrants, who were cited to appear before the Synod. The reasons of that doubt, which then I understood not were these. First, because in their Credential Letters they were charged to defend the cause of the Remonstrants. Now it could not be that they should be both Defendants and Judges in the same cause. Secondly, it was objected that their case was the same per omnium with Episcopium, who was to have been of the Synod, if he would have brought his Credential Letters, as the rest of the Professors were. But he refused it, because in the Remonstrants cause he was to be a party, except he would have laid by the Defence of that cause. Thirdly, when the question was of citing the Remonstrants out of each Province, it was then concluded in the Synod, that out of the Province of Utrecht none should be cited to appear, because of that Province there were some already, and therefore it was superfluous to cite any more. In the judgment of the Synod therefore they were in numero citatorum.
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citatorum, as far as concern'd that cause, and not in the number of the Members of the Synod. Unto these Reasons were they charged to give their answer upon Saturday, and then to resolve whether they would forfake the words of their Credential Letters, and so remain Judges, or else stand unto them, and become in the number of the citati. Wherefore upon Saturday, the 8. of December, fyo novo, The Synod being met in the morning, the Deputies for the Remonftrants gave up their Answer in scripto to these Reasons. And to the first concerning the Clause in their Credential Letters, they answered, that they were not for limited, but that in their private instructions they had leave to do otherwise, if they thought good. To the second, concerning the Parity of their case with Episcoiuis, they answered, that their case was quite another; for they were sent from their Provinces as Members of the Synod, which plea Episcopus could not make. To the third, concerning the intent of the Synod at the Citation they answered, that they never so understood the words of the Synod, neither did they know but that they might shew themselves for the cause of the Remonftrants, and yet sit as Judges, since they were there to defend their opinion no otherwise then the Contra-Remonftrants were to defend theirs: and therefore they were purposed to take the oath, and to keep their places. The Prefes then required them to shew that clause in their private instructions, wherein that reservation was which they pretended. They stuck a little at first to bring forth their instructions, but at length seeing there was no other remedy they consented to do it, provided that no more should be read then what they would suffer: which was granted them. In the mean time whilst they were providing to produce their instructions, there were read in the Synod the letters of the Provinciail Synod of South Holland, directed to the Nationall, to this purpose: that whereas Theophilus Ryckwardius, one of thoſe who was cited among the Remonftrants, had lately been by them convicted for certain misdemeanors the Synod would be pleased to give him leave to returne and make his answer to such objections as they had to charge him with. The thing was put to the determination of the Synod. The Deputies of the States thought it should be left to his own discretion to do as he thought good. Others thought it not fit he should be sent from the greater Synod to a letter. Others thought it was necessary he should immediately be sent away to make his answer, since it was question of behaviour and manners only, and not of doctrine. In the end it was concluded it should be left to his own discretion, to do as he thought good. By this time were the Remonftrants of Utrecht ready to shew their instructions, which they there openly produced, but to no purpose at all. For all they could shew was this, that they had
commission to defend their cause, or to labour, at least for an accommodation or toleration of it: but that they had power to pronounce decisively de veritate aut falsitate sententiae, that did not as yet appear. The thing was acted with much altercation on both sides. At length it was agreed, with some reluctance on the Remonstrants party, that it should be put to the determination of the Synod, whether they were to be accounted as Judges, or only as citati. Some favourably thought that their private instructions were not too narrowly to be lifted, but if they would suo periculo take the oath, it should be sufficient. Others thought that an oath was a greater matter than should so easily be permitted, although men did offer to take it, there being so good cause of doubt as now there was. Others examining there Credential letters, and the words of their private Communion, and finding no authority given them to define de falsitate sententiae, if it should appear to be false, and that the lowest point they could descend unto, was a Tolleration, concluded they could be no other then citati. As for their plea, that they came to defend their opinion no other wise then the Contra-Remonstrants did for theirs, it was replied, first that they did the Synod wrong to make this distinction of Contra-Remonstrants and Remonstrants: for in the Synod there was no Contra-Remonstrant, and no man was call’d thither under that name, whereas they in their letters came under the name of Remonstrants. Again, No man came with charge to defend any opinion, but were free to pronounce according to truth wherefoever it should be, which was not their case. In the end the judgement of the Synod was given up, that they could not be of the members of the Synod in this cause (for in any other they might) but only as citati. Yet notwithstanding that they might see the equity of the Synod toward them, it was permitted them to keep their places upon these conditions: first if they would quit their defence of the cause; Secondly if they would give no advise or counsel directly or indirectly to the citati, and by no means meddle with them in their cause: thirdly, that they did not divulge any of the Acts and Secrets of the Synod (which Clause was a mere Formality. For who can expect that that should not be divulged, which is done in the sight of so many Spectators? Fourthly, that they should not be troublesome to the Synod, by any importunate interpellations. This if they would promise, they should take the Oath, and sit as Judges; otherwise, no. Unto this were they charged immediately to give their answer. They again required respite. It was answered, that this request was needless, the case being so plain, and injurious to the Synod in detaining them from their business by frivolous delays. They persisting still in their Suit, the thing again was devolv’d unto the Synod, whether they should give their Answer present
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fently, or have farther respite. It was concluded that they should re-
pair to Mr. Prefes the same day at five of the clock in the Evening,
there without farther delay, roundly to deliver their resolution.
Which thing yet they did not. They came indeed at the time appoint-
ed, but gave no Resolution, neither yet have done, for any thing I can
hear. And this was all was done that Session. I mervail much that the
Province of Utrecht, being the strength of the Remonstrants, could
find no wiser men to handle their Cause. For as they did very fool-
ishly in bewraying their private intrusions, so in this whole alterca-
tion did they not speak one wise word. This Session the Remonstrants
that were cited appeared not all.

Episcopus is reported to have put a trick upon the Seculars. For
whereas in his speech he had said some things concerning them, in that
Copie which was exhibited, sign'd with all their hands, there is no such
thing appears. He had committed it only to his Memory, as foreseeing
the Copie might be called for.

Mr. Prefes remembers his love and service to your Lordship, and hath
sent you a Copie of the Book which Adrian Smoutius dedicated to the
Synod. The greatest Newes, for ought I perceive, is, that it is dedi-
cated to the Synod; for else there is little that concerns them. I have
troubled your Lordship with very long repetition of a petit matter:
but it was all the argument of the Session. I trow, to morrow we shall
have other manner of stuff. And so ceasing to trouble your Lordship,
I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 9. of Decem.
1618. bylo novo.

Your Honours Chaplain, and
bounden in all Duty, Jo.Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

On Monday the 10. of December, bylo novo, the Deputies met in the
morning, where the first thing determined, was the question as yet
depending concerning the Remonstrants of Utrecht. They had accord-
ing to their appointment come to the Prefes and Aseffors to give their
Answer, which was meerly dilatory, containing their answers to such
reasons as the Synod on the Saterday Session had brought to prove them
in the number of the Citati. But having better bethought themselves,
on the Munday a little before the Morning Session, they delivered
their Resolution to the Prefes, to this effect, that since nothing else
would content the Synod, they had resolv'd to leave their place of
Judges, and to adjoyn themselves to the other Remonstrants which
were:
were cited: and so they did. After this fell in some speech concerning
a supplication lately exhibited by the Remonstrants unto the Exteri:
and because it seem'd to contain some aspersions against the Synod,
there was question made whether or not it should be publickly read and
stand: but this motion died, and there was nothing done in it. A Copie
of this Supputation, I think, my Lord Bishop lately sent your Honour.
Then Mr. Praefes signified unto the Synod, that without farther delay
he thought it fit, the Remonstrants should be put in minde of the end
of their coming, and that they should put up their minds in writing,
concerning the five points in question, and that forthwith. For he
doubted it not, but they came very well provided to do it: and more,
that some years past, they had provided certain considerations to be at
hand, whencesoever they should be called for, with which the World
was not yet acquainted. This thing he remember'd Monsieur Barnevelt
sometime told him in private conference, and the Remonstrants them-
selves have told the World as much in their presior declaratio, which
they joyn'd to their Edition of the Conference at the Hague. Then
were the Remonstrants call'd in, and told, First of their indirect dealing,
in pretending themselves to have but one Copie of their Oration,
whereas it was known they had another, and in delivering up a broken
Copie: then of the end of their being convented by the Synod. But
by the way one thing was urged somewhat unnecessarily. The Remon-
strants had given up, (as I told your Honour) their speech signed
with all their hands. When those of Utrecht had joyn'd them selves unto
them, they were urged to put to their hands also: to which they reply-
ed, they had not as yet read it. Here Episcopius took occasion to clear him-
selv of that imputation lately fastned upon him, that he had abused the
Delegates, in giving them a counterfeit copy of his speech: protesting
he was not so ill qualified, as that in so great a matter, and that before
God and so grave a Congregation he would deal doubly, and dishonest-
ly: that he never affirm'd that he had one only Copie, but that he had
none fairly written; for he confess he had another, and that the reason
why he requested either the same Copie again, or at least a Transcript of
it, was, because there was some difference between the two Copies, and
they had not yet perfectly compar'd them together. The Praefes an-
swered, that what was laid to their Charge, was nothing else but that
which the Synod verily understood to have been done, and he thinks,
that if the Memories of those in the Synod were consult'd with, they
would all confirm it. About this was there likely to have been some al-
tercation farther, but the Secular Praefes will'd them to leave that and
pass to their business. Here Episcopius besought the Synod that he might
have leave to speak some things by way of Proem, ere they came to the
Action.
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Action. It was at first denied him, but he did so earnestly intreat, that at length he had leave to speak his mind: and so forthwith there was recited e Scripto a long and tedious speech of two hours, at the least: consisting of two general heads: First of Exceptions they had against the Synod tanquam in judicem incompetentem: Secondly of a conceit of their own, what manner of Synod they thought fit it should be, which was to compose these controversies in hand. Their reasons of Exceptions were many, and manifoldly amplified and confirmed: but amongst them all there were two especially insisted upon. First, it was against all equity and nature that the adverse party should be Judge: the Synod was here the adverse party, and therefore they could not be Judges. Secondly, those who had made an open Schism and Faction in the Church, and had separated themselves from their brethren, could not be their Judges: but of this Synod a great part were Authors of Schism, and the rest Favourers and Abettors of it: they could not therefore be their Judges. In the prosecution of which Reason they did not spare very liberally to bestow on the Synod the name of Schismatici & Novatores, and Schismatum Fautores, and other goodly titles of the same nature. The second part of their Oration was a meere Chimera saltans in vacuo; a strange phancy of such a Synod as never was, nor can be. I had thought to have taken an abstract of it, but the tediousness of it deter'd me. I will give your Honour a taste or two of it. There were but two ways of instituting a Synod for the ending of these quarrels. The first was, by seeking out every where certain select men, who all this time of contention had taken part with neither side; but kept themselves unpartial. Secondly, if a Synod of such could not be found (as I think it could scarcely be found in the Netherlands, though the Sun it self should seek it,) then such a Synod should be framed, as in which should be an equal number of both parties, each with their several Praeses and Affectos; and they should debate the matter betwixt themselves: and if they could not agree, (as it is likely they would not) what then, thought I? shall they part as they came? No forsooth. The Civil Magistrate, tanquam Deus e machina, he must come in, and prescribe the Moderamen, from which neither party must appeal. Provided always, that he laboured onely for Accomodation, and not to determine decisively for on part. Et in præsens, And so I spake. Of the same thread was the whole piece of their speech. When they had well and thoroughly wearied their Auditory, they did that which we much desired; they made an end. The Praeses made a brief answer to this effect. For the point of Schism faith he, it is not yet fit time to discuss. But when it should in the Synod be made plain what had been the receiv'd
Mr. Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort

Doctrine of the Church, then it would appear who they were that had made secession from it, and so were guilty of Schism. If you refuse us because we are your Adversaries, whom would you have deputed as Judges? your selves, or the Papists, or the Anabaptists, or the Libertines, or some other faction in these Countries? Let us be Schismatists, let us be Scribes and Pharisees, and worse; yet you may not deny this Synod to be a lawful Synod. For first it was done by the Civil Magistrate who had authority to do it. Secondly, such as were there were deputed by the consent of the Provinces. Thirdly, they had all taken their oaths to judge uprightly. This is enough to make us your Judges, and common Charity should make you to hope we would judge uprightly: at least it should make you resolve thus far, if we should decide truly, you would subscribe unto it, if otherwise you would patiently bear it. If you were in our places, so deputed, so sworn, and we were to be judged by you, we were to do the like. Here followed some wrangling to no great purpose, and so the Session ended.

The same day after dinner the Deputies met again; where first the Prefets commended to the Synod the consideration of that reproachful Name of Schism, which the Remonstrants did so openly and so often brand them with. For it was Episcopus his palmarium argumentum, the Synod was all either Schismatists or favourers of them, and therefore could not be their Judges. It was much that they should grow to that boldness, as that openly they should call the Synod, the Seculars, the chief Magistrate, yea the Prince of Orange himself, Schismatists. For what had formerly been done in the matter of Secession and Division of Churches was done by their consent and approbation. He requir'd therefore the Synod to deliver themselves what was to be done. Divers spake diversly. Lydus of South Holland relating the story of what had been done in the time of separation, clear'd them of Schism; and thence first, that the name of Schism was used craftily by them, as for a reproach, so likewise for a farther end they had for themselves. For a Schism is only a breach of Charity and peace of the Church, the Doctrine remaining intire. If there were a separation by reason of Doctrine Heretical (as here he thought there was) it was not to be call'd a Schism. Now the Remonstrants did therefore use the name of Schism, that they might perswade the world, that the difference was only in certain points indifferent, in which it matter'd not which end went forward, by this means to make their way open to a tolleration. Again, the separation which was made, was made upon good reason. For they were forced unto it by the Remonstrants violence, as in particular he did shew. At length he and the rest of the Synod concluded, that they should roundly be put in minde of their duty, and to speak more relia
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Effectively to the Synod. Upon this the Remonstrants being called in, the Prefes signified what the Synod disliked in them, and what behaviour it expected at their hands: and withall will'd them to attend the Decree of the States. Episcopius would have answer'd, but he was prohibited. Then immediately followed a decree of the States to this purpose; that whereas the Remonstrants had hitherto made many dilatory answers, to the injury both of the Ecleiasticks and Seculars, it was decreed by them, that they should lay by all frivolous Exceptions, and dilatory answers, and forthwith proceed to set down their minde concerning the Five Articles, for which end they were come together. Then began Episcopius to purge himself, and declare, that in the imputation of Schism they included not the Seculars, they only charged the Ecleiasticks: and if the Seculars had a hand in it, they medled not with that. The Prefes urged them to give their answer, whether or no they would set down their minde concerning the points in controversy: they still excepted, that the Synod were not their competent Judges. The Prefes asked by whom they would be judged? they replied, they would not answer this, it was sufficient that the Synod could not be their Judges. They were will'd to remember they were Citati: they replied, Citatorum est excipere de competentia judicis. The Prefes of the Seculars will'd them remember that they were Subjects; they replied, the Magistrate could not command their Consciences: being again will'd to give their answer, whether or no they would exhibit their minde concerning the five Articles, they requir'd first to have their exceptions answer'd; when no other answer would be given, they dismiff them, and appointed that of the Synod two should be chosen Delegates, who should immediately go to them, and in the name of the Synod warn them to lay by all other answers, and at the next Session Categorically answer, whether they would exhibit their minde concerning the points in Controversy, or no: that so the Synod might know what they had to do: and so they brake up: this morning therefore we look what will be done. And so for this time I humbly take my leave, commending your Honour to Gods good Protection.

Dort, Decemb. 11.

Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales

Of the Remonstrants of Utrecht, two only have joyn'd themselves to the Citati: the third, which is an Elder, professor to submit himself to the judgement of the Synod, if they shall decide according to his Conscience; and that if it pleaseth the Synod to give him his Oath, he is ready to judge neither as Remonstrant nor Contra-Remonstrant, but accordingly as it shall pleaseth God to open him the truth in the Synod.

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Right
Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

On Thursday the 4th of December, the Synod being sat, and repetition made, according to the custom, of what had past in the former session, the Remonstrants being called in were asked whether or no they had set down in writing their opinion concerning the first article. Forthwith they exhibited to the Synod their opinion subscribed with all their hands. The copie of this your Lordship shall receive here with these letters. The paper being read, the Preses asked them all on by one whether this were their opinion, to which each man answered affirmatively. The Remonstrants being dissuaded the Preses proposed to the Synod, whether it were not fit that they should be sent for one by one and examined singly as concerning their tenent. His reason was, because he understood that they made themselves an Antisynod, and had among themselves ordained a Preses, two Assessours, and two Scribes according to the form of the Synod: and so they did all things communis consensu like a little Synod: to this some answered that they thought it fit: some that those only should be singled out who were carried away with respect to their company, and if they were alone would think and do otherwise: others thought it utterly unfit because it might seem olea artificio aliquid, to favour of a trick, whereas it best became the Synod to do all things candide & sinceræ: others would have no man examined alone but when all the rest were by: others left it to the judgement of the Preses to do as he thought good when occasion served: which last sentence as it seemed stood good. After this was there a general exception against the manner in which they had proposed their sentence: that they had done it confusa, dilata, & obscure: that they had intermingled things impertinent and belonging to other questions: that the most of their proposals were negatives what they did not hold, and not affirmatives what they did; whereas their appearance there was to shew what they did hold, not what they did not hold. And it was discovered that this their proceeding by negatives was, that they might take occasions to refute other opinions, and not to confirm their own; whereas by the decree of the States they were call'd thither ut sententiam SUAM dilucide, perspicue & explicer, & defendente not that they should oppugne others. That it had been their custom very liberally to examine other men's opinions and to be sparing in confirming their own. That if they did refuse to deal more plainly in expounding their mind, the Synod should take order that the state of the question should be taken out of their books, especially out
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our of the Hague conference, and so they should be questioned whether they would stand to it or no: that they did maintain amongst them an implicit faith, and it was usuall with some of them, when they were preft with any reason they could not put by, to answer that though themselves could say little to it, yet such and such could say much, which was enough for them. When all had spoken their pleasure, the conclusion of the Synod was, that they must reform the manner of propounding their mind: that they must give up their answer in affirmatives, as much as was possible: that this form of answer was not according to the Decree of the States: and this was the effect of that Session.

On Friday the 1st of Decemb. there was a short Session in the morning. The matter propounded was, whether it were not fit that the Remonstrants should be required to give up their minds concerning all the five points before the Synod proceeded to examine or determine any thing. The reafon was, the connexion of the points mutually one with another, for which cause it was hard to determine of one, except their mind in the rest were known. The Secular Lords and the Synod liked well of the proposal. Those of Geneva thought it best to take their opinions out of their books: to which the Prefs answer'd, that it could not be, because they were call'd thither by their citatory Letters to propose and defend their own opinions. That they could not complain of the Synod for calling on them thus at once to deliver themselves. For the Synod doubts not that they were provided, since themselves had long since given it out in their books and private speeches that they were provided. The Remonstrants then being called in, were told that it was the determination of the Synod that they should deliver their opinions at once concerning the five points; and for this they had given them time till Munday. For this would prove better for the Synod and for themselves. Then that they should deliver themselves in affirmatives as much as possibly might be. For by their negatives they delivered not their own opinions, but diverted upon others. The Confessions and Creeds had always been framed by affirmatives; thus or thus we do believe; not by negatives. To this they replied, Attendemus ad ea que a Domino Prefide dirixit, et considerabimus. Then did the Prefes signifie that on the morrow there should be a Latin sermon in the Synod house. Scultetus is the man that makes it. And this is the effect of what was done at that time and so ceasing to trouble your Lordship any farther at this time, I humbly take my leave, resting.

Dort this 15. of Decemb. 1618. Stylo novo.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

The seventh of December, stylo novo, being Friday, in the morning the Synod met; the first thing that was done, was the pronouncing the Decree of the States concerning Grevinchovius and Goulartius to this effect, That whereas the Remonstrants had petitioned to the States, that Grevinchovius and Goulartius might be admitted into the Synod, there to defend the Remonstrants Cause, the Lords for good causes thought they neither ought, nor could grant it; yet thus much did they graciously permit, that they might freely come in private, and do them what help they could; and if they thought, that in any thing they saw further into the Cause then their Brethren, they might have leave to exhibit their minde in writing to the Synod. Provided, First, that they had leave of the Synod so to do: Secondly, that they did not seek any frivolous delays: Thirdly, that they promised to submit themselves to the Decree of the Synod: and last of all, that the Church Censures respectively pass’d on Grevinchovius and Goulartius be not prejudiced; but stand still in their full force and vertue. This Decree was consetted unto by the whole Synod. Here the Preses admonisht thos of Utrecht to provide themselves, and resolve what they would do; whether they would profess themselves parties for the Remonstrants, or keep their places, and fit as Judges; if they would express as parties, then must they cease to be accounted part of the Synod, and be accounted as Episcopius and the rest that were cited. They requir’d that time might be given them to deliberate. The Preses eagerly urged them to give their resolute anwer. They replyed it was a greater matter then might so soon be dispatch’t. So far they went, that at length they fell on some warm words. For when two of the Remonstrants Deputies by chance spake both at once, the Preses admonisht them to speak modestius & ornatus. For men here speak one by one, and not by pairs. But here the Secular Deputies strook in, and thought it they should have time of respite till the morrow: yet so that in the mean time the Synod shoul proceed: Then were the Remonstrants call’d in, and the Decree of the States concerning Grevinchovius and Goulartius read unto them: Episcopius standing up requir’d that a little time might be granted to them to speak, and forthwith uttered an Oration, acerum sanè & animosam, and about which, by reason of some particulars in it, there will grow some stirre. The effect of the Oration was this.

That
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That Religion was the chiefest note of a man; and we were more distinguished by it from other Creatures, than by our Reason. That their appearance before the Synod was, ut illam etiam Spartam ornament, that they might endeavour something for the preservation of the Purity of Religion: That Religion was nothing else but a right Conceit and Worship of God: That the Conceits concerning God are of two sorts; some absolutely necessary, which were the grounds of all true Worship; in these to err might finally endanger a man; Some not absolutely necessary; and in these sometimes without great danger men might mistake; That they defended many conceits passing in our Churches which could not stand with the Goodness and Justice of God, with the use of the Sacraments, with the Duties of Christian men; These had given occasion to the Adversaries abroad to accuse our Churches, and lay upon them many strange imputations, That therefore their endeavour had been none other but to remove these imputations, and to provide, as much as in them lay, that the Conceits of some few might not pass for the general Doctrine of our Churches; But this their endeavour had hitherto had but ill success: And as in a diseased body many times when Physick is administered, the humours which before were quiet are now stirred, and hence the body proves more disempered: so their endeavours to cure the Church had caused greater disorder, yet in this had they not offended. For they laboured to none other end, but that the Church might not be traduced by reason of the private conceits of some of her Ministers. That in this behalf the world had been exceedingly incensed against them: but this Envy they esteemed their Gloriam & Palmarium; That for this they did not mean to forsake their Cause, and were it so that they should lose the day, yet would they joy in it, and think it glory enough, magnis aulis excidisse. That this their stirring was not de lana caprina, of small, frivolous, and worthless matters, of mere quirks of wit, as many of the common sort were persuaded, that out of this conceit it was that they had been so exceedingly roughly dealt withal, yea they might say scio viium sufficere against them, as against unnecessary Innovators in the Church: First matters were handled against them clandestinely, and by stealth, after this they brake out into open but false accusations, and after this into wrath, into scoffing and bitterness, till at length effractis moderationis repagulis, every one came with open mouth against them, tanquam in publici odii victimas. [Here followed a grave and serious invocation of Christ as a witness to the truth of what they said] True indeed
indeed it was, that in their Books many things were to be found amiss. For a very hard matter they thought it, for minds exasperated, semper rectum clavem tenere. That for the settling of these things, there could but three courses be thought of; either a National Synod, or a mutual Toleration of each others Opinions, or the Cession and Resignation of their Calling and place in the Church. To quit them of their calling and to fly, this were a note of the Hireling: as for a Synod, which they much desired, remorabatur qui minime debebant, and it was pretended that the condition of the Times would not suffer it. There remains only a mutual Toleration, of the possibility of which alone they had hope. And for this end they did exceedingly approve of the Decrees of the States of Holland, and Welt-fryzeland, which they thought confirmed by the examples of Bzax's dealing with some of their own dealing with the Lutherans, of the Advice of the King of Great Brittain: But all this was labour lost; for there was a buzz and jealouse spread in the heads of men, that under this large, this whistling Suit of Toleration there lay personated more dangerous designs: that behind this, tanquam post siparium, these lay intents of opening a way to the Profession of all the ancient Heresies: and that the Remonstrants could pro tempore, Conscientiae suxe imperare quod volunt, upon this began mens minds to be alienated from them: which thing at length brake forth into Schism and open Separation. Now began their books to be more narrowly inquir'd into, every line, every phrase, every word and tittle to be stretcht to the uttermost, to prove them Hereticks. Witness that late work, intituled Specimen Controversiarum Belgicarum, whose Authors credit and good dealing had already in part appeared, and hereafter farther would appear. That all Fundamental points of Divinity they had preserved untouched. For they knew that there were many things of which it is not lawful to dispute, and they abhor'd from that conceit of many men, who would believe nothing but what they were able to give a Reason of. That what they questioned was only such a matter, which for a long time had been, without danger, both pro and contra disputed of. They thought it sufficient if the chief points of Religion remain unshaken, That there had been always sundry Opinions even amongst the Fathers themselves, which yet had not broken out into separation of minds, and breach of Charity. That it was impossible for all wits to jump in one point. It was the Judgement of Paræus a great Divine, that the greatest cause of Contentions in the Church was this, that the Schoolmens Conclusions, and Cathedral Decisions had been receiv'd as Oracles, and Articles of Faith. That they were there-
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therefore unjustly charged with the bringing in of a Sceptick Theologie: They fought for nothing else but for that liberty which is the mean betwixt servitude and License. That now they appear'd before the Synod, whether as cited, or otherwise, they were not careful. They had been present howsoever had it been lawful. They requir'd the Forreigners not to judge of them as they had heard abroad, but as they now should judge them. That they profess they oppose themselves, first against those Conclusions concerning Predestination, which the Authors themselves have call'd Horrida Decreta. Secondly, against those who for the Five Articles so call'd have made a Separation, never expecting any Synodical Sentence: Thirdly, against those who cast from them all those who in some things dissent from them. And yet to raise the controversy greater, is the question of the right of Magistrates added above all the rest, which they maintain'd against those, who taught the Magistrate should with a goodwinked obedience accept of what the Divines taught, without farther inquiry. These are the points for which we have contended. Give unto us that respect which your selves would look for at our hands, if you were in our case; we have not ambitiously sued to any: the Favour of God alone it is which we have sought.

Look not upon this small number which you see, Unus Patronus bonus causa satis est. 'Tis not the smaller number that makes the Schism. If a major part carry the right, what think you then of the Province of Utrecht, where the greater parts are Remonstrants: From you both the Schisme proceed, First here in this Synod, by making so an unequal a choice of Deputies with so small a number of Remonstrants. Secondly by proceeding against us abroad, not expecting a Synodical Decree, by censuring and subjecling unto Censures the chief Patrons of our Cause, cos apud quos sunt aquile nostrae: and peradventure, even at this very hour you proceed against some of ours by suspending, discommuning, by expelling them from their Churches, &c. But yet we cast not away our Swords; The Scriptures and solid Reason shall be to us instead of multitudes. The Conscience rests not it self upon the number of Suffrages, but upon the strength of Reason. Tam parati sumus vinci, quam vincere. He gets a great Victory, that being conquer'd against the Truth. Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, amica Synodus, sed magis amica Veritas.

These
Mr. Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort

These are the Fragments of Episcopus his speech, as far as my Memory and broken notes could supply me; I suppose what Errors I have committed by leaving out, misplacing, misrelating, Mr. Ames, when he comes to your Honour will rectify, this and much more for an hours space, he delivered with great grace of speech, and Oratorical gesture: The Praeses signified unto him, that because there were in his speech many things considerable, he was therefore to deliver the Copy of it: Episcopus replyed, that he had none handsomely written, if the Synod would have patience, he would cause a fair Transcript to be drawn for them; But this excuse would not serve. Fair or foul deliver it up he must, and so he did: The Deputies for the Politicks signified, that since there were many things in it, which did as well concern the Seculars, as Ecclesiasticks, they were to give it up subscribed with all their hands: which forthwith was done. Then did the Praeses tell them how much they were beholding to the Synod, that had so patiently heard them, notwithstanding that they had no leave granted them to speak, and that they ought to have expected the Mandate of the Synod. To this Episcopus replyes, that he had required leave before he began to speak; True, said the Praeses, but you stayed not till leave was granted you; besides, faith he, you are to know that no man may, no not of those that are the members of the Synod, offer to declaim without leave first had, and without manifesting the Argument and drift of his speech. After this followed a Form of Oath prescribed by the States, which all the Members of the Synod were to take, the Articles of it were these two, That "only the Word of God should be taken for their rule to end their questions, "and that they had no other purpose but the peace of the Church. First the Praeses took his oath in this order, standing up in his place, he said, Ego promitto coram Deo, (thus, and thus) ita propitius misisti Servator Christi. Then the Provincials took every one in his order, standing in his place, and pronouncing these words, Idem promitto coram Deo et sancto Servatore, only the Remonstrants Deputies of Utrecht took not the Oath, because as yet they had not determined, whether they would make themselves parties or Judges; After the Provincials did the Forreigners in order do the like, and so the Session ended. And with it I think is time for me to end, and commend your Lordship to Gods good Protection.

Dort this 7. of Decemb. 1618. style novo.

Tour Honours Chaplain

and bounden in all Duty

Jo. Hales.

