A CRITICAL EDITION OF JEREMY TAYLOR'S

HOLY LIVING (1650)

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a critical, old spelling edition of Jeremy Taylor's *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650). As no manuscript is extant, the text has been prepared from a collation of the first eight editions of the book that had appeared by 1668, a year after Taylor's death. The collation has shown that only the first edition of the book was set from manuscript and that Taylor made some revisions and corrections in four of the later editions. The second, fourth, sixth, and seventh editions contain alterations that range from the addition of paragraph-length passages to the correction of a few words.

The text presented here has been prepared according to the principles formulated by Sir Walter Greg and Fredson Bowers. The first edition has been chosen as the copy-text and all authorial alterations in later editions have been incorporated into the text. Autograph revisions and annotations that appear in presentation copies of the first and fifth editions (now in the Libraries of the University of Northern Illinois and King's College, Cambridge) have also been included.

The text is accompanied by an introduction and a commentary. The introduction includes a short life of the author and a discussion of the tradition of devotional literature and of *Holy Living*. The commentary provides glosses, identifies sources, and gives translations of Taylor's Latin, Greek and Italian marginal notes. The textual apparatus consists of an introduction and two schedules. The introduction deals with the printing history and the transmission of the text. Textual notes appear in the first schedule and emendations of accidental errors in the second.
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Of Jeremy Taylor's early life, as indeed of large parts of his later life, very little is known. He was born in Cambridge, the fourth child of a barber named Nathaniel Taylor and his wife, Mary. The exact date of Taylor's birth is not known but he was baptized on 15 August, 1613 and this has traditionally been supposed to be the year of his birth. Nathaniel Taylor, though poor, belonged to a respectable lower middle class family. Both he and his father, Edmund Taylor, had been churchwardens in Cambridge. Nathaniel Taylor was also a man of some education. His son was later to say, according to a tradition, though not a very trustworthy one, that he had been "solely grounded ... in grammar and the mathematics" by his father.¹

In 1619, at the age of six, Taylor was sent to a free grammar school in Cambridge that had been founded a year earlier under the will of Dr. Stephen Perse, Fellow of Caius College, who had died in 1615. After spending seven years at the Perse School, Taylor was admitted, in 1626, as a sizar or "poor scholar" to Gonville and Caius College.² At Caius, too, the Perse foundation provided him with the means to continue his education. He became a Perse Scholar in 1628 and, after taking his B.A. three years later, was elected a Perse Fellow in 1633. In the same year, when he was twenty, he is said to have been ordained, though the exact date is unknown. In 1634 he was made a Reader in Rhetoric at his College and was awarded the M.A.

Beyond the dates and a few details such as these, very little information has been unearthed about Taylor's nine years in Caius College. He was in Cambridge when some of the seventeenth century's most famous literary figures were there. Milton, Fuller, Crashaw and George Herbert
were all at Cambridge during these years, but nothing remains, either as oral tradition or written allusion, to show that Taylor knew any of these men at this time or later. But another contemporary, Henry More, was Taylor's friend in later life and it is possible that they became acquainted while at Cambridge. He also may have known George Rust, who became Dean of Connor when Taylor was Bishop and, upon Taylor's death, Bishop of Dromore. It was Rust who delivered the sermon at Taylor's funeral, a sermon to which we are indebted for some interesting details of Taylor's early career.

In 1634 there occurred the event that was to change Taylor's life. After his appointment as Reader, he had been sharing rooms at College with a Reverend Thomas Risden who was engaged as a preacher at St. Paul's. On one occasion Risden, unable to go up to London for some reason, asked Taylor to take his place. Taylor did, and preached a number of sermons at St. Paul's. He preached, according to Rust, "to the admiration and astonishment of his auditory; and by his florid and youthful beauty, and sweet and pleasant air, and sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel newly descended from the visions of glory." Rust may be pardoned this extravagant eulogy on his friend, but we may take it that Taylor charmed and exceedingly impressed the worshippers at Paul's. His name was mentioned to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and, at this time, the most powerful man in the realm next to the King. Laud was interested enough in the twenty-two year old Taylor to arrange to have him preach before him. Laud heard Taylor, again according to Rust, "not less to his wonder than satisfaction" but thought the preacher too young. Taylor asked to be pardoned "that fault" and promised that "if he lived he would mend it." This interview was sufficient, it appears, for Laud to become his patron.
Taylor did not return to Cambridge after this event, but spent the next two years under the protection and guidance of Laud. Almost nothing is known for certain about how he spent this time, or of his movements, until he was incorporated an M.A. at University College, Oxford in 1635. Soon after, he was recommended by Laud for a Fellowship at All Souls College, but his election was opposed by Gilbert Sheldon, Warden of the College. Laud was Visitor of All Souls, so in January 1636, exercising his Visitor's right, he appointed Taylor to the Fellowship.

At this point in his life Taylor seemed to be well settled with all the advantages that a man of letters and a promising young clergyman might wish. In 1638 he was presented, possibly upon Laud's recommendation, to the rectory of Uppingham in Rutland by Bishop Juxon of London. He was also, at some time during this period, made a chaplain to Laud. These additional duties made frequent and lengthy absences from All Souls a necessity, and in all probability Taylor did not spend much time at Oxford. Uppingham may have been his principal place of residence, but it is more probable that he was frequently in London, at Lambeth with his patron. The care of his living was for the most part left to his curate.

As little is known about his Oxford days as about his life at Cambridge. According to Anthony à Wood, it was here that Taylor turned his attention to casuistry and sharpened his skills in that art. He also became acquainted, it would appear, with William Chillingworth, Laud's Godson, who had published *The Religion of Protestants* in 1637. One acquaintance caused him much trouble at this time and later. This was a Franciscan friar who was known as Francis a Sancta Clara but whose real name was Christopher Davenport. He was a Catholic convert from Protestantism, had been to Douay where he had taken the degree of doctor of divinity and,
after wandering in Spain and the Netherlands, had returned to England as a missionary. Soon after his return he was appointed one of Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplains. Sancta Clara, according to Wood, was extremely learned and a man of moderation. One of his books, entitled *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, had been put on the Index Expurgationis in Spain and Italy for being too conciliatory in tone towards Protestantism. With this man Taylor was, while he was at Oxford, on terms of close friendship. His intimacy with a "Romish priest" was enough to create, and sustain, a suspicion of Catholic leanings in him, a suspicion that he later took great pains to seek to dispel. In the first of his writings to survive, the "Sermon Preached upon the Anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason" delivered at Oxford on November 5, 1638, Taylor went out of his way to show his anti-Romanist views and prove himself an Anglican. In doing so he gave much offence to Catholics, but succeeded in showing the world clearly where his true loyalties lay.

Soon after obtaining his living of Uppingham, he had been appointed a chaplain to Charles I. In the following year, on May 27, 1639, he was married at Uppingham to Phoebe Landisdale or Langsdale, probably the sister of Edward Langsdale, one of Taylor's former pupils at Cambridge. Beyond the name of Taylor's wife, little of his domestic life at Uppingham is known except that, according to the parish register, they buried a son William in May 1642.

Taylor spent a few months more than three years at Uppingham. When we next see him he is at Oxford with the King in November, 1642 at the beginning of the most difficult period of his life. For by this time the "great storm" of seventeenth-century England had finally broken, Laud was in the Tower, and King and Parliament were at war. When he joined the King, probably at Nottingham where Charles had raised his standard, Taylor had
with him the manuscript of his first book, *Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy*, which he had been working on at Uppingham. Read by Charles even before its publication, it pleased the King so much that, by royal command, Taylor was made doctor of divinity at Oxford. He had wanted to dedicate the book to the King, but Charles, though pleased with it, would not let Taylor dedicate it to him. So it was that when the book was published in the same year it was dedicated to Christopher Hatton, who subsequently became Taylor's patron as well as his friend. *Episcopacy Asserted*, as the book is known, was Taylor's contribution to the Anglican-Puritan religious quarrels that had been raging in England and feeding the printing presses of the time. Defending episcopacy, the book was part of the Anglican rejoinder to such works as Milton's tracts against the bishops, "Of Reformation in England" and "Of Prelatical Episcopacy" (1641) among others. Modern commentators see little to praise in the book; most find the style colourless and the overuse of quotation tedious.

While Taylor was with the King in 1642-3, the Parliamentarians sequestered his living of Uppingham and gave it to a Presbyterian. In compensation for this loss, the King gave him, in early 1643, the living of Overstone in Northamptonshire, though Taylor may never have resided there. How long Taylor stayed at Oxford is not known, but at some time in the next two years, during which the Civil War took its course, he went to Wales. His name next crops up in connection with the struggle between the Royalist and Parliamentary forces for the possession of Cardigan Castle. Anthony Wood mentions that Taylor had been made chaplain in the King's army at Oxford, and it may have been while acting as chaplain that he was captured in February 1645 when Cardigan Castle was taken by Parliamentary forces under Rowland Laugharne. He was probably held prisoner there until
Laugharne was defeated in April 1645 at Newcastle Emlyn. In the general exchange of prisoners after this, Taylor was set free.

It is possible that Taylor had been in Wales even before the battles at Cardigan Castle, and that he may have joined the Royalist army there only because he happened to be in the neighbourhood. In the dedication to *The Liberty of Prophesying* Taylor mentions his removal to Wales in a way that gives this assumption some weight:

In this great storm which hath dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, I have been cast upon the coast of Wales, and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which in England in a greater I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor; and here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of His waves, and the madness of His people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy.8

Commentators have given this passage much attention and tried to guess the identity of the "friends" and the "noble enemy," but Taylor's words are so vague that efforts to interpret them with precision are futile.9 One thing, however, is relatively clear. He came to Wales, he says, "for rest and quietness" as to a place of refuge, but the storm "followed" him and "here again" he was exposed to its mercy. This can only mean that he had been in Wales for some time till the war, in the shape of the military engagements at Cardigan, had caught up with him and had made it necessary for him to return to his chaplain's duties.

Having no means of an income since the sequestration of Uppingham (Overstone could not have helped much), and perhaps left to fend for himself during the confusion of the King's campaigns at the time, he had probably
felt the need to seek employment in some safe and more tranquil surroundings than Oxford. The hope of employment was offered by two friends with Welsh connections, William Nicholson and William Wyat. In company with them he had left Oxford and set up a school at Llanfihangel-Aberbythych in the Royalist county of Carmarthenshire. This could be the "little boat" he mentions in the passage above. It is not known for certain when the school was established, whether before or after his imprisonment, only that it was to this place that he went after his release from Cardigan Castle.

Newton Hall, the house in which Taylor taught school, was next door to Golden Grove, the seat of Richard Vaughan, second Earl of Carbery. The proximity led to friendship and soon Carbery became Taylor's patron. He made Taylor the chaplain of his household and took him to live at Golden Grove. At the time that Taylor first came to know him, Carbery was about fifty years of age. He had been the member for Carmarthen in the Parliament of 1624, and had succeeded to his earldom in 1634. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he was considered the wealthiest, as well as one of the most influential, of the landholders in South Wales. At the beginning, Carbery declared himself for the King, raised some militia, and was made commander of the Royalist forces in Wales. He showed little zeal, however, for the business of war and when, in 1644, pitted against a superior general, he was defeated by Rowland Laugharne, he made his peace with Parliament and received a pardon. Thereupon, he retired to Golden Grove to continue the life of a country gentleman which war had interrupted. However, though accused by Royalists of having conspired with the Earl of Essex for his own defeat, he somehow kept his influence with the Royalists intact. Upon the Restoration he was made Warden of the Welsh Marches, though whispers accusing him of cowardice and treachery continued to be heard. This man, a
"trimmer," as Gosse calls him, who tread a wary path of self-preservation in troubled times, provided Taylor for several years with the means and the peace and quiet necessary to produce some of his finest works. Taylor had a patroness, too, in Frances, Countess Carbery, for whose piety and other noble qualities he had a deep respect.

The first of the works of Taylor's Golden Grove period was *The Liberty of Prophesying*. It was dedicated to Hatton and brought out in London in 1647 by his new publisher, Richard Royston, who was to publish almost all of his writings from this time on. Influenced by William Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants* (1637), Taylor's book is an earnest plea for Christian tolerance in religion and seeks to show that persuasion, not persecution is the way to deal with any unpopular opinion that goes by the name of heresy. It was a particularly appropriate time for Taylor to ask for toleration, for by 1647 Presbyterianism was the official religion, Taylor's own church was disestablished, and the rising power of the Army was encouraging the growth of the Independents. Taylor was therefore appealing not only on behalf of his own church but for other religious denominations as well. The book, which is, next to *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, the most famous of his works, was both highly praised in some quarters and fiercely attacked in others. Charles I was one of those who did not like certain parts of the book, particularly Taylor's defence of the Anabaptists. Henry Hammond, one of Charles's chaplains, wrote a reply to Taylor entitled *A Letter of Resolution to Six Queries of Present Use with the Church of England*. Hammond was Taylor's friend, and his reply was respectful and courteous. A more violent attack upon Taylor's book was made by one Samuel Rutherford. In 1649 Rutherford brought out his rejoinder entitled *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience* in which Taylor is
mentioned by name and which is not a defence but a glorification of religious persecution.

Perhaps it was this experience, and the unexpected displeasure of his royal master, that made Taylor decide to abandon controversy and turn to practical devotion. His next major production was The Great Exemplar, a life of Christ, published in 1649. An extremely long book of seven hundred pages interspersed with short sermons and prayers, the work was the first of its kind in English. The book is divided into three parts and each is dedicated to a different patron, to Lord Hatton, to the Countess Dowager of Northampton, and to the Countess of Carbery.

The Great Exemplar was followed, in 1650, by Holy Living and a year later by its companion piece, Holy Dying. Both are dedicated to Carbery, but both were written under the encouragement of Lady Carbery. Holy Dying, especially, as Taylor says in the dedication, was "intended first to minister to her piety." However, before Holy Dying was finished Lady Carbery had died. Taylor paid tribute to her not only in its dedication but also in the sermon he delivered at her funeral, which is one of his finest works. At about this time, in 1650-51, death had occurred in Taylor's own family, too. In a letter to William Dugdale, one of his friends, he mentions that he has "but lately buiried [sic] his deare wife." It is probably her death, as well as Lady Carbery's, that he refers to in the dedication to Holy Dying when he says that both Carbery and himself have "lately seen and felt" the "sorrows of death" and "sad departure of friends."

Taylor's next publication was the first part of Eniautos or A Course of Sermons for all the Sundays of the Year. It is divided into two parts; the first part, published in 1651, he called The Summer Half, and the second,
not published until 1653, *The Winter Half*. Subsequently, both parts came to be bound together and put out as one book. It is the fifty-two sermons of Eniautos, together with *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* and *The Liberty of Prophesying*, that represent Taylor's best work. In 1654, after having published *The Winter Half* of the sermons, Taylor returned to controversy, this time with an attack on the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Dedicated to Bishop Warner of Rochester, *The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament* is an effort to show that the "real presence" of Christ in the Sacrament means "present to our spirits only" and that the bread and wine do not, as Roman Catholics claim, turn into the "natural body" of Christ.

In London, probably to arrange for the publication of this book, Taylor preached at St. Gregory's, near St. Paul's Cathedral, where Cromwell's government still allowed Anglican clergy to preach. There, on 15 April, his sermon was heard by John Evelyn who recorded the event in his diary.

Evelyn was at this time probably a mere acquaintance of Taylor's (he had been at Balliol College when Taylor preached his Gunpowder sermon), but later on the two became fast friends and we learn much about Taylor from the former's diary and from their correspondence. This visit, documented by Evelyn, shows that Taylor did not spend all his time at Golden Grove during these years but went to London occasionally, probably to oversee the publication of his books.

Taylor was by now nearing the end of his time at Golden Grove, but before he left he was to write two more books. The first of these was *The Golden Grove; or A Manual of Daily Prayers and Letanies* published in 1655. The title of this work was probably intended as a compliment not only to his patron's house but also to *The Golden Grove* (1600), a courtesy book written
by William Vaughan, Carbery's uncle. A manual of devotions, as the title indicates, Taylor's book contains prayers, scriptural passages, and "Festival Hymns" in verse which he composed himself. The hymns, though pious, have given Taylor's later commentators much amusement, for they demonstrate his almost complete incompetency in verse. In the introduction to this little book, Taylor denounces the Commonwealth's policy of what seemed to him to be total disorder in religion. By this time, after Cromwell had dissolved Parliament and he and the Army were ruling England together, the disestablishment of the Anglican church was complete, and the policy of uniformity, which Laud had followed, was reversed. Taylor's attacks on the "impertinent and ignorant preachers," his championship of the Church of England, and implied criticism of the government were both courageous and foolhardy.

However, it was not this book with its defiant introduction that caused him most trouble but his next, entitled Unum Necessarium or The Doctrine and Practice of Repentance, also published in 1655. The book is dedicated to Carbery but also contains a preface addressed to John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, and Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, who were friends of Taylor's. The beginning of the preface, in which he deplores the excesses of religious quarrels and disputes, was to prove ironic, for this is the book that involved him in the most serious controversy of his career. Unum Necessarium is Taylor's most comprehensive exposition on the subject of repentance, and especially of his unorthodox opinion that repentance on one's death-bed is totally ineffective and inadequate. However, it was his treatment of Original Sin, not repentance, that was considered most heterodox and was the immediate cause of the controversy. In Chapter VI of Unum Necessarium Taylor argues against the common notion that Adam's sin was
transmitted to the human race, and declares that "the sin of Adam neither made us Heirs of Damnation ... nor naturally and unnecessarily vicious."¹⁶ Humans inherited from Adam, not the actual sin he committed, but only the imperfect nature he acquired after his fall. Men by their own choice turn their inherited imperfection into corruption and sin. Therefore, "God does not damn any one to hell merely for the sin of our first father."¹⁷ It is upon a man's own sins, committed by the exercise of free will and choice, that God passes the judgement of damnation. On the subject of infants dying without baptism, he declares that, contrary to general belief, unbaptized infants are not immediately consigned to Hell:

Against those that say, the flames of hell is the portion of Adam's heirs, and that infants dying in original sin are eternally tormented ... I call to witness all the economy of the divine goodness, and justice and truth .... Is hell so easy a pain, or are the souls of children so cheap, so contemptible a price, that God should so easily throw them into hell?¹⁸

In expressing these opinions, Taylor appears to argue against the ninth of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England which affirms that though "Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam ... it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam ... and therefore in every person born into the world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation."¹⁹ At Oxford he had managed to overcome suspicions of unorthodoxy, but this time his expressed views were too much even for his friends, and especially the two Bishops to whom Taylor had addressed his preface. Warner wrote to him and asked him to reconsider his opinion, and Duppa even went so far as to ask Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, to write a refutation. But Taylor defended himself against criticism, saying that what he had written was not against the Thirty Nine Articles. Sheldon, former Warden of All Souls, also wrote
to Taylor, demanding that he recant his views. Though Taylor managed to pacify him and even continued on terms of friendship with him, Sheldon continued, to the end of Taylor's life, to regard him as doctrinally unsafe.

When the controversy over *Unum Necessarium* erupted Taylor was suffering the second of his three imprisonments, this time in Chepstow Castle during the summer of 1655. It is not clear exactly why Taylor was imprisoned. It may have been for political reasons, having to do with his introduction to *Golden Grove*, or, as Gosse suggests, for debt. Or it may have been, as Stranks says, simply the action of an over-zealous Commonwealth official who, anticipating the legislation soon to come against clergymen, locked up Taylor because he was "a royalist clergyman still exercising his profession."21 While at Chepstow, and as a result of the controversy aroused by *Unum Necessarium*, Taylor wrote *A Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin*, published in November, 1655. Dedicated to Bishop Warner and later incorporated into *Unum Necessarium* as Chapter VII, this pamphlet attempts both to clarify and to defend his views on original sin. In the dedication he expressed his surprise that what he had said in his book could have given so much offence:

... it is strange to me that any man should desire to believe God to be more severe and less gentle: that men should be greedy to find out inevitable ways of being damned, that they should be unwilling to have the veil drawn away from the face of God's goodness .... They might have had not only pretences but reasons to be troubled, if I had represented God to be so great a hater of mankind as to damn millions of millions for that which they could not help, or if I had taught that their infants might by chance have gone to hell, and as soon as ever they came to life, descend to an eternal death; if I had told them evil things of God, and hard measures, and evil portions to their children, they might have complained; but to complain because I say God is just to all, and merciful, and just to infants ... is a thing that may well be wondered at.22
At the same time, he makes it clear that he has not retreated from his position: "My Lord, I take a great comfort in this, that my doctrine stands on that side where God's justice and goodness and mercy stand apparently: and they that speak otherwise in this article, are forced by convulsions and violences to draw their doctrine to comply with God's justice." In the body of the pamphlet, he makes a phrase-by-phrase analysis of the ninth of the Thirty Nine Articles in order to reconcile it to his views and argues that, as a general statement of faith, it allows for liberty of interpretation and freedom of opinion. "I will not pretend to believe," he says, "that those doctors who first framed the article did all of them mean as I mean; I am not sure that they did or that they did not; but this I am sure, that they framed the words with much caution and prudence, and so as might abstain from grieving the minds of differing men."

While still in Chepstow, Taylor wrote yet another defence of his opinion in a letter to Christiana, Dowager Duchess of Devonshire. The Duchess had been one of his patrons and also a good friend. She had written to him in prison and, troubled at the attacks being made on him and on his book, had asked for an explanation. Taylor's long reply was later published as Deus Justificatus (1656). Using somewhat less technical language, he repeats in this letter what he had said before in A Further Explication, but blames the Presbyterians as the cause of the misunderstanding about his position on original sin.

When Taylor was released from Chepstow in the autumn of 1655 he did not return to Golden Grove or to Newton Hall; in fact, he never went back to Golden Grove to stay after this time. This was not, as far as is known, because of any quarrel between him and Carbery but because of a new Cromwellian edict. After November of this year it became illegal for any
clergyman to exercise his profession, and this applied to chaplaincies and tutorships as well. Though the new law, as it turned out, was not enforced rigorously, Carbery perhaps was unwilling to run the risk of Cromwell's displeasure by keeping Taylor in his house or continuing to extend his patronage. From Chepstow, Taylor went to the estate of a lady named Joanna Bridges at Mandinam in Carmarthenshire, about twelve miles from Golden Grove. This lady he had either married before his imprisonment or did so soon after his release. Nothing very much is known about Joanna Taylor except that she was the owner of the estate at Mandinam, of ample means, and Taylor's wife until his death.

Here at Mandinam, in a new domesticity, Taylor was to stay for almost two years, though leaving occasionally, as we learn from Evelyn's diary, for visits to London. It was here that he began Ductor Dubitantium, or, as he called it before it was published, his Cases of Conscience. This was his next long work, though not published until 1660. At some time in 1657 Taylor moved to London. Though Mandinam provided Taylor with a home he may have felt that he was too far from his friends and from the intellectual company that could be had in London. The removal may also have been necessitated by the sequestration of a part of his wife's property which in turn made it necessary for Taylor to find employment. Whatever the reason, in 1657 he was in London and often a guest at Evelyn's house, Sayes Court, near Deptford. Struggling with poverty by this time, he also became dependent on Evelyn besides other friends for loans and gifts of money. Employment in London for Taylor, as for many other dispossessed and impoverished Anglican clergymen, may simply have been preaching in private houses, administering communion, and performing other such priestly duties.
In return for these services an honorarium, raised by subscription, may have been paid to him.

In the same year Taylor published *A Discourse of the Nature and Offices of Friendship* in the form of a letter to "the most ingenious and excellent M.K.P." Mrs. Katharine Phillips, whose initials these were, was, according to Anthony à Wood, "esteemed the most applauded poetess" of the time. Known as "The Matchless Orinda" to her friends, she lived at Cardigan Priory in Wales where Taylor must have become acquainted with her while he was at Golden Grove. This little essay, Taylor's only venture on a secular theme, was produced in response to a letter Mrs. Phillips had written to him asking his opinion of Christian friendship.

It was probably in 1658 that Taylor was in prison again, though only for a short time. This third imprisonment was in the Tower of London. The details of this episode, as of his other two imprisonments, are lacking. Our only knowledge of it is provided by a letter of Evelyn to the Lord Lieutenant of the Tower in which Evelyn mentions the "mistake of his printer" as having been the cause of official displeasure against Taylor and pleads for his release. The "mistake of his printer" appears to have been the frontispiece, consisting of a print showing Christ in prayer, that Royston had inserted into a book called *A Collection of Offices*, a manual that Taylor had published that year and which he intended to be a substitute for the proscribed Book of Common Prayer. Pictures of this kind were considered by the Puritans to be tantamount to idolatory and had been made illegal by an act of Parliament. The appearance of such a picture in Taylor's book was probably the reason why he was in the Tower. However, imprisonment for a time may have been considered punishment enough by the authorities, and he was soon released.
While in London and moving in Royalist circles, Taylor had come to know Edward, Viscount Conway (who later became Earl of Conway) and his wife, the Viscountess Anne, nee Finch, who was the friend and correspondent of Henry More. The Conway family were friends of Evelyn, too, and this may have contributed to the intimacy. The acquaintance was fortunate, for Lord Conway soon became to Taylor what Carbery had so long been, a patron and a sincere and thoughtful friend. Lord Conway was an Anglican and a devoted Royalist who had fought for the King's cause in the Civil War. He was the owner of large estates in northeast Ireland and had for some time been looking for an Anglican priest for the church at Lisnagarvey (since called Lisburn) near his great house of Portmore in County Antrim. The incumbent of the church was an Independent minister who had been given the living by the government and who had made himself disliked by the Anglican gentry. Conway asked Taylor to take the post of assistant lecturer there in order to keep Anglican teaching alive in the parish. Taylor was at first reluctant, but when Conway offered a chaplaincy as well and arranged for him to live at Portmore itself, he accepted the liberal offer. In addition to his chaplain's duties at Portmore, Taylor was to provide spiritual guidance in the household of Conway's brother-in-law, Major George Rawdon, who was commander of the garrison at Lisnagarvey. Chaplaincies were still illegal under the law of 1655 (though the law was not strictly enforced), and perhaps this is why Taylor had to accept both posts. Officially, he was the assistant lecturer at the church, but by private arrangement he was the chaplain at Portmore.

The news of Taylor's appointment had stirred up opposition in Presbyterian circles in Lisnagarvey, so Conway procured introductions for Taylor to influential people in Ireland and a pass from the Lord Protector
himself which promised some measure of security from persecution. Taylor arrived in Ireland with his wife and son in June 1658, and soon settled in at Portmore. He had left his daughters in England, but as soon as he was settled, he sent for them. At Portmore Taylor continued work on *Ductor Dubitantium*, though a year later, in June 1659, he had to face some trouble from the Presbyterians. An Independent preacher called Tandy had complained that Taylor had used the sign of the cross in baptism. Taylor was put under open arrest and had to go to Dublin to answer the charge. Events at this time, however, were moving rapidly in England and before Taylor could be prosecuted Charles II's restoration became imminent. Finding this not the best of times to prosecute a Royalist clergymen, the authorities dropped the charges against him.

He went to London in March 1660 to arrange for the publication of *Ductor Dubitantium* and to see Charles enter the capital on May 29. The book, over which he had laboured for so many years, was finally published that year and was dedicated to the King. *Ductor Dubitantium*, or, to give it its full and descriptive title, *The Rule of Conscience in all her general measures; serving as a Great Instrument for the determination of Cases of Conscience*, is one of the longest of Taylor's books, being about twice the length of *The Great Exemplar*. It is also one of the few Protestant works on the subject of conscience. "In Protestantism," as James T. Addison says,

-- even in Anglicanism -- the constant use of the confessional has been rare, and Christian ethics have been regarded as a more wholesome subject for thought than that "moral theology" that deals with "cases," and deserves, in senses both good and bad, the name of "casuistry." It is Roman Catholic writers, therefore, who have the richest material and who claim the credit (which some might call dubious) of producing the unquestioned masterpieces in this field.28
Some English and Protestant writers, however, had written in this field. The Elizabethan William Perkins had produced *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* in 1606. Taylor's own contemporaries, Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, had written *Resolutions and Decisions of Diverse Practical Cases of Conscience* (1649), and Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, had published *De Obligate Conscientiae* in 1659. Taylor was familiar with these and other works, European and English, and his intention was, in part, to add to this body of Protestant literature so that his co-religionists would not have to turn to Roman Catholic works. He considered *Ductor Dubitantium* his *magnum opus* and expected to be remembered for it. But the book, though it excited some interest in his own time (it went through four editions by 1696), has remained, partly due to its great length, largely unread since then. Also published in 1660 but probably written much earlier, was *The Worthy Communicant*. Dedicated to Princess Mary of Orange, Charles's sister, who was an admirer of Taylor's work, this book deals with the nature of the Sacrament and the manner how best to receive it.

Upon the Restoration, and the general reorganization of the Church, Taylor had hoped for an English position, but the shock which *Unum Necessarium* had given his superiors, particularly Sheldon, precluded that possibility and in August 1660 he was given the Irish bishopric of Down and Connor. Soon after, upon the recommendation of the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Chancellor of Trinity College, he was also made Vice Chancellor of the University of Dublin, as the College was known. Neither position promised to be an easy one, for Trinity College was in disorganization and decay and the diocese was full of Presbyterian clergy who had resolved, even before Taylor arrived in Ireland, to resist prelacy.
Taylor went back to Ireland late in 1660. In January of the following year he took the oath as Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University and immediately, even before travelling to his diocese, set about his work of reorganizing the College. Trinity College had been founded in 1592 but had gone through varying fortunes since then. In the seventeenth century its affairs had been considerably mismanaged and when Taylor took over he found, as he wrote to Ormonde, "all things in a perfect disorder indeed so great as can be imagined ... There is indeed a heap of men and boys, but no body of a college." In his work of reorganization, he appointed new Fellows to the College from among men of ability whom he had known himself and restored discipline and order. He also collected, revised and generally put together a body of statutes which finally gave the College a workable constitution. To the end of his life he continued to take an active interest in the affairs of the College.

Putting his diocese in order was a considerably more difficult task. Even before he was consecrated as Bishop on January 27, 1661 the Presbyterian clergy of Down and Connor, many of them staunch Calvinists from Scotland, had been preaching against episcopacy and the Anglican liturgy, and had formed a committee to see what could be charged against him. Told of the Presbyterians' actions, Taylor was almost overwhelmed by the degree of opposition and dislike he had aroused among them. "They threaten to murder me," he wrote to Ormonde in December 1660:

they have studiously raised reports that I was destroyed by the Scots; they use all the arts they can to disgrace me, and to take the people's hearts from me, and to make my life uncomfortable .... It were better for me to be a poor curate in a village church than a bishop over such intolerable persons; and I will petition your excellency to give me some parsonage in Munster that I may end my days in peace, rather than abide here, unless I may be enabled with comfort to contest against such violent persons."
In another letter, he asked Ormonde to obtain his removal to the bishopric of Meath. Ormonde, however, would not hear of it. Far from being removed, Taylor was given the additional responsibility of the nearby small diocese of Dromore, the administration of which was added to that of Down and Connor. He was also, perhaps with a view to giving him secular authority in order to deal with the Presbyterians, made a member of the Irish Privy Council.

Given all the support he asked for from the government, Taylor went to his diocese in March 1661. Before he held his first visitation he met with representatives of the Presbyterians at Hillsborough House, near Lisnagarvey, and found them obdurate in their opinions. They believed in government by the Presbytery and would not take the oath of supremacy. The next day he held his visitation, at which only two of the ministers attended. Taylor was, therefore, faced with open revolt. After another meeting with representatives of the recalcitrant ministers, he took the only course he could take as Bishop and declared thirty-six ministers removed from their livings.

This action of Taylor's has remained controversial to this day, and questions have been raised whether his removal of the ministers was entirely legal and whether it was morally right for the author of The Liberty of Prophesying. On this last point Taylor has been criticised by some church historians and defended by others. Perhaps, as Addison puts it, "the real responsibility attaches not to him but to the fundamental assumption of the age that there must be a state church, and that such a church must demand and enforce complete uniformity." Under the conditions of the time, Taylor "could only rule or resign," and he chose to rule.
After this event, measures against the Presbyterians continued to be taken, with Taylor being supported to the full by the secular authorities. The vacant livings were filled, mostly with men from England (among whom was George Rust), and Taylor went ahead with putting his house in order. However, this could not have been a happy time for Taylor or a pleasing episcopate, for until the end, he continued to ask for translation to England and release from what he had called "this place of torment" that had "in it more trouble than all the dioceses in his Majesty's dominions put together." In May 1664 he pleaded for removal once again with Sheldon, now Archbishop of Canterbury:

I have been informed from a good hand in England, that your grace was once pleased to say, that I myself was the only hindrance to myself of being removed to an English bishopric. If it be any fault of mine (of which I cannot so much as make a conjecture) I will certainly make amends when I know it, and in the meantime I beg of your grace to pardon it; but if it be only my unworthiness, it is true, I do confess and deplore that; but I know your grace can either find me worthy, or make me so. However, I humbly desire that your grace will not wholly lay me aside, and cast off all thoughts of removing me; for no man shall with a greater diligence, humility, and observance endeavour to make up his other disabilities than I shall.

This appeal, like the others, was not successful and not even Taylor's many influential friends and admirers could do anything to help him.

In the six years between his return to Ireland and his death, Taylor managed to produce, besides sermons and minor tracts, at least one long book. This was A Dissuasive from Popery (Part 1 of which appeared in 1664), written upon the urging of the Anglican bishops in Ireland and meant to counteract Roman Catholic "propaganda." In it Taylor attacks the Romish practices of the Irish people and seeks to show that certain Romish doctrines such as transubstantiation, indulgences and purgatory are innovations and do not belong to true Christian teaching. The book, predictably, drew
rejoinders from Roman Catholics, some of whom he answered in the Second Part of the Dissuasive, written during the last years of his life and published in 1667.

In these last years Taylor had become a public figure as a Privy Councillor, the Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University, and a leading churchman. Only a little is known of his domestic and social life. He lost two infant sons at Mandinam; in March 1661 another son, Edward died, probably at the age of three. His last surviving son, Charles, died in London only a few days before Taylor himself in 1667. When he came to Ireland as Bishop he lived at Hillsborough, but soon after he moved to Portmore. In 1664 he moved again because Lord Conway was rebuilding the house. He seems after this to have lived mostly at Lisnagarvey though he had two or three houses at different places and a farm at Megharalin. His duties, of course, took him all over the district and, as Gosse records, traditions grew up of the Bishop having "resided" at many houses in the area. Many friendships endured but some others died. He had written to Lord Hatton, his former patron, but received no reply. His correspondence with Evelyn continued, as also with Henry More, and he valued these contacts with intellectuals in England.

In 1664 Taylor's health began to fail, and for the next three years he struggled with illnesses and the duties of his diocese. In the first week of August 1667, he fell ill for the last time. On the 13th he died at Lisnagarvey. He was buried on 3 September at Dromore, as he had wished, in the cathedral that he had built there.
Holy Living has sometimes been related to the "courtesy books" that form a part of post-Renaissance conduct literature. Douglas Bush, for instance, calls it "the best known example of the religious, moral and domestic branch of the literature of conduct." However, though it teaches day to day conduct and therefore has some affinities with the courtesy book, Holy Living has its roots in the long tradition of devotional literature. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English devotional literature, as Helen C. White has shown, was an extremely prolific field. Once the staple of the largest part of the reading public, the hundreds of books that were produced in this time are comparatively little known today. Popular devotional literature, as distinguished from other religious works and works of divinity, included the book of prayers, on the one hand, and the book of instruction in Christian ethics, on the other. Often these two kinds were combined in a manual that presented "prayers for all occasions," with direction and instruction on the Christian life. Holy Living belongs to this kind of devotional work.

A good example of the book of devotions is the collection of prayers published by Michael Sparke, The Crums of Comfort (1623), which was one of the most popular devotional books of the century. Other examples are John Cosin's A Collection of Private Devotions (1627), a prayer manual of the Book of Hours type, and Lancelot Andrewes's Latin Preces Privatae (1648) which was not published until after his death. Descended from the Psalters and Primers of pre-Reformation days, books of this kind were produced to supplement the official and public forms of worship as presented in the Book of Common Prayer. They were designed, that is, to fill the particular needs
of the individual church member in his own home, and therefore contain prayers for all kinds of people and for all kinds of occasions. Sparke, in Crums of Comfort, for instance, includes prayers for different days of the week and different times of the day. To these he adds prayers to be said "at our first rising from sleep" and "when we wake in the Morning" as well as prayers to be said before and after meals, and before and after hearing a sermon. He provides prayers for servants and for masters of families, for those in poverty and for those in prosperity. Prayers are provided, in short, for nearly every conceivable occasion and condition. Not all the prayers, however, in books of this kind, are original compositions. Some are professedly borrowed from ancient liturgies and from other sources. Cosin's A Collection of Private Devotions declares in its subtitle that the devotions contained in it are "taken out of the Holy Scriptures, the Ancient Fathers, and the divine Service of our owne Church." Taylor, similarly, in one section of the prayers that he appends to each chapter of Holy Living, lets us know that they are based, "magna ex parte," on the liturgy of St. Basil. Comprehensiveness, therefore, rather than originality is what these collections aimed at in attempting to provide prayers for the whole course of the Christian life.

One form of the devotional manual was the book of meditations which offered a series of moral and uplifting thoughts as a supplement to prayer and an aid in the living of a Christian life. Meditations very often took the form of reflections on the moral message conveyed by passages of scripture, and the method some of these books followed was to group verses from Scripture and offer them as subjects for meditation. Most books, however, combined original compositions with borrowed material. Sir John Conway's Meditations and Prayers, first published in 1570 and republished in
1611 as *The Poesie of Floured Prayers*, is of this kind. Conway's book includes prayers as well as meditations. Each of his prayers is preceded by a holy and illuminating thought which serves as the heading or introduction to the prayer. One section is devoted to a phrase by phrase reflection upon the Lord's Prayer. The concluding section, however, simply presents "Sentences out of the Holy Scripture" as subjects of meditation. A little different from Conway's book is Joseph Hall's *Meditations and Vowes, Divine and Moral, Serving for Direction in Christian and Civil Practice*, which was published in 1605 in three groups, each of which he called a "Century."

Hall's meditations, as he says himself, are no more than "homely aphorisms," "naked thoughts" clothed in "plain and simple words." The following are two examples:

Great men's favours, friends' promises, and dead men's shoes, I will esteem, but not trust to.

A true friend is not born every day. It is best to be courteous to all, entire with few; so may we perhaps have less cause of joy; I am sure, less occasion of sorrow.

Moralistic and sententious, as is only to be expected from the classicist Hall, his meditations are typically meant to serve an instructive and practical purpose. As he says in the dedication to his patron, Lady Drury: "I made them not for the eye, but for the heart: neither do I commend them to your reading but to your practice."

Books that confine themselves primarily to instruction in Christian ethics form a class by themselves in devotional literature. The purpose of this sort of book is made clear in the long title of Paul Baynes's *Brief Directions unto a Godly Life: Wherein every Christian is furnished with most necessary Helps for the furthering of him in a godly course heere upon earth, that so hee may attaine Eternal Happinesse in Heaven* (1618). The
subject which this book, and others of its kind, deal with is well described by Helen White. In the seventeenth century, she says, "the problem of life for the religiously earnest took the from of the problem of salvation. The urgent question was the ancient one, 'Lord, what shall I do to be saved?'" It was the purpose of these books to remind their readers that the living of a morally upright and thoroughly religious life is not merely an end in itself, but is the necessary prerequisite for the attainment of salvation. Like the prayers that cover the whole spectrum of the Christian life, the advice that the writers on Christian ethics give their readers ranges from that on small and mundane matters such as dining etiquette to the deeply serious one of learning to die in a befitting and religious manner. Emphasising the necessity of devotion and the importance of reducing Christianity to practice, they provide explanations of the Christian virtues and opposing vices, and suggest ways in which the virtues can be acquired and the vices avoided. Akin to these manuals of Christian instruction are the books that use the catechetical method to teach the fundamental articles of faith. Books such as Henry Hammond's *Practical Catechism* (1644) and William Nicholson's *Plain and Full Exposition of the Catechism* (1655) give commentaries on the creed and commandments and also present advice on the conduct of daily life.

To these two main classes of works in devotional literature, works that present prayers or meditations and works that are chiefly concerned with instruction in ethics, can be added a third kind which consists of books that combine these two forms and present prayers with instruction on the Christian life. The outstanding example of this kind of devotional work is *Holy Living* itself, but two others deserve mention because of their phenomenal popularity in their time. The earlier of these is Lewis Bayly's
The Practice of Piety: Directing a Christian How to Walk that he may please God. The date of its first publication is unknown but it was in its third edition by 1613, the year of Taylor's birth, and its fiftieth by 1673. It was translated into Welsh, French, German, Polish and even, in 1655, into the language of the American Indians of the colony of Massachusetts. In it, Bayly follows the usual method of providing "prayers for all occasions," but also includes rules and directions of a practical nature. These directions include ways of reading the Bible with "profit and ease" and how to sing psalms, as well as the right manner of "holy feasting" and observing the Sabbath. The other prominent example of this type is The Whole Duty of Man which was first published anonymously in 1658 but the author of which has now been identified as Richard Allestree. It is more wide ranging and detailed in its teaching than The Practice of Piety and, as it promises in its title, provides Christian instruction and guidance on every aspect of life. Popular almost as soon as it was published, The Whole Duty retained its popularity for a long time. In reprints, abridgements and adaptations it was read until well into the eighteenth century.

The examples given so far of the different kinds of devotional works have been English books by English authors, but, in both the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, Continental works in translation were also widely read. Catholic works, indeed, were suppressed or were only allowed to be read in expurgated editions, but a significant number were available. Among the devotional works of Spanish writers most read early in the sixteenth century were those of Juan Luis Vives. Later on, Luis de Granada was popular. French Protestant works also enjoyed considerable popularity. A collection of prayers by Theodore Beza was published in 1607 entitled
Maister Beza's Houshold Prayers. For the Consolation and Perfection of a Christian Life, and in 1630 appeared Peter Du Moulin's The Right Way to Heaven, Prayers and Meditations of a Faithful Soule. A French Catholic work to find favour in England was St. François de Sales's An Introduction to the Devout Life which was translated into English at Douai in 1613 but was first published in England in 1616.

The Introduction, among all the devotional manuals in print by 1650, has a special relevance to Holy Living because it is the only contemporary devotional work that Taylor quotes from, and because of the striking resemblance, in tone and style, between the two works. Both Taylor and de Sales emphasise the same methods of devotion and stress the same virtues. Thematic parallels, such as both men's emphasis on "the practice of the presence of God," are evident wherever they treat of the same subject. These resemblances have led some commentators to the opinion that Taylor used the Introduction as a model for his own book. Logan Pearsall Smith, for instance, finds the "correspondence in method and form of Taylor's Holy Living and St. Francois's Introduction à la vie dévote ... too close to be due to chance." L. Clert-Rolland, pointing out Taylor's use of a passage from the Introduction, is even more explicit in his conviction that it served as a model for Holy Living: "Il y a plus qu'une simple ressemblance entre les deux auteurs, ... il s'agit, en fait, d'un réel plagiat de la part de Jeremy Taylor." General resemblance, however, and Taylor's acknowledged use of a passage from the Introduction, are very slight grounds on which to base an opinion such as this. Most of the similarities and parallels between the two books can be accounted for simply as agreements in the broad principles of Christian practice. Moreover, many of the topics included in both books, and the writers' approach to the
topics, were devotional and moral commonplaces and are treated in the same manner by other devotional manuals and works on Christian ethics. Taylor had certainly read the Introduction and, since he quotes from it, must have liked the book and admired the author. But no acceptable evidence can be brought forward to show that he actually used it as a model for his own work.

To attempt to seek a model for Holy Living is perhaps an exercise in futility. The combined book of devotions and Christian instruction had evolved at least half a century before Taylor wrote, and its form and method were familiar to him. Holy Living can thus be viewed as an addition to a growing tradition. It was not shaped and influenced by any one particular work or writer, but owed its conception and design to the entire tradition. Taylor's achievement in Holy Living is that he worked within a well defined form and produced a masterpiece.

HOLY LIVING

In 1649, the year in which Taylor probably wrote Holy Living, the Church of England was in the middle of the most difficult period of its history. The King had been executed that year, four years after Archbishop Laud. Episcopacy had by then been abolished, the Book of Common Prayer had been banned, and the Church was disestablished. Many of the Anglican clergy, turned out of their livings, like Taylor himself, were in want and penury. The country too was by now feeling the effects of the civil war and of military rule, for though the Rump of the Long Parliament still existed, it was the Army and Oliver Cromwell who exercised power in England.

It is this state of affairs, as Taylor says in the dedication, that prompted him to write Holy Living. At a time when he has seen "Religion
painting upon Banners, and thrust out of Churches," when men "prefer a prosperous error before an afflicted truth," and the "Ministers of Religion are so scattered that they cannot unite to stop the inundation" of truth by error, he offers the book as a small substitute for the attentions of the Church that can now no longer be had. His purpose is made more explicit in the description he provides of *Holy Living*. The book presents "in one body those advices which the several necessities of many men must use at some time or other and many of them, daily." It is a "collection of holy precepts" or rules for the conduct of soules" that supplies a need in "the want of personal and attending Guides"(p. 3). This description of *Holy Living* explains its comprehensive form. Since it is meant to supply a need in the absence of organized religious teaching, the scope of the book extends to all areas in which guidance is necessary, and it takes as its province every aspect of the life of a Christian.

Religion is Taylor's subject in *Holy Living* and his purpose is to show that the attainment of salvation is vitally dependent on living a holy and truly religious life. Religion is the service of God and, in Taylor's view, it is not confined to acts of ritual worship, but encompasses all of man's existence. He makes this clear in the very beginning of the book: "As every man is wholly God's own portion by the title of creation: so all our labours and care, all our powers and faculties must be wholly employed in the service of God, even all the dayes of our life, that this life being ended, we may live with him forever" (p. 19). Religion, in this sense, is the equivalent of a holy life, and each action of a man is a religious duty:

... it becomes us to remember and to adore Gods goodnesse for it, that God hath not onely permitted us to serve the necessities of our nature, but hath made them to become parts of our duty; that if we by directing these actions to the glory of God intend them as instruments to continue our persons in his service, he by adopting
them into religion may turn our nature into grace, and accept our natural actions as actions of religion (p. 21).

The structure that Taylor chooses for Holy Living is determined by this conception of religion. In the opening paragraph of Chapter II, he quotes St. Paul in the Epistle to Titus:

For the grace of God bringing salvation hath appeared to all men: teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live 1. Soberly, 2. Righteously, and 3. Godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ (p. 88).

On the basis of this passage, Taylor divides Christian religious practice into the three parts of Sobriety, Justice and Religion. These three qualities he defines thus:

The first contains all our deportment in our personal and private capacities, the fair treating of our bodies and our spirits. The second enlarges our duty in all relations to our Neighbour. The third contains the offices of direct Religion, and entercourse with God. (p. 88)

Religion, therefore, has its private, public and spiritual aspects and consists of man's duties towards himself, towards others, and towards God. It is upon this three-fold division that Taylor structures Holy Living. Of its four chapters, the first introduces the reader to the primary requirements of the life of religion and piety. Each of the rest of the chapters presents one of the three aspects of Christian Religion.

Taylor begins the book with a discussion and enumeration of "the general instruments and means serving to a holy life." These general means -- the care of time, purity of intention, and a sense of the nearness and perpetual presence of God -- are the habits that are the necessary prerequisites for the practice of all the Christian virtues. The care of time is necessary to avoid the idleness which leads to temptation and sin. It enables a person to order his worldly employment so as to make space for devotion and
worship. Being careful and prudent of time, besides, produces other rewards, for "he that is choice of his time will be choice of his company, and choice of his actions, lest the first ingage him in vanity and losse, and the latter by being criminal be a throwing his time and himself away" (p. 23). This result of the care of time is supplemented by purity of intention. Put simply, purity of intention means that "we should intend and designe Gods glory in every action we do" (p. 37). If the end of all a man's actions is the glory and service of God, even the most common actions are sanctified and evil ones are avoided. To the habit of purity of intention Taylor advises the addition of the "practice of the presence of God." A man's actions will be all the more pure and his intentions holy if he reminds himself that he stands in the presence of God at all times and in all places.

The second chapter introduces Sobriety in detail as the first important part of religion. Christian Sobriety has to do with personal behaviour or self governance. It is, as Taylor explains it, "all that duty that concerns our selves in the matter of meat and drink and pleasures and thoughts" (p. 89) and includes the virtues of temperance, chastity, humility, modesty and contentedness. Sobriety involves the control of the passions, and the use of moderation in all things: "It is a using severity, denial and frustration, of our appetite when it growes unreasonable" (p. 89). In this chapter, therefore, Taylor treats of such diverse things as the evils of drunkenness, the duties of married people, the follies of inquisitiveness, and ways of coping with poverty and ill fortune.

In the short third chapter he discusses "Christian justice" in traditional terms by dividing it into the two branches of "commutative justice" and "distributive justice." The ideal of commutative justice is
based upon Matthew 7:12: "Whatsoever ye would that men should to you, even so do to them." Distributive justice is based upon Romans 13:7: "Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custome to whom custome .... Owe no man anything but to love one another." Under the first branch of justice he includes duties of negotiation and restitution, under the second, duties of obedience and provision. The principles of negotiation apply mostly to trade and business dealings. One must honour and uphold private agreements and civil laws; there must be "honesty in contracts, sincerity in affirming, simplicity in bargaining, and faithfulness in performing" (p. 238). Restitution concerns itself with personal relationships and has two distinct parts. One must not only offer reparation for wrongs done but seek pardon from God for the sin committed against him. Restitution is, therefore, as Taylor says in quoting Scripture, a part of repentance: "If the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed ... he shall surely live he shall not die" (p. 245). Obedience and provision, as parts of distributive justice, apply to personal and familial affairs as well as to political and ecclesiastical. Princes, parents and spiritual guides are to be obeyed as superiors. They, in turn, are to repay obedience by undertaking duties of provision for their inferiors: the prince must provide for his people, the husband and father for his wife and children, and the Minister for his flock.

The fourth chapter, the longest one in the book, deals with Christian Religion. Taylor here uses the term "religion" in a narrower sense and defines it by way of explication of St. Paul's use of the word "godly" in the epistle to Titus. Religion is

that part of duty which particularly relates to God in our worshippings and adoration of him, in confessing his excellencies, loving his person, admiring his goodnesse, believing his Word, and
Having defined religion as actual worship of God, Taylor divides it into two parts. The actions of religion are internal and external. The internal actions of religion are those "in which the soul onely is imploied" (p. 264) and consist of the virtues of faith, hope and charity. The external actions of religion are those in which the body as well as the soul is involved (p. 299). These include reading or hearing the Scriptures, fasting, prayer, the giving of alms, repentance and, lastly, participating in Holy Communion. The duties of the worship of God are thus as comprehensive as those which relate to the discipline of a holy life.

In Taylor's scheme of a holy life, repentance has the most important place. Repentance, in both its negative and positive aspects, is an integral part of the life of religion for it is, on the one hand, a renunciation of sin and, on the other, a turning towards God. A "conjugation and society of many duties," as he says, "it containes in it all the parts of a holy life" (p. 376). The rigidity of his attitude towards it is summed up by the way he defines it:

... there is but one repentance in a Mans whole life, if repentance be taken in the proper, and strict Evangelicall Covenant-sense, and not after the ordinary understanding of the word: That is, wee are but once to change our whole state of life, from the power of the Devil and his intire possession, from the state of sin and death, from the body of corruption, to the life of grace, to the possession of Jesus, to the kingdom of the Gospel (p. 377).

Repentance, thus, is not simply contrition or sorrow for past sins. It is active reform or change "from sin to grace, from vitious habits to holy customes" (p. 376). The purpose of repentance is not achieved once a man makes a resolution to sin no more, "for resolution is an imperfect act, a term of relation, and signifies nothing, but in order to the action"
True repentance, he asserts repeatedly, "is a punishing duty, and acts its sorrow" (p. 380). It is a duty that must "reduce to act all its holy purposes, and enter into and run through the state of holy living" (pp. 382-83). An extension of this strict view of the idea of repentance leads on to his denial that true repentance can be had at the moment of death: "on a Mans death bed the day of repentance is past; for repentance being the renewing of a holy life, a living the life of Grace, it is a contradiction to say that a Man can live a holy life on his death bed" (p. 386). The inadequacy of death-bed repentance was one of Taylor's most deeply held convictions. He had touched upon the subject in *The Great Exemplar* and was later to elaborate upon it in *Unum Necessarium* and *Ductor Dubitantium*. One of his major themes, it is present, in fact, in almost all his work.

This uncompromising attitude of Taylor's regarding death-bed repentance has been subjected to much criticism. From a common Anglican point of view, criticism of Taylor's opinion is certainly justified, for he argues not for the traditional view of justification by faith -- the belief that God forgives a sinner even before the sinner proves his repentance by his conduct -- but for justification by works, in which God's forgiveness comes by way of reward and is dependent on repentance proven by conduct. This is what Taylor implies in his definition of repentance and when he says that a conversion to a holy life is the only way a sinner can obtain God's forgiveness:

I shall use no other arguments to move a sinner to repentance, but to tell him unlesse he does he shall certainly perish; and if he does repent timely and intirely, that is, live a holy life, he shall be forgiven and be saved (p. 387).
C.F. Allison has pointed out that Taylor's position is in contrast to the Book of Common Prayer. In the Prayer Book of 1636, for instance, the first verse in the Office of Morning Prayer is from Ezekiel 18: "At what time soever a sinner doth repent his sin from the bottom of his heart: I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord." Furthermore, as Allison says, the Office recognizes "that worship and absolution are means of power and grace to sinful people by praying for 'true repentance' after the declaration of absolution." The Anglican service, in other words, grants absolution before the penitent sinner proves his repentance by his conduct. Taylor's opinion of death-bed repentance is therefore a departure, as Heber expressed it, "from the usual sense of the church and the general analogy of scripture." 

Taylor's view, differing as it does from customary Anglican opinion, is an instance where he is deliberately being unconventional. In his apparent deviation from the practice of his own church he is following a principle that he recommends to his reader early in *Holy Living*. Under the difficult circumstances of the time, he says in the dedication, "every man is to give sentence concerning the state of his own soul by the precepts and rules of our Lawgiver, not by the after decrees and usages of the Church, that is, by the essential parts of Religion, rather then by the uncertain signification of any exteriour adherencies" (p. 4). This is counsel that he does not always follow himself, as is evident in the number of ecclesiastical authorities he cites throughout *Holy Living*. His rules for practical devotion are usually based not only upon Scripture but, as he says in *Holy Dying*, upon the "purest channels of the primitive church." In his treatment of repentance in *Holy Living*, however, it is obvious that he is judging by the "essential parts of religion" rather than by the "after
decrees and usages of the church." To him it is clear that if salvation is the reward of religion, of obedience and a holy life, it is unreasonable to expect that a lifelong sinner who repents on his death-bed can gather the same reward merely on the strength of an untried resolution.

Repentance as an important part of a holy life assumes even more important proportions in *Holy Dying*, and serves as the connecting link between the subjects treated in the two companion works. *Holy Dying*, contrary to the expectations set up by the title, is not addressed to those who are about to die. "Indeed I were vain," Taylor says in the dedication to the book, "if I should intend this book to be read and studied by dying persons, and they were vainer that should need to be instructed in those graces which they are then to exercise and to finish." The art of dying well, Taylor makes clear, is to be learnt not upon a death-bed, but while a man is still in health, and the preparation for death must be simply a continuation of the arts of a holy life: "All that a sick and dying man can do is but to exercise those virtues which he before acquired, and to perfect that repentance which was begun more early." His book, therefore, "represents the vanity of a late and sick bed repentance" because, as he has said before in *Holy Living*, repentance includes all the duties of a holy life and these duties cannot be undertaken by a sick man in his state of mental and physical infirmity. To dying persons who have not taken the opportunity of an early repentance and a subsequent return to the principles of a holy life, Taylor has no comfort to offer. With them God hath made no death-bed covenant, the scripture hath recorded no promises, given no instructions; and therefore I had none to give, but only the same which are to be given to all men that are alive, because they are so, and because it is uncertain when they shall be otherwise."
The position that Taylor takes here has certain implications for the relationship of *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. Taylor meant both books to be complementary to each other. This relationship is implied when, in the dedication to *Holy Dying*, he speaks of "the considerations and exercises of death" being "the great argument and the great instrument of holy living."\(^{62}\) From a literary point of view, however, *Holy Living* has usually taken second place to *Holy Dying*. Literary critics, and especially those who allow its merits as a prose composition to obscure its function as a work of practical devotion, have always regarded *Holy Dying* as a superior achievement. Sir Edmund Gosse, for instance, describes *Holy Living* as a "piece of task work" though "honestly and competently performed," and reserves his praise for *Holy Dying* which he calls a product of "vehement inspiration."\(^{63}\) *Holy Dying* has merits enough as literature to justify such extravagant praise, but from the point of view of its utility and value as a devotional work it should certainly be ranked below *Holy Living*, for in relation to the latter book it has a dependent status. It is little more than an extended conclusion to *Holy Living*. Since Taylor excludes late or death-bed penitents from consideration in *Holy Dying*, its advice and counsel is applicable only to those who have time for repentance and for living the life of grace. It is applicable, in other words, to those who have lived as *Holy Living* has counselled them to live. Taylor, in effect, pursues only one theme in both books: the necessity of a holy and a truly religious life. This theme is developed to its fullest extent in *Holy Living*. *Holy Dying* has nothing new to offer to the reader of *Holy Living* except the devotional etiquette proper to sickness and death. The best preparation for a holy death, as *Holy Living* has already made clear, is a holy life.
TAYLOR'S USE OF RELIGIOUS AND CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Taylor's major source in *Holy Living* is obviously the Bible. In common with the learned clergy of the time, Taylor knew the Bible not only in the Authorized Version but also in the Greek and Latin texts. In his other works he freely quotes and refers to the Greek New Testament and to the Latin Vulgate. He knew the Septuagint, too, but used it sparingly, and it accounts for a very small number of references in his works. In addition to these versions, Taylor may have been familiar with the Hebrew Old Testament, for his occasional use of Hebrew words indicates that he had at least a working knowledge of that language. The only major works in which he does not make an extensive use of several versions of the Bible are *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. In *Holy Living*, out of the two hundred and fifty Biblical citations in his notes, only four are of the Vulgate and two of the Greek New Testament. All the rest of his quotations are from the Authorized Version, though they do not always conform word for word to the original text, for he often paraphrases passages and quotes from memory.

It is possible to distinguish a method in Taylor's use of the Bible in *Holy Living*, a method that is indicated in his advice concerning the reading of Scripture. Though he emphasises the unity of the Bible as the word of God, he recommends, for practical reasons, the selection of certain portions for daily reading. These portions should be those which are "most plain and certain duty," and which relate the story of the life and death of Christ. "Read the Gospels, the Psalms of David," he says, "and especially those portions of Scripture which by the wisdom of the Church are appointed to be publikely read upon Sundayes and holy-dayes, viz. the Epistles and Gospels" (p. 303).
Taylor's advice, thus, is predominantly, and conventionally, in favour of reading the New Testament.

Taylor's own practice, in his use of the Bible in *Holy Living*, conforms to the advice he gives his reader. Though his allusions range over the whole of Scripture, including the Apocrypha, it is the New Testament that figures largely as the basis of the guidance he provides. Major ethical and doctrinal points in the book usually have New Testament texts as their support and authority. He makes most use, especially, of the writings of St. Paul. The basic idea of the whole book, as has already been mentioned, he derives from the Epistle to Titus. Next in importance among other New Testament books are the gospel accounts of Matthew and Luke, and the Book of Revelation. The texts that Taylor emphasises most and chooses to expound are usually from the New Testament and are those which are "most plain and certain duty." That is, they are direct and binding commands rather than parables or precepts arrived at by analogy. The best example of this can be seen in his introduction to the idea of Christian justice in Chapter III where most of the scriptural passages that he quotes are commands and injunctions. In this method is implicit Taylor's idea that the most valuable function of Scripture is to supply the plain and direct command by which a man could know his duty. While discussing the necessity of reading the Bible, he says:

> All the doctrine of salvation is plainly set down there, that the most unlearned person by hearing it read, may understand all his duty. What can be plainer spoken then this, *Thou shalt not kill.* Be not drunk with wine: Husbands love your wives: whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye so to them. The wit of man cannot more plainly tell us our duty then the Holy Ghost hath done already.

He quotes and refers to the Old Testament almost as frequently as he does to the Epistles and Gospels. To the Psalms, particularly, he gives a
special importance. He uses them in the composition of his prayers as well as on a variety of topics throughout *Holy Living*. But while he relies upon the New Testament as the basis of religious precepts, he draws upon the Old Testament mostly for illustrative examples involving well known figures and events. In the section on obedience in Chapter III, for instance, the Epistles of Peter and Paul supply Taylor with the texts to be expounded, but the Biblical examples that he uses in the section are all from the Old Testament. There are, of course exceptions to this procedure and it is by no means a rule that he follows always. He gives examples from the Gospels also, and often cites Old Testament texts which the New Testament itself uses. Sometimes he makes Old Testament texts serve the same purpose as New Testament ones. In giving reasons for the practice of the presence of God, for instance, he quotes from Jeremiah as well as from the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Acts of the Apostles (p. 49). Sometimes, too, Taylor's illustrative examples serve as direct injunctions to be followed, as when he refers to a succession of Old Testament verses to show that repentance must be accompanied with sorrow and weeping (p. 378). Taylor's method, therefore, is to use the New Testament generally for religious precepts and the Old Testament for examples which illustrate those precepts.

Next to the Bible, one of Taylor's main sources is ecclesiastical and patristic literature. Though the largest part of his borrowings is from the works of the Church Fathers, he relies for certain purposes, mostly for moral examples, upon the popular collections of stories that deal with the lives of the saints. Another related group of writings that he uses as authorities are the records of the councils of the early church, and, in spite of their Romanist origin, the decrees of the Popes. In his use of such non-Protestant material, Taylor is no different from the majority of
Anglican writers of the time. In order to defend their church against the attacks of the Puritans, on the one hand, and Roman Catholics, on the other, Anglican apologists had, since the sixteenth century, found it necessary to take frequent recourse to the writings of the Fathers and the documents of ancient Christianity. Their church, they maintained, was not a new church that had arisen out of the Reformation, but was truly Catholic and Apostolic in doctrine and practice. Bishop John Jewel, for instance, had declared that "We are come, as near as we possibly could to the Church of the Apostles and of the old Catholic bishops and fathers ... and have directed according to their customs and ordinances not only our Doctrine, but also the Sacraments and the form of common prayer." A close study of Christian antiquity, of the tradition that was common to both the Anglican and the Roman Church was therefore a customary part of the learning of Anglican preachers and divines.

Taylor's favourites among the Fathers are Augustine and Jerome. He also refers, though less frequently, to Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux. Among the Greek Fathers that he quotes are Basil of Caesarea, Chrysostom, and Cyprian. Taylor's attitude towards the Fathers, as Lois E. Barr has shown in a study of some of his major works, is decidedly respectful though he often shows a consciousness of their limitations. Respecting and approving of their piety, he considered them, next to the Bible, as indisputable authorities on religious matters. "In Christian religion," he told the clergy of his diocese in 1663, "they that were first were best, because God and not man was the teacher; and ever since that we have been unlearning the wise notices of pure religion, and mingling them with human notices and human interest."
In *Holy Living* Taylor uses the Fathers principally as authorities on moral or doctrinal issues, and for purposes of clarification and amplification of his own arguments. This is how, for instance, he refers to St. Jerome's three signs of faith (p. 268), and St. Augustine's distinction between faith and hope (p. 274). He also treats them as reservoirs of beautiful imagery and *sententiae*. The sententious quotation is often, in addition to its decorative purpose, a reference to authority, as when he quotes St. Chrysostom on alms: "To know the art of almes, is greater then to be crowned with the Diadem of kings. And yet to convert one soul is greater then to poure out ten thousand talents into the baskets of the poor" (p. 358). Another characteristic method is his use as moral examples of small anecdotes extracted from the writings of the Fathers. A notable instance of this is his retailing of the story of the chaste martyr from St. Jerome's "Life of St. Paul the Hermit" (pp. 126-27), a story that he refers to several times in other works. Similar in nature and origin are his examples of St. John "sporting with a tame partridge" for recreation, and St. Paula Romana's excessive grief for the death of her children (pp. 32, 198).

Taylor's use of classical literature in *Holy Living* is more extensive than his use of patristic literature. This is evident from his annotations alone. His quotations and references to ecclesiastical and patristic literature -- excluding references to such non-Christian writers and books as Josephus and the *Mishna* -- number no more than sixty-five while the number of classical references exceed one hundred and sixty. The mingling of classical with patristic, and even Biblical, elements in works on Christian conduct was a commonplace procedure in the seventeenth century. Even in the sermons of the time, quotation and citation of classical writers was a marked feature, though voices were raised, especially by the Puritans,
against this custom which gave pagan literature equal prominence with Scripture. 69 Taylor himself had a high opinion of the value of the classics. In the preface to The Great Exemplar he speaks of the ancient writers as "those wise old spirits who preserved natural reason and religion in the midst of heathen darkness." Their works, he says, could be preferred before those of "many of the latter schoolmen, who promoted a petty interest of a family, or an unlearned opinion, with great earnestness, but added nothing to Christianity but trouble, scruple and vexation." He goes on to say that "the rare documents of Christianity ... certainly is the great treasure house of those excellent, moral, and perfective discourses, which ... we find respersed and thinly scattered in all the Greek and Roman poets, historians, and philosophers." 70

The range and breadth of Taylor's knowledge of the classics is impressive. His preferences are, predictably, for the prose writers and the moral philosophers. These are, in order of his preference, Plutarch, Epictetus (in Arrian's Discourses as well as the Enchiridion), Seneca, Aristotle and Cicero. Next in importance are the historians in prose and verse, Tacitus, Livy, Lucan, Suetonius, Xenophon and Herodotus. Besides these, he quotes and otherwise shows his knowledge of writers such as Aelian, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus and Procopius. He shows considerable familiarity with poets too. Chief among these are Ovid and the satirists Horace, Juvenal and Martial. He quotes frequently from the Iliad and the Odyssey. The dramatic works that he most often refers to are those of Plautus and Seneca and, from among the Greek dramatists, Euripides and Aristophanes. Philosophy, poetry and history, the traditional major branches of learning, are all represented in his knowledge and use of classical literature.
In considering Taylor's knowledge of the classics, however, it is well to keep in mind that not all of his references to classical writers are certain evidence that he read them in the complete and original form. Some of these references, and especially the little quotations that he places in the margin, have their origin in the commonplace books and collections of moral sayings that were so popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two such works which Taylor certainly used are the florilegia of Joannes Stobaeus and Janus Gruter. Another second hand source is evident in his use of quoted lines and phrases from books that he most liked. For example, he picked up the quotations from Menander (p. 184, note p) and Sappho (p. 360, note f) from Plutarch, not directly from these poets themselves. The fact that he often quotes Greek authors in Latin is an obvious indication of his unoriginal sources. Taylor's marginal notes, therefore, are not absolutely reliable witnesses to his reading, though his love for the literature of antiquity is demonstrated in them.

His borrowings from the classics range from the casual reference or quotation of a few lines to the paraphrase of lengthy passages. One effect that this has upon his work has been commented on by Douglas Bush:

Taylor's mind dwells so willingly in the world of the Caesars and the East that casual images, involving no proper names, keep us in a half-ancient atmosphere. It was not in Wales that he thought in terms of consulships and saw ... gladiators, pirates, labouring galley slaves, the tents and triumphal chariots of conquerors. In *Holy Living* Taylor does indeed keep us in a "half-ancient atmosphere," but here he does it by a method that is the converse of what Bush notices. The atmosphere is evoked more by the proper names than anything else. Taylor mentions more Greek and Roman names than English or contemporary European, and not all of them are famous names drawn from history and
philosophy. Even in a casual and hypothetical example, which appears to have no direct source, Taylor uses classical names: "What difference is it [if a person has many children]? Titius keeps ten ploughs, Cornelia hath ten children" (p. 195). The names of people and places that he extracts from classical history and philosophy, however, contribute to the whole effect. Sometimes he chooses them from relatively obscure historical events. The following example comes from Strabo's Geography:

And when Ariarathes the Cappadocian King had but in wantonesse stopped the mouth of the river Melanus, although he intended no evil, yet Euphrates being swelled by that means, and bearing away some of the strand of Cappadocia did great spoil to the Phrygians and Galatians, he therefore by the Roman Senate was condemned in three hundred talents towards reparation of the damage, (pp. 246-47)

He makes no attempt to balance these classical examples by some from contemporary or recent history. Events happening "in royal families among the Arsacidae, the Caesars, the Ptolemies" (p. 153) come more readily to his mind than any among people who lived nearer in time to him. Not to mention recent events was perhaps a prudent course to follow in view of the political situation of the time. References to earlier English history, however, are just as infrequent. He mentions Sir Thomas More (p. 33), Joan of Arc (p. 280), Ferdinand of Aragon and Christopher Columbus (p. 270), but these are the few personages from English and later European history whose names occur in all of Holy Living.

Ignoring post-classical history and literature, Taylor balances the classical component of his book against the Scriptural and patristic elements. In general, his use of classical writers is similar to his use of religious literature. Classical writers serve as his authorities on ethical issues and as sources of moral examples, of sententiae and decorative images. While enunciating moral principles or rules for conduct he cites,
wherever possible, a classical writer in combination with references to patristic literature or the Bible. He quotes St. Augustine, for instance, on the shamefulness of adultery and follows up the quotation with a reference to Plutarch on the same topic (p. 116 and note w). Citing authorities on the duties of parents to their children, he includes Euripides, Ovid and Plutarch among them as well as the Bible (p. 234, note x). Frequently, too, his illustrative examples from the Bible are paralleled by classical ones. Discussing ways of obtaining content, he refers to Joseph being sold to the merchants of Amalek and becoming lord of Egypt. "The case of Themistocles," he goes on, "was almost like that of Joseph, for being banished into Egypt, he also grew in favour with the King" (p. 186). The coupling of Christian and classical authorities is therefore a deliberate method that Taylor follows in *Holy Living*.

Among all the classical writers that Taylor refers to, he makes the most extensive use of Plutarch. He read Plutarch, as is apparent from his quotations, not in the Greek original but in the Latin translation of Xylander, perhaps because this was the only version available to him while he was writing *Holy Living*. References to the *Moralia*, the work of this author that he seems to have preferred to the better known *Vitae*, run through nearly the entire length of *Holy Living*, but there are two long portions of Chapters II and IV in which he has used the *Moralia* as a direct, and sometimes unacknowledged, source. His discussion of "modesty as opposed to curiosity" in Chapter II (pp. 150-154) is almost entirely based upon Plutarch's essay "De Curiositate." Further on, in the subsection on the "instruments and exercises to procure contentedness" (pp. 166-179), there are a number of echoes from "De Tranquillitate Animi" which identify this essay of Plutarch's as Taylor's main source. In Chapter IV the subsection
on the remedies of anger (pp. 365-67) has its source in "De Cohibenda Ira" and that on Covetousness (pp. 368-75) in "De Cupiditate Divitiarium."

In these portions of the book Taylor depends upon Plutarch not only for theme and suggestion but for content as well. He lifts small passages from Plutarch almost intact and includes them in his own discussion with a few minor changes. For instance, Plutarch has this to say about the habits of inquisitive people in "De Curiositate":

While treating our own affairs with considerable laxity and neglect, [we] pry into the pedigrees of the rest of the world: our neighbour's grandfather was a Syrian, and his grandmother was a Thracian; and so-and-so owes three talents and has not paid the interest. We inquire also into such matters as where so-and-so's wife was coming back from ... ("De Curiositate," 2, trans. W.C. Helmbold.)

Appropriating this passage for his own use, Taylor turns it into a question but leaves a prominent echo:

What is it to me if my Neighbours Grandfather were a Syrian, or his Grandmother illegitimate; or that another is indebted five thousand pounds, or whether his wife be expensive? (p. 157)

Plutarch comments on the irritating ways of customs officers:

... we are annoyed and displeased with customs-officials, not when they pick up those articles which we are importing openly, but when in the search for concealed goods they pry into baggage and merchandize which are another's property. (" De Curiositate," 7.)

This is mirrored in Holy Living with the addition of a few details:

We are not angry with Searchers and Publicans when they look onely on publick merchandise; but when they break open trunks, and pierce vessels, and unrip packs, and open sealed letters. (p. 153)

Taylor's closeness to his source is even more apparent in Chapter IV. In much of the subsection on the remedies of anger he transfers Plutarch to his own book by little more than translation and paraphrase. In his discussion of covetousness he can be seen going almost page by page through "De Cupiditate Divitiarium" as if it were lying open in front of him. The
nature of these borrowings, the close parallels and verbal echoes, makes it very probable that Taylor did indeed have the Moralia with him when he wrote these portions of his book.

To note verbal correspondences, however, is to see only one aspect of Taylor's borrowings. Though he does lift complete passages from Plutarch, he also makes a creative use of his source. The organization of the material he selects is his own, and his borrowings blend with ease into his discussion. Often, too, while remaining indebted to his source for theme and suggestion, he elaborates upon and adapts Plutarch to his own purposes. An example of this kind of adaptation is the long passage in Chapter II on the proper and improper objects of curiosity which he develops from Plutarch's observations on the same topic (pp. 152.3-153.7). A notable instance of Taylor's ability to elaborate and build upon his source is the passage which has been praised, at least since Coleridge, as one of the loveliest that Taylor ever wrote. It appears in the subsection on "the instruments and exercises of contentedness:

... I am fallen into the hands of Publicans and Sequestrators, and they have taken all from me, what now? let me look about me. They have left me the Sun and the Moon, Fire and Water, a loving wife, and many friends to pity me, and some to relieve me, and I can still discourse, and unless I list they have not taken away my merry countenance, and my cheerful spirit, and a good conscience: they still have left me the providence of God, and all the promises of the Gospel, and my Religion, and my hopes of Heaven, and my charity to them too: and still I sleep and digest, I eat and drink, I reade and meditate, I can walk in my Neighbours pleasant fields, and see the varieties of natural beauties, and delight in all that in which God delights, that is, in vertue, in the whole creation, and in God himself ... (p. 172)

Most commentators have pointed out the strong personal feeling in this passage. Logan Pearsall Smith hears the voice of the "impoverished parson" in it, and C.J. Stranks considers it autobiographical evidence which proves that Taylor's first wife was alive at the time he wrote it.
However, any authority that such subjective judgements may have had is greatly diminished when one realizes that the passage is nothing more than Taylor's development and expatiation of a piece of conventional advice in Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi," the essay from which he borrows throughout this subsection. The suggestion which Taylor takes up here is provided by Plutarch in the following lines from "De Tranquillitate Animi:"

> For it is the act of a madman to be distressed at what is lost and not rejoice at what is saved....
> "And what," someone may ask, "do we really have?" One man has a reputation, another a house, another a wife, another a good friend.... We should not overlook even common and ordinary things, but take some account of them and be grateful that we are alive and look upon the sun; that there is neither war nor factious strife among us, but that both the earth grants cultivation and the sea fair sailing to those who wish it; that we may speak or act, be silent or at leisure as we choose...

("De Tranquillitate," 8-9, trans. W.C. Helmbold.)

There is another reflection of this passage a few pages earlier in Taylor's discussion:

> If I be overthrown in my suit at law, yet my house is left me still and my land; or I have a vertuous wife, or hopeful children, or kinde friends, or good hopes. (pp. 169-70)

Expatiation, as W.F. Mitchell has pointed out, was Taylor's forte. "By no means a profound thinker, ... he delighted rather to elaborate topics about which he felt perfect certainty" rather than, like Donne, to astonish his hearers with verbal ingenuities. Though Mitchell is speaking of Taylor's method in the sermons, the same judgement applies to parts of Holy Living. In the passage quoted above, Taylor simply amplifies and develops the ancient and commonplace idea that he found in Plutarch, and, in the process, clothes it in evocative language and imbues it with personal feeling.
A very general characteristic of seventeenth-century prose style is a movement away from ornateness to plainness. To describe it in terms which the writers of the time themselves used, this was a movement from Ciceronian copiousness and formalism to Senecan brevity and simplicity. Taylor, however, is usually remembered as a writer of ornate prose, a practitioner of the Ciceronian style that had come into disrepute in his time. A feature of his style that has been most commented upon, and has thus become familiar, is the long and elaborate simile in which ornamentation for its own sake contributes to the artificiality of the whole image. One such simile, contained in a single characteristically anacoluthic sentence, occurs in his sermon on "The Return of Prayers:"

For so have I seen a lark rising from his bed of grass and soaring upwards singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven, and climb above the clouds; but the poor bird was beaten back with the loud sighings of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and unconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest, than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of its wings; till the little creature was forced to sit down and pant, and stay till the storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing, as if it had learned music and motion from an Angel as he passed sometimes through the air about his ministries here below. (Whole Works, IV, 61-62.)

It was this aspect of Taylor's prose that was censured by his younger contemporary, Robert South, on the ground that sermons should be "plain, natural and familiar" in order to have most effect. However, though Taylor had a fondness for ornamentation and for the Ciceronian period, he was also, in W.F. Mitchell's words, "master of an excellent plain style" comparable to that of the best Anti-Ciceronians. In Holy Living, Taylor's Ciceronian style can be seen in the dedication. The body of the book exhibits his plain style, though it alternates with formal constructions on occasion.
The Ciceronian style is characterized by its oratorical fullness and magnificence of utterance, and by the long, symmetrical periodic sentence. The sentence unfolds in subsidiary clauses and phrases, and the syntax remains incomplete until a turning point is reached, when it is carried to the end by means of more subsidiary clauses and phrases. An example is the page-long sentence in which Taylor describes his book:

In the mean time, and now that Religion pretends to stranger actions upon new principles; and men are apt to prefer a prosperous errour before an afflicted truth; and some will think they are religious enough if their worshippings have in them the prevailing ingredient; and the Ministers of Religion are so scattered that they cannot unite to stop the inundation, and from Chaires or Pulpits, from their Synods or Tribunals, chastise the iniquity of the errour and the ambition of evil Guides, and the infidelity of the willingly seduced multitude; and that those few good people who have no other plot in their religion but to serve God and save their soules, do want such assistances of ghostly counsel as may serve their emergent needs, and assist their endeavours in the acquist of vertues, and relieve their dangers when they are tempted to sinne and death, I thought I had reasons enough inviting me to draw into one body those advices which the severall necessities of many men must use at some time or other, and many of them, daily; that by a collection of holy precepts they might lesse feel the want of personall and attending Guides, and that the rules for conduct of soules might be committed to a Book which they might alwayes have; since they could not alwayes have a Prophet at their needs, nor be suffered to go up to the house of the Lord to inquire of the appointed Oracles. (pp. 2-3. Emphasis supplied.)

The topic of the sentence is barely introduced before subsidiary clauses intervene, and the completion of the sense is postponed until the turning point, "I thought I had reasons enough." Thereupon, more subsidiary clauses take the sentence on to the end. The final effect, therefore, is of a balanced structure with subsidiary clauses on both sides of the turning point. Another aspect of Ciceronianism can be seen in the opening lines of the dedication. Here Taylor does not use the periodic sentence, but depends for his effect upon elaborate metaphors and oratorical sonorousness.
The dedication obviously calls for formality and rhetorical flourishes. In the rest of the book Taylor is always careful to subordinate rhetorical devices and ornamentation to his primary intention of imparting advice. What has been called his "luscious" style is very little in evidence. There are no purple passages of the kind mentioned earlier which occur in *Holy Dying* and in the sermons. He uses extended metaphors and similes, but with restraint. When they do occur they are always integrated into his argument and serve purposes of illustration rather than of ornamentation. In fact, it is the relative rarity which make them all the more striking and effective. His description of purity of intention, in which he uses a series of similes to underscore a point he is making, is a good example:

_Holy intention is to the actions of a man that which the soul is to the body, or form to its matter, or the root to the tree, or the Sun to the World, or the Fountain to a River, or the Base to a Pillar: for without these the body is a dead trunk, the matter is sluggish, the tree is a block, the world is darkness, the river is quickly dry, the pillar rushes into flatness and a ruin; and the action is sinful, or unprofitable and vain._ (p. 38-39)

Similar in effect and purpose are the metaphors that he uses in the opening statements of different Sections of the book which at once present an image as well as the theme of his discussion. For instance:

_Sobriety is the bridle of the passions of Desire, and Temperance is the bit and curb of that bridle, a restraint put into a man's mouth ... _ (p. 95)

_Modesty is the appendage of Sobriety, and is to Chastity, to Temperance and to Humility as the fringes are to a Garment ... _ (p. 150)

In opening statements like these, with their concise metaphors which quickly define and explain and then lead on to advice and instruction, Taylor shows his acquaintance with the essayist's art as well as the preacher's. The section on the virtue of contentedness, for instance, begins with an introduction that is almost Baconian:
Vertues and Discourses are like Friends, necessary in all fortunes; but those are best which are Friends in our sadnesses, and support us in our sorrows, and sad accidents: and in this sense, no man that is vertuous can be friendless. (p. 160)

In the whole first paragraph of the Section, of which the above passage is a part, he presents the subject in concrete terms and "pleasing images" in the manner of a Renaissance essay, and then immediately sets about his main purpose of imparting advice on daily conduct.

In those parts of the book where he formulates rules of behaviour, Taylor always writes in clear and direct statements. His sentences are long and made up of independent clauses linked by conjunctions, but there is usually no suspension of syntax. Sometimes, as at the end of the example below, there is a little ornamental flourish:

In the morning when you awake, accustome your self to think first upon God, or something in order to his service; and at night also, let him close thine eyes; and let your sleep be necessary and healthful, not idle and expensive of time beyond the needs of nature; and sometimes be curious to see the preparation which the Sun makes when he is coming forth from his chambers of the East. (p. 26)

In the multiplication of connectives, Taylor's style throughout most of Holy Living corresponds with what Morris Croll has called the "loose style" of the seventeenth century. The typical sentence of the loose style, as Croll has demonstrated, frees itself from formal restraints and progresses by the use of simple connectives such as "and" and "or". Often these coordinates are used with very little syntactic connection with what has gone before, much as Taylor uses his conjunctions between independent clauses in the sentence above.

Taylor, however, occasionally mixes the loose style with a formal structure that shows the influence of the Ciceronian period. His most characteristic sentence of this kind is the cumulative. In Holy Living it
usually occurs at places where he is engaged in expatiation of an important subject and where he feels that his argument demands the aid of rhetorical artifice to give it persuasive force. One such sentence takes up an entire paragraph near the beginning of the book where he discusses the necessity of devotion:

And indeed if we consider how much of our lives is taken up by the needs of nature, how many years are wholly spent before we come to any use of reason, how many years more before that reason is useful to us to any great purposes ... how many parts of our wisest and best years are spent in eating and sleeping, in necessary businesses, and unnecessary vanities, ... in the learning arts and sciences, languages or trades; that little portion of hours that is left for the practises of piety, and religious walking with God, is so short and trifling, that were not the goodnesse of God infinitely great, it might seem unreasonable or impossible for us to expect of him eternal joyes in heaven ... (p. 20)

Using the common rhetorical figure of climax, the sentence progresses in short clauses from the "needs of Nature" to the "joyes of heaven." Unlike his use of Ciceronian structures for decorative formality elsewhere, Taylor's purpose here is to give the sentence persuasive power. Though the syntax here, as in the Ciceronian period, is suspended until the middle of the sentence, the diction is comparatively simple and sonorousness is replaced by earnestness of tone.

Since Taylor was by inclination a writer of long sentences, his punctuation is an important part of his style. For a long time it was thought that Taylor's punctuation, as of other writers of his age, was idiosyncratic and illogical. Sir Edmund Gosse, for example, felt that his long sentences were really short ones and repunctuation was all that was needed to demonstrate this. While pointing out the laxity of Taylor's grammar, Gosse attributed the "irrational" punctuation of Taylor's books to his printers who "had an objection to the full stop and... covered the page with commas and semicolons: when a point was what they should have
Morris Croll has shown that views such as these are based upon an imperfect understanding of the conventions of seventeenth-century prose. The long, loose sentence of the time should be seen not only as a grammatical unit but also as a "period" in its rhetorical, or oral, aspect. As a period, Taylor's long sentence demands its own punctuation by its own rules. His commas, colons and semi-colons serve grammatical functions in that they separate parts of sentences, but they are also indications of pauses in the spoken voice and determine the sound and rhythm of his prose. Any attempt to repunctuate his sentence, as Croll has said of the seventeenth-century long sentence in general, might make it more grammatical but would certainly destroy its rhetoric. Taylor's punctuation, in other words, is based more upon rhetorical considerations than upon grammatical. It may appear illogical to modern eyes, but it is an inextricable part of his prose style.

THE RECEPTION OF TAYLOR'S WORKS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HOLY LIVING.

Early in his career, Taylor made a reputation for himself as a preacher. Later on, he gained fame -- or notoriety, depending on the point of view -- by his controversial works. But it was as a devotional writer that he was best known in his own time and still continues to be known. In his own lifetime, his devotional books were read in greater numbers than his other works, though taken singly, they did not have the great popularity or wide circulation of some other similar contemporary works. Paul Elmen has pointed out, for instance, that the seventeen editions in forty-five years of _Golden Grove_ (1655-1695), one of Taylor's best selling books, do not compare favourably with the forty impressions of Michael Sparke's _Crums of_
Comfort within a period of thirty years (1623-1652). Judging by the number of editions published, this represents only moderate popularity for Taylor's book. Taylor's reputation, however, did not depend on the relative success of a single book but was formed by his publication of several such works which, towards the end of his life, gave him a sizeable readership. His most popular works were printed in numbers that are large enough. The Great Exemplar was in its ninth edition in 1694. Holy Living and Holy Dying, as well as Golden Grove, were each issued seventeen times, and The Worthy Communicant eleven times, by 1700. Collectively, and in terms of the number of editions published, this made him a best selling devotional writer by the end of the seventeenth century.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, too, Taylor's works continued to be printed and read. Holy Living, particularly, had become so well known that it had early gone through the process of being imitated, abridged and adapted for popular use. The title of the anonymous The True Way to Happiness: or the Necessity of Holy Living (1693; Wing T3128 A) was an obvious attempt to make capital out of the esteem in which Taylor's work was held. Later on, in 1701, there appeared a slim pocket sized volume entitled Rules of Holy Living and Dying, Conformable to Dr. Jeremy Taylor. It was compiled by a "Minister of the Church of England," one Edward Stacy, who explained his purpose in the preface:

In the larger Volumes [i.e. Taylor's Holy Living and Holy Dying] the Paragraphs and Periods are very long, and the language generally too deep and learned for mean Capacities, which with the Extravagant price it now bears, makes it neither so useful nor common, as a book of that nature ought to be. In mine, I have everywhere made my Sentences very short, and used the plainest expressions I could think of ... In spite of Stacy's reference to the "Extravagant price" and rarity of the two bound together volumes of Holy Living and Holy Dying, it is obvious,
from the very appearance of his bowdlerized and therefore more commercially viable version, that Taylor's book had retained its popularity for fifty years.

An acrimonious dispute over copyright that broke out more than a decade later shows that Taylor's works were still a valuable literary property. Involved in the dispute were Richard Steele and Royston Meredith. The latter was the grandson and heir of Taylor's publisher, Richard Royston. In 1714 Steele had published, in collaboration with the printer Tonson, a three volume compilation called *The Ladies' Library*, "written by a Lady." It consisted of selections from a number of seventeenth-century divines, with large extracts from Taylor, mostly from *Holy Living*. Upon its publication, Meredith, who had inherited the rights to Taylor's works from Royston, wrote to Steele a number of times accusing him of literary theft and threatening legal proceedings against him. Steele replied that he was only trying to help the "revered author's grandchild". Steele did not name the "grandchild" but it is believed that he was referring to Lady Wray, who was the author, in 1735, of a memoir of Taylor. Meredith, still unappeased, published the correspondence in November, 1714 as *Mr. Steele detected: or, the Poor and Oppressed Orphan's letters to the Great and Arbitrary Mr. Steele.*

By 1739 *Holy Living* had gone through eight more editions, including a Welsh translation in 1701, and there is some evidence to show that it was fulfilling the devotional needs for which it was written. John Wesley, for example, read it at Oxford in 1725 and, as he says in his journal, was "struck particularly with the chapter upon intention" which made him feel "a fixed intention 'to give myself up to God.'" *Holy Living and Holy Dying* continued to be Wesley's reading for some time as is apparent in a letter of
1730 to his mother in which he criticises Taylor's definition of hope and appreciates the discussion of pardon of sins in *Holy Dying*. These two works of Taylor, therefore, by the effect they had on Wesley, may have had some small share in the founding of Methodism.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, Taylor's popularity declined considerably and he fell into near oblivion. There were fewer reprints of his works during this period and there were no new editions of *Holy Living* until the end of the century. Taylor was, nevertheless, still read by some notable people. Dr. Johnson, for example, according to John Hawkins, "had read much in the works of Bishop Taylor" and "placed the author at the head of all the divines that have succeeded the fathers." Boswell, too, was apparently well acquainted with Taylor, judging from one occasion in 1784 when he asked Johnson's opinion on a phrase used in a prayer in *Holy Living*. Taylor was enthusiastically recommended to Thomas Gray by William Mason. It was Mason who called him the "Shakespeare of divines," a title that was being applied to Taylor as late as the 1900's.

The opening of the nineteenth century saw Taylor being brought out of obscurity and his reputation climbing to new heights. The Romantics, especially Coleridge, Lamb and Hazlitt, while deprecating Taylor's theology, praised him in hyperbolic tones that are reminiscent of George Rust's. To Coleridge, Taylor had the soul of a poet:

> Is not *The Holy Living and Dying*, a sacred and didactic poem in almost as wide a sense of the word as the *Commedia* of Dante? What Bard of ancient or modern times has surpassed, in richness of language, in fertility of fancy, in majesty of sentiment, in grace of imagery, this Spenser of English prose?

Coleridge introduced Taylor to Lamb, who became perhaps an even greater admirer. "I love the man," he wrote to Robert Lloyd in 1801, "& I love his
paraphernalia [i.e. his titles] and I like to name him with all his attributions and additions." He goes on: "Bishop Taylor has more, and more beautiful imagery ... more knowledge and description of human life and manners, than any prose book in the language: -- he has more delicacy, and sweetness, than any mortal, the 'gentle' Shakespeare hardly excepted." In the same letter, Lamb gives us an idea of the readership of Taylor's works in the eighteenth century:

He wrote to different classes of people. His Holy Living and Dying and Life of X't were designed to have been used as popular books of family Devotion, and have been thumbed by old women, and laid about in the window seats of old houses in great families, like the Bible ... Accordingly in these the fancy is perpetually applied to; any slight conceit, allusion or analogy ... a story true or false, serves for an argument, adapted to women and young persons & 'incompetent judgments' -- whereas the Liberty of Prophecy [sic] ... is a series of severe and masterly reasoning, fitted to great Clerks and learned Fathers, with no more of Fancy than is subordinate and ornamental.93

Hazlitt, no less than Lamb, thought highly of Taylor. Holy Living and Holy Dying he calls a "divine pastoral" in one of his lectures, and goes on to end the lecture with an often quoted passage: "When the name of Jeremy Taylor is no longer remembered with reverence, genius will have become a mockery and virtue an empty shade."94 Praise of this kind was echoed on all sides throughout the Romantic period and later. Edward Fitzgerald, given a copy of Holy Living and Holy Dying upon leaving Cambridge, did not like it when he first read it, but in 1835, he wrote to the friend who had given him the copy:

What a man [Taylor] is! He has such a knowledge of the nature of man, and such powers of expressing its properties, that I sometimes feel as if he had some exact counterpart of my own individual character under his eye, when he lays open the depth of the heart, or traces some sin to the root. The eye of his portrait expresses this keen intuition: and I think that I should less like to have stood with a lie on my tongue before him than before any other I know of.
Writing again to the same friend asking him to buy another copy, he provides the information that "Jeremy Taylor's books used to be very common indeed." In the United States, too, Taylor had acquired a considerable readership. Incidentally, among the first of the works to be published in America under his name was the Contemplations of the State of Man, which, once accepted as Taylor's work, is now excluded from the canon. The 1723 Boston edition of the book calls itself the "ninth Edition," so it must have been something of a success. The Great Exemplar, published as The Life of our Blessed Saviour in Exeter, New Hampshire in 1724, seems to have been more popular later. Between 1794 and 1834 it went through eight editions in the United States.

In the 1820's and 30's the English enthusiasm for Taylor had infected Americans, too. Nathaniel Hawthorne, for example, was very fond of Taylor and some of his early works show signs of Taylor's influence. Hawthorne was particularly fond of Taylor's sermons, but he was familiar with the other works and had also read Reginald Heber's biography of Taylor. Another American admirer of the time was Ralph Waldo Emerson who, in his journals, always numbers Taylor with the greatest of English writers. Emerson appears to have been familiar with nearly all of Taylor's work. In one of the notebooks that he kept as a young man there appear several quotations from Taylor and even quotations of quotations that Taylor uses as marginal comments. These quotations are taken from the sermons, the Discourse of Friendship, Holy Living and Holy Dying, The Great Exemplar, and other works. Emerson and his contemporaries in the 1820's must have used imported English editions of Holy Living and Holy Dying, for the earliest nineteenth century American edition that I could trace was one published in
Amherst in 1831. After this date, however, the two books, bound together, were issued with some regularity throughout the rest of the century, and by 1888 they had appeared in at least twelve editions in the United States.

In England the flurry of interest in Taylor in the early part of the nineteenth century had produced the first edited text of Taylor's works by Reginald Heber, who also wrote a biography of Taylor based upon his own researches and upon whatever earlier material was available to him. The edition appeared in 1822 and was later revised and corrected by Charles Page Eden. The revised edition in ten volumes, which appeared in 1854, is now the standard text. The last two volumes, containing the four books of Ductor Dubitantium, were edited by Eden's assistant, Alexander Taylor.

It was not until late in Victorian times that Taylor's prose style came under criticism. One of those who had something to say against the "superabundant" qualities of Taylor's style was Matthew Arnold. In his lecture, "The Literary Influence of Academies" published in 1864, he took a much admired passage from the funeral sermon on Lady Carbery and commented:

... genius, the ruling divinity of poetry, [is] too busy in it, and intelligence, the ruling divinity of prose, not busy enough ... Can any one, with the best models of style in his head, help feeling the note of provinciality there, the want of simplicity, the want of measure, the want of just the qualities that make prose classical?

However, though the literary feeling of this time may have turned against Taylor's style, he continued to be read as a devotional writer. The many popular editions, selections and abridgements of his works that appeared between 1850 and 1900 testify to this. There were also separate editions during this period of Holy Living, usually accompanied by Holy Dying. It was edited, with a life of Taylor, introduction and notes, by F.A. Malleson in 1899 and this edition was reprinted in 1894. Henry Morley wrote an
introduction for another one in 1888. A.R. Waller edited it in 1900. In addition there were others, excluding selections and abridgments, in 1882, in 1885 (two) and in 1887 and 1894. In effect, Taylor was a "household classic" by the turn of the century. Gosse, writing in 1904, says that Taylor's works were to be found "in every household where books of any gravity of composition are admitted." 102

It was the first half of the twentieth century that saw the indifference to Taylor, begun in Arnold's time, deepen. There were few new editions of his works, or reprints of old ones, until the 1950's. Logan Pearsall Smith's *Golden Grove* (1930), a compilation of selections from most of Taylor's works, was a small attempt to fill a gap and, though it performed a service in bringing Taylor to the attention of the general reader, it has the limitations of an anthology. Popular editions of *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* of 1904-1906 remained in print until 1910. Thereafter they gradually vanish from publishers' lists, in England as well as in America, with a few exceptions. The exceptions include Longman's three editions in 1918, 1930 and 1941, issued in London and New York. But the only notable edition after A.R. Waller's (1900) was T.S. Kepler's in 1956. Since then there has been an abridged version by Anne Lamb, published in England by Langford Press (1970) and in the United States by Harper (1971).

In the first fifty years of this century Taylor was neglected not only by the general reading public but by literary critics as well. Although extracts from his works were often anthologized and appeared on English reading lists, he received comparatively little critical attention. The reason stated by Logan Pearsall Smith in 1930 may suggest why:

Jeremy Taylor's works ... belong almost altogether to that class of theological, hortatory, and devotional writing which has now but little interest, save for special students of religious history.
He wrote for his own age, but the concerns of that age are no longer ours; the controversies in which he engaged have been almost forgotten; the doctrines he expounded, the ideals of piety and religion he upheld, have changed their aspect, and have been stated in other terms; his exhortations and denunciations fall but faintly upon our ears.¹⁰³

Writing a year after Smith, Helen C. White, in her groundbreaking study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century devotional literature, had to remind her readers of the importance of such literature and to protest that though "the very fly-sheets and street ballads and broadsides of the time have found meticulous editorship and comment," devotional literature had fallen under a deep neglect.¹⁰⁴ Read, therefore, only by the enquiring few, Taylor was nonetheless given his due share of praise in literary histories. High praise was thus made to compensate somehow for general neglect.

Since the 1950's, however, there has been a steady revival of interest in Taylor. Book-length studies as well as articles in journals that have appeared since 1949 testify to this rising interest. He is receiving more attention today than forty years ago, but in one important respect he has not been given the same treatment as some of his contemporaries, though as a literary personality he is at least their equal. Taylor's works cannot be read today in the form in which he presented them to the world. No critical, old spelling edition of his works is in print.¹⁰⁵ The Heber-Eden edition of 1854, as mentioned earlier, is still the standard text though it was produced as a modernized text to suit contemporary taste. Twenty-five years ago, Paul Elmen, in his article on The Fame of Jeremy Taylor, saw signs that Taylor was "emerging from his small and devoted coterie" and hoped that "we can look forward ... for some more studies relating his thought to the intellectual currents of his time, for a good edition of his scattered letters, for more of his quartos passing through
the hands of trained bibliographers, and for a biography that has the right to be called definitive. Some of what he hoped for has occurred, but much remains to be done.
Notes

1 In a letter to his tutor at Cambridge. Heber quotes it in his Life of Jeremy Taylor. But the quotation comes from what Heber calls the "Jones MS," a number of transcripts which a man called William Todd Jones had made from a collection of Taylor's letters in autograph and which were lost after Jones's death in 1818. Heber had only the word of Jones's sisters as to the authenticity of the original papers. See The Whole Works of Jeremy Taylor, ed. Reginald Heber; rev. Charles Page Eden (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman et al, 1854), I, x-xi.

2 The admission book of Caius records that Taylor was then in his fifteenth year and had been at school for the past ten years. To remove this inconsistency, Sir James Ware thought that Taylor may have been born in 1611, though baptized in 1613 (see the article on Taylor in Ware's Works, I). C.J. Stranks suggests that Taylor really was thirteen at the time and that his parents may have misrepresented his age in order to gain admission for him to Caius. The claim of ten years at school may simply mean that Taylor had been at a private school before he entered the new Perse School. See Stranks, The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor (London: S.P.C.K., 1952), p. 30-31.


See Wood's biography of Christopher Davenport, *Athenae Oxonienses* II, Col. 486.

Wood, II, Col. 282.

Whole Works, V, 341.


Gosse, p. 35.

Whole Works, III, 257.

The letter is a mutilated one and printed in that form by Heber, *Whole Works*, I, xxxv.

Whole Works, III, 258.


Whole Works, VII, 590.

Whole Works, VII, 252.

Whole Works, VII, 251.

Whole Works, VII, 253.


Gosse, p. 117.

Stranks, p. 153.

Whole Works, VII, 301-302.

Whole Works, VII, 302.

Whole Works, VII, 331.
25 In his Life of Taylor, Heber believes that Taylor was married thrice. According to him, Phoebe Langsdale died at Uppingham in 1642 and Taylor did not marry Joanna Bridges until 1655-56, therefore the death of his wife which Taylor mentions in his letter to Dugdale of 1650-51 must refer to a "third intermediate marriage" (see Whole Works I, xxiii and note c; xxxv and note d). As C.J. Stranks has pointed out, Heber did not base this opinion on facts but on the untrustworthy "Jones MS" and was misled as to the probable date of Phoebe Langsdale's death (Stranks, Life and Writings of Taylor, pp. 163-64). Stranks himself, in attempting to show that Taylor's first wife did not die until 1650-51, places too much reliance on what he believes are autobiographical passages in Holy Living, but this does not detract from his main argument. Until new and better evidence comes to hand, there is no reason to think that Taylor was married more than two times.

26 Wood, II, Col. 284.

27 For full text of the letter, see Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, ed. William Bray (London: Bickers and Son, 1906), III, 227-28. The letter is dated January 14, 1656-57. If this date is correct then the "mistake of the printer" that Evelyn mentions cannot refer to The Collection of Offices, which was published in 1658. However, it is probable that the letter is wrongly dated and was actually written in 1658-59. See Stranks, p. 170.


29 James Butler, twelfth Earl of Ormonde, had been Lieutenant General of the King's armies in Ireland until 1650 when he left for France to join Charles II in exile. He was not appointed Lord Lieutenant until November
1661, but immediately after the Restoration he had been put in charge of Irish affairs. He was created Duke of Ormonde in March 1661.

30 Trinity College has a somewhat anomalous structure. Though intended by its founders to be modelled on Oxford and Cambridge (Luke Challoner, one of the founders, had been a fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge), it is unlike the Oxbridge universities in that it has only one college. It is known as the University of Dublin because, in the charter which was granted to it in 1592, it is described as "mater universitatis," mother of a university. See R.B. McDowell and D.A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 2-5. In his letters, Taylor rarely refers to it as Trinity College, preferring to call it the "University of Dublin."

31 Whole Works, I, cxiv, note h.

32 Whole Works, I, ci, note f.

33 Whole Works, I, xcix, note e.

34 An account of the episode has been given by Patrick Adair, one of the ministers involved, in *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Belfast: W.D. Killen, 1866.)

35 Addison, p. 184.

36 Whole Works, I, ci, note f.

37 Whole Works, I, cxix.

38 Gosse, p. 204.

39 The date of Rust's funeral sermon as given in the title of its published version ("... preached August 13, 1667") is obviously incorrect. It gives the date of Taylor's death, not his funeral. For the authenticity of the date of Taylor's funeral, see Stranks, pp. 271-273, and the references he gives.

41 See Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature (Prose), 1600-1640, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature No. 29 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1931), pp. 9-20.


43 See pp. 427-34 of this edition.


45 Hall's Works, VII, 468-69.

46 Hall's Works, VII, 462.

47 Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature, pp. 163-64.


49 For a concise discussion, including background, of the reasons for ascribing the authorship of this book to Allestree, see Paul Elmen, "The Authorship of The Whole Duty of Man," The Library, Fifth Series 6 (1951), 19-27.
The quotation occurs in IV.10 (See 403.27 - 404.8 and 404.14-17 of this edition). Taylor may have read the *Introduction* in the original or in an English translation. The *Introduction a La Vie Devote* was first published at Lyons in 1609. It was first translated into English at Douai in 1613 by an English priest named Yakesley. Another translation, and the first edition of the book in England, appeared in London in 1616, printed by Nicholas Okes for Walter Burre. In 1648 a group of English priests at Tourney College in Paris put out the translation that remained for a long time the standard English version. This version was reprinted in London in 1664, 1675 and 1686, and in Dublin in 1673. A translation of the *Introduction* that Nicholas Okes printed in 1637 has a colourful history. Probably encouraged by the unhindered circulation of his 1616 edition, Okes had submitted the manuscript of the projected edition to be licensed by Archbishop Laud's chaplain, William Haywood, who had excised from it all Roman Catholic passages likely to be objectionable to the Church of England. However, when it was published, the book was found to contain the excised passages. Thereupon, all copies were called in by Royal Proclamation and burned in London at Smithfield. Laud, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford ordering the latter to see that all copies in Oxford were burnt, says that "the book gave great and just offence, especially to myself" (Laud's *Works*, ed. W. Scott and J. Bliss, Oxford, 1853; rept. New York, Georg Olms, 1977, V, 166-67). The licensing of this book was later one of the charges brought against Laud at his trial (See Laud's *Works*, IV, 286-89). Since Taylor was at All Souls at the time, he probably knew of this affair and may even have read a copy of this edition.

Logan P. Smith, Introd., to *Golden Grove*, p. xxiv.
L. Clert-Rolland, "François de Sales et Jeremy Taylor," Revue de Litterature Comparee 42 (1968), 557-62. Clert-Rolland gives too much weight in his argument to Taylor having used the lengthy passage from the Introduction. Had the passage been an unconscious or unacknowledged borrowing, it would have been more in keeping with the idea of "influence" or plagiarism. But Taylor carefully puts quotation marks around the passage he borrows and acknowledges the source in a marginal note. The quotation marks appear in the first few editions of Holy Living but disappear from the sixth. The Heber-Eden text, which is based upon the later editions, therefore does not reproduce them. Since Clert-Rolland used the Heber-Eden text he would not have seen the quotation marks which are an additional indication of an acknowledged borrowing.


The verse was included in the Prayer Book as early as 1559 and retained in the Prayer book of 1636. See The Book of Common Prayer: The Elizabethan Prayer Book, (Charlottesville: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library by the University Press of Virginia, 1976), p. 49. The verse was changed in the Prayer Book of 1661 and replaced by one from the Authorized Version.

Allison, p. 129. The Absolution in the Office of Morning Prayer reads: "Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live: and hath given power and commandment to his ministers, to declaim and to pronounce to his people being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins: he pardoneth and absolveth all them which truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his gospel. Wherefore we beseech him to grant us true
repentance and his Holy Spirit, that those things may please him, which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter, may be pure and holy: so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy:"

(Emphasis added.)


57 In the dedication to *Holy Dying*. See *Whole Works*, III, 264.

58 *Whole Works*, III, 259.

59 *Whole Works*, III, 258.

60 *Whole Works*, III, 258.

61 *Whole Works*, III, 260.

62 *Whole Works*, III, 258.


68 See Barr, pp. 167-69.


70 *Whole Works*, II, 36.


72 See Commentary to pp. 152-53.


75 See C.J. Stranks, Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor, p. 107.

76 W. Fraser Mitchell, p. 251.


78 In Sermon 59, Works (Oxford, 1823), IV, 153. South is quoted by W. Fraser Mitchell, p. 316.

79 W. Fraser Mitchell, p. 253.


81 Gosse, Jeremy Taylor, p. 226.


84 The 1700 edition of Golden Grove (the early editions appeared either under this title or as A Choice Manuall, Containing What is to be Believed, Practised, Desired or Prayed for) calls itself "The Twentieth Edition." However, Robert Gathorne-Hardy and William P. Williams can only identify seventeen issues of various seventeenth-century editions. They have a note about the numbering slips of the early editions. See their Bibliography of the Works of Jeremy Taylor to 1700 (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), p. 36.
85 From the copy in the University of British Columbia Library.
86 See Robert Gathorne-Hardy and William P. Williams, Bibliography of
Jeremy Taylor, p. 36.
90 See Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. George B. Hill (Oxford:
91 The expression was later attributed to Gray himself. It appears in
a letter of Mason to Gray of January 8, 1761. See The Correspondence of
259.
93 Lamb as Critic, ed. Roy Park (London and Henley: Routledge and
94 The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, ed. P.P. Howe (London and
95 In letters to John Allen. See The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald,
University Press, 1980), I, 163-64.
96 For a brief account of the reasons for its exclusion, see
Gathorne-Hardy and Williams, Bibliography of Taylor, p. 137.
97 I was able to trace the following printings: Greenfield, Mass.,
1793; Portsmouth, N.H., 1794; Newburyport, 1796; Philadelphia, 1809, 1810;
Somerset, Penn., 1818; Philadelphia, 1819; Pittsburgh, 1834.


100 Amherst, 1831; Philadelphia, 1831, 1835, 1843, 1846; New York, 1848, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1865, 1868, 1876, 1888. In 1876 there were four editions of Holy Living (without Holy Dying) in print in America.


102 Gosse, Jeremy Taylor, p. 69.

103 Logan P. Smith, Introd., to The Golden Grove, p. xiv.

104 Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature, p. 9.


The First Edition

_Holy Living_ was entered into the Stationers' Register by Francis Ash on 7 March, 1649/50. The entry reads:

Francis Ash. Entered ... under the hands of Master Downham and Master Chappel a book called _The rule and exercises of holy living, in which are described the means and instruments of obtaining every vertue, and the remedies against every vice_, by J.T.D.D. ..... vjd.

Ash, at this time, also held the rights to _The Great Exemplar_. More than a year and a half later, Ash died and his title to the copy of both books was transferred to Richard Royston, according to the entry in the Stationers' Register for 24 November, 1651:

Rich. Royston. Assigned over unto him by vertue of a noate under the hands and seales of Wm. Ash and Alexander Ash, executors of Fran. Ash, and by order of Co\textsuperscript{rt} beareing date this 21\textsuperscript{th} of November 1651, these two copies viz\textsuperscript{t}: _The greate exemplar, or the life of Christ_, and _The rule and exercise of holy living_ ..... xijd

Since no manuscripts have survived, the earliest extant form of the text of _Holy Living_ is the first edition. It was printed in 1650 and exists in three states. Ash's name appears on the title page as the publisher of two of these and Royston's of one. Although the title pages exist in these three different states, all the copies in which they appear are part of the
same edition, for they are produced from the same setting of type. State I, which appears to be the earliest, reads as follows:

\textbf{THE RVLE | AND | EXERCISES | OF HOLY LIVING.} | In which are described | The Means and Instruments of obtaining every Vertue, and the Remedies against every Vice, and | Considerations serving to the resisting all temptations. | Together with | Prayers containing the whole duty of a Christian, and the parts of Devotion fitted to all occasions, and furnished for all Necessities | [flower enclosed in a box of fleurs-de-lis orns.] | LONDON, | Printed for Francis Ash, Book-Seller in Worcester. | MDCL.

State II differs from the above in two small details: line 6 of the title ("In which are described") is in italic instead of roman, and the first letter of line 14 ("a Christian") is in upper case instead of lower. State III agrees with State II in every detail except the imprint, which reads:

\textbf{LONDON, | Printed for Richard Royston at the Angel in Ivie Lane. | MDCL.}

Some copies bearing the Royston imprint lack two leaves at the very end (Sig. S2 and S3) which contained an "Appendix" with prayers for the King. All three states have the same colophon: "LONDON, | Printed by R. Norton. | MDCL."

The reasons and events leading up to the production of the book with two publishers' imprints on the title pages have been reconstructed by William P. Williams and it would be useful to relate them here.\textsuperscript{1} The explanation involves Richard Royston and the censorship ordinances that were passed by Parliament in 1642/3 and again in 1649 which were intended to suppress
"lying and scandalous" writings against the government. Royston was a devoted Anglican who had been bookseller to Charles I, as he was to become later to Charles II and James II. In 1645 he was arrested and imprisoned, under the ordinances of 1643, upon charges of selling and printing scandalous books and pamphlets against Parliament. Later on, in October 1649, after he had published Charles I's *Eikon Basilike*, he was again accused of selling unlicensed and "scandalous" (meaning Royalist) books, and was bound in a surety of five hundred pounds for good behaviour. He was well known for his Royalist sympathies and it was probably his attachment to the cause of the King and the Anglican Church that had made him decide to become Taylor's publisher. As soon as Taylor had established himself as a Royalist and Anglican apologist, Royston had begun to publish his works. In 1647 he brought out *The Liberty of Prophesying* and by 1649 had reissued most of Taylor's earlier works after taking over their copyrights. From this time on he would publish nearly everything that Taylor was to write.

Though Royston had become Taylor's exclusive publisher by 1649, it was not he but Francis Ash who published Taylor's first popular devotional work, *The Great Exemplar*. Ash entered the book in the Stationers' Register in October, 1648 and the first edition, printed by Roger Norton, appeared in 1649 bearing his imprint. How he acquired Taylor's permission to publish *The Great Exemplar* is a mystery that needs explanation. It is inconceivable that Taylor had refused to give Royston the book, for he had by this time allowed Royston to publish everything that he had written. With a shop in London and possibly another one in Oxford, Royston was better situated in every way to be Taylor's natural choice as publisher. Ash, on the other hand, was a bookseller and bookbinder of Worcester and, in the twenty-one
years that he had been in business, had never published a book. Moreover, his trade had been confined to Worcester and the West Country. It is strange that he should suddenly have ventured into publishing in London and begun with a work by Taylor.

The mystery is deepened by indications that Royston too was involved in the publication of The Great Exemplar. Though the title page of the first edition bears Ash's imprint, the ornament that appears in it belonged to Royston and was to appear later in other works of Taylor's published by him. The use of this ornament shows that Royston had a hidden share in the printing of the book, and must therefore have had some interest in it even before the transfer of its rights, along with those of Holy Living, in November 1651. The fact that Royston reissued a substantial part of The Great Exemplar in 1650 in a collection of some of Taylor's works is another indication of his interest in it.

The probable explanation is that Taylor must have offered the book to Royston, but Royston at this time had published, and was about to publish, some politically sensitive material which made an immediate publication of The Great Exemplar inadvisable. In 1648 he had brought out, in one volume entitled Treatises, some of Taylor's polemical works which included the Gunpowder Sermon, The Liberty of Prophesying and A Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore. Late that year, or early in 1649, he also brought out an enlarged and revised version of Prayer Extempore which was retitled An Apology for Authorised and Set Forms of Liturgie. These works are all concerned with religious controversy, and are therefore on politically dangerous subjects. The Apology, especially, contains opinions that the government would have found objectionable, for in it Taylor defends the banned Book of Common Prayer and attacks Parliament's substitute for it, the
In addition to these books, Royston was at that time preparing to publish *Eikon Basilike*. Any or all of these works, Royston was aware, could be considered "scandalous" by Parliament's censors and become subject to seizure, as would *The Great Exemplar* if he recorded his rights to it at this time. Having been in trouble with the censors once before, he must have expected some such reaction from them. His apprehensions were to a certain extent justified, for though his properties were not seized, the charges that were brought against him in 1649 were possibly due as much to his publication of Taylor's works as *Eikon Basilike*.

In October 1648, therefore, in order to ensure that *The Great Exemplar* would get published even if the anticipated intervention from the authorities occurred, it was Royston himself who involved Francis Ash in its publication. Instead of recording his own rights to the book, Royston made Ash enter it into the Stationers' Register. By this means *The Great Exemplar* could not be recognized as his property or be associated with the books he was about to print. The entry into the Register made Ash legally responsible for it, thereby ensuring that its printing would go ahead even if Royston's properties were seized by the censors. The expenses of the first edition, when it came to be printed, could have been shared by both men, or, as is more probable, were borne by Royston alone. Ash, in other words, was merely acting as a front for Royston, his best qualification for the job being that he was based in Worcester, a city that was still out of Parliament's control. The arrangement was no different from any other collaboration between two or more printers, but in this case it probably included the understanding that the rights would revert to Royston if all went well and the censors did not intervene.
As it happened, the censors did intervene and the rights remained with Ash for more than two years. However, the arrangement must have worked well, for the whole process was repeated when *Holy Living* came to be printed. In 1650, when *Holy Living* was ready for publication, Royston was operating under some constraints for he was under bond not to publish books that might be considered Royalist and anti-Parliament. Though *Holy Living* was a devotional, not a political book, its preface was certainly Royalist in tone and, moreover, it contained prayers for the King (which, at this time, could have been interpreted to mean Charles II). Just the reputation that Taylor had acquired may have been a hindrance to Royston's open publication of the book. In order to get around the difficulty that he found himself in, Royston involved Francis Ash in the publication of another of Taylor's works. The collaboration, as previously, included Roger Norton, the printer. Ash entered the book in the Stationers' Register and the initial copies of the first edition, printed by Norton, bore his imprint. Some copies, however, were produced with Royston's name on the imprint, making it appear that though Ash was the legal owner of the copyright, he had allowed Royston to sell some of the books. Royston, nevertheless, must have known that he was taking a risk, for he took a further precaution in the preparation of this edition. He extracted the prayers for the King from the body of the text and put them in an appendix at the very end of the book. The appendix remained in place in Ash's copies, but in Royston's copies it was removed. It was in this form that the first edition went on sale. Royston's copies circulated in London and Ash sold his, presumably, from Worcester.
Royston's precautions, however, proved to be unnecessary, for *Holy Living* did not attract the attention of the censors. When a second edition was issued in 1651 the prayers for the King were incorporated into the text again (though the word "King" in them was replaced by the word "Ruler"). On Ash's death in that year Royston took over the copyright and brought out the third edition himself. He continued to reprint *Holy Living* until he died in 1686, bequeathing his copyright to his granddaughter, Elizabeth Maior. The last seventeenth century-editions, therefore, bear the imprint of Elizabeth's husband, Luke Meredith.

The Transmission of the Text

During Taylor's lifetime there were seven editions of *Holy Living*. Following the first edition, they appeared in 1651 (twice), 1654, 1656, 1660 and 1663. Another edition was issued in 1668, the year after Taylor's death. For the preparation of the present text, these first eight editions have been collated. Their bibliographical description appears at the end of this Introduction. The outstanding features of these editions as transmitters of the text are given below.

The text of the second edition of 1651 follows that of the first very closely, making it apparent that it was set from a copy of the edition of 1650. It contains, however, a number of alterations, including authorial corrections and revisions. A major alteration, as mentioned earlier, is the position in the text of the prayers that were placed in an appendix in the first edition. In the second edition, the prayers underwent a slight modification -- the words "King" and "Kingdom" were changed to "Ruler" and
"Dominion" -- and all of them were put back into the text. One of them appears at the end of Chapter I, another at the end of Chapter IV, and the rest in their appropriate place at the end of Chapter III. Yet another restoration in the second edition is a sentence in Chapter II, Section 6: "And when thy little misfortune troubles thee, remember that thou hast known the best of Kings, and the best of Men put to death publickly by his own subjects" (p. 184). This reference to the executed King was extracted from the text and put in the appendix for the same reason as the prayers. Like the prayers, it was quietly restored. In addition to these alterations, the second edition contains a number of revisions and other variants. Most of the variants consist of the addition or substitution of single words or phrases. Some of them are clearly due to the compositor's misreading but a few are obviously authorial. One longer revision, consisting of twelve words inserted into the middle of a sentence in Chapter I, Section 1 (p. 23.16-17), was reprinted only in the third edition and was not picked up by later editions.

The third edition of *Holy Living*, published in the same year, also describes itself as "The Second Edition" but is actually a line for line resetting of its predecessor. It corrects some of the mistakes of the second edition but adds mistakes of its own. There is no strong evidence to show the author's hand in the corrections. Most of them are of obvious printing errors of the second edition, and therefore can be ascribed to the compositors. I have consequently treated it as a derived text whose variants have little authority.
The fourth edition, issued in 1654, is an authoritative version of the text for it was, as its title page declares, corrected and augmented with "additionals" by the author. However, though Taylor did go over the text and even gave attention to the punctuation, neither the corrections nor the additions are very extensive. The corrections include clearer punctuation, repositioning of a few paragraphs and the rectification of compositor's errors. Apart from a number of new marginal notes, the most substantial additions are two paragraph-length passages in Chapters II and IV (pp. 123.23 - 124.19 and p. 335.14-23). The prayers for the King, which had been modified in the second edition, revert to their earlier form in this edition. The words "King" and "Kingdom" are restored to the text of the prayers and the substituted words "Ruler" and "Dominion" are dispensed with. This change was made possible, perhaps, by a relaxation of censorship after 1651.

In punctuation and other accidentals, the fourth edition is closer to the first than to the second or the third. This is one indication that its text does not derive from its immediate predecessors. A further indication is the fact that it does not pick up any of the revisions made in the second edition. The twelve word passage in I.i., for instance, which first appeared in the second edition and was reprinted in the third, does not appear in it or in any of the subsequent editions that derive from it. These details indicate that for the preparation of the fourth edition Taylor must have made his corrections and additions in a copy of the first edition. This was then used as printer's copy and no attempt was made to
compare it with copies of either the second or third editions in order to incorporate into it the earlier revisions.

Of subsequent editions, the fifth carries the claim of corrections and additions on its title-page though it contains none and is a page for page reprint of the fourth. The sixth, similarly, repeats the empty claim of "additionals" but is substantially a reprint of its predecessor. This last edition, however, received some authorial attention, though minimal. A copy of the fifth edition in the library of King's College, Cambridge, which was discovered by Robert Gathorne-Hardy, contains a number of corrections in Taylor's hand and a few of these corrections appear in the sixth edition. The most important of these corrections is the change of the term "communicative justice" in Chapter III to the appropriate one of "commutative justice." The correction of the mistake at this late date shows that though Taylor had seen and read different earlier editions, he had not at any time exhaustively proofread them. This major mistake went unnoticed in the previous five printings of the book. Besides corrections, the sixth edition has other small changes. It shows throughout an attempt by the printer at normalization of Taylor's punctuation and other accidentals. Colons, which Taylor often uses instead of periods, are turned into full stops; semi-colons are changed to colons and occasionally into commas. Though mostly preserving seventeenth-century spelling, the edition drops some archaic forms such as the terminal e in words like "drunkennesse." In general these orthographic changes reflect the changing norms of the post-Restoration period.
In 1660 the seventh edition was issued as an octavo instead of a duodecimo like the previous six editions. It reprints the corrections and shares the mistakes and other variants of the sixth edition, thereby showing that it was set from a copy of its predecessor. Its text, however, perhaps because it was being issued in a changed format, received some attention from both the author and the printer. From the appearance of new marginal notes (though most of these notes are no more than documentation of references made in the text), it is apparent that Taylor went through at least some parts of the text if not all of it. However, apart from a few minor corrections, he left it unchanged. The changes in spelling and typography that this edition exhibits are probably the work of the printer. The text throughout shows an effort to tidy up its appearance. Italics are more frequent and some direct quotations and proper names, which previous editions had allowed to stand in roman font, are italicised. This procedure was traditional practice but the earlier editions, reflecting the oversights of the manuscript, are erratic in their italicizations. Capitalization, on the other hand, is less frequent and less idiosyncratic in this edition. Following its predecessor, it normalizes punctuation and some forms of spelling, but also shows a further attempt at getting rid of archaisms. It regularizes, for instance, Taylor's use of "eat" as a past participle into "ate" (see textual note to p. 98.4-6). Most of these changes, as in the sixth edition, can be attributed to the compositor. It is possible, nevertheless, that Taylor may have agreed to some of them. For instance, italicization in some places is very precise, pinpointing quotations and phrases needing emphasis. Only the author could have isolated these passages and therefore must have agreed to the change in typography. In the
The present edition, such typographical changes have been incorporated into the text.

The eighth edition of *Holy Living*, issued after Taylor's death in 1668, is a resetting of the seventh and contributes nothing to the text. All later editions are, like the eighth, derived from the seventh.

To summarize the printing history, the second edition of *Holy Living* was set from a copy of the first edition and contains a number of authorial corrections and revisions which it shares only with its immediate successor. A straight resetting of the second, the third edition by itself is of no textual importance. The fourth edition was set from a copy of the first edition. It contains new additions and revisions, but omits the revisions of the second. The fifth is a line for line reprint of the fourth and makes no further contribution to the text. The sixth is a reprint of the fifth but contains a few authorial corrections. The seventh strays the farthest from the form of the accidentals of previous editions but substantially preserves the text of its predecessor. It contains new marginal notes and some corrections. The eighth edition is a reprint of the seventh. Therefore the most important versions of the text, after the first edition, are the second, fourth, sixth and seventh editions. Taylor gave his attention, in varying degrees, to all four of them. With the exception of the sixth edition, he added new material to them besides correcting mistakes and revising readings. The following diagram gives the genealogy of the different editions:
Another set of documents necessary to the edition of *Holy Living* remains to be noted. This consists of a copy each of the first and the fifth editions which were described by Robert Gathorne-Hardy in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 20 September, 1947, p. 484. The first edition that Gathorne-Hardy describes is a presentation copy that Taylor had given to his friend, William Wyat. It has a number of corrections and notes in Taylor's hand and, on a blank leaf at the end of the text, a long prayer. The fifth edition, belonging to the library of King's College, Cambridge, is also a presentation copy and contains a larger number of corrections and revisions in autograph. Apart from the prayer, none of Taylor's revisions in these copies consists of more than a few words. The longest is a sentence in the margin (see 324.4, note k). At some places he corrects or alters punctuation and corrects or adds Biblical references in the margin. At others, he changes the form of small phrases or substitutes single words. Some of these corrections were adopted in later editions of *Holy Living*, but
most, including the prayer in the first edition, have not as yet appeared in any printed version of the text.

The Present Edition

My purpose is to present a critical, old spelling edition of *Holy Living*. For my copy-text I have used a xeroxed reproduction of the Huntington Library copy of the first edition that bears the Royston or State III imprint. Since this copy lacks the appendix containing prayers for the King, it has been supplemented by a xeroxed reproduction of the appendix from a copy bearing the Francis Ash (or State I imprint) in the Library of Northern Illinois University. In the choice of copy-text I have generally followed the method advocated by Sir Walter Greg and Fredson Bowers. Since the first edition of 1650 was the only one among the early editions to have been printed from manuscript, I have chosen it as my copy-text in order to preserve the texture of the accidental, and incorporated into it all authorial revisions and additions that appear in later editions. Authorial revisions that appear in copies of the first and fifth editions described by Gathorne-Hardy are also, wherever possible, incorporated into my text. Those revisions or notes that I could not use due to illegibility or for other reasons have been noted in the textual apparatus.

Taylor's marginal notes do not appear in the margin in this edition but have been placed separately in one collection at the end of the text. Their location in the text is indicated by italic superscript letters of the alphabet which run in continuous sequences from a to z through each chapter. In accordance with seventeenth-century usage, the letter indicating the presence of a note appears before the line to which the note
applies instead of after as in most modern editions. Notes are corrected wherever necessary and the correction recorded in the textual apparatus. Greek notes are silently normalized and modern breathings are supplied. The form of scriptural references in the notes has also been silently normalized by replacing with a colon the period that Taylor uses between chapter and verse numbers. For instance, Taylor's reference to "Ezekiel 16.49" is in this edition changed to "Ezekiel 16:49."

The textual apparatus consists of two schedules placed at the end of the text after Taylor's notes. Textual notes appear in the first schedule and the emendation of accidentals in the second. I have ignored the accidentals of later editions, except when I have found it necessary to adopt them into the text or when they have a semi-substantive importance. I have not found it necessary to make substantive emendations on my own authority. All substantive emendations in the text have the authority of one or more of the later editions in which Taylor's revisions appear. In the textual notes, and in the notes concerning emendation of accidentals, the lemmata are those of the present text. In emendations, the sigla on the right side of the square bracket are those of the editions from which the reading has been adopted; the rest of the note records the reading of the copy text and of other editions. When a siglum does not appear in a note it indicates agreement with the lemma. A list of the sigla and of other abbreviations used in the notes is given at the end of this Introduction.

The Commentary appears after the textual apparatus. It contains explanatory notes, documentation of references and allusions that Taylor makes in the text, identification of his sources, and translations of his quotations and notes in classical and foreign languages. Quotations or
passages in other languages that Taylor himself translates in the text are ignored. The notes in the Commentary are keyed by page and line numbers.

Apart from the use of underlining to indicate italics, no attempt has been made in this edition to reproduce the typography of the copy-text. Ornamental letters and type of different sizes are silently normalized. One seventeenth-century convention that the copy-text does not always follow (and in this reflects the omissions of the manuscript) is the use of italics for all proper names and names of places. This edition silently corrects the omissions for the sake of uniformity and in accordance with the convention which Taylor generally follows.