Right
To the R. Honourable Sr. D. Carlton L. Embassador.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Saturday 1/3 of this present, the Synod being late in the Morning, Scultetus made unto them a pious, and pathetical Sermon. In the beginning he signified, first how it joyed him to speak unto them post eruditissimum virum Josephum Hallum, Decanum Wigorniae meritorium. Secondly, that he saw that day, that which his Majesty of Great Brittain, and the Prince Elector his Master had so long desired to see, namely a Synod gathered for the settling of the Churches peace in these Countries. He took for his Theme the 122. Psalm. I rejoiced when they said unto me, Let us go up unto the house of the Lord, and so forth unto the end of the Psalm. Where first having shewed the occasion of this Psalm, that it was the Removal and bringing of the Ark unto Jerusalem, he considered in the whole Psalm three things. First, that it was Summum bonum gaudium, to see the Peace and flourishing of the Church, which he shewed by many Reasons, and confirmed by the examples of the Duke of Wittenberg, who at the Council held at Worms a hundred and twenty years since, when others discoursed of many Privileges and conveniences of their Lordships and Territories, openly protested it to be his greatest felicity, that he could in aperto campo, & in sinu Subditorum suorum dormire: and of Theodosius the Emperour, who at his death did more comfort himself that he had been a Son of the Church, then the Emperour of the World. Secondly, that it was Summum bonum Votum to pray for the peace and flourishing of the Church: which he confirmed by the examples of the Apostles, and of Christ himself. Thirdly, that it was Summum bonum iudicium to procure the peace of the Church: where speaking of the present occasion, I am no Prophet (faith he) yet I think I foresee, that the peace of the Belgick Churches would be a means to settle the peace of other Churches. He therefore wist that the States, the Prince, the Delegates, would all propose unto themselves as their end, the peace and flourishing of the Churches amongst them, as he doubted not they did in calling this Synod. There was not in this Sermon any Doctrinal point difficult, nor any particular touch; which might minister Newes. It was only a Pathetical exhortation to all forts, as much as in them lay to procure the Churches peace. When he had done, the Prelates publikely in the name of the Synod gave him thanks, and protested himself to have been very much moved with his speeches. Besides this there was nothing done that Session.

Upon Munday 1/7 of this present, the Synod coming together in the Forenoon, there were two out of Wetteraw from the Counties of Naflau, Bisterfeldius a Preacher, and Jo. Henricus Altedius, Professor of Divinity in Herborne came as Deputies from the Churches in those parts,
Mr. Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort to be admitted as parts of the Synod. The Letters from the States General, and then their Credential Letters from their Churches first being read, the Oath was read unto them, and they took it. Then did the Preses in the Name of the Synod welcome them, and told them the end of their coming, and what these Churches expected at their hands: Then were the Remonstrants call'd in, and willed to declare their opinion concerning the rest of the Articles: which they did at large, and added some Apologies for their proceeding by Negatives (which I could your Lordship formerly had been the Exception of the Synod against the manner held by them in the first Article,) I will not give a brief of what they then delivered, because I resolve to send your Lordship the perfect Copy of it, as soon as I can come to copie it out. When they had done the Preses asked them, whether they were provided to deliver up their Considerations concerning the Confession and Catechism, for the Synod expected it. They answered that they expected not the Synod should call for them. The Preses replyed, this could not excuse them, for they had often told the world in their Books, that they had paratam sylvam considerationum in that kind: and that the Synod should better judge of each part, when it had learned their opinion of the whole. They require to leave to withdraw a little, and think of an answer. In the mean time the Preses proposed to the Synod, to consider how well the Remonstrants had stood to the Decree of the Synod, concerning the proposal of their Tenents in Affirmatives, he thought that they had offended more against it, and that purposely in bringing their Apologie for so doing: in cenfuring the opinions of other Churches for blasphemous, &c. Howsoever it was their judgement that they should propose their sentence in Negatives, yet they ought not to have proposed, but to have submitted their judgement to the judgment of the Synod. The Remonstrants returning, gave answer to this effect: that though they might require time to give up their Considerations, yet they thought they were not bound to give them up, till the five Articles were distinct; since their Citatory Letters so ran, that first the Articles, then their Considerations should come in place: that they thought it some wrong done them to have this order now perverted. The Preses answer'd that no wrong was done them; for their Considerations should not yet be sifted, till the five Articles were concluded. And so the order in their Citatory Letters should be kept. That long since in a Synod at Delphi they had promised to deliver them up in a Provincial Synod there, and therefore now after so many years they could not be unprovided. Here the Preses Politicus charged them to obey their Decree, and to do as the Preses and the Synod requir'd. The Preses Ecclesiasticus then admonish'd them, that they were not to accompt of
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of themselves as a Colledg, and so still to give answers in commune, but they must answer particularly every one for himself: and thereupon he asked every of them in order, whether they had any such Consideration or no: some answered they had, some that they had some few of no great moment, some that their Considerations were not written down, some that they had none at all. When the Præses had said, jactatuum suisse by them long since, that they had sundry Considerations ready; Corvinus excepted against the word jactatum; the Præses replied, He used not the word to disgrace them, but only as a Frequentative, to signify that they had often boasted of it. When some Litigation was here fallen, Martinus Gregorii (one that sits close upon the Remonstrants skirts) cut it off, and commanded them to be quiet. The Remonstrants here signified, that such Considerations as they had were only in the Dutch tongue. The Præses replied, they should have leisure to translate them. Then did the Seculars pronounce a Decree charging them to provide themselves singly one by one, he that had many to give up many, he that had few to give up few, he that had none to give up none, and that whether it were in Dutch or Latine. The Remonstrants required some time; for, faith Episcopius, we came imparatissimi ad hanc rem. First there were given them to two dayes, then three, then four: within which space every man alone by himself, was to give up his Considerations: and this was the effect of the Session.

The answer of the English Divines to the Remonstrants exception against the Synod, I will send your Lordship in my next Letters, together with the Remonstrants answer upon the latter Articles. Harman the Post came to Dort on Sunday about three of the clock, and went for England on Monday about ten of the clock in the morning. Mr. Dean of Worcester is very crazy and sickly of late, and keeps his Chamber, neither hath he been in the Synod some of these last Sessions. I hear he purposeth to come to the Hague, to see if he shall have his health better there. Here is a Rumour that the Remonstrants are a little divided amongst themselves; and that Corvinus complains that what he hath done, was because he suffered himself to be drawn on by others, how true this is I know not; I heard Scultetus tell my Lord Bishop so much, and that Meierus of Basil, should say that Corvinus had signified so much to him. My Lord Bishop is a little displeased with Mr. Amyes for putting into his hand Grevinchovius his Book, in the Preface of which there are cited out of a Writing of Mr. Amyes certain words very reproachful unto Bishops. Other Newes here is none, and therefore for this time ceasing any further to trouble your Honour; I humbly take my leave, resting

Your Honours Chaplain, and
bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

On
Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

On Thursday 13 of this present, in the morning the Synod being met, the first thing done was the Admission of the Scotifh Deputy in this manner. He was brought to the Synod House by the two Scribes, and met at the door by two of the Deputies for the States, and by them conducted to his Seat, which is a little seat made under the English Seats, where he sits alone; when he was Sate the Prefes welcomed him in the Name of the Synod. Then were the Letters from the States read, which were to stand instead of Synodical Letters; for otherwise the custom is here, that he that comes to be a Member of the Synod brings Letters of Credence from the Church that deputes him. After this he delivered himself in a short speech to this effect. That of the reason of his coming he had delivered unto the States at the Hague, namely the Kings pleasure: that he therefore once minded to have said nothing, but he could not obtain so much of himself, especially when he heard what gentle Welcome the Prefes gave him, and he was diligent to shew himself thankful for such great Courtesie; That the Scotch Nation had evermore so linked it self to this people, that it hath always laboured to endeavour the peace of this State, and now it was ready to do as much for the peace of the Churches amongst them. That they had very straightforwardly bound unto them the Scotifh Church (demuintis Eclesiam Scoticanam) by this so kindly welcoming him. That his years were not many, but he hoped ere he departed to make amends for that; That the King at his coming away did charge him, verbis sublimibus, above all sphere of Conv. ceit and apprehension to exhort them unto peace, and with a short passage to that purpose he ended. The Prefes thanking him for his good Counsel gave him his Oath. And so they past away to other business.

Tomorrow I trowe we shall have more matter, for then the Remonstrants are to give in their Exceptions, against the Catechisme and Confession, and so at length we shall come to the Question. For this time therefore I humbly take my leave of your Honour, resting

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty and Service,

Jo. Hales.
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Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

Upon Thursday the 2/3 of this present, the Deputies being met in the morning, the Remonstrants were called in, and willed to give up their Considerations upon the Catechism, according to the injunction laid on them on Friday last. Episcopius, Corvinus, Duingbonius, Poppius, Pinakerius and Sapna gave up altogether in common, and excused themselves, for not giving up one by one, as was enjoind them, because their Considerations being altogether the same, they thought they might exhibit them altogether; Niellius, Goswinus, Matthiius, and Isacclus Frederici, gave up singly, every one by himself, the rest gave up none at all. What these Considerations were I know not; for they were not publick. Then did the Preses require them coram Deo to answer directly and truly, First whether or no these were the Observations which they gave up to the States of Holland; to which was answered, that as far as they could remember they were, and some others besides. Secondly, whether they had any more Considerations besides these; to which they all answered, No. Here Scultetus stood up, and in the name of the Palatine Churches, required a Copie of these Considerations upon the Catechism. We have faith he a command from our Prince to see that nothing be done in prejudice of our Churches. The Catechism is ours known by the name of the Palatine Catechism, and from us you receiv’d it. The Observations therefore upon it concern us, we require therefore a draught of them, with purpose to answer them, and submit our answer to the judgement of the Synod. This request of the Palatines was thought very reasonable. These Considerations (I speak of those on the Confession; for those others I saw not) are nothing else but Queries upon some passages of the Confession, of little or no moment: so that it seems a wonder unto many, how these men, which for so many years past, in so many of their Books, have threatened the Churches with such wonderful discoveries of falsehood and error in their Confession and Catechism, should at last produce such poor impertinent stuff. There is not, I perswade my self, any writing in the world, against which wits disposed to wrangle cannot take abundance of such exceptions. After this did the Preses put the Remonstrants in minde of the judgement of the Synod past upon the manner of propounding their Theses on the Articles. Two things there were disliked. First their propounding so many Negatives. Secondly, their urging so much to handle the point of Reprobation, and that in the first place; whereas the Synod requir’d they should deliver themselves, as much as was possible.
possible in Affirmatives; and begin first from Election, and from thence come to the point of Reprobation in its due place. He required them therefore to signify whether they would follow the Judgment of the Synod, or their own. They answered, that they had given up their reasons to justify their proceeding, and otherwise to proceed their Conscience would not permit them. For, faith Episcopus, the point of Reprobation is that quod maxime nos agrè habet: that he could not endure that Doctrine concerning the absolute Decree of God; that God should peremptorily decree to cast the greatest part of mankind away, only because he would. Corvinus answer'd, that he could not salvà Conscientià versari in Ministerio, till that point were clear'd. Isaacus Frederici, that præcipuum momentum was in that question: others, that in the question of Election they had no scruple; all their doubt was in the point of Reprobation: and therefore their Conscience would not suffer them to proceed farther in disputations, till that matter were discussed. To this answer was made, that the Synod did not refuse to handle the matter of Reprobation, but thought it not fit to have it done in the first place. But when this would not content them, the Preses proposed unto them, whether they were resolv'd so to proceed, or else to relinquish all farther disputations. They replied, they resolved to break of all farther Treaty, if that matter might not be handled. It was told them, that it should be treated of in its due place, but the question was only de modo procedendi, whether they should handle that first or no. Episcopus and some others of them gave answer, that for the order they did not precisely stand upon, modo de tota re agatur: but this answer they found not unto. For when the Preses told them again, that it was the pleasure of the Synod, first to handle of Election, and then of Reprobation as much as should seem necessary, and for the Churches good, and withall charged them to answer roundly and Categorically whether they would proceed according to this order: they answered, No. Then did the Preses require them to withdraw, and give the Synod leave to advise of this: The sum of that which past in the mean time was this: That their pretence of Conscience was vain, since it was not of any thing which concern'd Faith or good manners, but only of order and method in disputing, which could not at all concern the Conscience; that the Disputation must begin from Election. First because the order of Nature required, to deal of the Affirmative before the Negative; and again, because that all Divines, who ever handled this Question, did hold the same order; and the Holy Ghost in Scripture had taken the same course. That they should be assured in the name of the Synod, that they should have Liberty to discuss the question of Predestination throughout. That whatsoever they pretended, yet the true end of
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their so hotly urging the question of Reprobation, was only to exag-
itate the Contra-Remonstrants Doctrine, and to make way for their own
Doctrine in point of Election: Lydus observed, that it had been the
Custome of all those who favour'd Pelagianism, to trouble the Church,
with the question of Reprobation. "D. Gomarus that saw that his Iron
was in the fire,(for I perswade my self that the Remonstrants spleen is
chiefly against him ) began to tell us, that Episcopius had falsified the
Tenent of Reprobation: that no man taught that God absolutely
decreed to call man away without sin: but as he did decree the end,
so he did decree the means: that is, as he predestinated man to death,
so he predestinated him to sin, the only way to death: and so he
mended the question, as Tinkers mend Kettles, and made it worse then
it was before. In summe the Synod caused a Decree to be penned to
this purpose. That it should be lawful for the Remonstrants to propose their
Doubts, both in the Question of Election, and of Reprobation: but for the
order in disputation, which of the two should come first, they should leave that
to the Synod, who thought it fitter to give, than to receive Laws; and that
whereas they pretended Conscience, it was but vain, since there was nothing
in Scripture against this Command of the Synod; say that it was more agree-
able with Conscience to obey then to withstand. Then were the Remon-
strants called in, and after a short admonishment better to advise them-
selves, the Decree of the Synod was read unto them. And when they
began to urge their Conscience, the Præfæs Poliſicus spake to this purpo-
se: that there had heretofore been many Decrees made by the De-
legates, but they had been all neglected, he therefore strictly warn'd
them, that no man should dare to withftand any Decree either of the
Magistrate, or of the Synod, either by open opposing against it, or by
fullen silence, under pain of penalty according to the will of the Lords.
When Episcopius had faid aegerimē ferimus, and would have faid some-
what more, he was enjoyn'd silence, and fo the Session ended, Mr. Præfæs
telling us, that the next Session we should come to the question, si per
Remonstrantes liceret.

Now concerning Monſieur Moulin's Propofals, of which your Lordship
requir'd to know what I thought, I will deliver my self in my next Let-
ters to your Honour. In the mean time commending your Honour to
Gods good protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 1/7. of Decemb.
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain
and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Friday 28 of Decemb. in the morning it was long ere the Synod met. At length being come together, there were read the two Decrees: one of the States, another of the Synod, made the former Session: the reason of the repeating was the absence of some the day before. Then did the Preses signify, that that very morning, immediately before the time of the Synod, he had received from the Remonstrants Letters satis prolixæs, which concern'd himself and the whole Synod; the perusal of which Letters was the cause of his long stay. The Letters were sent to the Secular Delegates to know whether or no they would have them read. Whilst the Seculars were advising of this point, there were brought in a great heap of the Remonstrants Books, and laid upon the Table before the Preses: for what end it will appear by and by. The Secular Delegates signify, that they think not fit that the Letters should be publickly read, and that the Remonstrants should immediately be call'd in. They being entred, the Preses ask them whether they were ready to obey the Orders set down by the States and the Synod: They require to have their Letters read: but the Seculars willed them, instead of reading their Letters, to hearken to a Decree of the States, and forthwith was read a Decree founding to this purpose: that the States strictly commanded, that nothing should be read or spoken in the Synod in prejudice of the Decree made yesterday; but that they should without any further delay come to the business in hand. The Remonstrants reply, that except they may most freely propose their minds in both the parts of Predestination, both Election and Reprobation they refused to go further in Conference, for that their Conscience would not permit them. The Preses reply'd, that for liberty of proposal of their opinions they could not complain; for the Synod had given them Libertatem Christianam, equejus justam: but such an absolute Liberty as they seemed to require, of going as far as they list, of oppugning before the Synod what opinions they pleased of learned men, this they thought unfit. And as for Conscience, they knew that the Word of God was the rule of it. Now what part of Scripture had they that favoured them in this behalf, or that did take any order and prescribe a Method in Disputation. By thus stiffly urging their Conscience they did exceedingly wrong the Decrees of the States and Synod, as if by them something against the Word of God, some impiety were commanded. When the Preses had thus said, he began to propose unto them certain Interrogatories concerning the Five Articles. Your Honour may
may be pleased to call to minde, that in one of my former Letters I shewed, that because the Remonstrants had given up their opinions very perplexedly and imperfectly, the Synod had thought good that the Preses should propofe them certain questions out of their own Writings, to the better to wrest their meaning from them. This was the Preses now beginning to do; and this was the cause of the bringing in of the Books. The Interrogatory proposed was this: Whether or no they did acknowledge that the Articles exhibited in the Hague Conference did contain their opinions? Episcopius stepped up, and required that it might be lawful for them to set down their own Tenents, and not be forced to answer thus to other mens Writings. H. Leo in cholier told the Preses, that he did evidently see, that it was the drift of the Synod, to discredit them with the Magistrate, and that for his own part he would rather leave his Ministry, than make any answer to these Interrogatories. The Preses here advised him to bethink himself seriously, whether his Conscience could allure him that this was a good cause of leaving his Ministry; because he might not proceed in Disputation according as he thought fit. Wezekius answer'd, that he would not submit himself to this examen, and, nisi posset liberrimê agi, he would not answer at all. The same was the sense of Hollingerus his answer. Episcopius plainly told them, nisi in omnibus liberum est to do as they thought good, they would go no farther. For we are resolv'd, saith he, agere pro judicio nostro, non pro judicio Synodi: then one of the Seculars stepped up, and willed those words should be noted. The Preses then told them, that the true cause of all this their indisposition was, that they forgot themselves to be Citati, and that they were not acquainted with being commanded. They were to remember, that they stood before God, before their Magistrate, and that their cause was the cause of the Church, whose peace would not be procured by this behaviour. They might remember what they told the Forreign Divines in their Letters to them, that there was of late a great Metamorphosis in the State. Non eis nunc judices & Domini rerum, sed Citati: but as it seem'd, they were resolv'd to suffer, omnino nullum judicium de in fieri. Episcopius here urged his Conscience. Adde Verbum Dei then saith the Preses, shew us upon what Text of Scripture you ground your Conscience, otherwise you wrong both the Magistrate and the Synod. Crovinus answered, that that scantling of Liberty, which the Synod gave them, did not suffice their Consciences. Poppius likewise required larger Liberty, and that he might not be dealt withall by Authority, but by Reason. The Preses answerd, that in Conscience he could not give them greater Liberty, then they had already given them, and therefore askt him if he would answer to the Interrogatories. He stoutly replyed, Malo quidvis pass. Supna replyed to
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to the same purpose, and over and above added, Ut nostrum judicium non satisfacit Synodo, ita nec Synodi Judicium nostro. Rickwardius told the Synod, that they dealt not charitably with them, and openly protested, as Episcopius had before done, non agemus pro judicio Synodi, sed pro judicio nostro. The Prefes replied, vocem banc esse intolerandam. Nioellius excepted against this proceeding with them capitatiim, and requir'd that they might consult in common what answer to give. For my self, faith he, I am a man of no ready speech, and unfit for sudden disputation. Too great advantage is taken against men, by this kind of proceeding. Many members of the Synod, were they thus singled out to give a sudden answer, might easily peradventure be put to some distress. Nulam esse causam tam justam, de qua non facile possit triumphari, si de ea agatur tantum pro arbitrio adversarii. The Prefes told them that here was nothing requir'd, but that they would give a reason of their Faith, which they had for this many years taught in their Pulpits, & in their Writings, & therefore they could not be unprovided to give an answer; and for that they mentioned the Synod as an Adversary, they had been already taught sufficiently by the Forreign Divines that the Synod could not be counted pars adversa: they answer'd, that they requir'd a copie of the reasons given by the Forreign Divines, that they might consider of them; but they were denied it. Here was by one of them, I know not whom, a reply made, that the Remonstrants in refusing to proceed except they might freely handle the point of Reprobation, did no other then the Contra-Remonstrants had formerly done in the Hague Conference, who there openly refused to proceed, if they were urged to have the same point handled; notwithstanding the command of the Magistrate. Feckus Hommius replyed, that the narration was falsified; for the Contra-Remonstrants did not simply refuse to deal in the point of Reprobation; neither did the Magistrate command them to do it, as now he had commanded them. And thus much did some of the Secular Deputies stand up and give witness unto. Episcopius here urged some words out of the Conference, to prove what was said; but what these words were I could not take. The Prefes went forward to propose the Interrogatories: Goswine and Neramus answer'd as their fellows had formerly done. Isaacus Frederici urged for himself, that when he was removed from being a Member of the Synod, he was commanded conjungere se Citatis: this he could not do, if thus he was enforced to answere for himself alone. The Prefes answered, that by the Decree of the States they were accounted no Colledg; but only as they were cited, so were they to answere Capitatiim and by Poll. And as for Isaacus, since he knew that the Synod accounted of him as of one of the Citati, he could not be ignorant that his quality was the same with theirs. Isaacus
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Isaacus answer'd that he had evermore been averse from sudden disputations, and therefore he meant not to answer. Here it was denied by some of the Remonstrants, that the States had made any Decree that they should thus give answer capitatis. The Delegates for the Seculars stood up, and signified viva voce, that they had decreed it. Episcopus answer'd, that the Scribe (Heinsius) used some such words, but he took it to have been only some phraze of Heinsius, not any Decree of the Lords. Heinsius replyed that he did nothing but what he was commanded. Episcopus protestted, that till that hour he never heard that by any Decree of the States they were enjoyn'd to answer thus singly, and by Poll. Poppius signifyed that he thought it a thing very unbecom ing both his age and his Ministry, to submit himself to such a Pedagogica collation, as sometimes by Martinus Gregorii it had been styled. The Praeses then askt them all in general, whether they did persist in this their Answer. They all replyed, Yes. The Remonstrants therefore being dismist, the Praeses required the Synod to think what course they would take to proceed, protesting that he thought that all Liberty befitting was granted unto them: and calling in the Remonstrants again, and advising them to consider what they did: they all replyed, that they were resolv'd, non capitatis, sed conjunctim respondere. The President of the Politicks commanded them, that without peculiar leave granted, none of them should go out of the Town. The Praeses Eclesiasticus advising the Synod to think of some course of gathering the Remonstrants opinions out of their Books, since they could not get them from themselves, dismist the Company.

The same day after dinner was there a Session, but very private, neither was any stranger permitted to be there. Wherefore a Relation of that Session I must give only upon hearfay. Which I would now have done, but that I haften to the Session this morning. And I understand that the Synod will dispatch some of their Company to the States General, to signify how matters stand, and to know their further pleasure. I will here therefore shut up my Letters, reserving the rest of the News till the next occasion, and commending your Honour to Gods good Protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 4th of Decemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain
and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

The State of our synod now suffers a great crisis, and one way or other there must be an alteration. For either the Remonstrant must yield, and submit himself to the Synod, of which I see no great probability; or else, the Synod must yield to them, which to do, farther than it hath already done, I see not how it can stand with their Honour. How the case stood at the last Friday Session, your Honour may perceive by my letters written upon Saturday. Three things there were mainly urged by the Synod, and as mainly withstood by the Remonstrants. The first was the point of order to be held in discussing the articles: whether the question of Reprobation were to be handled after the five articles, as the Synod would have had it, because it is none of the five points, and by order from the States nothing ought to be determined of till the five be discussed: or whether it should be handled in the first place, as the Remonstrants would have it, because, as they pretended, their doubts lay especially there, and that being cleared, they thought they should shew good conformity in the rest. The second thing, was the putting of interrogatories, which thing they much disdain'd as Pedagogical. Third was the Liberty of disputing which was to be given the Remonstrant, whether it were to be limited and circumscribed by the discretion of the Synod, or large and unlimited, accordingly as it pleas'd the Remonstrants. So strongly in these points did the Remonstrants withstand the Synod, that on Friday last it was verily thought they would have gone their way, and left the Commissioners to determine without them. But the Synod bearing an inclination to peace, and wisely considering the nature of their People, resolved yet further, though they had yielded sufficiently unto them already, yet to take a little more, the rather to stay the clamour of the Country, and cut off all suspicion of partial dealing. And for this purpose called a private Session on Friday in the Evening, to mollify some things in their Decrees and Proceedings. From that Session all Strangers were excluded, and what I write, I do only upon Relation. The sum of it was this. The Prebendaries much complain'd him of the perplexity he was in, by reason of the Pertinacy of the Remonstrants. For, faith he, if we labor to keep them here, they will be but a hindrance to us, as hitherto they have been, if we dismiss them, we shall hazard our credit among the People, as if we purposed only to do what we please. Whatsoever it is that here we do, is by some that come hither and write all they hear, presently eliminated, and carried to them,
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them which hath caused many hard, reports to pass of us, both with them and otherwhere. He therefore commended to the Synod to consider whether there might not be found some means of accommodation, which might somewhat mollify the Remonstrants, and yet stand well with the Honour of the Synod. And first, to make way, they read the Letters which in the morning by publick Decree, of the States were forbidden to be read (a pretty matter in so grave a place, to break those edicts in the Evening, which but in the Morning had been solemnly proclaimed) and to speak truth, their Decrees have hitherto been mere matter of formality to affright them a little, for none of them have been kept; as being found to be Powder without Shot, and give a clap, but do no harm. The Letters being read, they began to deliver their minds. Some thought the Synod had been too favourable to the Remonstrants already, and that it were best now not to hold them if they would be going, since hitherto they had been, and for any thing appeared to the contrary, meant hereafter to be a hindrance to all Peacable and orderly proceedings. Others on the contrary thought fit that all should be granted them which they required, to successe the Interrogatories, to let them speak of Reprobation in what place, in what manner, and how much they pleased, since this took from them all pretence of exception, and Prejudiced not the Synods power of determining what they pleased. A third fort thought it better to hold a middle course and under colour of Explanation, to mollifie some of their Decrees. This fort prevailed, and accordingly it was concluded that the Decree of the Synod (of this Decree I gave your Honor the summ in my Satterday Letters) made in the Morning, should be more largely and Significantly drawne, and withall it should be expres how far it pleased the Synod to be indulgent unto the Remonstrants in the points in Question. The Foreign Divines were requested, that they would conceive some Reasons by way of Answer to these late Exceptions of the Remonstrants, and give them up in writing the next Session, to try whether by these means they might make them a little to relent. This is all was done that Session, which though it seem but little, yet being handled with much and long Speaking among so many, took up a long time.

On Munday the 34 of Decemb. in the Morning the Synod being set, Johannes Polyander made a Latin Sermon. His Theme was the seventh verse of the two and fiftieth of Isaiah. O quam speciosi in montibus, &c. he spake much of the greatness of Ecclesiastical Function; First in regard of their dignity in the word Speciosi, Secondly of their industry, in the word Montibus, which argues them either to be Pastors or Speculatores; Thirdly of the suavity of their Doctrine in the word Peace and.
and Good things; After this he fell Pathetically to bewail the torne State of the Belgick Churches: and to commend the diligence of the Synod in endeavouring to establish their Churches Peace. This was the sum of his Sermon, it being only a passionate strain, and containing nothing much Remarkable either for Doctrine or News. The Præses in the Name of the Synod gave him great thanks: and signified that he had many causes Sperare optimaque de Synodo: but that God's good Spirit was indeed amongst them, he gather'd especially by this Argument, that so many Learned and Pious Sermons had in this place been lately made and so He dismiss the Company.

Concerning Monsieur Moulins proposition of which your Honor required my opinion, thus I think, His project consists of two heads, of a Generall Confession, and of a peaceable treaty for Union with the Lutheran Churches. I imagine that the Generality of the Confessions must not include the Lutheran. For if it doth, then are both parts of his proposition the same: it being the same thing to procure one generall Confession of Faith and a Union. Supposing then that this Confession stretches not to them, I will do as Jupiter doth in Homer, ἄν θεόν δικαίως δοκει, ἐκείνοι δ' αἰσθάνονται. I will grant him one part, and deny him the other. For a generall Confession of Faith, at least so far as those Churches stretch who have Delegates here in the Synod, I think his project very possible, there being no point of Faith in which they differ. If therefore the Churches shall give power to their Delegates, to propose it to the Synod, I see no reason but it should pass. But I did not like the intimation concerning Church-Government. It had I think been better not mentioned: not that I think it possible that all Churches can be Govern'd alike (for the French Church being under cruze cannot well set up Episcopall jurisdiction) but because it may seem to his Majesty of Great Britain, that his excepting the point of Government might not proceed so much from the Consideration of the Impossibility of the thing, as from want of love and liking of it in the Person. Now for that part of the proposition which concerns the Lutheran, either it aimes at a Union in Opinion or a mutuell tolleration. The first is without all question impossible. For in the point of the Sacrament and the dependences from it, as the ubiquity of Christ's manhood, the Person of Christ, the communicatio idiomatum, &c. Either they must yield to us, or we to them, neither of which probable. Their opinions have now obtain'd for a Hundred years, ever since the beginning of the Reformation, and are derived from the chief Author of the Reformation. It is not likely therefore that they will easily fall, that have such Authority and so many years to uphold them. But I suppose, Monsieur Moulins intended only a mutuell tolleration; and be it no more, yet if
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we consider the indisposition of the persons with whom we are to deal, I take this likewise to be impossible. The Lutherans are divided into two sorts, either they are Molliores, as they call them, or Rigidi. What hope there may be of moderation in the first I know not, but in the second we may well despair of. For they so bear themselves, as that it is evident they would rather agree with the Church of Rome, then with the Calvinists. He that is conversant in the writings of Hunnius and Grawerus, will quickly think as I do. The first of which hath so bitterly written against Calvin, that Parsons the Jesuit furnisht himself by compiling Hunnis his Books. If the whole lump be Leaven'd, as those two pieces, which I but now named, they are certainly too slower for moderate men to deal with. The French wits are naturally active and projecting: and withall carry evermore a favourable conceit to the possibility of their projects. Out of this French conceit I suppose proceeded this of M. Moulins.

Mr. Deane went away to the Hague, giving notice to no man. I understood not till dinner that day, of any intent he had to go. I wish him an ill journey for this discourtesy; but I hope he had a good one. I fear I well wearied your Honor with these my long Letters, I will therefore take my leave, commending your Lordship to God's good protection.