Taylor often uses square brackets in combination with italic type for quotations. Since italics are sufficient to indicate quoted phrases and passages, the square brackets have not been retained. Exceptions for the use of square brackets are occasions where a parenthesis is intended for reference purposes, as in some of the prayers (e.g., on p. 68.17-22).

Other silent emendations include correction of obvious printing mistakes such as turned or transposed letters, normalization of the long s, and the separation of ligatures. The seventeenth-century usage of u-v and i-j as interchangeable letters has not been retained. All contractions such as the ampersand and the tilde are expanded. Words which use the apostrophe for contraction are also normalized: "oblig'd" and "endur'd," for instance, appear in this edition as "obliged" and "endured." Hyphenation used in the copy text is preserved in this edition only when it appears to be intentional. Other word divisions, such as "our selves" or "him self" are retained in the form in which they appear in the copy-text.
Notes


2 For a brief account of these ordinances, see Henry R. Plomer, Intro to A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), pp. xii-xvii.

3 Royston was an Anglican so devoted to his church that in his will he left his business and copyrights to his granddaughter on the condition that she married a member of the Church of England. See Plomer, p. 159.

4 The title-page of The Great Exemplar mentions the printer only by the initials "R.N.," but this is sufficient to identify Roger Norton, who was to become one of Royston's regular printers. A staunch Royalist, Norton petitioned unsuccessfully at the Restoration to be appointed King's Printer, as his father, Bonham Norton, had been. One of the grounds on which he made the petition was that he had been of service to the King during the Interregnum by printing Royalist publications. See Plomer, p. 139.

5 Royston had extensive connections with printers and booksellers in Oxford, which makes it likely that he had an establishment there as well as in London. After 1655, he published a number of Henry Hammond's works
jointly with Richard Davis, an Oxford bookseller (see Wing H568, H576 and H584). On his death he left bequests to several Oxford booksellers (Plomer, p. 159). It was probably because of his Oxford connections that he became acquainted with Taylor.


7 This was the 1650 reissue of the Treatises of two years earlier, augmented by the inclusion of The Great Exemplar. See No. 10A in Robert Gathorne-Hardy and William P. Williams, A Bibliography of the Works of Jeremy Taylor (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), p. 33.

SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

1 First Edition, 1650
2 Second Edition, 1651
3 Third Edition, 1651
4 Fourth Edition, 1654
5 Fifth Edition, 1656
6 Sixth Edition, 1660
7 Seventh Edition, 1663
8 Eighth Edition, 1668

cap  capitalized

cor  correction (corrected)
ed  this edition (or editor)
ital  italic font
lc   lower case
om   omitted
rom  roman font
-
-   used to repeat lemma in note
-
    used to call attention to absence of punctuation
+   placed after a siglum, indicates that subsequent editions are in agreement
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF EDITIONS COLLATED

Title: THE RULE AND EXERCISES OF HOLY LIVING. In which are described The Means and Instruments of obtaining every Vertue, and the Remedies against every Vice, and Considerations serving to the resisting all temptations. Together with Prayers containing the whole duty of A Christian, and the Parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions, and furnish'd for all Necessities. [rule] [flower enclosed in a box of fleurs-de-lis orns.] [rule] LONDON, Printed for Richard Royston at the Angel in Ivy-Lane. MDCL.
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Notes: The title-page of this copy omits the statement of edition. In other copies of this edition the statement "The Second [sic] Edition" is added after line 16 of the title.


Title: THE RULE | AND | EXERCISES | OF | HOLY LIVING. | In which are described | The Means and Instruments | of obtaining every Virtue, and the | Remedies against every Vice, and | Considerations serving to the | resisting all temptations. | Together with | Prayers containing the whole duty of | A Christian, and the parts of Devotion | fitted to all Occasions, and furnished | for all Necessities. | The second Edition. | [rule] | [orn.] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for Richard Royston | at the | Angel in Ivie-Lane. | MDCLI.

[Coll and Contents: As in No. 2 above.]


Title: THE RULE and EXERCISES | OF | Holy Living. | In which are described | The Means and Instruments | of obtaining every Virtue, and the | Remedies against every Vice, and | Considerations serving to the | resisting all Temptations. | Together with | Prayers containing the whole duty of a | Christian, and the parts of Devotion fitted to | all Occasions, and furnished


Contents: A¹, blank; A²r, engraved half-title (verso blank); A³r, title-page (verso blank); A⁴r-A⁹v, dedication to the Earl of Carbery; A¹⁰r-A¹²v, the table; B¹r-U⁴r, text; U⁴v-U⁶r, advertisement of books published by Royston; U⁶v, blank.


Coll: As in No. 4 above.

Contents: As in No. 4 above.

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Contents: A1, blank; A2r, blank; A2v, frontispiece; A3r, title-page (verso blank); A4r-A9v, dedication to the Earl of Carbery; A10r-A12v, the table; B1r-U4r, text; U4v-U5v, advertisement; U6r, "[band of orns.][rule]THE RULE and EXERCISES | OF | Holy Dying | [rule]|[band of orns.]" (verso blank).

Title: [all within double rules] THE | Rule and Exercises | OF | Holy Living.| In which are described The Means and Instruments of obtaining every Virtue, and the Remedies against every Vice, and Considerations serving to the resisting all Temptations. | Together with, | PRAYERS | Containing | The Whole duty of a Christian, | and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions, | and furnished for all Necessities. | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston. | Bookseller to His most Sacred Majestie. | [centered rule] | MDCLXIII.


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cv


Title: [all within double rules] THE | Rule and Exercises | OF | Holy Living.
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Contents: As in No. 7 above.
THE RULE AND EXERCISES

OF

HOLY LIVING

In which are described
The Means and Instruments
of obtaining every Vertue, and the
Remedies against every Vice, and
Considerations serving to the
resisting all temptations.

Together with
Prayers containing the whole duty of
A Christian, and the parts of Devotion
fitted to all Occasions, and furnished
for all Necessities.
The Epistle Dedicatory.

To the right Honourable and truly Noble
Richard Lord Vaughan,
Earl of Carbery, Baron of Emlin, and
Molingar, Knight of the honourable
Order of the Bath.

My Lord,

I have lived to see Religion painted upon Banners, and thrust out of Churches, and the Temple turned into a Tabernacle, and that Tabernacle made ambulatory, and covered with skins of Beasts and torn Curtains, and God to be worshipped not as he is the Father of our Lord Jesus (an afflicted Prince, the King of sufferings) nor, as the God of peace (which two appellatives God newly took upon him in the New Testament, and glories in for ever:) but he is owned now rather as the Lord of Hosts, which title he was pleased to lay aside when the Kingdom of the Gospel was preached by the Prince of peace. But when Religion puts on Armor, and God is not acknowledged by his New Testament titles, Religion may have in it the power of the Sword, but not the power of Godliness; and we may complain of this to God, and amongst them that are afflicted, but we have no remedy, but what we must expect from the fellowship of Christ's sufferings, and the returns of the God of peace. In the mean time, and now that Religion
pretends to stranger actions upon new principles; and men are apt to prefer a prosperous errour before an afflicted truth; and some will think they are religious enough if their worshippings have in them the prevailing ingredient; and the Ministers of Religion are so scattered that they cannot unite to stop the inundation, and from Chaires or Pulpits, from their Synods or Tribunals, chastise the iniquity of the errour and the ambition of evil Guides, and the infidelity of the willingly seduced multitude; and that those few good people who have no other plot in their religion but to serve God and save their soules, do want such assistances of ghostly counsel as may serve their emergent needs, and assist their endeavours in the acquist of vertues, and relieve their dangers when they are tempted to sinne and death, I thought I had reasons enough inviting me to draw into one body those advices which the severall necessities of many men must use at some time or other, and many of them, daily: that by a collection of holy precepts they might lesse feel the want of personall and attending Guides, and that the rules for conduct of soules might be committed to a Book which they might alwayes have; since they could not alwayes have a Prophet at their needs, nor be suffered to go up to the house of the Lord to inquire of the appointed Oracles.

I know, my Lord, that there are some interested persons who adde scorn to the afflictions of the Church of England, and because she is afflicted by Men, call her forsaken of the Lord, and because her solemn assemblies are scattered, think that the
Religion is lost, and the Church divorced from God, supposing CHRIST (who was a Man of sorrows) to be angry with his Spouse when she is like him, (for that's the true state of the Errour) and that he who promised his Spirit to assist his servants in their troubles, will, because they are in trouble take away the Comforter from them, who cannot be a comforter, but while he cures our sadnesses, and relieves our sorrowes, and turns our persecutions into joyes, and Crowns, and Scepters. But concerning the present state of the Church of England, I consider, that because we now want the blessings of external communion in many degrees, and the circumstances of a prosperous and unafflicted people, we are to take estimate of our selves with single judgements, and every Man is to give sentence concerning the state of his own soul by the precepts and rules of our Lawgiver, not by the after decrees and usages of the Church, that is, by the essential parts of Religion rather then by the uncertain significations of any exterioeur adherencies: for though it be uncertain, when a Man is the Member of a Church, whether he be a Member of Christ or no, because in the Churches Net there are fishes good and bad; yet we may be sure that if we be Members of Christ, we are of a Church to all purposes of spiritual religion and salvation: and in order to this give me leave to speak this great truth.

That Man does certainly belong to God, who Believes and is baptized into all the Articles of the Christian faith, and studies to improve his knowledge in the matters of God, so as may best make him to live a holy life. He that in obedience
to Christ worships God diligently, frequently, and constantly
with natural Religion, that is, of prayer, praises, and thanksgiving.

3 He that takes all opportunities to remember Christ's death by a
frequent Sacrament (as it can be had) or else by inward acts
of understanding, will, and memory (which is the spiritual

4 communion) supplies the want of the external rite.

5 He that lives chastely.

5 And is merciful.

6 And despises the World, using it as a Man, but never suffering it to rifle a duty.

7 And is just in his dealing, and diligent in his calling.

8 He that is humble in his spirit.

9 And obedient to Government.

10 And content in his fortune and imployment.

11 He that does his duty because he loves God.

12 And especially if after all this he be afflicted, and patient, or prepared to suffer affliction
for the cause of God. The Man that hath these twelve signes of grace and predestination does as certainly belong to God, and is

15 his Son, as surely as he is his creature.

And if my brethren in persecution, and in the bands of the
Lord Jesus can truly shew these markes, they shall not need be
troubled that others can shew a prosperous outside, great revenues,
publick assemblies, uninterrupted successions of Bishops,
prevailing Armies, or any arme of flesh, or lesse certain
circumstance. These are the markes of the Lord Jesus, and
the characters of a Christian: This is a good Religion: and
these things Gods grace hath put into our powers, and Gods
Lawes have made to be our duty, and the nature of Men, and the

20 needs of Common-wealths have made to be necessary: the other
accidents and pomps of a Church are things without our power, and are not in our choice; they are good to be used when they may be had, and they help to illustrate or advantage it: but if any of them constitute a Church in the being of a society and a Government, yet they are not of its constitution as it is Christian, and hopes to be saved.

And now the case is so with us that we are reduced to that Religion which no Man can forbid; which we can keep in the midst of a persecution; by which the Martyrs in the dayes of our Fathers went to Heaven; that by which we can be servants of God, and receive the Spirit of Christ, and make use of his comforts, and live in his love, and in charity with all men, and they that do so cannot perish.

My Lord, I have now described some general lines and features of that Religion which I have more particularly set down in the following pages: in which I have neither served nor disserved the interest of any party of Christians as they are divided by uncharitable names from the rest of their brethren; and no Man will have reason to be angry with me for refusing to mingle in his unnecessary or vitious quarrels: especially while I study to doe him good by conducting him in the narrow way to Heaven, without intricating him in the Labyrinths and wilde turnings of Questions, and uncertaine talkings. I have told what Men ought to do; and by what means they may be assisted; and in most cases I have also told them why; and yet with as much quicknesse as I could thinke necessary to establish a Rule,
and not to engage in Homily or Discourse. In the use of which
Rules (although they are plain, useful, and fitted for the best,
and for the worst understandings, and for the needs of all men,
yet) I shall desire the Reader to proceed with the following
advices.

1. They that will with profit make use of the proper
instruments of vertue, must so live, as if they were alwayes
under the Physicians hand. For the Counsels of Religion are
not to be applyed to the distempers of the soul, as men use to
take Hellebore; but they must dwell together with the Spirit of
a man, and be twisted about his understanding for ever: They must
be used like nourishment; that is, by a daily care and meditation;
not like a single medicine, and upon the actual pressure of a
present necessity. For counsels and wise discourses applyed to
an actual distemper, at the best are but like strong smels to an
Epileptick person, sometimes they may raise him, but they never
cure him. The following rules if they be made familiar to our
natures, and the thoughts of every day, may make Vertue and
Religion become easy and habitual; but when the temptation is
present, and hath already seized upon some portions of our consent,
we are not so apt to be counselled, and we finde no gust or relish
in the Precept: the lessons are the same, but the instrument is
unstrung, or out of tune.

2. In using the instruments of vertue we must be curious
to distinguish instruments from duties; and prudent advices
from necessary injunctions; and if by any other means the duty
can be secured, let there be no scruples stirred concerning any
other helps; onely, if they can in that case strengthen and secure
the duty, or help towards perseverance, let them serve in that
station in which they can be placed. For there are some persons
in whom the Spirit of God hath breathed so bright a flame of love,
that they do all their acts of vertue by perfect choice, and
without objection; and their zeal is warmer then that it will
be allayed by temptation: and to such persons mortification by
Philosophical instruments, as fasting, sack cloth, and other
rudenesses to the body is wholly useless: It is alwayes a more
uncertain means to acquire any vertue, or secure any duty; and
if love hath filled all the corners of our soul, it alone is
able to do all the work of God.

3. Be not nice in stating the obligations of Religion; but
where the duty is necessary, and the means very reasonable in it
self, dispute not too busily whether in all Circumstances it can
fit thy particular; but super totam materiam; upon the whole,
make use of it. For it is a good signe of a great Religion, and
no imprudence when we have sufficiently considered the substance
of affairs, then to be easy, humble, obedient, apt and credulous
in the circumstances which are appointed to us in particular by
our spiritual Guides, or in general, by all wise men in cases not
unlike. He that gives Almes, does best, not alwayes to consider
the minutes and strict measures of his ability, but to give freely,
incuriously and abundantly. A man must not weigh grains in the
accounts of his repentence; but for a great sinne have a great
sorrow, and a great severity; and in this take the ordinary
advices; though it may be, a lesse rigour might not be insufficient: 
ἀκριβεῖος καταλογογραφημένος, or Arithmetical measures, especially of our own 
proportioning, are but arguments of want of Love, and of forwardnesse in Religion; or else are instruments of scruple, and then become dangerous. Use the rule heartily and enough, and there will be no harme in thy errour, if any should happen.

4. If thou intendest heartily to serve God, and avoid sinne in any one instance, refuse not the hardest and most severe advice that is prescribed in order to it, though possibly it be a stranger to thee; for whatsoever it be, custome will make it easy.

5. When many instruments for the obtaining any vertue or restraining any vice are propounded, observe which of them fits thy person, or the circumstances of thy need, and use it rather then the other: that by this means thou may'st be engaged to watch and use spiritual arts and observation about thy soul. Concerning the managing of which as the interest is greater, so the necessities are more, and the cases more intricate, and the accidents and dangers greater and more importunate; and there is greater skill required then in the securing an estate, or restoring health to an infirme body. I wish all men in the world did heartily believe so much of this as is true; it would very much help to do the work of God.

Thus (My Lord) I have made bold by your hand to reach out this little scroll of cautions to all those who by seeing your honoured name set before my Book, shall by the fairnes of such a Frontispiece be invited to look into it. I must confess it
cannot but look like a designe in me, to borrow your name and beg your Patronage to my book, that if there be no other worth in it, yet at least it may have the splendour and warmth of a burning glasse, which borrowing a flame from the Eye of Heaven, shines and burns by the rayes of the Sun its patron. I will not quit my self from the suspicion: for I cannot pretend it to be a present either of it self fit to be offered to such a Personage, or any part of a just return, (but I humbly desire you would own it for an acknowledgement) of those great endearments, and noblest usages you have past upon me: But so, men in their Religion, give a piece of Gum, or the fat of a cheap Lamb in Sacrifice to him that gives them all that they have or need: and unlesse He who was pleased to impoy your Lordship as a great Minister of his Providence in making a Promise of his good to me, the meanest of his servants (that he would never leave me nor forsake me) shall enable me by greater services of Religion to pay my great Debt to your Honour, I must still increase my score; since I shall now spend as much in my needs of pardon for this boldnesse, as in the reception of those favours by which I stand accountable to your Lordship in all the bands of service and gratitude; though I am in the deepest sense of duty and affection

My most Honoured Lord,

Your Honours most obliged and
Most Humble Servant

JER: TAYLOR
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Section 10

Of Preparation to and the manner how to receive the
holy Sacraments of the Lords Supper

14 Rules for Preparation and worthy Communicating

The effects of benefits of worthy Communicating

Prayers for all sorts of Men, and all necessities relating
to the several parts of the vertue of religion
Consideration of the general instruments and means
serving to a holy Life: by way of
Introduction

It is necessary that every Man should consider, that since
God hath given him an excellent nature, wisdom and choice, an
understanding soul, and an immortal spirit, having made him Lord
over the Beasts, and but a little lower then the Angels; he hath
also appointed for him a work and a service great enough to imploy
those abilities, and hath also designed him to a state of life
after this, to which he can onely arrive by that service and
obedience. And therefore as every man is wholly Gods own portion
by the title of creation: so all our labours and care, all our
powers and faculties must be wholly imployed in the service of
God, even all the dayes of our life, that this life being ended,
we may live with him for ever.

Neither is it sufficient that we think of the service of
God as a work of the least necessity, or of small imployment; but
that it be done by us as God intended it; that it be done with
great earnestnesse and passion, with much zeal and desire: that
we refuse no labour, that we bestow upon it much time, that we use
the best guides, and arrive at the end of glory by all the ways
of grace, of prudence and religion.

And indeed if we consider how much of our lives is taken
up by the needs of nature, how many years are wholly spent before
we come to any use of reason, how many years more before that
reason is useful to us to any great purposes, how imperfect our
discourse is made by our evil education, false principles, ill
company, bad examples, and want of experience; how many parts of
our wisest and best years are spent in eating and sleeping, in
necessary businesses, and unnecessary vanities, in worldly civilities,
and lesse useful circumstances, in the learning arts and sciences,
languages or trades; that little portion of hours that is left
for the practises of piety, and religious walking with God, is
so short and trifling, that were not the goodnesse of God infinitely
great, it might seem unreasonable or impossible for us to expect
of him eternal joyes in heaven, even after the well spending those
few minutes which are left for God, and Gods service, after we
have served our selves, and our own occasions.

And yet it is considerable, that the fruit which comes from
the many dayes of recreation and vanity is very little, and
although we scatter much, yet we gather but little profit: but
from the few hours we spend in prayer and the exercises of a pious
life, the return is great and profitable; and what we sowe in the
minutes and spare portions of a few years, grows up to crowns and
scepters in a happy and a glorious eternity.
1. Therefore, although it cannot be enjoyned, that the greatest part of our time be spent in the direct actions of devotion and religion, yet it will become, not onely a duty, but also a great providence to lay aside for the services of God, and the businesses of the Spirit as much as we can: because God rewards our minutes with long and eternal happinesse; and the greater portion of our time we give to God, the more we treasure up for our selves; and No man is a better Merchant than he that layes out his time upon God, and his money upon the Poor.

2. Onely it becomes us to remember and to adore Gods goodnesse for it, that God hath not onely permitted us to serve the necessities of our nature, but hath made them to become parts of our duty; that if we by directing these actions to the glory of God intend them as instruments to continue our persons in his service, he by adopting them into religion may turn our nature into grace, and accept our natural actions, as actions of religion. God is pleased to esteem it for a part of his service, if we eat or drink; so it be done temperately, and as may best preserve our health, that our health may enable our services towards him: And there is no one minute of our lives (after we are come to the use of reason) but we are, or may be doing the work of God, even then when we most of all serve our selves.

3. To which if we adde, that in these and all other actions of our lives we always stand before God, acting, and speaking and thinking in his presence, and that it matters not that our
conscience is sealed with secrecy, since it lies open to God, it will concern us to behave our selves carefully, as in the presence of our Judge.

These three considerations rightly managed, and applyed to the several parts and instances of our lives, will be like Elisha stretched upon the childe, apt to put life and quicknesse into every part of it, and to make us live the life of grace, and do the work of God.

I shall therefore by way of introduction reduce these three to practise, and shew how every Christian may improve all and each of these to the advantage of piety, in the whole course of his life: that if he please to bear but one of them upon his spirit, he may feel the benefit, like an universal instrument, helpful in all spiritual and temporal actions.
SECTION 1

The first general instrument
of holy living: Care of our time.

He that is choice of his time will also be choice of his company, and choice of his actions, lest the first ingage him in vanity and losse, and the latter by being criminal be a throwing his time and himself away, and a going back in the accounts of eternity.

God hath given to man a short time here upon earth, and yet upon this short time eternity depends: but so, that for every hour of our life (after we are persons capable of laws, and know good from evil) we must give account to the great Judge of Men and Angels. And this is it which our blessed Saviour told us, that we must account for every idle word; not meaning, that every word which is not designed to edification, or is less prudent, shall be reckoned for a sin, but that besides our sinful and hurtful, our tempting or malicious language, even the time which we spend in our idle talking and unprofitable discoursings, that time which might and ought to have been imployed to spiritual and useful purposes, that is to be accounted for.

For we must remember, that we have a great work to do, many enemies to conquer, many evils to prevent, much danger to run through, many difficulties to be mastered, many necessitie
serve, and much good to do, many children to provide for, or many friends to support, or many poor to relieve, or many diseases to cure, besides the needs of nature, and of relation, our private and our public cares, and duties of the world, which necessity and the Providence of God hath adopted into the family of Religion.

And that we need not fear this instrument to be a snare to us, or that the duty must end in scruple, vexation, and eternal fears, we must remember, that the life of every man may be so ordered (and indeed must,) that it may be a perpetual serving of God: The greatest trouble and most busy trade, and worldly incombrances, when they are necessary or charitable, or profitable in order to any of those ends, which we are bound to serve whether publick or private, being a doing Gods work. For God provides the good things of the world to serve the needs of nature, by the labours of the Plowman, the skill and pains of the Artisan, and the dangers and traffick of the Merchant: These men are in their callings the Ministers of the Divine providence, and the stewards of the creation, and servants of the great family of God, the World, in the imployment of procuring necessaries for food and clothing, ornament and Physick. In their proportions also, a King and a Priest, and a Prophet, a Judge and an Advocate, doing the works of their imployment according to their proper rules, are doing the work of God, because they serve those necessities which God hath made, and yet made no provisions for them but by their Ministry. So that no man can complain, that his calling
takes him off from religion, his calling itself and his very worldly
employment, in honest trades and offices, is a serving of God,
and if it be moderately pursued, and according to the rules of
Christian prudence, will leave void spaces enough for prayers and
retirements of a more spiritual religion.

God hath given every man work enough to do, that there shall
be no room for idlenesse, and yet hath so ordered the world, that
there shall be space for devotion. He that hath the fewest
businesses of the world, is called upon to spend more time in
the dressing of his soul, and he that hath the most affairs, may
so order them, that they shall be a service of God; whilst at
certain periods they are blessed with prayers and actions of
religion, and all day long are hallowed by a holy intention.

However, so long as Idlenessee is quite shut out from our
lives, all the sins of wantonnesse, softnesse and effeminacy
are prevented, and there is but little room left for temptation: and
therefore to a busie man temptation is fain to climbe up together
with his businesses, and sins creep upon him onely by accidents
and occasions; whereas to an idle person they come in a full
body, and with open violence, and the impudence of a restlesse
importunity.

Idlenessee is called the sin of Sodom and her daughters,
and indeed is the burial of a living man, an idle person being
so uselesse to any purposes of God and man, that he is like one
that is dead, unconcerned in the changes and necessities of the
world: and he only lives to spend his time, and eat the fruits
of the earth, like vermin or a wolf, when their time comes they
26.
dye and perish, and in the mean time do no good; they neither plow
nor carry burdens: all that they do, either is unprofitable, or
mischievous.

Idlenesse is the greatest prodigality in the world: it throwes
away that, which is invaluable in respect of its present use, and
irreparable when it is past, being to be recovered by no power
of art or nature. But the way to secure and improve our time
we may practise in the following rules.

**Rules for employing our Time.**

1. In the morning, when you awake, accustome your self
to think first upon God, or something in order to his service;
and at night also, let him close thine eyes; and let your sleep
be necessary and healthful, not idle and expensive of time, beyond
the needs and conveniencies of nature; and sometimes be curious
to see the preparation which the sun makes, when he is coming
forth from his chambers of the East.

2. Let every man that hath a calling, be diligent in
pursuance of its imployment, so as not lightly, or without
reasonable occasion to neglect it in any of those times, which
are usually and by the custome of prudent persons and good husbands
employed in it.

3. Let all the Intervals, or void spaces of time be employed
in prayers, reading, meditating, works of nature, recreation,
charitie, friendlinesse and neighbourhood, and means of spiritual
and corporal health: ever remembring, so to work in our calling, as not to neglect the work of our high calling; but to begin and end the day with God, with such forms of devotion, as shall be proper to our necessities.

4. The resting dayes of Christians, and Festivals of the Church must in no sense be dayes of idlenesse: for it is in itself better to plow upon holy dayes, then to do nothing, or to do vitiously; but let them be spent in the works of the day; that is, of Religion and Charity, according to the rules appointed.

5. Avoid the company of Drunkards and busie-bodies, and all such as are apt to talk much to little purpose: for no man can be provident of his time, that is not prudent in the choice of his company: and if one of the Speakers be vain, tedious and trifling, he that hears, and he that answers in the discourse are equal losers of their time.

6. Never talk with any man, or undertake any trifling employment meerly to passe the time away: for every day well spent may become a day of salvation, and time rightly employed is an acceptable time. And remember, that the time thou triflest away was given thee to repent in, to pray for pardon of sins, to work out thy salvation, to do the work of grace, to lay up against the day of Judgement, a treasure of good works, that thy time may be crowned with Eternity.

7. In the midst of the works of thy calling often retire to God in short prayers and ejaculations, and those may make up
the want of those larger portions of time, which it may be thou
desirest for devotion, and in which thou thinkest other persons
have advantage of thee: for so thou reconcilest the outward work,
and thy inward calling, the Church and the Commonwealth, the
employment of thy body and the interest of thy soul; for be sure,
that God is present at thy breathings and hearty sighings of prayer
assoon, as at the longer offices of lesse busied persons; and
thy time is as truely sanctified by a trade, and devout, though
shorter prayers, as by the longer offices of those whose time
is not filled up with labour and useful businesse.

8. Let your imployment be such as may become a reasonable
person; and not be a businesse fit for children or distracted
people; but fit for your age and understanding. For a man may
be very idlely busy, and take great pains to so little purpose,
that in his labors and expence of time he shall serve no end but
of folly, and vanity. There are some Trades, that wholly serve
the ends of idle persons and fools; and such as are fit to be
seized upon by the severity of laws, and banisht from under the
sun: and there are some people who are busy, but it is as Domitian
was, in catching flyes.

9. Let your imployment be fitted to your person and calling.
Some there are that imploy their time in affairs infinitely below
the dignity of their person, and being called by God, or by the
Republick to help to bear great burdens, and to judge a people,
do enfeeble their understandings, and disable their persons by
sordid and bruitish businesse. Thus Nero went up and down Greece,
and challenged the Fidlers at their trade. Aeropus a Macedonian King made Lanterns. Harcatius the King of Parthia was a Mole-catcher: and Biantes the Lydian filed needles. He that is appointed to minister in holy things, must not suffer secular affairs and sordid arts to eat up great portions of his imployment: a Clergy man must not keep a Tavern, nor a Judge be an Inne-keeper; and it was a great idlenesse in Theophylact the Patriarch of C.P. to spend his time in his stable of horses, when he should have been in his study, or the Pulpit, or saying his holy offices. Such imployments are the diseases of labour, and the rust of time which it contracts, not by lying still, but by dirty imployment.

10. Let your employments be such as becomes a Christian, that is, in no sense mingled with sin; for he that takes pains to serve the ends of covetousness, or ministers to another's lust, or keeps a shop of impurities or intemperance, is idle in the worst sense; for every hour so spent runs him backward, and must be spent again in the remaining and shorter part of his life, and spent better.

11. Persons of great quality, and of no trade, are to be most prudent and curious in their imployments and traffick of time. They are miserable, if their education hath been so loose and undisciplined, as to leave them unfurnished of skill to spend their time: but most miserable are they, if such misgovernment and unskilfulness make them fall into vicious and baser company, and drive on their time by the sad minutes and periods of sin and death. They that are learned know the worth of time, and
the manner how well to improve a day; and they are to prepare
themselves for such purposes, in which they may be most useful
in order to arts and arms: to counsel in publick, or government
in their Countrey: But for others of them that are unlearned,
let them choose good company, such as may not tempt them to a vice,
or joyn with them in any; but that may supply their defects by
counsel and discourse, by way of conduct or conversation. Let
them learn easy and useful things, read history, and the laws of
the Land, learn the customs of their Countrey, the condition of
their own estate, profitable and charitable contrivances of it:
let them study prudently to govern their families, learn the
burdens of their Tenants, the necessities of their neighbours,
and in their proportion supply them, and reconcile their enmities,
and prevent their Law-suits, or quickly end them and in this glut
of leisure and disimployment, let them set apart greater portions
of their time for religion, and the necessities of their Souls.

12. Let the women of noble birth and great fortunes do
the same things in their proportions and capacities, nurse their
children, look to the affairs of the house, visit poor cottages,
and relieve their necessities, be curteous to the neighbourhood,
learn in silence of their husbands, or their spiritual Guides,
read good books, pray often, and speak little, and learn to do
good works for necessary uses, for by that phrase S. Paul expresses
the obligation of Christian women to good houswifery, and
charitable provisions for their family and neighbourhood.
13. Let all persons of all conditions avoid all delicacy and nicenesse in their clothing or diet, because such softnesse engages them upon great mispendings of their time, while they dress and combe out all their opportunities of their morning devotion, and half the dayes severity, and sleep out the care and provision for their Souls.

14. Let every one of every condition avoid curiosity, and all enquiry into things that concern them not. For all businesse in things that concern us not, is an employing our time to no good of ours, and therefore not in order to a happy Eternity. In this account our neighbours necessities are not to be reckoned; for they concern us as one member is concerned in the grief of another; but going from house to house, tatlers, and busie-bodies, which are the canker and rust of idlenesse, as idlenesse is the rust of time, are reprooved by the Apostle in severe language, and forbidden in order to this exercise.

15. As much as may be, cut off all impertinent and uselesse employments of your life, unnecessary and phantastick visits, long waitings upon great personages, where neither duty nor necessity, nor charity obliges us, all vain meetings, all laborious trifles, and whatsoever spends much time to no real, civil, religious, or charitable purpose.

16. Let not your recreations be lavish spenders of your time, but choose such which are healthful, short, transient, recreative,
and apt to refresh you; but at no hand dwell upon them, or make them your great employment: for he that spends his time in sports, and calls it recreation, is like him, whose garment is all made of fringes, and his meat nothing but sawces, they are healthlesse, chargeable and uselesse. And therefore avoid such games which require much time or long attendance; or which are apt to steal thy affections from more severe employments. For to whatsoever thou hast given thy affections, thou wilt not grudge to give thy time. Natural necessity and the example of St. John (who recreated himself with sporting with a tame Partridge) teach us that it is lawful to relax and unbend our bow, but not to suffer it to be unready or unstrung.

17. Set apart some portions of every day for more solemn devotion and religious employment, which be severe in observing: and if variety of employment or prudent affairs, or civil society presse upon you, yet so order thy rule, that the necessary parts of it be not omitted; and though just occasions may make your prayers shorter, yet let nothing but a violent, sudden and impatient necessity make thee upon any one day wholly to omit thy morning and evening devotions; which if you be forced to make very short, you may supply and lengthen with ejaculations and short retirements in the day time in the midst of your employment, or of your company.

18. Do not the work of God negligently and idlely: let not thy heart be upon the world, when thy hand is lift up in prayer: and be sure to prefer an action of religion in its place
and proper season before all worldly pleasure, letting secular things (that may be dispensed with in themselves,) in these circumstances wait upon the other; not like the Patriarch who ran from the Altar in S. Sophia to his stable in all his Pontificals, and in the midst of his office, to see a Colt newly fallen from his beloved and much valued Mare Phorbante. More prudent and severe was that of Sir Thomas More, who being sent for by the King when he was at his prayers in publick, returned answer, he would attend him when he had first performed his service to the KING of Kings. And it did honour to Rusticus, that when Letters from Caesar were given to him, he refused to open them, till the Philosopher had done his Lecture. In honouring God and doing his work, put forth all thy strength, for of that time onely thou mayest be most confident that it is gained, which is prudently and zealously spent in Gods Service.

19. When the Clock strikes, or however else you shall measure the day, it is good to say a short ejaculation every hour, that the parts and returns of devotion may be the measure of your time; and do so also in all the breaches of thy sleep, that those spaces which have in them no direct businesse of the world may be filled with religion.

20. If by thus doing you have not secured your time by an early and forehanded care, yet be sure by a timely diligence to redeem the time, that is, to be pious and religious in such instances in which formerly you have sinned, and to bestow your time especially upon such graces, the contrary whereof you have
formerly practised, doing actions of chastity and temperance
with as great a zeal and earnestnesse as you did once act your
uncleannesse: and then, by all arts to watch against your present
and future dangers, from day to day securing your standing; this
is properly to redeem your time, that is, to buy your security
of it at the rate of any labour and honest arts.

21. Let him that is most busied set apart some solemn
time every year, in which, for the time quitting all worldly
businesse, he may attend wholly to fasting and prayer, and the
dressing of his soul by confessions, meditations and attendances
upon God; that he may make up his accounts, renew his vows, make
amends for his carlessenesse, and retire back again from whence
levity and the vanities of the world, or the importunity of
temptations, or the distraction of secular affairs have carried
him.

22. In this we shall be much assisted, and we shall finde
the work more easie, if before we sleep every night we examine
the actions of the past day with a particular scrutiny, if there
have been any accident extraordinary: as, long discourse, a Feast,
much businesse, variety of company: If nothing but common hath
happened, the lesse examination will suffice: only let us take
care that we sleep not without such a recollection of the actions
of the day, as may represent any thing that is remarkable, and
great, either to be the matter of sorrow or thanksgiving: for
other things, a general care is proportionable.
23. Let all these things be done *prudently and moderately*; not with scruple and vexation. For these are good advantages, but the particulars are not divine commandments; and therefore are to be used as shall be found expedient to every one's condition.

For, provided that our duty be secured; for the degrees and for the instruments, every man is permitted to himself and the conduct of such who shall be appointed to him. He is happy, that can secure every hour to a sober or a pious imployment: but the duty consists not scrupulously in minutes and half hours, but in greater portions of time; provided, that no minute be employed in sin, and the great portions of our time be spent in sober employment; and all the appointed dayes and some portions of every day be allowed for Religion. In all the lesser parts of time we are left to our own elections and prudent management, and to the consideration of the great degrees and differences of glory that are laid up in Heaven for us, according to the degrees of our care and piety and diligence.

**The benefits of this Exercise.**

This exercise, besides that it hath influence upon our whole lives, it hath a special efficacy for the preventing of 1. Beggerly sins, that is, those sins which idlenesse and beggery usually betray men to; such as are lying, flattery, stealing, and dissimulation. 2. It is a proper antidote against carnal sins, and such as proceed from fulnesse of bread and emptinesse of imployment. 3. It is a great instrument of preventing the
smallest sins and irregularities of our life, which usually creep upon idle, disimployed, and incurious persons. 4. It not onely teaches us to avoid evil, but ingages us upon doing good, as the proper businesse of all our dayes. 5. It prepares us so against sudden changes, that we shall not easily be surprised at the sudden coming of the day of the Lord: For he that is curious of his time, will not easily be unready and unfurnished.
SECTION 2

The second general instrument of
Holy Living:

Purity of intention.

That we should intend and designe Gods glory in every action we do, whether it be natural or chosen, is expressed by Ps. Paul, Whether ye eat or drink, do all to the glory of God: Which rule, when we observe; every action of nature becomes religious, and every meal is an act of worship, and shall have its reward in its proportion, as well as an act of prayer. Blessed be that goodnesse and grace of God, which out of infinite desire to glorifie and save mankinde, would make the very works of nature capable of becoming acts of vertue, that all our life time we may do him service.

This grace is so excellent, that it sanctifies the most common action of our life, and yet so necessary, that without it the very best actions of our devotion are imperfect and vitious. For he that prayes out of custome, or gives almes for praise, or fasts to be accounted religious, is but a Pharisee in his devotion, and a beggar in his alms, and an hypocrite in his fast. But a holy end sanctifies all these, and all other actions which can be made holy and gives distinction to them and procures acceptance.
For, as to know the end, distinguishes a Man from a Beast: so to chuse a good end, distinguishes him from an evil man. 

Hezekiah repeated his good deeds upon his sick bed, and obtained favour of God; but the Pharisee was accounted insolent for doing the same thing: because this man did it to upbraid his brother, the other to obtain a mercy of God. Zecharias questioned with the Angel about his message, and was made speechlesse for his incredulity; but the blessed Virgin Mary questioned too, and was blamelesse; for she did it to enquire after the manner of the thing; but he did not believe the thing it self: He doubted of Gods power, or the truth of the Messenger; but she only of her own incapacity. This was it which distinguished the mourning of David from the exclamation of Saul: the confession of Pharaoh from that of Manasses; the tears of Peter from the repentance of Judas: "For the praise is not in the deed done, but in the manner of its doing. If a man visits his sick friend, and watches at his pillow for charity sake, and because of his old affection we approve it; but if he does it in hope of legacy, he is a Vulture, and only watches for the carkasse. The same things are honest and dishonest: the manner of doing them, and the end of the designe makes the separation."

Holy intention is to the actions of a man that which the soul is to the body, or form to its matter, or the root to the tree, or the Sun to the World, or the Fountain to a River, or the Base to a Pillar: for without these the body is a dead trunk, the matter is sluggish, the tree is a block, the world
is darknesse, the river is quickly dry, the pillar rushes into flatnesse and a ruine; and the action is sinful, or unprofitable and vain. The poor Farmer that gave a dish of cold water to Artaxerxes was rewarded with a golden goblet; and he that gives the same present to a Disciple in the name of a Disciple shall have a Crown: but if he gives water in despite when the Disciple needs wine or a Cordial, his reward shall be to want that water to cool his tongue. But this duty must be reduced to rules.

Rules for our intentions.

1. In every action reflect upon the end; and in your undertaking it, consider why you do it, and what you propound to yourself for a reward, and to your action as its end.

2. Begin every action in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: the meaning of which is, 1. that we be careful, that we do not the action without the permission or warrant of God. 2. That we designe it to the glory of God, if not in the direct action, yet at least in its consequence; if not in the particular, yet at least in the whole order of things and accidents. 3. That it may be so blessed, that what you intend for innocent and holy purposes, may not by any chance or abuse, or misunderstanding of men be turned into evil, or made the occasion of sin.

3. Let every action of concernment be begun with prayer, that God would not onely bless the action, but sanctifie your
purpose; and make an oblation of the action to God: holy and well intended actions being the best oblations and presents we can make to God; and when God is entitled to them, he will the rather keep the fire upon the Altar bright and shining.

4. In the prosecution of the action, renew and re-inkindle your purpose by short ejaculations to these purposes. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name let all praise be given: and consider, Now I am working the work of God: I am his servant, I am in a happy imployment, I am doing my Masters businesse; I am not at my own dispose, I am using his talents, and all the gain must be his: for then be sure, as the glory is his, so the reward shall be thine. If thou bringest his goods home with increase, he will make thee ruler over Cities.

5. Have a care that while the Altar thus sends up a holy fume, thou doest not suffer the birds to come and carry away the Sacrifice: that is, let not that which began well, and was intended for Gods glory, decline, and end in thy own praise, or temporal satisfaction, or a sin. A story told to represent the vilenesse of unchastity is well begun; but if thy female auditor be pleased with thy language, and begins rather to like thy person for thy story, then to dislike the crime: be watchful, lest this goodly head of gold descend in silver and brasse, and end in iron and clay, like Nebuchadnezzars image; for from the end it shall have its name and reward.
6. If any accidental event which was not first intended by thee can come to passe, let it not be taken into thy purposes, nor at all be made use of; as if by telling a true story you can do an ill turn to your enemy, by no means do it; but when the temptation is found out, turn all thine enmity upon that.

7. In every more solemn action of Religion, joyn together many good ends, that the consideration of them may entertain all your affections, and that when any one ceases, the purity of your intention may be supported by another supply. He that fasts only to tame a rebellious body, when he is provided of a remedy either in Grace or Nature, may be tempted to leave off his fasting. But he that in his fast intends the mortification of every unruly appetite, an accustoming himself to bear the yoke of the Lord, a contempt of the pleasures of meat and drink, humiliation of all wilder thoughts, obedience, and humility, austerity and charity, and the convenience and assistance to devotion, and to do an act of repentance; whatever happens, will have reason enough to make him to continue his purpose, and to sanctifie it. And certain it is, the more good ends are designed in an action, the more degrees of excellency the man obtains.

8. If any temptation to spoil your purpose happens in a religious duty, do not presently omit the action, but rather strive to rectifie your intention and to mortifie the temptation. S. Bernard taught us this rule. For when the Devil observing him to preach excellently, and to do much benefit to his hearers, tempted him to vain glory, hoping that the good man to avoid that, would cease preaching, he gave this answer onely, I neither
began for thee, neither for thee will I make an end.

9. In all actions which are of long continuance, deliberation and abode, let your holy and pious intention be actual, that is, that it be by a special prayer, or action, by a peculiar act of resignation or oblation be given to God: but in smaller actions, and little things, and indifferent, fail not to secure a pious habitual intention, that is, that it be included within your general care, that no action have an ill end; and that it be comprehended in your general prayers, whereby you offer yourself and all you do to God's glory.

10. Call not every temporal end, a defiling of thy intention, but onely, 1. When it contradicts any of the ends of God, or 2. When it is principally intended in an action of religion. For sometimes a temporal end is part of our duty: and such are all the actions of our calling, whether our imployment be religious or civil. We are commanded to provide for our family: but if the Minister of Divine offices shall take upon him that holy calling for covetous or ambitious ends, or shall not designe the glory of God principally and especially, he hath polluted his hands and his heart; and the fire of the Altar is quenched, or it sends forth nothing but the smoak of mushromes, or unpleasant gums. And it is a great unworthinesse to prefer the interest of a creature before the ends of God the Almighty Creator.

But because many cases may happen in which a mans heart may deceive him, and he may not well know what is in his own spirit;
therefore by these following signes we shall best make a judgement whether our intentions be pure, and our purposes holy.

Signes of purity of intention.

1. It is probable our hearts are right with God, and our intentions innocent and pious, if we set upon actions of religion or civil life with an affection proportioned to the quality of the work; that we act our temporal affairs with a desire no greater than our necessity; and that in actions of religion we be zealous, active, and operative, so far as prudence will permit; but in all cases, that we value a religious designe before a temporal; when otherwise they are in equal order to their several ends: that is, that whatsoever is necessary in order to our souls health be higher esteemed than what is for bodily; and the necessities, the indispensable necessities of the spirit be served before the needs of nature, when they are required in their several circumstances: Or plainer yet; when we choose any temporal inconvenience, rather than commit a sin, and when we choose to do a duty rather than to get gain. But he that does his recreation, or his merchandise cheerfully, promptly, readily and busily, and the works of religion slowly, flatly, and without appetite, and the spirit moves like Pharaohs chariots when the wheels were off, it is a signe that his heart is not right with God, but it cleaves too much to the world.
2. It is likely our hearts are pure, and our intentions spotlesse, when we are not solicitous of the opinion and censures of men; but onely that we do our duty, and be accepted of God. For our eyes will certainly be fixed there from whence we expect our reward: and if we desire that God should approve us, it is a signe we do his work, and expect him our pay-Master.

3. He that does as well in private between God and his own soul as in publick, in Pulpits, in Theatres, and Market-places, hath given himself a good testimony that his purposes are full of honesty, noblenesse and integrity. For what Helkanah said to the Mother of Samuel, Am not I better to thee then ten sons? is most certainly verified concerning God: that he, who is to be our Judge, is better then ten thousand witnesses. But he, that would have his vertue published, studies not vertue, but glory. "He is not just, that will not be just without praise: but he is a righteous man that does justice, when to do so, is made infamous: and he is a wise man who is delighted with an ill name that is well gotten". And indeed that man hath a strange covetousnesse, or folly, that is not contented with this reward, that, He hath pleased God. And see what he gets by it? "He that does good works for praise, or secular ends sells an inestimable jewel for a trifle; and that which would purchase Heaven for him, he parts with for the breath of the people, which at the best is but aire, and that not often wholesome."

4. "It is well also when we are not sollicitous or troubled concerning the effect and event of all our actions; but that
being first by Prayer recommended to him, is left at his dispose: for then in case the event be not answerable to our desires, or to the efficacy of the instrument, we have nothing left to rest in, but the honesty of our purposes; which it is the more likely we have secured, by how much more we are indifferent concerning the success. S. James converted but eight persons, when he preached in Spain; and our blessed Saviour converted fewer, then his own Disciples did: And if thy labours prove unprosperous, if thou beest much troubled at that, it is certain thou didst not think thyself secure of a reward for your intention, which you might have done if it had been pure and just.

5. He loves vertue for Gods sake and its own, that loves and honours it wherever it is to be seen; but he that is envious or angry at a vertue that is not his own, at the perfection or excellency of his Neighbour, is not covetous of the vertue, but of its reward and reputation, and then his intentions are polluted. It was a great ingenuity in Moses, that wished all the people might be prophets; but if he had designed his own honour, he would have prophecyed alone. But he that desires onely that the work of god and religion shall go on, is pleased with it, who ever is the instrument.

6. He that despises the world and all its appendant vanities is the best Judge, and the most secured of his intentions, because he is the furthest removed from a temptation. Every degree of mortification is a testimony of the purity of our purposes, and
in what degree we despise sensual pleasure, or secular honours, or worldly reputation, in the same degree we shall conclude our heart right to religion and spiritual designes.

7. When we are not sollicitous concerning the instruments and means of our actions, but use those means which God hath laid before us, with resignation, indifference and thankfulness, it is a good signe that we are rather intent upon the end of Gods glory, than our own conveniency or temporal satisfaction. He that is indifferent whether he serve God in riches or in poverty is rather a seeker of God, than of himself; and he that will throw away a good book, because it is not curiously guilded, is more desirous to please his eye, than to inform his understanding.

8. When a temporal end consisting with a spiritual and pretended to be subordinate to it happens to fail and be defeated, if we can rejoice in that, so Gods glory may be secured, and the interests of religion, it is a great signe our hearts are right, and our ends prudently designed and ordered.

When our intentions are thus ballanced, regulated and discerned, we may consider, 1. That this exercise is of so universal efficacy in the whole course of a holy life, that it is like the soul to every holy action, and must be provided for in every undertaking; and is of it self alone sufficient to make all natural and indifferent actions to be adopted into the family of religion.
2. That there are some actions, which are usually reckoned as parts of our religion, which yet of themselves are so relative and imperfect, that without the purity of intention they degenerate: and unless they be directed and proceed on to those purposes which God designed them to, they return into the family of common, secular, or sinful actions. Thus _alms_ are for _charity_; _fasting_ for _temperance_; _prayer_ is for _religion_; _humiliation_ is for _humility_; _austerity_ or _sufferance_ is in order to the vertue of _patience_; and when these actions fail of their several ends, or are not directed to their own purposes, _alms_ are mispent; _fasting_ is an impertinent trouble; _prayer_ is but lip-labour; _humiliation_ is but hypocrisie; _sufferance_ is but vexation; for such were the _alms_ of the Pharisee, the _fast_ of Jezabel, the _prayer_ of Judah reproved by the Prophet Isaiah, the _humiliation_ of Ahab, the _martyrdome_ of Hereticks; in which nothing is given to God but the body, or the _forms of religion_, but the soul, and the _power of godlinesse_ is wholly wanting.

3. We are to consider that no intention can sanctifie an unholy or unlawful action: Saul the King disobeyed Gods commandment, and spared the cattel of Amalek to reserve the best for sacrifice: and Saul the Pharisee persecuted the Church of God with a designe to do God service: and they that kild the Apostles had also good purposes, but they had unhallowed actions: "When there is both truth in election and charity in the intention; when we go to God in wayes of his own choosing, or approving, then our eye is single, and our hands are clean, and our hearts are pure. But when a man does evil that good may come of it, or good to an
evil purpose, that man does like him that rowls himself in thorns that he may sleep easily: he roasts himself in the fire, that he may quench his thirst with his own sweat; he turns his face to the East that he may go to bed with the Sun." I end this with the saying of a wise Heathen. "He is to be called evil that is good onely for his own sake: Regard not how full hands you bring to God, but how pure:" Many cease from sin out of fear alone, not out of innocence or love of vertue, and they (as yet) are not to be called innocent, but timorous.
SECTION 3

The third general instrument of holy living: or the practise of the presence of God.

That God is present in all places, that he sees every action, hears all discourses, and understands every thought, is no strange thing to a Christian ear, who hath been taught this doctrine, not onely by right reason, and the consent of all the wise men in the world, but also by God himself in holy Scripture. Am I a God at hand (saith the Lord) and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? (saith the Lord) Do not I fill heaven and earth? Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight: but all things are naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do; for in him we live and move and have our being. God is wholly in every place, included in no place, not bound with cords (except those of love) not divided into parts, not changeable into several shapes, filling heaven and earth with his present power, and with his never absent nature. So S. Augustine expresses this article. So that we may imagine God to be as the Aire and the Sea, and we all inclosed in his circle, wrapt up in the lap of his infinite nature, or as infants in the wombs of their pregnant Mothers: and we can no more be removed from the presence
of God, than from our own being.

Several manners of the divine presence.

The presence of God is understood by us in several manners and to several purposes.

1. God is present by his essence, which because it is infinite cannot be contained within the limits of any place: and because he is of an essential purity, and spiritual nature, he cannot be undervalued by being supposed present in the places of unnatural uncleanness: because as the sun reflecting upon the mud of strands and shores is unpolluted in its beams: so is God not dishonoured when we suppose him in every of his Creatures, and in every part of every one of them, and is still as unmixed with any unhandsome adherence, as is the soul in the bowels of the body.

2. God is everywhere present by his power. He rules the Orbs of Heaven with his hand, he fixes the Earth with his Foot, he guides all the Creatures with his Eye, and refreshes them with his influence: He makes the powers of Hell to shake with his terours, and binds the Devils with his Word, and throws them out with his command; and sends the Angels on Embassies with his decrees: He hardens the joynts of Infants, and confirms the bones when they are fashioned beneath secretly in the earth: He it is that assists at the numerous productions of fishes, and there is not one hollownes in the bottom of the sea, but he shows himself to be Lord of it, by sustaining there the Creatures that
come to dwell in it: And in the wildernes, the Bittern and the Stork, the Dragon and the Satyr, the Unicorn and the Elk live upon his provisions, and revere his power, and feel the force of his Almightiness.

3. God is more specially present in some places by the several and more special manifestations of himself to extraordinary purposes. 1. By glory: Thus his seat is in Heaven; because there he sits incircled with all the outward demonstrations of his glory, which he is pleased to show to all the inhabitants of those his inward and secret Courts. And thus they that die in the Lord may be properly said to be gone to God; with whom although they were before, yet now they enter into his Courts, into the secret of his Tabernacle, into the retinue and splendor of his glory. That is called walking with God, but this is dwelling or being with him. I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, so said Paul. But this manner of the Divine presence is reserved for the elect people of God, and for their portion in their countrey.

4. God is by grace and benediction specially present in holy places, and in the solemn assemblies of his servants. If holy people meet in grots and dens of the earth, when persecution or a publick necessity disturbs the publick order, circumstance, and convenience, God fails not to come thither to them: but God is also by the same or a greater reason present there where they meet ordinarily, by order, and publick authority:
There God is present ordinarily, that is, at every such meeting. God will go out of his way to meet his Saints, when themselves are forced out of their way of order by a sad necessity: but else, God's usual way is to be present in those places where his servants are appointed ordinarily to meet. But his presence there signifies nothing but his readiness to hear their prayers, to bless their persons, to accept their offices, and to like even the circumstance of orderly and publick meeting. For thither, the prayers of consecration, the publick authority separating it, and God's love of order, and the reasonable customs of Religion, have in ordinary, and in a certain degree fixed this manner of his presence; and he loves to have it so.

5. God is especially present in the hearts of his people by his holy Spirit: and indeed the hearts of holy men are Temples in the truth of things, and in type and shadow they are of Heaven itself. For God reigns in the hearts of his servants. There is his Kingdom. The power of grace hath subdued all his enemies. There is, his power. They serve him night and day and give him thanks and praise; that is, his glory: This is the religion and worship of God in the Temple. The temple itself is the heart of man; Christ is the High Priest, who from thence sends up the incense of prayers and joins them to his own intercession, and presents all together to his Father; and the Holy Ghost by his dwelling there, hath also consecrated it into a Temple; and God dwells in our hearts by faith, and Christ by his Spirit, and the Spirit by his purities; so that we are also Cabinets of the
Mysterious Trinity; and what is this short of Heaven itself, but as infancy is short of manhood, and letters of words? The same state of life it is, but not the same age. It is Heaven in a Looking-glasse, (dark, but yet true) representing the beauties of the soul, and the graces of God, and the images of his eternal glory by the reality of a special presence.

6. God is especially present in the consciences of all persons good and bad, by way of testimony and judgement: that is, he is there a remembrancer to call our actions to minde, a witnesse to bring them to judgement, and a Judge to acquit or to condemne. And although this manner of presence is in this life after the manner of this life, that is, imperfect, and we forget many actions of our lives; yet the greatest changes of our state of grace or sin, our most considerable actions are always present, like Capital Letters to an aged and dim eye: and at the day of judgement God shall draw aside the cloud and manifest this manner of his presence more notoriously, and make it appear, that he was an observer of our very thoughts; and that he onely laid those things by which because we covered with dust and negligence they were not then discerned. But when we are risen from our dust and imperfection, they all appear plain and legible.

Now the consideration of this great truth is of a very universal use in the whole course of the life of a Christian.

All the consequents and effects of it are universal. He that remembers that God stands a witnesse and a judge, beholding every
secrecy; besides his impiety, must have put on impudence if he be not much restrained in his temptation to sin. "For the greatest part of sinnes is taken away, if a man have a witnesse of his conversation: And he is a great despiser of God who sends a Boy away when he is going to commit fornication, and yet will dare to do it, though he knows God is present, and cannot be sent off: as if the eye of a little Boy were more awful, then the all-seeing eye of God. He is to be feared in publick, he is to be feared in private: if you go forth he spies you: if you go in he sees you: when you light the candle he observes you: when you put it out, then also God marks you: Be sure that while you are in his sight you behave yourself as becomes so holy a presence. But if you will sin, retire yourself wisely, and go where God cannot see: for no where else can you be safe." And certainly, if men would alwayes actually consider, and really esteem this truth, that God is the great Eye of the World, alwayes watching over our actions, and an ever open ear to hear all our words, and an unwearied arm ever lifted up to crush a sinner into ruine, it would be the readiest way in the world to make sin to cease from amongst the children of men, and for men to approach to the blessed estate of the Saints in Heaven, who cannot sin, for they alwayes walk in the presence and behold the face of God. This instrument is to be reduced to practise according to the following Rules.
Rules of exercising this consideration.

1. Let this actual thought often return, that God is omnipresent, filling every place, and say with David, 1 Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there. If I make my bed in hell, thou art there, etc. This thought by being frequent will make an habitual dread and reverence towards God, and fear in all thy actions: 1 For it is a great necessity and ingagement to do unblameably, when we act before that Judge, who is infallible in his sentence, all knowing in his information, severe in his anger, powerful in his providence, and intolerable in his wrath and indignation.

2. In the beginning of actions of Religion, make an act of adoration, that is, solemnly worship God, and place thyself in God's presence, and behold him with the eye of faith, and let thy desires actually fix on him as the object of thy worship, and the reason of thy hope, and the fountain of thy blessing. For when thou hast placed thyself before him, and kneelest in his presence, it is most likely, all the following parts of thy devotion will be answerable to the wisdom of such an apprehension, and the glory of such a presence.

3. Let everything you see, represent to your spirit the presence, the excellency and the power of God, and let your conversation with the creatures lead you unto the Creator; for so shall your actions be done more frequently with an actual eye
to Gods presence, by your often seeing him in the glasse of the creation. In the face of the Sun you may see Gods beauty: In the fire you may feel his heat warming, in the water his gentleness to refresh you: he it is that comforts your spirit when you have taken Cordials: it is the dew of Heaven that makes your field give you bread; and the breasts of God are the bottles that minister drink to your necessities. This Philosophy which is obvious to every mans experience, is a good advantage to our piety, and by this act of understanding, our wills are checked from violence and misdemeanour.

4. In your retirement make frequent colloquies or short discoursings between God and thy own soul. Seven times a day do I praise thee: and in the night season also I thought upon thee when I was waking. So did David: and every act of complaint or thanksgiving, every act of rejoicing or of mourning, every petition and every return of the heart in these entercourses, is a going to God, an appearing in his presence, and a representing him present to thy spirit and to thy necessity. And this was long since by a spiritual person called, a building to GOD a Chappel in our heart. It reconciles Marthas employment with Marias Devotion, Charity, and Religion; the necessities of our calling, and the implogments of devotion. For thus in the midst of the works of your Trade, you may retire into your Chappel (your Heart) and converse with GOD by frequent addresses and returns.
5. Represent and offer to GOD, acts of love and fear, which are the proper effects of this apprehension, and the proper exercise of this consideration. For as GOD is everywhere present by his power, he calls for reverence and godly fear: As he is present to thee in all thy needs, and relieves them, he deserves thy love; and since in every accident of our lives we finde one or other of these apparent, and in most things we see both, it is a proper and proportionate return, that to every such demonstration of God, we expresse our selves sensible of it by admiring the Divine goodnesse, or trembling at his presence, ever obeying him because we love him, and ever obeying him because we fear to offend him. This is that which Enoch did, who thus walked with God.

6. Let us remember that God is in us, and that we are in him: we are his workmanship, let us not deface it: we are in his presence, let us not pollute it by unholy and impure actions. God hath also wrought all our works in us: and because he rejoices in his own workes, if we defile them, and make them unpleasant to him, we walk perversly with GOD, and he will walk crookedly toward us.

7. God is in the bowels of thy brother; refresh them when he needs it, and then you give your almes in the presence of God, and to God, and he feels the relief which thou providest for thy brother.
8. God is in every place; suppose it therefore to be a Church: and that decency of deportment and piety of carriage, which you are taught by religion or by custome, or by civility and publikk manners to use in Churches, the same use in all places: with this difference onely, that in Churches let your deportment be religious in external forms and circumstances also; but there and every where let it be religious in abstaining from spiritual undecencies, and in readinesse to do good actions: that it may not be said of us, as God once complained of his people; —Why hath my beloved done wickednesse in my house?

9. God is in every creature: be cruel towards none, neither abuse any by intemperance. Remember that the creatures and every member of thy own body is one of the lesser cabinets and receptacles of God. They are such which God hath blessed with his presence, hallowed by his touch, and separated from unholy use by making them to belong to his dwelling.

10. He walks as in the presence of God, that converses with him in frequent prayer and frequent communion, that runs to him in all his necessities: that asks counsel of him in all his doubtings, that opens all his wants to him, that weeps before him for his sins; that asks remedy and support for his weaknesse, that fears him as a Judge, reverences him as a Lord, obeyes him as a Father, and loves him as a Patron.
The Benefits of this exercise.

The benefit of this consideration and exercise being universal upon all the parts of piety, I shall lesse need to specify any particulars; but yet most properly this exercise of considering the divine presence is, 1. an excellent help to prayer, producing in us reverence and awfulnesse to the divine Majesty of God, and actual devotion in our offices. 2. It produces a confidence in God, and fearlessness of our enemies, patience in trouble, and hope of remedie, since God is so nigh in all our sad accidents, he is a disposer of the hearts of men, and the events of things, he proportions out our tryals, and supplyes us with remedie, and where his rod strikes us, his staffe supports us: To which we may add, that God who is always with us, is especially by promise with us in tribulation, to turn the misery into a mercy, and that our greatest trouble may become our advantage by intitling us to a new manner of the Divine presence. 3. It is apt to produce joy and rejoicing in God; we being more apt to delight in the partners and witnesses of our conversation; every degree of mutual abiding and conversing being a relation and an endearment: we are of the same household with God; he is with us in our natural actions to preserve us, in our recreations to restrain us, in our publick actions to applaud or reprove us, in our private to observe us, in our sleeps to watch by us, in our watchings to refresh us: and if we walk with God in all his wayes as he walks with us in all ours, we shall finde perpetual reasons to enable us to keep that rule of God, Rejoyce in the Lord always, and again I say rejoyce. And this puts me in minde
of a saying of an old religious person, — There is one way of overcoming our ghostly enemies, spiritual mirth, and a perpetual bearing of God in our mindes. This effectively resists the Devil, and suffers us to receive no hurt from him. 4. This exercise is apt also to enkindle holy desires of the enjoyment of God, because it produces joy when we do enjoy him; The same desires that a weak man hath for a Defender, the sick man for a Physitian, the poor for a Patron, the child for his Father, the espoused Lover for her betrothed. 5. From the same fountain are apt to issue humility of spirit, apprehensions of our great distance and our great needs, our daily wants, and hourly supplies, admiration of Gods unspeakable mercies: It is the cause of great modesty and decency in our actions; it helps to recollection of minde, and restrains the scatterings and loosenesse of wandering thoughts; it establishes the heart in good purposes, and leadeth on to perseverance; it gains purity and perfection, (according to the saying of God to Abraham, Walk before me and be perfect) holy fear, and holy love, and indeed every thing that pertains to holy living: when we see our selves placed in the Eye of God who sets us on work and will reward us plenteously, to serve him with an Eye-service is very pleasing; for he also sees the heart: and the want of this consideration was declared to be the cause why Israel sinned so grievously, — For they say the Lord hath forsaken the earth, and the Lord seeth not: therefore the land is full of blood, and the city full of perversenesse. What a childe would do in the eye of his Father, and a Pupil before his Tutor, and a Wife in the presence of her Husband, and a servant
in the sight of his Master, let us alwayes do the same: for we are made a spectacle to God, to Angels, and to men; we are alwayes in the sight and presence of the All seeing and Almighty God, who also is to us a Father, and a Guardian, a Husband, and a Lord.
Ad. Chap. I.

Prayers and Devotions according to the religion and purposes of the foregoing Considerations.

I.

For grace to spend our time well.

O Eternal God who from all eternity doest behold and love thy own glories and perfections infinite, and hast created me to do the work of God, after the manner of men, and to serve thee in this generation, and according to my capacities; give me thy grace, that I may be a curious and prudent spender of my time, so as I may best prevent or resist all temptations, and be profitable to the Christian Common-wealth, and by discharging all my duty may glorifie thy Name. Take from me all slothfulnesse and give me a diligent and an active spirit, and wisdom to choose my imployment, that I may do works proportionable to my person, and to the dignity of a Christian, and may fill up all the spaces of my time with actions of religion and charity, that when the Devil assaults me, he may not find me idle; and my dearest Lord, at his sudden coming may find me busie in lawful, necessary, and pious actions, improving my talent intrusted to me by thee my Lord, that I may enter into the joy of my Lord to partake of his eternal felicities, even for thy mercie sake, and for my dearest Saviours sake. Amen.
Here follows the devotion of ordinary dayes; for the right
employment of those portions of time which every day must allow
for religion.

The first prayers in the Morning

as soon as we are dressed.

Humbly and reverently compose yourself, with heart lift up to God
and your head bowed, and meekly kneeling upon your knees, say the
Lords Prayer: after which use the following Collects, or as many
of them as you shall choose.

Our Father which art in Heaven, etc.

I.

An Act of adoration being the song that the

Angels sing in Heaven.

O Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God almighty, which was, and is,
and is to come: Heaven and Earth, Angels and Men, the Aire and
the Sea give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sitteth
on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever. All the blessed
spirits and souls of the righteous cast their crowns before the
throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever. Thou art
worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour, and power, for thou
hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were
created. Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty:
Just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints. Thy wisdom is infinite, thy mercies are glorious; and I am not worthy 0 Lord to appear in thy presence before whom the Angels hide their faces. O Holy and Eternal Jesus, Lamb of God who wert slain from the beginning of the world, thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every nation, and hast made us unto our God Kings and Priests and we shall reigne with thee for ever. Blessing, honour, glory and power be unto him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever. Amen.

II.

An act of thanksgiving being the song of David for the Morning.

Sing praises unto the Lord 0 ye saints of his, and give thanks to him for a remembrance of his holiness. For his wrath indureth but the twinkling of an eye, and in his pleasure is life: heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. Thou Lord hast preserved me this night from the violence of the spirits of darkness, from all sad casualties, and evil accidents, from the wrath which I have every day deserved: thou hast brought my soul out of hell, thou hast kept my life from them that go down into the pit: thou hast shewed me marvellous great kindness and hast blessed me for ever: the greatness of thy glory reacheth unto the heavens, and thy truth unto the clouds. Therefore shall every good man sing of thy praise without ceasing, 0 my God I will give thanks unto thee for ever. Allelujah.
III.

An Act of oblation or presenting our selves to God for the day.

Most Holy and Eternal God, Lord and Sovereign of all the creatures, I humbly present to thy divine Majesty, my self, my soul and body, my thoughts and my words, my actions and intentions, my passions and my sufferings to be disposed by thee to thy glory, to be blessed by thy providence, to be guided by thy counsel, to be sanctified by thy spirit, and afterwards that my body and soul may be received into glory: for nothing can perish which is under thy custody; and the enemy of souls cannot devour what is thy portion, nor take it out of thy hands. This day, O Lord, and all the days of my life I dedicate to thy honour; and the actions of my calling to the uses of grace, and the religion of all my days to be united to the merits and intercession of my holy Saviour Jesus, that in him and for him I may be pardoned and accepted. Amen.

IV.

An act of repentance or contrition.

For as for me, I am not worthy to be called thy servant, much lesse am I worthy to be thy son, for I am the vilest of sinners and the worst of men, a lover of the things of the world, and a despiser of the things of God, proud and envious, lustful and intemperate, greedy of sin, and impatient of reproof, desirous to seem holy, and negligent of being so, transported with interest,
fooled with presumption and false principles, disturbed with anger, with a peevish and unmortified spirit, and disordered by a whole body of sin and death. Lord pardon all my sins for my sweetest Saviours sake; thou who didst dye for me, Holy Jesus, save me and deliver me, O reserve not my sins to be punished in the day of wrath and eternal vengeance; but wash away my sins, and blot them out of thy remembrance, and purifie my soul with the waters of repentance and the bloud of the crosse, that for what is past thy wrath may not come out against me, and for the time to come I may never provoke thee to anger or to jealousie. O just and dear God, be pitiful and gracious to thy servant. Amen.

V.

The prayer or petition.

Blesse me gracious God in my calling to such purposes as thou shalt choose for me, or imploy me in: Relieve me in all my sadnesses, make my bed in my sicknesse, give me patience in my sorrows, confidence in thee and grace to call upon thee in all temptations. O be thou my Guide in all my thoughts, words and actions, my protector in all dangers: give me a healthful body, and a clear understanding, a sanctified, and just, a charitable, and humble, a religious and a contented spirit; let not my life be miserable or wretched, nor my name stained with sin or shame, nor my condition lifted up to a tempting and dangerous fortune; but let my condition be blessed, my conversation useful
to my Neighbours and pleasing to thee, that when my body shall lie
down in its bed of darkness, my soul may pass into the Regions
of light, and live with thee for ever through Jesus Christ. Amen.

VI.

An act of intercession or prayer for
others to be added to this, or
any other office, as our devotion,
or duty, or their needs shall determine us.

God of infinite mercy, who hast compassion on all men,
and relievest the necessities of all that call to thee for help,
hear the prayers of thy servant who is unworthy to ask any petition
for himself, yet in humility and duty is bound to pray for others.
O let thy mercies descend upon the whole Church, preserve her in
truth and peace, in unity and safety, in all storms, and against
all temptations and enemies, that she offering to thy glory the
never ceasing sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving may advance
the honour of her Lord, and be filled with his Spirit, and partake
of his glory. Amen.

In mercy remember the King, preserve his person in health
and honour, his crown in wealth and dignity, his kingdoms in
peace and plenty, the Churches under his protection in piety and
knowledge, and a strict and holy religion: keep him perpetually
in thy fear and favour, and crown him with glory and immortality.
Amen.
Remember them that minister about holy things, let them be clothed with righteousness, and sing with joyfulness. Amen.

Blesse thy servant [my Wife or Husband] with health of body and of spirit. O let the hand of thy blessing be upon his [or her] head night and day, and support him in all necessities, strengthen him in all temptations, comfort him in all his sorrows, and let him be thy servant in all changes, and make us both to dwell with thee for ever in thy favour, in the light of thy countenance, and in thy glories. Amen.

Blesse my children with healthful bodies, with good understandings, with the graces and gifts of thy Spirit, with sweet dispositions and holy habits, and sanctifie them throughout in their bodies and souls and spirits, and keep them unblameable to the coming of the Lord Jesus. Amen.

Be pleased, O Lord, to remember my friends, all that have prayed for me, and all that have done me good [here name such whom you would specially recommend:] Do thou good to them, and return all their kindnesse double into their own bosome, rewarding them with blessings, and sanctifying them with thy graces, and bringing them to glory.

Let all my family and kinred, my neighbours and acquaintance [here name what other relation you please] receive the benefit of my prayers and the blessings of God; the comforts and supports of thy providence, and the sanctification of thy Spirit.

Relieve and comfort all the persecuted and afflicted: speak peace to troubled consciences: strenthen the weak: confirm the strong: instruct the ignorant: deliver the oppressed from
him that spoileth him, and relieve the needy that hath no helper, and bring us all by the waters of comfort, and in the wayes of righeousnesse to the kingdom of rest and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

To God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, To the eternal Son that was incarnate and born of a Virgin, To the Spirit of the Father and the Son, be all honour and glory, worship and thanksgiving now and forever. Amen.

Another form of prayer for the Morning.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Our Father, etc.

Most glorious and eternal God, Father of Mercy, and God of all comfort, I worship and adore thee with the lowest humility of my soul and body, and give thee all thanks and praise for thy infinite and essential glories and perfections, and for the continual demonstration of thy mercies upon me, upon all mine, and upon thy holy Catholick Church.
II.

I acknowledge dear God that I have deserved the greatest of thy wrath and indignation; and that if thou hadst dealt with me according to my deserving, I had now at this instant been desperately bewailing my miseries in the sorrows and horrours of a sad eternity. But thy mercy triumphing over thy justice and my sins, thou hast still continued to me life and time of repentance; thou hast opened to me the gates of grace and mercy, and perpetually callest upon me to enter in and to walk in the paths of a holy life, that I may glorifie thee and be glorified of thee eternally.

III.

Behold, O God, for this thy great and unspeakable goodnesse; for the preservation of me this night, and for all other thy graces and blessings I offer up my soul and body, all that I am, and all that I have as a Sacrifice to thee and thy service; humbly begging of thee to pardon all my sins, to defend me from all evil, to lead me into all good, and let my portion be amongst thy redeemed ones in the gathering together of the Saints, in the Kingdom of grace and glory.

IV.

Guide me, O Lord, in all the changes and varieties of the world, that in all things that shall happen, I may have an evennesse and tranquillity of spirit; that my soul may be wholly
resigned to thy Divinest will and pleasure, never murmuring at thy gentle chastisements and fatherly correction, never waxing proud or insolent though I feel a torrent of comforts or prosperous successes.

V.

Fix my thoughts, my hopes and my desires upon Heaven and heavenly things; teach me to despise the world, to repent me deeply for my sins; give me holy purposes of amendment, and ghostly strength and assistances to perform faithfully whatsoever I shall intend piously. Enrich my understanding with an eternal treasure of Divine truths, that I may know thy will, and thou who workest in us to will and to do of thy good pleasure; teach me to obey all thy Commandments, to believe all thy Revelations, and make me partaker of all thy gracious promises.

VI.

Teach me to watch over all my ways, that I may never be surprized by sudden temptations or a carelesse spirit, nor ever return to folly and vanity. Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips, that I offend in my tongue neither against piety nor charity. Teach mee to think of nothing but thee and what is in order to thy glory and service; to speak nothing but thee and thy glories; and to do nothing but what becomes thy servant whom thy infinite mercy by the graces of thy holy Spirit hath sealed up to the day of Redemption.
Let all my passions and affections be so mortified and brought under the dominion of grace, that I may never by deliberation and purpose, nor yet by levity, rashness, or inconsideration offend thy Divine Majesty. Make me such as thou wouldest have me to bee: strengthen my faith, confirm my hope, and give me a daily increase of charity, that this day and ever I may serve thee according to all my opportunities and capacities; growing from grace to grace, till at last by thy mercies I shall receive the consummation and perfection of grace, even the glories of thy Kingdom in the full fruition of the face and excellencies of God the Father, the Son and the holy Ghost: to whom be glory and praise, honour and adoration given by all Angels and all Men, and all Creatures, now and to all eternity. Amen.

To this may be added the prayer of intercession for others whom we are bound to remember; which is at the end of the forgoing prayer: or else you may take such special prayers which follow at the end of the third or fourth Chapter, [for parents, for children, etc.].

After which conclude with this ejaculation.

Now and in all tribulation and anguish of spirit, in all dangers of soul and body in prosperity and adversity, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgement, holy and most blessed Saviour Jesus, have mercy upon me, save me and deliver me and all faithfull people. Amen.
Between this and Noon usually are said the publick prayers appointed by Authority: to which all the Clergy are obliged; and other devout persons that have leisure do accompany them.

Afternoon, or at any time of the day, when a devout person retires into his closet for private prayer, or spiritual exercises, he may say the following devotions.

An exercise to be used at any time of the day.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, etc.
Our Father, etc.

The hymn collected out of the Psalms, recounting the excellencies and greatnesse of God.

a. O be joyful in God all ye lands: sing praises unto the honour of his Name, make his Name to be glorious. O come hither and behold the works of God, how wonderful he is in his doings toward the children of men. He ruleth with his power for ever.

b. He is the Father of the fatherlesse, and defendeth the cause of the widow, even God in his holy habitation. He is the God that maketh men to be of one minde in a house, and bringeth the prisoners out of captivity: but letteth the
runnagates continue in scareceness.

It is the Lord that commandeth the waters; it is the glorious God that maketh the thunder. It is the Lord that ruleth the sea; the voice of the Lord is mighty in operation, the voice of the Lord is a glorious voice.

Let all the Earth fear the Lord, stand in awe of him all ye that dwell in the world: Thou shalt shew us wonderful things in thy righteousness, O God of our salvation, thou that art the hope of all the ends of the Earth, and of them that remaine in the broad sea.

Glory be to the Father, etc.

Or this,

O Lord, thou art my God, I will exalt thee: I will praise thy Name, for thou hast done wonderful things: thy counsels of old are faithfulness and truth.

Thou in thy strength settest fast the Mountains, and art girded about with power. Thou stillest the raging of the Sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people.

They also that remain the uttermost parts of the Earth shall be afraid at thy tokens: thou that makest the out-goings of the morning and evening to praise thee.

0 Lord God of Hosts, who is like unto thee? Thy truth most mighty Lord is on every side. Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord, there is none that can do as thou
doest. For thou art great and doest wondrous things: thou art
God alone.

1 God is very greatly to be feared in the counsel of the
Saints: and to be had in reverence of all them that are round
about him.

Righteousnesse and equity is in the habitation of thy seat:
mercy and truth shall go before thy face. k Glory and worship are
before him: power and honour are in his Sanctuary.

l Thou Lord art the thing I long for: thou art my hope even
from my youth: through thee have I been holden up ever since I
was born: thou art he that took me out of my mothers womb: my
praise shall be always of thee.

Glory be to the Father, etc.

After this may be read some portion of holy Scripture
out of the New Testament, or out of the sapiential
bookes of the Old. viz. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, etc.
because these are of great use to piety and to civil
conversation. Upon which when you have a while meditated;
humbly composing yourself upon your knees, say as
followeth.

Ejaculations.

m My help standeth in the Name of the Lord: who hath made
Heaven and Earth.
Shew the light of thy countenance upon thy servant: and I shall be safe.

Do well, O Lord, to them that be true of heart: and evermore mightily defend them.

Direct me in thy truth and teach me: for thou art my Saviour and my great Master.

Keep me from sin and death eternal: and from my enemies visible and invisible.

Give me grace to live a holy life: and thy favour that I may dye a godly and happy death.

Lord hear the prayer of thy servant: and give me thy holy Spirit.

The prayer.

O Eternal God, mercifull and gracious, vouchsafe thy favour and thy blessing to thy servant: let the love of thy mercies, and the dread and fear of thy Majesty, make me careful and inquisitive to search thy will, and diligent to perform it, and to persevere in the practises of a holy life, even till the last of my dayes.

II.

Keep me, O Lord, for I am thine by creation; guide me, for I am thine by purchase, thou hast redeemed me by the blood of
thy Son: and love me with the love of a Father; for I am thy childe by adoption and grace: let thy mercy pardon my sins, thy providence secure me from the punishments and evils I have deserved, and thy care watch over me; that I may never any more offend thee: make me in malice to be a childe; but in understanding, piety and the fear of God, let me be a perfect man in Christ, innocent and prudent, readily furnished and instructed to every good work.

III.

Keep me, 0 Lord, from the destroying Angel, and from the wrath of God: let thy anger never rise against mee; but thy rod gently correct my follies and guide me in thy ways, and thy staffe support me in all sufferings and changes. Preserve me from fracture of bones, from noisome, infectious, and sharp sicknesses, from great violences of Fortune and sudden surprizes; keep all my sense intire till the day of my death; and let my death be neither sudden, untimely, nor unprovided: let it be after the common manner of men, having in it nothing extraordinary, but an extraordinary piety, and the manifestation of thy great and miraculous mercy.

IV.

Let no riches ever make me forget myself; no poverty ever make me to forget thee: Let no hope or fear, no pleasure or pain, no accident without, no weaknesse within, hinder or
discompose my duty, or turn me from the wayes of thy Commandements. O let thy Spirit dwell with me for ever, and make my soul just and charitable, full of honesty, full of religion, resolute and constant in holy purposes, but inflexible to evil. Make me humble and obedient, peaceable and pious; let me never envy any mans good, nor deserve to be despised my self; and if I be, teach me to bear it with meekness and charity.

V.

Give me a tender conscience; a conversation discreet, and affable, modest and patient, liberal and obliging; a body chaste and healthful, competency of living according to my condition, contentednesse in all estates, a resigned will and mortified affections, that I may be as thou wouldst have me, and my portion may be in the lot of the righteous, in the brightness of thy countenance, and the glories of eternity. Amen.

Holy is our God. Holy is the Almighty. Holy is the Immortal. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth have mercy upon me.

A form of Prayer for the evening, to be said by such who have have not time, or opportunity to say the public prayers appointed for this office.

I.

Evening Prayer

O Eternal God, Great Father of Men and Angels, who hast
established the Heavens and the Earth in a wonderful order, making
day and night to succeed each other: I make my humble addresse to
thy Divine Majesty, begging of thee mercy and protection this
night and ever. O Lord pardon all my sins, my light and rash
words, the vanity and impiety of my thoughts, my unjust and
uncharitable actions, and whatsoever I have transgressed against
thee this day, or at any time before. Behold, O God, my soul is
troubled in the remembrance of my sins, in the frailty and
sinfulnesse of my flesh exposed to every temptation, and of it
self not able to resist any: Lord God of mercy I earnestly beg
of thee to give me a great portion of thy grace; such as may
be sufficient, and effectual for the mortification of all my sins
and vanities and disorders; that as I have formerly served my
lust and unworthy desires, so now I may give my self up wholly
to thy service, and the studies of a holy life.

II.

Blessed Lord, teach me frequently and sadly to remember my
sins; and be thou pleased to remember them no more: let me never
forget thy mercies, and do thou still remember to do me good.
Teach me to walk alwayes as in thy presence: Ennoble my soul with
great degrees of love to thee, and consigne my spirit with great
fear, religion and veneration of thy holy Name and laws; that
it may become the great imployment of my whole life to serve
thee, to advance thy glory, to root out all the accursed habits
of sin, that in holinesse of life, in humility, in charity, in
chastity, and all the ornaments of grace, I may by patience wait for the coming of our Lord Jesus. Amen.

III.

Teach me, O Lord to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom; ever to remember my last end, that I may not dare to sin against thee: Let thy holy Angels be ever present with me to keep me in all my ways from the malice and violence of the spirits of darkness; from evil company, and the occasions and opportunities of evil, from perishing in popular judgements, from all the ways of sinful shame, from the hands of all mine enemies; from a sinful life, and from despair in the day of my death: Then, O brightest Jesu, shine gloriously upon me, let thy mercies and the light of thy Countenance sustain me in all my agonies, weaknesses and temptations. Give me opportunity of a prudent and spiritual Guide, and of receiving the holy Sacrament: and let thy loving spirit so guide me in the ways of peace and safety, that with the testimony of a good conscience, and the sense of thy mercies and refreshment, I may depart this life in the unity of the Church, in the love of God, and a certain hope of salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord and most blessed Saviour. Amen.

Our Father, etc.
Another form of Evening Prayer, which may also be used at bed-time.

Our Father, etc.

Q. I will lift up my eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help.

My help cometh of the Lord which made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved: he that keepeth thee will not slumber.

Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper, the Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand.

The sun shall not smite thee by day: neither the moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil: he shall preserve thy soul.

The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in: from this time forth for evermore.

Glory be to the Father, etc.

Visit I beseech thee, O Lord, this habitation with thy mercy, and me with thy grace and salvation. Let thy holy Angels pitch their tents round about and dwell here, that no illusion of the night may abuse me, the spirits of darknesse may not come neer to
hurt me, no evil or sad accident oppress me: and let the eternal spirit of the Father dwell in my soul and body, filling every corner of my heart with light and grace. Let no deed of darkness overtake me; and let thy blessing most blessed God be upon me for ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

II.

Into thy hands most blessed Jesu, I commend my soul and body, for thou hast redeemed both with thy most precious blood. So bless and sanctify my sleep unto me, that it may be temperate, holy, and safe, a refreshment to my wearied body to enable it so to serve my soul, that both may serve thee with a never failing duty. O let me never sleep in sin or death eternal, but give me a watchful and a prudent spirit, that I may omit no opportunity of serving thee, that whether I sleep or wake, live or die, I may be thy servant and thy child: that when the work of my life is done, I may rest in the bosom of my Lord, till by the voice of the Archangel, the trump of God, I shall be awakened and called to sit down and feast in the eternal supper of the Lamb. Grant this O Lamb of God, for the honour of thy mercies and the glory of thy name, O most merciful Saviour and Redeemer Jesus. Amen.

III.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus, who hath sent his Angels, and kept me this day from the destruction that
walketh at noon, and the arrow that flyeth by day: and hath
given me his Spirit to restrain me from those evils to which
my own weaknesses, and my evil habits, and my unquiet enemies
would easily betray me. Blessed and forever hallowed be thy
name for that never ceasing showre of blessing by which I live,
and am content, and blessed, and provided for in all necessities,
and set forward in my duty and way to heaven. Blessing, honour,
glory and power, be unto him that sitteth on the throne, and
to the Lamb for ever and ever. Amen.

Holy is our God, Holy is the Almighty, Holy is the Immortal.
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, have mercy upon me.

Ejaculations and short meditations to be used
in the Night when we wake.

Stand in awe and sin not: commune with your own heart
upon your bed, and be still. I will lay me down in peace and
sleep: for thou Lord only makest me dwell in safety.

O Father of Spirits and the God of all flesh, have mercy
and pity upon all sick and dying Christians, and receive the souls
which thou hast redeemed returning unto thee.

Blessed are they that dwell in the heavenly Jerusalem:
where there is no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine
in it: for the glorie of God does lighten it, and the Lamb is
the light thereof. And there shall be no night there, and they
need no candle, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they
shall reign for ever and ever.

Meditate on Jacobs wrastling with the Angel all night: be thou also importunate with God for a blessing, and give not over till he hath blessed thee.

Meditate on the Angel passing over the children of Israel, and destroying the Egyptians, for disobedience and oppression. Pray for the grace of obedience and charity and for the divine protection.

Meditate on the Angel who destroyed in a night the whole army of the Assyrians for fornication. Call to minde the sins of thy youth, the sins of thy bed; and say with David, My reins chasten me in the night season, and my soul refuseth comfort. Pray for pardon and the grace of chastity.

Meditate on the agonies of Christ in the garden, his sadness and affliction all that night; and thank and adore him for his love that made him suffer so much for thee: and hate thy sins which made it necessary for the Son of God to suffer so much.

Meditate on the four last things. 1. The certainty of death. 2. The terrours of the day of judgement. 3. The joyes of Heaven. 4. The pains of Hell, and the eternity of both.

Think upon all thy friends which are gone before thee, and pray that God would grant to thee to meet them in a joyful ressurection.

The day of the Lord will come as thiefe in the night, in the which the heavens shall passe away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also
and the works that are therein shall be burnt up. Seeing then
that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons
ought we to be in all holy conversation and godlinesse, looking
for and hastning unto the coming of the day of God?

Lord, in mercy remember thy servant in the day of Judgement.

Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God. In thee, O
Lord have I trusted: let me never be confounded. Amen.

I desire the Christian Reader to observe that all these offices
or forms of prayer (if they should be used every day) would not
spend above an hour and a halfe: but because some of them are
double (and so but one of them to be used in one day) it is
much lesse: and by affording to God one hour in 24 thou mayest
have the comforts and rewards of devotion. But he that thinks this
is too much, either is very busie in the world, or very carelesse
of heaven. However, I have parted the prayers into smaller
portions that he may use which, and how many he please in any
one of the forms.

Ad. Sect. 2.

A prayer for holy Intention in the beginning
and pursuit of any considerable action,
as Study, Preaching, etc.

O Eternal God, who hast made all things for man, and man
for thy glory, sanctifie my body and soul, my thoughts and my
intentions, my words and actions, that whatsoever I shall think or speak, or do, may be by me designed to the glorification of thy Name, and by thy blessing it may be effective and successful in the work of God, according as it can be capable. Lord turn my necessities into virtue, the works of nature into the works of grace, by making them orderly, regular, temperate, subordinate and profitable to ends beyond their own proper efficacy: And let no pride or self-seeking, no covetousness or revenge, no impure mixture or unhandsome purposes, no little ends or low imaginations pollute my Spirit, or unhallow any of my words or actions: but let my body be a servant of my spirit, and both body and spirit servants of Jesus, that doing all things for thy glory here, I may be partaker of thy glory hereafter thorough Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ad. Sect. 3.

A prayer meditating and referring to the divine presence.

This prayer is especially to be used in temptation to private sins.

O Almighty God infinite and eternal, thou fillest all things with thy presence; thou art everywhere by thy essence and by thy power, in heaven by Glory, in holy places by thy grace and favour, in the hearts of thy servants by thy Spirit, in the consciences of all men by thy testimony and observation
of us: Teach me to walk always as in thy presence, to fear thy Majesty, to reverence thy wisdom and omniscience, that I may never dare to commit any undecency in the eye of my Lord and my Judge, but that I may with so much care and reverence demean myself, that my Judge may not be my accuser, but my Advocate: that I expressing the belief of thy presence here by careful walking, may feel the effects of it in the participation of eternal glory through Jesus Christ. Amen.
CHAPTER II

Of Christian Sobriety.

SECTION 1

Of Sobriety in the general sense

Christian Religion in all its moral parts is nothing else but the Law of Nature and great Reason, complying with the great necessities of all the world, and promoting the great profit of all relations, and carrying us through all accidents of variety of chances to that end which God hath from eternal ages purposed for all that lived according to it, and which he hath revealed in Jesus Christ: and according to the Apostles Arithmetik hath but these three parts of it. 1. Sobriety. 2. Justice. 3. Religion.  

For the grace of God bringing salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching us that denying ungodlinesse and worldly lusts, we should live 1. Soberly, 2. Righteously, and 3. Godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. The first contains all our deportment in our personal and private capacities, the fair treating of our bodies, and our spirits. The second enlarges our duty in all relations to our Neighour. The third contains the offices of direct Religion, and intercourse with God.
Christian sobriety is all that duty that concerns our selves in the matter of meat and drink and pleasures and thoughts, and it hath within it, the duties of 1. Temperance. 2. Chastity. 3. Humility. 4. Modesty. 5. Content.

It is a using severity, denial, and frustration, of our appetite when it growes unreasonable in any of these instances: the necessity of which we shall to best purpose understand, by considering the evil consequences of sensuality, effeminacy or fondnesse after carnal pleasures.

Evil consequents of voluptuousnesse or sensuality.

1. A longing after sensual pleasures is a dissolution of the spirit of a man, and makes it loose, soft, and wandering, unapt for noble, wise, or spiritual imployments; because the principles upon which pleasure is chosen and pursued, are sottish, weak, and unlearned, such as prefer the body before the soul, the appetite before reason, sense before the Spirit, the pleasures of a short abode, before the pleasures of eternity.

2. The nature of sensual pleasure is vain, empty, and unsatisfying, biggest alwayes in expectation, and a meer vanity in the enjoying, and leaves a sting and thorn behind it, when it goes off. Our laughing if it be loud and high commonly ends in a deep sigh, and all the instances of pleasure have a sting in the tayl, though they carry beauty on the face and sweetnesse on the lip.
3. Sensual pleasure is a great abuse to the Spirit of a man; being a kind of fascination or witchcraft, blinding the understanding and enslaving the will. And he that knowes he is free-born or redeemed with the blood of the Sonne of God, will not easily suffer the freedom of his soul to be entangled and rifled.

4. It is most contrary to the state of a Christian, whose life is a perpetual exercise, a wrastling and a warfare, to which, sensual pleasure disables him, by yeilding to that enemy with whom he must strive if ever he will be crowned. And this argument the Apostle intimated: He that striveth for masteries is temperate in all things: Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.

5. It is by a certain consequence the greatest impediment in the world to martyrdom; that being a fondnesse, this being a cruelty to the flesh: to which a Christian man arriving by degrees must first have crucified the lesser affections: for he that is overcome by little arguments of pain, will hardly consent to lose his life with torments.

Degrees of sobriety.

Against this voluptuousnesse, sobriety is opposed in three degrees.

1. A despite or disaffection to pleasures, or a resolving against all entertainment of the instances and temptations of
sensuality, and it consists in the internal faculties of will and understanding, decreeing and declaring against them, disapproving and disliking them upon good reason, and strong resolution.

2. A fight and actual war against all the temptations and offers of sensual pleasure in all evil instances and degrees; and it consists in prayer, in fasting, in cheap diet, and hard lodging, and laborious exercises, and avoiding occasions, and using all arts and industry of fortifying the Spirit, and making it severe, manly, and Christian.

3. Spiritual pleasure is the highest degree of Sobriety, and in the same degree in which we relish and are in love with spiritual delights, the hidden Manna, with the sweetnerness of devotion, with the joyes of thanksgiving, with rejoicyings in the Lord, with the comforts of hope, with the delitiousnesse of charity and almes-deeds, with the sweetnesse of a good conscience, with the peace of meeknesse, and the felicities of a contented spirit: in the same degree we disrelish and loath the husks of swinish lusts, and the parings of the apples of Sodom: and the taste of sinful pleasures is unsavoury as the Drunkards vomit.

Rules for suppressing voluptuousnesse.

The precepts and advices which are of best and of general use in the curing of sensuality are these.
1. Accustom thy self to cut off all superfluity in the provisions of thy life: for our desires will enlarge beyond the present possession so long as all the things of this world are unsatisfying: if therefore you suffer them to extend beyond the measures of necessity or moderated conveniency, they will still swell: but you reduce them to a little compasse, when you make nature to be your limit. We must more take care that our desires should cease, then that they should be satisfied: and therefore reducing them to narrow scantlings and small proportions is the best instrument to redeem their trouble and prevent the dropsie, because that is next to an universal denying them: it is certainly a paring off from them all unreasonableness and irregularity. For whatsoever covets unseemly things, and is apt to swell to an inconvenient bulk, is to be chastened and tempered: and such are sensuality, and a Boy, said the Philosopher.

2. Suppress your sensuall desires in their first approach: for then they are least, and thy faculties and election are stronger; but if they in their weaknesse prevail upon thy strengths, there will be no resisting them when they are increased, and thy abilities lessened. You shall scarce obtain of them to end, if you suffer them to begin.

3. Divert them with some laudable imployment, and take off their edge by inadvertency, or a not attending to them. For since the faculties of a man cannot at the same time with any sharpnesse attend to two objects, if you imploy your spirit upon
a book or a bodily labour, or any innocent and indifferent
imployment, you have no room left for the present trouble of
a sensual temptation. For to this sense it was that Alexander
told the Queen of Caria, that his Tutor Leonidas had provided
two Cooks for him. \[j\] Hard marches all night, and a small dinner
the next day: these tamed his youthful aptnesses to dissolution,
so long as he eat of their provisions.

4. Look upon pleasures, not upon that side that is next
the Sunne, or where they look beautiously, that is, as they
come towards you to be enjoyed; for then they paint, and smile,
and dresse themselves up in tinsel and glasse, gems and
counterfeit imagery: \[k\] but when thou hast rifled and discomposed
them with enjoying their false beauties, and that they begin
to go off, then behold them in their nakednesse and wearinesse:

See what a sigh and sorrow, what naked unhandsome proportions and
a filthy carkasse they discover; and the next time they counterfeit,
remember what you have already discovered, and be no more abused.
And I have known some wise persons have advised to cure the
passions and longings of their children by letting them taste
of every thing they passionately fancied: for they should be
sure to find lesse in it than they looked for, and the impatience
of their being denied would be loosened and made slack; and
when our wishings are no bigger then the thing deserves, and
our usages of them according to our needs (which may be obtained
by trying what they are, and what good they can do us) we shall
finde in all pleasures so little entertainment, that the vanity
of the possession will soon reprove the violence of the appetite. And if this permission be in innocent instances, it may be of good use: But Solomon tried it in all things, taking his fill of all pleasures: and soon grew weary of them all. The same thing we may do by reason which we do by experience, if either we will look upon pleasures as we are sure they will look when they go off, after their enjoyment, or if we will credit the experience of those men who have tasted them and loathed them.

5. Often consider, and contemplate the joyes of heaven, that when they have filled thy desires, which are the sails of the soul, thou mayest steer onely thither, and never more look back to Sodom. And when thy soul dwells above, and looks down upon the pleasures of the World, they seeme like things at distance, little and contemptible, and men running after the satisfaction of their sottish appetites seem foolish as fishes, thousands of them running after a rotten worme that covers a deadly hook; or at the best but like children with great noise pursuing a bubble rising from a walnut shell, which ends sooner then the noise.

6. To this, the example of Christ and his Apostles, of Moses and all the Wise men of all ages of the world will much help: who understanding how to distinguish good from evil, did choose a sad and melancholy way to felicitie, rather then the broad, pleasant and easie path to folly and misery.

But this is but the general. Its first particular is Temperance.
SECTION 2

Of Temperance in Eating and Drinking.

1 Sobriety is the bridle of the passions of desire, and Temperance is the bit and curb of that bridle, a restraint put into a man's mouth, a moderate use of meat and drink, so as may best consist with our health, and may not hinder but help the works of the soul by its necessary supporting us, and ministering cheerfulnesse and refreshment.

10 Temperance consists in the actions of the soul principally: for it is a grace that chooses natural means in order to proper and natural and holy ends: It is exercised about eating and drinking, because they are necessary: but therefore it permits the use of them onely as they minister to lawful ends: It does not eate and drink for pleasure but for need, and for refreshment, which is a part or a degree of need. I deny not but eating and drinking may be, and in healthful bodies alwayes is with pleasure: because there is in nature no greater pleasure, than that all the appetites which God hath made should be satisfied: and a man may choose a morsel that is pleasant, the lesse pleasant being rejected as being lesse useful, lesse apt to nourish, or more agreeing with an infirm stomach, or when the day is festival, by order, or by a private joy. In all these cases it is permitted to receive a more free delight, and to designe it too, as the
lesse principal: that is, that the chief reason why we choose
the more delicious, be the serving that end for which such
refreshments and choices are permitted. But when delight is the
only end and rests in it self, and dwells there long, then,
eating and drinking is not a serving of God, but an inordinate
action; because it is not in the way to that end whether God
directed it. But the choosing of a delicate before a more ordinary
dish is to be done as other humane actions are, in which there
are no degrees and precise natural limits described, but a latitude
is indulged: it must be done moderately, prudently, and according
to the accounts of wise, religious, and sober men; and then God
who gave us such variety of creatures, and our choice to use
which we will, may receive glorie from our temperate use, and
thanksgiving, and we may use them indifferently without scruple,
and a making them to become snares to us, either by too licentious
and studied use of them, or too restrained and scrupulous fear
of using them at all, but in such certain circumstances in which
no man can be sure he is not mistaken.

But temperance in meat and drink is to be estimated by

the following measures.

Measures of Temperance in eating.

1. Eat not before the time, unless necessity, or charity,
or any intervening accident, which may make it reasonable and
prudent, should happen. Remember it had almost cost Jonathan
his life because he tasted a little hony before the sun went
down, contrary to the Kings commandment, and although a great
need which he had, excused him from the sin of gluttony, yet it is inexcusable when thou eatest before the usual time, and thrustest thy hand into the dish unseasonably, out of greediness of the pleasure, and impatience of the delay.

2. Eat not hastily and impatiently, but with such decent and timely action, that your eating be a humane act, subject to deliberation and choice, and that you may consider in the eating: whereas he that eats hastily, cannot consider particularly of the circumstances, degrees, and little accidents and chances that happen in his meale; but may contract many little undecencies, and be suddenly surprised.

3. Eat not delicately, or nicely, that is, be not troublesome to thy self or others in the choice of thy meats, or the delicacy of thy sauces. It was imputed as a sin to the sons of Israel, that they loathed Manna and longed for flesh: the quails stuck in their nostrills, and the wrath of God fell upon them. And for the manner of dressing, the sons of Eli were noted of indiscreet curiosity: they would not have the flesh boiled, but raw that they might roast it with fire. Not that it was a sin to eat it, or desire meat roasted; but that when it was appointed to be boiled, they refused it; which declared an intemperate and a nice palate. It is lawful in all senses to comply with a weak and a nice stomach: but not with a nice and curious palate. When our health requires it, that ought to be provided for; but not so, our sensuality and intemperate longings. Whatsoever is set before you, eat; if it be provided for you, you may eat it
be it never so delicate; and be it plain and common, so it be
wholsom and fit for you, it must not be refused upon curiosity;
for every degree of that is a degree of intemperance. \[m\] Happy and
innocent were the ages of our forefathers, who eat herbs and
parished corn, and drank the pure stream, and broke their fast
with nuts and roots; and when they were permitted flesh, eat it
only dressed with hunger and fire; and the first sauce they had
was bitter herbs, and sometimes bread dipt in vinegar. But in
this circumstance moderation is to be reckoned in proportion to
the present customs, to the company, to education, and the judgement
of honest and wise persons, and the necessities of nature.

4. Eat not too much: load neither thy stomach nor thy
understanding. If thou sit at a bountiful table, be not greedy
upon it, and say not there is much meat on it. Remember that a
wicked Eye is an evil thing: and what is created more wicked then
an eye? Therefore it weepeth upon every occasion. Stretch not
thy hand withersoever it looketh, and thrust it not with him
into the dish. A very little is sufficient for a man well
nurtured, and he fetcheth not his winde short upon his bed.

20

Signes and effects of Temperance.

We shall best know that we have the grace of temperance by
the following signes, which are as so many arguments to engage
us also upon its study and practise.
1. A temperate man is modest; greedinesse is unmannerly and rude. And this is intimated in the advice of the son of Sirach. When thou sittest amongst many reach not thy hand out first of all. Leave off first for manners sake, and be not unsatiable lest thou offend. 2. Temperance is accompanied with gravity of deportment: greedinesse is garish, and rejoices loosely at the sight of dainties. 3. Sound, but moderate sleep is its signe and its effect. Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early and his wits are with him. 4. A spiritual joy and a devout prayer. 5. A suppressed and seldom anger. 6. A command of our thoughts and passions. 7. A seldom returning and a never prevailing temptation. 8. To which adde, that a temperate person is not curious of sauces and deliciousnesse. He thinks not much, and speaks not often of meat and drink; hath a healthful body, and long life, unlesse it be hindered by some other accident; whereas to gluttony, the pain of watching and choler, the pangs of the belly are continual company: And therefore said handsomely concerning the luxury of the Rhodians, "They built houses as if they were immortal, but they feasted as if they meant to live but a little while." And Antipater by his reproach of the old glutton Demades well expressed the basenesse of this sin, saying, that Demades now old and alwayes a glutton, was like a spent sacrifice, nothing left of him but his belly and his tongue, all the man besides, is gone.
Of Drunkennesse.

But I desire that it be observed; that because intemperance in eating is not so soone perceived by others as immoderate drinking, and the outward visible effects of it are not either so notorious or so ridiculous, therefore gluttony is not of so great disreputation amongst men as drunkennesse: yet according to its degree it puts on the greatnesse of the sin before God, and is most strickly to be attended to, least we be surprized by our security and want of diligence; and the intemperance is alike criminal in both, according as the affections are either to the meat or drinke. Gluttony is more uncharitable to the body, and drunkenesse to the soule, or the understanding part of man; and therefore in Scripture is more frequently forbidden and declaimed against, then the other: and sobriety hath by use obtained to signify Temperance in drinking.

Drunkenesse is an immoderate affection, and use of drink. That I call immoderate, that is besides or beyond that order of good things, for which God hath given us the use of drink. The ends are; digestion of our meat, cheerfulnesse and refreshment of our spirits, or any end of health; besides which, if we go, or at any time beyond it, it is inordinate and criminal, it is the vice of drunkennesse. It is forbidden by our blessed Saviour in these words. Take heed to your selves lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkennesse. Surfeiting, that is the evil effects, the sottishnesse and remaining stupidity of habitual, or of the last nights drunkennesse. For Christ forbids both the actual and the habitual intemperance; not
only the effect of it, but also the affection to it: for in both there is sinne. He that drinks but little, if that little makes him drunk, and if he know beforehand his own infirmity, is guilty of surfetting, not of drunkennesse. But he that drinks much and is strong to bear it, and is not deprived of his reason violently, is guilty of the sin of drunkennesse. It is a sin not to prevent such uncharitable effects upon the body and understanding: And therefore a man that loves not the drink is guilty of surfetting, if he does not watch to prevent the evil effect: and it is a sin, and the greater of the two, inordinately to love or to use the drink, though the surfetting, or violence do not follow. Good therefore is the counsel of the son of Syrach: Shew not thy valiantnesse in wine; for wine hath destroyed many.

Evil consequents to drunkennesse.

The evils and sad consequents of drunkennesse (the consideration of which are as so many arguments to avoyd the sin) are to this sense reckoned by the writers of holy Scripture, and other wise personages of the world. 1. It causeth woes and mischiefe, wounds and sorrow, sin and shame; it maketh bitternesse of spirit, brawling and quarrelling, it increaseth rage and lesseneth strength, it maketh red eyes, and a loose and babbling tongue. 2. It particularly ministers to lust, and yet disables the body; so that in effect it makes a man wanton as a Satyr, and impotent as age: And Solomon in enumerating the evils of this vice adds this to the account: Thine eyes shall behold strange
women; and thy heart shall utter perverse things: as if the drunkard were onely desire, and then impatience, muttering and enjoying like an Eunuch embracing a woman. 3. It besots and hindersthe actions of the understanding, making a man brutish in his passions, and a fool in his reason; and differs nothing from madnesse, but that it is voluntary, and so is an equal evil in nature, and a worse in manners. 4. It takes off all the guards, and lets loose the reins of all those evils to which a man is by his nature, or by his evil customs inclined, and from which he is restrained by reason and severe principles. Drunkennesse calls off the Watch men from their towers, and then all the evils that can proceed from a loose heart, and an untied tongue, and a dissolute spirit, and an unguarded, unlimited will, all that we may put upon the accounts of drunkennesse. 5. It extinguisheth and quenches the Spirit of God: for no man can be filled with the Spirit of God and with wine at the same time; And therefore Saint Paul makes them exclusive of each other.

Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit: And since Josephs cup was put into Benjamin's sack, no man hath a divining goblet. 6. It opens all the Sancturaries of Nature, and discovers the nakednesse of the soul, all its weaknesses and follies; it multiplies sins and discovers them; it makes a man incapable of being a private friend, or a publick Counsellor. 7. It taketh a mans soul into slavery and imprisonment more then any vice whatsoever, because it disarms a man of all his reason and his wisdom, whereby he might be cured, and therefore
commonly grows it upon him with age: a drunkard being still more a fool and lesse a man. I need not addde any sad examples, since all story and all ages have too many of them. Amnon was slain by his brother Absalom, when he was warm and high with wine.

Simon the High Priest and two of his sons were slain by their brother at a drunken feast. Holofernes was drunk when Judith slew him: and all the great things that Daniel spake of Alexander were drowned with the surfet of one. nights intemperance: and the drunkennesse of Noah and Lot are upon record to eternal ages, that in those early instances, and righteous persons and lesse criminal drunkennesse then is that of Christians in this period of the world, God might show that very great evils are prepared to punish this vice; no less then shame, and slavery, and incest, the first upon Noah, the second upon one of his sons, and the third in the person of Lot.

Signes of drunkennesse.

But if it be enquired concerning the periods and distinct significations of this crime, and when a man is said to be drunk; to this I answer, That drunkennesse is in the same manner to be judged as sicknesse. As every illnesse or violence done to health in every part of its continuance is a part or degree of sicknesse: so is every going off from our natural and common temper and our usual severity of behaviour, a degree of drunkennesse. He is not onely drunk that can drink no more; for few are so; but he hath sinned in a degree of drunkennesse who hath done any thing towards it beyond his proper measure.
But its parts and periods are usually thus reckoned. 1. Apish gestures. 2. Much talking. 3. Immoderate laughing. 4. Dulnesse of sence. 5. Scurrility, that is, wanton, or jeering, or abusive language. 6. An uselesse understanding. 7. Stupid sleep. 8. Epilepsies, or fallings, and reelings and beastly vomitings. The least of these, even when the tongue begins to be untyed, is a degree of drunkennesse.

But that we may avoyd the sin of intemperance in meats and drinks, besides the former rules of measures, these counsels also may be useful.

**Rules for obtaining Temperance.**

1. Be not often present at feasts, nor at all in dissolute company, when it may be avoyded; for variety of pleasing objects steals away the heart of man: and company is either violent or enticing; and we are weak or complying, or perhaps desirous enough to be abused. But if you be unavoidably or indiscreetly engaged, let not mistaken civilitie or good nature engage thee, either to the temptation of staying (if thou understandest thy weaknesse) or the sin of drinking inordinately.

2. Be severe in your judgement concerning your proportions, and let no occasion make you enlarge far beyond your ordinary. For a man is surprized by parts; and while he thinks one glass more will not make him drunk; that one glasse hath disabled him from well discerning his present condition and neighbour danger: while men think themselves wise they become fools: they think
they shall tast the aconite and not dye, or crown their heads
with juice of poppy and be not drowsie; and if they drink off
the whole vintage, still they think they can swallow another
goblet. But remember this, when ever you begin to consider
whether you may safely take one draught more, it is then high
time to give over: let that be accounted a signe late enough to
break off: for every reason to doubt, is a sufficient reason
to part the company.

3. Come not to table but when thy need invites thee:
and if thou beest in health leave something of thy Appetite
unfilled, something of thy natural heat unimployed, that it
may secure thy digestion, and serve other needs of nature or
the spirit.

4. Propound to thy self (if thou beest in a capacity) a
constant rule of living, of eating and drinking; which though
it may not be fit to observe scrupulously, lest it become a
snare to thy conscience, or in danger thy health upon every
accidental violence: yet let not thy rule be broken often nor
much, but upon great necessity and in small degrees.

5. Never urge any man to eat or drink beyond his own
limits, and his own desires. He that does otherwise is drunk with
his brothers surfet, and reeles and falls with his intemperance,
that is, the sin of drunkennesse is upon both their scores,
they both lye wallowing in the guilt.
6. Use S. Pauls instruments of Sobriety. Let us who are of the day be sober, putting on the brestplate of faith and love, and for an helmet the hope of Salvation. Faith, Hope, and Charity are the best weapons in the world to fight against intemperance. The faith of the Mahometans forbids them to drink wine, and they abstain religiously, as the sons of Rechab: and the faith of Christ forbids drunkennesse to us; and therefore is infinitely more powerful to supprese this vice, when we remember that we are Christians, and to abstain from drunkennesse and gluttony is part of the Faith and Discipline of Jesus, and that with these vices, neither our love to God, nor our hopes of heaven can possibly consist; and therefore when these enter the heart, the others go out at the mouth: for this is the Devil that is cast out by fasting and prayer, which are the proper actions of these graces.

7. As a pursuance of this rule, it is a good advice, that as we begin and end all our times of eating with prayer and thanksgiving: so at the meal we remove and carry up our minde and Spirit to the Coelestial table, often thinking of it, and often desiring it; that by enkindling thy desire to heavenly banquets, thou mayest be indifferent and less passionate for the Earthlie.

8. Mingle discourses pious, or in some sense profitable, and in all sences charitable and innocent, with thy meal, as occasion is ministred.
9. Let your drink so serve your meat, as your meat doth your health; that it be apt to convey and digest it, and refresh the spirits; but let it never go beyond such a refreshment as may a little lighten the present load of a sad or troubled spirit; never to inconvenience, lightnesse, sottishnesse, vanity, or intemperance: and know that the loosing the bands of the tongue, and the very first dissolution of its duty, is one degree of the intemperance.

10. In all cases be carefull that you bee not brought under the power of such things which otherwise are lawful enough in the use. All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any thing, said Saint Paul. And to be perpetually longing, and impatiently desirous of any thing, so that a man cannot abstaine from it, is to lose a mans liberty, and to become a servant of meat and drink, or smoke: And I wish this last instance were more considered by persons who little suspect themselves guilty of intemperance, though their desires are strong and impatient, and the use of it perpetual and unreasonable to all purposes, but that they have made it habitual, and necessary as intemperance it self is made to some men.

11. Use those advices which are prescribed as instruments to suppresse voluptuousnesse in the foregoing Section.
Of Chastity.

Reader stay, and reade not the advices of the following Section, unlesse thou hast a chaste spirit, or desirest to be chaste, or at least, art apt to consider whether you ought or no. For there are some spirits so Atheistical, and some so wholly possessed with a spirit of uncleannesse, that they turn the most prudent and chaste discourses into dirt and filthy apprehensions: like cholerick stomacks changing their very Cordials and medicines into bitternesse; and in a literal sense turning the grace of God into wantonnesse: They study cases of conscience in the matter of carnal sins, not to avoid, but to learn wayes how to offend God and pollute their own spirits: and search their houses with a Sunbeam that they may be instructed in all the corners of nastinesse. I have used all the care I could, in the following periods, that I might neither be wanting to assist those that need it, nor yet minister any occasion of fancy or vainer thoughts to those that need them not. If any man will snatch the pure taper from my hand, and hold it to the Devil, he will onely burn his own fingers, but shall not rob me of the reward of my care and good intention,
since I have taken heed how to expresse the following duties, and given him caution how to reade them.

Chastity is that duty which was mystically intended by GOD in the Law of Circumcision. It is the circumcision of the heart, the cutting off all superfluity of naughtinesse, and a suppression of all irregular desires in the matter of sensual or carnal pleasure. I call all desires irregular and sinful that are not sanctified; 1. By the holy institution or by being within the protection of marriage. 2. By being within the order of nature. 3. By being within the moderation of Christian modesty. Against the first are, fornication, adultery, and all voluntary pollutions of either sex. Against the second are all unnatural lusts, and incestuous mixtures. Against the third is all immoderate use of permitted beds; concerning which, judgement is to be made as concerning meats and drinks; there being no certain degree of frequency or intention prescribed to all persons, but it is to be ruled as the other actions of a man, by proportion to the end, by the dignity of the person in the honour and severity of being a Christian, and by other circumstances, of which I am to give account.

Chastity is that grace which forbids and restrains all these, keeping the body and soul pure in that state in which it is placed by God, whether of the single or of the married life. Concerning which our duty is thus described by S. Paul.

For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: that every one of you should
know how to possesse his vessel in sanctification and honour: Not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.

Chastity is either abstinence or continence. Abstinence is that of Virgins or Widows: Continence of married persons. Chaste marriages are honourable and pleasing to God: Widowhood is pitiable in its solitariness and losse, but amiable and comely when it is adorned with gravity and purity, and not sullied with remembrances of the passed license, nor with present desires of returning to a second bed. But Virginity is a life of Angels, the enamel of the soul, the huge advantage of religion, the great opportunity for the retirements of devotion: and being empty of cares, it is full of prayers: being unmingled with the World, it is apt to converse with God: and by not feeling the warmth of a too forward and indulgent nature, flames out with holy fires, till it be burning like the Cherubim and the most extasied order of holy and unpolluted Spirits.

Natural virginity of it self is not a state more acceptable to God: but that which is chosen and voluntary in order to the conveniences of Religion and separation from worldly incombrances, is therefore better then the married life; not that it is more holy, but that it is a freedom from cares, an opportunity to spend more time in spiritual imployments; it is not alloyed with businesses and attendances upon lower affairs: and if it be a chosen condition to these ends; it containeth in it a victory over lusts, and greater desires of Religion, and self-denial,
and therefore is more excellent than the married life, in that
degree in which it hath greater religion, and a greater mortification,
a lesse satisfaction of natural desires, and a greater fulnesse
of the spiritual: and just so is to expect that little coronet
or special reward which God hath prepared (extraordinary and
besides the great Crown of all faithful souls) for those
who have not defiled themselves with women, but follow the
Virgin Lamb forever.

But some married persons even in their marriage do better
please God then some Virgins in their state of virginity: They
by giving great example of conjugal affection, by preserving
their faith unbroken, by educating children in the fear of
God, by patience and contentednesse, and holy thoughts and
the exercise of vertues proper to that state, do not onely please
God, but do it in a higher degree then those Virgins whose piety
is not answerable to their great opportunities and advantages.

However, married persons, and Widows, and Virgins are all
servants of God and coheirs in the inheritance of Jesus, if
they live within the restraints and laws of their particular
estate, chastely, temperately, justly, and religiously.

The evil consequents of Uncleannesse.

The blessings and proper affects of chastity we shall best
understand by reckoning the evils of uncleanness and carnality.

1. Uncleanness of all vices is the most shameful.

25 The eye of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight, saying;
No eye shall see me: and disguiseth his face. In the dark they
dig through houses which they had marked for themselves in the
daytime: they know not the light: for the morning is to them as
the shadow of death. He is swift as the waters; their portion
is cursed in the earth, he beholdeth not the way of the vineyards.

Shame is the eldest daughter of Uncleanness.

2. The appetites of uncleanness are full of cares and
trouble, and in its fruition is sorrow and repentance. The way
of the adulterer is hedged with thorns: full of fears and
jealousies, burning desires and impatient waitings, tediousness
of delay, and sufferance of affronts, and amazements of
discovery.

3. Most of its kinds are of that condition, that they
involve the ruin of two souls: and he that is a fornicator or
adulterous, steals the soul as well as dishonours the body of
his Neighbour: and so it becomes like the sin of falling Lucifer,
who brought a part of the stars with his tail from Heaven.

4. Of all carnal sins it is that alone which the Devil
takes delight to imitate and counterfeit; communicating with
Witches and impure persons in no corporal act, but in this onely.

5. Uncleanness with all its kinds is a vice which hath
a professed enmity against the body. Every sin which a man doth
is without the body, but he that committeth fornication sinneth
against his own body.
6. Uncleannesse is hugely contrary to the spirit of Government by embasing the spirit of a man, making it effeminate, sneaking, soft, and foolish, without courage, without confidence. David felt this after his folly with Bathsheba: he fell to unkingly arts and stratagems to hide the crime, and he did nothing but increase it; and remained timorous and poor spirited, till he prayed to God once more to establish him with a free and a Princely spirit. And no superior dare strictly observe discipline upon his charge, if he hath let himself loose to the shame of incontinence.

7. The Gospel hath added two arguments against uncleannesse which were never before used, nor indeed could be, since GOD hath given the holy Spirit to them that are baptized, and rightly confirmed, and entered into covenant with him, our bodies are made temples of the holy Ghost in which he dwells: and therefore uncleannesse is Sacrilege and defiles a Temple. It is S. Paul's argument: 

\[ \text{Know ye not that your body is the temple of the holy Ghost?} \]

And He that defiles a Temple, him will God destroy. Therefore 
\[ \text{Gorifie God in your bodies, that is, flee fornication.} \]

To which for the likeness of the argument add, That our bodies are members of Christ, and therefore God forbid that we should take the members of Christ and make them the members of a harlot. So that uncleannesse dishonours Christ, and dishonours the holy Spirit: it is a sin against God, and in this sense a sin against the Holy Ghost.
8. The next special argument which the Gospel ministers especially against adultery, and for preservation of the purity of marriage, is that Marriage is by Christ hallowed into a mystery to signify the Sacramental and mystical union of Christ and his Church. He therefore that breaks this knot, which the Church and their mutual faith hath tyed, and Christ hath knit up into a mystery, dishonours a great rite of Christianity, of high, spiritual and excellent signification.

9. S. Gregory reckons uncleanness to be the parent of these monsters: Blindnesse of minde, inconsideration, precipitancy or giddinesse in actions, self love, hatred of God, love of the present pleasures, a despite or despair of the joyes of religion here, and of Heaven hereafter. Whereas a pure mind in a chast body is the Mother of wisdom and deliberation, sober counsells, and ingenuous actions, open deportment, and sweet carriage, sincere principles, and unprejudicate understanding, love of God, and self denyall, peace and confidence, holy prayers and spiritual comfort, and a pleasure of Spirit infinitely greater then the sottish and beastly pleasures of unchastity.

For to overcome pleasure is the greatest pleasure, and no victory is greater then that which is gotten over our lusts and filthy inclinations.

10. Adde to all these, the publick dishonesty and disreputation that all the Nations of the world have cast upon adulterous and unhallowed embraces. Abimlech to the men of Gerar made it death to meddle with the wife of Isaac:
and Judah condemned Thamar to be burnt for her adulterous conception; and God, besides the Law made to put the adulterous person to death, did constitute a settled and constant miracle to discover the adultery of a suspected woman, that her bowels should burst with drinking the waters of Jealousie. The Egyptian Law was to cut off the nose of the adulteresse, and the offending part of the adulterer. The Locrians put out the adulterers both eyes. The Germanes (as Tacitus reports) placed the Adulteresse amidst her kinred naked, and shaved her head, and caused her husband to beat her with clubs thorough the city. The Gortinaeans crowned the man with wool to shame him for his effeminacy: and the Cumani caused the woman to ride upon an asse naked and hooted at: and for ever after called her by an appellative of scorn: a rider upon the asse. All nations barbarous and civil agreeing in their general designe of rooting so dishonest and shameful a vice from under heaven.

The middle ages of the Church were not pleased that the Adulteresse should be put to death: but in the primitive ages the civil Lawes by which Christians were then governed, gave leave to the wronged husband to kill his adulterous wife, if he took her in the fact: but because it was a priviledge indulged to men, rather then a direct detestation of the crime, a consideration of the injury rather then of the uncleannesse, therefore it was soon altered: but yet hath caused an inquiry, whether is worse, the Adultery of the man or the woman.
The resolution of which case in order to our present affair, is thus, 1. In respect of the person, the fault is greater in a man than in a woman, who is of a more plyant and easie spirit, and weaker understanding, and hath nothing to supply the unequal strengths of men, but the defensative of a passive nature and armour of modesty, which is the natural ornament of that sex. And it is unjust that the man should demand chastity and severity from his wife, which himself will not observe towards her, said the good Emperor Antoninus: It is as if the man should persuade his wife to fight against those enemies to which he had yielded himself a prisoner. 2. In respect of the effects and evil consequents, the adultery of the woman is worse, as bringing bastardy into a family, and disinherisons or great injuries to the Lawful children, and infinite violations of peace, and murders, and divorces, and all the effects of rage and madness. 3. But in respect of the crime, and as relating to God they are equal, intollerable, and damnable: and since it is no more permitted to men to have many wives, then to women to have many husbands, and that in this respect their privilege is equal, their sin is so too. And this is the case of the question in Christianity. And the Church anciently refused to admit such persons to the holy Communion, until they had done seven years penances in fasting, in sackcloth, in severe inflictions and instruments of chastity and sorrow, according to the discipline of those ages.
Acts of chastity in general.

The actions and proper offices of the grace of chastity in general are these.

1. To resist all unchast thoughts; at no hand entertaining pleasure in the unfruitful fancies and remembrances of uncleanness; although no definite desire or resolution be entertained.

2. At no hand to entertain any desire; or any phantastick, imaginative loves, though by shame, or disability, or other circumstance they be restrained from act.

3. To have a chast eye and hand: for it is all one with what part of the body we commit adultery: and if a man lets his eye loose, and enjoys the lust of that, he is an adulterer. Look not upon a woman to lust after her. And supposing all the other members restrained, yet if the eye be permitted to lust, the man can no otherwise be called chast, then he can be called severe and mortified, that sits all day seeing playes and revellings, and out of greediness to fill his eye, neglects his belly: There are some vessels which if you offer to lift by the belly or bottom you cannot stir them, but are soon removed if you take them by the ears. It matters not with which of your members you are taken and carried off from your dutie and severity.

4. To have a heart and minde chast and pure: that is, detesting all uncleannesse; disliking all its motions, past actions, circumstances, likenesses, discourses: and this ought
to be the chastity of Virgins and Widows, of old persons and Eunuchs especially, and generally of all men according to their several necessities.

5. To Discourse chastly and purely, with great care declining all undecencies of language, chastening the tongue, and restraining it with grace, as vapours of wine are restrained with a bunch of myrrhe.

6. To disapprove by an after act all involuntary and natural pollutions: for if a man delights in having suffered any natural pollution, and with pleasure remember it, he chooses that which was in it self involuntary: and that which being natural was innocent, becoming voluntary is made sinful.

7. They that have performed these duties and parts of Chastity, will certainly abstain from all exteriour actions of uncleannesse: those noon-day and mid-night Devils, those lawlesse and ungodly worships of shame and uncleannesse; whose birth is in trouble, whose growth is in folly, and whose end is in shame.

But besides these general acts of Chastity which are common to all states of men and women, there are some few things proper to the several.

Acts of virginal Chastity.

1. Virgins must remember that the virginitie of the body is onely excellent in order to the puritie of the soul: who therefore must consider that since they are in some measure in
a condition like that of angels, it is their duty to spend much of their time in Angelical employment: for in the same degree that Virgins live more spiritually than other persons, in the same degree is their virginity a more excellent state: But else it is no better than that of involuntary or constrained Eunuchs; a misery and a trouble, or else a mere privation, as much without excellency as without mixture.

2. Virgins must contend for a singular modesty; whose first part must be an ignorance in the distinction of sexes, or their proper instruments: or if they accidentally be instructed in that, it must be supplied with an inadvertency or neglect of all thoughts and remembrances of such difference: and the following parts of it, must be pious and chast thoughts, holy language, and modest carriage.

3. Virgins must be retired and unpublick: for all freedom and loosenesse of society is a violence done to virginity; not in its natural, but in its moral capacity: that is, it looses part of its severity, strictnesse and opportunity of advantages by publishing that person, whose work is religion, whose company is Angels, whose thoughts must dwell in heaven, and separate from all mixtures of the world.

4. Virgins have a peculiar obligation to charity: for this is the virgynity of the soul; as puritie, integrity, and separation is of the body, which doctrine we are taught by Saint Peter.

Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the spirit into unfaigned love of the brethen: see that ye love
one another with a pure heart fervently. For a Virgin that
consecrates her body to God, and pollutes her spirit with rage,
or impatience, or inordinate anger, gives him what he most
hates, a most foul and defiled soul.

5. These rules are necessary for Virgins that offer that
state to God, and mean not to enter into the state of marriage:
for they that onely wait the opportunity of a convenient change,
are to steer themselves by the general rules of Chastity.

Rules for Widows or Vidual Chastity.

For Widows, the fontinel of whose desires hath been opened
by the former permissions of the marriage-bed, they must remember:

1. That God hath now restrained the former license, bound
up their eyes, and shut up their heart into a narrower compasse,
and hath given them sorrow to be a bridle to their desires. A
Widow must be a mourner; and she that is not, cannot so well
secure the chastity of her proper state.

2. It is against publick honesty to marry another man so
long as she is with child by her former Husband: and of the
same fame it is in a lesser proportion, to marry within the year
of mourning: but anciently it was infamous for her to marry, till
by common account the body was dissolved into its first principle
of earth.

3. A Widow must restrain her memory and her fancy: not
recalling or recounting her former permissions and freer licenses
with any present delight: for then she opens that sluice which her Husbands death and her own sorrow have shut up.

4. A Widow that desires her widowhood should be a state pleasing to God, must spend her time as devoted Virgins should, in fastings and prayers, and charity.

5. A Widow must forbid her self to use those temporal solaces, which in her former estate were innocent, but now are dangerous.

Rules for married persons,
or matrimonial chastity.

Concerning married persons; besides the keeping of their mutual faith, and contract with each other, these particulars are useful to be observed.

1. Although their mutual endearments are safe within the protection of marriage, yet they that have Wives or Husbands must be as though they had them not; that is, they must have an affection greater to each other then they have to any person in the world, but not greater then they have to God: but that they be ready to part with all interest in each others person rather then sin against God.

2. In their permissions and license they must be sure to observe the order of Nature, and the ends of God. He is an ill Husband that uses his Wife as a man treats a Harlot, having no other end but pleasure. Concerning which our best rule is, that although in this, as in eating and drinking there is an
appetite to be satisfied, which cannot be done without pleasing that desire, yet since that desire and satisfaction was intended by Nature for other ends, they should never be separate from those ends, but alwayes be joyned with all or one of these ends; with a desire of children, or to avoyd fornication, or to lighten and ease the cares and sadnesses of houshold affairs, or to endear each other: but never with a purpose either in act or desire to separate the sensuality from these ends which hallow it. Onan did separate his act from its proper end, and so ordered his embraces that his Wife should not conceive, and God punished him.

3. Married persons must keep such modesty and decency of treating each other, that they never force themselves into high and violent lusts, with arts and misbecoming devices: alwayes remembring that those mixtures are most innocent which are most simple, and most natural, most orderly and most safe.

4. It is a duty of matrimonial chastity to be restrained and temperate in the use of their lawful pleasures: concerning which although no universal Rule can antecedently be given to all persons, any more then to all bodies one proportion of meat and drink: yet married persons are to estimate the degree of their license according to the following proportions. 1. That it be moderate so as to consist with health. 2. That it be so ordered as not to be too expensive of time, that precious opportunity of working out our salvation. 3. That when duty
is demanded it be always paid (so far as is in our powers and
election) according to the foregoing measures. 4. That it be
with a temperate affection, without violent transporting desires,
or too sensuall applications. Concerning which a man is to
make judgement by proportion to other actions, and the severities
of his religion, and the sentences of sober and wise persons,
alwaies remembring that marriage is a provision for supply of
the natural necessities of the body; not for the artificial
and procured appetites of the mind. And it is sad truth, that
many married persons thinking that the floodgates of liberty are
set wide open without measures or restraints (so they sail in
that channel) have felt the final rewards of intemperance and
lust, by their unlawful using of lawful permissions. Onely let
each of them be temperate, and both of them be modest.