Dort, 1. January, stylo novo.
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and
Rundin in all Duty Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

What hath lately been done at the Hague in the business concerning our Synod, and what Decree the States have made to restrain the exorbitancy of the Remonstrants, I suppose is sufficiently known unto your Lordship, as a thing done in your presence. So much thereof I shall serve the present purpose I will take and leave the rest to your Honors better knowledge. Upon Thursday the third of January, stylo novo, the Commissioners being met, and the Delegates ready to declare the pleasure of the States, the Remonstrants being call'd in, two of them were found wanting, Isac us Friderici, and Henricus Leo: for Isacus it was answered, that he had leave on Friday last, of the Pre
tor of the Town to go abroad: for Leo it was answered, that they knew not where he was. Having sent for Leo, and awhile in vain expected him, the Delegates proceeded to declare the will of the Lords, and signified that the States allowed the Proceedings of the Synod,
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commanded the Remonstrants to obey for the present, and whatsoever Decrees hereafter the Delegates and Synod should enact; and if they refused to obey, they should expect both Civill and Ecclesiasticall censure. If this served not, yet the Synod should go forward, and gather their opinions out of their books and writings; That the Remonstrants should be commanded to remain in the Town, and be ready to appear whenever the Synod should summon them, and answer plainly and directly to such Interrogatoryes as it should please the Synod to propose them. This first was read in Dutch, and afterwards for the information of the Forreigners it was put into Latin. The Præses then put to them that Question, which in one of the former Sessions he had proposed, viz. Whether or no they did acknowledg the Articles set down in the Hague Conference to contain their opinions, and amongst the rest, that first concerning Ele&tion, which by the Scribe was read unto them out of the Book. Episcopius beginning to make answer, Martinus Gregorii commanded that their answers should be taken and set down in their own words. Episcopius his answer was this. Omnibus in timore Domini expensis, & adjunctis etiam ad Deum precibus, non possum impletur ab anima mea, ut aliam ageri rationem sequar, quam eam quæ ultimo responso meo exhibita est. This their answer, of which he speaks, was given on Saturday last, as I have inform’d your Honor; and it was this, that except the Synod in antecessum, as they spake, would beforehand promise them, that they should have free Liberty to propose their own opinion of Reprobation, and refute the Contra-Reomonstrants Doctrine in that point together with the Doctrine if all those whom the Contra-remonstrants held for Orthodox, and that as far as they pleas’d without receiving any check from the Synod, they were resolved to go no further. The same was the answer of the rest, with some alteration of words, for they were questioned one by one, every one by himself. Hollingerius answered, that he could not eam recipere legem, eamque ingredi viam, which tended, openly to the ruin and oppreßion of the better cause. For by so doing he should grievously wound his Conscience before God, and call irreparabile scandalum before the true worshippers of God. Imitabor itaque exemplum Christi: Silebo, et omnen eventum commendabo illi qui venturus est adjudicandum vivos & mortuos. Neranus spake after the same manner, and added, that the Reasons why they thus thought themselves bound to answer, they had exhibited this Morning to the Secular Delegates. Poppius gave answer thus, Respondeo, cum debita erga summas Potestates reverentia, me invocato sanctisimo Dei nomine, & re tota etiam atiam expensa apud animum meum, non posse desistere ab ultimo meo responso. Exhibuimus rationes Dominis Delegatis in quibus etiamnam acuesco, certo persuasus id quod facio Deo Optimo.
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Optimo maximo & Christo Jesu probatum i ri. Martinus Gregiuro advised him here to bethink himself a little whether or no he spake not these words in Passion (for he seem’d to be somewhat Cholerick.) He replied, that he spake them with his best advice. The Præses perceiving that they were resolved not to Anwer, concluding the questions which he had proposed, thought that the Synod might without scruple accept of the first Article in their Remonstrance at the Hague, for their proper tenant. He proceeded therefore to propose unto them another Interrogatory: Whether or no, that Decree which they spoke of in that first Article, did contein the whole Decree of Election, and so were the main ground of Christianitie; or whether there were not some Decree besides this. The行为ur and answers of the Remonstrants carried the same Copie of Countenance with the former, and Poppius plainly answered, Quia conscientia mee a Synodo non habetur ratio, non excepto ab ea instructione in veritate: idemque consultum non est respondere. The Præses then citing some Texts out of Johanes Arnoldi, and Arminius, and the Hague Conference, concluded that it was their opinion, that besides that Decree mention’d in the Conference, they acknowledged no farther Decree of Election. In the third place this question was put to the Remonstrants: whether when they taught, that God chose Man propter fidem praeviam, this were not rather to be called an Election of (Faith) then of the person; since the person was chosen for the qualities sake. But they were still the same. Neranus was the man that gave it, but it was the common answer of them all: Si licet nobis de Reprobatione, & Contra-Remonstrantium sententia super ea agere quantum nobis conscientia nostra & Ecclesiarum nostrarum edificatio persuadebit sufficere, & boc nobis in antecessum promittatur, libentur ad quæstam respondere binum: si minus, filere malum. Now because they had often appeal’d to their Reasons exhibited in Scripto to the Secular Delegates that Morning, the Delegates thought good to read the writing in the Audience of the Synod. It contain’d almost no new thing, but was a repetition of their old exceptions, that their Liberty was prejudiced, that the Synod was pars adversa (and for farther illustration of this, they reckon’d up all the sharp speeches that either Scultetius or the Divines of Geneva, or any other had used against them:) that their Consciences would not allow of this manner of proceeding, &c.

This last Night was there a private meeting, not by way of Session, but only it was a Conference to which some of the Graver & Discreet of the Synod were call’d. The end was only to advise what course is best to be holden in the following disputations. It was thought fit that the Remonstrants should always be present at their meetings, and questions should be proposed them: but the Synod should proceed whether

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ther they answer'd or no: and so they concluded of a course to gather their opinions out of their Books. Mr. Amyes will inform your Lordship more largely peradventure in some farther circumstances, his sudden and unexpected departure hath made me scribble up this, more rudely and concisely then I had intended, because I was both to miss of so good a Messenger. Wherefore I cease any further to trouble your Honor, and remit you to Mr. Amyes larger Relation.

Dort this Fourth of January 1619. stylo novo. Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty and Service,

Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Wednesday the ninth of January, stylo novo, the Synod met not at all. Time was given the Deputies to advise of the Theses which were to be handled: only at Night the English went in private to the Presbes to consult what manner of proceeding were fittest to be used. What counsel they gave him I know not: but this I see, that the course he taketh is not altogether so well approved by them. Upon Thursday the tenth of January the Commissioners met in the Morning in private, where Mr. Presbes proposed unto them four things to be considered of. First, whether or no the Theses proposed by him, formerly did not perfectly contain the opinion of the Remonstrants. Secondly, An electio sit una an multiplex, that so he might exclude the Remonstrants Division of Election in Revocabilum & irrevocabilum; completam & incompletam, &c. Thirdly, An electio sit ex fide & obedientia, an potius ad fidem & obedientiam. For this is one main point of difference: the Remonstrant teacheth, that God foresaw only who should believe, and so ordain'd and Electe only to Glory: the Contra-Remonstrant teacheth, that God ordain'd who should believe, and so predestinatet and Electe both to Grace and Glory. The fourth thing proposed was concerning the means how true believers become sure of their Salvation. After this the Synod was requested to deliver themselves concerning a Method of proposing and examining the Theses proposed: The greatest part of them liked well of that form which the Presbes proposed. The English, the South-Hollanders and Fesius Homnus conceived severally a form of Theses, every man according to his discretion and exhibited them to the Judgement of the Synod, and had them publikely read: this was the sum of that meeting. A Copie of the Theses drawn by our Englishmen I will send your Honor, as soon as I can procure the sight of them.

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The same day at Evening the Deputies met in private as before. They continued yet their consultation upon the point of manner of proceeding. The Preses invented certain new Interrogatories and propounded them to the Synod, to know their minds if they were fit to propose them to the Remonstrants. There was great doubt whither this were a thing fit to be done, since it is not likely that the Remonstrants' behaviour in this behalf will be any other than bitherto it had been. This question, as it seems, was the greatest part of their consultation. It was at length concluded that the Remonstrants should be call'd in, and the Interrogatories put to them, the next Session. This Morning therefore we look for an open Session, where we shall understand the last nights Interrogatories, and the whole business of that Session. For I must confess, I do not well conceive what was then done, or to what purpose. I perceive there is some variance about their form of proceeding: Mr. Preses is desirous that the course he hath thought of may take place; the English and others, that some more ready and compendious way may be taken. What will be the issue of it, I cannot yet conjecture as soon as I can understand any thing, I will acquaint your Honor, till when I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 11 of January, 1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and Bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

I suppose Mr. Amyes can better inform your Honor of this last nights business. He hath been much with the Preses, and I imagine understands most of his intent.

Right Honourable my very good Lord,

Your Lordship by your kinde Letters doth engage me so far, as I should think it not the least part of my happinesse, if I could but hit on any way whereby I might express, in any proportion, my thankfulness for the same; but since that cannot be, acknowledgement of non solvendo must pass for satisfaction. In that Letter which I wrote to my Lord of Buckingham, (wherein I mentioned your Lordships wonderfull kindnesse to me) I entreated his Lordship to move his Majesty, that either by my Lord of Canterbury his Letters, or Mr. Secretaries, I being joyned with the English, we might make up one Collegium Theologorum magne Britannie: Now this last week my Lord sent me word, that he gave my Letter to the King, who did read it over, and liked the motion well...
well, and so accordingly gave order for it: he sent me word likewise, that the King had the Episcopi Theses which I sent, and that he was mightily incensed at them. So my very good Lord, I am well satisfied in that point; for we have now divided the business among us. D. Ward his part assigned to him is, Impugnatio Decreti de salvandis fidelibus, & unico Decreto preclamationis: My Lord of Landaff his part is, Responso ad Argumenta Remonstrantium, quibus primum illud decernentum conantur stabilire: Dr. Good his part, Impugnatio Electionis peremptoriae ex fide praecessa: and demonstratio hujus Propositionis, quod fides fit fructus Electionis, which both coincide with the other. D. Davenant his part is Orthodoxæ sententiae assertion, & vindicatio rationum ii Contra-Remonstrantium ab objectionibus Remonstrantium in utroque membro. My part is, Solution omnium argumentorum quae afferunt Remonstrantes contra Orthodoxam sententiam. The confusion here in handling of business is very great; they do not know how to put any thing to Committees to agree of business, and then afterward to propound it to the Synod to be approved or disapproved; which hath been the custom observed in all Councils and Synods: but nothing is known till it be propounded in the Synod, and then there are almost as many several voices as heads; if your Lordship would give your advice to some of the Estates in this kind, it may be they would apprehend it, and we should bring business to some issue. The Palatine Divines and we have met now three times, and we have agreed on the same Propositions, and have resolved to call one of every College of the Fœrign Divines, and communicate the same with them; that so, if it be possible, all we strangers may set up, and throw down the same Conclusions. For the Provincialls, for any thing I can see, they are so far set against the Remonstrants, I wish not their persons as well as their opinions, that I am afraid they will not like well of our moderation. For the Dismission of the Remonstrants, since your Lordship is pleased to take notice of it, I hope I may without offence say that it was such, as certainly did the Synod much wrong. On Friday when they seemed to yield, then the Exteri Theologi could not be heard for the continuing of them in the Synod. Nay the trick which was put upon them was a little too palpable; For the Delegates had their Decree of Dismission written before they came into the Synod, yet our voices were asked, hoping it should have been answerable to their Decree: but finding it was otherwise, without so much as laying their heads together for consultation, they published a Decree which they brought written with them into the Synod. On Monday the late Acts of the Remonstrants incredible obstinacy being read; the Theologi exterii gave suffrages for their dismission; only one to wit Steinius gave a bitter sentence; their voices being asked only, who are not above a third part of the Synod, they
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they were call'd in and dismiffed with such a powdering speech as I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard with grief enough, I protest I am much afflicted when I think of it. For if the Remonstrants should write, that the President pronounced a sentence, which was not the sentence of the Synod, they should not lie. The Civil Lawyers and Cannon of France, who write much about the formalities omitted in the Council of Trent, urge Exceptions of Ieffe moment then these; so neither was there above a third part of the voices asked, ex quibus sententia ferri nequit: neither was the sentence conceived in writ, and approved by the Synod, and the bitter words in the Sentence were not the words of any of the suffrages, unless that some of them were spoken by one man only. Your Lordships Censure of that Sentence is just and honourable. Mr. Dean of Worcester at his going from hence, with the Remembrance of his service to your Lordship, defied me to signifie to your Lordship, that he could not possibly meet with Deodatus. The Remonstrants, (as Heinsius but now told me) have sent a very virulent and bitter writing to Mr. Bogarmume, it may be now we shall hear of it at the Synod, whether we are going: so with the remembrance of my humblest Dutie and service to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, I must conclude a Petitioner, that your Lordship would ever be pleased to reckon among your true observers.

Dort, this 13 of Febr. 1618.

Your very dutifal, and faithful Servant

W. Belcanqual.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

It hath pleased the Synod at length finally to discharge themselves of the Remonstrants, and to proceed according as they had projected by gathering their opinions out of their Books. The manner of their dismission was this. Upon Monday the 4 of January the Commissioners being set, the Prefes Polyticus made a short speech to this purpose. That they had hitherto laboured as much as in them lay to have the Decree of the Estates to be kept, and to bring the Remonstrants to some reasonable resolution. And for this purpose had upon Saturday last in the Afternoon, coverted them and advised them to give up their opinions, quietly, orderly, freely, and to refute the contrary as much as they thought fit, referring always to the Synod Authority to judge of what was convenient, what was sufficient, without which it could be no Synod. That they had undertaken in their behalf, that the Synod should manage the business, that they should have no just cause to complain. But
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But all this labor was lost; neither would they be brought to relinquish their former plea; for in a writing exhibited unto them they signified so much in effect, in which writing they refer'd themselves to such conditions as had been by them partly scripto, partly viva voce formerly required. Wherefore they thought fit that it should be proposed to the Synod to judge whether or no there had not been sufficient order taken to give contentment to the Remonstrants, if at least any thing could content them. Yet they thought it convenient once more to call the Remonstrants before them, to see whether they would leave their holdfast and submit to the Synod. If no, then they should without any farther delay proceed to judge of their opinions by collecting them out of their Writings, This was the sum of that speech. The writing mentioned by the Praeses Politicus in his speech was then read first in Dutch, then in Latine, in which the Remonstrants declared that they would submit themselves unto the Synod upon such conditions as had formerly been required, otherwise no. After this was the Synod requested to deliver their opinions, whether order sufficient to content the Remonstrants had not been taken: It was judged generally that more could not be granted them then had already been, which was they thought abundantly sufficient. Scultetus did in brief give as it were a history or rather an inventory of the Remonstrants behaviour since their first appearance before the Synod, and shewed how continemiously they had handled it, how they had contemned the Decrees of the Seculars and of the Synod, that they had abused them with lyes, deceitfull speeches, &c. And concluded that it was unfit the Synod should farther condescend unto them. When the Forreigners had spoken, it was thought sufficient, neither did the Praeses proceed to ask the judgment of the Provincialls, knowing belike before what it was: The Remonstrants then being called in the Praeses signified to them that upon Friday Morning they had given good hope of peaceable dealing, and at least in few seemed to forgoe such conditions as they had formerly claimed, he was now in the name of the Synod to require them to answer Categorically, yea or no, an velut simplicitur & sine condicione parere Decreto Ordinum & Synodi & ita simplicitur venire in rem presentem. The Remonstrants for anser require that they may be permitted to read a short writing which they had conceived. It was answered that it needed not, there was no more required, but their yea or no, but they persisted in their proposall, the Writing was taken and delivered to the Seculars to be perused, and they commanded to withdraw. There writing was read, wherein having signified; how welcome the moderation held by the Forreigners lately was unto them; whereas they were injoyned to obey the Synodical Decree, or look for
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for punishment, their answer was that it could not stand with their
Confidence to promise Obedience to all Synodical Decrees, since many
of them stood not with Common Equity, and as for Mulct and Pun-
ishment, they left it to the Discretion of those to whose Government
they were subject; they would provide their patience. That they in-
tend not to contest with the Synod concerning order: that they promi-
sed to submit: but with such conditions as they had heretofore men-
tioned. Thus as the Preses said what they gave with the one hand, with
the other they took away again. The Remonstrants being again called in,
they were asked every man whether they acknowledged this answer;
they all replied, they did, and so were commanded to subscribe their
Names to it, which forthwith was done. The Preses then Befpake
them on this manner. The moderation of the Foreigners which you
so much extolled, proceeded out of their Error which to day having
understood, they have pronounced concerning you another sentence.

Upon Friday last when you seemed to disclaim all illimitted Liber-
ty, and gave hope of some Conformity, they dealt with the Synod
in favour of you; but to day understanding you to abuse the Syn-
od, and fly back again to your former claim, they all with one
confent think you 'indignos esse quibuscum diutius res agatur.' One a-
mongst them there is who hath taken the paines to Mappe out your
behaviour since your first footing in the Synod. Pretend you what
you will, the true cause of this your indisposition is this, that you
take the Synod for the Adverse part, and account your selves in
Equall place with them, this conceit hath manifested it self in all
your actions. These upon the question in controversy you gave up, but
so confused, so nothing to the purpose that no use can be made of
them. The Decrees of the Synod you have openly condemned. The
Interrogatories put you, you have refused to answer. Your Citatory
Letters notwithstanding the fence of them was expounded by those
who gave them, and therefore best knew it, you have interpreted
as you list, and profed that you will proceed according to your own
judgement, and not according to the judgement of the Synod. At
length on Friday last you seemed to lay by your claim of illimitted Li-
berity and give some hope of some conformity; but all this in your
writing now Exhibited you have retracted. The Synod hath dealt
mildly gently and favourably with you, but 'sinceritati, lenitati, man-
festate Synody, fraudes, artes, & mendacia opposuitis. I will dif-
miss you with no other Elogie then one of the Foreigners gave you,
'quo cepitis pede eodem cedite, with a lye you made your entrance into
the Synod, with a lye you take your leave of it, in denying lately
that ever you protested your selves provided to give answer on the
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"Articles, or to have had any such writing ready, which all the
Synod knows to be false. Your actions all have been full of fraud a-
quivocations and deceit. That therefore the Synod may at length
piously and peaceably proceed to the perfecting of that business for
which it is come together, you are dismist. But assure you the Sy-
nod shall make known your pertinacy, to all the Christian World,
and know that the Belgick Churches want not arma Spiritualia, with
which in time convenient they will proceed against you. Quamobrem vos
Delegatorum & Synodi nomine dimitto, Exite. So with much mutter-
ing the Remonstrants went out; and Episcopius going away said, Dominus
Deus judicabit de fraudibus & mendacis: Sapma Exeo ex ecclesia ma-
linantum: and so the Synod brake up.

The same day at night there was a privat Session; what was done in
it I understand not yet. I conjecture it was concerning the order of
proceeding. As soon as I shall understand what was done I will ac-
quaint Your Lordship with it, and till then I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 3rd of January.
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain
and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

Since the Dismission of the Remonstrants there hath not been any
publick Session, and as I Conjecture for a while will not be. They
are altogether in Consultation concerning their order of proceeding,
and in gathering materialls out of the Remonstrants Books, whence
they may Frame their Theses and propositions which must be the sub-
ject of their disputation. This they purpose, as I conceive, to do
through out all the Five Articles, before they come to the open discus-
sing of any one, for they are past from the first, and gone one to the se-
cond. So that till this Consultation be ended there will not be a
ny great occasion of news.

Against Mr. President so rough handling the Remonstrants at their Dis-
mission there are some exceptions taken by the Deputies themselves.
The Forreigners think themselves a little indirectly dealt withall, in
that it being proposed to the whole Synod to pafs their judgement
concerning the behaviour of the Remonstrants, the Provincials were not
not at all required to speak, and by these means the envy of the whole
business was derived upon the Forreigners. Whereas on the contrary
when the like question was proposed formerly, and the Forreigners had
spo-
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spoken very favourable in the Remonstrants behalf, the Provincial's stroke in, and established a rigid sentence, against the Forreigners liking, So that there is little regard given to the judgement of the Forreigners, except they speak as the Provincial's would have them. Again upon the Tuesday Sessen in the morning, there being a repetition made, according to the custom, of the late Synodical acts, when they came to the act of the Remonstrants Dismission, Lud. Crotius of Bremse signified that he perceived that Mr. Preses in that business had been paulo commotion, and had let slip, verba quaedam acerba, which might well have been spared; that in so great an act, as that was, a little more advice and consideration might have been used. The Synod ought to have been consulted with, and a form of Dismission conceived and approved of by all, which should in the name of the Synod have been pronounced, and registered; whereas now the Synod stands indicted of all that unnecessary roughness which then was practised. It had stood better whith the Honor of the Synod to have held a more peaceable and passionless order. The Preses replied, that for Dismissing the Remonstrants without a Synodical form, it was from the Secular Lords, who willed him immediately to proceed, What his apologie was for his passionate speeches I know not. The Sesson was in private, and I have nothing but by relation. I hear nothing yet from Mr. Preses concerning the French project: as soon as I shall hear ought, I will not fail to acquaint your Honor till when I humbly take my leave.

Dort, the 10 January, 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.

The bringer of this Letter is Sir John Berk's Son.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Our Honour shall here receive the Decree of the Synod mentioned in my last Letters, containing the form of proceeding which they will hold in discussing the Articles. The morning they mean the Deputies shall spend in private, after dinner in open Synod the chief places of Scripture upon which the Remonstrant grounds himself shall be opened, and answers framed to the Arguments drawn from thence. According to which resolution they began to proceed upon Thursday the 27 of January in the Evening. The question proposed then was, An præter Decretum de salvandis fidibus, nullum fit alium Decretum Electionis. The Remonstrant affirms there is none, and for this produces certain places of Scripture. The Contra-Remonstrant grants that there is such a Decree, but withall contends that this is but a Secondary Decree. For God
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(First resolved upon the Salvation of some certain singular persons, and in the second place decreed to give them Faith as a means to bring the former Decree to past. But before this question came on the stage, other things were done at that time. The Synod therefore being met, at the time mentioned, First the Letters from the States concerning D. Goads Admission were read, and after that, some were sent to his Lodging to conduct him to the Synod. In the mean time were there Letters from Mr. Dean to the Synod produced and read, together with a form of Valediction and farewell, by him conceived. I suppose Mr. Dean acquainted your Honor with the thing whilst he was with you, which is the cause I have not sent a transcript of it: as soon as I understand your Lordship hath not seen it, I will cause a Copy of it to be taken. It was then concluded by the Synod that the Preses, and Assizers, together with the Seculars Scribe, should, after the Synod was ended, repair to Mr. Dean, and take their leave of him in the name of all the rest, and by him commend their love and service unto his Majesty, and render him humble thanks for his princely care. All which the same night was done. Now was Dr. Goads come to the Synod, and according to the manner, conducted to his seat, where being face, he made a short speech, which being ended, the Synod proceeded to discuss the question above merited. The Decree is, that the Professors shall expound those places of Scripture, on which the Remonstrants builds. Wherefore Jo. Polyander who is the Senior Professor, being absent, Sibrandus Lubbertus who is the next in order, took up the question, and answer'd such Texts as were urged by the Adversary, one out of the 3. of John, 36. Qui credit in filium habet vitam eternam: qui non credit non videt vitam, sed ira Dei manet super co. Another out of the 1. to the Ephe. 4. E legit nos in Christo ante jacta mundi fundamenta: A third out of 11. to the Hebrews Impossibile et sine fato placere Deo. The sum of Sibrandus his answer at that time I can not give. For being misinform'd that it would be but a private Session, I was not at it. Besides Sibrandus no man spake any thing that night. As soon as he had done, it was signified by the Preses that the Campenses, who were lately cited, were now ready to make their appearance. It was concluded, that because the business of the Synod should not be interrupted, certain out of the company should be appointed to hear the cause and make relation of it to the Synod: so the Preses concluded the Session with a prayer, in which he prayed for Mr. Deans Health, and for the good success of his journey. This was the sum of what was then done, and so I end, committing your Honor to Gods good protection.

Dort, this 18 of January.

Tour Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Service, Jo. Hales.

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The Synodical Decree of the first of January, concerning the manner of handling the Five Articles.

Collatim diligenter per D. Presidem, Assessorum & Scriptorum ex prescripto illustrium D. D. Delegatorum suffragiis omnibus, tum Scriptu tum viva voce heri ac nudiusseritis in veneranda haec Synodo dictis super modo agendi circa examen & judicium quinque Articulorum: compertum est plurimis placere, ut singula quamprimum Collegia ad examen illud in-stituendum judiciumque formandum serio se accingant. Ac primo quidem loco in manus sumant primum Articulum. In cuius examine, ut & dein-ceps in coeterorum, ad interrogatoriam & Theses a D. Preside dilet, ut & postea dictanda, quilibet in primis attendat. Si quis tamen plura, qua ad sententiam Remonstrantur propendam & explicandam facere possunt, quae forte in Theibus & interrogatoriam istis indicata non sunt, adhuc & possit, id cuique liberum relinquatur: & ut privatim singula collegia ante Meridiem de hoc examine cognitabant; ita post Meridiem ne Synodos intermissa, ac nulla Auditorum Spectatorumque ex omnibus passim ortis quotidianis accidentium ratio haberii videatur, publicus, nisi omnino res ipsa alius posulaverit, conventus celebratur: in quo potissima Remonstrant-ium argumenta maxime ex Scripturis desumpta, ipsorumque adeo ad con-traria sententiae argumenta maxime ex Scripturis desumpta responsones proponentur & executientur, praebantibus D. D. Doctibus ac Professis, nunc nostroibus, nunc exteriis ad Arbitrium D. Presidis: vel infra interim singulis libertate dictis addendi, & sua etiam de propositis argumentis sententiam dicendi. Quare necessa quoque erit quilibet serio de argumentis istis & responsionibus apud se cogitaret ac meditaret. Dabit autem operam D. Preses singulis Sessionibus, ut ea de quibus proxima Sessione erit agen-dum universa Synodo significet. Ac si quis fuerit, qui de quoquam, quod forte a D. Preside monitum non fuerat, judicium Synodi audire sua vel aliorum causa desideret, ejus, si privatim D. Presidem appellasserit, ratio habebit, prout ipsa adhibito consilio Assessorum & Scri-barum, ac si quis fuerit plurium, ex usu Synodi, aut res qua de agitur, esse existimaverit. Judicium formatum de quilibet Articulo, additis rationibus quibus subnissum est, Presidi privatim exhibebitur osservandum, donec de omnibus judicium Articulis judicium formatum & similibus exhibitum fuerit.
Right Honourable, and my very good Lords:

Upon Wednesday the 25th of January there was no Session at all in the morning, in the evening there was one, but in private. In this they have concluded the question about their manner of proceeding. There was a forme conceived and concluded upon, and transcribed by all the Deputies. They concluded likewise their Theses upon the first Article, which they purpose publicly to discourse. It was late in the evening ere this Session was done, so that I could not get the Copies of either of these, but in my Morrow Letters I will not fail by God's grace to send your Honor the Transcripts of them. Besides, there were some things of smaller weight advised of. First, whether in delivering of their judgments upon the Articles in Controversie, the Foreigners should begin, as hitherto they had done. The Provincials at first train'd courteisie, and thought it no point of good manners, to take Precedency of the Foreigners: but it is concluded, they must, as being better tried in these Controversies than the Foreigners are, and therefore meete it was they should give them more time to advise. The second thing proposed was concerning their Auditory. For they questioned whether they should admit of hearers, or do all in private. Old Sibrandus was very hot against the Auditory, and thought it not fit that any care should be had of them, as being only Muliercula, & Pauca, Juvenes incerti. There is some reason of this complaint of his, for many Youthes, yea and Artificers, and I know not what rabble besides thrust in, and trouble the place. As for women whole Troopes of them have been seen there, and the best places for Spectators reserved for them. Which thing must needs expose the Synod to the Scorne of those, who ly in-wait to take exception against it. But the Synod hath determined in favour of their Auditory, that Sessions consultatory and Provisionall shall be private, but Sessions wherein they discourse and conclude shall be publick. Meetings hereafter will not be so frequent, for men will take more time to advise. This is the summe, as far as I can learn, of what was done at that time. To morrow your Lordship shall receive farther information, till which time I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this 1st of January.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty,
Jo. Hales.

Right
Right Honorable, and my very good Lord,

Upon Friday the 28 of January in the Evening, the Synod being met, Doctor Gomarus answered some parts of Scripture, laid hold of by the Remonstrants, after the same manner as D. Sibaudus had done the night before; the places by him discussed were for the most part the same which in the former Session had been handled. The order of discharging these arguments is by continued discourse after the manner of Latin Sermons; or rather of Divinity Lectures, such as are read in our Schools. In one thing the Discretion of both these Doctors was much approved. For both of them holding that extream and rigid tenent, which Beza and Perkins first of all acquainted the World with, yet notwithstanding they held an unpartiall and even course, and never broke upon it. When Gomarus had spoken towards an hour and half, my Lord Bishop deliver'd himself concerning the meaning of the same places of Scripture, and after him certain other of the foreign Divines. After this same Copy will all the news be yet this ten days or more; & these evening Sessions are only to entertain the Auditory, not to determine anything at all. Each company must in private conceive and set down in writing their opinion concerning the Articles; and when they have so done the Writings must be exhibited to the Synod, and out of them must be gathered the Conclusion which must stand for good. This is a thing which will require some good time, and in the mean while besides these Theological Lectures, there shall be nothing done publickly in the Synod. The same day at night Bitterfieldins, one of the Deputies lately come out of Nassau died. When his Funerall will be I know not. Upon Friday Morning Mr. Dean took his journey toward Middlebourgh. Upon Saturday there was no Session at all Mr. Balcanqual commends his Service unto your Honor, and required me to signify to you thus much, that he had lately spoken with Myself, but understood nothing by him concerning the matter which your Lordship is more intent upon. He will me moreover to inform your Honor, That whereas you lately spake to Mr. Dean to deal with Deodati, Mr. Dean by reason of his indisposition of Body, and sudden departure, found no means to talk with him. Thus with humble recommendation of my Service to your Honor, I take my leave.

Dort, this 14 of January.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Service,

Jo, Hales.

Right
Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

The Errors of publike actions (if they be not very gross) are with less inconvenience tolerated then amended. For the danger of alteration, of disgracing and disabling Authority, makes that the Fortune of such proceedings admits no regrets, but being once howsoever well or ill done, they must for ever after be upheld. The most partials Spectator of our Synodal acts can not but confess, that in the late dismission of the Remonstrants, with so much cholere and heat, there was a great oversight committed, and that whether we respect our common profession of Christianity, qui nihil justum suadet & bene, or the quality of this people apt to mutine by Reason of long Liberty, and not having learnt to be imperiously commanded, in which argument the Clergy above all men ought not to have read their first lesson. The Synod therefore to whom it is now in integro to look back, and Rectify what is amiss without disparagement, much now go forward and leave events to God, and for the Countenance of their action do the best they may. For this purpose have they lately by Deputies appointed for that end, made a Declaration of all their proceedings unto the States General, from whom they have procured a Decree for Confirmation of them, which Decree upon Monday the 4th of January was publickly, first in Dutch then in Latin, read at the Synod in the Evening. The particulars of it I shall not need relate as being sufficiently known to your Honor. The Decree being pronounced, Heinsius first signified that it had been before in private made known to the Remonstrants, and then in the name of the Delegates warned the Commissioners of the Synod, ut quum maturim & celerrime de istis controversiis hatuam, at postiam tandem afficiis eclesiae Belgicae subvenire. I was very glad to hear that admonition, and it gives me hope that our Synod shall have end not long after Easter at the Farthest. After this did Tytius, another of the Professors discourse three other of the Remonstrants arguments taken out of the Hague Conference, according to the same forme as Sibrandus and Comans had done before. This being done the Preses required Jo. Polyander and Williams to provide to do the like upon Thursday next in the Evening (for before that time there is to be no publick Session) and requesting the Company the next Day to accompany Bitterfieldius to his Grave (which accordingly was done at the time appointed) he dismiss the meeting. So that till Thursday next we are likely to understand no more news of the Synod.