—Socrates was wont to say, that those women to whom Nature
had not been indulgent in good features and colours, should
make it up themselves with excellent manners; and those who
were beautiful and comely, should be careful that so fair a
body be not polluted with unhandsome usages. To which Plutarch
addes; that a wife if she be unhandsome, should consider, how
extreamly ugly she should be, if she wanted modesty: but if
she be handsome, let her think how gracious that beauty would
be if she superads chastity.

5. Married persons by consent are to abstain from their
mutual entertainments at solemn times of devotion: not as a
duty of it self necessary, but as being the most proper act of
purity which in their condition they can present to God: and being a good advantage for attending their preparation to the solemn duty, and their demeanour in it. It is S. Pauls counsel, that by consent for a time they should abstain, that they may give themselves to fasting and prayer. And though when Christians did receive the holy Communion every day, it is certain they did not abstain, but had children: yet when the Communion was more seldom, they did with religion abstain from the marriage-bed during the time of their solemn preparatory devotions, as anciently they did, from eating and drinking till the solemnity of the day was past.

6. It were well if married persons would in their penitential prayers, and in their general confessions suspect themselves, and accordingly ask a general pardon for all their undecencies and more passionate applications of themselves in their offices of marriage: that what is lawful and honourable in its kinde may not be sullied with imperfect circumstances; or if it be, it may be made clean again by the interruption and recalls of such a repentance of which such uncertain parts of action are capable.

But because of all the dangers of a Christian, none more pressing and troublesome then the temptations to lust, no enemy more dangerous then that of the flesh, no accounts greater then what we have to reckon for at the audit of Concupiscence, therefore it concerns all that would be safe from this death to arme themselves by the following rules to prevent, or to
cure all the wounds of our flesh made by the poysoned arrows of Lust.

Remedies against uncleannesse.

1. h When a temptation of lust assaults thee, do not resist it by heaping up arguments against it, and disputing with it, considering its offers, and its danger, but flye from it, that is, think not at all of it; lay aside all consideration concerning it, and turn away from it, by any severe and laudable thought or businesse. S. Hierome very wittily reproves the Gentile superstition, who pictured the Virgin Deityes armed with a shield and lance, as if chastity could not be defended without war and direct contention. No; this enemy is to be treated otherwise. If you hear it speak, though but to dispute with it, it ruines you; and the very arguments, you go about to answer, leave a relish upon the tongue. A man may be burnsed if he goes neer the fire, though but to quench his house; and by handling pitch, though but to draw it from your cloths, you defile your fingers.

2. Avoid idlenesse, and fill up all the spaces of thy time with severe and usefull imployment: for lust usually creepes in at those emptinesses, where the soul is unimployed and the body is at ease. For no easy, healthfull, and idle person was ever chast, if he could be tempted. But of all imployments, bodily labour is most usefull and of greatest benefit for the driving away this Devill.
3. Give no entertainment to the beginnings, the first motions and secret whispers of the spirit of impurity. For if you totally suppress it, it dyes: if you permit the furnace to breath its smoke and flame out at any vent, it will rage to the consumption of the whole. This cockatrice is soonest crushed in the shell, but if it grows, it turns to a serpent, and a Dragon, and a Devil.

4. Corporal mortification and hard usages of our body hath by all ages of the Church bin accounted a good instrument and of some profit against the spirit of fornication. A spare diet, and a thin course table, seldom refreshment, frequent fasts, not violent and interrupted with returns to ordinary feeding, but constantly little, unpleasant, of wholesome but sparing nourishment: For by such cutting off the provisions of victual we shall weaken the strengths of our Enemy. To which if we add, lyings upon the ground, painful postures in prayer, reciting our devotions with our armes extended at full length, like Moses praying against Amalek, or our blessed SAVIOUR hanging upon his painful bed of sorrowes, the Crosse; and (if the lust be upon us and sharply tempting) by inflicting any smart to overthrow the strongest passion by the most violent paine, we shall finde great ease for the present, and the resolution and apt sufferance against the future danger. And this was Saint Pauls remedy, I bring my body under; he used some rudeness towards it.

But it was a great noblenessee of chastity which S. Hierome reports of a Son of the King of Nicomedia, who being tempted upon flowers and a perfumed bed with a soft violence, but yet
tyed down to the temptation, and sollicited with circumstances of Asian Luxury by an impure Curtesan; least the easinesse of his posture should abuse him, spit out his tongue into her face: to represent that no vertue hath cost the Saints so much, as this of Chastity.

5. **Fly from all occasions, temptations, loosenesses of company, Balls and Revellings, undecent mixtures of wanton dancings, idle talke, private society with stranger women, starings upon a beauteous face, the company of women that are singers, amorous gestures, garish and wanton dressings, feasts and liberty, banquets and perfumes, wine and strong drinks, which are made to persecute chastity; some of these being the very Prologues to lust, and the most innocent of them being but like condited or pickled Mushroms, which if carefully corrected, or seldom tasted, may be harmlesse, but can never do good: Ever remembring that it is easier to die for chastity, then to live with it; and the Hangman could not extort a consent from some persons, from whom a Lover would have intreated it. For the glory of chastity will easily overcome the rudenesse of fear and violence; but easinesse and softnesse, and smooth temptations creep in, and like the Sun make a mayden lay by her vail and robe, which persecution like the Northern winde, made her hold fast and clap close about her.

6. He that will secure his chastity, must first cure his pride and his rage. For oftentimes lust is the punishment of a proud man, to tame the vanity of his pride by the shame and
affronts of unchastity: and the same intemperate heat that makes anger, does enkindle lust.

7. If thou beest assaulted with an unclean Spirit, trust not thy self alone, but runne forth into company, whose reverence and modesty may suppress, or whose society may divert thy thoughts: and a perpetual witness of thy conversation is of especial use against this vice, which evaporates in the open air like Camphyre, being impatient of light and witnesses.

8. Use frequent and earnest prayer to the King of Purities, the first of Virgins, the eternal GOD, who is of an essential purity; that hee would be pleased to reprove and cast out the unclean Spirit. For besides the blessings of prayer by way of reward, it hath a natural vertue to restrain this vice: because a prayer against it, is an unwillingnesse to act it; and so long as we heartily pray against it, our desires are secured, and then this Devil hath no power. This was S. Paul's other remedy.

For this cause I besought the Lord thrice. And there is much reason and much advantage in the use of this instrument; because the main thing that in this affair is to be secured is a man's minde. He that goes about to cure lust by bodily exercises alone (as Saint Paul's phrase is) or mortifications, shall find them sometimes instrumental to it, and incitations of sudden desires, but alwaies insufficient and of little profit: but he that hath a chaste mind shall find his body apt enough to take laws; and let it do its worst; it cannot make a sinne; and in its greatest violence can but produce a little natural
uneasiness, not so much trouble as a severe fasting day, or a hard nights lodging upon boards. If a man be hungry he must eat, and if he be thirsty he must drink in some convenient time; or else he dies: but if the body be rebellious, so the minde be chaste, let it doe its worst, if you resolve perfectly not to satisfie it, you can receive no great evil by it. Therefore the proper cure is by applications to the Spirit, and securities of the minde; which can no way so well be secured as by frequent and fervent prayers, and sober resolutions, and severe discourses.

9. Therefore, hither bring in succour from consideration of the Divine presence, and of his holy Angels, meditation of Death, and the passions of CHRIST upon the Crosse, imitation of his purities, and of the Virgin Mary his unspotted and holy Mother, and of such eminent Saints who in their generations were burning and shining lights, unmingleed with such uncleannesses which defile the soul, and who now follow the Lambe whithersoever he goes.

10. These remedies are of universal efficacy in all cases extraordinary and violent: but in ordinary and common, the remedy which GOD hath provided, that is, Honourable marriage, hath a natural efficacy, besides a vertue by Divine blessing, to cure the inconveniences which otherwise might afflict persons temperate and sober.
SECTION 4

Of Humility.

Humility is the great Ornament and Jewel of Christian Religion; that whereby it is distinguished from all the wisdome of the world; it not having been taught by the wise men of the Gentiles; but first put into a discipline, and made part of a religion by our Lord Jesus Christ, who propounded himselfe imitable by his Disciples so signally in nothing, as in the twinne sisters of Meeknesse and Humility. Learne of me for I am meek and humble, and ye shall finde rest unto your souls.

For all the World, all that we are, and all that we have; our bodies and our souls, our actions and our sufferings, our conditions at home, our accidents abroad, our many sinnes, and our seldome vertues are as so many arguments to make our souls dwell low in the deep valleys of Humility.

Arguments against Pride.

by way of Consideration

1. Our Body is weak and impure, sending out more uncleannesses from its several sinkes then could be endured if they were not necessary and natural: and we are forced to passe that through our mouthes, which as soon as we see upon the ground, we loathe like rottennesse and vomiting.
2. **Our strength** is inferior to that of many Beasts, and our infirmities so many that we are forced to dresse and tend Horses and Asses, that they may help our needs, and relieve our wants.

3. **Our beauty** is in colour inferior to many flowers, and in proportion of parts it is better than nothing. For even a Dog hath parts as well proportioned and fitted to his purposes, and the designes of his nature, as we have: and when it is most florid and gay, three fits of an ague can change it into yellownesse and leanness, and the hollowness and wrinkles of deformity.

4. **Our learning** is then best when it teaches most humility: but to be proud of Learning is the greatest ignorance in the World. For our learning is so long in getting, and so very imperfect, that the greatest Clerke knows not the thousand part of what he is ignorant; and knowes so uncertainly what he seems to know, and knowes no otherwise then a Fool, or a Child, even what is told him, or what he guesses at, that except those things which concerne his duty, and which God hath revealed to him, which also every Woman knowes so far as is necessary; the most Learned Man hath nothing to bee proud of, unlesse this be a sufficient argument to exalt him, that he uncertainly guesses at some more unnecessary things than many others, who yet know all that concerne them, and minde other things more necessary for the needs of life and Commonwealths.

5. **He that is proud of riches is a Foole.** For if he be exalted above his Neighbours because hee hath more gold, how much
inferiour is hee to a Gold Mine? How much is he to give place to a chain of Pearl, or a knot of Diamonds? For certainly that hath the greatest excellence from whence he derives all his gallantry and preheminence over his Neighbours.

6. If a man be exalted by reason of any excellence in his soul, he may please to remember, that all souls are equal; and their differing operations are because their instrument is in better tune, their body is more healthful, or better tempered: which is no more praise to him, then it is that he was born in Italy.

7. He that is proud of his birth is proud of the blessings of others, not of himself: for if his parents were more eminent in any circumstance then their Neighbours, he is to thank God, and to rejoice in them; but still he may be a Fool, or unfortunate, or deformed; and when himself was born, it was indifferent to him whether his Father were a King or a Peasant; for he knew not any thing, nor chose any thing: and most commonly it is true, that he that boasts of his Ancestors, who were the founders and raisers of a Noble Family, doth confesse that he hath in himself a lesse vertue and a lesse honour, and therefore that he is degenerated.

8. Whatever other difference there is between thee and thy Neighbour, if it be bad, it is thine own, but thou hast no reason to boast of thy misery and shame: if it be good, thou hast received it from God; and then thou art more obliged to pay duty and tribute, use and principal to him: and it were a strange folly for a man to be proud of being more in debt then another.
9. Remember what thou wert before thou wert begotten? Nothing. What wert thou in the first regions of thy dwelling, before thy birth? Uncleanness. What wert thou for many years after? Weakness. What in all thy life? A great sinner. What in all thy excellencies? A mere debtor to God, to thy parents, to the earth, to all the creatures. But we may if we please use the method of the Platonists, who reduce all the causes and arguments for humility which we can take from ourselves, to these seven heads. 1. The spirit of a man is light and troublesome. 2. His body is brutish and sickly. 3. He is constant in his folly and error, and inconstant in his manners and good purposes. 4. His labours are vain, intricate, and endless. 5. His fortune is changeable, but seldom pleasing, never perfect. 6. His wisdom comes not till he be ready to die, that is, till he be past using it. 7. His death is certain, always ready at the door, but never far off. Upon these or the like meditations if we dwell, or frequently retire to them, we shall see nothing more reasonable then to be humble, and nothing more foolish then to be proud.

Acts or offices of humility.

The grace of humility is exercised by these following rules.

1. Think not thy self better for any thing that happens to thee from without. For although thou mayest by gifts bestowed upon thee be better then another, as one horse is better than another, that is, of more use to others; yet as thou art a man,
thou hast nothing to commend thee to thy self, but that onely by
which thou art a man; that is, by what thou choosest and refusest.

2. Humility consists not in railing against thy self, or
wearing mean clothes, or going softly and submissely; but in a
hearty and real evil or mean opinion of thy self. Believe thy
self an unworthy person, heartily, as thou believest thy self to
be hungry, or poor, or sick, when thou art so.

3. Whatsoever evil thou sayest of thy self be content that
others should think to be true: and if thou callest thy self fool,
be not angry if another say so of thee: For if thou thinkest so
truely, all men in the world desire other men to be of their
opinion; and he is an hypocrite that accuses himself before others,
with an intent not to be believed. But he that calls himself
intemperate, foolish, lustful, and is angry when his neighbours
call him so, is both a false and a proud person.

4. Love to be concealed, and little esteemed: be content
to want praise, never being troubled when thou art slighted or
undervalued: for thou canst not undervalue thy self, and if thou
thinkest so meanly as there is reason, no contempt will seem
unreasonable, and therefore it will be very tolerable.

5. Never be ashamed of thy birth, or thy parents, or thy
trade, or thy present imployment, for the meannesse or poverty
of any of them: and when there is an occasion to speak of them,
such an occasion as would invite you to speak of any thing that
pleases you, omit it not; but speak as readily and indifferently
of thy meannesse, as of thy greatnesse. **Primislaus** the first King
of Bohemia kept his country shoes always by him, to remember from whence he was raised: and Agathocles by the furniture of his Table confessed, that from a Potter he was raised to be the King of Sicily.

6. Never speak any thing directly tending to thy praise or glorie: that is, with a purpose to be commended, and for no other end. If other ends be mingled with thy honour, as if the glory of God, or charity, or necessity, or any thing of prudence be thy end, you are not tyed to omit your discourse, or your designe that you may avoid praise, but pursue your end, though praise come along in the Company. Onely let not praise be the designe.

7. When thou hast said or done any thing for which thou receivest praise or estimation, take it indifferently, and return it to God, reflecting upon him as the Giver of the gift, or the blesser of the action, or the aid of the designe: and give God thanks for making thee an instrument of his glory, or the benefit of others.

8. Secure a good name to thy self by living vertuously and humbly: but let this good name be nursed abroad, and never be brought home to look upon it: let others use it for their own advantage: let them speak of it if they please, but do not thou at all use it, but as an instrument to do God glory, and thy neighbour more advantage. Let thy face like Moses shine to others, but make no looking glasses for thy self.

9. Take no content in praise when it is offered thee:
but let thy rejoicing in God's gift be allayed with fear, lest this good bring thee to evil. Use the praise as you use your pleasure in eating and drinking: if it comes, make it do drudgery, let it serve other ends, and minister to necessities, and to caution, lest by pride you lose your just praise which you have deserved; or else by being praised unjustly, you receive shame into your self, with God and wise men.

10. Use no stratagems and devices to get praise. Some use to enquire into the faults of their own actions or discourses on purpose to hear that it was well done or spoken, and without fault: others bring the matter into talk, or thrust themselves into company, and intimate and give occasion to be thought or spoke of. These men make a bait to persuade themselves to swallow the hook, till by drinking the waters of vanity they swell and burst.

11. Make no suppletories to thy self, when thou art disgraced or slighted, by pleasing thy self with supposing thou didst deserve praise, though they understood thee not, or enviously detracted from thee: neither do thou get to thyself a private theatre and flatterers, in whose vain noises, and phantastick praises thou mayest keep up thy own good opinion of thy self.

12. Entertain no fancies of vanity and private whispers of this Devil of pride: such as was that of Nebuchadnezzar; Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the honour of my name, and the might of my majesty, and the power of my kingdom? Some phantastick spirits will walk alone, and dream waking, of
greatnesses, of palaces, of excellent orations, full theatres, loud applauses, sudden advancement, great fortunes: and so will spend an hour with imaginative pleasure, all their employment being nothing but fumes of pride, and secret, indefinite desires, and significations of what their heart wishes: In this, although there is nothing of its own nature directly vitious, yet it is either an ill mother, or an ill daughter, an ill signe or an ill effect; and therefore at no hand consisting with the safety and interests of humility.

13. Suffer others to be praised in thy presence: and entertain their good and glory with delight: but at no hand disparage them or lessen the report, or make an objection; and think not the advancement of thy brother is a lessening of thy worth. But this act is also to extend further.

14. Be content that he should be imployed, and thou laid by as unprofitable; his sentence approved, thine rejected; he be preferred, and thou fixed in a low imployment.

15. Never compare thy self with others, unlesse it be to advance them and to depresse thy self. To which purpose we must be sure in some sence or other to think ourselves the worst in every company where we come: one is more learned than I am; another is more prudent; a third, honourable; a fourth more chast; or he is more charitable, or lesse proud. For the humble man observes their good and reflects onely upon his own Vilenesse; or considers the many evils of himself certainly known to himself, and the ill of others but by uncertain report: or he considers
that the evils done by another are out of much infirmity, or
ignorance, but his own sins are against a clearer light; and
if the other had so great helps, he would have done more good
and lesse evil; or he remembers that his old sins before his
conversion were greater in the nature of the thing, or in certain
circumstances, then the sins of other men (So S. Paul reckoned
himself the chiefest of sinners, because formerly he had acted
the chiefest sin of persecuting the Church of God.) But this
rule is to be used with this caution: That though it be good
always to think meanest of our selves, yet it is not ever safe
to speak it, because those circumstances and considerations which
determine thy thoughts, are not known to others as to thy self;
and it may concern others that they hear thee give God thanks
for the graces he hath given thee. But if thou preservest thy
thoughts and opinion of thy self truely humble, you may with
more safety give God thanks in publick for that good which cannot,
or ought not to be concealed.

16. But not alwayses ready to excuse every oversight, or
indiscretion, or ill action: but if thou beest guilty of it,
confesse it plainly; for vertue scorns a lye for its cover;
but to hide a sin with it, is like a crust of leprosie drawn
upon an ulcer: if thou beest not guilty (unless it be scandalous)
be not over earnest to remove it: but rather use it as an argument
to chastise all greatnesse of fancy and opinion in thy self; and
accustome thy self to bear reproof patiently and contentedly,
and the harsh words of thy enemies, as knowing that the anger of
an enemy is a better Monitor, and represents our faults or
admonishes us of our duty with more heartinesse, then the kindnes
does, or precious balms of a friend.

17. Give God thanks for every weaknesse, deformity, and
imperfection, and accept it as a favour and grace of God, and
an instrument to resist pride and nurse humility; ever remembering
that when God by giving thee a crooked backe, hath also made thy
spirit stoop or lesse vain, thou art more ready to enter the
narrow gate of Heaven, then by being strait, and standing upright,
and thinking highly. Thus the Apostles rejoiced in their infirmities,
not moral, but natural, and accidental, in their being beaten and
whipt like slaves, in their nakednesse and poverty.

18. Upbraid no mans weaknesse to him to discomfort him;
neither report it to disparage him; neither delight to remember
it to lessen him, or to set thy self above him. Be sure never to
praise thy self, or to dispraise any man else, unlesse GODS glory,
or some holy end doe hallow it. And it was noted to the praise
of Cyrus, that amongst his equals in age he would never play at
any sport, or use any exercise in which he knew himself more
excellent then they: but in such in which he was unskilful he
would make his challenges, lest he should shame them by his
victory, and that himself might learn something of their skill,
and do them civilities.

19. Besides the foregoing parts and actions, humility

20 teaches us to submit ourselves and all our faculties to GOD:

To believe all things, to do all things, to suffer all things
which his will enjoynes us; to bee content in every estate or change, knowing we have deserved worse then the worst we feel: And (as Anytus said to Alcibiades) he hath taken but half, when he might have taken all: to adore his goodnesse, to fear his Greatnesse, to worship his eternall and infinite excellencies, and to submit our selves to all our superiours in all things according to Godliness: and to be meek and gentle in our conversation towards others.

Now although according to the Nature of every grace, this begins as a gift, and is increased like a habit, that is, best by its own acts, yet besides the former acts and offices of humility, there are certain other exercises and considerations, which are good helps and instruments for the procuring and increasing this grace, and the curing of pride.

Meanes and exercises of obtaining and increasing the grace of Humility.

1. Make confession of thy sins often to God; and consider what all that evil amounts to, which you then charge upon your self. Look not upon them as scattered in the course of a long life: now, an intemperate anger, then, too full a meal: now, idle talking, and another time impatience: but unite them into one continued representation, and remember, that he whose life seems fair, by reason that his faults are scattered at large distances, in the severall parts of his life, yet if all his errours and follies were articled against him; the man would
seem vitious and miserable: and possibly this exercise, really applyed upon thy Spirit, may be usefull.

2. Remember that we usually disparage others upon slight grounds, and little instances; and towards them one fly is enough to spoil a whole box of ointment: and if a man be highly commended, we think him sufficiently lessened, if we clap one sin or folly, or infirmity into his account: Let us therefore be just to ourselves, since we are so severe to others, and consider, that whatsoever good, any one can think or say of us, we can tell him of hundreds of base and unworthy, and foolish actions, any one of which were enough (we hope) to destroy anothers reputation: Therefore let so many be sufficient to destroy our over high thoughts of our selves.

3. When thy Neighbour is cryed up by publike fame, and popular noises; that we may disparage and lessen him, we cry out that the people is a Heard of unlearned and ignorant persons, ill judges, loud trumpets, but which never give certain sound: let us use the same art to humble our selves, and never take delight and pleasure in publike reports, and acclamations of assemblies, and please ourselves with their judgement, of whom in other the like cases we affirm that they are mad.

4. We change our opinion of others by their Kindnesse or unkindnesse towards us. If he be my Patron and bounteous, he is wise, he is noble, his faults are but warts, his vertues are mountainous: but if he proves unkinde or rejects our importunate suite, then he is ill natured, covetous, and his free meal is
called gluttony; that which before we called civility, is now very drunkennesse, and all he speaks is flat and dull, and ignorant as a swine: This indeed is unjust towards others, but a good instrument, if we turn the edge of it upon our selves: we use our selves ill, abusing our selves with false principles, cheating our selves with lies and pretences, stealing the choice and election from our wils, placing voluntary ignorance in our understandings, denying the desires of the Spirit, setting up a faction against every noble and just desire; the least of which because we should resent up to reviling the injurious person, it is but reason we should at least not flatter our selves with fond and too kinde opinions.

5. Every day call to minde some one of thy foulest sinnes, or the most shameful of thy disgraces, or the indiscreetest of thy actions, or any thing that did then most trouble thee, and apply it to the present swelling of thy spirit and opinion, and it may help to allay it.

6. Pray often for this grace with all humility of gesture and passion of desire, and in thy devotion interpose many acts of humility by way of confession and addresse to God, and reflection upon thy self.

7. Avoid great Offices and imployments, and the noises of wordly honour. For in those states many times, so many ceremonies and circumstances will seeme necessary, as will destroy the sobriety of thy thoughts. If the number of thy servants be fewer, and their observances lesse, and their
reverences lesse solemn, possibly they will seeme lesse then thy dignity: and if they bee so much and so many, it is likely they will be too big for thy spirit. And here be thou very carefull, lest thou bee abused by a pretence that thou wouldest use thy great Dignity as an opportunity of doing great good. For supposing it might be good for others, yet it is not good for thee: they may have encouragement in noble things from thee, and by the same instrument thou mayest thy self be tempted to pride and vanity: And certaine it is, GOD is as much glorified by thy example of humility in a low or temperate condition, as by thy bounty in a great and dangerous.

8. Make no reflexe acts upon thy owne humility, nor upon any other grace with which GOD hath enriched thy soul. For since GOD often times hides from his Saints and Servants the sight of those excellent things by which they shine to others (though the dark side of the Lanterne be towards themselves) that hee may secure the grace of humility, it is good that thou doe so thy self: and if thou beholdest a grace of GOD in thee, remember to give him thanks for it, that you may not boast in that which is none of thy own: and consider how thou has sullyed it, by handling it with dirty fingers, with thy own imperfections, and with mixture of unhandsome circumstances. Spiritual pride is very dangerous, not onely by reason, it spoiles so many graces by which wee drew nigh to the Kindome of GOD, but also because it so frequently creeps upon the spirit of holy persons. For it is no wonder for a Beggar to call himself poor; or a Drunkard to
confesse that he is no sober person: But for a holy person to be humble; for one whom all men esteeme a Saint, to fear lest himselfe become a Devil, and to observe his own danger, and to discern his own infirmities, and make discovery of his bad adherencies, is as hard as for a Prince to submit himself to be guided by Tutors, and make himself subject to discipline like the meanest of his servants.

9. Often meditate upon the effects of Pride on one side, and Humility on the other. First, That Pride is like a Canker, and destroyes the beauty of the fairest flowers, the most excellent gifts and graces: but Humility crownes them all. Secondly, That Pride is a great hinderance to the perceiving the things of GOD, and Humility is an excellent preparative and instrument of spiritual wisdom. Thirdly, That Pride hinders the acceptation of our prayers, but Humility pierceth the clouds, and will not depart till the most High shall regard. Fourthly, That Humility is but a speaking truth, and all Pride is a lye. Fifthly, That Humility is the most certain way to reall honour, and pride is ever affronted or despised. Sixthly, That Pride turned Lucifer into a Devil, and Humility exalted the Son of God above every Name, and placed him eternally at the right hand of his Father. Seventhly, That GOD resisteth the proud, professing open defiance and hostility against such persons, but giveth grace to the humble, Grace and pardon, remedy and relief against misery and oppression, content in all conditions, tranquillity of spirit, patience in afflictions, love abroad, peace at home, and utter freedom from
contention and the sin of censuring others, and the trouble of being censured themselves. For the humble man will not judge his brother for the mote in his eye, being more troubled at the beam in his own eye; and is patient and glad to be reproved, because himself hath cast the first stone at himself, and therefore wonders not that others are of his minde.

10. Remember that the blessed Saviour of the world hath done more to prescribe, and transmit, and secure this grace than any other: his whole life being a great continued example of humility: a vast descent from the glorious bosom of his Father to the womb of a poor mayden, to the form of a servant, to the miseries of a sinner, to a life of labour, to a state of poverty, to a death of malefactors, to the grave of death, and the intolerable calamities which we deserved: and it were a good designe and yet but reasonable, that we should be as humble in the midst of our greatest imperfections and basest sins as Christ was in the midst of his fulnesse of the spirit, great wisdom, perfect life and most admirable vertues.

11. Drive away all flatterers from thy company, and at no hand endure them; for he that endures himself so to be abused by another is not onely a fool for entertaining the mockery, but loves to have his own opinion of himself to be heightened and cherished.

12. Never change thy imployment for the sudden coming of another to thee: But if modesty permits or discretion, appear to him that visits thee the same that thou wert to God and thy self
in thy privacy. But if thou wert walking or sleeping, or in any other innocent imploiment or retirement, snatch not up a book to seem studious, nor fall on thy knees to seem devout, nor alter any thing to make him believe thee better imploied then thou wert.

13. To the same purpose it is of great use that he who would preserve his humilitie, should choose some spiritual person to whom he shall oblige himself to discover his very thoughts, and fancies; every act of his and all his entercourse with others in which there may be danger; that by such an opennesse of spirit, he may expose every blast of vain glory, every idle thought to be chastened and lessened by the rod of spiritual discipline: and he that shall finde himself tyed to confesse every proud thought, every vanity of his spirit, will also perceive they must not dwell with him, nor finde any kindnesse from him: and besides this, the nature of pride is so shameful, and unhandsome, that the very discovery of it is a huge mortification and means of suppressing it. A man would be ashamed to be told that he enquires after the faults of his last Oration or action on purpose to be commended: and therefore when the man shall tell his spiritual Guide the same shameful story of himself, it is very likely he will be humbled, and heartily ashamed of it.

14. Let every man suppose what opinion he should have of one that should spend his time in playing with drumsticks and cockle-shells, and that should wrangle all day long with a little boy for pins, or should study hard and labour much to cozen a childe of his gauds, and who would run into a river deep and
dangerous with a great burden upon his back, even then when he
were told of the danger and earnestly importuned not to do it:
and let him but change the Instances and the person, and he
shall finde that he hath the same reason to think as bad of
himself, who pursues trifles with earnestnesse, spending his
time in vanity, and his labour for that which profits not;
who knowing the laws of God, the rewards of vertue, the cursed
consequents of sin, that it is an evil spirit that tempts him
to it, a Devil, one that hates him, that longs extremely to ruine
him, that it is his own destruction that he is then working, that
the pleasures of his sin are base and bruitish, unsatisfying in
the enjoyment, soon over, shameful in their story, bitter in
the memory, painful in the effect here, and intolerable hereafter,
and for ever: yet in despite of all this, he runs foolishly into
his sin and his ruine, meerly because he is a fool, and winks
hard, and rushes violently like a horse into the battel, or
like a mad man to his death. He that can think great and good
things of such a person, the next step may court the rack for
an instrument of pleasure, and admire a swine for wisdom, and
go for counsel to the prodigall and trifling grashopper.

After the use of these and such like instruments and
considerations, if you would try how your soul is grown; you
shall know that humility like the root of a goodly tree is
thrust very farre into the ground by these goodly fruits which
appeare above ground.
Signes of Humility.

1. The humble man trusts not to his own discretion, but in matters of concernment relyes rather upon the judgement of his friends, counsellors, or spiritual guides. 2. He does not pertinaciously pursue the choice of his own will, but in all things lets God choose for him, and his Superiours in those things which concern them. 3. He does not murmur against commands. 4. He is not inquisitive into the reasonableness of indifferent and innocent commands, but believes their command to be reason enough in such cases to exact his obedience. 5. He lives according to a rule, and with compliance to publick customs, without any affectation or singularity. 6. He is meek and indifferent in all accidents and chances. 7. He patiently bears injuries. 8. He is always unsatisfied in his own conduct, resolutions, and counsels. 9. He is a great lover of good men, and a praiser of wise men, and a censurer of no man. 10. He is modest in his speech, and reserved in his laughter. 11. He fears when he hears himself commended, lest God make another judgement concerning his actions than men do. 12. He gives no pert or saucy answers when he is reproved, whether justly or unjustly. 13. He loves to sit down in private, and if he may, he refuses the temptation of offices and new honours. 14. He is ingenuous, free and open in his actions and discourses. 15. He mends his fault and gives thanks when he is admonished. 16. He is ready to do good offices to the murderers of his fame, to his slanderers, backbiters and detractors, as Christ washed the feet.
of Judas. 17. And is contented to be suspected of Indiscretion, so, before God he may be really innocent, and not offensive to his neighbour, nor wanting to his just and prudent interest.
SECTION 5

Of Modesty.

Modesty is the appendage of Sobriety, and is to Chastity, to Temperance and to Humility as the fringes are to a Garment. It is a grace of God that moderates the overactiveness and curiosity of the minde, and orders the passions of the body, and external actions, and is directly opposed to Curiosity, to Boldnesse, to Undecency. The practise of Modesty consists in these following rules.

Acts and duties of Modesty
as it is opposed to Curiosity.

1. Inquire not into the secrets of God, but be content to learn thy duty according to the quality of thy person or imployment: that is plainly, if thou beest not concerned in the conduct of others: but if thou beest a teacher, learne it so as may best enable thee to discharge thy office. Gods commandments were proclaimed to all the world, but Gods counsels are to himself and to his secret ones, when they are admitted within the veil.

2. Inquire not into the things which are too hard for thee, but learn modestly to know thy infirmities and abilities, and raise not thy mind up to inquire into mysteries of State,
or the secrets of Government, or difficulties Theological, if thy employment really be, or thy understanding be judged to be of a lower rank.

3. Let us not inquire into the affairs of others that concern us not, but be busied within our selves and our own spheres; ever remembering that to pry into the actions or interests of other men not under our charge, may minister to pride, to tyranny, to uncharitableness, to trouble, but can never consist with modesty, unless where duty or the mere intentions of charity, and relation do warrant it.

4. Never listen at the doors or windows: for besides that it contains in it danger and a snare, it is also an invading my neighbours privacy, and a laying that open which he therefore inclosed, that it might not be open. Never ask what he carries covered so curiously; for it is enough that it is covered curiously. Hither also is reducible that we never open letters without publick authority, or reasonably presumed leave, or great necessity, or charity.

Every man hath in his own life sins enough, in his own minde trouble enough, in his own fortune evils enough, and in performance of his offices failings more then enough to entertain his own enquiry: so that curiositie after the affairs of others, cannot be without envy and an evil minde. What is it to me if my Neighbours Grandfather were a Syrian, or his Grandmother illegitimate, or that another is indebted five thousand pounds, or whether his wife be expensive? But commonly curious persons, (or as the
Apostles phrase is) *busie-bodies* are not sollicitous, or inquisitive into the beauty and order of a well governed family, or after the vertues of an excellent person; but if there be any thing for which men keep locks and bars and porters, things that blush to see the light, and either are shameful in manners, or private in nature, these things are their care and their businesse. But if great things will satisfie our enquiry, the course of the Sun and Moon, the spots in their faces, the Firmament of Heaven, and the supposed Orbs, the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, are work enough for us: or if this be not, let him tell me, whether the number of the stars be even or odde, and when they began to be so? since some ages have discovered new stars which the former knew not, but might have seen, if they had bin where now they are fixed. If these be too troublesome, search lower, and tell me, why this turfe this year brings forth a Daisie, and the next year a Plantane: why the apple bears his seed in his heart, and wheat bears it in his head: let him tell, why a graft taking nourishment from a crab-stock shall have a fruit more noble then its nurse and parent: let him say, why the best of oyl is at the top, the best of wine in the middle, and the best of hony at the bottom, otherwise then it is in some liquors that are thinner, and in some that are thicker? But these things are not such as please busie bodies. They must feed upon Tragedies, and stories of misfortunes and crimes; and yet tell them ancient stories of the ravishment of chast maidens, or the debauchment of nations, or the extream poverty of learned persons, or the persecutions of the old Saints, or the changes of government, and sad accidents
hapning in Royal families amongst the *Arsacidae*, the *Caesars*, the *Ptolemies*, these were enough to scratch the itch of knowing sad stories. But unless you tell them something sad and new, something that is done within the bounds of their own knowledge or relation, it seems tedious and unsatisfying; which showes plainly it is an evil spirit: envie and idlenesse married together, and begot curiosity. Therefore *Plutarch* rarely well compares curious and inquisitive ears to the execrable gates of cities, out of which only Malefactors, and hangmen and tragedies passe, nothing that is chast or holy. If a Physitian should go from house to house unsent for and enquire what woman hath a Cancer in her bowels, or what man hath a fistula in his colick gut, though he could pretend to cure it, he would be almost as unwelcome as the disease itself: and therefore it is inhumane to enquire after crimes and disasters without pretence of amending them, but onely to discover them. We are not angry with Searchers and Publicans when they look onely on publick merchandise; but when they break open trunks, and pierce vessels, and unrip packs, and open sealed letters.

Curiosity is the direct incontinency of the spirit: and adultery it self in its principle is many times nothing but a curious inquisition after, and envying of another mans inclosed pleasures: and there have been many who refused fairer objects that they might ravish an inclosed woman, from her retirement and single possessour. But these inquisitions are seldom without danger, never without basenesse; they are neither just nor honest, nor delightful, and very often uselesse to the curious inquirer.
For men stand upon their guards against them, as they secure their meat against Harpyes and Cats, laying all their counsels and secrets out of their way; or as men clap their garments close about them when the searching and saucy winds would discover their nakednesse: as knowing that what men willingly hear, they do willingly speak of. Knock therefore at the door before you enter upon your neighbours privacy; and remember that there is no difference between entering into his house, and looking into it.

Acts of Modesty

as it is opposed to \( \text{boldnesse} \).

1. Let us alwayes bear about us such impressions of reverence and fear of God as to tremble at his voice, to expresse our apprehensions of his greatnesse in all great accidents, in popular judgements, loud thunders, tempests, earthquakes, not onely for fear of being smitten our selves, or that we are concerned in the accident, but also that we may humble our selves before his Almightinesse, and expresse that infinite distance between his infinitenesse and our weaknesses, at such times especially when he gives such visible arguments of it. He that is merry and ayry at shore when he sees a sad and a loud tempest on the sea, or dances briskly when God thunders from heaven, regards not when God speaks to all the world, but is possessed with a firm immodesty.

2. Be reverent, modest, and reserved in the presence of
thy betters, giving to all according to their quality their titles of honour, keeping distance, speaking little, answering pertinently, not interposing without leave or reason, not answering to a question propounded to another; and ever present to thy superiors the fairest side of thy discourse, of thy temper, of thy ceremony, as being ashamed to serve excellent persons with unhandsome entercourse.

3. Never lye before a King, or a great person, nor stand in a lye when thou art accused, nor offer to justifie what is indeed a fault, but modestly be ashamed of it, ask pardon and make amends.

4. Never boast of thy sin, but at least lay a vail upon thy nakednesse and shame, and put thy hand before thine eyes that thou mayest have this beginning of repentance, to believe thy sin to be thy shame. For he that blushes not at his crime, but addes shamelessnesse to his shame, hath no instrument left to restore him to the hopes of vertue.

5. Be not confident and affirmative in an uncertain matter, but report things modestly, and temperately according to the degree of that persuasion, which is, or ought to be begotten in thee by the efficacy of the authority, or the reason inducing thee.

6. Pretend not to more knowledge then thou hast, but be content to seem ignorant where thou art so, lest thou beest either brought to shame, or retirest into shamelessnesse.
Acts of Modesty
as it is opposed to undecency.

1. In your prayers, in churches, and places of religion use reverent postures, great attention, grave ceremony, the lowest gestures of humility; remembering that we speak to God, in our reverence to whom we cannot possibly exceed; but that the expression of this reverence be according to law or custom, and the example of the most prudent and pious persons: that is, let it be the best in its kinde to the best of essences.

2. In all publick meetings, private addresses, in discourses, in journeys use those forms of salutation, reverence and decency, which the custom prescribes, and is usual amongst the most sober persons; giving honour to whom honour belongeth, taking place of none of thy betters, and in all cases of question concerning civil precedency, giving it to anyone that will take it, if it be onely thy own right that is in question.

3. Observe the proportion of affections in all meetings and to all persons: be not merry at a funeral, nor sad upon a festival, but rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep.

4. Abstain from wanton and dissolute laughter, petulant and uncomely jests, loud talking, jeering, and all such actions which in civil account are called undecencies, and incivilities.

5. Towards your parents use all modesty of duty and humble
carriage: towards them and all your kinred be severe in the modesties of chastity: ever fearing, lest the freedoms of natural kindnesse should enlarge into any neighbourhood of unhandsomenesse. For all incentuous mixtures, and all circumstances and degrees towards it, are the highest violations of modesty in the world: for therefore incest is grown to be so high a crime, especially in the last periods of the world, because it breaks that reverence which the consent of all nations and the severity of humane laws hath enjoyned towards our parents and neerest kinred, in imitation of that law which God gave to the Jewes in prosecution of Modestie in this instance.

6. Be a curious observer of all those things which are of good report, and are parts of publick honesty. For publick fame, and the sentence of prudent and publick persons, is the measure of good and evil in things indifferent: and charity requires us to comply with those fancies and affections which are agreeable to nature, or the analogie of vertue, or publick laws, or old customs. It is against Modesty for a woman to marry a second husband as long as she bears a burden by the first, or to admit a second love while her funeral tears are not wiped from her cheeks. It is against publick honesty to do some lawful actions of privacy in publick theatres, and therefore in such cases retirement is a duty of modesty.

7. Be grave, decent and modest in thy clothing and ornament: never let it be above thy condition, not alwayes equal to it, never light or amorous, never discovering a nakednesse through
a thin veil, which thou pretendest to hide: never to lay a snare' for a soul, but remember what becomes a Christian professing holiness, chastity, and the discipline of the holy Jesus: and the first effect of this let your servants feel by your gentleness and aptness to be pleased with their usual diligence, and ordinary conduct: For the man or woman that is dressed with anger and impatience, wears pride under their robes, and immodesty above.

8. Hither also is to be reduced singular and affected walking, proud, nice and ridiculous gestures of body, painting and lascivious dressings, all which together God reproves by the Prophet: The Lord saith, because the daughters of Sion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and make a tinkling with their feet, therefore the Lord will smite her with a scab of the crown of the head, and will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments. And this duty of modesty in this instance is expressly enjoyned to all Christian women by Saint Paul, That women adorn themselves in modest apparel with shamefastnesse and sobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold or pearl, or costly array, but (which becometh women professing godlinessse) with good works.

9. As those meats are to be avoided which tempt our stomachs beyond our hunger, so also should prudent persons decline all such spectacles, relations, Theatres, loud noyses and out-cryes which concern us not, and are besides our natural or moral interest. Our senses should not like petulant and wanton
Girles wander into Markets and Theatres without just imployement; but when they are sent abroad by reason, return quickly with their errand, and remain modestly at home under their guide, till they be sent again.

10. Let all persons be curious in observing modesty towards themselves in the handsome treating their own body, and such as are in their power, whether living or dead. Against this rule they offend who expose to others their own, or pry into others nakednesse beyond the limits of necessity, or where a leave is not made holy by a permission from God. It is also said that God was pleased to work a miracle about the body of Epiphanius to reprove the immodest curiosity of an unconcerned person who pryed too neer when charitable people were composing it to the grave. In all these cases and particulars, although they seem little, yet our duty and concernment is not little. Concerning which, I use the words of the Son of Sirach, He that despiseth little things, shall perish by little and little.
SECTION 6

Of Contentednesse in all estates and accidents.

Vertues and Discourses are like Friends, necessary in all fortunes; but those are the best which are Friends in our sadnesses, and support us in our sorrows, and sad accidents: and in this sense, no man that is vertuous can be friendlesse; nor hath any man reason to complain of the Divine Providence, or accuse the publick disorder of things, or his own infelicity, since God hath appointed one remedy for all the evils in the World, and that is, a contented spirit: For this alone makes a man passe through fire and not be scorched, through Seas and not be drowned, through hunger and nakednesse and want nothing. For since all the evil in the World consists in the disagreeing between the object and the appetite, as when a man hath what he desires not, or desires what he hath not, or desires amisse; he that composes his spirit to the present accident, hath variety of instances for his vertue, but none to trouble him, because his desires enlarge not beyond his present fortune: and a wise man is placed in the variety of chances like the Nave or Centre of a wheel, in the midst of all the circumvolutions and changes of posture, without violence or change, save that it turns gently in complyance with its changed parts, and is indifferent which part is up and which is down; for there is some vertue or other
to be exercised what ever happens, either patience or thanksgiving, love or fear, moderation or humility, charity or contendednesse, and they are every one of them equally in order to his great end, and immortal felicity: and beauty is not made by white or red, by black eyes and a round face, by a strait body and a smooth skin; but by a proportion to the fancy: No rules can make amability, our mindes and apprehensions make that; and so is our felicity; and we may be reconciled to poverty and a low fortune, if we suffer contentednesse and the grace of God to make the proportions. For no man is poor that does not think himself so: But if in a full fortune, with impatience he desires more, he proclaims his wants and his beggerly condition.

But because this grace of contentednesse was the sum of all the old moral Philosophy, and a great duty in Christianity, and of most universal use in the whole course of our lives, and the onely instrument to ease the burdens of the World and the enmities of sad chances, it will not be amisse to press it by the proper arguments by which God hath bound it upon our spirits, it being fastned by Reason and Religion, by duty and interest, by necessity and conveniency, by example, and by the proposition of excellent rewards, no lesse then peace and felicity.

1. Contentednesse in all estates is a duty of Religion: it is the great reasonablenesse of complying with the Divine Providence which governes all the World, and hath so ordered us in the administration of his great Family. He were a strange fool that should be angry because Dogs and Sheep need no shoes, and yet himself is full of care to get some: God hath supplyed those
needs to them by natural provisions, and to thee by an artificial: for he hath given thee reason to learn a trade, or some means or to make or buy them, so that it onely differs in the manner of our provision; and which had you rather want, shoes or reason? And my Patron that hath given me a Farm is freer to me then if he gives a loafe ready baked. But however, all these gifts come from him, and therefore it is fit he should dispense them as he please; and if we murmure here, we may at the next melancholy be troubled that God did not make us to be Angels, or Stars. For if that which we are or have, do not content us, we may be troubled for every thing in the World, which is besides our being, or our possessions.

God is the Master of the Scenes, we must not choose which part we shall act; it concerns us onely to be careful that we do it well, alwayes saying, "If this please God let it be as it is: and we who pray that Gods will may be done in Earth as it is in Heaven must remember that the Angels do whatsoever is commanded them, and go where ever they are sent, and refuse no circumstances: and if their imployment be crossed by a higher decree, they sit down in peace and rejoyce in the event; and when the Angel of Judea could not prevail in behalf of the people committed to his charge, because the Angel of Persia opposed it, he onely told the story at the command of God, and was as content, and worshipped with as great an extasie in his proportion, as the prevailing Spirit. Do thou so likewise: keep the station where God hath placed you, and you shall never long for things without, but sit at home feasting upon the Divine Providence and thy own reason, by
which we are taught that it is necessary and reasonable to submit to God.

For, is not all the World Gods family? Are not we his creatures? Are we not as clay in the hand of the Potter? Do we not live upon his meat, and move by his strength and do our work by his light? Are we any thing but what we are from him? And shall there be a mutiny among the flocks and herds, because their Lord or their Shepherd chooses their pastures, and suffers them not to wander into Deserts and unknowne wayes? If we choose, we do it so foolishly that we cannot like it long, and most commonly not at all: but God who can do what he please, is wise to choose safely for us, affectionate to comply with our needs, and powerful to execute all his wise decrees. Here therefore is the wisdome of the contented man, to let God choose for him: for when we have given up our wills to him, and stand in that station of the battel where our great General hath placed us, our spirits must needs rest while our conditions have for their security the power, the wisdom, and the charity of God.

2. Contentednesse in all accidents brings great peace of spirit, and is the great and onely instrument of temporal felicity. It removes the sting from the accident, and makes a man not to depend upon chance, and the uncertain dispositions of men for his well being, but onely on GOD and his own Spirit. Wee our selves make our fortunes good or bad, and when God lets loose a Tyrant upon us, or a sicknesse, or scorne, or a lessened fortune, if we fear to dye, or know not to be patient, or are proud, or
covetous, then the calamity sits heavy on us. But if we know how
to manage a noble principle, and fear not Death so much as a
dishonest action, and think impatience a worse evil then a Fever,
and Pride to be the biggest disgrace, and poverty to be infinitely
desirable before the torments of covetousness; then we who now
think vice to be so easie, and make it so familiar, and think
the cure so impossible, shall quickly be of another minde, and
reckon these accidents amongst things eligible.

But no man can by happy that hath great hopes and great fears
of things without, and events depending upon other men, or upon
the chances of Fortune. The rewards of Vertue are certain, and
our provisions for our natural support are certain, or if we
want meat till we dye, then we dye of that disease, and there
are many worse then to dye with an atrophy or Consumption, or
unapt and courser nourishment: But he that suffers a transporting
passion concerning things within the power of others, is free
from sorrow and amazement no longer then his enemy shall give
him leave; and it is ten to one but he shall be smitten then
and there where it shall most trouble him: for so the Adder
teaches us where to strike, by her curious and fearfull defending
of her head. The old Stoicks when you told them of a sad story
would still answer τι πρός με; What is that to me? Yes; for the
Tyrant hath sentenced you also to prison. Well? What is that?
He will put a chain upon my leg, but he cannot binde my soul.

No: but he will kill you. Then Ile dye. If presently, let me
go that I may presently be freer then himself: but if not till
anon or to morrow, I will dine first, or sleep, or do what reason
and nature calls for, as at other times. This in Gentile Philosophy
is the same with the discourse of S. Paul, *I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound, everywhere and in all things I am instructed, both how to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and suffer need.

We are in the world like men playing at Tables, the chance is not in our power, but to play it, is; and when it is fallen we must manage it as we can, and let nothing trouble us, but when we do a base action, or speak like a fool, or think wickedly: these things God hath put into our powers: but concerning those things which are wholly in the choice of another, they cannot fall under our deliberation, and therefore neither are they fit for our passions. My fear may make me miserable, but it cannot prevent what another hath in his power and purpose: and prosperities can onely be enjoyed by them who fear not at all to lose them, since the amazement and passion concerning the future takes off all the pleasure of the present possession. Therefore if thou has lost thy land, do not also lose thy constancy: and if thou must die a little sooner, yet do not die impatiently. For no chance is evil to him that is content, *and to a man nothing is miserable, unless it be unreasonable. No man can make another man to be his slave, unless he hath first enslaved himself to life and death, to pleasure or pain, to hope or fear: command these passions, and you are freer then the Parthian kings.
Instruments or exercises to procure contentednesse.

Upon the strength of these premises we may reduce this vertue to practise by its proper instruments first, and then by some more special considerations or arguments of content.

1. When any thing happens to our displeasure, let us endeavour to take off its trouble by turning it into spiritual or artificial advantage, and handle it on that side, in which it may be useful to the designes of reason. For there is nothing but hath a double handle, or at least we have two hands to apprehend it. When an enemy reproaches us, let us look on him as an impartial relator of our faults, for he will tell thee truer than thy fondest friend will, and thou mayest call them precious balms, though they break thy head, and forgive his anger while thou makest use of the plainnesse of his declamation. The Ox when he is weary treads surest, and if there be nothing else in the disgrace but that it makes us to walk warily, and tread sure for fear of our enemies, that is better then to be flattered into pride and carelessness. This is the charity of Christian Philosophy, which expounds the sence of the divine providence fairly, and reconciles us to it by a charitable construction: and we may as well refuse all physick if we consider it onely as unpleasant in the tast, and we may finde fault with the rich valleys of Thasus, because they are circled with sharp mountains: but so also we may be in charity with every unpleasant accident, because though it tast bitter it is intended for health.
and medicine.

If therefore thou fallest from thy employment in publick, take sanctuary in an honest retirement, being indifferent to thy gain abroad, or thy safety at home: If thou art out of favour with thy Prince, secure the favour of the KING of Kings, and then there is no harm come to thee: and when Zeno Citiensis lost all his goods in a storm, he retired to the studies of Philosophy, to his short cloak, and a severe life, and gave thanks to fortune for his prosperous mischance. When the North-winde blows hard, and it rains sadly, none but fools sit down in it and cry: wise people defend themselves against it with a warm garment, or a good fire, and a dry roof: when a storm of a sad mischance beats upon our spirits, turn it into some advantage by observing where it can serve another end, either of religion or prudence, of more safety or lesse envy: it will turn into something that is good, if we list to make it so: at least it may make us weary of the worlds vanity, and take off our confidence from uncertain riches, and make our spirits to dwell in those regions, where content dwells essentially: if it does any good to our souls, it hath made more then sufficient recompence for all the temporal affliction. He that threw a stone at a dog, and hit his cruel stepmother, said, that although he intended it otherwise, yet the stone was not quite lost: and if we fail in the first designe, if we bring it home to another equally to content us, or more to profit us, then we have put our conditions past the power of chance; and this was called in the old Greek Comedy a being revenged on fortune by becoming Philosophers and turning the chance into reason or religion: for
so a wise man shall overrule his stars, and have a greater influence upon his own content, then all the constellations and planets of the firmament.

2. Never compare thy condition with those above thee; but to secure thy content look upon those thousands with whom thou wouldest not for any interest change thy fortune and condition. A soildier must not think himself unprosperous, if he be not successeful as the son of Philip, or cannot grasp a fortune as big as the Roman Empire: Be content that thou art not lessened as was Pyrrhus: or if thou beest, that thou art not routed like Crassus: and when that comes to thee, it is a great prosperity, that thou art not caged and made a spectacle like Bajazet: or thy eyes were not pulled out like Zedekiahs: or that thou wert not flead alive like Valentinian. If thou admirest the greatnesse of Xerxes, look also on those that digged the mountain Atho, or whose ears and noses were cut off, because the Hellespont carried away the bridge. It is a fine thing (thou thinkest) to be carried on mens shoulders: but give God thanks that thou are not forced to carry a rich fool upon thy shoulders: as those poor men do whom thou beholdest. There are but a few Kings in mankinde, but many thousands who are very miserable, if compared to thee. However it is a huge folly rather to grieve for the good of others, then to rejoyce for that good which God hath given us of our own.

And yet there is no wise or good man that would change persons or conditions intirely with any man in the world. It may be he would have one mans wealth added to himself, or the
power of a second, or the learning of a third, but still he would receive these into his own person, because he loves that best, and therefore esteems it best, and therefore overvalues all that which he is, before all that which any other man in the world can be. Would any man be Dives to have his wealth, or Judas for his office, or Saul for his kingdom, or Absalom for his beauty, or Achitophel for his policy? It is likely he would wish all these, and yet he would be the same person still. For every man hath desires of his own, and objects just fitted to them, without which he cannot be, unless he were not himself. And let every man that loves himself so well as to love himself before all the world, consider, if he have not something for which, in the whole he values himself far more than he can value any man else. There is therefore no reason to take the finest feathers from all the winged nation to deck that bird, that thinks already she is more valuable than any the inhabitants of the ayre. Either change all or none. Cease to love your self best, or be content with that portion of being and blessing for which you love your self so well.

3. It conduces much to our content, if we passe by those things which happen to our trouble, and consider that which is pleasing and prosperous, that by the representation of the better the worse may be blotted out: and at the worst you have enough to keep you alive, and to keep up, and to improve your hopes of Heaven. If I be overthrown in my suit at Law, yet my house is left me still and my land: or I have a vertuous wife, or hopeful
children, or kinde friends, or good hopes: If I have lost one childe, it may be I have two or three still left me; or else reckon the blessings which already you have received, and therefore be pleased in the change and variety of affairs to receive evil from the hand of God as well as good. Antipater of Tarsus used this art to support his sorrows on his death bed, and reckoned the good things of his past life, not forgetting to recount it as a blessing, and argument that God took care of him, that he had a prosperous journey from Cilicia to Athens. Or else please thyself with hopes of the future: for we were not born with this sadnesse upon us; and it was a change that brought us into it, and a change may bring us out again. Harvest will come, and then every farmer is rich, at least for a moneth or two. It may be thou art entered into the cloud which will bring a gentle shower to refresh thy sorrows.

Now suppose thy self in as great a sadnesse, as ever did load thy spirit, wouldest thou not beare it cheerfully and nobly, if thou wert sure that within a certain space some strange excellent fortune would relieve thee, and enrich thee, and recompence thee so as to overflow all thy hopes and thy desires, and capacities? Now then, when a sadnesse lies heavy upon thee, remember that thou art a Christian designed to the inheritance of Jesus: and what dost thou think concerning thy great fortune, thy lot and portion of eternity? Doest thou think thou shalt be saved or damned? Indeed if thou thinkest thou shalt perish, I cannot blame thee to be sad, sad till thy heart-strings crack: but then why art thou troubled at the losse of thy money? what should a damned man do
with money, which in so great a sadness it is impossible for him
to enjoy? Did ever any man upon the rack, afflict himself because
he had received a cross answer from his Mistresse? or call for
the particulars of a purchase upon the gallows? If thou dost
really believe thou shalt be damned, I do not say it will **cure**
the sadness of thy poverty, but it will **swallow** it up. But if
thou believest thou shalt be saved, consider how great is that
joy, how infinite is that change, how unspeakable is the glory,
how excellent is the recompense for all the sufferings in the
world, if they were all laden upon thy spirit? So that let thy
condition be what it will, if thou considerest thy own present
condition, and compare it to thy future possibility, thou canst
not feel the present smart of a cross fortune to any great degree,
either because thou hast a far bigger sorrow, or a far bigger joy.
Here thou art but a stranger travelling to thy Country where the
glories of a Kingdom are prepared for thee, it is therefore a
huge folly to be much afflicted because thou hast a less convenient
Inne to lodge in by the way.

But these arts of **looking forwards and backwards** are more
then enough to support the spirit of a Christian: there is no
man but hath blessings enough in present possession to outweigh
the evils of a great affliction. Tell the joynts of thy body,
and do not accuse the universal providence for a lame leg, or
the want of a finger, when all the rest is perfect: and you have
a noble soul, a particle of Divinity, the image of GOD himself:
and by the want of a finger you may the better know how to estimate
the remaining parts, and to account for every degree of the surviving
Aristippus in a great suit at law lost a Farm, and to a Gentleman who in civility pitied and deplored his losse, He answered, I have two Farms left still, and that is more then I have lost, and more then you have by one. If you misse an Office for which you stood Candidate, then besides that you are quit of the cares and the envy of it, you still have all those excellencies which renderd you capable to receive it, and they are better then the best Office in the Common-wealth. If your estate be lessened, you need the lesse to care who governs the Province, whether he be rude or gentle. I am crossed in my journey, and yet I scaped robbers; and I consider, that if I had been set upon by Villanes I would have redeemed that evil by this which I now suffer, and have counted it a deliverance: or if I did fall into the hands of theves, yet they did not steal my land: or I am fallen into the hands of Publicans and Sequestrators, and they have taken all from me, what now? let me look about me. They have left me the Sun and the Moon, Fire and Water, a loving wife, and many friends to pity me, and some to relieve me, and I can still discourse, and unless I list they have not taken away my merry countenance, and my cheerful spirit, and a good conscience: they still have left me the providence of God, and all the promises of the Gospel, and my Religion, and my hopes of Heaven, and my charity to them too: and still I sleep, and digest, I eat and drink, I reade and meditate, I can walk in my Neighbours pleasant fields, and see the varieties of natural beauties, and delight in all that in which God delights, that is, in vertue and wisdom, in the whole creation, and in God himself: and he that hath so many
causes of joy, and so great, is very much in love with sorrow and peevishness, who loses all these pleasures, and chooses to sit down upon his little handful of thorns: such a person were fit to bear Nero company in his funeral sorrow for the loss of one of Poppeas hairs, or help to mourn for Lesbias sparrow: and because he loves it, he deserves to starve in the midst of plenty, and to want comfort while he is encircled with blessings.

4. Enjoy the present whatsoever it be, and be not sollicitous for the future: for if you take your foot from the present standing, and thrust it forward toward tomorrows event, you are in a restlesse condition: it is like refusing to quench your present thirst by fearing you shall want drink the next day. If it be well today, it is madness to make the present miserable by fearing it may be ill tomorrow, when your belly is full of todayes dinner to fear you shall want the next dayes supper: for it may be you shall not, and then to what purpose was this dayes affliction? But if to morrow you shall want, your sorrow will come time enough, though you do not hasten it; let your trouble tarry till its own day comes. But if it chance to be ill today do not increase it by the care of tomorrow. Enjoy the blessings of this day, if God sends them, and the evils of it bear patiently and sweetly: for this day is only ours, we are dead to yesterday, and we are not yet born to the morrow. He therefore that enjoyes the present, if it be good, enjoyes as much as is possible: and if onely that dayes trouble leans upon him, it is singular and finite. Sufficient to the day (said Christ) is the evil thereof.
Sufficient, but not intolerable: but if we look abroad and bring into one dayes thoughts the evil of many, certain and uncertain, what will be, and what will never be, our load will be as intolerable as it is unreasonable. To reprove this instrument of discontent, the Ancients fained that in Hell stood a man twisting a rope of Hay, and still he twisted on suffering an Asse to eat up all that was finished: so miserable is he who thrusts his passions forward towards future events, and suffers all that he may enjoy to be lost and devoured by folly and inconsideration, thinking nothing fit to be enjoyed but that which is not, or cannot be had. Just so, many young persons are loath to dye, and therefore desire to live to old age, and when they are come thither, are troubled that they are come to that state of life to which before they were come, they were hugely afraid they should never come.

5. Let us prepare our mindes against changes, alwayes expecting them, that we be not surprized when they come: For nothing is so great an enemy to tranquility and a contented spirit, as the amazement and confusions of unreadinesse and inconsideration: and when our fortunes are violently changed, our spirits are unchanged; if they alwayes stood in the Suburbs and expectation of sorrowes. O Death, how bitter art thou to a man that is at rest in his possessions: and to the Rich Man who had promised to himself ease and fulnesse for many years, it was a sad arrest that his soul was surprized the first night: but the Apostles who every day knockt at the gate of death, and looked upon it continually, went to their Martyrdom in peace and evennesse.
6. Let us often frame to our selves and represent to our considerations the images of those blessings we have, just as we usually understand them when we want them. Consider how desirable health is to a sick man, or liberty to a prisoner; and if but a fit of the toothach seizes us with violence, all those troubles which in our health afflicted us, disband instantly and seem inconsiderable. He that in his health is troubled that he is in debt, and spends sleeplesse nights, and refuses meat because of his infelicity, let him fall into a fit of the Stone or a high Feaver, he despises the arrest of all his first troubles, and is as a man unconcerned. Remember then that God hath given thee a blessing, the want of which is infinitely more trouble then thy present debt, or poverty or losse; and therefore is now more to be valued in the possession, and ought to outweigh thy trouble. The very privative blessings of immunity, safeguard, liberty and integrity which we commonly enjoy, deserve the thanksgiving of a whole life. If God should send a Cancer upon thy face, or a Wolfe into thy side, if he should spread a crust of Leprosie upon thy skin, what wouldst thou give to be but as now thou art? Wouldest thou not on that condition be as poor as I am? or as the meanest of thy brethren? Would you not choose your present losse or affliction as a thing extremely eligible, and a redemption to thee if thou mightest exchange the other for this? Thou art quit from a thousand calamities, every one of which if it were upon thee would make thee insensible of thy present sorrow: and therefore let thy joy (which should be as great for thy freedom from them, as is thy sadnesse when thou
feelst any of them) do the same cure upon thy discontent. For if we be not extremely foolish or vain, thanklesse or senselesse, a great joy is more apt to cure sorrow and discontent, then a great trouble is. I have known an affectionate wife when she hath been in fear of parting with her beloved Husband, heartily desire of God his life or society upon any conditions that were not sinful; and choose to beg with him, rather then to feast without him: and the same person hath upon that consideration born poverty nobly, when God hath heard her prayer in the other matter: What wise man in the world is there who does not prefer a small fortune with peace before a great one with contention, and war and violence? and then he is no longer wise if he alters his opinion when he hath his wish.

7. If you will secure a contented spirit, you must measure your desires by your fortune and condition, not your fortunes by your desires. That is, be governed by your needs not by your fancy; by Nature, not by evil customes and ambitious principles. He that would shoot an arrow out of a Plow, or hunt a Hare with an Elephant, is not unfortunate for missing the mark or prey; but he is foolish for choosing such unapt instruments: and so is he that runs after his content with appetites not springing from natural needs, but from artificial, phantastical and violent necessities: These are not to be satisfied; or if they were, a man hath chosen an evill instrument towards his content: Nature did not intend rest to a Man by filling of such desires. Is that Beast better that hath two or three Mountains to graze on, then a little
Bee that feeds on Dew or Manna, and lives upon what falls every morning from the Store-houses of Heaven, Clouds and Providence:

Can a Man quench his thirst better out of a River then a full Urn, or drink better from the Fountain when it is finely paved with Marble, then when it swells over the green Turfe? Pride and artificial gluttonies do but adulterate Nature, making our diet healthlesse, our appetites impatient and unsatisfiable, and the taste mixt, phantastical, and meretricious. But that which we miscal poverty, is indeed Nature: and its proportions are the just measures of a Man, and the best instruments of content: But when we create needs that God or Nature never made, we have erected to our selves an infinite stock of trouble that can have no period.

Sempronius complained of want of clothes, and was much troubled for a new suit, being ashamed to appear in the Theatre with his Gown a little thread-bare: but when he got it and gave his old clothes to Codrus, the poor man was ravisht with joy, and went and gave God thanks for his new purchase: and Codrus was made richly fine and cheerfully warm by that which Sempronius was ashamed to wear; and yet their natural needs were both alike, the difference onely was, that Sempronius had some artificial and phantastical necessities superinduced, which Codrus had not; and was harder to be relieved, and could not have joy at so cheap a rate; because the one lived according to Nature, the other by Pride and ill customes, and measures taken by other mens eyes and tongues, and artificial needs. He that propounds to his fancy things greater then himself, or his needs, and is discontent
and troubled when he fails of such purchases, ought not to accuse Providence, or blame his fortune but his folly. God and Nature made no more needs then they mean to satisfie: and he that will make more must look for satisfaction where he can.

8. In all troubles and sadder accidents, let us take sanctuary in Religion, and by innocence cast out anchors for our souls to keep them from shipwrack, though they be not kept from storm. For what Philosophy shall comfort a Villane that is haled to the rack for murdering his Prince; or that is broken upon the wheele for Sacriledge? His cup is full of pure and unmingled sorrow: His body is rent with torment, his name with ignominy; his soul with shame and sorrow which are to last eternally: but when a man suffers in a good cause, or is afflicted and yet walks not perversly with his God, then, Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me; then S. Pauls character is engraved in the forehead of our fortune: we are troubled on every side, but not distressed, perplexed, but not in despair, persecuted, but not forsaken, cast down, but not destroyed: and who is he that will harm you if ye be followers of that which is good? For indeed every thing in the World is indifferent but sin: and all the scorchings of the Sun are very tolerable in respect of the burnings of a Feaver or a Calenture. The greatest evils are from within us: and from our selves also we must look for our greatest good; for God is the Fountain of it, but reaches it to us by our own hands; and when all things look sadly round about us, then only we shall finde how excellent a fortune it is
to have God to friend; and of all friendships that onely is created to support us in our needs. For it is sin that turns Ague into a Fever, and a Fever to the Plague, fear into despair, anger into rage, and losse into madnesse, and sorrow to amazement and confusion: but if either we were innocent, or else by the sadnesse are made penitent, we are put to School, or into the Theatre, either to learn how, or else actually to combat for a Crown; the accident may serve an end of mercy, but is not a Messenger of wrath.

Let us not therefore be governed by external and present, and seeming things; nor let us make us the same judgement of things, that common and weak understandings do; nor make other men, and they not the wisest, to be judges of our felicity, so that we be happy or miserable as they please to think us; but let reason and experience, and religion, and hope relying upon the Divine promises be the measure of our judgement. No wise man did ever describe felicity without vertue: and no good man did ever think vertue could depend upon the variety of good or bad fortune. It is no evil to be poor, but to be vitious and impatient.

Means to obtain content by way of consideration.

To these exercises and spiritual instruments if we adde the following considerations concerning the nature and circumstances of humane chance, wee may better secure our peace. For as to
children who are afraid of vain Images, we use to persuade confidence by making them to handle and look neerer such things, that when in such a familiarity they perceive them innocent, they may overcome their fears: so must timorous, phantastical, sad and discontented persons be treated; they must be made to consider and on all sides to look upon the accident, and to take all its dimensions, and consider its consequences, and to behold the purpose of God, and the common mistakes of men, and their evil sentences they usually passe upon them; For then we shall perceive that like Colts and unmanaged Horses we start at dead bones and livelesse blocks, things that are unactive as they are innocent. But if we secure our hopes and our fears, and make them moderate and within government, we may the sooner overcome the evil of the accident: for nothing that we feel is so bad as what we fear.

1. Consider that the universal providence of God hath so ordered it, that the good things of Nature and Fortune are divided, that we may know how to bear our own and relieve each others wants and imperfections. 1

It is not for a Man, but for a God to have all excellencies and all felicities. He supports my poverty with his wealth, I counsel and instruct him with my learning and experience. He hath many friends, I many children: He hath no Heir, I have no inheritance: and any one great blessing together with the common portions of Nature and necessity is a fair fortune, if it be but health or strength, or the swiftnesse of Ahimaaz. For it is an unreasonable discontent to be troubled
that I have not so good Cocks, or Dogs, or Horses as my Neighbour, being more troubled that I want one thing that I need not, then thankfull for having received all that I need. Nero had this disease, that he was not content with the fortune of the whole Empire, but put the Fidlers to death for being more skilful in the trade then he was: and Dionysius the elder, was so angry at Philoxenus for singing, and with Plato for disputing better then he did, that he sold Plato a Slave into Aegina, and condemned the other to the Quarries.

This consideration is to be enlarged by adding to it that there are some instances of fortune and a fair condition that cannot stand with some others, but if you desire this, you must lose that, and unlesse you be content with one, you lose the comfort of both. If you covet Learning, you must have leisure and a retired life: if to be a Polititian, you must go abroad and get experience and do all businesses, and keep all company, and have no leisure at all. If you will be rich, you must be frugal: If you will be popular, you must bee bountiful: If a Philosopher, you must despise riches. The Greek that designed to make the most exquisite picture that could be imagined fancied the eye of Chione, and the hair of Paegnium, and Tarsias lip, and Philenium's chinne, and the forehead of Delphia, and set all these upon Milphidippas neck, and thought that he should out do both Art and Nature. But when he came to view the proportions he found that what was excellent in Tarsia did not agree with the other excellency of Philenium, and although singly they were rare pieces, yet in the whole they made a most ugly face. The dispersed excellencies and blessings of many men, if given to one would not
make a handsome, but a monstrous fortune. Use therefore that faculty which Nature hath given thee, and thy education hath made actual, and thy calling hath made a duty: but if thou desirest to be a Saint, refuse not his persecution: If thou woudest be famous as Epaminondas or Fabricius, accept also of their poverty, for that added lustre to their persons and envy to their fortune, and their vertue without it could not have been so excellent. Let Euphorion sleep quietly with his old rich Wife: and let Medius drink on with Alexander: and remember, thou canst not have the riches of the first, unlesse you have the old Wife too; nor the favour which the second had with his Prince, unlesse you buy it at his price, that is, pay thy sobriety down at first, and thy health a little after; and then their condition though it looked splendidly, yet when you handle it on all sides, it will prick your fingers.

2. Consider how many excellent personages in all Ages have suffered as great or greater calamities then this which now tempts thee to impatience. Agis was the most noble of the Greeks, and yet his Wife bore a Childe by Alcibiades: and Philip was Prince of Iturea, and yet his Wife ran away with his Brother Herod into Galilee: and certainly in a great fortune that was a great calamity. But these are but single instances. Almost all the ages of the world have noted that their most eminent Scholers were most eminently poor, some by choice, but most by chance, and an inevitable decree of providence: And in the whole sex of women God hath decreed the sharpest pains of
childebirth, to show that there is no state exempt from sorrow, and yet that the weakest persons have strengths more than enough to bear the greatest evil: and the greatest Queens and the Mothers of Saints and Apostles, have no charter of exemption from this sad sentence. But the Lord of men and Angels was also the King of sufferings; and if thy course robe trouble thee, remember the swaddling clothes of Jesus: if thy bed be uneasy, yet it is not worse than his Manger; and it is no sadness to have a thin table, if thou callest to mind that the King of heaven and earth was fed with a little breast milk; and yet besides this he suffered all the sorrows which we deserved. We therefore have great reason to sit down upon our own hearths, and warme our selves at our own fires, and feed upon content at home: for it were a strange pride to expect to be more gently treated by the Divine providence then the best and wisest men, then Apostles and Saints, nay, then the son of the Eternal God, the heir of both the worlds.

This Consideration may be enlarged by surveying all the states and families of the world: and he that at once saw Aegina and Megara, Pyraeus and Corinth lye gasping in their ruines, and almost buried in their own heaps had reason to blame Cicero for mourning impatiently the death of one woman. In the most beauteous and splendid fortune there are many cares and proper interruptions and allayes: In the fortune of a Prince there is not the course robe of beggery; but there are infinite cares: and the Judge sits upon the Tribunal with great ceremony and ostentation of fortune, and yet at his house, or in his breast there is something that causes him to sigh deeply. Pittacus was
a wise and valiant man, but his wife overthrew the table when he had invited his friends: upon which the good man to excuse her incivility and his own misfortune said, that every man had one evil, and he was most happy that had but that alone: And if nothing else happens, yet sicknesses so often do imbitter the fortune and content of a family, that a Physician in a few years, and with the practise upon a very few families, gets experience enough to minister to almost all diseases. And when thy little misfortune troubles thee, remember that thou hast known the best of Kings, and the best of Men put to death publickly by his own subjects.

3. There are many accidents which are esteemed great calamities, and yet we have reason enough to bear them well and unconcernedly; for they neither touch our bodies nor our souls: our health and our vertue remains intire, our life and our reputation. It may be I am slighted, or I have received ill language, but my head akes not for it, neither hath it broke my thigh, nor taken away my vertue, unlesse I lose my charity or my patience. Inquire therefore what you are the worse either in your soul or in your body, for what hath happened: for upon this very stock many evils will disappeare, since the body and the soul make up the whole man: and when the daughter of Stilpo proved a wanton, he said it was none of his sin, and therefore there was no reason it should be his misery: And if an enemy hath taken all that from a Prince whereby he was a King; he may refresh himself by considering all that is left him, whereby he
he is a man.

4. Consider that sad accidents and a state of affliction is a School of vertue: it reduces our spirits to sobernesse, and our counsels to moderation; it corrects levity, and interrupts the confidence of sinning. *It is good for me (said David) that I have been afflicted, for thereby I have learned thy Law. And I know (O Lord) that thou of very faithfulnesse hast caused me to be troubled.* For God, who in mercy and wisdom governs the world, would never have suffered so many sadnesses, and have sent them especially to the most vertuous and the wisest men, but that he intends they should be the seminary of comfort, the nursery of vertue, the exercise of wisdom, the tryal of patience, the venturing for a crown, and the gate of glory.

5. Consider that afflictions are oftentimes the occasions of great temporal advantages: and we must not look upon them as they sit down heavily upon us, but as they serve some of Gods ends, and the purposes of universal Providence: And when a Prince fights justly, and yet unprosperously, if he could see all those reasons for which God hath so ordered it, he would think it the most reasonable thing in the world, and that it would be very ill to have it otherwise. If a man could have opened one of the pages of the Divine counsel, and could have seen the event of Josephs being sold to the Merchants of Amalek, he might with much reason have dried up the young mans tears: and when Gods purposes are opened in the events of things, as it was in the case of Joseph, when he sustained his Fathers family and became Lord of Egypt, then we see what ill judgement we made of things, and
that we were passionate as children, and transported with sense
and mistaken interest. The case of Themistocles was almost like
that of Joseph, for being banished into Egypt, he also grew
in favour with the King, and told his wife, He had been undone,
unlesse he had been undone. For God esteems it one of his glories
that he brings good out of evil, and therefore it were but reason
we should trust God to govern his own world as he pleases: and
that he should patiently wait till the change cometh, or the
reason be discovered.

And this consideration is also of great use to them who
envy at the prosperity of the wicked, and the success of
Persecutors, and the baits of fishes, and the bread of dogs.
God fails not to sow blessings in the long furrows which the
plowers plow upon the back of the Church: and this successs
which troubles us will be a great glory to God, and a great
benefit to his Saints and servants, and a great ruine to the
Persecutors, who shall have but the fortune of Theramenes,
one of the thirty Tyrants of Athens, who scaped when his house
fell upon him, and was shortly after put to death with torments
by his Collegues in the Tyranny.

To which also may be added that the great evils which
happen to the best and wisest men are one of the great arguments,
upon the strength of which we can expect felicity to our souls,
and the joyes of another world. And certainly they are then
very tolerable and eligible, when with so great advantages
they minister to the faith and hope of a Christian. But if we
consider what unspeakable tortures are provided for the wicked
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to all eternity, we should not be troubled to see them prosperous here, but rather wonder that their portion in this life is not bigger, and that ever they should be sick, or crossed, or affronted, or troubled with the contradiction and disease of their own vices, since if they were fortunate beyond their own ambition it could not make them recompence for one hours torment in Hell, which yet they shall have for their eternall portion.

After all these considerations deriving from sence and experience, grace and reason, there are two remedies still remaining, and they are Necessity and Time.

6. For it is but reasonable to bear that accident patiently which God sends, since impatience does but intangle us like the fluttering of a bird in a net, but cannot at all ease our trouble, or prevent the accident: it must be run thorough, and therefore it were better we compose our selves to a patient, then to a troubled and miserable suffering.

7. But however, if you will not otherwise be cured, time at last will do it alone; and then consider, do you mean to mourn always, or but for a time? If alwayes; you are miserable and foolish. If for a time, then why will you not apply those reasons to your grief at first, with which you will cure it at last: or if you will not cure it with reason, see how little of a man there is in you, that you suffer time to do more with you then reason or religion: you suffer your selves to be cured just as a beast, or a tree is; let it alone and the thing will heal it self; but this is neither honourable to thy person, nor of
reputation to thy religion. However be content to bear thy calamity, because thou art sure in a little time it will sit down gentle and easy: For to a mortal man no evil is immortal: And here let the worst thing happen that can, it will end in death, and we commonly think that to be neer enough.

8. Lastly, of those things which are reckoned amongst evils, some are better than their contraries; and to a good man the very worst is tolerable.

Poverty or a low Fortune.

1. Poverty is better than riches, and a mean fortune to be chosen before a great and splendid one. It is indeed despised and makes men contemptible: it exposes a man to the insolence of evil persons, and leaves a man defencelesse: it is always suspected: its stories are accounted lies, and all its counsells follyes: it puts a man from all imployment: it makes a mans discourses tedious, and his society troublesome. This is the worst of it: and yet all this and farre worse then this the Apostles suffered for being Christians; and Christianitie it selfe may be esteemed an affliction as well as poverty, if this be all that can be said against it; for the Apostles and the most eminent Christians were really poor, and were used contemptuously: and yet, that poverty is despised may be an argument to commend it, if it be despised by none but persons vicious and ignorant. However, certain it is that a great fortune is a great vanity, and riches is nothing but danger,
trouble, and temptation; like a garment that is too long, and
bears a train; not so useful to one, but it is troublesome to
two; to him that bears the one part upon his shoulders, and to
him that bears the other part in his hands: But poverty is the
sister of a good minde, the parent of sober counsels and the
nurse of all verue.

For, what is it that you admire in the fortune of a great
King? Is it that hee alwayes goes in a great company? You may
thrust your self into the same croud, or goe often to Church,
and then you have as great a company as he hath, and that may
upon as good ground please you as him, that is, justly neither:
for so impertinent and uselessse pomp, and the other circumstances
of his distance, are not made for him, but for his Subjects,
that they may learne to separate him from common usages, and
be taught to be governed. But if you looke upon them as fine
things in themselves, you may quickly alter your opinion when
you shall consider that they cannot cure the toothach, nor make one
wise, or fill the belly, or give one nights sleep, (though they
help to break many) nor satisfying any appetite of Nature, or
Reason, or Religion: but they are states of greatnesse which
onely makes it possible for a Man to be made extremely miserable.
And it was long agoe observed by the Greeke Tragedians, and from
them by Arrianus, saying, That all our Tragedies are of Kings
and Princes, and rich or ambitious personages, but you never
see a poor man have a part, unlesse it be as a Chorus, or to
fill up the Scenes, to dance or to be derided: but the Kings
and the great Generals; First (sayes he) they begin with joy
στέψατε ὅψωμα, 'crown the houses': but about the third or fourth Act, they cry out, O Citheron why didst thou spare my life to reserve me for this more sad calamity?" And this is really true in the great Accidents of the World: for a great estate hath great crosses, and a mean fortune hath but small ones. It may be the poor man loses a Cow (for if his Childe dyes he is quit of his biggest care) but such an accident in a rich and splendid Family doubles upon the spirits of the parents: Or it may be the poor man is troubled to pay his rent, and thats his biggest trouble: but it is a bigger care to secure a great fortune in a troubled estate, or with equal greatnesse, or with the circumstances of honour, and the nicenesse of reputation to defend a Law-suit: and that which will secure a common mans whole estate, is not enough to defend a great mans honour.

And therefore it was not without mystery observed among the Ancients, that they who made gods of gold and silver, of hope and fear, peace and fortune, Garlick and Onions, Beasts and Serpents, and a quartan Ague, yet never deified money: meaning, that however wealth was admired by common or abused understandings; yet from riches, that is, from that proportion of good things which is beyond the necessities of Nature, no moment could be added to a mans real content or happinesse. Corn from Sardinia, herds of Calabrian cattel, meadows through which pleasant Liris glides, silkes from Tyrus, and golden Chalices to drown my health in, are nothing but instruments of vanity or sinne, and suppose a disease in the soul of him that longs for them, or admires them: And this I have otherwhere represented
more largely; to which I here adde, that riches have very great

\textbf{dangers} to their souls, not onely \textbf{who covet them}, but to all
\textbf{that have them}. For if a great personage undertakes an action
passionately, and upon great interest, let him manage it
indiscreetly, let the whole designe be unjust, let it be
acted with all the malice and impotency in the World, he shall
have enough to flatter him, but not enough to reprove him. He
had need be a bold man that shall tell his Patron, he is going
to Hell; and that Prince had need be a good man that shall suffer
such a Monitor: And though it bee a strange kinde of civility and
an evil dutifulnesse in Friends and Relatives to suffer him to
perish without reprooфе or medicine, rather then to seem unmannerly
to a great sinner, yet it is none of their least infelicities,
that their wealth and greatnesse shall put them into sinne, and
yet put them past reproof. I need not instance in the habitual
intemperance of rich Tables, nor the evil accidents and effects
of fulnesse; pride and lust, wantonnesse and softnesse of
disposition, huge talking, and an imperious spirit, despite
of Religion, and contempt of poor persons: At the best, \textbf{it is}
a great temptation for a man to have in his power whatsoever he
can have in his sensual desires; and therefore riches is a
blessing like to a present made of a whole Vintage to a Man
in a Hectick Feaver; he will be much tempted to drink of it,
and if he does he is inflamed, and may chance to dye with the
kindnesse.

\textbf{Now besides what hath been already noted, in the state of
poverty there is nothing to be accounted for, but the fear of}
wanting necessaries, of which if a man could be secured, that he might live free from care, all the other parts of it might be reckoned amongst the advantages of wise and sober persons, rather then objections against that state of fortune.

But concerning this I consider, that there must needs be great security to all Christians, since CHRIST not onely made expresse promises that we should have sufficient for this life; but also took great pains and used many arguments to create confidence in us: and such they were which by their own strength were sufficient, though you abate the authority of the Speaker. The Sonne of GOD told us, his Father takes care of us: Hee that knew all his Fathers counsels and his whole kindnesse towards mankinde, told us so. How great is that truth how certain, how necessary, which CHRIST himself proved by arguments! The excellent words and most comfortable sentences which are our Bills of Exchange, upon the credit of which we lay our cares down, and receive provisions for our need, are these. "Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more then meat, and the body then raiment? Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not neither do they reap, nor gather into barns, yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better then they? Which of you by taking thought can adde one cubit to his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the Lillies of the field, how they grow: They toil not, neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory, was not arayed
like one of these. Therefore if God so clothe the grasse of the field which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithall shall we be clothed? (for after all these things do the Gentiles seek.) For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself: sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." a The same discourse is repeated by S. Luke: and accordingly our duty is urged and our confidence abetted by the Disciples of our Lord, in divers places of holy Scripture. So S. Paul, b Be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your request be made known unto God: And againe, c Charge them that are rich in this world that they bee not high minded, nor trust in uncertaine riches, but in the living GOD, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy: And yet again, d Let your conversation be without covetousnesse, and be content with such things as ye have; for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee: So that we may boldly say, the Lord is my helper. And all this is by S. Peter summed up in our duty, thus: Cast all your care upon him, for he careth for you: Which words he seems to have borrowed out of the 55 Psalm, verse 23. where David saith the same thing almost in the same words. To which I onely add the observation made by him, and the argument of experience; I
I have been young and now am old, and yet saw I never the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. And now after all this, a fearlesse confidence in God and concerning a provision of necessaries is so reasonable that it is become a duty; and he is scarce a Christian whose faith is so little as to be jealous in God and suspitious concerning meat and clothes: that man hath nothing in him of the noblenesse or confidence of Charity.

Does not God provide for all the birds and beasts and fishes? Do not the sparrows fly from their bush, and every morning finde meat where they laid it not? Do not the young ravens call to God and he feeds them? and were it reasonable that the sons of the family should fear the Father would give meat to the chickens and the servants, his sheep and his dogs, but give none to them? He were a very ill Father that should do so: or he were a very foolish son that should think so of a good Father. But besides the reasonablenesse of this faith and this hope; we have infinite experience of it. How innocent, how carelesse, how secure is Infancy! and yet how certainly provided for! We have lived at Gods charges all the dayes of our life, and have (as the Italian proverb sayes) set down to meat at the sound of a bell; and hitherto he hath not failed us: we have no reason to suspect him for the future; we do not use to serve men so; and lesse time of tryal creates great confidences in us towards them who for twenty years together never broke their word with us: and God hath so ordered it that a man shall have had the experience of many years provision, before he shall understand how to doubt:
that he may be provided for an answer against the temptation shall come, and the mercies felt in his childhood, may make him fear lesse when he is a man. Adde to this that God hath given us his holy Spirit; he hath promised heaven to us; he hath given us his son; and we are taught from Scripture to make this inference from hence, How should not he with him give us all things else?

The Charge of many Children.

We have a title to be provided for as we are Gods creatures: another title as we are his Children: another because God hath promised: and every of our children hath the same title; and therefore it is a huge folly and infidelity to be troubled and full of care because we have many children. Every childe we have to feed is a new revenue, a new title to Gods care and providence; so that many children are a great wealth: and if it be said they are chargeable, it is no more then all wealth and great revenues are. For what difference is it? Titius keeps ten ploughs, Cornelia hath ten children: He hath land enough to imploy, and to feed all his hindes; she blessings, and promises and the provisions and the truth of God to maintain all her children. His hindes and horses eat up all his corn, and her children are sufficiently maintained with her little. They bring in and eat up; and she indeed eats up, but they also bring in from the store houses of heaven, and the granaries of God: and my children are not so much mine as they are Gods: he feeds
them in the womb by ways secret and insensible; and would not work a perpetual miracle to bring them forth, and then to starve them.

Violent necessities.

But some men are highly tempted, and are brought to a strait, that without a miracle they cannot be relieved, what shall they do? It may be their pride or vanity hath brought the necessity upon them, and it is not a need of Gods making; and if it be not they must cure it themselves by lessening their desires, and moderating their appetites; and yet if it be innocent though unnecessary, God does usually relieve such necessities; and he does not onely upon our prayers grant us more then he promised of temporal things: but also he gives many times more then we ask.

This is no object for our faith, but ground enough for a temporal and prudent hope: and if we fail in the particular, God will turn it to a bigger mercy, if we submit to his dispensation, and adore him in the denial. But if it be a matter of necessity, let not any man by way of impatience cry out, that God will not work a miracle; for God by miracle did give meat and drink to his people in the wilderness, of which he had made no particular promise in any Covenant: and if all natural means fail, it is certain that God will rather work a miracle then break his word: He can do that, he cannot do this. Onely we must remember that our portion of temporal things is but food and raiment: God hath not promised us coaches and horses, rich houses and jewels, Tyrian silks and
Persian carpets, neither hath he promised to minister to our needs in such circumstances as we shall appoint, but such as himself shall choose. God will enable either thee to pay thy debt (if thou beggest it of him) or else he will pay it for thee, that is, take thy desire as a discharge of thy duty, and pay it to thy Creditor in blessings, or in some secret of his providence. It may be he hath laid up the corn that shall feed thee, in the granary of thy Brother; or will clothe thee with his wool; he enabled Saint Peter to pay his Gabel, by the ministry of a fish; and Elias to be waited on by a crow, who was both his minister, and his steward for provisions: and his Holy Son rode in triumph upon an asse that grazed in another mans pastures. And if God gives to him the dominion and reserves the use to thee, thou hast the better half of the two; but the charitable man serves God and serves thy need; and both joyn to provide for thee, and God blesses both. But if he takes away the flesh-pots from thee, he can also alter the appetite, and he hath given thee power and commandment to restrain it: and if he lessens the revenue, he will also shrink the necessity; or if he gives but a very little, he will make it go a great way: or if he sends thee but course diet, he will blesse it and make it healthful, and can cure all the anguish of thy povertie by giving thee patience, and the grace of contentednesse. For the grace of God secures you of provisions, and yet the grace of God feeds and supports the spirit in the want of provisions: and if a thin table be apt to enfeeble the spirits of one used to feed better, yet the cheerfulness of a spirit that is blessed will make a thin table become a delicacy,
if the man was as well taught as he was fed, and learned his
duty when he received the blessing. Poverty therefore is in
some senses eligible and to be preferred before riches, but in
all senses it is very tolerable.

Death of Children, or neerest

Relatives and Friends.

There are some persons who have been noted for excellent
in their lives and passions, rarely innocent, and yet hugely
penitent for indiscretions and harmlesse infirmities, such as

Paulina, one of the ghostly children of S. Hierom, and yet
when any of her children dyed she was arrested with a sorrow
so great as brought her to the margent of her grave. And the
more tender our spirits are made by Religion, the more easy we
are to let in grief, if the cause be innocent, and be but in
any sense twisted with piety and due affections. To cure which
we may consider that all the world must die, and therefore to be
impatient at the death of a person concerning whom it was certain
and known that he must die, is to mourn because thy friend or
childe was not born an Angel, and when thou hast a while made
thyself miserable by an importunate and uselesse grief, it may
be thou shalt die thy self, and leave others to their choice
whether they will mourn for thee or no: but by that time it
will appear how impertinent that grief was which served no end
of life, and ended in thy own funeral. But what great matter is
it, if sparks fly upward, or a stone falls into a pit, if that
which was combustible be burned, or that which was liquid be melted, or that which is mortal do die? It is no more then a man does every day; for every night death hath gotten possession of that day, and we shall never live that day over again; and when the last day is come there are no more dayes left for us to die. And what is sleeping and waking, but living and dying? what is Spring and Autumn, youth and old age, morning and evening, but real images of life and death, and really the same to many considerable effects and changes?

Untimely death.

But it is not mere dying that is pretended by some as the cause of their impatient mourning; but that the childe died young, before he knew good and evil; his right hand from his left, and so lost all his portion of this world, and they know not of what excellency his portion in the next shall be. If he dyed young, he lost but little, for he understood but little, and had not capacities of great pleasures, or great cares: but yet he dyed innocent and before the sweetness of his soul was defloured and ravished from him by the flames and follies of a forward age: he went out from the dining-rooms before he had fallen into error by the intemperance of his meat or the deluge of drink: and he hath obtained this favour of God, that his soul hath suffered a lesse imprisonment, and her load was sooner taken off that he might with lesser delayes goe and converse with immortal spirits: and the babe is taken into Paradise before he knows good
and evil, (For that knowledge threw our great Father out) and this
ignorance returns the childe thither. But (as concerning thy own
particular) remove thy thoughts back to those dayes in which thy
childe was not born, and you are now but as then you was, and there
is no difference but that you had a son born, and if you reckon
that for evil, you are unthankful for the blessing; if it be
good, it is better that you had the blessing for a while then
not at all, and yet if he had never been born, this sorrow had
not been at all: but be no more displeased at God for giving you
the blessing for a while, then you would have been if he had not
given it at all; and reckon that intervening blessing for a gain,
but account it not an evil; and if it be a good, turn it not into
a sorrow and sadnesse. But if we have great reason to complain
of the calamities and evils of our life, then we have the lesse
reason to grieve that those whom we loved, have so small a portion
of evil assigned to them. And it is no small advantage, that our
children dying young receive: for their condition of a blessed
immortality is rendred to them secure by being snatcht from the
dangers of an evil choice and carried to their little cells of
felicity, where they can weep no more. And this the wisest of
the Gentiles understood well, when they forbade any offerings or
libations to be made for dead infants, as was usual for their
other dead; as believing they were entred into a secure possession,
to which they went with no other condition, but that they passed
into it thorough the way of mortality, and for a few moneths wore
an uneasy garment. And let weeping parents say, if they do not
think that the evils their little babes have suffered are sufficient.
If they be, why are they troubled that they were taken from those many and greater, which in succeeding years are great enough to try all the reason and religion which art and nature; and the grace of God hath produced in us, to enable us for such sad contentions. And possibly we may doubt concerning men and women, but we cannot suspect that to infants death can be such an evil, but that it brings to them much more good, then it takes from them in this life.

Death unseasonable.

But others can well bear the death of infants: but when they have spent some years of chilhood or youth, and are entred into arts, and society, when they are hopeful and provided for, when the parents are to reap the comfort of all their fears and cares, then it breaks the spirit to loose them. This is true in many; but this is not love to the dead, but to themselves: for they miss what they had flattered themselves into by hope and opinion: and if it were kindnesse to the dead, they may consider, that since we hope he is gone to God and to rest, it is an ill expression of our love to them, that we weep for their good fortune. For that life is not best which is longest: and when they are descended into the grave, it shall not be inquired how long they have lived, but how well. And yet this shortening of their dayes is an evil wholly depending upon opinion. For if men did naturally live but twenty years, then we should be satisfied if they dyed about sixteen, or eighteen: and yet eighteen years now are as long
as eighteen years would be then; and if a man were but of a dayes life, it is well if he lasts till even song, and then says his compline an hour before the time: and we are pleased and call not that death immature if he lives till seventy: and yet this age is as short of the old periods, before and since the flood, as this youths age (for whom you mourn) is of the present fulnesse. Suppose therefore a decree passed upon this person (as there have been many upon all mankinde) and God hath set him a shorter period; and then we may as well bear the immature death of the young man, as the death of the oldest men: for they also are immature and unseasonable in respect of the old periods of many generations. And why are we troubled that he had arts and sciences before he dyed? or are we troubled that he does not live to make use of them? The first is cause of joy, for they are excellent in order to certain ends: And the second cannot be cause of sorrow, because he hath no need to use them as the case now stands, being provided for with the provisions of an Angel, and the maner of Eternity. However, the sons and the parents, friends and relatives are in the world, like hours and minutes to a day. The hour comes and must passe; and some stay but minutes, and they also passe, and shall never return again. But let it be considered, that from the time in which a man is conceived, from that time forward to Eternitie he shall never cease to be: and let him dye young or old, still he hath an immortal soul, and hath laid down his body onely for a time, as that which was the instrument of his trouble and sorrow, and the scene of sicknesses and disease. But he is in a more noble manner of being, after death, then he can be here:
and the child may with more reason be allowed to cry for leaving his
mothers womb for this world, then a man can for changing this
world for another.

Sudden deaths or violent.

5 Others are yet troubled at the manner of their childes
or friends death. He was drowned, or lost his head, or dyed
of the plague, and this is a new spring of sorrow: but no man
can give a sensible account, how it shall be worse for a childe
to dye with drowning in half an hour, then to endure a feaver
of one and twenty dayes. And if my friend lost his head, so
he did not lose his constancy, and his religion, he dyed with
huge advantage.

Being Childelesse.

But by this means I am left without an Heir: Well, suppose
that: Thou hast no Heir, and I have no inheritance; and there are
many Kings and Emperors that have died childlesse: many Royal
lines are extinguished: And Augustus Caesar was forced to adopt
his wives son to inherit all the Roman greatnesse. And there
are many wise persons that never married; and we read nowhere
that any of the children of the Apostles did survive their Fathers:
and all that inherit anything of Christs kingdom come to it by
Adoption, not by natural inheritance: and to dye without an
natural heir is no intolerable evil, since it was sanctified
in the person of Jesus who dyed a Virgin.

Evil or unfortunate Children.

And by this means we are freed from the greater sorrows of having a fool, a swine, or a goat to rule after us in our families: and yet even this condition admits of comfort. For all the wilde Americans are supposed to be the sons of Dodonaim; and the sons of Jacob are now the most scattered and despised people in the whole world. The son of Solomon was but a silly weak man; and the son of Hezekiah was wicked: and all the fools and barbarous people, all the thieves and pirates, all the slaves and miserable men and women of the world are the sons and daughters of Noah; and we must not look to be exempted from that portion of sorrow which God gave to Noah, and Adam, to Abraham, to Isaack and to Jacob: I pray God send us into the lot of Abraham. But if any thing happens worse to us, it is enough for us that we bear it evenly.

Our own death.

And how if you were to die your self? You know you must. Only be ready for it, by the preparations of a good life; and then it is the greatest good that ever happened to thee: else there is nothing that can comfort you. But if you have served God in a holy life, send away the women and the weepers, tell them it is as much intemperance to weep too much, as to laugh too much: and when thou art alone, or with fitting company, dye
as thou shouldest; but do not dye impatiently and like a fox caught in a trap. For if you fear death you shall never the more avoid it, but you make it miserable. Fannius that kild himself for fear of death, dyed as certainly, as Portia that eat burning coals, or Cato that cut his own throat. To dye is necessary and natural, and it may be honourable: but to dye poorly, and basely, and sinfully, that alone is it, that can make a man unfortunate. No man can be a slave, but he that fears pain, or fears to die. To such a man nothing but chance and peaceable times can secure his duty, and he depends upon things without, for his felicity; and so is well but during the pleasure of his enemy, or a Thief, or a Tyrant, or it may be, of a dog, or a wilde bull.
Ad. Chap. II.

Prayers for the several Graces
and parts of Christian Sobriety.

A Prayer against Sensuality.

O Eternal Father, thou that sittest in Heaven invested with essential Glories and Divine perfections, fill my soul with so deep a sense of the excellencies of spiritual and heavenly things, that my affections being weaned from the pleasures of the world, and the false allurements of sin, I may with great severity and the prudence of a holy discipline and strict desires, with clear resolutions and a free spirit have my conversation in Heaven and heavenly employments; that being in affections as in my condition a Pilgrim and a stranger here, I may covet after and labour for an abiding city, and at last may enter into and for ever dwell in the Coelestial Jerusalem which is the mother of us all, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For Temperance.

O Almighty God and gracious Father of Men, and Angels, who openest thy hand and fillest all things with plenty, and has provided for thy servant sufficient to satisfie all my needs: teach me to use thy creatures soberly and temperately, that I
may not with loads of meat or drink make the temptations of my 
enemy to prevail upon me, or my spirit unapt for the performance 
of my duty, or my body healthlesse, or my affections sensual and 
unholy. O my God, never suffer that the blessings which thou 
givest me may either minister to sin or sickness, but to health 
and holiness, and thanksgiving, that in the strength of thy 
provisions I may cheerfully and actively and diligently serve 
thee: that I may worthily feast at thy table here, and be accounted 
worthy through thy grace to be admitted to thy table hereafter at 
the Eternal supper of the Lamb to sing an Allelujah to God the 
Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

For Chastity: to be said especially
by unmarried persons.

Almighty God, our most holy and eternal Father, who art of 
pure eyes, and canst behold no uncleanness; let thy gracious 
and holy Spirit descend upon thy servant, and reprove the spirit 
of Fornication and Uncleanliness, and cast him out, that my body 
may be a holy Temple, and my soul a Sanctuary to entertain the 
Prince of purities, the holy and eternal Spirit of God. O let 
no impure thoughts pollute that soul which God hath sanctified; 
no unclean words pollute that tongue which God hath commanded to 
be an Organ of his praises; no unholy and unchaste action rend 
the vail of that Temple where the holy JESUS hath been pleased 
to enter, and hath chosen for his habitation: but seal up all 
my senses from all vain objects, and let them be entirely possessed
with Religion, and fortified with prudence, watchfulness and mortification: that I possessing my vessel in holiness, may lay it down with a holy hope, and receive it again in a joyful resurrection through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the love of God,
to be said by Virgins and Widows professed or resolved so to live:
and may be used by any one.

O Holy and purest Jesus who wert pleased to espouse every holy soul and join it to thee with a holy union, and mysterious instruments of religious society and communications, O fill my soul with Religion and desires, holy as the thoughts of Cherubim, passionate beyond the love of women, that I may love thee as much as ever any creature loved thee, even with all my soul, and all my faculties, and all the degrees of every faculty; let me know no loves but those of duty and charity, obedience and devotion, that I may for ever run after thee who art the King of Virgins, and with whom whole kingdoms are in love, and for whose sake Queens have dyed; and at whose feet Kings with joy have laid their Crowns and Scepters: My soul is thine O dearest Jesu, thou art my Lord, and hast bound up my eyes and heart from all stranger affections; give me for my dowry purity and humility, modesty and devotion, charity and patience, and at last bring me into the Bride-chamber to partake of the felicities and to lye in the bosom of the Bridegroom to eternal ages, O holy and
A Prayer to be said by married persons
in behalf of themselves and each other.

O Eternal and gracious Father who hast consecrated the holy estate of marriage to become mysterious, and to represent the union of Christ and his Church, let thy holy Spirit so guide me in the doing the duties of this state, that it may not become a sin unto me; nor that liberty which thou hast hallowed by the holy Jesus, become an occasion of licentiousnesse by my own weaknesse and sensuality: and do thou forgive all those irregularities and too sensual applications which may have in any degree discomposed my spirit and the severity of a Christian. Let me in all accidents and circumstances be severe in my duty towards thee, affectionate and dear to my wife [or Husband] a guide and good example to my family, and in all quietnesse, sobriety, prudence and peace a follower of those holy pairs who have served thee with godlinesse and a good testimony: and the blessings of the eternal God, blessings of the right hand, and of the left be upon the body and soul of thy servant my Wife [or Husband] and abide upon her [or him] till the end of a holy and happy life; and grant that both of us may live together for ever in the embraces of the holy and eternal Jesus, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.
A Prayer for the grace of Humility.

O Holy and most gracious Master and Saviour Jesus, who by thy example and by thy precept, by the practise of a whole life and frequent discourses didst command us to be meek and humble in imitation of thy incomparable sweetnesse and great humility: be pleased to give me the grace as thou hast given me the commandment: enable me to do whatsoever thou commandest, and command whatsoever thou pleasest: O mortifie in me all proud thoughts, and vain opinions of my self: let me return to thee the acknowledgement and the fruits of all those good things thou hast given me, that by confessing I am wholly in debt to thee for them, I may not boast myself for what I have received and for what I am highly accountable: and for what is my own, teach me to be ashamed and humbled, it being nothing but sin and misery, weaknesse and uncleannesesse. Let me go before my brethren in nothing but in striving to do them honour and thee glory; never to seek my own praise; never to delight in it when it is offered; that despising my self I may be accepted by thee in the honours with which thou shalt crown thy humble and despised servants for Jesus's sake in the kingdom of eternal glory. Amen.

Acts of Humility and modesty by way of prayer and meditation.

1.

Lord I know that my spirit is light and thorny, my body is
bruitish and exposed to sickness; I am constant to folly, and
inconstant in holy purposes: My labours are vain and fruitless;
my fortune full of change and trouble, seldom pleasing, never
perfect: My wisdom is folly; being ignorant even of the parts
and passions of my own body: and what am I, O Lord, before thee,
but a miserable person, hugely in debt, not able to pay?

2.

Lord I am nothing, and I have nothing of myself, I am
lesser than the least of all thy mercies.

3.

What was I before my birth? First nothing, and then
What in my youth? Folly still and passion, lust and wildness.
What in my whole life? A great sinner, a deceived and abused
person. Lord pity me, for it is thy goodness that I am kept
from confusion and amazement when I consider the misery and shame
of my person, and the defilements of my nature.

4.

Lord what am I, and Lord what art thou? What is man that
thou art mindful of him, and the son of Man that thou so
regardest him?
How can Man be justified with God? or how can he be clean that is born of a Woman? Behold even to the Moon and it shineth not, yea the Stars are not pure in his sight. How much lesse Man that is a Worm, and the son of Man which is a Worm?

A Prayer, for a contented spirit, and the grace of moderation and patience.

O Almighty God, Father and Lord of all the Creatures, who hast disposed all things and all chances so as may best glorifie thy wisdom, and serve the ends of thy justice, and magnifie thy mercy, by secret and undiscernable wayes bringing good out of evil; I most humbly beseech thee to give me wisdom from above that I may adore thee and admire thy wayes, and footsteps which are in the great Deep and not to be searched out; teach me to submit to thy providence in all things, to be content in all changes of person and condition, to be temperate in prosperity, and to reade my duty in the lines of thy mercy, and in adversity to be meek, patient and resigned, and to look through the cloud, that I may wait for the consolation of the Lord, and the day of redemption; in the mean time doing my duty with an unwearied diligence, and an undisturbed resolution, having no fondnesse for the vanities or possessions of this World, but laying up my hopes in Heaven and the rewards of holy living, and being strengthened with the Spirit in the inner man, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
CHAPTER III

Of Christian Justice.

Justice is by the Christian Religion enjoyned in all its parts by these two propositions in Scripture. Whatever you would that men should do to you, even so do to them. This is the measure of a commutative justice, or of that justice which supposes exchange of things profitable, for things profitable: that as I supply your need, you may supply mine, as I do a benefit to you, I may receive one by you: and because every man may be injured by another, therefore his security shall depend upon mine: if he will not let me be safe, he shall not be safe himself, (only the manner of his being punished, is upon great reason both by God and all the World taken from particulars, and committed to a publick disinterested person, who will do justice without passion, both to him and to me.) If he refuses to do me advantage, he shall receive none when his needs require it. And thus God gave necessities to men, that all men might need; and several abilities to severall persons, that each Man might help to supply the publick needs, and by joyning to fill up all wants, they may be knit together by justice, as the parts of the world are by nature: and he hath made us all obnoxious to injuries, and made every little thing strong enough to do us hurt by some instrument or other; and hath given us all a sufficient stock of self love, and desire of self preservation, to be as the chain to tye
together all the parts of society, and to restrain us from doing violence, lest we be violently dealt with all our selves.

The other part of justice is commonly called distributive, and is commanded in this rule, Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custome to whom custome, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another. This justice is distinguished from the first, because the obligation depends not upon contract or express bargain, but passes upon us by vertue of some command of God, or of our Superior, by nature or by grace, by piety or religion, by trust or by office, according to that Commandment: As every man hath received the gift, so let him minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. And as the first considers an equality of persons in respect of the contract or particular necessity: this supposes a difference of persons, and no particular bargains, but such necessary entercourses, as by the Laws of God or man are introduced. But I shall reduce all the particulars of both kindes to these four heads. 1. Obedience. 2. Provision. 3. Negotiation. 4. Restitution.
Of Obedience to our Superiours.

Our Superiours are set over us in affairs of the World, or the affairs of the Soul, and things pertaining to Religion, and are called accordingly, Ecclesiastical or Civil. Towards whom our duty is thus generally described in the new Testament. For Temporall or Civill Governours the Commands are these. Render to Caesar the things that are Caesars and Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: For there is no power but of God: The powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation and Put them in minde to be subject to principalities and powers and to obey Magistrates and Submit your selves to every ordinance of man, for the Lords sake; whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well.

For Spiritual or Ecclesiastical governours thus we are commanded. Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account and Hold such in reputation and to this end did I write that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things said S. Paul to the Church of Corinth. Our duty is reducible to practise by the following rules.
Acts and duties of Obedience
to all our Superiours.

1. We must obey all humane laws appointed and constituted by lawful Authority, that is, of the supreme power, according to the constitution of the place in which we live: all laws I mean, which are not against the law of God.

2. In obedience to humane laws we must observe the letter of the Law where we can without doing violence to the reason of the Law, and the intention of the Law-giver: but where they crosse each other, the charity of the Law is to be preferred before its discipline, and the reason of it before the letter.

3. If the general reason of the Law ceases in our particular, and a contrary reason rises upon us, we are to procure dispensation, or leave to omit the observation of it in such circumstances; if there be any persons or office appointed for granting it: but if there be none, or if it is not easily to be had, or not without an inconvenience greater than the good of the observation of the Law in our particular, we are dispensed withall in the nature of the thing, without further processe or trouble.

4. As long as the Law is obligatory, so long our obedience is due; and he that begins a contrary custome without reason, sins: but he that breaks the law when the custom is entred and fixed, is excused, because it is supposed, the legislative power consents, when by not punishing, it suffers disobedience to grow up to a custome.
5. Obedience to humane laws must be for conscience sake: that is, because in such obedience publick order, and charity, and benefit is concerned: and because the Law of God commands us, therefore we must make a conscience in keeping the just Laws of Superiours: and although the matter before the making of the Law was indifferent, yet now the obedience is not indifferent, but next to the Laws of God, we are to obey the Laws of all our Superiours, who the more publick they are, the first they are to be in the order of obedience.

6. Submit to the punishment and censure of the Laws, and seek not to reverse their judgement by opposing, but by submitting, or flying, or silence to passe thorow it, or by it as we can: and although from inferiour Judges we may appeal where the Law permits us, yet we must sit down and rest in the judgement of the Supreme: and if we be wronged, let us complain to God of the injury, not of the persons, and he will deliver thy soul from unrighteous Judges.

7. Do not believe thou has kept the Law, when thou hast suffered the punishment. For although patiently to submit to the power of the sword, be a part of obedience, yet this is such a part as supposes another left undone: and the Law punishes, not because she is as well pleased in taking vengeance, as in being obeyed, but because she is displeased, she uses punishment as a means to secure obedience for the future, or in others. Therefore although in such cases the Law is satisfied, and the injury, and the injustice is paid for, yet the sins of irreligion, and scandal, and disobedience to God must still be so accounted for, as to crave
pardon, and be washed off by repentence.

8. Humane Laws are not to be broken with scandal, nor at all without reason; for he that does it causelessly is a despiser of the Law, and undervalues the Authority. For humane Laws differ from divine Laws principally in this: 1. That the positive commands of a man may be broken upon smaller, and more reasons then the positive commands of God: we may upon a smaller reason omit to keep any of the fasting dayes of the Church, then omit to give alms to the poor: onely this, the reason must bear weight according to the gravity and concernment of the Law; a Law in a small matter may be omitted for a small reason, in a great matter not without a greater reason. And 2. The negative precepts of men may cease by many instruments, by contrary customs, by publck disrelish, by long omission: but the negative precepts of God never can cease, but when they are expressly abrogated by the same Authority. But what those reasons are that can dispence with the command of a man, a man may be his own Judge, and sometimes take his proportions from his own reason and necessity, sometimes from publick fame, and the practise of pious and severe persons, and from popular customs, in which a man shall walk most safely, when he does not walk alone, but a spiritual man takes him by the hand.

9. We must not be too forward in procuring dispensations: nor use them any longer then the reason continues for which we first procured them: for to be dispensed withall is an argument of natural infirmity, if it be necessary; but if it be not, it
signifies an indisciplined and unmortified spirit.

10. We must not be too busie in examining the prudence and unreasonableness of humane Laws: for although we are not bound to believe them all to be the wisest, yet if by enquiring into the lawfulness of them, or by any other instrument we finde them to fail of that wisdom with which some others are ordained, yet we must never make use of it to disparage the person of the Law-giver, or to countenance any mans disobedience, much lesse our own.

11. Pay that reverence to the person of thy Prince, of his Ministers, of thy Parents and spiritual Guides, which by the customs of the place thou livest in are usually paid to such persons in their several degrees: that is, that the highest reverence be paid to the highest person, and so still in proportion: and that this reverence be expressed in all the circumstances and manners of the city and nation.

12. Lift not up thy hand against thy Prince or Parent upon what pretence soever: but bear all personal affronts and inconveniences at their hands, and seek no remedy but by patience, and piety, yielding and praying, or absenting thy self.

13. Speak not evil of the Ruler of thy people, neither Curse thy Father or Mother, nor revile thy spiritual Guides, nor discover and lay naked their infirmities: but treat them with reverence and religion, and preserve their Authority sacred by esteeming their persons venerable.
14. Pay tribute and customs to Princes according to the Laws: and maintenance to thy Parents according to their necessity: and honourable support to the Clergy according to the dignity of the work, and the customs of the place.

15. Remember always that duty to our Superiors is not an act of commutative justice, but of distributive: That is, although Kings and Princes and spiritual Guides are to pay a great duty to their Inferiors, the duty of their several charges and government: yet the good government of a King and of Parents are actions of Religion, as they relate to God, and of Piety as they relate to their people and families. And although we usually call them just Princes who administer their Laws exactly to the people, because the actions are in the matter of justice, yet in propriety of speech, they are rather to be called Pious, and Religious.

For as he is not called a just Father that educates his children well, but pious; so that Prince who defends and well rules his people, is Religious, and does that duty for which alone he is answerable to God. The consequence of which is this, so far as concerns our duty: If the Prince or Parent fail of their duty, we must not fail of ours: for we are answerable to them and to God too; as being accountable to all our Superiors, and so are they to theirs: they are above us, and God is above them.
Remedies against disobedience:
and means to endear our obedience by way
of consideration.

1. Consider that all authority descends from God, and our Superiours bear the image of the Divine Power, which God imprints on them as on an image of clay, or a coin upon a lesse perfect metal, which who so defaces, shall not be answerable for the losse or spoil of the materials, but the effacing of the Kings Image, and in the same measure will God require it at our hands, if we despise his authority upon whomsoever he hath imprinted it. He that despiseth you, despiseth me. And Dathan and Abiram were said to be gathered together against the Lord. And that was S. Pauls argument for our obedience. The powers that be, are ordained of God.

2. There is very great peace and immunity from sin in resigning our wils up to the command of others: for provided that our duty to God be secured, their commands are warrants to us in all things else; and the case of conscience is determined, if the command be evident and pressing: and it is certain, the action that is but indifferent, and without reward, if done onely upon our own choice, is an act of duty and of religion, and rewardable by the grace and favour of God, if done in obedience to the command of our Superiours. For since naturally we desire what is forbidden us, and (sometimes there is no other evil in the thing, but that it is forbidden us) God hath in grace enjoyed and proportionably accepts obedience as being directly opposed to
the former irregularity, and it is acceptable, although there
be no other good in the thing that is commanded us, but that it
is commanded.

3. By obedience we are made a society and a republick, and
distinguished from herds of Beasts, and heaps of Flyes, who do what
they list, and are incapable of Laws, and obey none, and therefore
are killed and destroyed, though never punished, and they never
can have a reward.

4. By obedience we are rendered capable of all the blessings
of government, signified by Saint Paul in these words, *He is
the Minister of God to thee for good, and by Saint Peter in
these, *Governours are sent by him for the punishment of evill
doers, and for the praise of them that do well. And he that
ever felt, or saw, or can understand the miseries of confusion
in publick affaires, or amazement in a heap of sad, tumultous, and
indefinite thoughts, may from thence judge of the admirable effects
or order, and the beauty of Government. What health is to the
body, and peace is to the Spirit, that is Government to the
societies of Men, the greatest blessing which they can receive
in the temporal capacity.

5. No Man shall ever be fit to govern others that knows not
first how to obey. For if the spirit of a Subject be rebellious,
in a Prince it will be tyrannical and intolerable, and of so ill
example, that as it will encourage the disobedience of others, so
it will render it unreasonable for him to exact of others, what in
the like case he refused to pay.
6. There is no sin in the World which God hath punisht with so great severity and high detestation as this of disobedience. For the crime of Idolatory God sent the Sword amongst his people, but it was never heard that the Earth opened and swallowed up any but Rebels against their Prince.

7. Obedience is better then the particular actions of Religion, and he serves GOD better that followes his Prince in lawful services, then he that refuses his command upon pretence hee must goe say his prayers. But Rebellion is compared to that sin which of all sins seems the most unnatural and damned impiety. Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft.

8. Obedience is a complicated act of vertue, and many graces are exercised in one act of obedience. It is an act of Humility, of mortification and self-denial, of charity to God, of care of the publick, or order and charity to our selves and all our society, and a great instance of a victory over the most refractory and unruly passions.

9. To be a Subject is a greater temporal felicity then to be a King: for all eminent Governments according to their height have a great burden, huge care, infinite businesse, little rest, innumerable fears, and all that he enjoys above another is, that hee does enjoy the things of the World with other circumstances, and a bigger noise; and if others go at his single command, it is also certain he must suffer inconvenience at the needs and disturbances of all his people: and the evils of one man, and of one family are not enough for him to bear, unlesse also he be
almost crushed with the evils of mankind. He therefore is an
ingrateful person that will press the scales down with a voluntary
load, and by disobedience put more thorns into the Crown or Mitre
of his Superior. Much better is the advice of S. Paul, Obey
them that have the rule over you, as they that must give an
account for your souls, that they may do it with joy and not with
grief: for (besides that it is unpleasant to them) it is
unprofitable for you.

10. The Angels are ministering spirits and perpetually
execute the will and commandment of God: and all the wise men and
all the good men of the world are obedient to their Governors,
and the eternal Son of God esteemed it his Meat and drink to do
the will of his Father, and for his obedience alone obtained the
greatest glory: and no man ever came to perfection but by obedience:
and thousands of Saints have chosen such institutions and manners
of living, in which they might not choose their own work, nor
follow their own will, nor please themselves, but be accountable
to others, and subject to discipline, and obedient to command, as
knowing this to be the highway of the Cross, the way that the
King of sufferings and humility did choose, and so became the
King of Glory.

11. No man ever perished who followed first the will of
God, and then the will of his Superiors: but thousands have been
damned meerly for following their own will, and relying upon their
own judgements, and choosing their own work, and doing their
own fancies: For if we begin with our selves, whatsoever seems
good in our eyes, is most commonly displeasing in the eyes of
God.
12. The sin of Rebellion, though it be a spiritual sin and imitable by Devils, yet it is of that disorder, unreasonableness and impossibility amongst intelligent spirits, that they never murmured or mutinied in their lower stations against their Superiours. Nay, the good Angels of an inferiour Order durst not revile a Devil of a higher Order. This consideration which I reckon to be most pressing in the discourses of reason and obliging next to the necessity of a Divine precept, we learn from S. Jude: Likewise also these filthy dreamers despise dominion and speak evil of dignities: And yet Michael the Archangel, when contending with the Devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation.

But because our Superiours rule by their example, by their word or law, and by the rod, therefore in proportion there are several degrees and parts of obedience, of several excellencies and degrees towards perfection.

Degrees of Obedience.

1. The first is the obedience of the outward works and this is all that Humane Lawes of themselves regard; for because Man cannot judge the heart, therefore it prescribes nothing to it: the publick end is served not by good wishes, but by real and actual performances; and if a Man obeys against his will he is not punishable by the Laws.

2. The obedience of the will, and this is also necessary in our obedience to Humane Lawes, not because man requires it for
himself, but because God commands it towards Man; and of it (although Man cannot, yet) God will demand account. For we are to do it as to the Lord and not to men; and therefore we must do it willingly. But by this means our obedience in private is secured against secret arts and subterfuges; and when we can avoid the punishment, yet we shall not decline our duty, but serve man for God's sake, that is, cheerfully, promptly, vigorously, for these are the proper parts of willingness and choice.

3. The understanding must yield obedience in general, though not in the particular instance; that is, we must be firmly persuaded of the excellency of the obedience, though we be not bound in all cases to think the particular Law to be most prudent. But in this, our rule is plain enough. Our understanding ought to be inquisitive whether the civil constitution agree with our duty to God; but we are bound to inquire no further; And therefore beyond this, although he, who having no obligation to it (as Counsellours have) inquires not at all into the wisdome or reasonableness of the Law, be not always the wisest Man, yet he is ever the best Subject. For when he hath given up his understanding to his Prince and Prelate, provided that his duty to God be secured by a precedent search, hath also with the best, and with all the instruments in the World secured his obedience to Man.
SECTION 2

Of Provision, or that part of Justice
which is due from Superiours to Inferiours.

As God hath imprinted his authority in several parts upon several estates of Men, as Princes, Parents, Spiritual Guides, so he hath also delegated and committed parts of his care and providence unto them, that they may be instrumental in the conveying such blessings which God knowes we need, and which hee intends should be the effects of Government. For since GOD governes all the World as a King, provides for us as a Father, and is the great Guide and Conductor of our spirits as the Head of the Church, and the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, they who have portions of these dignities, have also their share of the administration: the sum of all which is usually signified in these two words Governing and Feeding and is particularly recited in the following rules.

Duties of Kings and all the Supreme power, as Lawgivers.

1. Princes of the people and all that have Legislative power must provide useful and good Lawes for the defence of propriety, for the encouragement of labour, for the safeguard of their persons, for determining controversies, for reward of noble
actions, and excellent arts and rare inventions, for promoting trade, and enriching their people.

2. In the making Lawes Princes must have regard to the publick dispositions, to the affections and disaffections of the people; and must not introduce a Law with publick scandal and displeasure: but consider the publick benefit, and the present capacity of affairs and general inclinations of mens mindes. For he that enforces a Law upon a people against their first and publick apprehensions tempts them to disobedience, and makes Lawes to become snares and hooks to catch the people, and to enrich the treasury with the spoils and tears and curses of the Communalty, and to multiply their mutiny and their sin.

3. Princes must provide that the Lawes be duly executed: for a good Law without execution is like an unperformed promise: and therefore they must be severe executors of accounts from their Delegates and Ministers of Justice.

4. The severity of Lawes must be tempered with dispensations, pardons, and remissions according as the case shall alter, and new necessities be introduced, or some singular accident shall happen, in which the Law would be unreasonable or intolerable as to that particular. And thus the people with their importunity prevailed against Saul in the case of Jonathan, and obtained his pardon for breaking the Law which his Father made, because his necessity forced him to taste honey, and his breaking the Law in that case did promote that service whose promotion was intended by the Law.

5. Princes must be Fathers of the people, and provide such
instances of gentlenesse, ease, wealth, and advantages, as may make mutuall confidence betweene them; and must fix their security under GOD in the love of the people, which therefore they must with all arts of sweetnesse, remission, popularity, noblenesse and sincerity endeavour to secure to themselves.

6. Princes must not multiply publick Oathes without great, eminent, and violent necessity, lest the security of the King become a snare to the people, and they become false when they see themselves suspected, or impatient when they are violently held fast: but the greater and more useful caution is upon things then upon persons; and if security of Kings can be obtained otherwise, it is better that Oathes should be the last refuge, and when nothing else can be sufficient.

7. Let not the people be tempted with arguments to disobey, by the imposition of great and unnecessary taxes: for that lost to the son of Solomon the dominion of the ten Tribes of Israel.

8. Princes must in a sepcial manner bee Guardians of Pupils and Widows, not suffering their persons to be oppressed, or their states imbecilled, or in any sense be exposed to the rapine of covetous persons, but be provided for by just lawes, and provident Judges, and good Guardians, ever having an ear ready open to their just complaints, and a heart full of pity, and one hand to support them, and the other to avenge them.

9. Princes must provide that the Laws may be so administered, that they be truly and really an ease to the people, not an instrument of vexation: and therefore must be careful that the shortest and most
equal wayes of trials be appointed, fees moderated, and intricacies
and windings as much cut off as may bee, lest injured persons
be forced to perish under the oppression, or under the Law, in
the injury or in the suit. Laws are like Princes, those best
and most beloved, who are most easie of accesse.

10. Places of judicature ought at no hand to be sold by
pious Princes, who remember themselves to be Fathers of the
people. —For they that buy the Office will sell the act, and
they that at any rate will be judges, will not at an easie rate
do justice; and their bribery is lesse punishable, when bribery
opened the door by which they entred.

11. Ancient priviledges, favours, customes, and Acts of
grace indulged by former Kings to their people, must not without
high reason and great necessities be revoked by their successours;
nor forfeitures be exacted violently, nor penal Laws urged
rigorously, nor in light cases, nor Lawes be multiplied without
great need, nor vitious persons which are publickly and deservedly
hated, be kept in defiance of popular desires, nor any thing that
may unnecessarily make the yoke heavie, and the affection light,
that may increase murmures, and lessen charity; alwayes remembering,
that the interest of the Prince and the People is so infolded in
a mutual imbrace, that they cannot be untwisted without pulling
a limb off, or dissolving the bands and conjunction of the whole
body.

12. —All Princes must esteem themselves as much bound by
their word, by their grants, and by their promises, as the meanest
of their Subjects are by the restraint and penalty of Laws: and although they are superiour to the people, yet they are not superiour to their own voluntary concessions and ingagements, their promises and Oathes, when once they are passed from them.

The Duty of Superiours as they are Judges.

1. Princes in judgement, and their Delegate Judges must judge the causes of all persons uprightly and impartially, without any personal consideration of the power of the mighty, or the bribe of the rich, or the needs of the poor. For although the poor must fare no worse for his poverty, yet in justice he must fare no better for it: And although the rich must be no more regarded, yet he must not be lesse. And to this purpose the Tutor of Cyrus instructed him, when in a controversie where a great Boy would have taken a large coat from a little Boy because his own was too little for him, and the others was too big, hee adjudged the great coat to the great Boy: his Tutor answered, Sir, If you were made a Judge of decency or fitnesse, you had judged well in giving the biggest to the biggest: but when you were appointed Judge, not whom the coat did fit, but whose it was, you should have considered the title, and the possession, who did the violence, and who made it, or who bought it? And so it be in judgements between the rich and the poor: it is not to be considered what the poor Man needs, but what is his own.

2. A Prince may not, much lesse may inferiour Judges deny
justice when it is legally and competently demanded: and if the
Prince will use his Prerogative in pardoning an offender against
whom justice is required, he must be careful to give satisfaction
to the injured person, or his Relatives by some other instrument;
and be watchful to take away the scandal, that is, lest such
indulgence might make persons more bold to do injury: and if hee
spares the life, let him change the punishment into that which
may make the offender (if not suffer justice, yet) do justice,
and more real advantage to the injured person.

These rules concern Princes and their Delegates in the making
or administering Laws, in the appointing rules of justice and doing
acts of judgement. The duty of Parents to their Children and
Nephews is briefly described by S. Paul.

The Duty of Parents to their Children.

1. Fathers provoke not your Children to wrath, that is,
be tender boweld, pitiful and gentle, complying with all the
affirmities of the Children; and in their several ages proportioning
to them several usages according to their needs and their
capacities.

2. Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,
that is, secure their religion, season their younger years with
prudent and pious principles, make them in love with vertue, and
make them habitually so, before they come to choose or to discern
good from evil, that their choice may be with lesse difficulty and
danger. For while they are under discipline, they suck in all that
they are first taught, and believe it infinitely. Provide for them, wise, learned and vertuous Tutors, and good company and discipline, seasonable baptisim, catechism and confirmation. For it is a great folly to heap up much wealth for our Children, and not to take care concerning the Children for whom we get it. It is as if a man should take more care about his shooe then about his foot.

3. Parents must shew piety at home, that is, they must give good example and reverent deportment, in the face of their children; and all those instances of charity, which usually endear each other; sweetnesse of conversation, affability, frequent admonition, all significations of love and tendernesse, care and watchfulness must be expressed towards Children, that they may look upon their Parents as their friends and patrons, their defence and sanctuary, their treasure and their Guide. Hither is to be reduced the nursing of Children, which is the first and most natural and necessary instance of piety, which Mothers can shew to their Babes; a dutie from which nothing will excuse, but a disability, sickness, danger, or publick necessitie.

4. Parents must provide for their own according to their condition, education, and imployment; called by S. Paul, a laying up for the Children, that is, an enabling them by competent portions, or good trades, arts or learning to defend themselves against the chances of the world, that they may not be exposed to temptation, to beggery, or unworthy arts: and although this must be done without covetousnesse, without impatient and greedy desires of making them rich, yet it must be done with much care, and great affection, with
all reasonable provision, and according to our power: and if we can without sin improve our estates for them, that also is part of the duty we owe to God for them: and this rule is to extend to all that descend from us, although we have been overtaken in a fault, and have unlawful issue; they also become part of our care, yet so as not to injure the production of the lawful bed.