I spake upon Tuesday with Mr. Preses concerning Monliss project.
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His answer to me was this, that he communicated the thing with some of the disserterer of the Synod, and that he had required my Lord Bishop and Scalier to conceive a forme of publick Confession. Which as soon as it should be conceived and allowed of by those who should in that behalf be consulted withal, he would send a Copy of it to your Honor, to be sent to his Majesty, by him to be revised and altered according to his pleasure, and so from him to be commended unto the Synod publickly. Which course he thinks will take good success. As touching the point concerning the Lutherans he thinks it not fit that any word at all be made. I dealt with Mr. Prentes concerning a Copy of his Deans Valediction to the Synod, he answered me that he had delivered it to Damannus the Scribe to be copied out, and as soon as it was done, I should have it to transcribe, so soon therefore as I can procure the Copye of it, I will not fail to send it your Lordship. Mr. Deans at his departure had an Honourarium bestowed upon him by the States. Heinsius the Scribe came to his lodging to him, and making a short speech unto him, presented him in the Name of the States with manuscriptum as he call'd it. What or how much it was no man knowes. Thus commending your Honor to Gods good protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this 21st of January 1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and
done in all Duty,
Jo. Hales.

Right Honorable, and my very good Lord,

Upon Tuesday the 21st of this present in the Evening, for, for the debating of certain particular points in controversy belonging to the first Article, the Synod came together in private. It hath been lately questioned, how Christ is said to be Fundamentum Electionis. The Doctrine generally received by the Contra-Remonstrants in this point is, that God first of all resolved upon the Salvation of some singular persons, and in the second place upon Christ as a mean to bring this Decree to pass. So that with them God the Father alone is the Author of our Election, and Christ only the Executor. Others on the contrary teach, that Christ is so to be held Fundamentum Electionis, as that he is not only the Executor of Election, but the Author and the Prince of it: for proof of which they bring the words of the Apostle to the Ephesians, the first Chapter, elegit nos in Christo ante jacta mundi fundamenta. The Explication of this Text was the especial thing discuss at this meeting: and some taught, that Christ was Fundamentum Ele-
tionis.
Mr. Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort

etius, because he was primus Electorum, or because he is Fundamentum Electorum, but not Elec tionis, or because he is Fundamentum beneficiorum, which descend upon us; others brooke none of those Restraints. D. Gomarus stands for the former sentence, and in defence of it had said many things on Friday. This night Martinius of Brem being required to speak his minde, signified to the Synod, that he made some scruple concerning the Doctrine passant about the manner of Christ being Fundamentum Electionis, and that he thought Christ not only the Effector of our Election, but also the Author and Procurer thereof. Gomarus who owes the Synod a shrewd turn, and then I fear me began to come out of debt; presently, as soon as Martinius had spoken, starts up, and tells the Synod, ego banc rem in me recipio, and therewithall calls his Glove, and challenges Martinius with this Proverb, Exce Rhodium, ecce saltum, and requires the Synod to grant them a Duel, adding that he knew Martinius could say nothing in refutation of that Doctrine. Martinius who goes in equipspace with Gomarus in Learning, and a little before him for his Discretion, easily digested this affront, and after some few words of course, by the wisdom of the Prefets matters seemed to be a little pacified, and so according to the custom, the Synod with Prayer concluded. Zeal and Devotion had not so well allayed Gomarus his choler, but immediately after Prayers he renewed his Challenge and required Combat with Martinius again; but they parted for that night without blowes. Martinius, as it seems, is somewhat favourable to some Tenents of the Remonstrants concerning Reprobation, the latitude of Christ's merit, the Salvation of Infants, &c. and to bring him to some conformity was there a private meeting of the Forreign Dives upon Wednesday morning in my Lord Bishops Lodging, in which thus much was obtain'd, that though he would not leave his Conclusions, yet he promised moderation and temper in such manner, that there should be no dissention in the Synod by reason of any opinion of his.

Upon Thursday the 16th of this present, the Synod being met in the Evening, Jo. Polyander and Walkens undertook the defence of some places of Scripture brought by the Contra-Remonstrants against the exceptions of the Remonstrants: the places of Scripture were, Luie 10. 20. Gaudete quia nomina velia scripta sunt in Calis. Apocal. 21. 27. inscripti in libvitis. Rom. 9. 11. Ut propitium Dei secundum Electionem manueret, and 11. 5. Reser vario secundum Electionem: and Rom. 8. 13. Quos prae- simavit ut conformes sint imaginii Filii sui, eos existam vocavit. Ahi. 13. 48. Crediderunt quotquot erant ordinati ad vitam aternam. Upon these places these two spake almost three hours.

It was expected that as the rest of the Professors hitherto have done, so Doctor Davenant the next Professor should speak in publike: It is said
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said that he shall do it this day in a private Session (for there is no public till Munday, and what will then be done I know not.) What the meaning is of this Audience only in private, I know not. But of this I will say more in my next Letters to your Honour, till when I leave your Lordship to Gods good protection.

Dort this 1 1/2 of January 1618.

Your Honour shall hear receive a Copie of Mr. Deans farewell, I fear me it is a little imperfect, for I understand it not in some places. If I can hear of another copie from Mr. Preses who promised me one at the beginning of this week, and finde it to be perfecter, I will again transcribe it.

The Dean of Worcester Valediction to the Synod.

Non facile mecum in gratiam redierit cadaverosa hae moles, quam agrestis circumgestosque mihi sacri bujus Conventus celebratatem toiles invidi, jamque me prorsus invitissimum, a vobis importune avocat & divellit. Neque enim illus est profecto sub celo locus aest celestium, & in quo tormentium mihi sigi maluerim, cujusque adeo gessit mihi animus meminit. Beatos vero vos quibus hoc frui datum! Non dignus eram ego ut fideliissimi Romani Querimoniam imitati liceat, qui pro Christi & Ecclesiae sua nomine Saniam hanc provinciam diuitius sustinerem. Illud vero quod vitis vos qualibus: nempe audito quod res erat, non alta me quam adversissima hic usum valeatines, rerenissimus Rex meus, misertus miselli fanuli sui revocat me domum, quippe quod cineses meos aut sandapilam vobis nihii quicquam prodesse posse norit, succenturiavitque mihi virum & suis secelissimum, quantum Theologum! De me profecto, (mero jam silicinno!) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus sum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter pro- specum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meae baud parum gratulamin, que bujust- modi instruissimo succedantece caetum hunc vestrum beaverit. Neque tamen committam, (si Deus vitam nihii ac vires indulserit) ut et corpopse simul et animo abesse videas. Interne fane hunc Synodo ubicunque terrarum sim, cotisis, consiliis, convibusque, meis quibuscunque res vestras me providere serio ac sedulo promoturum sancie voveo. Interim vobis omnibus ac singulis, Honorissimis Domino Delegatis, Reverendissimse Domine Preses, Grazissimi

K

Assis.
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Tuesday the 25th of January, at the Evening Session, the point of Reprobation was Scholastically and learnedly discussed by Altingius, one of the Palatine Professors. His discourse was the most sufficient of any that yet I heard. He began from the Definition, and proceeded to how far God had a hand in it, and how far man is the Author of his own Destruction, & lastly answered the Remonstrants arguments. He spake about an hour and half. I would willingly have given your Honour an account of his speech, but it was in the Evening, and the Auditory are allowed no candles, so that I could not use my tables. And thus have they discussed the first Article; though I could have wished that the question of Reprobation had been yet farther opened and stood upon, it being a point of large extent, and especially insisted on by the Remonstrant. As for Synodical Resolution in this first Article, that we must yet expect, till all the rest be examined as this hath been. There is no open Session till Friday next after dinner; and then is it their purpose to enter upon the Second Article, of Universal Grace: at which time Mr. Balcanqual, and Cruciger of Hassia are appointed to speak, according as the rest have done before to this question, Whether the death of Christ were intended indifferently for all, or only for the Elect? Upon Wednesday the 28th of January, in the evening was there a private Session, wherein, belike for the making of better speed, they consulted whether they should go on to examine the rest of the Articles after the same manner they had done the first, or else belittle them of some more speedy order. After a long disputation, even so long that Jo. Pleydner put the Preses in mind of the exceeding sharpness of the Weather, they at length concluded, that they would go on in the same course they had begun. And this as yet is all the News that is paffant, wherefore ceasing farther to trouble your Honour, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 4th of January, 1619.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty and Service,

Jo. Hales.

Right
Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

Upon Friday the 15 of January, there was a meeting of the Synod partly publick, partly private. As the Provinciall Professors had done, so was D. Davenant, who is the first Professor of the Forraigners, enjoined by the Praeses to do. The intent of his discourse at that time, was to overthrow certain distinctions framed by the Remonstrants for the maintenance of their positions, and evasion from the Contraremonstrants Arguments. The Remonstrants usually distinguish upon Election, and divide it, into definitam & indefinitam, revocabilem & irrevocabilem; peremptoriam & non peremptoriam; mutabilem & immutabilem, and the like. For the refutation of which distinctions he first set down the definition of election brought by the Contraremonstrant, and at large confirmed it: secondly he brought the definition of election agreed on by the Remonstrant, and Argued against it: and thirdly he directly opptugned these forecited distinctions; all which he did learnedly and fully. When Dr. Davenant had spoken: the Auditory was commanded to depart. For having a purpose that others should speake at the same time, and fearing that some diversity of opinion might rise, and occasion some diffention, it was thought fit that things should be transacted as privately as might be. Many more of the Forraigners deliver'd themselves that night; and amongst the rest Martinius of Breme proposed again his former doubts unto the Synod, concerning the sense in which Christ is, said to be fundamentum electionis, & requested to be resolved. But D. Gomarus at this time, was somewhat better advised, & thought it best to hold his peace. This day will there be a private meeting wherein every company will give up their judgments in writing upon the first Article: and to morrow I understand they will go on unto the second, and proceed in it, accordingly as they have done in the former. As for any Decisive Sentence they will give none, till they have thus gone through all the five. In this I suppose they do very discreetly. For since the Articles are mutually linked together, it is most convenient they should first go through them all, since a predetermination in the former, might bind them to some inconvenience in the latter, there being no place left to look back. But stand they must to what they have once concluded. For avoiding of this it is thought best to determine of all at once. And this is all the news that here is currant: wherefore Commending Your Honour to God's good protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 15 of January.

1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.

Right
Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Upon Munday the 23rd of January in the Evening, the Synod being met, Scultetus spake at large de Certitudine gratie & salutis, that it was necessary for every man to be assured of his Salvation. The manner of his discourse was oratorically, the same that he uses in his Sermons, not scholasticall and according to the fashion of disputation and Schools. For this cause the question was neither deeply searcht into, nor strongly proved: And this is all was done that night.

I spake with Mr. Dr. Goad concerning Mr. Brent, who answer'd me that he heard nothing at all of him, and that he will shortly write unto My Lord Archbishops Secretary to be informed farther concerning him. My Lord Bishop of late hath taken some pains with Martinius of Bremes to bring him from his opinion of Universal Grace. By chance I came to see his Letter written to Martinius in which he expounded that place in the third of John, So God loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son &c. which is the strongest ground upon which Martinius rests himself. Beyond this here is no news worth the relating, and therefore till farther occasion offer itself, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 23rd of January, 1618.

Your Honours Chaplin and bounden in all Duty.

Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

Upon Thursday the 26th of January in the Evening the Synod met privately, and as they had done in the first, so did they in the second Article. For the speedier Direction to finde the places in the Remonstrants Books, where the particulars concerning Universal Grace are discusst, there was a kind of Index or Concordance drawne of the severall passages in their writings touching that subject. The next Day following, that is the first of February Sylo Novo, Mr. Balcanquall and Cruciger of Hassia made entrance upon the second Article. Mr. Balcanquall spake above an hour, and did very well acquit himself. When they had done the Preses enjoin'd Steinius of Hassia upon Tuesday next in the Evening (at what time will be the next open Session) to speake of the fourth Article (for of the third there is no question) and to found whether the Grace of God converting us be resistible, as the Re-
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Remonstrants would have it. This hath that is made in this sudden passing from one Article to another is much marvel'd at by our English Divines: for the Colledges yet have not all given up their opinion upon the first, and besides that the Remonstrants upon Wednesday last were willing to give in their Arguments upon the first Article. For notwithstanding they be excluded from personal appearance in the Synod, yet are they Commanded to Exhibit to the Synod whatsoever they shall please to command. Now some time will be required for the Examining of those reasons, if they be of late invention, and such as yet have had nothing said to them. But what the reason of this hath is, will appear hereafter.

I lately writ unto Mr. Collwill to know what Order was to be taken for the discharge of my lodging, whether your Honor were to answer it or the publick purse. I would willingly be resolved of it, because I have a desire to return to the Hague first because the Synod proceeding as it doth, I do not see that it is opere pretium for me here to abide; and then because I have sundry private occasions that call upon me to return. For notwithstanding this hath, of which I but now spake, it will be long ere the Synod will come to determine any thing, and about that time, if your Honor shall be so pleased, I shall be ready to come back to Dort. And so remembering my service unto your Honor I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this first of Febr.
1619; stylo novo.

Your Honors Chaplain and
bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

Our Synod goes on like a watch, the main Wheels upon which the whole business turns are least in sight. For all things of moment are acted in private Sessions, what is done in publick is only for their and entertainment. Upon Monday last the 4th. of February, stylo novo. the Deputies met privately in the Evening, where the first thing that came upon the Stage was that old impertinent business concerning the Campenfs, at what time Scotlerus a Remonstrant Minister who had been formerly cited to appear before the Synod, having not appeared at time appointed, pretended sickness and for that cause he required the Synods patient forbearance. After this they entered into consultation concerning certain Books and Writings to be conceived partly for declaration of the Synods meaning in the Doctrine of the five Articles,
partly in Apology for it. And first it was proposed that there should be scriptum didaticum a plain and familiar writing, drawn, wherein the Doctrine of the five Articles according to the intent and meaning of the Synod should be perspicuously express for the Capacity of the Common fort, and that in Dutch and Latin. The Apologicall Writings were of two sorts, first Scriptum Elenchicum wherein there were to be refuted such Errors as had been lately broached in prejudice of the received Doctrine secondly Scriptum Historicum, which was to consist of two parts, first a narration of the Synods proceedings with the Remonstrant, from the day of his first appearance till the time of his Ejection: for the refutation of many bitter invectives which lately had been written against the Synod in that behalf. Secondly a Relation de causis turbabarum, who were the Authors of the late Stirs in time of the separation; for answer of Episcopius his Oration, and other Writings of the Remonstrants, in which the whole misorder is turn'd upon the Contra-Remonstrant. For the scriptum didaticum the English were altogether against it: and so was Vosbergius. Their Reason was, because it seem'd incongruous that any writing concerning the Doctrine of the Articles should be set forth before the Synod had given Sentence. And indeed I must confess I see no great congruity in the proposal, whilst matters are in controversy: Judges walk suspensively, and are indifferent for either party, and whatsoever their intent be, yet they make no ouverture of it till time of sentence come. All this business of citing, inquiring, examining must needs seem only as acted on a stage, if the Synod intempestively before hand bewray a resolution. But notwithstanding any reason allleadgable against it, the thing is concluded, and Walleus, Udemannus, and Triglandius are deputed to write a discourse to that purpose, with the inspection and super vision of my Lord Bishop, Scultetus, Brittingerus, and Deodatus. For the scriptum historicum in the first part concerning the proceeding of the Synod with the Remonstrant, there is required the pains of Scultetus and Triglandius in the second part de causis turbabarum, Latius must beflow his labour, with the help of Fekus Homminus of the South-Holanders and North-Hollanders, who best of any know the whole carriage of that matter. To the compoling of the scriptum elenchicum there are deputed four of the Provincials Professors, Jo. Polyander, Lubbertus, Gomarus and Thysius, to whom are adjoynd as helpers and Supervisors D. Davenant, Altingius and Martinius. But the business of this writing past not without some opposition, Deodat, altogether mishked it, Polyander requested that his pains might be spared: Novis afaith he, quam si mihi curta supellex. But above all D. Gomarus was most offended at the Proposal. Bella mihi video, bella paran tur ait. And therefore quite refusing to consent to any Polenickall writing, he ad-
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advised that the scriptum didacticum should abstain, non necessariis et privatibus, and contain only necessary points such as pals by common consent. That they should expect all the Remonstrant had set forth some adversary writing, and then would be a fitter time to think of somewhat in this kind. I blame not D. Gomarus if he a little recoil. For being of the Supralapsarian, as they terme them, of those who bring the Decree of Gods Election from before the fall, and seeing the Synod not willing to move that way, but to subside in a lower sphere, he is to be pardon'd, if he deny his hand to that writing, which he supposes cannot be so warily indiceth, but he must be forced with his own pen to let fall somewhat Prejudicial to his own opinion. The Preses answered, that it was not his drift to force the Synod against their mindes to set out such a Book; but only to take hold of the present occasion whilst the Forreign Divines were here, and have such a Book in readiness for use hereafter, though it were not now set forth. He farther advised that those who were to undertake this, should have an eye to the inclination of the Synod, and beware as much as might be, that they toght not there where any man was fore. Whatsoever the pretence is, the mentioning of these Books, before the Determination of the Synod be formally set down, must needs be very unseasonable. It will make the World to think they came resolved what to do, which though perchance they did, yet it is no wisdom to confess it. After this did they advise concerning the Exceptions against the Confession & Catechisme, and of such as should answer them. For the Catechisme, the Palatine Divines undertook it: for the Confession some of the Provincials were appointed, whose names I have not learnt. The Preses then by the advice of the Secular Delegates, advised the Synod to think of gathering a Synopsis and brief of all the Synodical Proceedings, to be sent to the King of England, and other Forreign Princes and States, who had sent Deputies to the Synod, that so they may understand what has been done. For this were there appointed Altingius Steinius, the Advouers and Scribes; and for Supervisors were named D. Davenant, Preses. This is the summe of that Session.

On Tuesday at Even they met again in privare, where every one spake in order what they had further to say concerning the second Article. Upon some occasion, I know not what, the Preses mentioned Negatum Vortianum, Bertianum, & Venatorianum, which I note because this is the first time that Vortius his cause was named in the Synod. There hath not been any flay made amongst the Forraign Divines but only in this second Article, out of which if they can well & clearly wrest themselves, their passage out of the rest will be more smooth. I lately told your Honor that Martinius of Breme made some doubts amongst the rest concerning Universall
Mr Hales Letters from the Synod of Dort.

"versall Grace. Not Martinius only but Dr. Ward in this point. For the "composing the doubts of both these, that they brake not out to any "publick inconvenience there hath been of late many private meetings "in my Lord Bishops Lodging; where upon Wednesday Morning were drawn "certain Theses in very suspense and wary terms: to what end, whither to "give content to all parties, or to exhibit to the Synod, or what else I know "not, by chance I had a view of them, but no opportunity to transcribe them."

On Wednesday the sext of February, there was a publick Session in the Evening, at what time Steinius of Hassia spake to the fourth Article concerning the resistibility of Grace, in the same manner as others had done before him. He spake about an hour & a half, and when he had done, the Preses gave warning of a publick Session to be upon Monday next in the Evening, and so dismiss the Auditory, but not the Synod, who after this fate a good space in private consultation.

7. Febr.
1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Service,

Jo. Hales.

FINIS.
My very Good Lord,

My business is now effected by your L. care to my contentment, since the first day of my coming to Dort, they have made me an allowance equal with our English Divines, which is 20 Florens a day; a less allowance might very well have served me, if I had not been joyned with them, but being joyned, it was not fit that for matter of maintenance I should be in their debts: I am exceedingly beholden to Mr. Musius his kind-ness, not only upon this, but upon all occasions: It doth proceed I suppose from your L. to whom as I must ever stand bound for the return of perpetual thanks and service, so I would be a suitor to your L. that your L. would be pleased to give Mr. Musius thanks for his kindness: For our Synod busi-ness as we went too slow before, so now they would have us go too fast; they would have us to dispatch one article a week; which is too little time for so weighty questions. But I hope they shall be done to some purpose: with the remembrance of my faithfulest duty and service to your L. and your worthy Lady, and my best wishes for both your health and happiness, I take my leave and rest.

Dordretch this 2d. of February Stylo Nove. 

Your L. in all true respects

of service, Walter Balcanqual.

My very Good Lord.

Since Mr. Hales his going, here hath been nothing done in the Synod of any note, on the seventh of February now still was held the 76. Session; in which nothing was done, but that they which before had not spoken in the second article did speak what they thought fit, there was nothing of note spoken, save that one of the Transsilvan, took it evil that we took the

Ramonstrants
Dr. Balcanqualls Letters from the Synod of Dort.

Remonstrants meaning in their opinions, where they spake best and soundest; but he would have their meaning to be gathered out of all places in their Books, where they speak most absurdly, which we thought was very far besides the rule of charity: so in that Session the Synodical diquisition for the second article was ended. The President told us moreover, that the Delegates had sent to the Remonstrants, and had demanded of them if they had any thing in writ which might leave for the explication of their opinion concerning the five articles; and that they had given to them, their confirmation of their opinion concerning the first article, as likeways a confutation of that which they held for the Heterodox opinion, and a beginning of their explication of the second article: now he shewed us the Book, of which in good faith I was ashamed to think that men of judgement could imagine that the Synod could have time to peruse it; for it is a little book of Martyrs, it doth exceed two hundredth folia in folio; moreover he told us that the Delegates had commanded them within 8. dayes to bring in all they would or could lay as necessary for the understanding of their minde concerning the whole five articles. On the 8. of February Stylo Novo, was held the 77th Session, in which was nothing done but that the President did dictates to us, these drawn out of the Remonstrants writings concerning the 3. and 4. articles, which I hold not expedient to send to you. but if I shal understand that your L. doth desire them, I can easily send them: It was appointed we should this morning send our Amanuensis to write out so much of the Remonstrants big Book as did concern the second article, which we did, and that again Monday we should consult what we should have done with the great volum it self; this day the President sent to our particular Collidge, some particular strange points which he had drawn out of their late explication of the second article, and in very pathetical terms did by his letter entreat us to have a care of condemning them in our judgement of the same article. Concerning this second article I beseech your L. give me leave to express my grief, as there is difference touching it in the Synod, so there is much difference about it in our own Collidge: will your L. be pleased to give me leave to say something of it; it is fit your L. should take notice of it, but no wayes as from me; the question amongst us is whether the words of the Scripture, which are likewise the words of our confession. *Christus oblatus est ut mortuus pro tuto humano genere secu pro peccatis totius mundi* be to be understood of all particular men, or only of the elect who consist of all sorts of men; Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward are of Martinius of Breme his minde, that it is to be understood of all particular men: the other three take the other exposition, which is of the writers of the reformed Churches, and namely of my late Lord of Sarisbury, both sides think they are right, and therefore cannot yield one unto another with a safe conscience: It is my Lord a matter of great consequence for us to set down the exposition of one article of our Church confession: will your L. there-
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fore be pleased to think of this proposition: since our judgement of none of the five articles is to be known, till we have done with them all; what if we should desire the President to take no notice, but to let us go on to the rest of the articles, and in mean time we should send into England the true state of our controversy; and have advice there from some of the chief of the Church. What exposition they would have to be given of that article of their confession, which we may safely follow, for it is no matter of salvation in which we differ, before we have done with the rest of the articles we may easily have one answer from England; if your L. like this motion or any other, your L. should do well by your letters to us to desire it, if not; I beseech your L. pardon my error which proceedeth only from my fear of distraction among our selves, and from my obedience to his Majesties charge, who command'd me in all such cases to have recourse to your L. for counsel: so with my best prayers to God for your L. health and happiness, with the remembrance of my best service to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest.

Dordreth this 9. of February 1652. Stilo Novo.

Your L. in all true respect and service, Walter Balaunquall.

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My very Good Lord,

Though your L. Letters caused some anger here with the informer, who was unknown to them, yet believe it, your L. hath done a work worthy of your Honour, and such a one as if it had been left undone, would when it could not have been helped, have made us all heartily wish that it had been done: your L. Letters have taken the true effect which your L. in your advice intended, we all acknowledge your L. counsel to be not only good but necessary, and yet we are displeased your L. should be informed of the variance; without which we must have been deprived of this your L. wholesome and necessary direction: since my last Letters to your L. it is true that we agreed upon some propositions, which are without question true, but they were such as did no ways decide the question controverted in the Synod; we retained the words of Scripture and our own confessions, but all the difference is in the interpretation of these words. When the Canons of the second article come to be made, it will be determined whether Christ did really perform were pretium redemptionis pro omnibus ac singulis hominibus, ac pro solis electis, in the Synod then should we have differed in voices: because I know your L. will write to my L. Grace, I beseech your L. require a speedy answer, in our Letters to my L. Grace, we have but a little noted the difference which is like to be; I have here in this paper sent to your L. the true state of the difference which will be concerning this proposition. Christus obsulit se pro peccatis ...
Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort,
tinus mundi, I dare engage my credit with your L. that it is truly set down,
and more fully then in our Letters to my L. Grace; your L. may take so much
of it as you shall think fit, and make his Grace acquainted with it; and write
that this is like to be the difference not in (as your L. is informed) our Col-
ledge, but in the Synod about the second article, and therefore desire his
Grace to send us some good counsel for our carriage in it; for certainly most
voices in the Synod will follow the receaved exposition of the reformed Doflors, con-
formed much by my late L. of Salisbury his G. brother, who was thought to un-
derstand the meaning of our confession as well as any man. I doubt not but that
your L. will crown your own work with following of it; when your L. shall
find the fruit of peace in the Synod among us procured by your L. your L.
will finde great matter of joy, arising from the conscience of this Christian
counsel; our controversy among our selves, I must needs say, was with
much love and amitie, no man defining anything to be put in our articles, but
that we should all approve of; but so the question had never been decided:
I beseech your L. pardon this my libertie to your L. it is the love of peace, and
my respect to your L. Honour doth procure it.

Since my last to your L. there hath been three Sessions: first the 78. Ses-
sion held on the 2. February Novo Stylo, in which Dr. Beckins one of the Hel-
vetian Devines at the President his intrety did publickly discuss the 7. argu-
ments of the Remonstrants in Collas. Hag. whereby they prove Gratiam re-
genrationis esse refotibilem. That being done all auditors were removed, and
it was inquired what order the Synod thought fittester to be taken with the Re-
onstrants huge volume, the transcription whereof was impossible, the
President told us he had cast a general glance over it all, and did finde that a
few of the first leaves did contain a confirmation of their opinion of the first
article, but all the rest did contain nothing but a confutation of the contra R.
opinion, and an exagitation of their person: we desired some part of it to
be read; I must needs say the Remonstrants had no favour, for I will assure your
L. that the President picked out the worst part of it; there were some five leaves
read, which contained nothing but a bitter Satyr against Calvin, Beza, Parens,
Piscator, Whittaker, Perkins, Bogorman, Festus, and twenty more, but in
truth though unhappily, yet finely penned, I thought it was Episcopius
his tongue; about the taking notice of this book the suffrages of the Synod did
varie much; yet most voices were, that it should be committed to some De-
puted by the Synod, who should diligently peruse it, and relate unto the Sy-
nod, if they found any new thing in it, which was not contained in their for-
mer writings, but yet so that any member of the Synod that would, might be
prezent with the perusers. The Delegats gave this mediatroy sentence, be-
cause they had observed that both the parts of it were desired by many;
they desired their might be a forenoon Session or two kept for the nonce, in
which that small part of the book which contained the confirmation of their
opinion
opinion might be read, and every man take with his pen, what he should think fit, the rest to be put over to perusers, who should make relation to the Synod of any thing they found new or fit: and therefore the Affectors; and D. Damanus the Scribe were entreated to run over the book, & make choice of what things they thought fit to be read in the Synod, which when they have done we shall hear more of it.

The president telleth us that the Campenes Remonstrants, who had been lately peremptorily cited to compeire before the Synod were not come, but that they had sent three others in their place to plead their cause: and that he had likewise received a supplication to the Synod from the Campenes contra-
Remonst. The Synod referred the hearing of the whole cause to deputies, one out of every College.

Sessio 79. 12. Feb. ] The Synodical disquisition concerning the third and fourth article began, many Devines spake divers things, the disquisition came down to D. Crecins of Breme, and so the Synod was dimissed.

Sessio 8. 12. Feb. ] We went on in the Synodical disquisition of the third and fourth article, where many men spake their opinions freely, when it came to Sibrandus he spake at least an hour, in his speech he took exceptions at some things that D. Martinus of Breme had spoken the day before, especially that he had said God was causa physica converteronis; he delivered some reasons against it, and desired Martinus to give satisfaction to them, and to instruct him in that which he knew not before; Martinus answered for himself, but between them both there were more words then sense, for they made it a meer Philosophical speculation, like to keeping a philosophic act, much against the gravity of questions to be discussed in a Synod: Martinus for the truth of his assertion appealed to Goclenius their present, as being princeps philosophorum, who were not wont to be appealed to in Synodical questions, and Goclenius took the moderator his place bravely upon him; told us that Themistius, Averes, Alexander Aphrodias, and many more were of Martinus his opinion; and his opinion true in Philosophy, but yet he would not have it to prescribe in Divinity; Sibrandus fell upon Goclenius too, so after many words lost on all sides, the President cut them off, and so the act ended, and so the disquisition ended: yesterday we had no Session, this day we have one, of which your L. by God his grace shall be advertised in my next. So with the remembrance of my best service to your L. and your virtuous Lady I rest.

Dordrecht this 15. of February.

Your L. in all faithful service,
Walter Balcanqual.
Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort.

travertitur an per totum mundum intelligatur mundus electorum; an mundus omnium particularium hominum: ubi de his tribus ambigitur.

Primo. An retinenda sit illa distinctione qua recepissema est apud Reformatos Doctores, quemq. Episcopus Sarisburicensis afferuit pag. 35. et sequentibus: mortua est pro omnibus secundum sufficientiam seu magnitudinem pretii, non secundum proprietatem redemptionis, quidam putant non retinendum esse, quia putant si sufficienter dicere possent mortuum pro Diabolis.

Secundo. Contravertitur de hac propositione. Christus obtulit se pro omnibus, seu persolvit pretium redemptionis pro omnibus; quidam putant sensum esse, persolvit pretium quod sufficient pro omnibus non autem actum solvit pretium illud nisi pro reddendis electis, aliis putant banc expositionem incommodam, quia putant commentarium hunc verba ipsa destruere. Ea etenim putant sequi Christum quidem habuisse pretium in numeratod, quod persolvit suffecisset omnibus redendis; verum Christum non persolvisse actum pretium illud, aut factum esse propitiationem pro peccatis totius mundi.

Tertio. Contravertitur de sensu borum verborum, totius mundi, quidam putant intelligi de singulis hominibus, alii de solis electis, (hic est sanguis novi testamenti qui putatur pro multis in remissione peccatorum) exponiturque hoc vocabula (totius mundi) scit Augustinus exponit, epist. 48. Totius mundus est in malignopositas proper zizania que sunt per totum mundum, et Christus propitiatore est peccatorum totius mundi propter testicium quod est per totum mundum.

Quarto ergo an per totum mundum debeat esse intelligere singulos homines, an solos electos; an vero nulla est danda explicatio; sed retinenda sunt verba confessiones absqueullo commentario.

My very Good Lord,

Since my lasts unto your L. their hath been nothing of any moment done in the Synod; but what was done, the summe of it is this.

Sessio 81, 13. Feb. Stylo Novo.] Credential letters were read from the Frisians, by which Dacon ab Aisfo, was deputed in the Colledge of the Frisians as a member of the Synod in the place of Meinhardus a senior Ecclesia Leonardensis, who lately died here; he took the oath of the Synod, & so was admitted. Alstedius the only Naftovalc Devine now left, by appointment of the President publicly all auditors being admitted, did vindicate the 10 arguments which the Contra Remonstrants used in Collat. Hag. for proving of irresistibility of grace, from the objections, exceptions, and instances of the Remonstrants: and so the auditory was dismissed. The President giveth us warning, that on munday at 9. of the clock there should be a Session, in which they would begin to read the great volume of the Remonstrants, lately given in; and telleth us moreover, that now they had given in their explanation.
to the R. Honourable Sir D. [Carlton L. Embassador. [7]

tion of the 3. 4. and 5. articles, but no confirmation of them: yet that the Delegats had commanded them within eight days to bring in all they would or could say concerning the five articles. Because the two Campenfes Remonstrants being peremptorily cited had not compiered, the President desired the Synod to think of some fit punishment for this their contumacie. First we read letters from Fosculins, one of these two Remonstrants; in which he excuseth his absence by these three reasons: first, that the Church could not bear their absence; because if they should both come, there was none to preach: not that he himself was making ready for the journey, but that he was stopped, by the tears, howlings, sighs, outcries, lamentations, and prayers of all sexes, and ages, and conditions of people, boyes, girls, masters, servants, mistresses, and maids, young and old, and many more such specifications there were; thirdly, that they had sent two to the Synod to answer for them; and therefore do humbly intreat, that they by these their procurators may causam dicere: after these were read other latine letters from the Seniors of that same Church, wonderful long, but to extremally foolish and idle, that one might see they were written by some indifierent pedant, who had run himself out of breath with trotting through all the topick places of school boyes rhetorick; they contained in them the same reasons for their ministers none-comparence, which the former: and moreover did protest that their ministers were ready for their journey, but that the importance of their roarings, howlings, hindered them: and therefore in a most furious strain did desire the Synod to conceit with themselves, that they did not now with their eyes behold this ruthful spectacle: to wit, The whole city of Camps male and female, young and old lying before them, tearing their hair, knocking their breasts, piercing the ayre with their sighs, and heaven with their lamentable howlings, having their eyes sunk in their heads with tears, and their hearts ready to burst out at their sides for anguish; with such a deal of female foolish Rhetorick, as no masculine pen can relate, they desire the none-comparence of their Pastors; of whose doctrines they might take sufficient notice without their personal presence, since it was the same which the Remonstrants had maintained in Collat. Hagi: It is to be noted that the Magistrates of Camps, who before had written in these citati favour, did not now write.

Thirdly, there was read the contra Remonstrants campenes, who were come to accuse the citati, answer to the reasons contained in the citati letters, to the first: that the Church could not want their presence, it was answered; that the Classis Campenfis would look to that, as other classis now did to the charges of all the rest, who were present at the Synod; besides that no man's charge in private can excuse him for non-comparence before a judge, when he is cited. To the second, that they were coming, but were hindered by the people, it was answered that a seditious tumultuary concourse of people.
ple, ought not to hinder any man from comparence before a judge, especially since it is known that this seditious conflux was procured by the citati, as is evident by the confessions of many, (whose names were there expressed,) who being called to be present at that tumultuary assembly refused; who did testify moreover, that the citati went about begging hands to subfcribe these foolish letters to the Synod. To the third, that they had sent procurators to answer for them; it was anwered, that it was a thing not heard, that another man should give account of these things which they themselves had taught. These things being read, the Synod was required to give sentence: the Delegates sentence was this: that notwithstanding all these idle excuses the citati were to be condemned of contumacie, to be suspended from their ministry, but with this provision, that if within fourteen days after the receipt of new Letters from the Synod, they did personally compeire, they should be absolved from this sentence of suspension; if they did not, this sentence should stand firm pro nunc et tunc et omni tempore: the rest of the Synod were entreated that again Munday they would deliberate of this busines, and so give in their judgements of it.

Sessio 82. 18. Feb. ] Their were read publicly 47. pages of the Remonst. book; all which did contain only one anwer to the firft foure places produced by the contra-Reomonstrants, in collatione Hag. whereby they prove that (vello Deum solos fideles salvos facere; et infideles in ira reliquere) is not tempore integrum prædestinationis decreta; the like tedious prolixity, sometimes racking of Scripture, sometimes paring and chipping of it hath not been heard; their was nothing in it which did not rather make men out of love with their cause then affect it.

Sessio 83. eodem die post meridiem. ] The sentence of the Synod was asked concerning the Remonstrants Campenfls, all agreed with the sentence of the Delegates given at the end of the 81. Session: except only the Divines of Breme; who delivered their opinion at large in writing, it was to perfwade a milder course, the reasons were many and well penned: when it came to the Colledge of the Professors, notwithstanding that D. Pollyander had delivered their collegiat sentence; yet D. Gomarus, Martinius his professed enemy, asketh leave to speake; and so entereth into a confutation of that which they of Breme had delivered, so that he and Martinius fell foul in the Synod, very much against the dignity of such an assembly. In truth I must needs say, that some of the provincials doe use Martinius very uncivilly, and all the forraign Devines begin to take it evil at their hands, he is a man very learned, and very honest, found in all the five articles, as any man in the Synod, except the Second, in which when the Canons come to be made, your L. shall hear there will be more of his opinion besides himself, notwithstanding all this; because he doth miltlike many of the contra-Reomonstrants broad speeches in many points, which I think very learned and godly man will do; they use him with so much
Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort, [9]
much discourtesie, as I will assure your L. he hath been very near leaving of the Synod, and his colleagues were half purposed to go with him, what a blow this would give to the credit of the Synod, any man may easily perceive, the provincials in this take not the right course. Though one be against the Remonstrants in all the five articles in substance; yet if he differ from them but in manner of speaking, they hold him as not sound: if by your L. means the President were advertized of these things, it might do much good. What farther paffeth in the Synod your Lordship by God his grace shall hear, in mean timewith the remembrance of my best service to your good Lordship, I take my leave and rest.

Dordrecht this 18. of February Stylo Novo: Your L. in all true respects of service, Walter Balcanqual.

My very Good Lord,

Since my last Letters to your L. there hath been no business of any great note in the Synod, but that which I am sure your L. will be sorry to hear contention like to come to some head, if it be not prevented in time: for there hath been such a plot laid ex compofito for disgracing of the Bremenfes, as I think the Synod shall receive small grace by it.

Sessio 84. 19. Feb, Stylo Novo.] That part of the Remonstrants big book was read, which concerned the 3. and 4. Articles; because these two Articles were now in deliberation: there were read 57 pages, which for the most part did contain nothing but an exagitation of some hard phrafes collected out of Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Piscator, many Contra-Remonstrants.

Sessio 85. die 19. Feb. eodem die post meridiem.] Acronius and another of the Church of Camps, who had compeird in the cause againft the Remonstrants there, were called in, and the decree of the Synod made against them whom they accused was read; [the tenor whereof your L. may see in my last Letters.] D. Gomarus being he whom the laft disposition of the 3. and 4. Article ended, was entreated by the President to speak his minde of the said Articles, but Sibrandus defireth the President first to give him leave to add some few things to that he had spoken the day before: now what he added was nothing but a renewing of that strife, which was between him and Martinius in the last Session: two things he alleged, first that he had been at Goelenius his lodging, conferring with him about that proposition, whether God might be called causa physica of humane actions, and delivered certain affirmations pronounced by Goelenius, tending to the negative, for the truth of his relation he appealed to Goelenius there present, who testified that it was so: next whereas Martinius had alleged a place out of Pauens [B]
for the affirmative in opere conversionis, Sibrandus read a great many places out of Pareus tending to the contrary; and (no question being plotted before) he entreateth that some of the Palatines (naming them all severally) who were Pareus his colleagues, would speak what they did know of Pareus his minde concerning the said proposition: Scultetus beginneth with a fett speech which he had in writ lying before him; but such a speech it was, as I, and I think all the seculars were exceedingly grieved it should have come from a man of so good worth. The summe of it was this, that he did know upon his own knowledge, that Pareus did hold the contrary of that which had been falsely fathered upon him in the Synod, that he could not endure to hear his dearest colleague so much abused, as he had been by some men in the Synod; moreover that he could not now dissemble the great grief he had conceived, that some in the Synod went about to trouble found divinity with bringing in trivias Scholasticas, such as was to make God causam Physicam conversionis; (that was for Martinius,) such portenta vocabulorum as determinare and non determinare voluntatem; that some men durst say that there were some doubts in the fourth Article, which Calvin himself had not throughly satisfied, nor other learned reform'd Doctors; that it was to be feared that they intended to bring in Jesuits Divinity in the reformed Churches, and to corrupt the youth committed to their charge, with a strange kind of Divinity; this last speech concerned D. Crocius, Scultetus delivered his minde in exceeding bitter and disgraceful words, and repeated his bitterest sentences twice over: he having ended, Martinius with great modesty answered, first that he would read Pareus his own words, which he did, next that for Sibrandus, he wondered that he would now in publick bring these things up: since out of his love to peace, that very day he had sent his colleague Crocius to Sibrandus, with a large explication of that sense in which he had delivered that proposition, with which explication Sibrandus himself had sent him word that he was fully satisfied, and so he made account that that business had been peaceably transacted: all this while Crocius spoke nothing: Gemar us beginneth to go on in the disquisition, but I think he delivered a speech against the Bremenses, which none but a mad man would have uttered. First, whereas Martinius had said that he did desire the resolution of this doubt, qui Deus possit ab homine, eius potestas est finita, sedem, quae est opus omnipotentiae, exigere, and that neither Calvin nor any of our Divines had yet plainly enough untied that knot, he replied firstly, that he that had said so was not dignus qui solvere Calvinum corrigiam; and that for the doubt it self it was such a filly one that ipsam auers in trivio could ipsum solutionem decantare, at which speech every body smiled, moreover whereas Martinius in his answer to Scultetus had not spoken one word against him, but only this, that he was for as that one who had now 25. years been a professor of Divinity, should be thus used for using a School term; Gemar us very wisely had a string at that
too, and telleth the Synod that since some men thought to carry it away an-
notum numero, he himself had been a professor not only 25, but thirty five
years; next he falleth upon Crocius, and biddeth the Synod take heed of these
men that brought in these monstra, portenta vocabulum the barbarisms of
the Schools of the Jesuits, determinare and non determinare voluntatem, with
many such speeches, delivered with such sparkling of his eyes, and fierceness
of pronunciation, as every man wondered the President did not cut him off,
at last he cut of himself i think for want of breath, and the President giveth
Celeberrimo Doctori Gomaro many thanks for that his learned grave and accu-
rate speech; the exter wondered at it; at last my L. of Landaffe, in good
faith in a very grave, short, sweet speech, (for which as for one of the best
I am perswaded he ever delivered, we & all the Exteri thought he deserved in-
finite commendations:) he spake to the President to this purpose, that this
Synodical disquisition was instituted for edification, not for any men to shew
studium contentions: and therefore did desire him to look that the knot of uni-

ty were not broken: in this his L. speech he named no man, the last word
was hardly out of my L. lips, but furious Gomarus knowing himself guilty,
delivereth this wise speech: Reverendissime D. Praeful agendum est hic in Syno-
do non authority sed ratione: that it was free for him to speake in his own
place, which no man must think to abridge him of by their authority, my L.
replied nothing; but the President told my L. that celeberrimus D. Gom.
had said nothing against mens persons, but their opinions, and therefore that he
had said nothing worthy of reprehension: this gave every man just occasion
to think the President was on the plot: Martinius against this speech of Go-
marus said nothing, but that he was sorry that he should have this reward for
his far journey. The disquisition went on to Thyfius, who very discreetly told
the Synod he was sorry Martinius should be so exagitated, for a speech which
according to Martinius his explication was true, just as Thyfius was thus speak-
ing, Gomarus and Sibrandus, who late next him, pulleth him by the sleeve,
talketh to him with a confus'd angry noise in the hearing and seeing of all the
Synod, chiding him that he would say so; afterward Thyfius with great mo-
desty desir'd Martinius to give him satisfaction of one or two doubtful sen-
tences he had delivered, which Martinius thanking him for his courtefie fully
did: the President was certainly on this plot against Martinius, for at that
same time he did read out of a paper publickly a note of all the hard speeches
Martinius had used: all this while D. Crocius his patience was admired by all
men, who being so grossely abused & disgraced could get leave of his affections
to hold his peace. What this is like to come to I will tell your L. after I have set
down the Sessions.

Seffio 86. 20. Feb. ] There were read 63. pages of the Remonstrants book,
which concerned the fifth Article, it was for most part a confutation of the
Doctors above named.
[12] Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort,

Seffio 87. eodem die post meridiem.] Dr. Mayerius one of the Helvetians, publickly all auditors being admitted, discusst the fith Article de perseveran-
tia Sanetorum: he did rather like an Orator then a School-man.

Seffio 88. 21. Feb. [ ] There are read publickly 60 pages of the Remonstrants book, which concerned the first Article: they were of the same stufte with
the former, a confusion of the fame men.

Seffio 89. 22. Feb. [ ] There were read 57. pages of the Remonstrants book, which concerned their opinion of reprobation, in which they did lay open
the harsh opinions of many of our men, which unless the Synod do condemn,
as well as the opinion of the Remonstrants, I see not how they can give the
world satisfaction touching their indifferencie: among the rest which was
read, this was one if your L. can endure the smell of it, instant Contra-R.
nossumus patroni reproborum, Resp. justitia divina patroni sumus non reproborum;
sicit dicendum est D. Sibrandum inscripto suo adversus Vorstium non suscepisse
defensionem laurarum dum defendit deum esse in satidissimis laurinis, sed tamum
suscepisse defensionem omnipraemia divina, quemadmodum nos justitia, this is
all was worthy the noting in that lecture.

Seffio 90. eodem die post meridiem. ] Deo datus was appointed to discourse
of the first Article, but being sick, the five Belgick professors discussed it.

Seffio 91. 23. Feb. [ ] There were read some 35. pages of the Remonstrants book, concerning reprobation, and so the whole book is ended.

Now my L. concerning this matter of the Bremenses, is come to this
height: that they thought to have gone home, and withal were ready to
have printed an apology for themselves, and an narration of their hard usage
in the Synod: but that some of the Exteri Theologi came to the English Col-
ledge, and desir'd them to help to quench this fire, all the Exteri take to
heart these two things, first that Strangers should be used so disgracefully,
for using two School terms, which are both very common, next that Goma-
urus durst openly in the Synod give such an irreverend answer to my L. of Lan-
daffe, for which unless all the exteris may have satisfaction, ( Except the Pa-
latines) I believe their will be a shameful sturre in the Synod; they defir'd the
English to labour the Bremenses to reconciliation with Scultetus, which this
night they are doing: what becometh of it your L. shall hear; but I have
small hope, for the Bremenses will take no satisfaction but publick, because it
was a publick imputation upon their professions and School, as if that were
a place for corrupting of youth: and I think Scultetus will be loath to give
publick satisfaction; yet my L. Bishope of Landaffe, D. Goad, and my self
have dealt with Scultetus, and finde him tractable, Dr. Davenant, and D.
Ward have dealt with the Bremenses, and finde them mightily incensed, Mar-
tinius hath never come to the Synod since, but with the rest of his colleagues
they have complained to the Delegats, who I think will take order with Goma-
rus: we the English are purposed (but I know not whether that purpose
shall
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton L'Embassador. [13]

shall hold) to desire the Delegates to take notice of the wrong offered by Gomarus to my L. of Landaffe; my Lord, all I will say is this, there are two men in the Synod, Sibrandus, but especially Gomarus, who is able to set it on fire, unless they be look’t too; I think there is no man will say, but that Gomarus hath wronged the Bremenfes infinitely, hath wronged exceedingly my L. of Landaffe, and in him all the English Colledge, your L. counfel to the President may bring much water to this fire.

There is here a little Pamphlet here to be sold in the Synod. Jambii de concordia et pace, written by Petrus Bertins the author of Apostasia sanctorum: they say it hath been out a great while; if any of the states have seen it, I wonder he is not severely punished: it is the most seditious Satyr against this state that ever I did read. Here is all, and I am sorry I had so much to write to your L. so with the remembrance of my humble duty to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest.

Dordrecht this 23. of February, Stylo Novo.

Your L. faithful and respectful servant, Walter Bicalonquial.

My very Good Lord,

For your L. last letters to my self, and the news in the letters inclosed, as I stand much obliged to your H. so much more I with all others, who love peace and long for the happy success of this Synod, must ever stand much obliged to your L. for your Letters to the President; so full of sober, good, and necessarie counsel, the happy fruit whereof I hope during our being there we shall not cease to finde, as we have already begun to taste a little of the sweetness of it; for the very next Session after the President had received your L. letters, at the beginning in very milde and discreet words he entreated all the members of the Synod, that in their disquifition of the fifth Article, they should abstain from all bitterness, and personal opposition, and follow meekness and brotherly kindness, which in that disquifition was observed by the two Belgick professors, very strictly, and their phrase and stile tempered otherwise then heretofore it hath been; so as one might see they had been acquainted with the good counsel of your L. letters, for I will assure you they followed it: your L. joy can not chufe but be great when you remember the great peace procured by your L. I should hold my self an enemy to the wealpublick, if I should not particularly inform your L. of all the passages here, by whom if any of them go amifs, they may so happily be corrected. The reason why I have been so long a writing is, because I wanted news of which our Synod now is very barren, and will be so till towards the latter end of the next week; at which time all Colleges judgements of the five articles will
will begin to be read, the matters now in hand are matters of knowledge not of action: yet I will be bold for fashions sake to send your L. a note of such Sessions as have been since my last letters to your L.

Sessio 92. 25. Feb. Stylo Novo. ] We went on in the Synodical disquisition of the 3 and 4 article, which at that Session was made an end of, after that the President did dictate to us, and all we did write large Theses collected out of the Remonstrants books upon the five Articles.

Sessio 93. 26. Feb. ] Since the Remonstrants by commandement from the Delegates, had given up the defence of their opinion touching the second Article, their were read 56. pages of this there other new volume, in which they studied to overthrow that distinction; sufficientia et efficacia moris Christi, and go about to prove that those places of Scripture, which say that Christ dyed pro peccatis totius mundi, are to be enlarged to all particular men, not to be restrained ad mundum electorum.

Sessio 94. 27. Feb. ] There were read publickly 53. pages more of this volume of the Remonf. upon the second Article, in which they did vindicate their own arguments propounded in Collat. Hag. from the instances and exceptions of the Contra-Remonf. in the same Conference.

Sessio 95. eodem die post meridiem. ] Deo datis was this Session appointed to discuss the first Article; but because of the continuance of his sickness, his colleague Tronchinus did perform that task for him, publickly all auditors being admitted, who with good commendation did establisht Santorum perseverantiam.

Sessio 96. 28. Feb. ] There was an end made of the reading the Remonf. volume on the second Article, there were read some 54. pages, which were spent in the vindicating the rest of their own arguments from the exceptions of the contra-Remonf. in Collat. Hag.

Sessio 97. eodem die post meridiem. ] We begun the Synodical disquisition upon the 3. Article, where every one of our Colledge spoke at large, but especially my Lr of Landaffe, whe I will assure your L. hath by his most accurate and excellent speech at that Session gained unto himself wonderful great reputation; I doubt not but he will send a copie of it to your L. and then it will speak for itself, believe me I never heard him do any thing like it, and so thinketh every one in the Synod it was learned, devout, and the simile masculine; quicquid dixero minus crit: the disquisition came to the Helvetian Divines.

Sessio 98. 1. March. ] We went on in our Synodical disquisition of the fifth Article, where my L. of Landaffe his yesterdays speech was cited by two or three several Divines with great Honour and commendation: the disquisition came to the Colledge of the Geldrians.

This my Lord is all we have done, when there is anything worthy the relating, I shall not fail to advertise your L. hoping your L. in this time of my other
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton L. Ambassador. [15]

other business, which must not be neglected, will pardon both the rudeness of the hand and style; for both which my necessary pleas want of time.
The matter between the Bremenenses, and Scoltus, with the other two professors is taken up by the Praeses, and the Delegates; the Bremenenses have shewn their inclination to peace, and were contented with private satisfaction; the other three did protest they had no hard opinion of them, but accounted them learned, religious, orthodoxal, were sorry they had done that which was done, and would do so no more: the Bremenenses desired that one of our College might be present at this satisfaction, but the other three would no way yield to it. Gomarvs was there admonished to repair to my L. of Landaffe, and to testify unto him his sorrow for the word which unwares had proceeded from him to his L. in the Synod; but yet the old tuff man is not come to his L. I hope after this we shall live in peace; which I must needs consel for the greatest part of it, we are debtors to your L. Notwithstanding the late proclamation set out by the States General, for restraining the printing of all seditious books during the time of the Synod; yet even now in the Belgick tongue, there is come forth a seditious pamphlet, with no name of Author or Printer, containing all the acts which hath been made against the Remonstrants in this Synod, especially by the Delegates; a book made only to incite the common people to a dislike of the Synod, they are not to be sold, but they send them abroad among their favorites. I have all this day been using means for compassing one of them to send to your L. but cannot, yet there is one of them promised me, but it may be your L. by this time hath seen some of them. By my letters from England, from one who I believe knoweth it, it will light heavy upon the party your L. name in the end of your letter; as much I mean as his place in the state is worth; their is scuffling for to be his successor: what is reported of Mr. Park is but guessing, your L. is in name for it at Court, but upon what ground I know not, I would it were as sure as my wishes are strong. So with the remembrance of my best service to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest.

Dordrecht this 2. of March.

Your L. in all true respect and service, Walter Balcanaqual.

My very Good Lord,

Though our Synod yieldeth no great argument of writing, for now we are taken up in hearing altogether, yet I can not omit my duty in letting your L. know how we spend the time.

Sessio 99. 4. March, Style Novo. J The President did invite the whole Synod to the Funeral of a Helvetian Gentleman, one Mr. Staffurins who came hither,
hither, as comes sitineris with the Helvetian Divines, the invitation was against the morrow at 11. of the clock. The President moreover with great joy told the Synod that he had received news from the Magistrates of Camps; whereby they signifie that they rest well satisfied in the last decree of the Synod concerning the suspension of their cited ministers, and continuance of the same suspension, in case of their not comperance within 14. days after new advertisement, that they would do what in them lyeth to perswade them to comperance, which if they refused, that they would not give them any more countenance or protection, as heretofore they had done; moreover that they did with all due respect expect the resolutions of the Synod, concerning the points of religion now in question, to which they mean to submit themselves wholly, and by their own example of obedience, encourage and perswade as much as in them lyeth their distracted people to yield the like obedience, and that in the mean time the care of their Ministers Flocks should be no pretence to their cited ministers for not comperance, because that during their absence, they themselves would undertake to see their cares sufficiently discharged both for reading and preaching of the word: I must needs say this message was much unlike their former letters, which they were wont to write in favour of their Remonstrant Ministers. Moreover the President told us that D. Altingius one of the Palatine Divines, had brought him letters to the Synod from old D. Parsus of Heidelberge, together with his judgement in a written book of the five Articles in controversie, which he told us should presently after the Synodical disquisition be read. We go on in the Synodical disquisition of the fifth Article, where some of the provincials observed some things, some nothing, and so at this Session quickly our disquisition upon the first Article was ended; then Parsus letters to the Synod were read; the summe whereof was this, I am not so good an English man as to adventure to translate, I will therefore give you the Latin.

Quantum doloris et lachrymarum sentiebamus hic omnes jam per aliquot annos ex flendo illo schismate et diffidio quod Ecclesiam Vestram Florentissimam laceravit, tantum etiam et nunc gandii et gratulationem experimur ex coætione Celeberissima hujus Synodi, cuus ope et aluberrimis consiliiis speramus altissimum hoc vulnus sanatum iri; quantum glorianti materiam dederit Pontificiiis Vestram schismata palama est omnibus: illis ut Synodus obstruat os, positaque hoc Ecclesia Vesta incendium restinguere, pacemque vestram nimis collapsum restituere, illud est quod sicque expectant a nobis boni omnes, ita et ad Deo Opt. Max. omnibus precibus expectant: O utinam daretur mihi in ultimajam Senectute venerandum hanc Synodum conspicari, Verum cum illud estas mea mihi deneget tametsi Dottissimi mei Colleget mea a vices supplebunt, vistum tamen sus mihi mean quoque de famosis illis 5. Article ad Reverentias Vestras sententiam perscribere, et una cum Ecclesia Reformata mean quoque duodecim testatas facere; Videbitis me hic conditionam Electionem rejecere, Reprobationem una cum D. Calvino passim, presertim Institutionum
Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort, [17]

Sessio 100. 5. of March. | There was read publicly so much of Pareus his sentence as concerned the first and second Article, in which he did accurately dispute against the Remonstrants opinion in both, and spent a great many pages in expounding and confirming the received distinction of the sufficiency and efficiency of the merit of Christ his death.

Sessio 101. post meridiem. | Dr. Martinius of Brema appointed by the President publicly, all auditors admitted, did very accurately and soundly discourse of the true Deity of Christ, and especially laboured to prove his omnipresencia, opposing and answering all those places of Vorstius in which in his disputation de Deo he calleth the omnipresencia of Christ into question.

Sessio 102. 6. March. | We went on in the publick reading of D. Pareus his judgement upon the 3, 4, and 5. Articles; where I must needs say that he did most accurately, and soundly, and methodically, with great subtilty and variety of reasons overthrow the Remonstrants opinions of Re sistibility of grace, and the apostasie of the saints, one would little think that that wit and judgement could be so young in so great age: the President told us that after the Collegial judgement were read, that the Synod by their publick letters must needs give him many thanks for these his great and good pains, as he did not doubt but that the Estates General would take order for doing of the like. So one of the Scribes by the President his appointment, was beginning to read our Colledge his judgement, but D. Davenport told the President, that he thought it greatly concerned the dignity of the Synod, that the Collegial suffrages should not be read thus privately, but that they should be read as publicly as might be, all auditors being admitted; both because it might be that the Remonstrants being moved by force of their reasons, might relent something in their opinions; and all other auditors be edified and confirmed in the truth, as likewise; because all auditors should perceive the consent of so many several learned mens judgements, who by the more perverse fort might otherwise be thought to use some plot and conspiracy to make their opinions meet together. This unexpected motion did not a little trouble the President, who was altogether set against any such course, which made all; especially the exter wonder that he should offer to pass over a matter of so great
great consequence without asking the Synods advice for the manner of reading their own judgements; the reason why this motion was made by our Colledge was this; in forming of our judgements, as we have studed to condemn all in the Remonstrants, which can justly be taxed; so we took pains to condemn no more but that which must be condemned, and to condemn to some hard phrares of the contra Remonstrants, especially in the matter of Reprobation; but they are only phrares; now we know that in the making of the Canons no words of ours, which found any thing that way shall be expressed, because the provincials in forming of the Canons will carry us down by voices; and therefore we desired that in the reading of our judgements, at least our ingenuity might be taken notice of by all the auditors. Well to this motion the President made this answer, that within these few days he himself was in that same opinion which now was propounded; but having with more mature deliberation thought upon it, and asked the advice of his Assisitors, that he had now thought it fit, the judgements should be read, no auditors being admitted, unless it were some few choice ministers of good worth, who did here attend about the Synod, the reasons moving them thereunto to be these. First, because this course seemeth to come nearer the intent of the commission of the Estates General then the other, in which they were appointed to enquire after Synodical suffrages privately among themselves without other auditors, unless the Synod should think it fit to admit auditors. Secondly, because it had been a custome hitherto observed in all Synods and counsles to take the suffrages, all auditors being excluded. Thirdly, because, though the suffrages of all Colledges do agree (as he perceived by reading of them) in the thing it self; yet because there was some disagreement in phrares and forms of speaking, it was to be feared that the Remonstrants and other Jesuits and Dominicans present, would make great matter of these verbal differences, that they would cast abroad among the people strange reports of the diffensions of the Synod, and in another case, that the Remonstrants no question (as lately they had done) would put out in print the opinion of the Synod concerning the Articles, before the Canons were formed by the Synod, and in their pamphlet no doubt they would oppose sentence to sentence, wherever they might take hold of the least suffision of difference. Fourthly, and chiefly, because by this course the judgement of the Synod concerning the 5. Articles, should go abroad among the people, before either the Synod itself had determined what should be their judgements, or the Estates General could be made acquainted with the judgements of the Colledges and Synod, who notwithstanding in all reasons and good manners ought next to the Synod itself, to know what is likely to be the event of all business in it: the President added that since this was but a matter of order, he hoped the Synod would trust him and the Assisitors with the managing of it; but perceiving that a great many were not content with it, he was glad
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Cartlom E mbassador. [19]
glad to put the matter to voices; the Delegates being asked their voice, they
desired the matter might be deferred till the afternoon, and so the Synod was
dismissed.