5. This duty is to extend to a provision of conditions and an estate of life. Parents must according to their power and reason provide Husbands or Wives for their children. In which they must secure piety and Religion, and the affection and love of the interested persons; and after these, let them make what provisions they can for other conveniences or advantages: Ever remembering that they can do no injury more afflictive to the children then to joyn them with cords of a disagreeing affection: It is like tying a Wolf and a Lamb, or planting the Vine in a Garden of Coleworts. Let them be persuaded with reasonable inducements to make them willing and to choose according to the parents wish, but at no hand let them be forced. Better to sit up all night, then to go to bed with a Dragon.

The Duty of Husbands, etc.

See Chapt. 2. Sect. 3. Rules for married persons.

1. Husbands must give to their wives, love, maintenance, duty, and the sweetneses of conversation (and wives must pay to them all they have, or can with the interest of obedience and
reverence) and they must be complicated in affections and interest, that there be no distinction between them of Mine and Thine: And if the title be the mans, or the womans, yet the use must be common, onely the wisdom of the man is to regulate all extravagancies and indiscretions: in other things, no question is to be made; and their goods should be as their children not to be divided, but of one possession and provision: whatsoever is otherwise is not marriage but merchandise. And upon this ground I suppose it was, that \( ^{b} \) S. Basil commended that woman, who took part of her Husbands goods to do good works withall: for supposing him to be unwilling, and that the work was his duty, or hers alone, or both theirs in conjunction, or of great advantage to either of their souls, and no violence to the support of their families, she hath right to all that: And Abigail of her own right made a costly present to David, when her husband Nabal had refused it. \( ^{c} \) The Husband must rule over his wife, as the soul does over the body, obnoxious to the same sufferings, and bound by the same affections, and doing or suffering by the permissions and interest of each other: that (as the \( ^{d} \) old philosopher said) as the humours of the body are mingled with each other in their whole substances: so marriage may be a mixture of interests, of bodies, of mindes, of friends, a conjunction of the whole life, and the noblest of friendships. But if after all the fair deportments, and innocent chast complyances the Husband be morose and ungentle, \( ^{e} \) let the Wife discourse thus: If while I do my duty my Husband neglects me, what will he do if I neglect him? And if she thinks to be
separated by reason of her husbands unchast life, let her consider, that then the man will be uncurably ruined, and her Rivals could wish nothing more then that they might possesse him alone.

The Duty of Masters of Families.

1. The same care is to extend to all of our family in their proportions as to our Children: for as by S. Pauls oeconomy the Heir differs nothing from a servant while he is in minority: so a servant should differ nothing from a childe in the substantial part of the care; and the difference is onely in degrees: Servants and Masters are of the same kinred, of the same nature, and heirs of the same promises, and therefore 1. must be provided of necessaries for their support and maintenance. 2. They must be used with mercy. 3. Their work must be tolerable and merciful. 4. Their restraints must be reasonable. 5. Their recreations fitting and healthful. 6. Their religion and the interest of souls taken care of. 7. And Masters must correct their servants with gentlenesse, prudence and mercy, not for every slight fault, not alwayes, not with upbraiding and disgraceful language, but with such onely as may expresse and reprove the fault. and amend the person. But in all these things measures are to be taken by the contract made, by the Laws and Customs of the place, by the sentence of prudent and merciful men, and by the cautions and remembrances given us by God, such as is that written by S. Paul, as knowing that we also have a Master in Heaven. The Master must not be a lyon in his house, lest his power be obeyed, and his person hated;
his eye be wayted on, and his businesse be neglected in secret.
No servant will do his duty unless he make a conscience, or love
his Master: if he does it not for Gods sake or his masters, he
will not need to do it always for his own.

The Duty of Guardians, or Tutors.

Tutors and Guardians are in the place of Parents, and what
they are in fiction of Law, they must remember as an argument
to enage them to do in reality of duty. They must do all the
duty of Parents, excepting those obligations which are merely
natural.

The duty of Ministers and Spiritual Guides to the people is
of so great burden, so various rules, so intricate and
busie caution, that it requires a distinct tractate
by it self.
SECTION 3

Of Negotiation, or Civil Contracts.

This part of Justice is such as depends upon the Laws of Man directly, and upon the Laws of God onely by consequence and indirect reason: and from civil Laws or private agreements it is to take its estimates and measures: and although our duty is plain and easy, requiring of us honesty in contracts, sincerity in affirming, simplicity in bargaining, and faithfulnesse in performing, yet it may be helped by the addition of these following rules and considerations.

Rules and measures of justice in bargaining.

1. In making contracts use not many words; for all the businesse of a bargain is summed up in few sentences: and he that speaks least, means fairest, as having fewer opportunities to deceive.

2. Lye not at all, neither in a little thing nor in a great, neither in the substance nor in the circumstance, neither in word nor deed: that is, pretend not what is false, cover not what is true, and let the measure of your affirmation or denial be the understanding of your contractor: for he that deceives the buyer or the seller by speaking what is true in a sense not intended or understood by the other, is a lyar and a thief. For in bargains you are to avoid not onely what is false, but that also which deceives.
3. In prices of bargaining concerning uncertain Merchandizes you may buy as cheap ordinarily as you can, and sell as dear as you can, so it be 1. without violence, and 2. when you contract on equal terms, with persons in all senses (as to the matter and skill of bargaining) equal to your self, that is, Merchants with Merchants, wise men with wise men, rich with rich: and 3. when there is no deceit, and no necessity, and no Monopoly: For in these cases, viz. when the Contractors are equal, and no advantage on either side, both parties are voluntary, and therefore there can be no injustice or wrong to either. But then adde also this consideration, that the publick bee not oppressed by unreasonable and unjust rates: for which the following rules are the best measure.

4. Let your prices be according to that measure of good and evil which is established in the fame and common accounts of the wisest and most merciful Men skilled in that manufacture or commodity; and the gain such which without scandal is allowed to persons in all the same circumstances.

5. Let no prices be heightned by the necessity or unskilfulness of the contractor; for the first is direct uncharitableness to the person, and injustice in the thing (because the Mans necessity could not naturally enter into the consideration of the value of the commodity) and the other is deceit and oppression: much lesse must any Man make necessities; as by ingrossing a commodity, by monopoly, by detaining corn, or the like indirect arts: for such persons are unjust to all single persons with whom in such cases they contract, and
oppressors of the publick.

6. In intercourse with others do not do all which you may lawfully do; but keep something within thy power: and because there is a latitude of gain in buying and selling, take not thou the utmost peny that is lawfull, or which thou thinkest so; for although it be lawful, yet it is not safe; and he that gains all that he can gain lawfully this year, possibly next year will be tempted to gain something unlawfully.

7. He that sels dearer by reason he sels not for ready money, must increase his price no higher then to make himself recompence for the losse which according to the Rules of trade he sustained by his forbearance, according to common computation, reckoning in also the hazard, which he is prudently, warily, and charitably to estimate: But although this be the measure of his justice, yet because it happens either to their friends, or to necessitous and poor persons, they are in these cases to consider the rules of friendship and neighborhood, and the obligations of charity, lest justice turn into unmercifulnesse.

8. No man is to be raised in his price or rents in regard of any accident, advantage or disadvantage of his person. A Prince must be used conscionably as well as a common person, and a Beggar be treated justly as well as a Prince; with this onely difference, that to poor persons the utmost measure and extent of justice is unmerciful, which to a rich person is innocent, because it is just, and he needs not thy mercy and remission.

9. Let no Man for his own poverty become more oppressing and
cruel in his bargain, but quietly, modestly, diligently, and patiently recommend his estate to God, and follow its interest and leave the success to him: for such courses will more probably advance his trade, they will certainly procure him a blessing, and a recompense, and if they cure not his poverty, they will take away the evil of it: and there is nothing else in it that can trouble him.

10. Detain not the wages of the hireling: for every degree of detention of it beyond the time is injustice, and uncharitableness, and grinds his face till tears and blood come out: but pay him exactly according to Covenant, or according to his needs.

11. Religiously keep all promises and Covenants, though made to your disadvantage, though afterwards you perceive you might have been better: and let not any precedent act of yours be altered by any after-accident. Let nothing make you break your promise, unless it be unlawful or impossible, that is, either out of your natural, or out of your civil power, your self being under the power of another; or that it be intolerably inconvenient to your self, and of no advantage to another; or that you have leave expressed, or reasonably presumed.

12. Let no Man take wages or fees for a work that he cannot do, or cannot with probability undertake, or in some sense profitably, and with ease, or with advantage manage: Physicians must not meddle with desperate diseases, and known to be incurable, without declaring their sense before hand; that if the patient please he may entertain him at adventure,
or to do him some little ease. Advocates must deal plainly with their Clients, and tell them the true state and danger of their case; and must not pretend confidence in an evil cause: but when he hath so cleared his own innocence; if the Client will have collateral and legal advantages obtained by his industry, he may engage his endeavour, provided he do no injury to the right cause, or any Mans person.

13. Let no Man appropriate to his own use what God by a special mercy, or the Republick hath made common; for that is both against Justice and Charity too: and by miraculous accidents God hath declared his displeasure against such inclosures. When the Kings of Naples enclosed the Gardens of Oenotria, where the best Manna of Calabria descends, that no man might gather it without paying tribute; the Manna ceased, till the tribute was taken off; and then it came again, and so till after the third trial, the Princes found they could not have that in proper which GOD made to be common, they left it as free as GOD gave it. The like hapned in Epire when Lysimachus laid an impost upon the Tragasaean Salt, it vanished, till Lysimachus left it publick. And when the procurators of King Antigonus imposed a rate upon the sick people that came to Edepsum to drink the waters which were lately sprung and were very healthful, instantly the waters dried up, and the hope of gain perished.

The summe of all is in these words of Saint Paul, Let no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter; because the Lord is the avenger of all such and our blessed Saviour in the enumerating the duties of justice, besides the Commandement of
Do not steal adds Defraud not forbidding (as a distinct explication of the old Law) the tacite and secret theft of abusing our Brother in Civil Contracts. And it needs no other arguments to enforce this caution, but only, that the Lord hath undertaken to avenge all such persons: And as he alwayes does it in the great day of recompences: so very often he does it here, by making the unclean portion of injustice to be as a Cankerworm eating up all the other increase: it procures beggary, and a declining estate, or a caytive, cursed spirit, an ill name, the curse of the injured and oppressed person, and a Fool or a Prodigal to be his Heir.
SECTION 4

Of Restitution.

Restitution is that part of Justice to which a man is obliged by a precedent contract or a foregoing fault, by his own act, or another mans, either with, or without his will. He that borrows is bound to pay, and much more he that steals or cheats. For if he that borrows and payes not when he is able be an unjust person, and a robber, because he possesses another mans goods to the right owners prejudice: then, he that took them at first without leave is the same thing in every instant of his possession, which the Debter is after the time in which he should and could have made payment. For in all sins we are to distinguish the transient or passing act from the remaining effect or evil. The act of stealing was soon over, and cannot be undone, and for it the sinner is onely answerable to God, or his Viceregent, and he is in a particular manner appointed to expiate it, by suffering punishment, and repenting, and asking pardon, and judging and condemning himself, doing acts of justice and charity in opposition and contradiction to that evil action. But because in the case of stealing there is an injury done to our neighbour, and the evil still remains after the action is past, therefore for this we are accountable to our neighbour, and we are to take the evil off from him which we brought upon him, or else he is an injured person, a sufferer all the while: and that any man should be the worse for me and my
direct act, and by my intention, is against the rule of equity, of justice and of charity; I do not that to others which I would have done to my self, for I grow richer upon the ruines of his fortune. Upon this ground, it is a determined rule in Divinity,

Our sin can never be pardoned till we have restored what we unjustly took, or wrongfully detain: restored it (I mean) actually, or in purpose and desire, which we must really perform when we can: and this doctrine, besides its evident and apparent reasonableness, is derived from the expresse words of Scripture, reckoning Restitution to be a part of Repentance, necessary in order to the remission of our sins. If the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, etc. he shall surely live, he shall not dye.

The practise of this part of justice is to be directed by the following Rules.

Rules of making Restitution.

1. Whosoever is an effective, real cause of doing his Neighbour wrong, by what instrument soever he does it, (whether by commanding or incouraging it, by counselling or commending it, by acting it, or not hindering it when he might and ought, by concealing it, or receiving it) is bound to make restitution to his Neighbour; if without him the injury had not been done, but by him, or his assistance it was. For by the same reason that every one of these is guilty of the sin, and is cause of the injury, by the same they are bound to make reparation; because by him his Neighbour is made worse, and therefore is to be put
into that state from whence he was forced. And suppose that thou hast persuaded an injury to be done to thy Neighbour, which others would have persuaded if thou hadst not, yet thou art still obliged, because thou really didst cause the injury; just as they had been obliged if they had done it; and thou art not at all the lesse bound by having persons as ill inclined as thou wert.

2. He that commanded the injury to be done, is first bound: then, he that did it; and after these they also are obliged who did so assist, as without them the thing would not have been done. If satisfaction be made by any of the former, the latter is tyed to repentance, but no restitution: But if the injured person be not righted, every one of them is wholly guilty of the injustice, and therefore bound to restitution singlely and intirely.

3. Whosoever intends a little injury to his Neighbour, and acts it, and by it a greater evil accidentally comes, he is obliged to make an intire reparation of all the injurie, of that which he intended, and of that which he intended not, but yet acted by his own instrument, going further then he at first purposed it. He that set fire on a plane Tree to spite his Neighbour, and the plane Tree set fire upon his Neighbours House, is bound to pay for all the losse, because it did all arise from his own ill intention. It is like murder committed by a drunken person, involuntary in some of the effect, but voluntary in the other parts of it, and in all the cause, and therefore the guilty person is answerable for all of it. And when Ariarathes the
Cappadocian King had but in wantonesse stopped the mouth of the river Melanus, although he intended no evil, yet Euphrates being swelled by that means, and bearing away some of the strand of Cappadocia did great spoil to the Phrygians and Galatians, he therefore by the Roman Senate was condemned in three hundred talents towards reparation of the damage. Much rather therefore when the lesser part of the evil was directly intended.

4. He that hinders a charitable person from giving alms to a poor man is tyed to restitution, if he hindered him by fraud or violence. Because it was a right which the poor man had when the good man had designed and resolved it; and the fraud or violence hinders the effect, but not the purpose, and therefore he who used the deceit or the force is injurious, and did damage to the poor man. But if the alms were hindered onely by intreaty, the hinderer is not tyed to restitution, because intreaty took not liberty away from the giver, but left him still Master of his own act, and he had power to alter his purpose, and so long there was no injustice done. The same is the case of a Testator giving a legacy either by kindenesse, or by promise and common right. He that hinders the charitable Legacy by fraud or violence, or the due Legacy by intreaty is equally obliged to restitution. The reason of the latter part of this case is, because he that intreats or perswades to a sin is as guity as he that acts it: and if without his perswasion the sin and the injury would not be acted, he is in his kinde the intire cause, and therefore obliged to repair the injury as much as the person that does the wrong
5. He that refuses to do any part of his duty (to which he is otherwise obliged) without a bribe, is bound to restore that money, because he took it in his Neighbours wrong, and not as a salary for his labour, or a reward of his wisdom (for his stipend hath paid all that, or) he hath obliged himself to do it by his voluntary undertaking.

6. He that takes any thing from his Neighbour which was justly forfeited, but yet takes it not as a Minister of Justice, but to satisfy his own revenge or avarice, is tied to repentance but not to restitution. For my Neighbour is not the worse for my act, for thither the Law and his own demerits bore him, but because I took the forfeiture indirectly I am answerable to God, for my unhandsome, unjust, or uncharitable circumstances. Thus Philip of Macedon was reproved by Aristides for destroying the Phocenses; because although they deserved it, yet he did it not in prosecution of the law of Nations, but to enlarge his own dominions.

7. The heir of an obliged person is not bound to make restitution, if the obligation passed onely by a personal act: but if it passed from his person to his estate, then the estate passes with all its burden. If the Father by persuading his neighbour to do injustice be bound to restore, the action is extinguished by the death of the Father; because it was onely the Fathers sin that bound him, which cannot directly bind the son; therefore the son is free. And this is so in all personal actions, unlesse where the civil Law interposes and alters the case.
These rules concern the persons that are obliged to make restitution: the other circumstances of it are thus described.

8. He that by fact, or word, or signe, either fraudulently, or violently does hurt to his Neighbours body, life, goods, good name, friends, or soul is bound to make restitution in the several instances, according as they are capable to be made. In all these instances we must separate intreay and inticements from deceit or violence. If I perswade my Neighbour to commit adultery, I still leave him or her in their own power: and though I am answerable to God for my sin, yet not to my Neighbour. For I made her to be willing; yet she was willing, that is, the same at last as I was at first: but if I have used fraud, and made her to believe a lie, upon which confidence she did the act, and without it she would not (as if I tell a woman her Husband is dead, or intended to kill her, or is himself an adulterous man) or if I use violence, that is, either force her or threaten her with death, or a grievous wound, or any thing that takes her from the liberty of her choice, I am bound to restitution, that is, to restore her to a right understanding of things, and to a full liberty, by taking from her the deceit or the violence.

9. An Adulterous person is tyed to restitution of the injury, so far as it is reparable, and can be made to the wronged person; that is, to make provision for the children begotten in unlawful embraces, that they may do no injury to the legitimate by receiving a common portion: and if the injured person do account of it, he must satisfie him with money for the wrong done to his
bed. He is not tied to offer this, because it is no proper exchange, but he is bound to pay it, if it be reasonably demanded: for every man hath justice done him, when himself is satisfied, though by a word, or an action, or a peny.

10. He that hath killed a man is bound to restitution by allowing such a maintenance to the children and near relatives of the deceased as they have lost by his death, considering and allowing for all circumstances of the man's age, and health, and probability of living. And thus Hercules is said to have made expiation for the death of Iphitus whom he slew, by paying a mulct to his children.

11. He that hath really lessened the fame of his neighbour by fraud or violence is bound to restore it by its proper instruments: such as are confession of his fault, giving testimony of his innocence or worth, doing him honour, or (if that will do it, and both parties agree) by money which answers all things.

12. He that hath wounded his neighbour is tied to the expences of the Surgeon and other incidences, and to repair whatever loss he sustains by his disability to work or trade: and the same is in the case of false imprisonment; in which cases only the real effect and remaining detriment are to be mended and repaired: for the action itself is to be punished or repented of, and enters not into the question of restitution. But in these and all other cases the injured person is to be restored to that perfect and good condition from which he was
removed by my fraud or violence, so far as is possible. Thus a ravisher must repair the temporal detriment or injury done to the maid, and give her a dowry, or marry her if she desire it. For this restores her into that capacity of being a good wife, which by the injury was lost, as far as it can be done.

13. He that robbeth his Neighbour of his goods, or detains any thing violently or fraudulently, is bound not onely to restore the principall, but all its fruits and emoluments which would have accrued to the right owner during the time of their being detained. By proportion to these rules, we may judge of the obligation that lyes upon all sorts of injurious persons: the sacreligious, the detainers of tithes, cheaters of mens inheritances, unjust Judges, false witnesses and accusers, those that do fraudulently or violently bring men to sin, that force men to drink, that laugh at and disgrace vertue, that perswade servants to run away, or commend such purposes, violent persecutors of religion in any instance; and all of the same nature.

14. He that hath wronged so many, or in that manner (as in the way of daily trade) that he knows not in what measure he hath done it, or who they are; must redeem his fault by alms, and largesses to the poor, according to the value of his wrongful dealing, as neer as he can proportion it. Better it is to go begging to Heaven, then to go to Hell laden with the spoils of rapine and injustice.

15. The order of paying the debts of contract, or restitution,
are in some instances set down by the civil laws of a kingdom, in which cases their rule is to be observed: In destitution or want of such rules, we are 1. to observe the necessity of the Creditor. 2. Then the time of the delay: and 3. The special obligations, of friendship or kindenesse: and according to these in their several degrees, make our restitution, if we be not able to do all that we should: but if we be, the best rule is to do it as soon as we can, taking our accounts in this as in our humane actions, according to prudence, and civil or natural conveniences or possibilities; onely securing these two things. 1. That the duty be not wholly ommitted: and 2. That it be not deferred at all out of covetousnesse, or any other principle that is vitious. \[x\] Remember, that the same day in which Zacheus made restitution to all whom he had injured, the same day Christ himself pronounced that salvation was come to his house.

16. \[x\] But besides the obligation arising from contract or default, there is one of another sort which comes from kindenesse, and the acts of charity and friendship. He that does me a favour hath bound me to make him a return of thankfulnesse. The obligation comes not by covenant, not by his own expresse intention, but by the nature of the thing; and is a duty springing up within the spirit of the obliged person, to whom it is more natural to love his friend, and to do good for good, then to return evil for evil: because a man may forgive an injury, but he must never forget a good turne. For every thing that is excellent, and every thing that is profitable, whatsoever is good in it self or good to me,
cannot but be beloved; and what we love, we naturally cherish and do good to. He therefore that refuses to do good to them whom he is bound to love, or to love that which did him good, is unnatural and monstrous in his affections, and thinks all the world borne to minister to him, with a greedinesse worse then that of the sea, which although it receives all rivers into itself, yet it furnishes the clouds and springs with a return of all they need.

Our duty to benefactors is to esteem and love their persons: to make them proportionable returns of service or duty, or profit, according as we can, or as they need, or as opportunity presents it self, and according to the greatnesses of their kindenesses: and to pray to God to make them recompence for all the good they have done to us; which last office is also requisite to be done for our Creditors, who in charity have relieved our wants.
Ad. Chapter III

Prayers to be said in relation to the several Obligations and Offices of Justice.

A Prayer for the Grace of Obedience:

to be said by all persons under Command.

O Eternal God, Great Ruler of Men and Angels, who has constituted all things in a wonderful order, making all the creatures subject to man, and one man to another, and all to thee, the last link of this admirable chain being fastned to the foot of thy throne: teach me to obey all those whom thou hast set over me, reverencing their persons, submitting indifferently to all their lawful commands, cheerfully undergoing those burdens which the publick wisdom and necessity shall impose upon me; at no hand murmuring against government, lest the Spirit of pride and mutiny, of murmure and disorder enter into me, and consigne me to the portion of the disobedient and rebellious, of the Despisers of dominion, and revilers of dignity. Grant this O Holy God for his sake, who for his obedience to the Father hath obtained the glorification of eternal ages, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Prayers for Kings and all Magistrates, for our Parents spiritual and natural, are in the following Letanies at the end of the fourth Chapter.
A Prayer to be said by Subjects, when their Land is invaded and overrun by barbarous or wicked people, enemies of the Religion, or the Government.

I.

O Eternal God, thou alone rulest in the Kingdoms of men, thou art the great God of battles and recompenses, and by thy glorious wisdom, by thy Almighty power, and by thy secret providence, doest determine the events of war and the issues of humane counsels and the returns of peace and victory, now at last be pleased to let the light of thy countenance, and the effects of a glorious mercy, and a gracious pardon return to this Land. Thou seest how great evils we suffer under the power and tyranny of war, and although we submit to, and adore thy justice in our sufferings, yet be pleased to pity our misery, to hear our complaints, and to provide us of remedy against our present calamities: let not the defenders of a righteous cause go away ashamed, nor our counsels be for ever confounded, nor our parties defeated, nor religion suppressed, nor learning discountenanced, nor us be spoiled of all the exterior ornaments, instruments and advantages of piety, which thou hast been pleased formerly to minister to our infirmities, for the interests of learning and religion. Amen.
II.

We confesse dear God, that we have deserved to be totally extinct and separate from the Communion of Saints, and the comforts of Religion, to be made servants to ignorant, unjust and inferior persons, or to suffer any other calamity which thou shalt allot us as the instrument of thy anger, whom we have so often provoked to wrath and jealousie. Lord we humbly lye down under the burden of thy rod, begging of thee to remember our infirmities, and no more to remember our sins, to support us with thy staff, to lift us up with thy hand, to refresh us with thy gracious eye; and if a sad cloud of temporal infelicities must still encircle us, open unto us the window of Heaven, that with an eye of faith and hope we may see beyond the cloud, looking upon those mercies which in thy secret providence and admirable wisdom thou designest to all thy servants, from such unlikely and sad beginnings. Teach us diligently to do all our duty, and cheerfully to submit to all thy will; and at last be gracious to thy people that call upon thee, that put their trust in thee, that have laid up all their hopes in the bosome of God, that besides thee have no helper. Amen.

III.

Place a guard of Angels about the person of the King, and immure him with the defence of thy right hand, that no unhallowed arm may do violence to him. Support him with aids from Heaven in all his battels, trials, and dangers, that he may in every
instant of his temptation become dearer to thee, and do thou return to him with mercy and deliverance. Give unto him the hearts of all his people, and put into his hand a prevailing rod of iron, a scepter of power, and a sword of justice; and enable him to defend and comfort the Churches under his protection.

IV.

Bless all his Friends, Relatives, Confederates and Lieges; direct their counsels, unite their hearts, strengthen their hands, blesse their actions: Give unto them holinesse of intention, that they may with much candour and ingenuity pursue the cause of God and the King: Sanctifie all the means and instruments of their purposes, that they may not with cruelty, injustice, or oppression proceed towards the end of their just desires; and do thou crown all their endeavours with a prosperous event, that all may cooperate to, and actually produce those great mercies which we beg of thee; honour and safety to our Soveraign, defence of his just rights, peace to his people, establishment and promotion to Religion, advantages and encouragement to Learning and holy living, deliverance to all the oppressed, comfort to all thy faithful people; and from all these, glory to thy holy Name. Grant this 0 King of Kings, for his sake by whom thou hast consigned us to all thy mercies and promises, and to whom thou hast given all power in Heaven and Earth, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.
A Prayer to be said by Kings or Magistrates,
for themselves and their people.

O my God and King, thou rulest in the Kingdoms of Men; by thee Kings reign, and Princes decree justice; thou hast appointed me under thy self [and under my Prince] to govern this portion of thy Church according to the Laws of Religion and the Commonwealth. O Lord, I am but an infirm man, and know not how to decree certain sentences without erring in judgement: but do thou give to thy servant an understanding heart to judge this people, that I may discern between good and evil. Cause me to walk before thee and all the people in truth and righteousness, and in sincerity of heart, that I may not regard the person of the mighty, nor be afraid of his terror, nor despise the person of the poor, and reject his petition; but that doing justice to all men, I and my people may receive mercy of thee, peace and plenty in our dayes, and mutual love, duty and correspondence, that there be no leading into captivity, no complaining in our streets; but we may see the Church in prosperity all our dayes, and Religion established and increasing. Do thou establish the house of thy servant, and bring me to a participation of the glories of thy kingdom, for his sake who is my Lord and King, the holy and ever blessed Saviour of the world, our Redeemer Jesus. Amen.
A Prayer to be said by Parents for their Children.

O Almighty and most merciful Father, who hast promised children as a reward to the Righteous, and hast given them to me as a testimony of thy mercy, and an engagement of my duty; be pleased to be a Father unto them, and give them healthful bodies, understanding souls, and sanctified spirits, that they may be thy servants, and thy children all their dayes. Let a great mercy and providence lead them through the dangers and temptations and ignorances of their youth, that they may never run into folly, and the evils of unbridled appetite. So order the accidents of their lives, that by good education, careful Tutors, holy example, innocent company, prudent counsel, and thy restraining grace, their duty to thee may be secured in the midst of a crooked and untoward generation: and if it seem good in thy eyes, let me be enabled to provide conveniently for the support of their persons, that they may not be destitute and miserable in my death; or if thou shalt call me off from this World by a more timely summons, let their portion be, thy care, mercy, and providence over their bodies and souls: and may they never live vicious lives, nor dye violent or untimely deaths; but let them glorifie thee here with a free obedience, and the duties of a whole life, that when they have served thee in their generations, and have profited the Christian Common-wealth, they may be coheirs with Jesus in the glories of thy eternal Kingdom, through the same, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.
A Prayer to be said by Masters of Families, Curats, Tutors, or other obliged persons for their charges.

O Almighty God, merciful and gracious, have mercy upon my Family [or Pupils, or Parishioners, etc.] and all committed to my charge: sanctifie them with thy grace, preserve them with thy providence, guard them from all evil by the custody of Angels, direct them in the wayes of peace and holy Religion by my Ministery and the conduct of thy most holy Spirit, and consigne them all with the participation of thy blessings and graces in this World, with healthful bodies, with good understandings, and sanctified spirits to a full fruition of thy glories hereafter, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer to be said by Merchants, Tradesmen, and Handicrafts men.

O Eternal God, thou Fountain of justice, mercy and benediction, who by my education and other effects of thy providence hast called me to this profession, that by my industry I may in my small proportion work together for the good of my self and others: I humbly beg thy grace to guide me in my intention, and in the transaction of my affairs, that I may be diligent, just, and faithful: and give me thy favour, that this my labour may be accepted by thee as a part of my necessary duty, and give me thy blessing to assist and prosper me in my Calling, to such measures as thou shalt in mercy choose for me: and be pleased to let thy holy Spirit be for ever present with me, that I may
never be given to covetousness and sordid appetites, to lying
and falsehood, or any other base, indirect and beggarly arts,
but give me prudence, honesty and Christian sincerity, that my
trade may be sanctified by my religion, my labour by my intention
and thy blessing, that when I have done my portion of work thou
hast allotted me, and improved the talent thou hast intrusted to me,
and served the Common-wealth in my capacity, I may receive the
mighty price of my high calling, which I expect and beg, in the
portion and inheritance of the ever blessed Saviour and Redeemer
Jesus. Amen.

A Prayer to be said by Debtors and all persons obliged
whether by crime or contract.

O Almighty God who art rich unto all, the treasure and Fountain
of all good, of all justice, and all mercy, and all bounty, to
whom we owe all that we are, and all that we have, being thy Debtors
by reason of our sins, and by thy own gracious contract made with
us in Jesus Christ: teach me in the first place to perform all my
Obligations to thee, both of duty and thankfulnesse; and next enable
me to pay my duty to all my friends, and my debts to all my Creditors,
that none bee made miserable, or lessened in his estate by his
kindenesse to me, or traffic with me. Forgive me all those sins
and irregular actions by which I entered into debt further then
my necessity required, or by which such necessity was brought
upon me: but let not them suffer by occasion of my sin. Lord
reward all their kindnesse into their bosomes, and make them
recompence where I cannot, and make me very willing in all that I can, and able for all that I am obliged to, or if it seem good in thine eyes to afflict me by the continuance of this condition, yet make it up by some means to them, that the prayer of thy servant may obtain of thee, at least to pay my debt in blessings. Amen.

II.

Lord sanctifie and forgive all that I have tempted to evil by my discourse or my example: instruct them in the right way whom I have lead to errour, and let me never run further on the score of sinne; but do thou blot out all the evils I have done, by the spunge of thy passion, and the blood of thy Crosse; and give me a deep and an excellent repentance, and a free and a gracious pardon, that thou mayest answer for me, O Lord, and enable me to stand upright in judgement; for in thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Pity me, and instruct me; guide me and support me, pardon me and save me, for my sweet Saviour Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

A Prayer for Patron and Benefactours.

O Almighty GOD thou Fountain of all good, of all excellency both to Men and Angels, extend thine abundant favour and loving kindnesse to my Patron, to all my friends and Benefactors: Reward them, and make them plentiful recompence for all the good which
from thy merciful providence they have conveyed unto me: Let the light of thy countenance shine upon them, and let them never come into any affliction or sadness, but such as may be an instrument of thy glory and their eternal comfort. Forgive them all their sins; let thy Divinest Spirit preserve them from all deeds of Darkness. Let thy ministering Angels guard their persons from the violence of the spirits of Darkness: And thou who knowest every degree of their necessity by thy infinite wisdom, give supply to all their needs by thy glorious mercy, preserving their persons, sanctifying their hearts, and leading them in the ways of righteousness, by the waters of comfort, to the land of eternal rest and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.
CHAPTER IV

Of Christian Religion.

Religion in a large sense does dignifie the whole duty of Man, comprehending in it Justice, Charity, and Sobriety: because all these being commanded by God they become a part of that honour and worship which we are bound to pay to him. And thus the word is used in S. James, a Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherlesse and Widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world. But in a more restrained sense it is taken for that part of duty which particularly relates to God in our worships and adoration of him, in confessing his excellencies, loving his person, admiring his goodnesse, believing his Word, and doing all that which may in a proper and direct manner do him honour. It containes the duties of the first Table onely, and so it is called b Godlinesse, and is by Saint Paul, distinguished from Justice and Sobriety. In this sense I am now to explicate the parts of it.

Of the internal actions of Religion.

Those I call the internal actions of Religion, in which the soul onely is imploied, and ministers to God in the special actions of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith believes the revelations of God: Hope expects his promises: and Charity loves
his excellencies and mercies. **Faith** gives our understanding to God: **Hope** gives up all the passions and affections to Heaven and heavenly things: and **Charity** gives the will to the service of God. **Faith** is opposed to Infidelity: **Hope** to Despair: **Charity** to Enmity and Hostility; and these three sanctifie the whole Man, and make our duty to God and obedience to his commandments to be chosen, reasonable, and delightful, and therefore to be **intire**, persevering, and **universal**.
SECTION 1

Of Faith.

The Acts and Offices of Faith, are

1. To believe every thing which God hath revealed to us; and when once we are convinced that God hath spoken it, to make no further enquiry; but humbly to submit, ever rememering that there are some things which our understanding cannot fathom nor search out their depth.

2. To believe nothing concerning God but what is honourable and excellent, as knowing that belief to be no honouring of God which entertains of him any dishonourable thoughts. Faith is the parent of Charity, and whatsoever Faith entertains must be apt to produce love to God: but he that believes God to be cruel or unmerciful, or a rejoyncer in the unavoidable damnation of the greatest part of mankinde, or that he speaks one thing and privately means another, thinks evil thoughts concerning God, and such, as for which we should hate a man, and therefore are great enemies of Faith, being apt to destroy charity. Our Faith conerning God must be as himself hath revealed and described his own excellencies: and in our discourses we must remove from him all imperfection and attribute to him all excellency.

3. To give ourselves wholly up to Christ in heart and desire to become Disciples of his doctrine with choice (besides
conviction) being in the presence of God, but as Ideots, that is, without any principles of our own to hinder the truth of God; but sucking in greedily all that God hath taught us, believing it infinitely, and loving to believe it. For this is an act of Love reflected upon Faith, or an act of Faith leaning upon Love.

4. To believe all Gods promises, and that whatsoever is promised in Scripture shall on Gods part be as surely performed as if we had it in possession. This act makes us to rely upon God with the same confidence as we did on our Parents when we were children, when we made no doubt, but whatsoever we needed we should have it if it were in their power.

5. To believe also the conditions of the promise, or that part of the revelation which concerns our duty. Many are apt to believe the Article of remission of sins, but they believe it without the condition of repentance, or the fruits of holy life: and that is to believe the Article otherwise then God intended it. For the Covenant of the Gospel is the great object of Faith, and that supposes our duty to answer his grace; that God will be our God, so long, as we are his people; The other is not Faith but Flattery.

6. To profess publickly the doctrine of Jesus Christ, openly owning whatsoever he hath revealed and commanded, not being ashamed of the word of God, or of any practises enjoyned by it; and this, without complying with any mans interest, not
regarding favor, nor being moved with good words, not fearing
disgrace, or losse, or inconvenience, or death itself.

7. To pray without doubting, without wearinesse, without
faintnesse, entertaining no jealousies, or suspitions of God,
but being confident of Gods hearing us, and of his returns to
us, whatsoever the manner or the instance be, that if we do our
duty, it will be gracious and merciful.

These acts of Faith are in several degrees in the servants
of Jesus: some have it but as a grain of mustard-seed, some grow
up to a plant, some have the fulnesse of faith: but the least
faith that is must be a perswasion so strong as to make us
undertake the doing of all that duty which Christ built upon
the foundation of believing: but we shall best discern the truth
of our faith by these following signes. \( ^{dS. Hierom} \) reckons
three.

Signes of true Faith.

1. An earnest and vehement prayer: for it is impossible we
should heartily believe the things of God and the glories of the
Gospel, and not most importunately desire them. For every thing
is desired according to our belief of its excellency and
possibility.

2. To do nothing for vain glory, but wholly for the interests
of religion, and these Articles we believe; valuing not at all the
rumours of men, but the praise of God, to whom by faith, we have
given up all our intellectual faculties.

3. To be content with God for our Judge, for our Patron,
for our Lord, for our friend, desiring God to be all in all to
us, as we are in our understanding and affections wholly his.

Add to these.

4. To be a stranger upon earth in our affections, and to
have all our thoughts and principal desires fixed upon the
matters of Faith, the things of Heaven. For if a man were adopted
heir to Caesar, he would (if he believed it real and effective)
 despise the present, and wholly be at court in his Fathers eye;
and his desires would outrun his swiftest speed, and all his
thoughts would spend themselves in creating Ideas, and little
phantastick images of his future condition. Now God hath made
us Heirs of his Kingdom, and Coheirs with Jesus: if we believed
this, we would think and affect, and study accordingly. But he
that rejoices in gain, and his heart dwells in the world, and
is espoused to a fair estate, and transported with a light
momentany joy, and is afflicted with losses, and amazed with
temporal persecutions, and esteems disgrace, or poverty in a
good cause to be intolerable, this man either hath no inheritance
in Heaven, or believes none; and believes not that he is adopted
to be the Son of God, the Heir of eternal Glory.

5. S. James's signe is the best: Shew me thy faith by thy
works. Faith makes the Merchant diligent and venturous, and that
makes him rich. Ferdinando of Arragon believed the story told him by Columbus, and therefore he furnished him with ships, and got the west Indies by his Faith in the undertaker. But Henry the seventh of England believed him not, and therefore trusted him not with shipping, and lost all the purchase of that Faith. It is told us by Christ: He that forgives shall be forgiven. If we believe this, it is certain we shall forgive our enemies; for none of us all but need and desire to be forgiven. No man can possibly despise or refuse to desire such excellent glories as are revealed to them that are servants of Christ: and yet do nothing that is commanded us as a condition to obtain them. No man could work a dayes labor without faith: but because he believes he shall have his wages at the dayes or weeks end, he does his duty. But he onely believes who does that thing which other men in the like cases do, when they do believe. He that believes, money gotten with danger is better then poverty with safety, will venture for it in unknown lands or seas: and so will he that believes it better to get Heaven with labour, then to go to Hell with pleasure.

6. He that believes does not make haste, but waits patiently till the times of refreshment come, and dares trust God for the morrow, and is no more sollicitous for next year, then he is for that which is past: and it is certain, that man wants faith who dares be more confident of being supplied when he hath money in his purse, then when he hath it onely in bills of exchange from God: or that relyes more upon his own industry then upon Gods
providence, when his own industry fails him. If you dare trust to
God when the case to humane reason seems impossible, and trust to
God then also out of choice, not because you have nothing else
to trust to, but because he is the only support of a just
confidence, then you give a good testimony of your faith.

7. True faith is confident, and will venture all the world
upon the strength of its persuasion. Will you lay your life on
it, your estate, your reputation, that the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST
is true in every Article? Then you have true Faith. But he that
fears men more then God, believes men more then he believes in
God.

8. Faith, if it be true, living, and justifying cannot be
separated from a good life: it works miracles, makes a Drunkard
become sober, a lascivious person become chast, a covetous man
become liberal: it overcomes the world, it works righteousness,
and makes us diligently to do, and cheerfully to suffer whatsoever
God hath placed in our way to Heaven.

The Means and Instruments to obtain Faith, are

1. An humble, willing, and docible minde, or desire to be
instructed in the way of God: For persuasion enters like a sun-beam,
gently, and without violence: and open but the window, and draw
the curtain and the Sun of righteousness will enlighten your
darknesse.

2. Remove all prejudice and love to everything which may be
contradicted by Faith: How can ye believe (said Christ) that receive praise one of another? An unchast man cannot easily be brought to believe that without purity he shall never see God. He that loves riches can hardly believe the doctrine of poverty and renunciation of the world: and alms and Martyrdom, and the doctrine of the crosse is folly to him that loves his ease and pleasures. He that hath within him any principle contrary to the doctrines of Faith, cannot easily become a Disciple.

3. Prayer which is instrumental to everything hath a particular promise in this thing. He that lacks wisdom let him ask it of God: and, if you give good things to your children, how much more shall your Heavenly Father give his Spirit to them that ask him.

4. The consideration of the Divine Omnipotence, and infinite wisdom, and our own ignorance, are great instruments of curing all doubting, and silencing the murmures of infidelity.

5. Avoid all curiosity of inquiry into particulars, and circumstances and mysteries: for true faith is full of ingenuity, and hearty simplicity, free from suspicion, wise and confident, trusting upon generals without watching and prying into unnecessary or undiscernable particulars. No Man carries his bed into his field to watch how his corn grows; but believes upon the general order of Providence and Nature; and at Harvest findes himself not deceived.

6. In time of temptation be not busie to dispute, but relye
upon the conclusion; and throw yourself upon God, and contend not
with him, but in prayer, and in the presence, and with the help
of a prudent untempted guide: and be sure to esteem all changes
of belief which offer themselves in the time of your greatest
weakness (contrary to the persuasions of your best understanding)
to be temptations, and reject them accordingly.

7. It is a prudent course that in our health and best
advantages we lay up particular arguments and instruments of
persuasion and confidence, to be brought forth and used in the
great day of expense; and that especially in such things in which
we use to be most tempted, and in which we are least confident,
and which are most necessary, and which commonly the Devil
uses to assault us withal in the days of our visitation.

8. The wisdom of the Church of God is very remarkable in
appointing Festivals or Holidayes, whose solemnity and Offices
have no other special business but to record the Article of the
day; such as, Trinity Sunday, Ascension, Easter, Christmas-day:
and to those persons who can only believe, not prove or dispute,
there is no better instrument to cause the remembrance, and plain
notion, and to endear the affection and hearty assent to the
Article, then the proclaiming and recommending it by the festivity
and joy of a Holy day.
SECTION 2

Of the Hope of a Christian.

Faith differs from Hope in the extension of its object, and in the intention of degree. Saint Austin thus accounts their differences. Faith is of all things revealed, good and bad, rewards and punishments, of things past, present, and to come, of things that concern us, and of things that concern us not: But Hope hath for its Object things onely that are good and fit to be hoped for, future, and concerning our selves: and because these things are offered to us upon conditions of which we may so fail as we may change our will; therefore our certainty is lesse then the adherences of faith; which (because Faith relyes onely upon one proposition, that is, the truth of the Word of God) cannot be made uncertain in themselves, though the object of our Hope may become uncertain to us, and to our possession: for it is infallibly certain, that there is Heaven for all the godly, and for me amongst them all, if I do my duty. But that I shall enter into Heaven is the object of my Hope, not of my Faith, and is so sure, as it is certain I shall persevere in the wayes of God.

The Acts of Hope, are

1. To relye upon God with a confident expectation of his
promises; ever esteeming that every promise of God is a magazine of all that grace and relief which we can need in that instance for which the promise is made. Every degree of hope is a degree of confidence.

2. To esteem all the danger of an action and the possibilities of miscarriage, and every crosse accident that can intervene, to be no defect on God's part, but either a mercy on his part, or a fault on ours: for then we shall be sure to trust in God when we see him to be our confidence, and our selves the cause of all mischances. The hope of a Christian is prudent and religious.

3. To rejoyce in the midst of a misfortune or seeming sadnesse, knowing that this may work for good, and will, if we be not wanting to our souls. This is a direct act of Hope to look through the cloud, and look for a beam of light from God, and this is called in Scripture, Rejoycing in tribulation, when the God of hope fills us with all joy in believing. Every degree of hope brings a degree of joy.

4. To desire, to pray, and to long for the great object of our hope, the mighty price of our high calling; and to desire the other things of this life, as they are promised, that is, so far as they are made necessary and useful to us in order to God's glory, and the great end of souls. Hope and Fasting are said to be the two wings of Prayer. Fasting is but as the wing of a Bird, but Hope is like the wing of an Angel soaring up to Heaven, and bears our prayers to the throne of Grace. Without Hope it is
impossible to pray; but Hope makes our prayers reasonable, passionate, and religious; for it relyes upon Gods promise, or experience, or providence, and story. Prayer is always in proportion to our Hope, zealous and affectionate.

5. Perseverance is the perfection of the duty of hope, and its last act: and so long as our hope continues, so long we go on in duty and diligence: but he that is to raise a Castle in an hour, sits down and does nothing towards it: and Herod the Sophister left off to teach his son, when he saw that 24 Pages appointed to wait on him, and called by the several Letters of the Alphabet could never make him to understand his letters perfectly.

Rules to govern our Hope.

1. Let your Hope be moderate, proportioned to your state, person and condition, whether it be for gifts or graces, or temporal favours. It is an ambitious hope for persons whose diligence is like them that are least in the Kingdom of Heaven, to believe themselves endeared to God as the greatest Saints, or that they shall have a throne equal to S. Paul or the blessed Virgin Mary. A Stammerer cannot with moderation hope for the gift of Tongues, or a Peasant to become learned as Origen: or if a Beggar desires or hopes to become a King, or asks for a thousand pound a year, we call him impudent, not passionate, much lesse reasonable. Hope that God will crown your endeavours with equal measures of that reward which he indeed freely gives,
but yet gives according to our proportions. Hope for good
successe according to, or not much beyond the efficacy of
the causes and the instrument, and let the Husbandman hope for
a good Harvest, not for a rich Kingdom, or a victorious Army.

2. Let your hope be well founded, relying upon just
confidences, that is, upon God according to his revelations
and promises. For it is possible for a Man to have a vain hope
upon God: and in matters of Religion it is presumption to hope
that Gods mercies will be powred forth upon lazy persons that
do nothing towards holy and strict walking, nothing (I say) but
trust, and long for an event besides and against all disposition
of the means. Every false principle in Religion is a Reed of
Egypt, false and dangerous. Relye not in temporal things upon
uncertain prophecies, and Astrology, not upon our own wit or
industry, not upon gold or friends, not upon Armies and Princes,
expect not health from Physicians that cannot cure their own
breath, much lesse their mortality: use all lawful instruments,
but expect nothing from them above their natural or ordinary
efficacy, and in the use of them from God expect a blessing.

3. Let your hope be without vanity, or garishnesse of spirit,
but sober, grave and silent, fixed in the heart, not born upon the
lip, apt to support our spirits within, but not to provoke envy
abroad.
4. Let your hope be of things possible, safe and useful. He that hopes for an opportunity of acting his revenge, or lust, or rapine, watches to do himself a mischief. All evils of our selves or Brethren are objects of our fear, not hope: and when it is truly understood, things uselesse and unsafe can no more be wished for, then things impossible can be obtained.

5. Let your hope be patient, without tediousnesse of spirit, or hastinesse of prefixing time. Make no limits or prescriptions to God, but let your prayers and endeavours go on still with a constant attendance on the periods of Gods providence. The men of Bethulia resolved to wait upon God but five dayes longer. But deliverance stayed seven dayes, and yet came at last: and take not every accident for an argument of despair: but go on still in hoping, and begin again to work if any ill accident have interrupted you.

Means of Hope, and remedies against Despair.

The means to cure Despair, and to continue or increase Hope, are partly by consideration, partly by exercise.

1. Apply your minde to the cure of all the proper causes of Despair: and they are weaknesse of spirit, or violence of passion. He that greedily covets, is impatient of delay, and desperate in contrary accidents; and he that is little of heart, is also little of hope, and apt to sorrow and suspition.

2. Despise the things of the World, and be indifferent to all
changes and events of providence; and for the things of God the
promises are certain to be performed in kind; and where there
is less variety of chance, there is less possibility of being
mocked: but he that creates to himself thousands of little hopes,
uncertain in the promise, fallible in the event, and depending
upon ten thousand circumstances (as are all the things of this
World) shall often fail in his expectations, and be used to arguments
of distrust in such hopes.

3. So long as your hopes are regular and reasonable,
though in temporal affairs, such as are deliverance from enemies,
escaping a storm or shipwreck, recovery from a sicknesse, ability
to pay your debts, etc. remember that there are some things
ordinary, and some things extraordinary to prevent despair.
In ordinary, Remember that the very hoping in God is an
endearment of him, and a means to obtain the blessing: I will
deliver him because he hath put his trust in me. 2. There are
in God all those glorious Attributes and excellencies which in
the nature of things can possibly create or confirm Hope. God
is 1. Strong, 2. Wise. 3. True. 4. Loving. There cannot be added
another capacity to create a confidence; for upon these premises
we cannot fail of receiving what is fit for us. 3. God hath
obliged himself by promise that we shall have the good of every
thing we desire: for even losses and denials shall work for the
good of them that fear God. And if we will trust the truth of
God for performance of the general, we may well trust his wisdome
to choose for us the particular. But the extraordinaries of God
are apt to supply the defect of all natural and humane possibilities.  

1. God hath in many instances given extraordinary vertue to the active causes and instruments: to a jawbone to kill a multitude: to 300 Men to destroy a great Army, to Jonathan and his Armour-bearer to rout a whole Garrison. 2. He hath given excellent sufferance and vigorousnesse to the sufferers, arming them with strange courage, heroical fortitude, invincible resolution, and glorious patience: and thus, he layes no more upon us then we are able to bear: for when he increases our sufferings, he lessens them by increasing our patience. 3. His providence is extraregular and produces strange things beyond common rules: and he that lead Israel through a Sea, and made a Rock powre forth waters, and the Heavens to give them bread and flesh, and whole Armies to be destroyed with phantastick noises, and the fortune of all France to be recovered and entirely revolved by the arms and conduct of a Girle against the torrent of the English fortune and Chivalry; can do what he please, and still retains the same affections to his people, and the same providence over mankinde as ever: and it is impossible for that Man to despair, who remembers that his Helper is Omnipotent, and can do what he please: let us rest there awhile; he can if he please: And he is infinitely loving: willing enough; and he is infinitely wise, choosing better for us then we can do for our selves. This in all ages and chances hath supported the afflicted people of God and carried them on dry ground through a red Sea. God invites and cherishes the hopes of Men by all the variety of his providence.
4. If your case be brought to the last extremity, and that you are at the pits brink, even the very Margent of the Grave, yet then despair not; at least put it off a little longer: and remember that whatsoever final accident takes away all hope from you, if you stay a little longer, and in the mean while bear it sweetly, it will also take away all despair too. For when you enter into the Regions of death, you rest from all your labours and your fears.

5. Let them who are tempted to despair of their salvation, consider how much Christ suffered to redeem us from sin and its eternal punishment: and he that considers this, must needs believe, that the desires which God had to save us were not lesse then infinite, and therefore not easily to be satisfied without it.

6. Let no Man despair of Gods mercies to forgive him, unless he be sure that his sinnes are greater then Gods mercies. If they be not, we have much reason to hope that the stronger ingredient will prevail so long as we are in the time and state of repentance, and within the possibilities and latitude of the Covenant; and as long as any promise can but reflect upon him with an oblique beam of comfort. Possibly the Man may erre in his judgement of circumstances, and therefore let him fear: but because it is not certain he is mistaken, let him not despair.

7. Consider that God who knows all the events of Men, and what their final condition shall be, who shall be saved, and who
will perish, yet he treateth them as his own, calls them to be his own, offers fair conditions as to his own, gives them blessings, arguments of mercy, and instances of fear to call them off from death, and to call them home to life, and in all this shews no despair of happinesse to them, and therefore much lesse should any Man despair for himself, since he never was able to reade the Scrols of the eternal predestination.

8. Remember that despair belongs onely to passionate Fools or Villains, (such as were Achitophel and Judas) or else to Devils and damned persons: and as the hope of salvation is a good disposition towards it; so is despair a certain consignation to eternal ruine. A Man may be damned for despairing to be saved. Despair is the proper passion of damnation. God hath placed truth and felicity in Heaven: Curiosity and repentance upon Earth: but misery and despair are the portions of Hell.

9. Gather together into your spirit, and its treasure-house (the Memory) not onely all the promises of GOD, but also the remembrances of experience, and the former senses of the Divine favours, that from thence you may argue from times past to the present, and enlarge to the future, and to greater blessings. For although the conjectures and expectations of Hope are not like the conclusions of Faith, yet they are a Helmet against the scorchings of Despair in temporal things, and an anchor of the soul sure and stedfast against the fluctuations of the Spirit in matters of the soul. Saint Bernard reckons divers principles of Hope by enumerating the instances of the Divine Mercy; and wee
may by them reduce this rule to practise in the following manner.

1. GOD hath preserved mee from many sinnes; his mercies are infinite, I hope he will still preserve me from more, and for ever. 2. I have sinned and GOD smote me not: his mercies are still over the penitent, I hope he will deliver me from all the evils I have deserved. He hath forgiven me many sins of malice, and therefore surely he will pity my infirmities. 3. God visited my heart, and changed it: he loves the work of his own hands, and so my heart is now become: I hope he will love this too.

4. When I repented he received me graciously; and therefore I hope if I do my endeavour he will totally forgive me. 5. He helped my slow and beginning endeavours, and therefore I hope he will lead me to perfection. 6. When he had given me something first, then he gave me more. I hope therefore he will keep me from falling, and give me the grace of perseverance. 7. He hath chosen me to be a Disciple of Christ's institution; he hath elected me to his Kingdom of grace, and therefore I hope also, to the Kingdom of his glory. 8. He died for me when I was his enemy, and therefore I hope he will save me when he hath reconciled me to him, and is become my friend. 9. God hath given us his Son, how should not he with him give us all things else? All these S. Bernard reduces to these three Heads, as the instruments of all our hopes. 1. The charity of God adopting us. 2. The truth of his promises. 3. The power of his performance: which if any truly weighs, no infirmity or accident can break his hopes into undiscernable fragments, but some good planks will remain after
the greatest storm and shipwrack. This was S. Paul's instrument: Experience begets hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.

10. Do thou take care onely of thy duty, of the means and proper instruments of thy purpose, and leave the end to God: lay that up with him, and he will take care of all that is intrusted to him: and this being an act of confidence in God, is also a means of security to thee.

11. By special arts of spiritual prudence and arguments secure the confident belief of the Resurrection, and thou canst not but hope for every thing else which you may reasonably expect, or lawfully desire upon the stock of the Divine mercies and promises.

12. If a despair seizes you in a particular temporal instance, let it not defile thy spirit with impure mixture, or mingle in spiritual considerations; but rather let it make thee fortifie thy soul in matters of Religion, that by being thrown out of your Earthly dwelling and confidence, you may retire into the strengths of grace, and hope the more strongly in that, by how much you are the more defeated in this, that despair of a fortune or a success, may become the necessity of all vertue.
SECTION 3

Of Charity, or the love of God.

Love is the greatest thing that God can give us, for himself is love, and it is the greatest thing we can give to God, for it will also give our selves, and carry with it all that is ours. The Apostle calls it the band of perfection; it is the Old, and it is the New, and it is the great Commandement, and it is all the Commandements, for it is the fulfilling of the Law. It does the work of all other graces without any instrument but its own immediate virtue. For as the love to sinne makes a Man sinne against all his own reason, and all the discourses of wisdom, and all the advices of his friends, and without temptation, and without opportunity: so does the love of God, it makes a man chast without the laborious arts of fasting and exterior disciplines, temperate in the midst of feasts, and is active enough to choose it without any intermedial appetites, and reaches at Glory thorough the very heart of Grace, without any arms but those of Love. It is a grace that loves God for himself, and our Neighbours for God. The consideration of Gods goodnesse and bounty, the experience of those profitable and excellent emanations from him, may be, and most commonly are the first motive of our love: but when we are once entred, and have tasted the goodnesse of God, we love the spring for its own excellency, passing from passion to reason, from thanking to adoring, from
sence to spirit, from considering our selves, to an union with God: and this is the image and little representation of Heaven; it is beatitude in picture, or rather the infancy and beginnings of glory.

We need no incentives by way of special enumeration to move us to the love of God, for we cannot love any thing for any reason real or imaginary, but that excellency is infinitely more eminent in God. There can but two things create love, Perfection and Usefulness: to which answer on our part, first admiration, and

2. Desire: and both these are centred in love. For the entertainment of the first, there is in God an infinite nature, immensity or vastness without extension or limit, Immutability, Eternity, Omnipotence, Omniscience, Holiness, Dominion, Providence, Bounty, Mercy, Justice, Perfection in himself, and the end to which all things and all actions must be directed, and will at last arrive. The consideration of which may be heightened, if we consider our distance from all these glories: Our smallness and limited nature, our nothing, our inconstancy, our age like a span, our weakness and ignorance, our poverty, our inadvertency, and inconsideration, our disabilities and disaffections to do good, our harsh natures and unmerciful inclinations, our universal iniquity, and our necessities and dependencies, not only on God originally, and essentially, but even our need of the meanest of Gods creatures, and our being obnoxious to the meanest and most contemptible. But for the entertainment of the second we may consider that in him is a torrent of pleasure for the voluptuous,
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he is the fountain of honour for the ambitious, an inexhaustible
treasure for the covetous:—our vices are in love with phantastick
pleasures and images of perfection, which are truely and really
to be found nowhere but in God. And therefore our vertues have
such proper objects, that it is but reasonable they should all
turn into love: for certain it is that this love will turn all
into vertue. For in the scrutinies for righteousnesse and
judgement, when it is inquired whether such a person be a good
man or no, the meaning is not, what does he believe, or what does
he hope, but what he loves?

The acts of Love of God, are

1. Love does all things which may please the beloved person,
it performs all his commandments: and this is one of the greatest
instances and arguments of our love that God requires of us. This
is love that we keep his commandments. Love is obedient.

2. It does all the intimations and secret significations of
his pleasure whom we love: and this is an argument of a great
degree of it. The first instance is it that makes the love
accepted: but this gives a greatnesse and singularity to it.
The first is the least, and lesse then it cannot do our duty; but
without this second, we cannot come to perfection. Great love
is also plyant and inquisitive in the instances of its expression.

3. Love gives away all things that so he may advance the
interest of the beloved person: it relieves all that he would have
relieved, and spends itself in such real significations as it is
enabled withal. He never loved God that will quit any thing of
his Religion, to save his money. Love is always liberal and
communicative.

4. It suffers all things that are imposed by its beloved,
or that can happen for his sake, or that intervene in his service,
cheerfully, sweetly, willingly, expecting that God should turn them
into good, and instruments of felicity. Charity hopeth all things,
endureth all things. Love is patient and content with any thing
so it be together with its beloved.

5. Love is also impatient of any thing that may displease
the beloved person, hating all sin as the enemy of its friend;
for love contracts all the same relations and marries the same
friendships, and the same hatreds; and all affection to a sin is
perfectly inconsistent with the love of God, love is not divided
between God and Gods enemy: we must love God with all our heart,
that is, give him a whole and undivided affection, having love
for nothing else but such things which he allows, and which he
commands, or loves himself.

6. Love endeavours for ever to be present, to converse
with, to enjoy, to be united with its object, loves to be talking
of him, reciting his praises, telling his stories, repeating his
words, imitating his gestures, transcribing his copy in every
thing; and every degree of union and every degree of likenesse
is a degree of love; and it can endure any thing but the displeasure
and the absence of its beloved. For we are not to use God and Religion, as men use perfumes, with which they are delighted when they have them, but can very well be without them. True charity is restlesse till it enjoyes God in such instances in which it wants him: it is like hunger and thirst, it must be fed or it cannot be answered, and nothing can supply the presence, or make recompence for the absence of God, or of the effects of his favour, and the light of his countenance.

7. True love in all accidents looks upon the beloved person, and observes his countenance, and how he approves or disproves it, and accordingly looks sad or cheerful. He that loves God is not displeased at those accidents which God chooses, nor murmurs at those changes which he makes in his family, nor envies at those gifts he bestowes, but chooses as he likes, and is ruled by his judgement, and is perfectly of his persuasion, loving to learn where God is the Teacher, and being content to be ignorant or silent where he is not pleased to open himself.

8. Love is curious of little things: of circumstances and measures, and little accidents, not allowing to it self any infirmity, which it strives not to master: aiming at what it cannot yet reach at, desiring to be of an Angelical purity and of a perfect innocence, and a Seraphical fervour, and fears every image of offence, is as much afflicted at an idle word, as some at an act of adultery, and will not allow to it self so much anger as will disturb a childe; nor endure the impurity of a dream, and this is the curiosity and nicenesse of divine Love; this is the fear of God, and is the daughter and
production of Love.

The Measures and Rules of Divine Love.

But because this passion is pure as the brightest and smoothest
mirrour, and therefore is apt to be sullyed with every impurer
breath, we must be careful that our love to God be governed by
these measures.

1. That our love be sweet, even and full of tranquility,
having in it no violences or transportations, but going on in a
course of holy actions and duties which are proportionable to our
condition, and present state; not to satisfie all the desire, but
all the probabilities and measures of our strength. A new beginner
in religion hath passionate and violent desires, but they must
not be the measure of his actions: But he must consider his
strength, his late sicknesse and state of death, the proper
temptations of his condition, and stand at first upon his defence,
not go to storm a strong Fort, or attaque a potent enemy, or
do heroical actions and fitter for gyants in Religion. Indiscreet
violences, and untimely forwardnesse are the rocks of religion
against which tender spirits often suffer shipwrack.

2. Let our love be prudent and without illusion: that is,
that it expresse itself in such instances which God hath chosen,
or which we choose our selves by proportion to his rules and
measures. Love turns into doting when religion turns into
Superstition. No degree of love can be imprudent, but the
expressions may: we cannot love God too much, but we may proclaim it in undecent manners.

3. Let our love be firm, constant and inseparable, not coming and returning like the tide, but descending like a never failing river, ever running into the Ocean of Divine excellency, passing on in the channels of duty and a constant obedience, and never ceasing to be what it is, till it comes to be what it desires to be; still being a river till it be turned into sea and vastness, even the immensitie of a blessed Eternity.

Although the consideration of the Divine excellencies and mercies be infinitely sufficient to produce in us love to God (who is invisible and yet not distant from us, but we feel him in his blessings, he dwells in our hearts by faith, we feed on him in the Sacrament, and are made all one with him in the incarnation and glorifications of Jesus) yet that we may the better enkindle and encrease our love to God, the following advices are not uselesse.

Helps to encrease our love to God;
by way of exercise.

1. Cut off all earthly and sensual loves, for they pollute and unhallow the pure and Spiritual love. Every degree of inordinate affection to the things of this world, and every act of love to a sin is a perfect enemy to the love of God: and it is a great shame to take any part of our affection from the eternal God to bestow it upon his creature in defiance of the Creator, or to
give it to the Devil, our open enemy, in disparagement of him who is the fountain of all excellencies and Coelestial amities.

2. Lay fetters and restraints upon the imaginative and phantastick part: because our fancie being an imperfect and higher facultie is usually pleased with the entertainment of shadowes and gauds; and because the things of the world fill it with such beauties and phantastick imagery, the fancy presents such objects as amiable to the affections, and elective powers. Persons of fancy, such as are women and children have always the most violent loves; but therefore if we be careful with what representments we fill our fancy, we may the sooner rectifie our loves. To this purpose, it is good that we transplant the instruments of fancy into religion: and for this reason musick was brought into Churches, and ornaments, and perfumes, and comely garments, and solemnities, and decent ceremonies, that the busie and lesse discerning fancy being bribed with its proper objects may be instrumental to a more coelestial and spiritual love.

3. Remove solicitude or worldly cares, and multitudes of secular businesses; for if these take up the intention and actual application of our thoughts and our imployments, they will also possesse our passions; which if they be filled with one object though ignoble, cannot attend another though more excellent. We alwayes contract a friendship and relation with those with whom we converse: our very Countrey is dear to us for our being in it:
and the Neighbours of the same Village, and those that buy and
sell with us have seized upon some portions of our love, and
therefore if we dwell in the affairs of the World, we shall also
grow in love with them; and all our love, or all our hatred, all
our hopes, or all our fears, which the eternal God would willingly
secure to himself, and esteem amongst his treasures and precious
things, shall be spent upon trifles and vanities.

4. Do not only choose the things of God, but secure your
inclinations and aptnesses for God and for Religion. For it will
be a hard thing for a Man to do such a personal violence to his
first desires, as to choose whatsoever he hath no minde to. A
Man will many times satisfie the importunity and daily solicitations
of his first longings: and therefore there is nothing can secure
our loves to God, but stopping the natural Fountains, and making
Religion to grow neer the first desires of the soul.