The President in mean time sent Danieinmanus one of the Scribes, to entreat us
to give way to the President's motion; and no question, they laboured other
Colleges as well as us; but certainly all the Presidents reasons above mentioned might easily have been answered; for my part I think his course was tu-
sior, but ours honestior.

Sessio 103. codem die post meridiem. ] Voices were asked concerning the
manner of reading the Collegial judgements. The Delegates suffrage pro-
nounced by Heinsius was, that in reading of the judgements, all auditors
whatsoever, alwv contra Remonff. as Remonft. should be excluded; and
besides they entreat all the members of the Synod, that they would conceal
as much as might be the things that were done in the Synod. The whole mem-
ers of the Synod without exception according to the judgement of the Dele-
gats. So ( Q. F. F. of the first Article, q; fi ) we begun to read the Col-
ledge judgements, at this Session were read the judgements of our College,
and the Colledge of the Palatines, both of a just length, and agreeable in all
things; except that the Palatines had added to the end of theirs a very good
and necessary counsel for the sober and wholesome manner of propounding to
the people the doctrine of Election and Reprobation; we purpoze after our
judgement on the fifth Article, to give in such a counsel for the sober pro-
pounding of the whole five Articles to the people.

Sessio 104. 7. March. ] There were publickly read the judgements of the
Colledge of the Haffians who were exceeding long, of the Helvetians who were
but short and grave, of Alstediun, he who is only superer of the Nafoviens,
who was but short, there was no difference between their judgements, and
the others which were read before them.

Sessio 105. codem die post meridiem. ] There were read publickly, first the
judgement of the Genevenses, who were pretty long; they kept a form by
themselves, for where the confirmations of other Colleges Thesés, consisted
of reasons, places of Scriptures, and fathers, their confirmations were nothing
but places of Scripture, barely propounded in great number, and in a very
fine contexture and frame; at the end they used this short peroration, that
they had simply out of the Scripture delivered, that concerning the first Ar-
ticle, which they knew to be agreeable with the Church of Geneva, nay, and
beside of all the Churches of France which did stick to the French confession.
Next was read the judgement of the Bremenenses, which was of a just length
very found and accurate, in all things agreeable to the other judgements
read before, except only with this difference; whereas other judgements had
said either nothing of the election and saluation of Infants begotten of faith-
ful parents, and dying in their Infancy, or they which had touched it, had

[2 C 2] determined
[20] Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort,
determined that faithful parents had no reason to doubt of it; but might very well for any thing they did know hope and persuade themselves of it: the Bremenses did absolutely determine that all such Infants dying in their infancy if they were baptized were certainly saved, concluding it not only ex judicio charitatis as others had done, but ex judicio certitudinis too: Next begun to be read the judgement of the Divines of Emb dane; from whom (as Mr. Halest well knoweth) extraordinary proximity was to be expected; after it had been read half an houre the President told us, that because the houre was past, the rest must be left till the morrow.

Sessio 106. 8. Martii.] We went on in reading the judgement of the Embd anes, which at this Session continued yet full two houres, in the coldest weather that we have felt. So now the judgements of all the Exteri Theologi concerning the first Article were read, among whom there was nothing to be seen but full and orthodoxal consent, for which the President told us God was to be praised, and he prayed God that the like Harmonie might be found among the Provincials: my Lord this is worth the observing, that there is no Colledge yet which hath not overthrown Gomarus his opinion of the subject of Predestination; for though none of them did directly dispute against it, yet all of them expressly took it as granted, that not homo creabilis, but homo lapsus was subjectum both of Election and Reprobation, which I think doth trouble Gomarus not a little. Now the Embdanes judgement being ended, we begun to read the judgement of the Colledge of the Belgick professors, where at the very first to our grief we observed the Belgick humour of particular opinions; for there are but five of that Colledge as we are of ours, and yet they are divided into three parts, and have given in three distinct and severall judgements. D. Polyander, D. Thysius, and D. Wallaeus have given in and subscribed one judgement, Dr. Sibrandus hath given in another judgement by himself; and D. Gomarus a third judgement by himself; at the latter end of this Sessiion the first three their judgements begun to be read; but by that time two pages were read the houre was passed, and so the rest of it was continued till the next occasion, only my L. I must tell you that so much as was read, giveth us little hope of agreement among them, for whereas other Colledges had taken it as granted only, that homo lapsus was subjectum Predestinationis, they in these two pages did only dispute by many arguments against Gomarus his opinion, and proved that largely, which others had only taken as a ground; their arguments Gomarus I see him note; what difference shall further happen in their judgements, your L. shall understand by my next.

Sessio 107. eodem die post meridiem.] This Sessiion was publik, all auditors being admitted, in which D. Deodatus did at great length handle these two questions. 1. Quantum differat fides pacificae by seu temporaneorum a verae justificante Regenitorum fide. 2. Quoniam coneditur Diabolo progreedi in oppugnanda justificatorum fide; he did very sweetly just as he useth so preach, not as Doctors use to do in Schools.
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton L.Embassador. [21]

This is all which is done this week; for this day being Saturday we have no Session. The last Sunday I (in which I returned the letter your L. was pleased to send me) sent to your L. all which had passed the week before, which I hope your L. had, your L.feeth there are but ordinary passages yet in the Synod, if there were anything worthy of extraordinary note, I should not fail with all diligence to give your L. notice of it; in mean time with many thanks to your L. for all your L. courtesies, and the remembrance of my humblest service to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave, ever entreat your L. that I may be accounted by your L. as I am.

I doubt not but your L. hath seen this pamphlet, yet if you have not, here it is.

Dordrecht this 9 of March, 1619.

Your L. in all true respect and service, Walter Balcanual.

My very Good Lord.

Such things as have passed in our Synod, since my last letters unto your L. I here send your L. as briefly as I can: I hope now at length towards the latter end of the next week, we shall come to the making of the Canons.

Sessio 108. 11. Martii Stylo Novo.] Georgius Fabricius a Nassovanus Divine, substitutus in the place of D. Biflerfield, who died here, was with the accustomed solemnity admitted into the Synod: we go on in reading the judgment of the three Belgick profeffors, which was very found and of a just length; it was subscribed by their three names: Johannes Polzander, Antonius Thysius, Anthonius Wallaus, and a little beneath, that it was thus written, Ego Sibranus Lubertus hoc collegarum meorum judicium perlegi, et per omnia probo; Gomarus his name was not at it; but he presently rose and testified viva voce, that he had read it, and did in all things approve the judgement of his Colleagues, excepting only that part of it, which did determine hominem lapsum to be the object of Predestination, which he said had not as yet been determined in the Belgick Churches, in the French nor English Churches, and many others. Next was read the judgement of D. Sibranus upon the same article, which differed nothing from that former of his Colleagues, but that it was longer, it was subscribed with his own name, and a little beneath the former three profeffors by their subscriptions testified, that they had read it, and did approve it. Gomarus stood up, and viva voce gave this same testimony to this judgement which he had given to the former, making the same exception. Next was Gomarus his judgement read upon the same Article; he said nothing of that question of the object of predestination, whether it was homo lapsus or not, which silence in that point being excepted, his
his judgement in all points agreed with the former judgements of his Col-
leagues, it was only subscribed with his own name; but D. Polyander did vi-
ta voce testify in the name of himself and his Colleagues, that they did ap-
prove all things in Gomarus his judgement, excepting only that opinion of the
object, the contrary whereof they protesting themselves to hold: the Presi-
dent instructed us concerning some particulars of the business of Camps, and
defired us against three of the clock in the afternoon to consult about it; the
particulars whereof your L.: shall see in the next Session.

Sessio 109. eodemie post meridiem. ] The President told us first, that the
time of fourteen days granted to the two suspended Ministers of Camps for
their camera was now pasted, and so that they esteemed this favourable
respite granted by the Synod, & persisted in their contumacy. Next that the oth-
er two Ministers of Camps, who were here among the cited Remonstrants
had been appointed by the Synod to give in within 14. days an answer to the
accusations layed against them by the deputies of the Reformed Church of
Camps; the copy of which accusations at their own earnest request had been
delivered to them by one of the servants of the Synod, but that now in place
of their answer which was expected, they had sent to him a letter which was
read unto the Synod; it had two great faults, it was exceeding long, and
exceeding foolish; to this sense or rather none-sense, they did show that
they could not at the day appointed give in their answer to the accusations;
and why they could no more go on in this Synodical action which was com-
mented against them; for many causes, such as were, first, because they were
wholly taken up in making ready some writings for the Synod concern-
ing the five Articles, which were imposed on them by the commandement of
the Delegates. 2. Because the copy of the accusations brought unto them
by one of the Synod officers, was not subscribed by the President, nor by ei-
er of the Scribes of the Synod; and therefore they thought it not an au-
thentick copy or of any credit. 3. Because crimes in it were objectted to them
both promiscuous, and that laid to both their charge, which only one of
them had delivered; and therefore their accusation was not exact according
to form of law. 4. That there were many things in it objected to them, not
warranted by any witness, unless it were by some proofs taken out of their
Colleague Focckulus late book, which they christened with the name of fe-
tum and tenebris sum scriptum. 5. Because it was full of falle spellings and
writing, and therefore they thought it was but negligently fubbed over;
for these and many more such causes as idle these, (with which I hold it not
fit to detain your L.) though they might decline the judgement of the Synod,
especially since against the practice of the Belgick Church, their own consis-
tory, Clasis, and Provincial Synod being skipped over, they were immediately
accused before the Synod; yet notwithstanding after they had done with all
they had to say upon the five Articles, they promise that they will give in
their
their answer to this bill of accusations; but upon this condition, (which I beseech your L. to observe,) that first the Synod would declare them to be free from these false and malicious slanders, whereby they & the rest of their brethren Remonstrants cited to the Synod, had been most injuriously and falsely charged in that Session of the Synod, in which they were dismissed by the President, with this elogium, to wit, that they had refused to go on in the Synodical action; that they had shown themselves unworthy with whom the Synod should have any further dealing; and that as they had begun this business and continued it with lying and equivocations, so now they had ended it. But yet that notwithstanding of all this they were contented to go on in this action before the Colledge of the Delegates of the Estates General, but not before the Synod. These long letters being read, next was read an answer to these letters penned by the deputies of the reformed Church of Camps; to whom the President had given these letters that they might answer them, they did meet particularly with every thing alleged in the other letters, which was needless; and therefore I omit all their answers, save only to that one thing which seemed to require one, that was, that against the custome of their Church they were immediately brought before the Synod, to which it was answered, that both the consistory and Chriftis of Camps were altogether Remonstrantical, and that therefore they were both of them such as ought rather to be abrogated then appealed unto; but for their Provincial Synod, they wondered with what face they durst affirm they had not been cited thither, since that Synod had dealt with them oftner than once, though to no purpose. Next was read a supplication penned and subscribed by Acronius in name of the Reformed Church of Camps, in which they relate how Foskulis one of the two suspended at Camps, while he was rehearsing unto his flock the sentence of his own suspension, that he had stirred up the people ad tumultuarium infamam: next they humbly beseech the Synod, that now for the two suspended, their sentence of suspension might be ratified by the Synod, and for the other two here present at Dort, to wit, Mathuis and Gosinus, since they had refused to give in their answer at the time appointed, that the Synod would pronounce the like sentence of suspension against them: the President propounded this to the Synod, whether they thought it fit that the sentence already given against the former two should be ratified, and that the other two should be cited to give in their answer to the bill of accusations within fourteen days, in which if they failed, the like sentence of suspension should be given against them, which had been given against their Colleagues; the whole Synod approved it, and so it was decreed.

We beginning to go on in reading the Collegial judgements; but my L. of Landaffe (according as we at home had deliberated among our selves) desired leave to speak, which being granted he spake to this purpose. D. Gomas...
Dr. Balcanquals. Letters from the Synod of Dort,

subjectum Predestinationis, had not been determined by the confession of the Church of France; and as I and my Colleagues conceived he delivered the like for the confession of the Church of England; and therefore I do entreat D. Gomarus in my own name, and the name of my Colleagues to declare before the Synod, whether he did say so or not. D. Gomarus with good modesty answered that indeed he did say so, but he protested it was not out of any evil meaning, but only to shew that as other Churches, so the Church of England had left that undetermined, since the words of the confession determined no farther of the subject, then (quodam ex humano genere) my Lord of Landaffe replied, that he himself and the rest of his Colleagues could not chuse but think themselves by that speech touched for temerity or ignorance; for since they in their judgement had delivered the contrary for homo lapsus, it was as much to say as that they had delivered that in the Synod, which was not according to the judgement of the Church of England, but to let the Synod know that they had said nothing in their judgement, which was not the judgement of their Church, they desired the Synod to hear the words of their confession; so D. Good read publicly the 17. Article of the confession, where the words are quodam ex humano genere, in exitio et maledicto, which last words Gomarus had left out: Gomarus answered, that if he had understood the words of the confession amiss, he would submit himself to the judgement of the Synod. The President told Gomarus roundly enough, that it was free for every member of the Synod to deliver his own judgement concerning any point or question; but that men ought to be very careful that they do not rashly meddle with the judgements of other Churches. My L. of Landaffe desired further leave to add this. Since all the forraign Divines, without exception, and likewise all the Belgick professors except Gomarus, had already delivered their judgements for homo lapsus, and that he doubted not but the Provincials would determine the same; it were very fit that the Synod should likewise determine so of it; neither was it any reason that for the particular opinion of one professor, who in this did disaffent from the judgement of all the reformed Churches, the Synod should abstain from determination of the question. Gomarus answered, that the University of Leyden had never yet determined for homo lapsus, and that both D. Whistakers, and Mr. Perkins had determined the contrary, whom he took to be such men as would not disaffent from the confession of the Church of England: that the matter ought first to be discussed with arguments on both sides, before any thing should be determined on either side; to whom the President returned this answer, that after the judgements of all the Colledges were read, the Synod would decree of that question what they shall think best; after the Canon is conceived it shall be read, if then you can shew that any thing contained in that Canon is against the word of God. The Synod shall with dutiful patience here what you can say.

There
There were read the judgements of the Geldri; the South-Hollandi, (who in their judgement wished that the question of homo lapsus might be left undetermined) the North-Hollandi, the Zeelandi, who were all not long; and agreed in all things with the former judgements delivered, and this long Session ended.

Sessio 110. 12. Martii. There were read the Collegiat judgements of the Ultrajectini, the Frisici, the Transsilvani, the Groningani et Olandi, all which foure were of a good length, and in all things consonant to the former judgements.

Sessio 111. eodem die post meridiem. There were read the Collegial judgements of the Drenhani, and Gallo-belgici, which were brief, and agreeable to the former judgements, and so was ended the reading of the judgements of all Colleges; in which (God be praised for it) there was not the least suspicion of any discretion of anything, and it is to be noted that all of them determined homo lapsus to be the subject of Predestination; except Gomarus whom all men know to be against it; and the South-Hollandi, who only said they would determine nothing of it.

There was read the judgement of the Divines of Great Britaine upon the second Article; they were briefer than upon the first Article, they left the received distinction of sufficientia and efficacia martis Christi untouched; as likewise they did not touch that received restriction of those places which make Christ's suffering general to the world, only ad mundum Electorum. There were read the judgements of the Palatini, of the Hassians, of the Helvetians, who all did maintain the received distinction, to wit, that Christ his death was only sufficient for all men, not sufficient or imperative, and did restrain all the general propositions which are in Scripture to that purpose only ad mundum Electorum, concluding that Christ was no ways expiatio pro peccatis singulorum.

Sessio 112. 13. Martii. There was read publicly the judgement of the Nassovici, after them the judgement of the Genevenses, both of which defended the received distinction and restriction; after were read the judgements of the Bremenses, who according to the number of their persons had three several judgements. Martinius his judgement was first read, who did stand in effect to the tenets of the Remonstrants in the second Article, he mainly overthrew the received distinction and restriction, and did determine that Christ did truly die for all and every man, that he was made a propitiation both for the godly and wicked, and that by his death he did impetrate reconciliation with God for them all, at the latter end he condemned many things both in the Remonstrants, and in the Contra-Remonstrants opinion, but more in the Contra-Remonstrants opinion; next D. Iffelburgius the second Bremenensis his judgement was read, who was directly against Martinius defending both the received distinction and restriction. Thirdly, was read the judgement of
Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort,
of D. Crocius, the third Bremensis, who propounded a middle way between
his two Colleagues; granting (which we also in our Colledge did) that
Christ did merit by his death some supernatural things for the wicked; as the
word preached, and all such good graces as are common both to the godly
and wicked, but nothing belonging to remission of sin or reconciliation with
God, and so indeed for any thing I could perceive his judgement was directly
against that of Martinus, and in effect all one with that of Isselburgius.
Next was read the judgement of the Embdanisi, who were exceeding long, and
agreed in all things with the Contra-Remonstrants, as they do express them-
selves in the Collat. Hagiensis.
Sessio 113. eodem die post meridiem. ] D. Isselburgius one of the Bremensis,
at the President his appointment publicly all auditors being admitted, did
at very great length prove that God his vindicative justice is natural and ne-
cessary unto him, and that therefore that satisfaction which Christ made for
the sins of the world was simpliciter necessaria, proving withal by many ar-
guments the fulness and sufficiency of Christ his satisfaction; answering the
arguments of Socinus and Vossius against both the former conclusions.
Sessio 114. 14. die Martis. ] There was read the judgement of foure of the
Belgick Professors, subscribed by Polyander, Gomarus, Toysius, Wallaus, and
a little beneath was written Ego Sibrandus Lubertus hoc Collegarum meorum ju-
dicionem per omnia probo: next was read Sibrandus his judgement who dif-
fered nothing from his colleagues, save that he was shorter, it was subscribed
first by himself, and then approved by the subscriptions of the rest of his col-
leagues; all five of them did stand mainly for the above named distinction &
restriction. Next was read the judgement of the Geldri, who were too
rigid in many things, next them the judgement of the South-Hollandi;
next them the judgement of the North-Hollandi, who had many things which
we thought not only to be rigid but false, all these three Colledges at great
length disputed for the received distinction and restriction.
Sessio 115. eodem die post meridiem. ] There were read the judgements first
of the Zelandi, next of the Ultrajectini, next of the Frisii, next of the Trans-
Sulani, next of the Groninganii and Omlandii; all of them stood for the same
distinction and restriction.
Sessio 116. 15. die Martis. ] There were read the judgements first of the
Dreutani, who delivered many false and absurd propositions; next of the
Gallobelgici, who were moderate enough, both of them did maintain the
former distinction and restriction; and so was ended the reading of all Col-
legial judgements upon the second Article, in which their was not altogether
to uniform a consent both in regard of phrases and forms of speaking; and in
regard of some propositions, as was in the first Article; yet certainly there
was very great, more then could well have been expected from so great a num-
der of learned men in so hard and an controverted Article.
There was read the judgement of our Colledge upon the third and fourth Article, which was most just and equal, condemning the rigidity of some of the contra-Remonstrants opinion, though not by that name, as well as the errors of the Pelagians, Semipelagians, and Remonstrants.

There was read the judgement of the Palatines, who in all things agreed with the judgement of the contra-Remonstrants, as it is set down in Collatio Hagienfis.

Sessio 117. eodem die post meridiem. | There were read the judgements of the Hassiaci, the Helvetians, the Nassovici, who agreed in all points with the contra-Remonstrants of the Genevenses, who carried a very even hand in this Article, their Theses, as before, were confirmed only by places of Scripture, but finely digested; of the Bremenses who handled the head de gratia et libero arbitrio in general, and in particular overthrew reftitibility of Grace. Of the Embiani, whose judgement after an hours reading was not neer half done, and therefore we were glad to make an intercession of their discourse of Grace till the morrow.

Sessio 118. 16. Martii. | We went on in reading the judgement of the Embiani, which yet continued above an hour and an half; they disscussed 34. queftions, and to speak truth they were long above the strength of patience. There was read the judgement of the foure Belgick Profeflers subscribed by themselves, and afterwards approved by the subscription of Sibrandus; next was read the judgement of Sibrandus subscribed by himself, and approved by the subscriptions of his Colleagues; next was read the judgement of the Geldri.

So my very good Lord, here is the summe of all hath passed this week; I hope your L. hath received the letters I sent these last two weeks, what followeth I shall not fail to advertifie your L. So with the remembrance of my most observant duty to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest.

Dordrecht this 16. of March,
Novo Stylo, 1619.

Your L. in all true respect and service, Walter Balcanquil.

My very Good Lord,

After I had written these yesternight, I received your L. letters, for which I stand much oblige to your L. I had before them received very particularly news from England; but especially of the Star-Chamber sentence from a gentleman of good worth, who was present; many memorable sentences his Majesty delivered, such as were these, he said this sin was like the first sin committed in the world, that my Lady Lake was the Serpent, my
Lady Rosena Eve, and Sir Thomas Lake the man: he desired the noble men to take heed of their wives, for he had now known five of his counsel who had been overthrown by their wives, and especially bid such look to themselves, who had Popish wives; if for no other thing, yet for this, that a Whore and a Papist were termini convertibles. Moreover speaking publickly of the Navie, he gave in the Star-Chamber three reasons why he had made my L. of Buckingham Admiral; one was because the other was exceeding old; second, because this was young and fit for service; third, because of his love to this, and his being near about him. I am sure your L. hath the Kings meditation upon the Lords Prayer dedicated to my L. of Buckingham, else I would have sent your L. one. Yeles night their landed here one English Gentleman of good worth, who assureth us that on Tuesday last the Queen died; and it may be true, for I had a letter written the first of March, assuring me that my L. of Canterbury was sent for in haste to Hampton-Court, as was thought, to see her die. I hear likewise, but cannot believe it that Mr. Dean of Worcester cometh this journey over with my L. Hayes in his Embassage to the Emperour.

Now for your L. directions in our Synod busines, our thanks is but a small recompense, your L. may justly look for your reward in heaven; I pray God send us out of the second Article well, and I shall be persuaded of Harmony in all therein: for in good faith some of the Provincials especially the Geldri, and the North-Hollandi; who are of all in the Synod, greatest in the President his books, have delivered such propositions in that Article, as I dare say never any Divine in the world dreamed of but themselves, for mine own part, I had rather lose mine hand, than subscribe them. For that your L. adviseth from the King about the Palatines, it is a thing absolutely necessary, for they are the only Magistrates Doctors next to Gomarus in all the Synod, and think every thing they speak should be taken for text: in good faith in their judgement upon the second Article, they did gird most bitterly at some things which D. Ward had delivered in the Synod of that same Article, with which D. Ward is very much moved. Our judgement in the second Article is already read in the Synod, so we must study to frame our selves to our directions from England, in making of the Canons, my L. his Grace his letter is to have us conform our selves to the received distinction and restriction, with which his grace acquainted his Majesty and received approbation from him: but I must needs say, that the directions which your L. hath sent from Secretary Nanton, do seem to will us to be as favourable to the general propositions as may be, giving as little offence to the Lutherans as we can, which counsel in my poor judgement we have in our Theses already followed.

Frequent admonitions and exhortations rather from your L. or by your L. means procured to the President, for prudence and wariness, and keeping the bond of peace may hinder much indiscretion in this Synod, in which as I hope
to the R Honourable Sir D. Carlton L. Embassador. [29]
your L. will not be wanting; so by Gods grace I shall not be wanting to
give your L. all convenient information, nor be wanting in my prayers to the
God of peace that your L. may still go on in procuring the peace of our assem-
bly. So once again with the remembrance of my most sincere duty I rest.

This Sunday morning 7. March.

Your L. faithful and respectful
servant, Walter Balcanqual.

My very Good Lord,

Since my last unto your L. there have been but three Sessions; no matter
of moment hath been done in them, and therefore I will defer the relation-
on of them to my next letters: only I thought good to let your L. know that
yesterday after the forenoon Session, the President called me into his lodging,
and told me he would show me a miracle, which in truth he did; for there
he showed me a volume which the Remonstrants that morning had given in
to the Delegates upon the 3, 4, and 5. Articles; I was I confess astonis\ned
when I looked on it; for I could not with mine one hand lift it from the ta-
ble, it is above twice as much as all they have given in yet; in good faith my
Lord I think it is fully as big as one of our Church great Bibles; which I
would have your L. think I speak without any figure, trope, or Rhetorical lie,
for it is so big, I told the President, that it was a thing impossible the Synod
could take notice of the contents of that volume under six moneths, he answe-
red me that for my comfort he would shew me two lines in the Preface,
which would rid me of that fear, and so he did; for in these lines they do pro-
test that they do not offer this volume to the Synod, for they protest that
they have nothing, nor will have nothing to do with the Synod. Since the
Synod hath refused to have any doings with their living persons, but only
their dead books, and therefore they do only offer this book to the Delegates,
but will not have it thought by any man that they offer it to the Synod:
Heinsius dyed with us yesterday, and I asked him when they had given in
this book, he told me that morning, but with such impudence as is almost in-
credible; for when one of the Delegates told them that he wondered why they
would give in so much paper as was impossible it should ever be read in the
Synod, Episcopius answered they had nothing to do with the Synod, they of-
fered it only to them who were the Delegates; the former Delegate replied,
that the Delegates were not to judge of their opinions, but the Synod; and
that in their letters citatoric they were warned to come and give an account to
the Synod of the doctrine which they had delivered in their Schools and Pul-
pits; Episcopius, most impudently answered thus briefly: we here delivered
to you the Delegates this book and to none else, if you be pleased to take it
from
Dr. Balcanqualls Letters from the Synod of Dort.

from us, we will leave it with you, if not, we pray you give it us again, and we will keep it; one of the Delegates commanded Heinsius to write down that their peremptory and saucy answer, Episcopius very bravely told Heinsius that they would save him that labour, for they had set down the same words already in their Preface, and pointed out to him the place where he might finde them: so that my L. they were never since the beginning of the Synod so lusty as now, so as none can chuse but think that they yet have some secret and sure hopes. I forget to tell your L. that the President told me he had been glancing at this volume, and he finds it to be in many parts a confutation of the several discourses which have been had publickly in the Synod upon the five Articles. There is some talk here about the citation of Vorsius, and Feus Hommius yesternight told me he had some talk with your L. about it. If he be cited your L. credit it with the Prince of Orange, and Count William must help us for discretion in dealing with him, else he will keep the Synod as long as the Remonstrants did; your L. I hope will give counsel to them, that if Vorsius should desire to have time to give in apologies and explications, for the hard speeches in his book De Deo; and should desire to be convinced with Reason, and satisfaction of his arguments; all which would take up a long time, that the Synod would talk of no such matter with him, but in plain terms tell him that all the members of the Synod had read his book, and found many things in it very near unto open blasphemy, and scandalous without all question to the reformed religion; that explications of things which are not once to be called in question, is no satisfaction; and they therefore only desire to know whether he will make a plain recantation and denial of it, and publickly ask God forgiveness for it, and his Church likewise there assembled, whom by that book he hath scandalized; if he do this we gain him; if not, then without any more ado, let the Synod censure him as they shall think fit; I wish that to the terror of others he might solemnly be excommunicated in the Synod; in this and all other business we do and must rely upon your L. care, for the handsome carriage of them; which as your L. hath hithertill done, so that your L. may still continue to the good of Gods Church, and your own immortal credit, it is no small part of the prayers of

Dordrecht this 20. of March. Stylo Novo.

Your L. humble and faithfull servant, Walter Balcanqual.

My very Good Lord,

This week hath been a very barren one for news, for we have been taken up wholly with hearing, yet such Sessions as we had your L. shall here have a note of them.

Seffio
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton L. Ambassador. [31]

Sessio 119. 18. Martis, stylo novo.] There were read Letters from the Marques of Brandeburgh in Dutch containing (as the President told us) an excuse why he deputed none to the Synod, the President told us they should be turned into Latin, and after read again unto the whole Synod, there were read the judgements of the South Hollandi, the North Hollandi, the Zelandi, the Ultrajcti, upon the third and fourth Articles.

Sessio 120. codem die post meridiem.] There were read upon the same Articles the judgements of the Frisci, the Transalani, the Groningani, & Olandii, the Gallobelgici, the Drentani; And so was ended the reading of all the Collegial judgements upon the third and fourth Articles, in which there was wonderful great content, both in the things themselves, as likewise in the phrares and forms of speaking.

Sessio 121. 19 March.] There were read the judgement of our Colledge upon the fifth Article; Which was far longer than any which we gave in before; At the end of it we annexed an adhortation to the Delegates, for the defence in their Provinces of the Doctrine received in the Reformed Churches; Likewise an Exhortation to all the Members of the Synod for avoiding harshness and rigidity, and embracing of all moderation in making the Cannons, especially upon the second Article; as likewise an admonition to the Provincials, for great wariness and discretion, in propounding to the common People the Doctrine of Predestination, and especially Reprobation; these things we told his Majesty, desired us to observe, and so with a Prayer we wished both we and all the Synod might be careful in the observing of them; There was read the judgement of the Palatines, at the end whereof they annexed an Epilogue much to the same purpose with ours; In all the judgements that were read upon this Article, it is to be observed that every Colledge concluded with such an Epilogue and a Prayer.

Sessio 122. codem die post meridiem.] There were read the judgements of the Hassiaci, of the Helvetici, of the Nissowici, of the Genevenses, who used, as in their former judgements, no confirmations, besides plain citations of places of Scripture of the Brementes.

Sessio 123. 20. March.] There were read the judgement of the Embdani who were exceeding long, of the four Professoris Belgici, which was subscribed as with their own hands, so a little beneath with the hand of Sibrandus; next the judgement of Sibrandus, subscribed likewise by the other four Professoris, there were read likewise the judgement of the Geldri, of the South Hollandi, all these except the Embdani were exceeding short.

Sessio 124. codem die post meridiem.] D. Crocius one of the Brementes appointed by the President: publikly, all Auditors being admitted, did discuss at great length these two questions: First, An siedes justificans per Dei acceptationem repugnat Deo pro omni illa legis justicia quam nos prastare tenebamur? The Second, An ipsa siedes est a credere id est a caderi impunisur homini & Deo.
Dr. Balcanqual's Letters from the Synod of Dort,

Deo ad justitiam; he held the Negative of both against Socinus, the Remonstrants, but namely Bertius.

Sesio 125. 21. Martii.] There were read the judgements of the North Holland, the Zeeland, the Utrecht, the Frisii.

Sesio 126. eodem die post meridiem.] There were read the judgements of the Transsilvani, the Groningani and Olandii, the Drentani, the Gallo-belgici.

And so was happily ended the reading of all the Collegial judgements upon the five Articles, in which, praised be God for it, there was seen an incredible harmony, far greater then almost could be hoped for in so great an Assembly of so many learned men. The President told us that the Estates General between this and Easter did expect that the Cannons should be made, and therefore did desire that against the morrow at ten of the Clock every College would depute one, who might meet about the conceaving of the Cannons, that one should relate to the rest of their Colledge, what Articles they agreed upon, and accordingly consult with them to know what they would have added, paired, or changed, so after these deputed & had agreed, the Cannons should be publickly read and approved.

This is all, but that I think our President hath need of your L. good counsel, for the carrying himself in making the Cannons; I finde every man murmuring already that he would make them, and doth but only dictate them to the rest. With the remembrance of my best service to your L. and my Lady, I take my leave and am,

Dordrecht this 23. of March, New stile. Your L. in all true respects and service, Walter Balcanqual.

My very Good Lord,

What sir we have had about the making of our Cannons your L. shall understand by letters from our whole Colledge: if we had not written a common Letter, and then your L. should have taken some particular notice of the contents of mine, the rest of my Colleagues must needs have suspected that your L. had had intelligence from me; And therefore I did presently deal with my Lord and the rest of our Society, that they would write a common Letter to your L. concerning the particular passages of this troublesome business. These three things I may say in it; First, that the President would take upon him more then ever any President did, to make Cannons and pass them by placet or non placet, and then he hath so many of the Provincialls at command to pass what he will, I cannot I confess yet see how it can consent with the dignity of any, much more of some of the Members of the Synod, that the President should dictate Cannons and the rest especially a Bishop write after
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton L. Embassador. [33]

after him; so that he maketh the Canons, and the whole Synod are called non ad consilium sed tantum consensum. Next I think my L. that if the Synod had wanted but two men which are of it, we had wanted a great deal of contention, which I perceive will not for sake the Synod so long as they are in it; I mean Sibrandus and Gomarus; they keep their fits of madness by course; the last fit before this came to Gomarus his turn, and this day Sibrandus flew out, but with such Raving and fierceness of countenance, such unheard bitterness against our Colledge; as I desire no other revenge on him then the very speaking of the words, which while they were in his mouth, were checked by both Presidents Politick and Ecclesiastical; D. Davenant who is a very moderate man, would have answered him much against my will, and no man could blame him, for Sibrandus his words against our Colledge, if they had come from a wise man his lips, had been above the strength of patience, I was glad the President gave not way to D. Davenant speech, which notwithstanding, I am sure would have been full of discretion; and for Sibrandus I blame him and Gomarus no more for these extasies, then I do a stone for going downward, since it is both their natural constitution. Thirdly, if your L. care do not now most of all show it self for procuring of good counsel to be sent either for the constitution of the Canons, we are are like to make the Synod a thing to be laughed at in after ages. The President and his provincials have no care of the credit of strangers, nor of that account which we must yield at our return unto all men that shall be pleased to call for it; their Canons they would have them so full charged with catechetical speculations, as they will be ready to burst, and I perceive it plainly, that there is never a contra-Remonstrant minister in the Synod, that hath delivered any doctrine which hath been excepted against by the Remonstrants, but they would have it in by head and shoulders in some Canon, that so they might have something to show for that which they have said: God his goodness toward his Church, and your L. vigilant constancy in perfecting this good course, which you were so careful to procure, I hope will teach us to overcome all these difficulties.

In my last letter I wrote as I suspect, that the Palatines inveighed against some things delivered by Dr. Ward in the 3. and 4. Articles; if I had so, I was mistaken, I should have said the second Article. We shall have no more Sessions till all be agreed upon in private Colledges; and therefore I thought to have come over to have done my duty to your L. this Easter, but I understand by a letter from Sir Thomas Jermy that my L. Hayes had warning to make himself ready for his Ambassage against the 10. of March; I think he will come by the Hague, if I understand of his coming I must likewise do my duty to him, and I can hardly make two journeys; and so with my humblest service for your L. kinde invitation, and for all the rest of your L. most undeserved favours to a stranger, which since my fortune is not likely ever to give me leave to requite, I must take leave to acknowledge, and with my
Dr. Balcanquals Letters from the Synod of Dort,

best prayers for your L. and my Ladies happiness, I take my leave, and am as ever shall be,

Dordrecht this 25. of March.

Your L. in all true respect and service, Walter Balcanquall.

My very Good Lord.

All my answer to your L. arguments is my acknowledgement of your L. extraordinary courtesie in your kinde invications. I could not be so fitted in my mourning apparel as I would before Saturday at night: besides we must now narrowly look to the Canons which are sent to us by the Deputies of the Synod; for we are required upon Tuesday next to give in our observations upon them; my L. of Landaffie being one of the Deputies, hath already delivered his opinion of them; and therefore his L. may here be spared till Wednesday next, the rest of us have not, and it being the main business of our coming hither, we must plie it so as it may be done to some good purpose. My L. of Landaffie his comming to your L. telleth me that the writing of any occurrences here are needless; so with the continuance of my best wishes for your L. health and happiness, I take my leave; and shall ever account it a great part of my temporal happiness, if your L. shall be pleased to account me as I am:

Dordrecht this 29. of March, Stylo loci.

Your L. in all dutiful respect and service, Walter Balcanquall.

My very Good Lord,

This place is yet still barren of news, but I make no question but my next letters shall send your L. some. The Deputies appointed by the Synod have taken pains I must needs confess to give our Colledge all satisfaction; besides the second Article, some of our Colledge have been carnest to have this proposition out. (Insidieles damnabunur non solum ob infidelitatem, sed etiam ob omnia alia peccata sua tam originale quam actualia.) Because they say that from thence may be inferred that original sin is not remitted to all who are baptized, which opinion hath been by more than one council condemn'd as heretical: they have therefore at their request put it out; so I know now of no matter of disagreement among us worthy the speaking of: the morrow there is a Synod, one way or other we shall determine what shall become of the Canons, what we do your L. by Gods grace with the first occasion
To the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton L. Ambassador, [35]

fion shall understand. I have here sent your L. my speech made in the Synod; I know your L. experience will pardon the imperfections of a discourse delivered upon less then two days warning. Now my Lord, to write a History of Dr. Goad his journey and mine own, between Rotterdam and Dort that night, on which we came from your L. would move too much pity, especially if you should make relation of the same to my Lady: the compend of it is this; that a little after five a clock in the afternoon we took ship at Rotterdam, and about a little after one of the clock in the night we arrived at Dort, but could get no entrance; and therefore until half an hour past five in the morning, we sometime lay in the ship, sometime walked on the Bulwark: if we were not sufficiently assaulted with cold and watching we know our selves. Mr. Downs his wooing in Greek was never so cold as we were that night. Letters I have received from England: the summe of the news are, that the Spanishe Navie is dissipated, and that it never exceede 60. fayles. The King of Spain hath written large letters with his own hand to our King; in which he protesteth, that he never intended any thing against England nor any Christian Kingdom. The talk of the Spanish match hath of late been very fresh again in England, but this is certain that the other day at Theobalds the King asking a gentleman of good note what the people talked of the Spanish Navie, received of him this answer: Sir the people is nothing so much afeard of the Spaniards powder as of their match. My Lord I can but thank your L. for all your courtesies, especially your L. great kindness at my last being with you, which since my fortune will not give me leave to requite, I must take leave to acknowledge. With the remembrance of my best duty and service to your L. and your worthy Lady, and my faithful wishes for both your happiness, I take my leave, hoping your L. will believe that there liveth no man of whom you may more freely dispose, then of

Dort this 14 of April.

Your L. most faithful and respectful in all true service. Walter Balcanual.

My very Good Lord,

Dr. Davenant: his coming to your L. faveth me the writing of any news here: for he will perfectly relate them to your L. we are full of trouble about things altogether unnecessary, they are so eager to kill the Remonstrants, that they would make their words have that sense which no Grammar can finde in them: upon Tuesday in the afternoon we had a Session, in which were read the Canons of the first and second Article, and were approved, except the last of the second Article, which we never heard of till that hour, and the second heterodox in that same Article, what they were Dr. [E 2] Davenant
Dr. Balcanqual's Letters from the Synod of Dort

Davenant will inform your L. the last was such as I think no man of understanding would ever assent unto. On Thursday morning we had another Session, in which was nothing done, but that it was reasoned whether that last heterodox should be retained; our College in that whole Session maintained dispute against the whole Synod; they condemned the thing it fell as a thing most curious, and yet would have it retained only to make the Remonstrants odious, though they finde the very contrary of that they would father upon them in their words. That day in the afternoon was another Session, in which were read the Canons of the 3, 4, and 5. Articles and were approved, the particular passages of these Sessions I will send your L. by the next occasion, they were no great matters in them, yet when I send your L. the next Sessions in which it is like that something will be done, I will send a note of them too: yesterday there was no Session, but the Deputies met for taking order about the Preface and Epilogue of the Canons, and mending those things in the Canons which were thought fit to be amended, and have sent them worse then they were; in case we stand, and what need of counsel we have, this worthy Dr. will sufficiently inform your L. My Lord, I have had a great deal of talk with Mr. Douglas about the controversies in this Church, and finde him unquestionably found in them, also that there is no fear of his opinions, if other wise he be found sufficient: I much wonder that we do not hear of my L. of Doncaster. There is here in the Synod a report of our King his mortal disease, it cometh from Scultetus, but I hope it is but the Goute; with the remembrance of my best duty and service to your good L. and my Lady, I take my leave and rest ever,

Dort this 19 of April.

Your L. in all true respect and service, Walter Balcanqual.

My very Good Lord,

Now at last we have made an end of our business of the five Articles; what trouble we have had in these last Sessions none can conceive but those who were present at them: and what strange carriage hath been in them, especially on the President his part it is too palpable, he hath deceived all "mens hope of him very far. This matter of the personal cenfure which was "a thing of great conquence, we were never made acquainted with before "the very instant in which it came to be read; and because the Delegates must "not be stayed from their going to the Hage, therefore all the Synod must say "Amen to it; between the forenoon and the afternoon Session, there was "strange labouring with the Exter; for getting their consent to it; yet we "medled not with it; all I can say is, me thinketh it is hard that every man "should.
to the R. Honourable Sir D. Carlton, L. Embassdor. [37]

"should be deposed from his ministry, who will not hold every particular;
"canon; never did any Church of old, nor any reformed Church propose;
so many articles to be held sub pena excommunicationis; but had it not been;
"then cruel, if all had gone for Canons which they would have had gone;
"v. g. that of an absolute necessity of similitude of nature for working our redemp-
tion. None of us have the Canons yet, neither shall till the Estates have;
approved them: a note of such Sessions as have passed since my last notes
which your L. had I do now send your L. our Sessions have been so long and
late as I had no time to write them: I was therefore bold to send them to
your L. as my scribe transcribed them out of my notes which I took in the Sy-
nod, hoping your L. will have regard of our perpetual business here: with
the remembrance of my best service to your L. and my Lady, I take my leave,
remaining always,

Dort this 25. of April,
Stylo loci.

Your L. in all true respects and
service, Walter Balcanqual.

S'fffo 127. 26. Marii Syllo novs. ] Praes: D. Delegatorum, oratione brevi monet Syno-
dicos, D. Delegatis omnino videri futurum est et dignitate Synodi, si domino prae-
di, et D. audessoribus paucae aliquot a Synodo tum ex exterris tum ex provincialibus adiungantur, in
quos auctoritate publica, cura conciendiendi, et contiemiendi canones devolvatur; publicis ita
gratis ab ipso nomine Delegatorum D. Praefidii Ecclesiasticis addictis ob gratissimum laborem hab-
ennis in canonibus conciendiendi suceptum, eorumque nomine rogatur, ut quum viam ingenui
eserit in primo, eadem quaque in requisi articulis viam insisteret, rogat porro ut statim ali-
quos nominem Synodus cum D. Praefidii in idem negotium incumbant; utque velint totum
hoc negotium quem fieri posse citissime movere; cum id praeferram ab ipsis D. ordinis gene-
rales vehementer contredant; Rogantur de deputatis hisce Synodis impensis, in qui-
bus ferendis fuit magna admodum varietas; multi volebant praefidem codem quo quosferat po-
de pergere in canonicis Dictionibus, inter Exteros sihoc consilium vehementius urgebant D. Scu-
letius, inter provinciales D. Sibrandus; sed immodeste et imprudenter factis, adversus
enim illos qui hoc consilii suggesserat servide admodum declamabant suo potius exclaimabant;
dicebat enim quosdam esse qui hic illuc curitavantur ut alios in suas partes pertraherent; quos
putabantum omnino cenfa ecclesiasticam nonad, neque hic debere Exteros nimmer laborare,
ut potere quibus non tam consulissent de ratione Ecclesiastum Belgicarum, quand provincialibus,
eo demum ferabatur, ut D. Praefis politicos, iridescent et D. Praefis Ecclesiasticis, cum graviter
monerent, sunderentque ipsi majorem modestiam; D. Davenantius cum se et collegas suos
hibi fugissilari putaret; petierit D. Praefidis ut liceret sibi a se et suis calamisias ipsas defellere 
verum rogatur D. Praefidis a responso absintur, cum vero depoposceret South Hollandorum
suffragium. D. Latius (is eft qui historiam Pelagianorum scriptis) eo quod putaret se et col-
legas suos nomine consulisse ab Sibando imperitos fuille modo et certe in suffragio suo D.
Sibrandum perfingebat; siebat enim omnino sibi videri et dignitate Synodi, ut Canones
auctoritate publica non privata concipierantur; pollesque se in data illi respondere qui hoc
suum et collegarum consilium perfinserat, nisi chirite aliquid dandum esset, neque hic
sic diceretur in consilium consiliu opponer, inconsultumadmodum hoc dictum esse, enque non
minus Ecclesiasticam cenfaram mereri qui tam inconfili loquatis sit, quam illis qui au-
hores fuerant consiliis initius de nominandis deputatis. Tandem post hata omnium suffragia po-
tioribus fententiae nominati sunt: inter Exteros, D. Episcopus Landaven<is, D. Scu-
letius, D. Deodatus, inter provinciales D. Polyander, D. Wallaeus, D. Triglandius qui una cum
D. praefidi 


De prelato et consistoribis canonibus concinnandis in cumbente, quos concinnatos ad singula collegia nixti curarent, si quid forte additum, demum, mutatum cupiant, deinde ad collegias rei his limare manu ultima, ut sic tandem toti Synodo propiti ad cadem appro- benecer.

Seffio 128. 16. Aprilis stylo novo post meridiem. D. Præfes narrat jam tandem post aliquot septiminarum laborum afflictum, indultuſe Synodo Dei certarum illum furaviſsum quem omnes tanto op. re exspectaverant: morum monebat nemini debere effe gravem; sed gratam porius, quia ut ut in fundamentibus op. me inter omnes et singulos (sicur patebant in induciﬁcis) converserat: sperati tamen non poterat singulos in ipphis locuendi formulam conspiratos: monebat porro diuam fuisse hanc fessio nem, ut D. Delegati omniſe et singulorum conſentium obferrerent: Rogantur singuli Synodici, ut diligenter attendant lectioni articularum, et moneant si quid forte mutatum velint, nec agere f erad: si muterunt forte fuit verum aliquid alter quam fe habeat in exemplaribus quibus heri finguili fubcripterant; eum in reipla nihil plane fit mutatum.

Legatur itaque articuli Synodici, seu canones de articulo contravero: finguili Synodici post ipforum lectionem viritum rogati de contentu, finguili folemneri profibebantur f articulos Orthodœiam complecentes probare ut porre contentientes cum faera scriptura et confesfionibus Reformatarum Ecclesiœrum, articulos vero Heterodœiam complecentes improbarre ut ab idem difermirent, Deo agebant singuli graecias de tam tuavi contentu, veroque deum regabant ut vellet parem fepre harmonium Ecclesiœ fuis Reformatis largiri: obfervandum autem ef f hic finguili signiﬁcavir, quod heri illis articulis fubcripterant: exceptis falis Theologis Britannis qui fubfcriptiones luas deferebant, donec poffet exemplar aliquid nilide describeri.

Legatur articuli Synodici feu canones de fecundo articulo confravero: in iis-ante articulis præcleﬁcis, fuerant quodam verba mutata et alter difpofita, quam fuerant in articulis quibus heri Synodici omnes exceptis Britannis fubcripterant: Britannis cædend fententiam quod conſentium de hiſce articulis quam de prioribus ferebant, nifi quod fecundum Heterodœiam putarent magis clare et perspicue præponer posfe, et ultimum Heterodœam, qua eft de potenti dei, au potuerit illum reconciliationis modum quam per Chrifum acceptafferit, dixerent jarn primum ipfos obfervaffer, et videri fibi efe eam magis fcholaftica praecipulationis, quam difquisitionis Synodica, itaque petebant deliberandiem tempus: petebant porro ut quæ illis articulis damnarentur pro Socinianismo, poßen psipofsQi ex Socino deprompta, rem ipfam damnabat, fed an à Socino profectione ef feti hoc dogma neciebant, cum scriptorum Socinianorum non dum fac ta ipphis copia: Haufciani cœndem teftari funt contentium quem in priori articulo, nifi quod in articulo octavo orthodoxo vox illa (Singulati) non addita erat ad ipfam verba (liberimus contilio) prout in observationibus suis ad canones de fecundo articulo annotaverant, verum cum perfusa fum illis omiffionem itiquis vocabuli facere ad pacem Ecclesiœrum Bellicarum, se acque ferecere, et femer exporitionum canonicum illum fecundum fuum fensum id eft quem poftit habere verbo illo addito: verum ne ftras putarent ipfis in fuis observationibus fiquid posfive quod in re ipphis funs substantia aut funfamento ad canone jam praefete direparet: parato f esse qui cum fratribus, fimo modo e cupiant, observationes suas communicent: Helvetii testabant contentium fuum cum illis articulis quiquis heri fubcripferunt: verum cum nunc videant alique verba inmutata efe, rogent ut articulos relegant ut fic ad conscientiam contentum pofti quic和平e etis contentus accedere: Bremenenses, contentum quoque fuum teftabant, fed addita cadem illa ad cædend articulum cautione quam adhibuerant ftras Haufciani, reliquorum Synodici plenius fumum contentum ficut in primo articulo teftari fum, Annotarum olim Goecelii, Sibrandus, Gomatus, et fortefis unus adeo auger alter, quodam, fede quæ plane Grammatica erat: abeant ex Synodici pauci aliqut fed quos praefes narrabat finguilos articulos fuis syngraphis comprobasse: propter publicum quod die crasfino celebrandum eft jejunium, monet praefes non habendam esse Sessionem ante diem jovis.

Seßio 129. 18. Aprilis stylo novo. Quælibet fuit fussels de ultimo Heterodoxo canone in articulo fecundo, qui rejecit eorum opinionem qui flatum ad sufficiantiam Pretii Redemptio-
AetA Synod.] [139]
nis notis, non sufficere necessarium naturæ notis similitudinem in Christo: Quærebatur an debet eric retinere tarnquam erro Remonstrantium, an vero hic omittis, & numerari postea inter errores Vorphianos: Theol. gi Britannii pluribus rem dicipabant, contendebant enim si canon intelligendus esset de absolvite necessitate, id est tali quem removere à Deo omnem potenti, aliter flatuendi, ante suppositionem omnis decreti & voluntatis certæ te omine nihil definieendum esse debeat. Dei potenti, esse habe speculationem magis Scholasticam: Ideoque Canones Synodicos non debere ingredi, praefentium cum quidam Patres, et nonnulli Doctores reformati pured illam naturæ similitudinem hoc senso non sufficere simpliciter & absolvite necessariam, si vero Canon de intelligendus, de factitiate hypothesica, id est ex suppositione decreti & voluntatis certe nobis in Scriptura Revelatae, (quod sensu putant vocabulum necessitatis in hoc negotio in sacra Scriptura accipi) canonem vero esse putant; sed nullo modo ferire Remonstrantes qui absolutam tantum necessitatem rejequissent ut pater ex ipsum verbi in nuper declarazione exhibita, Ideoque putant consueltis, hunc canonom posse omittis, à pluribus multa de hac quaestione dicta sunt; quibus omnibus Britannii Responderunt; Potiora tamen suffragia voluerunt canonem illum retinere, præfes nostiü sic conciendum esse ut pollicentur fratelli.

Sefio 130. codem die post meridiem] Leguntur Canones Synodici de 3. & 4. articulis, ubi omnes ac singuli Synodici post ipsum prælectionem visitim conferuem fumam solennibus verbi testabantur; Varii Theologi raman varia annotabant: sed quæ tantum perplementum in verbis perficatum, in recepta nihil defiderantes.

Leguntur Canones Synodici de 5. articulo post ipsum Registrem singuli porro (ut in prioribus)ipsos solenni conuenis comprobabant: D. Goadus recitavit catalogum duriorum phrasium quas Theologi Britannii cupiebant à Synodo recequissent, eo quod ex iphis, tum Remonstrantes tum Pontifici, doctrinnam Reformatarum calumniandis magna animam fumerant; D. Scultetus etsi suadebat ut fuis aliquis à Synodo deligaretur qui ultimam manum canobibus imponeret, dareque operam ut stylos canonicum ubique par effet & hactenus fatis & perficuum, aliqui nec dictionem nec stylium mutari voluerent; quidam quoque putabant non fore à ree Synodi ut duétores illæ phrasæ rejequissent à Synodo, quia sicSenderetur fama excellentissimorum virorum quorundam; Præfes moverunt die eratino mane deputatos Synodicos conventuros esse, capturoque confulium dé mutandas illas aut delendis quæ observant fata quæquibusdam fratribus atque eorum rejequendi phrasibus durioribus, idque e ratione quæ possit magis commode omnibus fatificie; porroque de praefatione, & Epilogus canorum prospecturos; Rogarque ut singulis colligen unum aliquem ad horam quartam pomeridianam mittant, qui describat quæ concerentur depurari, & ad collegia sua referant, ut sic de omnium conueni conficere posset ante proximam Sectionem.


Sefio 132. codem die post meridiem] D. Præfes antequam pergam in rogandis suffragiis de quarto tamen pomeridian, rogam Synodum ut velit audire quæ ipsis una cum D. affloribus tempore intermedio de rejequione duriorum locationum conceperant: & rogat Synodum ut velit haec duo pendere, primo nomen ex Theologis Belgis iliummodi munium scrupussa est docu- sisse; ac proinde non speciere illa ad haec Synodum quæ tantum Belgica effect: Secundo doctores
doctores illos apud quos itibec duriora dicta comperientur suisse & esse vel Theologos Anglos, vel Gallos, vel Germanos; qui cum a suis principibus & Ecclesiis ob illas duriores loquendi formas non essent notati, verisimile aiebat esse principes illos & Ecclesiis externis ægre laturas si Synodus hæc nationalis Ipsos ob itibec dicta aliqua cenuria notaret.

Legitur forma Epilogi jam de novo concepta, in qua plures aliquid inconsistent locutiones rectiebantur quam in priori, sed nullæ ex his quos Theologi Exteri addit cupiebant: Quæritur Synodicerum de hoc Epilogo sententia: Britannia serio urgent additionem plurimum præfer-
tim eorum quæ Sessione antemeridiana memoraverant: ad duas Rationes à D. Præside allatas Respondebant ad primam Remonstrantianæ in declarationibus suis ad Synodem exhibitis, multa loca contra Remonstrantium, ipsos libros & paginas citare in quibus itibemodi scripserint; nullæ ætatis Synodus itibemodi dicta improbec, non posse Belgas ab itibemodi calumniis liberari ad secundam Theologos Exteros non debere quidem in Synodo notari, verum si quid dixerint aut scripserint quod cedat Reformata Ecclesiae in contumeliam: illud posse Synodum cujuscunque demum sit rectieceri nec hoc debere Synodum notari. Quod fortissim non sint Belgæ, hac enim ratione Synodo nihil permittit in Sociis cujus tamen doctores ipuis quæ femel in canonibus damnat: neque debuisset Regem Magnæ Britanniae aliquid adversus Vor-sitium flatuere qui iphus subditus non erat; optare se ut pluris solum delictum eorum quæ reci- jiciuntur, nec posse aliquam Reformatam Ecclesiam hoc ægre ferre; cum nihil cupiant rectie- quod a confentiens aliquius Reformatis Ecclesiis comprobarum sit: cupiere se præferunt ut illa sententia rectieatur: [Neminem posse plus boni facere quam facit] cum exinde nulli Reformato doctori defundat aliqua convulsæ inferatur; cum sit sententia heri tantum nata, quæ vix septimam ætatis suæ numeraret annum: Reliqui omnes Theologi exteri quia cupiebant (ut aiebant ipsi) multum paci dare; in forma præclara acqueiebant; optabant tamen illi qui antemeridien rationes suas attulissent ut possint plura recişi, Provinciales omnes formam præ-
lectoram probabant: & professores Belgæ multis rationibus contendebant non debere Synodum dicta vitrum aliqui optime de Ecclesie Reformata meritorum aliqua censura notare; D. Si-
brandus tarnen aiebat negari non possit quin aliqui in Belgio duriora quæ dam docuerint quam essent illa quæ Theologi Britannii in catalogo suorum recteanteorum recitaverant, sub finem præfes monet cum hæc sit res ordinis, non docet quibus folus consulendos esse de hoc negotio Dominos Delegatos: qui rogati deliberaturus se de re præfenti in Sessionem craftinani matutin-
nam pollicentur.

Sessio 133. 22. Aprilis stylo novo.] D. Prefes rogat D. Delegatos ut velint Synodo exponere quid ipsi de Epilogo proxima Sessione præclare narrare: D. Delegati cùpiunt ipsum Denuo Releg: Relegitur: D. Delegati illum probant, & rogant Synodicos ut si id fieri posset velin in ipso acqueieere, Orant porro utiam tandem quam fieri posset maturum negotium hoc, 5th arti-
culorum semel abolvant; quippque quod ipsi jam denuo iterariis Juffitibus urgenuntur a D. Suis ordinibus Generalibus ad hoc serio flagitandum: Rogantur Synodici de hac formula præclara; Britannii omnibus modis urgenunt ut aliqua rejectione porro adderentur hoc præ-
epue, [Hominem non plus boni facere quam facit:] verum si hoc obtineri nequiret; ut da-
rent multum paci non nemo ex iphis monebat, ampliandam esse illum sententiam [Et quæ alia sunt buius generis plurima] ut si quando exprobarerint iphis aliqui horribilis sen-
tentia quam non rejecerant, possent se excusare per illam parenthefin, & afferere omnia iiitiusmodi in illa sententia rejeeta suisse a Synodo: Itaque ut paci & temporis com-
folan, acqueieunt; moneant tamem illud omnino mutandum esse quod habetur in Epilogo: doctrinam Reformatæm Ecclesiarum censendam esse Ex qua huc canibus continent, se enim proficielebantur deputatis à senenisima Regia majefate non ab Ecclesiis suis, nulla sihi connumifam authorityen qua possent Ecclesiarum fuer-
num confelliones explicare, tulisse se tantum privata sua judicis, quæ ipsi putarent vera esse; multa se in canibus tanquam vera concludisse, de quibus ne verbum quidem habetur in Ec-
clesiarum fuerum confellionibus, verum quod fiant nihil in illis contendier quod illis confesfi-
onibus repugnat: Reliqui Synodo præclaram Epilologam probabant, & complurimi cense-
bant reliquis duriores loquendi formulam deberi in scripto Elenchico quod adnatur dicienti; ariue
Aei Synodi.

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aquilloe columnias quibus ob ipsius gravitur reformata Ecclesia debere depelli, D. Praefes
itaque monet Deputatos Synodo à meridie conventuros, ut quam fieri posset, canones illos
duos Heterodoxos in primo articulo de quibus tantium e Synodo non ita pridem disceperat,
itam componat ut singuli facile in contenium adduci possent. Interea monet jam de-
scriptum omnium Canonum exemplar, quibus publice in Synodo à singulis seffione cra-
stina autem eramida subfricendum effet ut sic Canones — absoluti eodem die possum Hagam
ad D. Ord. Generales tramitted, sub initiun enim hujus Sessionis, narrabat D. Gregor : Mar-
tinius, D. Delegatos quosdam ex ipso numero delegisse qui die Graeffino Canones ad D. Or-
dines effent delaturi, hoc enim a jebebat D. Ordines ; et cum Ecclesie, tum Reipublica Belg-
ici statum depofecer.

Sessio 134. 33. Aprilis stylo novo. ] Leguntur articoli de primo articulo contraverso quibus
omnes et singuli folemniiter subscribent, in tribus exemplaribus, praefes monet a singulis col-
legiis unam exemplar deoffrivendum esse cui etiam singuli Synodici subscripturi effent : loca
Scripturae narrat postea describenda esse et addenda fuisse, quae jam per temporis angusti
samus non possint possint possunt : Narrat jam inter deputatos convenisse de mutatione secundi articuli
Heterodoxi in secundo articulo in tres articulos, et deletione ultimi Heterodoxi in eodem
articolo qui erat de absoluta necessitate fimilitudinis natura in mediatore nostro : quae muta-
ta erant in secundo Heterodoxi leguntur ; et rogat D. Praefes singulos ut in sessionem pome-
ridiannam deliberent num possint in mutatis acquiescerere.

Sessio 135. eodem die post meridiem. ] Rogantur Synodicaecorum suffragia num placeat ipsis ut
ultimus ille Heterodoxus Canon in secundo articulo deletur, et secundus illae in tres praele-
étos Canones mutetur, placuit omnibus et singulis. Leguntur itaque Canones de secundo,
tertio, quarto, quinto, articulim, quibus etiam singuli solemniter subscribent, duravit hae
stipio in horas 10. vespernam.

ut concipierent formam personalis censura quam Synodus exerceret adversus citatos, et quos-
cunque alios qui recusaret doctiram Synodicae, varios quoque Synodicos Deputatis formul-
ias obtulisse, eos tandem in unam convenisse, quae nunc prelegenda esset Synodo ut eam pro-
bert, vel corrigit: legitur, in autem in hanc sententiam, Synodum cenfore Remonstrantes
esse novatorum et perturbatorum patria, Reipub. præfertim Ecclesie Belgicae, ejusmodi docu-
uisse dogmata quae a verbo dei, et confessionibus Reformatarum Ecclesiarum differtent, pra-
terea citatus ad hanc Synodum teneri reos contumacie adversum cum supremum Magistratum
cuju se decreta preverterent, tum ipsam Synodum quam pro legitimo judice nuquipnam voluerunt
agnoscerent, ideoque Synodum omnes ad praefentem Synodum abdicaret, omnia quia

tibus tum Ecclesiasticis tum Academiciis eo utque dum panistentiam agant de falsis dogmatis-
bus a se scriptis, prelecit, et doctis, et possint hanc quam panistentiam indubitatis studiis et
signis Ecclesiis Belgicis testatae faciliter, reliquis vero Remonstrantes in Belgio ad Synodos
provinciales remitteretur, quibus mandat ut duces et pertinentes continuo omniaibus suis mune-
ribus abdicent, reliquis vero vitio temporis lapsos, et a seductoribus abreptos omni lenitate
et patienlia, consentin in viam reducere, quos sicutificarent posse in omnia conatus id agant,
fin minus patier et cum ipsius agant: Porro Synodus, illustrissimos ord. Generales obnixe ro-
gar ut hanc quam sententiam de quibus articulis, atque etiam de Remonstrantibus abdicandis
firmam et ratam esse velit et jubeant, gratias quibusque ipsum Dominum Generationum cum omni debito ob-
sequio decret propert ipsum de reformandis Ecclesiis suis studium singulare : Queritur Sy-
nodicae judicium de censura hujus personali : Theologii Britannici omnes ac singuli responde-
bant doctiram Ecclesiarii Belgicarum hic in Synodo afferantiam suam suisse, ac prono ip-
so vocatos sententiam suam de illa expoluisse, personas vero qui contrariam sententiam docu-
erint efficax Belgas : Ideoque de alienum subditis non leulo modo personalis sententi-
am ferre, idoque se confessam omnino provincialibus relinquare, quibus integrum effet de
suis ministris statuere : idem fentiebant omnes Theologi exteris, exceptis Genevensibus et
Embosnianis qui sententiam praelevam probabant, et Bremanis qui tempus deliberandi po-
cebat : Provinciales quedam in forma praeleva observabant: Cujusmodi fuit illud non essi
fori Ecclesiasticis eos dammare tunc quam perturbatores patriae et pacis Reip. hoc spectare ad ci-

[5]
AetA Synodi.

villem magistratum magna fuit discipatio inter provinciales an tollerandi effent illi qui eumque nollent subscripte articulis Synodiciis, rames recipiunt fex nihil unquam vel publice vel privatim adversus ipsos dicturos aut docturos: quidem ex provincialibus petebant ut: Theologi Exteri de hac re suam fententiam aperirent, fed D. Praeses respondebat inha particularia omnino oportet religiui Synodorum provincialium prudentia, et nefere effe adhuc quam tolleantiam permifui effent D. Ord. Generales, itala forma praefecta, si pucaula quedam mutaretur, ab omnibus provincialibus probata eff, exceptis Zelandis et Gallobelgiciis qui spatium deliberandi de re graviffima petiverunt.

Sessio 137. ] Relegitur cenfura personalis emenda in qua illud de perturbatione patriae et Reip. omittebatur: queritur Synodicorum sententia de ipfa jam correfca, Britannii et Haliaci eam nec probabat nec improbaebant, noluerunt enim ipfa personalibus immineere, reliquy omnes Exteri, ut siebant inter ipfa melius perfens quam ante meridiem eam probabant, exceptis Bremenizibis, quorum duo priores initius quoddam conflilium suggerenbant, tertius vero D. Crocius rem putabat esse maximis momenti ideoque nihil poss effe de ea statuere nisi apographum formulae prefectae et tempos deliberandi concedatur: provinciales omnes eam probabant, Germanus autem et adjici petebant ut Synodus apud ord. generales intercederent pro largiendo Remonftranibus minus pertinentibus trimestri rippendio, fortassis enim poftent cupere illo tempore cum viris dociles conferre fulque conficientiis de canonibus Synodiciis satisfacere; fed voluit ippos primo quoque tempore a minifteris fui exercicio suspendi, D. Praesan Respondebat non effe e dignitate Synodi tam Augusta, ut intercederat apud D. Ordines pro re rippendiaria, verum non dubitate fe quin D. Ordines benigne fatis et elementum cum ipfis acturi effent: rogatur D. Delegatorum de hac praefectae cenfura judicium, qui respondebant fe nolle tantum fi bi affumere ut ipfam profente, fed delatus fe ipfam D. Ord. generalibus, a quibus felif comprobatio expectanda eff: Theologi Britannii molebant in hac cenfura dici Synodicos articulos conclufoi esse secundum fententiam omnium Reformatarum Ecclefiarum, quo difco in nubesar Ecclefias Lutheranas, quas altera fenilent, non habendas effe pro Reformatiacs, quod ipfis durum admodum videbatur; D. Scullems, et Polyander reponebant, ipfos Lutheranos nomen hoc deprecari, et noftris Ecclefis ex hoc nomine (Reformatarum) folere invidiam confolare, et D. Praesan addebat hic in Belgio folere noftras Ecclefias per illud nomen (Reformatas) non folum a pontificiis verum etiam a Lutheranis diftingui: Britannii respondebant in fuis Ecclefis Lutheranos haberi pro Reformatiacs ut porre a quibus Religionis Reformatio primum tentata eff, habereque fe porro in mandatis a ferenifimo D. Rege ut quantum fieri pof tente defipere ne offenderentur Ecclefia Lutherana, itaque addita effi hae vox Nofarum.

Legatur blaspheina opiniones duorum frarum Thomae, et Petri Gefferranorum, qui Remonftran tes erant, et ab Ordinibus Hollandiae et Weft. Frifia suspendi a minifteris dum Synodus poftit de ipforum opinionibus cognofcere.

Sessio 138. 25. Aprilis ftylo novo. ] Legatur supplex libellus Johannis Macovii Theologia professeoris in Academia franckera, quo gravifime queritur fe apud ordinces Frifia in simulatione fiffes hereos a D. Sibrando Luberto, petit itaque suppliciter ut Synodus velit de tota caufa cognofcere, ut audito Sibrando ipfe poftit dicer pro fe latem ut Sibrandus et ipfe ex Synodiciis arbitres deligant, qui turn hoc negotium diligenter examinarent et ad Synodum referant, Praesan regat D. Sibrandum ut exponat coram Synodo fententiam fumam de tota hac fite, Sibrandus negat fe unquam fiffes Macovii accufatorum, verum testimonio duorum fratrum Friforum probat ipsum ut claffic Frankeniana fiffes accufatam, fe aurem juflit D. ordinem Frifia, et rogatum praefectae claffis folum claffis os pro illo tempore fuife, itaque ficure ante hac in hac lite pars non fuerat, fic et nunc nullo modo fe velle haberi pro parte protetflatur: D. praesan narrat conveniens esse ut Synodus de hac caufa cognociat, quia id ferio petunt D. Ordines Frifia per litteras fias ad D. Delegatos, atque etiam hoc ad Synodum omnia acta in lite hac apud ipfos confessi tranfinferint. Queritur itaque a Synodo cum Sibrandus non fit pars, an debeat ipse Macovius primum audiri, an vero ipso femora ex actis ordinum Frifia de caufa cognociat, placuit Synodo ut primum acta prelegerentur, deinde fi opus effet, ut adinter coram Macovius.

Legatur proemium bene longum quod prafigendum effet canvasibis Synodiciis, queritur de illo.
Acta Synodi.

§ 139. Eodem die post meridiem. Legitur aliud novum brevium pro amium deputatis Synodics ex variis formulis etiatis confessum: quod totum Synodo placuit: si paucula quaedam mutaretur: Britanni putabant pro [Antchi cri tis tyrannide] magis commode dici posse [Anti-christiana tyrannide] quia ut ut fortassis verum putarent pontificem Romanum esse magnum illum Antichristum, tamen sine judicio præmisso vix putarent debere hoc à Synodo determinari, quod à nulla Reformata Ecclesia adhuc excepta Gallicana quæ & jam articulum illum ex confessione sua retractit factum etit; quidam ex Synodis æque ferebant hoc vocari in quaestionem, quibus respondebant Britanni, non vocari nunc rem iìpsum minimum an pontifex Romanus esset ille antichristus qui quaestionem; sed hoc an debat hoc à Synodo determinari nulla deliberatione præmissa.

§ 140. Aprilis fllo novo. Legitur alter supplex libellus Macovii, quo petit ut arbitrii deligantur, ut responsum suum ad errores sibi objectos ipsiusque explicatio legi possit. D. Scriba & porro D. Thysius & D. Lydus publica fide teftantur se quaedam exempla canorum Synodorum ex originalis fdliter contrui, eaque cum ipfo per omnia conventire, quibus singuli Synodici subferebunt.

Legitur acta in lite Macovii ad Synodum quod ordinibus Frisicœ transmissae, & primum legebantur. 50. errores objecti D. Macovio in classicus Franekerana quos videre poteris in altero meo libro Synodico qui re vera primum quoque auditu videbantur exceptis uno aut altero, non fuiffe tanti momenti ut homo docuit de illis coram Synodo acceperetur: cum plurimi ipsum erant ex efta reeptiffima diithinitione agentis Phyfic & moraliter, ab accusatore male intellteita.

§ 141. eodem die post meridiem. Legitur una D. Macovii Responfio ad errores sibi objectos: deinde alia brevior, in utraque fatis faciebat criminius sibi objectis abunde fatis, alios negando, alios explicando.

Legitur Epiftola facultatis Theologicae Heidlebergenfis ad Ordines Frisicœ, in qua facultas Theologica monet dominos ordinis Frisicœ ne patiantur Thefes tam oriöfas metaphysicas, obscuras, fallatas in suis scholis disputari, quales fuerant nuper in Academia Franekerana Thefes de traduo ad unum Macovio disputata.

D. Praefect tetiam a Synodo an uberior Macovii explicatione quam hic offert Synodo, deeeret etiam in Synodo legi, & qua ratione pergendum sit in hac causa: Quidam ex Exteris Theologis dicebant poteuffe illos. 50. errores, ad quinque vel etiam quarum reduci potuiffe; nec illum crimem haren fecur objectum fuerat in illis deprehendii; Omnes exterí per deputatos rem putant agentum, & cuipunt duo exteriores nominari & totidem professores Belgicis, qui bus adiungi potuisse duos partes qui de tota causa cognocent, & referant ad Synodum, plerique ipsum explanationem prolixam Macovii putant non audiendum in Synodo, sed referendam etiam ad deputatos: Geneveses foli hoc consilium non probabat: Deodatus rem ad solos provinciales voluit deferrei po f et extorum dicta fium; Tronchius vero oratio inevehentiflimo contendebat nullo modo Macovium audiendum esse coram; sed debere agi cum illo tamquam cum Remonfrantibus & Episcopio: Illum judicandum ex scriptis: quod judicium in hominum nullo modo heterodoxias suspicatum mirabantur omnes; dum sufragium dandum effet à D. Sibrando, Immodest satis invehbatur in Feltum exprobrans ei summam, in se in gratitudinem: recitabatque porro novum catalogum opinionum D. Macovii quæ ejusdem erant farinae cum prioribus: feftus venia fandi præfide imperata Modefti satis D. Sibrandum excipierat, narrabat theses illis composatas suffisse nò; à D. Macovio sed à quodà Parkero Juvenc Doctifimo, & ab omnis heterodoxias suspicione longe removi fimum; & licet nunc Sibrandus suffinere partem accusatortis recusef, tamen eà quibusdam fide dignas accipere, omnes illos errores.
erroribus Macovii objectos; D. Sibrandum ex The fis illis & aliis ipsius prælectionibus compi lisse, quod ut audiebat D. Sibrandus vehementissime commotus bis deum vindicem in ani nam fiam precbatur fihthex vera effent; adeo ut D. Praesf eos fapius modegiae fanctæ & Reverentiae Synodo debita juftus memineffe.

Sefio 142. 27. Aprilis [Joyo nov.] Pergitur in rolandis suffragiis de caufa Macovii plures Mirabatur eum ob illas Thefes po1le haraeos infimus, præfertim cum unus ex South Hollandis teftatus fit D. Aimeum: illas thefes primum vidiffe & approbaffe, & jam pafum effe qui ipfas defendat; tandem potheribus suffragiis, statutum est tertium scriptum Macovii legendum, eft publice in Synodo, & tres ex Theologis Exteris, toidem ex provincialibus deputandos effe qui rem todam cognoscat & referant ad Synodum, verum quia D. Praesf di cebat illud scriptum continer e multa personalia præfertim in D. Sibrandum compilata, Qui dav ex Exteris ob pacem conservanda petierunt, ut rogarentur de ifhoe denuo Synodicorum suffragia, quod factum est: & plura suffragia cum voluerunt legi tuncrum privatum apud deputatos; Nominati in qua furi potioribus suffragii deputati ad caufam haec audieram, ex exteris Scultetius, Sergeantius, Brittingerus: ex provincialibus Gorarns, Thylfus, Menius, certe Exteri mirabant D. Scultetium nominatum publice ad provincialibus, & multo magis D. Scultetum id munus velle [ubire cum facultas Theologica Heidelbergenfis, cujus ipfe pars efef, tefes illas qua examinantæ funt jam haec ius tanquam otiofas, metaphysicas, & falsas damnaverit.

Sefio 143. 29. Aprilis [Kylo nov.] Leguntur literæ Belgicæ ad magiítratum & presbytero Campenfii ad Synodum quisqu oct Synodum ut velit scribere ad magiítratum & presbyteriun Arnenienfe ut velit dimittere D. D. Stephani, quem poletum ipfas poflorum dari: Item utve, lic ad magiítratum & presbyterium quoque scribere pro dimifione D. Plancis, Synodus noluit le iufiiudmodi negociis immiscre, ne forfaltis ecezet in praetudium clafficum & presbyteriorum: Leguntur alia literæ a magiítrate Campeñi, quisqu percuti ut per Synodum 1icea: Eccleffiae Remonftranfiae Campenfii in templis suis habere lectionem fæcræ Scripturae per lectores suis, eo uique dum posfe ipfis proprie de pofloribus: D. Praesf monet per fcriptum efe campis lectores illos folere accentu adriíps publicis longas enarrationes submimiftratas fibi ad duobus miniftris suis jam ad Synodo fulpenfis, quibus doctrina Remonftranfium afferebant, & in Orthodoxam invehebant, porto diuos ipforum miniftris qui funt ex numero citatorum hic ad Synodum, miffipe hic literas ad Eccleſiam Remonftranfiam que efe Campis: quibus plebem animabat ad confendantium in Remonftranfium doctrina, jubebantque brevi certiflimam liberationem ab hac perfecnionem efpectare; que litera ante dies non ita multos a lectoribus publice in templo pro rota petebantur.

Leguntur alia literæ Belgicæ ad Domino Battenberg, quibus Belgio Synodum gratulatur; promittitque fe onaturum te inditiofua, obtineat illa doctrina que hic ad Synodo stabilia effet.

Legitur proæmium praeffendum Canonibus jam emendatum, ubi pro [Antichrifti] ponitur [Romani Antichrifti] quo vocabulo aditio fatisfiebat illis qui voluerunt fine delibera- tione ad Synodo fratim pontificem Romanum efse in fignem illum Antichriftum; fec Antichrif- tum tamem, ante ipfum fic emendum omnibus placuit.

Legitur confefio Petri Molinæ pafloris Eccleſiae Reformatae Parisiensi fuper quinque articu- lis in Belgio confervatis; quam huc ad Synodum transmittit.


Nis Luns proximus publicandis Canonibus omnium Synodicorum contenfio judicetur.
Profer rogat Singulos ut velint diligenter attendere lectioni confessionis Belgicæ; incidit quod quaeam editionis Belgicæ habenda est pro authentica, cum illos editiones multum discrepant: curam statuit Synodus legenda, & perfluendam quia inelegitar Syntaxagmati confessionum Ecclesiariun Reformatorum: illa iaque publice prelegatur: D. Praeses rogat singula colloquium ut in horam nomam cæstini diei velint exhibere collegialia judicia de confessione preelecta tota, exceptis tribus articulis videlicet 30, 31, 32, qui ordinem & Regimen Ecclesiae spectant, Rogat singulos ut non velint insinuere in latinitate; aut phræologia fet simpliciter, scribe judicium nun quicquid illa contineretur; quod non sit velo divino confentancium.

Sefio 145. 30. Aprilis, fyllo novo. Quartur judicium Synodici de confessione Belgica; Britanni Probat omnino dogmata, putant nihil in ea quod substantiam contineret, quod sacra pagina repugnet, quadem minuitor in ea observabatur, sed quia facillime ex collati exemplariis in corrigenda & nova, quanquam paratur editione emendari potest, moment de tribus capitibus, quæ ordinem Ecclesiasticum spectant: quod nullum ferre fententiæ, sed interim putare regimem Ecclesiariuni fuerum esse institutionis Apostolicæ: Episcopum autem Landovenis oratione brevissima contra illa tria praedicta capita perorabat: contendebatque in Ecclesia neque Apostolorum temporibus, neque poltea unquam suffuse ministrorurn æqualitura; Iraq commun Britannorum confensu declarantur effe, nihil in confessione Belgicæ conineri, quod pugnaret cum sacra pagina, aut analogia fidei. Eximus omnes ad funus D. Cañteri Senioris Ultrajetricum unus ex deputatorum Synodicæ, Redimus. Legitur judicium deputatorum à Synodo in caufa Macoviana; cujus funna hac erat; D. Macovium nullius, gentilismi, judaismi, pelagianismi, focioianismi; aut alterius cujuscunque hæreses reum teneri, immirifice illum suffum acufatum, pecarce eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis, & obscuris Phraibus scholasticius uti fit, quod scholasticum docendi modum conferatur in Belgicis Academiis introducere quod eas felegerit quaestiones disceptandas, quod gravatur Ecclesiae Belgicæ: Monendum esse eum, ut cum Spiritu Sacro loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Surerio: hoc vitio vertendum ipsi, quod diffinitionem fufficience et efficacite moris Chrifius affuererit, eis futilem, quod negavit humanum genus lapsum eis quod obfcurerit, quod dixerit Deum velle, & secerne reum pecarce, quod dixerit Deum nullum modo velle omnium hominum saltem, quod dixit duas esse electiones: Judicant denique licitudum hanc inter D. Sibatram, & D. Macovium, componentam esse, & deinceps neminem debere eum talium criminum insinulare.

Sefio 146. edum die post meridem.] Pergitur in rogandis suffragis de confessione Belgicæ in edam finfententia cum Britannici: propter editionum varietatem petunt, ut exaretur exemplar aliquod unum exaetum, ord. generalium authoritye confirmandum.

Sefio 147. calend. Maii, fyllo novo. D. Gregorius Martinii exponit mentem illufriff. ordinari generali, eandem effe de Catechesi, quae fuerat de confessione; Rogat itaque Synodum ut de Catechesi quoq; Palatino-Belgica velit fententiam dicere, nec tam methodum, aut Phræologia spectare, quam dogmata doctritialis: Legitur totus catechismus: Rogantur Synodi, ut ad horam. 4. Pomeridiam an nam parente ad ferendum collegialia de catechesi perfeccta judicu.

Sefio 148 edum die post meridem. Omnium judiciis approbarunt dogmata in eodem catæchismo comprehensè, ut verbo dei contentanciæ, ac piê prudenterque conscripta, Britanni de interpretatione articuli, de diffinu Chrifiis ad inferos fuman ab alius Ecclesiis vindicat aliter explicanda potestatem: Ac demum propter gravem ab urbe Dordrechta datam negleñi dii domini off-nomen: rogant, ac moment Synodum, ut apud Magiftratum intercedat, ne forenes emptiones, aperant meriçium officinis eo die: exerceri permettunt: ex occasione ad quodam ex provinciis non magna quaftio de observatione Sabbathi, fed non diffensa penitus, qui rejecat & inter gravamina provincialia post ubi tunc noftra tractanda.

Aeta Synodi.

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...tur, se paratum esse testatur ad collationem cum Exteris Theologis in eundam item ad herefin Socinianam refutandum, fi ipsi ea mandetur provincia. Nec posse fibi persuadere comburendos ipsius libros, cum quadam Fiscatoris scripta longe horridiora, et bonis moribus infensoria non sint rogo addita.

Lefta hac, epistolae antiquae nonnulla Vorstii simulatoria; et vulping praferunt circa sui ex- plicationem, ac paniondom Heidelbergiae praefiliam fraudes in medium perfununtur deinde erro- rum, et blasphemiarum Vorstii catalogus a Belgicis professoribus collectus Synodo praegenti- tur ad capita reducunt de dei attributis, Christiis; deitate, ab illo partim aperte partius elancu- lum imminutis:


_Haflaci etiam commemorant quam fuerat poft modum non modo parum grata, sed etiam in- vila illuftriffimo fuo domino Landgravio dedicatio fu de deo libri, eadem pio principi nuncu- pata, quamque prudentem ipsum Vorstium princeps illae ad se commendatum ad Cathedram profellioriam admittere recuflaverat. De Vorstio ut cathedra indigno exaurando reliqui tum exterum provinciales omnes contentiant quod autem se obtulerit jam pugilem evocandum con- tra Socianos responsum eft:

Non cali auxilio, nec defenforibus ifis,
_Tempus egi._——

_Ut potestum incommodum usque ad errorum, heresecum curriculum etiam Socianismi fit fulpectif- simus, nec examinum fecurus putetur: ac in eo negotio fibi dudum commiffo, nihil pror- fus prebiterit._

_Seflio 151. 4. Maii stylo novo._] Decretum quoddam Synodicum de Vorstii caufa conceptum legitur et approbandum proponitur inde nonnulla interpellanda, alia omittenda, alia expli- canda, moventur praferunt à Britannis, hic urget quotdam attribui Vorstio, de capite justificationis de quibus, nec dum fatis confirar, quid afficerat Vorstius, illinc autem omitri alia, aut non fatis aperte damnari, quae maxime blasphema funt, et Ecclesiae quafi universae Christianae gravissimis commoverunt offendiculum, ibidem multis agratam, cum Vorstius corporis ejidem refurrectionem negaret, aut Christi satisfacctionem cum Socino penitus toller.

Et rei probanda leguntur privata Vorstii ad Dominum Teftanum litterae pluribus abhinc annis scriptae in quibus aperte Socianismiinum profiteret. Sed à Britannis responsum judicandum reum ex libris à se agnitis et publicatis, non ex epistolae privata de quibus etiam non confirat num ab ipfo confcripta fuerit, confecer ante scriptum fuillum ante palinodium ejus Heidelbergensem. De libro Vorstii comburendo Synodis non valebatur, sed ad samnum refert magistraturn.

_Seflio 152. edem die poft meridiem._] Decretum contra Vorstium deno proponitur paulo mu- tatum, in eo defiderant Britannis plura dei attributa a Vorstio impetitam recenferi, ac Vorstii de Christi satisfacctione et hominis justificatione fententiam, vel in cenfura omittis, vel Synodo, ut de eo melius confiter, explicare. De his affinque Vorstianiis dogmatibus diu mulumque di- ceptatur. Tandem confenfam eft in eam, qua fancia eft formam, (quam vide in altero neo- libro
Acta Synodii.

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libro Synodico,) qua Verulamium ob suam in suffodiendis præcipuis fidei fundamentis audaciam et impietatem indignum Cathedra Theologica judicatur. Optarumque ne ipsius libri de deo paulli volitare permittatur, et nonnulla: f:ectata aia quæ in eodem decreto continentur. Ante quem dimitteretur hic confessus qui in ultem noctem duravit, legitur: et per plura Synodi suffragia approbarat, sententia dependantorum in causa Macoviana qui cum ab omni hære si absolvendum cenfuerunt, sed monendöm ur Theologiam docendi modum; commodiorumque legevat, verborumque formis ex lacra scriptura petitis itutat etiam justam eum reprehensionem incurrere ob quaedam propositiones ab ipsō crudinis et rigidius afferat. His itaque clam compositis, interpellat Frisius qui damen fenex nomine Dom attest ad ipsam attinet Macoveniam (qui suum pauss est taceit obvolvi nihil) nulli velle commoveret: f: ipsum autem, alioque nonnullos habe in causa lascis, ideoque comuni collegarum nomine coram Synodo protestarit salvo jure ut agant contra accusatores, partes autem accusatorias domino Sibando esse demandatas, conficat ut litteris quipubesdam, quas eum depromptis, ac coram Synodo legi postulavit, in reprehensenti habe in inexpostulatione plurium fervorum, ac multilloquio, modum imponente Delegati politici malleo suo, quos moet silentem obfrepentibus imperat. Denique praefes ad Synodum refert diem luæ proximum Canonibus in majore ubi Templo publicandis definatur esse, et sic conventus dimittitur.

Sessius 153. 6. Maii sylvo nov. Conveniunt primum in loco Synodali, ubi erat spectatortum nobilium et aliorum, utrique fætus maximus luxus; praefes solennem precationem consicpit; qua hodierno negotio faustum succubam vocet, auditorium dimittitur, paulo post, fingenulci Synodici non sìne decora pompa a loco Synodali ad magna Templum per plateas Dordrechtanas perugiunt; nudiique, cumpli numerois spectatoribus, incedebant autem Synodici bini, hoc ordine, primo incedebant illuflriimo ordinem Generalès Delegati quos sequebant ipsorum Secretarii. Henius: postea sequi sunt D. Episcopus Landavenfis; et D. Praefes Synodi ipsi a finistra, dein reliquœ omnes Theologi Exteri, secundum loca ipsis, in Synodo de signata, Exteros sequemabantur a fæffores et scriba; post eill D. profefores Belgici, et post ipsos reliquœ provinciales Theologi, secundum illum quod in Synodi fedeubant ordinem, in templum devenimus capaci fimum et splendidium, quod tamen ingenti auditorum numero fuit repelifsimum, inter quos fuerunt complurimi nobles et Generosi, in utroque fætus, cum ex Belgico, cum etiam ex aliis nationibus, occuparum Synodici loca sua in choro templi ubi tota habe folemnitatis peragertur, aparte dextra confidebant, primum D. Praefes Ecclefiaflicos, postum D. Affeiores et scriba, post eill D. Epificopus, reliquœ dei neces fecundum ordinem Synodici, Theol. Exteri, in loco editoris et fatis cómodo, in cafine inferioribus cofidebant illuflr. ord. Gener, delegati, post illos D. Profefores Belgici, D. Praefes fingenulci suo ordine jam collocatis, ex pulpito ibi extraéto cómodifimè fito ad partem chori occidentalem adeoq; in ipha Templo mediatère, utique fætus modifimè ad coram ex auditi, folemnitatem aufficium eft precatione valde proligen, fed fientifimè et appofitionis cujus prius pars et multo longior fuit ex folis scripturarum fententiis, cum fumma elegantia, ut judicio contexta, planeq; concin- nata ad venerandum antiquitatis styllum, legebant eam ex Schedulis descriptis, duravit: per hora dimidium, postea fine ullo praefanibine, narrat quæ brevisfimè auditorio indicet sui fuisse hanc folemnem conventi, ut omnes jam tandem fruÌm laborum Synodicorum periperent, auditentis pretiosos illos canones, quos tot tantifq; laboribus exantitatis, immenso dei beneficio, et tuatissimi omni: ac fingulorum cöpitatione, veneranda Synodus conceperat, ac efformaverit.

Itaq: D. Dammannus unus ex fæfibus Synodicas, in idem pulpitù ascendit, et primum prælict pro- amium fiquid canonibus prafigitur: quo præleco D. Praefes monet omnes auditories ut ex more recepto, finguli velint hoderniam laetitiam, et suam divinam majefati gratiduinei teftari ergoando eleemosynâ pauperibus: quam diaconi quidam Ecclesia Dordrechtana ad id muneros designati collegabant, procul dúbio fatis amplam: neminem enim observavit qui manum suam fronte hitleri non portigebat, redit ad pulpitem D. Damannus; et aggreditur ipsorum canonum prælecionem, lefìis articulis primi capita contraversi, propter templi magnitudinem, et ipfias frequentissimis auditorii animas, deficeret incipiebat ipsum vox, itaque D. Flesius Homilius alter scriba Synodicus pulpitem confeedit, legitque canones de fecundo tertio et quarto articulis; et voce ipsum quoque ob prædictas cauas deficiens, redit D. Damannus, legitque canones de quinto articulo, et Epilogum Synodicum, quibus finitis legit quoque singulorum subscript.
Synodi.  
subscripationes, singulae ad nominem sua auditae fidelem canonum apertione capitis testabatur; postea legi quos; Idem scriba Synodi cenfuturum personale de Remonstrantibus qui non addita erat singulorum Synagapha, eo quod quidam ex Exteris voluerint de hominem peronis sed tantum de ipforum doctrina aliquid flature. 

Pofo omnibus lecta, legendarum quoque testimonia, D. Delegatorum, quo testantur se inter. suisse dum isthac agerentur, omnique quando quam prelecta fuerant optima fide relata suisse; quod singula una cum D. Heinio Ipforum secretarium, suis Synagaphis comprobant, monere porro D. Praes, confessionem unde earcehete Belicam esse quoque a Synodo comprobatas; et sic concluunt cum precatione & gratiarum actione, jussis Plane styli cum priori & serie Paris prolixitatis; post absolutam totem solennitatem pulsatatur Organ, & sic omnes Synodici domum redeunt ad locum Synodici eodem plane ordine quo venerant; tibi dominus Praes secre, jam omnibus negotia Synodica qua poferent opem Exterorum Theologorum, absoluta esse; Ideoque monet ut singula collegia duo sint mittant qui ad horam quattuor Pomeridianata incipiant deliberare canones, quibus postea subscrivant ipse cum Accessoribus & scribis, ut sic singula collegia habeant exemplar authentico alium ius praeconicum in perpetuum rei memoriam: brevi precatione Synodum dimitit. 

Sessio 154. Et ultima. 9. Mai. stylo novo.] D. Praes movet hunc ultimam Synodi convenit celebrari ad agendam Deo gratias pro expostillum Synodi exitu, porro ad agendam gratias Theologis Exteris pro gravismissis laboribus fulceptis; Gregorius Martini unus ex Delegatis, præparatione habet suavissima & justa prolixitatis qua Deo gratias agit pro afferenda religionis punitate in Ecclesiis Belgicis, operi & conffilii juncto Synodi, precatur; quidem Ecclesiis in veritate hie affecta invictam constanti, Precatione finita, oratione elegante Theologos Exteros colli, nomine Illustri ord. gen. Sanguis gratias repetit pro falsituerrmis ipsorum conftilis, & gravissimis laboribus quis huc tempore Ecclesiis Belgicis subjacent, itidem & ingenitibus illis principibus Rebus publicis, Magistratibus qui ipso demagogient, nominatin ipso cum summa observantia recenens; rogat; ut Ecclesiis Belgicis ipsorum eellitundinis curant fam exomenditias: rogat ut Sanguis praeventes perfuadoant fibi de prolixissimo ord. gen. erga ipso animo, utque ante diis sem Hagam comitis perant, referentque ab illustri ord. gen. gratias, & porro ad principes & Reipublicas fus litteras dimittanter.


FINIS.