5. Converse with God by frequent prayer. In particular,
desire that your desires may be right, and love to have your
affections regular and holy: To which purpose make very frequent
addresses to God by ejaculations and communions, and an assiduous
daily devotion: Discover to him all your wants, complain to him
of all your affronts, do as Hezekiah did, lay your misfortunes and
your ill news before him, spread them before the Lord, call to
him for health, run to him for counsel, beg of him for pardon;
and it is as natural to love him to whom we make such addresses,
and of whom we have such dependancies, as it is for children
to love their parents.
6. Consider the immensity and vastness of the Divine love to us, expressed in all the emanations of his providence. 

1. In his Creation. 2. In his conservation of us. For it is not my Prince or my Patron, or my Friend that supports me, or relieves my needs, but God, who made the Corn that my friend sends me, who created the Grapes and supported him, who hath as many dependances, and as many natural necessities, and as perfect disabilities as my self. God indeed made him the instrument of his providence to me, as he hath made his own Land or his own Cattel to him: with this onely difference, that God by his ministration to me intends to do him a favour and a reward, which to natural instruments he does not. 3. In giving his Son. 4. In forgiving our sins. 5. In adopting us to glory: and ten thousand times ten thousand little accidents and instances hapning in the doing every of these; and it is not possible but for so great love we should give love again, for God we should give Man, for felicity we should part with our misery. 

Nay, so great is the love of the holy Jesus, God incarnate, that he would leave all his triumphant glories, and dye once more for Man, if it were necessary for procuring felicity to him. 

In the use of these instruments love will grow in several knots and steps like the Sugar-canes of India according to a thousand varieties in the person loving, and it will be great or lesse in several persons, and in the same, according to his growth in Christianity: but in general discoursing there are but two states of love, and those are Labour of love, and the zeal of love: the first is duty, the second is perfection.
The two states of love to God.

1. The least love that is must be obedient, pure, simple, and communicative: that is, it must exclude all affection to sin, and all inordinate affection to the World; and must be expressive according to our power, in the instance of duty, and must be love for loves sake; and of this love Martyrdom is the highest instance; that is, a readiness of mind rather to suffer any evil then to do any. Of this our blessed Saviour affirmed, That no man had greater love then this: that is, this is the highest point of duty, the greatest love that God requires of Man. And yet he that is the most imperfect must have this love also in preparation of mind, and must differ from another in nothing, except in the degrees of promptness and alacrity. And in this sense, he that loves God truly (though but with a beginning and tender love) yet he loves God with all his heart, that is, with that degree of love which is the highest point of duty, and of God's charge upon us; and he that loves God with all his heart, may yet increase with the increase of God, just as there are degrees of love to God among the Saints, and yet each of them love him with all their powers and capacities.

2. But the greater state of love is the zeal of love, which runs out into excrescencies, and suckers like a fruitful and pleasant tree, or bursting into gums, and producing fruits, not of a monstrous, but of an extraordinary and heroical greatness. Concerning which, these cautions are to be observed.
Cautions and rules concerning zeal.

1. If zeal be in the beginnings of our spiritual birth, or be short, sudden and transient, or be a consequent of a man's natural temper, or come upon any cause, but after a long growth of a temperate and well regulated love, it is to be suspected for passion, and forwardness, rather than the vertical point of love.

2. That zeal onely is good which in a fervent love hath temperate expressions. For let the affection boil as high as it can, yet if it boil over into irregular and strange actions, it will have but few, but will need many excuses. Elijah was zealous for the Lord of Hosts, and yet he was so transported with it, that he could not receive answer from God, till by Musick he was recomposed and tamed: and Moses broke both the Tables of the Law by being passionately zealous against them that brake the first.

3. Zeal must spend its greatest heat principally in those things that concern our selves; but with great care and restraint in those that concern others.

4. Remember that zeal being an excrescence of Divine love, must in no sense contradict any action of love: Love to God includes love to our Neighbour, and therefore no pretence of zeal for Gods glory must make us uncharitable to our brother, for that is just so pleasing to God, as hatred is an act of love.

5. That zeal that concernes others, can spend it self in
nothing but arts, and actions and charitable instruments for their good: and when it concerns the good of many that one should suffer, it must bee done by persons of a competent authority, and in great necessity, in seldom instances, according to the Law of God or Man; but never by private right, or for trifling accidents, or in mistaken propositions. The Zealots in the Old Law had authority to transfix and stab some certain persons; but GOD gave them warrant; it was in the case of Idolatory, or such notorious huge crimes; the danger of which was insupportable, and the cognizance of which was infallible: And yet that warrant expired with the Synagogue.

6. Zeal in the instances of our own duty, and personal deportment is more safe then in matters of counsel, and actions besides our just duty, and tending towards perfection. Though in these instances there is not a direct sin, even where the zeal is lesse wary, yet there is much trouble and some danger: (as, if it be spent in the too forward vowes of Chastity, and restraints of natural and innocent liberties.)

7. Zeal may be let loose in the instances of internal, personal, and spiritual actions, that are matters of direct duty: as in prayers, and acts of adoration, and thanksgiving, and frequent addresses: provided that no indirect act passe upon them to defile them; such as complacency, and opinions of sanctity, censuring others, scruples and opinions of necessity, unnecessary fears, superstitious numbrings of times and houres; but let the zeal be as forward as it will, as devout as it will, as Seraphicall
as it will, in the direct addresse and entercourse with God, there is no danger, no transgression. Do all the parts of your duty as earnestly as if the salvation of all the world, and the whole glory of God, and the confusion of all Devils, and all that you hope or desire did depend upon every one action.

8. Let zeal be seated in the will and choice, and regulated with prudence and a sober understanding, not in the fancies and affections; for these will make it full of noise and empty of profit, but that will make it deep and smooth, material and devout.

The summe is this: That, zeal is not a direct duty, no where commanded for itself, and is nothing but a forwardnesse and circumstance of another duty, and therefore is then onely acceptable when it advances the love of God and our Neighbours, whose circumstance it is: That zeal is onely safe, onely acceptable which increases charity directly; and because love to our Neighbour, and obedience to God are the two great portions of charity, we must never account our zeal to be good, but as it advances both these, if it be in a matter that relates to both; or severally, if it relates severally. S. Pauls zeal was expressed in preaching without any offerings or stipend, in travelling, in spending and being spent for his flock, in suffering, in being willing to be accursed for love of the people of God, and his Countreymen: Let our zeal be as great as his was, so it be in affections to others, but not at all in angers against them: In the first then is no danger; in the second there is no safety. In brief; let your zeal (if it must be
expressed in anger) be alwayes more severe against thy self, then against others.

The other part of Love to God is Love to our Neighbour, for which I have reserved the Paragraph of Alms.

Of the external actions of Religion.

Religion teaches us to present to God our bodies as well as our souls; for God is the Lord of both; and if the body serves the soul in actions natural and civil, and intellectual, it must not be eased in the onely offices of Religion, unlesse the body shall expect no portion of the rewards of Religion, such as are resurrection, reunion, and glorification. Our bodies are to God a living sacrifice, and to present them to God is holy and acceptable.

The actions of the body as it serves to religion, and as it is distinguished from Sobriety and Justice; either relate to the word of God, or to prayer, or to repentance, and make these kindes of external actions of religion. 1. Reading and hearing the word of God. 2. Fasting and corporal austerities, called by S. Paul, bodily exercise. 3. Feasting or keeping dayes of publick joy and thanksgiving.
SECTION 4

Of Reading,
or Hearing the Word of God.

Reading and Hearing the word of God are but the several circumstances of the same duty; instrumental especially to faith, but consequently to all other graces of the Spirit. It is all one to us whether by the eye or by the eare the Spirit conveyes his precepts to us. If we hear S. Paul saying to us, that Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge: or read it in one of his Epistles; in either of them we are equally and sufficiently instructed. The Scriptures read are the same thing to us, which the same doctrine was, when it was preached by the Disciples of our blessed Lord; and we are to learn of either with the same dispositions. There are many that cannot reade the word, and they must take it in by the ear; and they that can reade, finde the same word of God by the eye. It is necessary that all men learn it some way or other, and it is sufficient in order to their practise that they learn it any way. The word of God is all those Commandments and Revelations, those promises and threatnings, the stories and sermons recorded in the Bible: nothing else is the word of God, that we know of, by any certain instrument. The good books and spiritual discourses, the sermons or homilies written or spoken by men are but the word of men, or
rather explications of, and exhortations according to the Word of God: but of themselves they are not the Word of God. In a Sermon, the Text onely is in a proper sense to be called Gods Word: and yet good Sermons are of great use and convenience for the advantages of Religion. He that preaches an hour together against drunkenesse with the tongue of men or Angels, hath spoke no other word of God but this, Be not drunk with wine wherein there is excess: and he that writes that Sermon in a book, and publishes that book, hath preached to all that reade it, a louder Sermon then could be spoken in a Church. This I say to this purpose that we may separate truth from error, popular opinions from substantial Truths. For God preaches to us in the Scripture, and by his secret assistances and spiritual thoughts and holy motions: Good men preach to us when they by popular arguments, and humane arts and compliances expound and presse any of those doctrines which God hath preached unto us in his holy Word. But

1. The Holy Ghost is certainly the best Preacher in the world, and the words of Scripture the best sermons.

2. All the doctrine of salvation is plainly set down there, that the most unlearned person by hearing it read, may understand all his duty. What can be plainer spoken then this, Thou shalt not kill. Be not drunk with wine: Husbands love your wives: whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye so to them. The wit of man cannot more plainly tell us our duty, or more fully, then the Holy Ghost hath done already.

3. Good sermons, and good books are of excellent use: but
yet they can serve no other end but that we practise the plain doctrines of Scripture.

4. What Abraham in the parable said concerning the brethren of the rich man, is here very proper: They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them: But if they refuse to hear these, neither will they believe though one should arise from the dead to preach unto them.

5. Reading the holy Scriptures is a duty expressly commanded us, and is called in Scripture Preaching: all other preaching is the effect of humane skill and industry, and although of great benefit, yet it is but an Ecclesiastical ordinance; the Law of God concerning preaching, being expressed in the matter of reading the Scriptures, and hearing that word of God, which is, and as it is there described.

But this duty is reduced to practise in the following Rules.

Rules for hearing or reading the word of God.

1. Set apart some portion of thy time according to the opportunities of thy calling and necessary employment, for the reading of holy Scripture; and if it be possible, every day reade or hear some of it read: you are sure that book teaches all truth, commands all holinesse, and promises all happinesse.

2. When it is in your power to choose, accustome your self to such portions which are most plain and certain duty, and which contain the story of the Life and Death of our blessed Saviour.
Read the Gospels, the Psalms of David; and especially those portions of Scripture which by the wisdom of the Church are appointed to be publiquely read upon Sundayes and holy-dayes, viz. the Epistles and Gospels. In the choice of any other portions, you may advise with a Spiritual Guide, that you may spend your time with most profit.

3. Fail not, diligently to attend to the reading of holy Scriptures upon those dayes wherein it is most publickly and solemnly read in Churches: for at such times, besides the learning our duty, we obtain a blessing along with it, it becoming to us upon those dayes a part of the solemn Divine worship.

4. When the word of God is read or preached to you, be sure you be of a ready heart and minde, free from worldly cares and thoughts, diligent to hear, careful to mark, studious to remember, and desirous to practise all that is commanded, and to live according to it. Do not hear for any other end but to become better in your life, and to be instructed in every good work, and to increase in the love and service of God.

5. Beg of God by prayer that he would give you the spirit of obedience and profit, and that he would by his Spirit write the word in your heart, and that you describe it in your life. To which purpose serve yourself of some affectionate ejaculations to that purpose, before and after this duty.
Concerning spiritual books and ordinary Sermons

**take in these advices also.**

6. Let not a prejudice to any man's person hinder thee from receiving good by his doctrine, if it be according to godliness:

but (if occasion offer it, or especially if duty present it to thee; that is, if it be preached in that assembly where thou art bound to be present) accept the word preached as a message from God, and the Minister as his Angel in that ministration.

7. Consider and remark the doctrine that is represented to thee in any discourse; and if the Preacher addes any accidental advantages, any thing to comply with thy weaknesse, or to put thy spirit into action, or holy resolution, remember it, and make use of it; but if the Preacher be a weak person, yet the text is the doctrine thou art to remember; that contains all thy duty, it is worth thy attendance to hear that spoken often, and renewed upon thy thoughts, and though thou beest a learned man, yet the same thing which thou knowest already, if spoken by another, may be made active by that application. I can better be comforted by my own considerations, if another hand applyes them, then if I do it my self; because the word of God does not work as a natural agent, but as a divine instrument: it does not prevail by the force of deduction, and artificial discoursings onely, but chiefly by way of blessing in the ordinance, and in the ministry of an appointed person. At least obey the publick order, and reverence the constitution, and give good example of humility, charity and obedience.
8. When Scriptures are read, you are onely to enquire with diligence and modesty into the meaning of the Spirit: but if homilies or sermons be made upon the words of Scripture, you are to consider, whether all that be spoken be conformable to the Scriptures. For although you may practise for humane reasons, and humane arguments, ministered from the Preachers art, yet you must practise nothing but the command of God, nothing but the Doctrine of Scripture, that is, the text.

9. Use the advice of some spirituall or other prudent man for the choice of such spiritual books which may be of use and benefit for the edification of thy spirit in the wayes of holy living; and esteem that time well accounted for, that is prudently and affectionately imployed, in hearing or reading good books and pious discourses: ever remembring that God by hearing us speak to him in prayer, obliges us to hear him speak to us in his word, by what instrument soever it be conveyed.
SECTION 5

Of Fasting.

Fasting, if it be considered in itself without relation to Spiritual ends, is a duty nowhere enjoyned, or counselled. But Christianity hath to do with it, as it may be made an instrument of the Spirit by subduing the lusts of the flesh, or removing any hindrances of religion; And it hath been practised by all ages of the Church, and advised in order to three ministeries. 1. To Prayer. 2. To Mortification of bodily lusts. 3. To Repentance: and it is to be practised according to the following measures.

Rules for Christian Fasting.

1. Fasting in order to prayer is to be measured by the proportions of the times of prayer: that is, it ought to be a total fast from all things during the solemnity (unless a probable necessity intervene.) Thus the Jews eate nothing upon the Sabbath-dayes till their great offices were performed, that is, about the sixth hour: and S. Peter used it as an argument, that the Apostles in Pentecost were not drunk, because it was but the third hour of the day, of such a day, in which it was not lawful to eat or drink til the sixth hour: and the Jews were offended at the Disciples for plucking the ears of corn upon the Sabbath early in the morning, because it was before the time in which by
their customs they esteemed it lawful to break their fast. In imitation of this custom, and in prosecution of the reason of it, the Christian Church hath religiously observed fasting before the Holy Communion: and the more devout persons (though without any obligation at all) refused to eat or drink till they had finished their morning devotions: and further yet upon dayes of publick humiliation, which are designed to be spent wholly in Devotion, and for the averting Gods judgements (if they were imminent) fasting is commanded together with prayer, commanded (I say) by the Church to this end, that the Spirit might be clearer and more Angelical when it is quitted in some proportions from the loads of flesh.

2. Fasting, when it is in order to Prayer, must be a total abstinence from all meat, or else an abatement of the quantity: for the help which fasting does to prayer cannot be served by changing flesh into fish, or milk-meats into dry diet, but by turning much into little, or little into none at all during the time of solemn and extraordinary prayer.

3. Fasting as it is instrumental to Prayer, must be attended with other aids of the like vertue and efficacy, such as are, removing for the time all worldly cares and secular businesses; and therefore our blessed Saviour enfolds these parts within the same caution. Take heed lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkennesse and the cares of this world, and that day overtake you unawares. To which add alms; for upon the wings of fasting and alms, holy prayer infallibly mounts up
to Heaven.

4. When **Fasting is intended to serve the duty of Repentance**, it is then best chosen when it is short, sharp and afflictive; that is, **either a total abstinence** from all nourishment (according as we shall appoint, or be appointed) during such a time as is separate for the solemnity and attendance upon the employments: or if we shall extend our severity beyond the solemn days, and keep our anger against our sin, as we are to keep our sorrow, that is, always in a readiness, and often to be called upon; then, to refuse a **pleasant morsel**, to abstain from the bread of our desires, and only to take wholesome and lesser pleasing nourishment, vexing our appetite by the refusing a lawful satisfaction, since in its petulance and luxurie it preyed upon an unlawful.

5. **Fasting designed for repentance** must be ever joined with an extreme care that we fast from sin: for there is no greater folly or undecency in the world, then to commit that for which I am now judging and condemning myself. This is the best fast: and the other may serve to promote the interest of this, by increasing the disaffection to it, and multiplying arguments against it.

6. He that **fasts for repentance**, must, during that solemnity, abstain from all bodily delights, and the sensuality of all his senses, and his appetites; for a man must not when he mourns in his fast be merry in his sport; weep at dinner, and laugh all day after; have a silence in his kitchen, and musick in his chamber;
judge the stomach, and feast the other senses. I deny not but
a man may in a single instance punish a particular sin with a
proper instrument: If a man have offended in his palate, he
may choose to fast only; if he have sinned in softness and
in his touch, he may choose to lie hard, or work hard, and use
sharp inflictions: but although this Discipline be proper and
particular, yet because the sorrow is of the whole man, no sense
must rejoice, or be with any study or purpose feasted and
entertained softly. This rule is intended to relate to the
solemn dayes appointed for repentance publickly or privately:
besides which in the whole course of our life, even in the midst
of our most festival and freer joyes we may sprinkle some single
instances, and acts of self condemning, or punishing: as to
refuse a pleasant morsel, or a delicious draught with a tacit
remembrance of the sin that now returns to displease my spirit:
and though these actions be single, there is no undecency in
them, because a man may abate of his ordinary liberty and bold
freedom with great prudence, so he does it without singularity
in himself, or trouble to others: but he may not abate of his
solemn sorrow: that may be caution; but this would be softness,
effeminacy and undecency.

7. When fasting is an act of mortification, that is, is
intended to subdue a bodily lust; as the spirit of fornication,
or the fondness of strong and impatient appetites, it must not be
a sudden, sharp, and violent fast, but a state of fasting, a dyet
of fasting, a daily lessening our portion of meat and drink,
a choosing such a course dyet which may make the least preparation
for the lusts of the body. He that fasts 3 dayes without food, will
weaken other parts more then the ministers of fornication: and when
the meals return as usually, they also will be served as soon as
any. In the mean time they will be supplyed and made active by
the accidental heat that comes with such violent fastings: for this
is a kinde of aerial Devil; the Prince that rules in the air is
the Devil of fornication; and he will be as tempting with the
windiness of a violent fast, as with the flesh of an ordinary
meal. But a daily substraction of the nourishment will introduce
a lesse busy habit of body, and that will prove the more effectual
remedy.

8. Fasting alone will not cure this Devil, though it helps
much towards it; but it must not therefore be neglected, but
assisted by all the proper instruments of remedy against this
unclean spirit; and what it is unable to do alone, in company
with other instruments, and Gods blessing upon them it may effect.

9. All fasting for whatsoever end it be undertaken, must
be done without any opinion of the necessity of the thing it self,
without censuring others, with all humility, in order to the proper
end; and just as a man takes physick of which no man hath reason
to be proud, and no man thinks it necessary, but because he is
in sicknesse, or in danger and disposition to it.

10. All fasts ordained by lawful authority are to be observed
in order to the same purposes to which they are enjoyned; and to
be accompanied with actions of the same nature, just as it is in
private fasts; for there is no other difference, but that in
publick our Superiours choose for us, what in private we do for
our selves.

11. Fasts ordained by lawful authority are not to be
neglected because alone they cannot do the thing in order to
which they were enjoyned. It may be one day of Humiliation will
not obtain the blessing, or alone kill the lust, yet it must
not be despised, if it can do any thing towards it. An act of
Fasting is an act of self-denial, and though it do not produce
the habit, yet it is a good act.

12. When the principal end why a Fast is publickly
prescribed, is obtained by some other instrument in a particular
person; as if the spirit of Fornication be cured by the rite of
Marriage, or by a gift of chastity, yet that person so eased, is
not freed from the Fasts of the Church by that alone, if those
fasts can prudently serve any other end of Religion, as that of
prayer, or repentance, or mortification of some other appetite:
for when it is instrumental to any end of the Spirit, it is freed
from superstition, and then we must have some other reason to
quit us from the Obligation, or that alone will not do it.

13. When the Fast publickly commanded by reason of some
indisposition in the particular person cannot operate to the end
of the Commandment, yet the avoiding offence, and the complying
with publick order is reason enough to make the obedience to be
necessary. For he that is otherwise disobliged (as when the
reason of the Law ceases, as to his particular, yet) remains still obliged if he cannot do otherwise without scandal: but this is an obligation of charity, not of justice.

14. All fasting is to be used with prudence and charity: for there is no end to which fasting serves, but may be obtained by other instruments, and therefore it must at no hand be made an instrument of scruple, or become an enemy to our health, or be imposed upon persons that are sick or aged, or to whom it is in any sense uncharitable; such as are wearied Travellers; or to whom in the whole kinde of it, it is uselessse, such as are Women with childe, poor people, and little children. But in these cases the Church hath made provision, and inserted caution into her Laws, and they are to be reduced to practise according to custome, and the sentence of prudent persons, with great latitude, and without niceness and curiosity: having this in our first care, that we secure our vertue, and next that we secure our health, that we may the better exercise the labours of vertue, lest out of too much austerity we bring our selves to that condition, that it be necessary to be indulgent to softnesse, ease and extreme tendernesse.

15. Let not intemperance be the Prologue or the Epilogue to your fast, lest the fast be so far from taking off any thing of the sin, that it bee an occasion to increase it; and therefore when the fast is done, be careful that no supervening act of gluttony, or excessive drinking unhallow the religion of the passed day; but eat temperately according to the proportion of
other meals, lest gluttony keep either of the gates to abstinence.

The benefits of Fasting.

He that undertakes to enumerate the benefits of fasting, may in the next page also reckon all the benefits of physick: for fasting is not to be commended as a duty, but as an instrument; and in that sense, no Man can reprove it, or undervalue it; but he that knows neither spiritual arts, nor spiritual necessities: but by the Doctors of the Church it is called, the nourishment of prayer, the restraint of lust, the wings of the soul, the diet of Angels, the instrument of humility, and self-denial, the purification of the Spirit: and that paleness and maigrenesse of visage which is consequent to the daily fast of great mortifiers, is by Saint Basil said to be the mark in the forehead which the Angel observed, when he signed the Saints in the forehead to escape the wrath of God. The soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry soul shall give thee praise and righteousnesse, O Lord.
Of Keeping Festivals and days holy to the Lord:

particularly, the Lords day.

True naturall Religion, that which was common to all Nations and Ages did principally relye upon four great propositions. 1. That there is one God. 2. That God is nothing of those things which wee see. 3. That God takes care of all things below and governs all the World. 4. That hee is the Great Creator of all things without himself: and according to these were framed the four first precepts of the Decalogue. In the first, the Unity of the Godhead is expressly affirmed. In the second, his invisibility and immateriality. In the third is affirmed Gods government and providence, by avenging them that swear falsly by his Name, by which also his Omniscience is declared. In the fourth Commandement, hee proclaims himself the Maker of Heaven and Earth: for in memory of Gods rest from the work of six dayes the seventh was hallowed into a Sabbath: and the keeping it was a confessing GOD to bee the great Maker of Heaven and Earth; and consequently to this, it also was a confession of his goodnesse, his Omnipotence and his Wisdom, all which were written with a Sun beam in the great book of the Creature.

So long as the Law of the Sabbath was bound upon Gods people, so long GOD would have that to be the solemn manner of confessing
these attributes; but when the Priesthood being changed there was a change also of the Law, the great duty remained unalterable in changed circumstances. We are eternally bound to confess God Almighty to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth; but the manner of confessing it, is changed from a rest or a doing nothing, to a speaking something, from a day to a symbol, from a ceremony to a substance, from a Jewish rite to a Christian duty: we profess it in our Creed, we confess it in our lives, we describe it by every line of our life, by every action of duty, by faith, and trust, and obedience: and we do also upon great reason comply with the Jewish manner of confessing the Creation, so far as it is instrumental to a real duty. We keepe one day in seven, and so confess the manner and circumstance of the Creation: and we rest also that we may tend holy duties: so imitating Gods rest better then the Jew in Synesius who lay upon his face from evening to evening, and could not by stripes or wounds be raised up to steer the ship in a great storm: Gods rest was not a natural cessation: hee who could not labour could not be said to rest; but Gods rest is to be understood to be a beholding and a rejoicing in his work finished: and therefore we truly represent Gods rest, when we confess and rejoice in Gods works and Gods glory.

This the Christian Church does upon every day, but especially upon the Lords day, which she hath set apart for this and all other Offices of Religion, being determined to this day, by the Resurrection of her dearest Lord, it being the first day of joy the Church ever had. And now, upon the Lords day we are not tyed to the rest of the Sabbath, but to all the work of the Sabbath:
and we are to abstain from bodily labour, not because it is a direct duty to us as it was to the Jews, but because it is necessary in order to our duty, that we attend to the Offices of Religion.

The observation of the Lords day differs nothing from the observation of the Sabbath in the matter of Religion, but in the manner. They differ in the ceremony and external rite. Rest with them was the principal: with us it is the accessory. They differ in the office or forms of worship: For they were then to worship God as a Creator and a gentle Father: we are to adde to that, Our Redeemer, and all his other excellencies and mercies: and though we have more natural and proper reason to keep the Lords day then the Sabbath, yet the Jews had a Divine Commandement for their day, which we have not for ours: but we have many Commandements to do all that honour to GOD which was intended in the fourth Commandement: and the Apostles appointed the first day of the week, for doing it in solemne Assemblies; and the manner of worshipping God and doing him solemn honour and service upon this day we may best observe in the following measures.

Rules for keeping the Lords day and other Christian Festivals.

1. When you go about to distinguish Festival dayes from common, do it not by lessening the devotions of ordinary dayes, that the common devotion may seem bigger upon Festivals, but on every day keep your ordinary devotions intire, and enlarge upon the Holy day.
2. Upon the Lords day wee must abstaine from all servile and laborious workes, except such which are matters of necessity, of common life, or of great charity: for these are permitted by that authority which hath separated the day for holy uses. The Sabbath of the Jewes though consisting principally in rest, and established by God, did yeeld to these. The labour of Love and labours of Religion were not against the reason and the spirit of the Commandement, for which the Letter was decreed, and to which it ought to minister: And therefore much more is it so on the Lords day, where the Letter is wholly turned into Spirit, and there is no Commandement of God, but of spiritual and holy actions. The Priests might kill their beasts and dresse them for sacrifice; and Christ though born under the law, might heal a sick man, and the sick man might carry his bed to witnesse his recovery, and confesse the mercy, and leap and dance to God for joy: and an Ox might be led to water, and an Asse be haled out of a ditch, and a man may take physick, and he may eat meat, and therefore there were of necessity some to prepare and minister it: and the performing these labours did not consist in minutes, and just determined stages, but they had, even then, a reasonable latitude: so onely as to exclude unnecessary labour, or such as did not minister to charity or religion. And therefore this is to be enlarged in the Gospel, whose Sabbath or rest is but a circumstance, and accessory to the principal and spiritual duties: Upon the Christian Sabbath, necessity is to be served first, then charity, and then religion; for this is to give place to charity in great instances; and the second to the first in all; and in all cases
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God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

3. The Lords day being the remembrance of a great blessing, must be a day of joy, festivity, spiritual rejoicing and thanksgiving, and therefore it is a proper work of the day to let your devotions spend themselves in singing or reading Psalms, in recounting the great works of God, in remembrance his mercies, in worshipping his excellencies, in celebrating his attributes, in admiring his person, in sending portions of pleasant meat to them for whom nothing is provided, and in all the arts and instruments of advancing Gods glory, and the reputation of religion: in which it were a great decency that a memorial of the resurrection should be inserted, that the particular religion of the day be not swallowed up in the general: And of this we may the more easily serve our selves by rising seasonably in the morning to private devotion, and by retiring at the leisures and spaces of the day not imployed in pubick offices.

4. Fail not to be present at the publick hours and places of prayer, entring early and cheerfully, attending reverently and devoutly, abiding patiently during the whole office, piously assisting at the prayers, and gladly also hearing the Sermon, and at no hand omitting to receive the Holy Communion when it is offered (unlesse some great reason excuse it) this being the great solemnity of thanksgiving, and a proper work of the day.

5. After the solemnities are past, and in the intervalls between the morning and evening devotion (as you shall finde opportunity) visit sick persons, reconcile differences, do offices
of Neighbourhood, inquire into the needs of the poor, especially
house-keepers, relieve them as they shall need, and as you are
able: for then we truely rejoyce in God, when we make our neighbours,
the poor members of Christ, rejoyce together with us.

6. Whatsoever you are to do your self as necessary, you
are to take care that others also, who are under your charge, do
in their station and manner. Let your servants be called to Church,
and all your family that can be spared from necessary and great
household ministeries: those that cannot, let them go by turns,
and be supplyed otherwise as well as they may: and provide on
these days especially that they be instructed in the articles of
faith, and necessary parts of their duty.

7. Those who labour hard in the week, must be eased upon
the Lords day; such ease being a great charity and alms: but at
no hand must they be permitted to use any unlawful games, any thing
forbidden by the laws, any thing that is scandalous, or any thing
that is dangerous, and apt to mingle sin with it; no games
prompting to wantonnesse, to drunkenesse, to quarrelling, to
ridiculous and superstitious customs, but let their refreshments
be innocent, and charitable, and of good report, and not exclusive
of the duties of religion.

8. Beyond these bounds because neither God nor man hath
passed any obligation upon us, we must preserve our Christian
liberty and not suffer our selves to be intangled with a yoke
of bondage: for even a good action may become a snare to us, if
we make it an occasion of scruple by a pretence of necessity,
binding loads upon the conscience not with the bands of God, but of men, and of fancy, or of opinion, or of tyranny. Whatsoever is laid upon us by the hands of man, must be acted and accounted of by the measures of a man; but our best measure is this: He keeps the Lords day best that keeps it with most religion, and with most charity.

9. What the Church hath done in the article of the resurrection, she hath in some measure done in the other articles of the Nativity, of the Ascension, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost: And so great blessings deserve an anniversary solemnity, since he is a very unthankful person that does not often record them in the whole year, and esteem them the ground of his hopes, the object of his faith, the comfort of his troubles, and the great effluxes of the divine mercy greater then all the victories over our temporal enemies, for which all glad persons usually give thanks. And if with great reason the memory of the resurrection does return solemnly every week, it is but reason the other should return once a year. To which I adde, that the commemoration of the articles of our Creed in solemn dayes and offices is a very excellent instrument to convey and imprint the sense and memory of it upon the spirits of the most ignorant person. For as a picture may with more fancy convey a story to a man, then a plain narrative either in word or writing: so a real representment, and an office of remembrance, and a day to declare it, is far more impressive then a picture, or any other art of making and fixing imagery.
10. The memories of the Saints are precious to God, and therefore they ought also to be so to us; and such persons who served God by holy living, industrious preaching, and religious dying, ought to have their names preserved in honour, and God be glorified in them, and their holy doctrines and lives published and imitated; and we by so doing give testimony to the article of the communion of Saints. But in these cases as every Church is to be sparing in the number of dayes, so also should she be temperate in her injunctions, not imposing them but upon voluntary and unbusied persons, without snare or burden. But the Holy day is best kept by giving God thanks for the excellent persons, Apostles or Martyrs we then remember, and by imitating their lives: this all may do: and they that can also keep the solemnity, must do that too, when it is publickly enjoyned.

The mixt actions of religion are, 1. Prayer. 2. Alms. 3. Repentance. 4. Receiving the blessed Sacrament.
There is no greater argument in the world of our spiritual danger and unwillingness to religion then the backwardnesse which most men have alwayes, and all men have sometimes to say their prayers: so weary of their length, so glad when they are done, so witty to excuse and frustrate an opportunity: and yet all is nothing but a desiring of God to give us the greatest and the best things we can need, and which can make us happy: it is a work so easy, so honourable, and to so great purpose, that in all the instances of religion and providence (except onely the incarnation of his Son) God hath not given us a greater argument of his willingnesse to have us saved, and of our unwillingnesse to accept it, his goodnesse and our gracelessenesse, his infinite condescension, and our carelessenesse and folly, then by rewarding so easy a duty with so great blessings.

Motives to prayer.

I cannot say any thing beyond this very consideration and its appendages to invite Christian people to pray often. But we may consider: That first it is a duty commanded by God and his holy Son: 2. It is an act of grace and highest honour that we dust and ashes are admitted to speak to the Eternal God, to run to him as to a Father, to lay open our wants, to complain of our
burdens, to explicate our scruples, to beg remedy and ease,
support and counsel, health and safety, deliverance and salvation:
and 3. God hath invited us to it by many gracious promises of
hearing us. 4. He hath appointed his most glorious Son to be
the president of prayer, and to make continual intercession for
us to the throne of grace. 5. He hath appointed an Angel to
present the prayers of his servants: and 6. Christ unites them
to his own, and sanctifies them, and makes them affective and
prevalent: and 7. Hath put it into the hands of men to rescind
or alter all the decrees of God which are of one kinde,(that is,
conditional, and concerning our selves and our final estate,
and many instances of our intermedial or temporal) by the power
of prayers. 8. And the prayers of men have saved cities and
kingdoms from ruine; prayer hath raised dead men to life, hath
stopped the violence of fire, shut the mouths of wilde beasts,
hath altered the course of nature, caused rain in Egypt, and
drowth in the sea, it made the Sun to go from West to East, and
the Moon to stand still, and rocks and mountains to walk, and it
cures diseases without physick, and makes physick to do the work
of nature, and nature to do the work of grace, and grace to do
the work of God; and it does miracles of accident and event: and
yet prayer that does all this, is of it self nothing but an
ascent of the minde to God, a desiring things fit to be desired,
and an expression of this desire to God as we can, and as
becomes us: And our unwillingnesse to pray, is nothing else but
a not desiring what we ought passionately to long for; or if we
do desire it, it is a choosing rather to misse our satisfaction
and felicity, then to ask for it.

There is no more to be said in this affair, but that we reduce it to practise according to the following Rules.

^ Rules for the practise of Prayer.

1. We must be careful that we never ask any thing of God that is sinful, or that directly ministers to sin: for that is to ask of God to dishonour himself, and to undo us: we had need consider what we pray; for before it returns in blessing it must be joined with Christ's intercession, and presented to God: Let us principally ask of God power and assistances to do our duty, to glorify God, to do good works; to live a good life, to dye in the fear and favour of God, and eternal life: these things God delights to give, and commands that we shall ask, and we may with confidence expect to be answered graciously; for these things are promised without any reservation of a secret condition: if we ask them, and do our duty towards the obtaining them, we are sure never to misse them.

2. We may lawfully pray to God for the gifts of the Spirit that minister to holy ends, such as are the gift of preaching, the spirit of prayer, good expression, a ready and unloosed tongue, good understanding, learning, opportunities to publish them, etc. with these onely restraints. 1. That we cannot be so confident of the event of those prayers, as of the former. 2. That we must be curious to secure our intention in these desires, that we may not ask them to serve our own ends, but only for God's glory,
and then we shall have them, or a blessing for desiring them:
In order to such purposes our intentions in the first desires
cannot be amisse; because they are able to sanctifie other
things, and therefore cannot be unhallowed themselves. 3. We
must submit to Gods will, desiring him to choose our imployment,
and to furnish out our persons as he shall see expedient.

3. Whatsoever we may lawfully desire of temporall things,
wee may lawfully ask of God in prayer, and we may expect them
as they are promised. 1. Whatsoever is necessary to our life
and being is promised to us; and therefore we may with certainty
expect food and raiment; food to keep us alive; clothing to keepe
us from nakednesse and shame; so long as our life is permitted
to us, so long all things necessary to our life shall be
ministred: we may be secure of maintenance, but not secure
of our life, for that is promised, not this: onely concerning
food and raiment we are not to make accounts by the measure of
our desires, but by the measure of our needs. 2. Whatsoever is
convenient for us, pleasant, and modestly delectable, we may
pray for; so we do it 1. with submission to Gods will. 2. Without
impatient desires. 3. That it be not a trifle and inconsiderable,
but a matter so grave and concerning, as to be a fit matter to
be treated on between God and our souls. 4. That we ask it not
to spend upon our lusts, but for ends of justice, or charity,
or religion, and that they be imployed with sobriety.

4. He that would pray with effect must live with care and
piety. For although God gives to sinners and evil persons the
common blessings of life and chance, yet either they want the comfort and blessing of those blessings, or they become occasions of sadder accidents to them, or serve to upbraid them in their ingratitude or irreligion: and in all cases, they are not the effects of prayer, or the fruits of promise, or instances of a father's love; for they cannot be expected with confidence, or received without danger, or used without a curse and mischief in their company. But as all sin is an impediment to prayer, so some have a special indisposition towards acceptation; such are uncharitableness and wrath, Hypocrisy in the present action, Pride and Lust: because these by defiling the body or the spirit, or by contradicting some necessary ingredient in prayer (such as are Mercy, Humility, Purity, and Sincerity) do defile the prayer and make it a direct sin in the circumstances or formality of the action.

5. All prayer must be made with Faith and Hope: that is, we must certainly believe we shall receive the grace which GOD hath commanded us to ask: and we must hope for such things which hee hath permitted us to ask; and our Hope shall not bee vain, though we misse what is not absolutely promised, because we shall at least have an equal blessing in the denial, as in the grant. And therefore the former conditions must first be secured, that is, that we ask things necessary, or at least good and innocent and profitable; and that our persons be gracious in the eyes of God; or else what God hath promised to our natural needs, he may in many degrees deny to our personal incapacity;
but the thing being secured, and the person disposed, there can be no fault at all: for whatsoever else remains is on God's part, and that cannot possibly fail. But because the things which are not commanded cannot possibly be secured (for we are not sure they are good in all circumstances) we can but hope for such things, even after we have secured our good intentions. We are sure of a blessing, but in what instance we are not yet assured.

6. Our prayers must be fervent, intense, earnest and importunate when we pray for things of high concernment and necessity. Continuing instant in prayer: striving in prayer: labouring fervently in prayer: night and day praying exceedingly: praying alwayes with all prayer, so S. Paul calls it: watching unto prayer, so Saint Peter: praying earnestly, so S. James: and this is not at all to be abated in matters spiritual and of duty: for according as our desires are, so are our prayers; and as our prayers are, so shall be the grace; and as that is, so shall be the measure of glory. But this admits of degrees according to the perfection or imperfection of our state of life: but it hath no other measures, but ought to be as great as it can; the bigger the better; we must make no positive restraints upon it our selves. In other things we are to use a bridle: and as we must limit our desires with submission to God's will: so also we must limit the importunity of our prayers by the moderation and term of our desires. Pray for it as earnestly as you may desire it.
7. Our desires must be lasting, and our prayers frequent, assiduous, and continual: not asking for a blessing once and then leaving it; but daily renewing our suits, and exercising our hope, and faith and patience, and long-suffering, and Religion, and resignation, and self-denial in all the degrees we shall be put to. This circumstance of duty our blessed Saviour taught, saying, "That men ought alwayes to pray and not to faint. Alwayes to pray signifies the frequent doing of the duty in general: but because we cannot alwayes ask several things, and we also have frequent need of the same things, and those are such as concern our great interest, the precept comes home to this very circumstance; and S. Paul calls it, "praying without ceasing and himself in his own case gave a precedent: For this cause I besought the Lord thrice, and so did our blessed Lord, he went thrice to God on the same errand, with the same words in a short space, about half a night: for his time to sollicite his suit was but short: and the Philippians were remembred by the Apostle, their spiritual Father "alwayes in every prayer of his. And thus we must always pray for the pardon of our sins, for the assistance of Gods grace, for charity, for life eternal, never giving over till we dye: and thus also we pray for supply of great temporal needs in their several proportions: in all cases being curious we do not give over out of wearinesse, or impatience: For God oftentimes defers to grant our suit, because he loves to hear us beg it, and hath a design to give us more then we ask, even a satisfaction of our desires, and a blessing for the very
importunity.

8. Let the words of our prayers be pertinent, grave, material, not studiously many, but according to our need, sufficient to express our wants, and to signify our importunity. God hears us not the sooner for our many words, but much the sooner for an earnest desire, to which, let apt and sufficient words minister, be they few, or many, according as it happens. A long prayer and a short, differ not in their capacities of being accepted; for both of them take their value according to the fervency of spirit, and the charity of the prayer. That prayer which is short by reason of an impatient spirit, or dulness, or despite of holy things, or indifference of desires, is very often criminal, always imperfect: and that prayer which is long out of ostentation, or superstition, or a trifling spirit, is as criminal and imperfect as the other in their several instances.

This rule relates to private prayer. In publick, our devotion is to be measured by the appointed office, and we are to support our spirit with spiritual arts, that our private spirit may be a part of the publick spirit, and be adopted into the society and blessings of the communion of Saints.

9. In all forms of prayer mingle petition with thanksgiving, that you may endear the present prayer, and the future blessing by returning praise and thanks for what we have already received. This is Saint Paul's advice, "Be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God."
10. Whatever we beg of God, let us also work for it; if the thing be matter of duty, or a consequent to industry. For God loves to blesse labour and to reward it, but not to support idlenesse. And therefore our blessed Saviour in his Sermons joins watchfulness with prayer: for Gods graces are but assistances, not new creations of the whole habit in every instant, or period of our life. Reade Scriptures, and then pray to GOD for understanding: Pray against temptation, but you must also resist the Devil, and then hee will flee from you. Ask of GOD competency of living, but you must also work with your hands, the things that are honest, that ye may have to supply in time of need: We can but do our endeavour, and pray for blessing, and then leave the successe with GOD: and beyond this we cannot deliberate, we cannot take care; but so far we must.

11. To this purpose let every man studie his praier, and read his dutie in his petitions. For the bodie of our prayers is the summe of our dutie; and as we must ask of God whatsoever we need; so we must labour for all that we ask. Because it is our dutie, therefore we must pray for Gods grace: but because Gods grace is necessarie, and without it we can do nothing, we are sufficiently taught, that in the proper matter of our religious praiers, is the just matter of our duty: and if we shall turn our praiers into precepts, we shall the easier turn our hearty desires into effective practices.

12. In all our prayers we must be carefull to attend our present work, having a present minde, not wandring upon impertinent things,
not distant from our words, much lesse contrary to them: and if
our thoughts do at any time wander, and divert upon other objects,
bring them back again with prudent and severe arts; by all means
striving to obtain a diligent, a sober, an untroubled and a
composed spirit.

13. Let your posture and gesture of body in prayers bee
reverent, grave, and humble; according to publike order, or the
best examples, if it be in publick; if it be in private, either
stand, or kneel, or lye flat upon the ground on your face, in
your ordinary and more solemn prayers; but in extraordinary,
casual, and ejaculatory prayers, the reverence and devotion of
the soul, and the lifting up the eyes and hands to God with any
other posture not undecent, is usual and commendable; for we may
pray in bed, on horseback, everywhere, and at all times, and in
all circumstances: and it is well if we do so; and some servants
have not opportunity to pray so often as they would, unlesse they
supply the appetites of Religion by such accidental devotions.

14. Let prayers and supplications, and giving of thanks
be made for all men: for Kings and all that are in authority:
for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.
We who must love our Neighbours as our selves, must also pray
for them as for our selves: with this onely difference; that we
may enlarge in our temporal desires for Kings, and pray for secular
prosperity to them with more importunity then for our selves;
because they need more to enable their duty and government, and
for the interests of Religion and Justice. This part of prayer
is by the Apostle called intercession in which with special care we are to remember our Relatives, our Family, our Charge, our Benefactours, our Creditours; not forgetting to beg pardon and charity for our Enemies, and protection against them.

15. Relye not on a single prayer in matters of great concernment: but make it as publick as you can by obtaining of others to pray for you: this being the great blessing of the communion of Saints, that a prayer united is strong like a well ordered Army; and God loves to be tyed fast with such cords of love, and constrained by a holy violence.

16. Every time that is not seized upon by some other duty, is seasonable enough for prayer; but let it be performed as a solemn duty morning and evening, that God may begin and end all our businesse, and the outgoings of the morning and evening may praise him; for so we blesse God, and God blesses us. And yet fail not to finde or make opportunities to worship God at some other times of the day; at least by ejaculations and short addresses: more or lesse, longer or shorter, solemnly or without solemnity, privately or publickly, as you can, or are permitted: always remembring, that as every sin is a degree of danger and unsafety: so every pious prayer and well imployed opportunity is a degree of return to hope and pardon.

Cautions for making vowes.

17. A vow to God is an act of prayer, and a great degree and instance of opportunity, and an increase of duty by some new
uncommanded instance, or some more eminent degree of duty, or
frequency of action, or earnestnesse of spirit in the same. And
because it hath pleased God in all Ages of the World to admit
of entercourse with his servants in the matter of vows, it is
not ill advice, that we make vows to God in such cases in which
we have great need, or great danger. But let it be done according
to these rules, and by these cautions.

1. That the matter of the vow be lawful. 2. That it be
useful in order to Religion or charity. 3. That it be grave,
not trifling and impertinent, but great in our proportion of
duty towards the blessing. 4. That it be in an uncommanded
instance, that is, that it be of something, or in some manner,
or in some degree to which formerly wee were not obliged, or
which wee might have omitted without sinne. 5. That it bee done
with prudence, that is, that it be safe in all the circumstances
of person, lest we beg a blessing and fall into a snare. 6. That
every vow of a new action bee also accompanied with a new degree
and enforcement of our essential and unalterable duty: such as
was Jacobs vow; that (besides the payment of a tithe) God should
be his God: that so hee might strengthen his duty to him first
in essentials and precepts; and then in additionals and accidentals.
For it is but an ill Tree that spends more in leaves and suckers
and gummes, then in fruit: and that thankfulnesse and Religion
is best, that first secures duty, and then enlarges in counsels.
Therefore let every great prayer and great need, and great danger
draw us nearer to God by the approach of a pious purpose to live
more strictly, and let every mercy of GOD answering that prayer
produce a real performance of it. 7. Let not young beginners in Religion enlarge their hearts and streighten their liberty by vowes of long continuance: nor (indeed) any one else without a great experience of himself, and of all accidental dangers.

Vowes of single actions are safest, and proportionable to those single blessings ever begged in such cases of sudden and transient importunities. 8. Let no action which is matter of question and dispute in Religion, ever become the matter of a vow. He vowes foolishly that promises to God to live and dye in such an opinion, in an article not necessary, not certain; or that upon confidence of his present guide, bindes himself for ever to the profession of what he may afterwards more reasonably contradict, or may finde not to be useful, or not profitable; but of some danger, or of no necessity.

If we observe the former rules we shall pray piously and effectually; but because even this duty hath in it some especial temptations, it is necessary that we be armed by special remedies against them. The dangers are, 1. Wandring thoughts. 2. Tediousnesse of spirit. Against the first these advices are profitable.

Remedies against wandring thoughts

in Prayer.

If we feel our spirits apt to wander in our prayers, and to retire into the World, or to things unprofitable, or vain and impertinent.

1. Use prayer to bee assisted in prayer: pray for the spirit
of supplication, for a sober, fixed, and recollected spirit: and when to this you adde a moral industry to be steady in your thoughts, whatsoever wandrings after this do return irremediably, are a misery of Nature, and an imperfection, but no sinne while it is not cherished and indulged too.

2. In private it is not amisse to attempt the cure by reducing your prayers into Collects, and short forms of prayer, making voluntary interruptions and beginning again, that the want of spirit and breath may be supplied by the short stages and periods.

3. When you have observed any considerable wandring of your thoughts, binde your self to repeat that prayer again with actual attention, or else revolve the full sense of it in your spirit, and repeat it in all the effect and desires of it: and possibly the tempter may be driven away with his own art, and may cease to interpose his trifles, when hee perceives they doe but vex the person into carefulnesse, and piety: and yet hee loses nothing of his devotion, but doubles the earnestnesse of his care.

4. If this bee not seasonable, or opportune, or apt to any Mans circumstances, yet be sure with actual attention to say a hearty Amen to the whole prayer, with one united desire, earnestly begging the graces mentioned in the prayer: for that desire does the great work of the prayer and secures the blessing, if the wandring thoughts were against our will, and disclaimed by contending against them.
5. Avoid multiplicity of businesses of the World; and in those that are unavoidable, labour for an evenness and tranquillity of spirit, that you may be untroubled and smooth in all tempests of fortune: for so we shall better tend Religion, when we are not torn in pieces with the cares of the World, and seized upon with low affections, passions and interest.

6. It helps much to attention and actual advertisement in our prayers, if we say our prayers silently, without the voice, only by actual desires and the spirit. For in mental prayer, if our thoughts wander, we only stand still; when our minde returns, we go on again, there is none of the prayer lost, as it is, if our mouths speak and our hearts wander.

7. To incite you to the use of these or any other counsels you shall meet with, remember that it is a great undecency to desire of God to hear those prayers, a great part whereof we do not hear our selves. If they be not worthy of our attention, they are far more unworthy of Gods.

Signes of tediousnesse of spirit in our prayers and all actions of religion.

The second temptation in our prayer is a tediousnesse of spirit, or a wearinesse of the employment: like that of the Jews, who complained that they were weary of the new moons, and their souls loathed the frequent return of their Sabbaths: so do very many Christians, who first pray without fervour and earnestnesse of spirit: and secondly meditate but seldom, and that without
fruit, or sense or affection: or thirdly who seldom examine their consciences, and when they do it, they do it but sleepily, slightly, without compunction, or hearty purpose, or fruits of amendment.

4. They enlarge themselves in the thoughts and fruition of temporal things, running for comfort to them only in any sadness and misfortune. 5. They love not to frequent the Sacraments, nor any the instruments of religion, as sermons, confessions, prayers in publick, fastings, but love ease, and a loose undisciplined life. 6. They obey not their superiours, but follow their own judgement, when their judgement follows their affections, and their affections follow sense and worldly pleasures. 7. They neglect, or dissemble, or defer, or do not attend to the motions and inclinations to virtue which the spirit of God puts into their soul. 8. They repent them of their vows and holy purposes, not because they discover any indiscretion in them, or intolerable inconvenience, but because they have within them labour, and (as the case now stands to them) displeasure. 9. They content themselves with the first degrees, and necessary parts of virtue, and when they are arrived thither, they sit down, as if they were come to the mountain of the Lord, and care not to proceed on toward perfection. 10. They enquire into all cases in which it may be lawful to omit a duty, and though they will not do less than they are bound to, yet they will do no more than needs must; for they do out of fear, and self love, not out of the love of God, or the spirit of holiness and zeal. The event of which will be this. He that will do no more then needs must, will soon be brought to omit something of his duty, and will be apt to
believe lesse to be necessary then is.

**Remedies against tediousnesse of spirit.**

The Remedies against this temptation are these.

1. Order your private devotions so, that they become not arguments and causes of tediousnesse by their indiscreet length; but reduce your words into a narrower compasse, still keeping all the matter, and what is cut off in the length of your prayers, supply in the earnestnesse of your spirit; for so nothing is lost while the words are changed into matter, and length of time into fervency of devotion. The forms are made not the lesse perfect, and the spirit is more, and the scruple is removed.

2. It is not imprudent if we provide variety of forms of Prayer to the same purposes; that the change by consulting with the appetites of fancy, may better entertain the Spirit: and possibly we may be pleased to recite a hymn, when a collect seems flat to us and unpleasant, and we are willing to sing rather then to say, or to sing this rather then that: we are certain that variety is delightful, and whether that be natural to us, or an imperfection, yet if it be complyed with, it may remove some part of the temptation.

3. Break your office and devotion into fragments, and make frequent returnings by ejaculations and abrupt entercourses with God; for so, no length can oppresse your tenderness and sicklinesse of spirit; and by often praying in such manner and in all
circumstances, we shall habituate our souls to prayer, by making it the businesse of many lesser portions of our time: and by thrusting in between all our other imployments, it will make every thing relish of religion, and by degrees turn all into its nature.

4. Learn to abstract your thoughts and desires from pleasures and things of the world. For nothing is a direct cure to this evill, but cutting off all other loves and adherences. Order your affairs so, that religion may be propounded to you as a reward, and prayer as your defence, and holy actions as your security, and charity and good works as your treasure: Consider that all things else are satisfactions but to the brutish part of a man, and that these are the refreshments and relishes of that noble part of us by which we are better then beasts:
and whatsoever other instrument, exercise or consideration is of use to take our loves from the world, the same is apt to place them upon God.

5. Do not seek for deliciousnesse and sensible consolations in the actions of religion, but onely regard the duty and the conscience of it. For although in the beginning of religion most frequently, and at some other times irregularly, God complyes with our infirmity, and encourages our duty with little overflowings of spiritual joy, and sensible pleasure, and delicacies in prayer, so as we seem to feel some little beam of Heaven and great refreshments from the spirit of consolation; yet this is not always safe for us to have, neither safe for us to expect and
look for: and when we do, it is apt to make us cool in our enquiries and waitings upon Christ when we want them: It is a running after him, not for the miracles, but for the loaves; not for the wonderful things of God, and the desires of pleasing him, but for the pleasures of pleasing our selves. And as we must not judge our devotion to be barren or unfruitful when we want the overflowings of joy running over: so neither must we cease for want of them: If our spirits can serve God choosingly and greedily out of pure conscience of our duty, it is better in it self, and more safe to us.

6. Let him use to soften his spirit with frequent meditation upon sad and dolorous objects, as of death, the terours of the day of judgement; fearful judgements upon sinners, strange horrid accidents, fear of Gods wrath, the pains of Hell, the unspeakable amazements of the damned, the intolerable load of a sad Eternity. For whatsoever creates fear, or makes the spirit to dwell in a religious sadnesse, is apt to entender the spirit, and make it devout and plyant to any part of duty. For a great fear, when it is ill managed, is the parent of superstition; but a discreet and well guided fear produces religion.

7. Pray often and you shall pray oftener, and when you are accustomed to a frequent devotion, it will so insensibly unite to your nature and affections, that it will become trouble to omit your usual or appointed prayers: and what you obtain at first by doing violence to your inclinations, at last will not be left without as great unwillingnesse as that by which at first it
entred. This rule relyes not onely upon reason derived from
the nature of habits, which turn into a second nature, and make
their actions easy, frequent and delightful: but it relyes upon
a reason depending upon the nature and constitution of grace,
whose productions are of the same nature with the parent, and
increases it self, naturally growing from granes to huge trees,
from minutes to vast proportions, and from moments to Eternity.
But be sure not to omit your usual prayers without great reason,
though without sin it may be done; because after you have omitted
something, in a little while you will be passed the scruple of
that, and begin to be tempted to leave out more: keep your self
up to your usual forms; you may enlarge when you will; but do
not contract or lessen them without a very probable reason.

8. Let a man frequently and seriously by imagination
place himself upon his death-bed, and consider what great joyes
he shall have for the remembrance of every day well spent; and
what then he would give that he had so spent all his dayes: He
may guesse at it by proportions: for it is certain he shall have
a joyful and prosperous night, who hath spent his day holily;
and he resignes his soul with peace into the hands of God, who
hath lived in the peace of God, and the works of religion in
his life time. This consideration is of a real event, it is of
a thing that will certainly come to passe. It is appointed for
all men once to die, and after death comes judgement; the
apprehension of which is dreadful, and the presence of it is
intolerable, unlesse by religion and sanctity we are disposed
for so venerable an appearance.

9. To this may be useful that we consider the easinesse of Christ's yoke, the excellences and sweetnesses that are in religion, the peace of conscience, the joy of the Holy Ghost, the rejoicing in God, the simplicity and pleasure of vertue, the intricacy, trouble and businesse of sin; the blessings and health and reward of this, the curses, the sicknesses and sad consequences of this; and that, if we are weary of the labours of religion, we must eternally sit still and do nothing: for whatsoever we do, contrary to it, is infinitely more full of labour, care, difficulty, and vexation.

10. Consider this also, that tediousnesse of spirit, is the beginning of the most dangerous condition and estate in the whole World. For it is a great disposition to the sinne against the Holy Ghost; it is apt to bring a Man to backsliding, and the state of unregeneration, to make him return to his vomit and his sink, and either to make the Man impatient, or his condition scrupulous, unsatisfied, irksome and desperate: and it is better that he had never known the way of godliness, then after the knowledge of it, that he should fall away. There is not in the World a greater signe that the spirit of Reprobation is beginning upon a Man, then when hee is habitually and constantly, or very frequently, weary, and slights, or loaths holy Offices.

11. The last remedy that preserves the hope of such a Man, and can reduce him to the state of zeal and the love of God, is a
pungent, sad, and a heavy affliction; not desperate, but recreated with some intervals of kindenesse, and little comforts, or entertained with hopes of deliverance: which condition, if a Man shall fall into, by the grace of God he is likely to recover: but if this help him not, it is infinite oddes but he will quench the Spirit.
Of Almes.

Love is as communicative as fire, as busie, and as active, and it hath four twin Daughters, extreme like each other; and but that the Doctors of the School have doen as Thamars Midwife did, who bound a Scarlet threed, something to distinguish them, it would be very hard to call them asunder. Their names are:

1. Mercy. 2. Beneficence, or well doing. 3. Liberality. And 4. Almes; which by a special priviledge hath obtained to be called after the Mothers name, and is commonly called, Charity. The first or eldest is seated in the affection, and it is that, which all the other must attend. For Mercy without Almes is acceptable, when the person is disabled to expresse outwardly what he heartily desires. But Almes without Mercy, are like prayers without devotion, or Religion without Humility. 2. Beneficence, or well doing, is a promptnesse and noblenesse of minde, making us to do offices of curtesie, and humanity to all sorts of persons in their need, or out of their need. 3. Liberality is a disposition of minde opposite to covetousnesse, and consists in the despite and neglect of money upon just occasions, and relates to our friends, children, kinred, servants and other relatives. 4. But Almes is a relieving the poor and needy. The first and the last onely are duties of Christianity. The second and third are circumstances and adjuncts of these duties: for Liberality
increases the degree of Almes, making our gift greater; and Beneficence extends it to more persons and orders of Men, spreading it wider. The former makes us sometimes to give more then we are able; and the latter gives to more then need by the necessity of Beggars, and serves the needs and conveniences of persons, and supplies circumstances: whereas properly, Almes are doles and largesses to the necessitous and calamitous people; supplying the necessities of Nature, and giving remedies to their miseries.

Mercy and Almes are the body and soul of that charity which we must pay to our Neighbours need: and it is a precept which God therefore enjoyned to the World, that the great inequality which he was pleased to suffer in the possessions and accidents of Men, might be reduced to some temper and evennesse; and the most miserable person might be reconciled to some sense and participation of felicity.

Works of mercy, or the several kindes of corporal Almes.

The workes of Mercy are so many as the affections of Mercy have objects, or as the World hath kindes of misery. Men want meat or drink, or clothes, or a house, or liberty, or attendance, or a grave. In proportion to these, seven works are usually assigned to Mercy; and there are seven kindes of corporal almes reckoned. 1. To feed the hungry. 2. To give drink to the thirsty. 3. Or clothes to the naked. 4. To redeem Captives. 5. To visit the sick. 6. To entertain strangers. 7. To bury
the dead. But many more may be added. Such as are. 8. To give physick to sick persons. 9. To bring cold and starved people to warmth and to the fire: for sometimes clothing will not do it; or this may be done when we cannot do the other. 10. To lead the blinde in right wayes. 11. To lend money. 12. To forgive debts. 13. To remit forfeitures. 14. To mend high wayes and bridges. 15. To reduce or guide wandring travellers. 16. To ease their labours by accommodating their work with apt instruments; or their journey with beasts of carriage. 17. To deliver the poor from their oppressors. 18. To dye for my brother. 19. To pay maydens dowries, and to procure for them honest and chast marriages.

Works of spiritual Almes and mercy, are

1. To teach the ignorant. 2. To counsell doubting persons. 3. To admonish sinners diligently, prudently, seasonably and charitably: To which also may be reduced, provoking and encouraging to good works. 4. To comfort the afflicted. 5. To pardon offenders. 6. To suffer and support the weak. 7. To pray for all estates of men, and for relief to all their necessities. To which may be added. 8. To punish or correct refractorinesse. 9. To be gentle and charitable in censuring the actions of others. 10. To establish the scrupulous, wavering, and inconstant spirits. 11. To confirm the strong. 12. Not to give scandal. 13. To quit a man of his fear. 14. To redeem maydens from prostitution and publication of their bodies.
To both these kindes, a third also may be added of a mixt nature, partly corporall, and partly spiritual: such are,

1. Reconciling enemies.  2. Erecting publick Schools of Learning.

3. Maintaining Lectures of Divinity.  4. Erecting Colledges for Religion, and retirement from the noises and more frequent temptations of the World.  5. Finding imployment for unbusied persons, and putting children to honest Trades. For the particulars of Mercy or Almes cannot be narrower then Mens needs are: and the old method of Almes is too narrow to comprize them all; and yet the kindes are too many to be discoursed of particularly: onely our blessed Saviour in the precept of Almes, uses the instances of relieving the poor, and forgivenesse of injuries; and by proportion to these, the rest, whose duty is plain, simple, easie and necessary, may be determined. But Almes in general are to be disposed of according to the following Rules.

Rules for giving Almes.

1. Let no Man do Almes of that which is none of his own; for of that he is to make restitution; that is due to the owners, not to the poor: for every Man hath need of his own, and that is first to be provided for; and then you must think of the needs of the poor. He that gives the poor what is not his own, makes himself a thief, and the poor to be the receivers. This is not to be understood, as if it were unlawful for a Man that is not able to pay his debts, to give smaller Almes to the poor. He may not give such portions as can in any sence more disable him
to do justice: but such, which if they were saved could not
advance the other duty, may retire to this, and do here what
they may, since in the other duty they cannot do what they should.
But generally Cheaters and Robbers cannot give almes of what
they have cheated and robbed, unless they cannot tell the
persons whom they have injured, or the proportions; and in
such cases they are to give those unknown portions to the poor
by way of restitution, for it is no almes: onely God is the
supreme Lord to whom those escheats devolve, and the poor are
his Receivers.

2. Of money unjustly taken and yet voluntarily parted with,
we may and are bound to give almes: such as is money given and
taken for false witnesse, bribes, simoniacl contracts, because
the Receiver hath no right to keep it, nor the Giver any right
to recall it, it is unjust money, and yet payable to none but
to the supreme Lord (who is the person injured) and to his
Delegates, that is, the poor. To which I insert these cautions.
1. If the person injured by the unjust sentence of a bribed
Judge, or by false witnesse, be poor, he is the proper object
and bosome to whom the restitution is to be made. 2. In case
of Simony, the Church, to whom the Simony was injurious, is the
lap into which the restitution is to be powred, and if it be
poor and out of repair, the almes or restitution (shall I call it)
are to be paid to it.

3. There is some sort of gain that hath in it no injustice
properly so called; but it is unlawful and filthy lucre: such as
is money taken for worke done unlawfully upon the Lords day, hire taken for disfiguring ones self, and for being professed jesters, the wages of such as make unjust bargains, and of harlots: of this money there is some preparation to be made before it be given in Almes. The money is infected with the plague, and must passe thorough the fire or the water before it be fit for almes: the person must repent and leave the crime, and then minister to the poor.

4. He that gives almes must do it in mercy, that is, out of a true sence of the calamity of his brother, first feeling it in himself in some proportion, and then endeavouring to ease himself and the other of their common calamity. Against this rule they offend who give almes out of custome, or to upbraid the poverty of the other, or to make him mercenary and obliged, or with any unhandsome circumstances.

5. He that gives almes must do it with a single eye and heart; that is, without designes to get the praise of men: and if he secures that, he may either give them publickly, or privately: for Christ intended only to provide against pride and hypocrisie, when he bade almes to be given in secret; it being otherwise one of his Commandments, that our light should shine before men: this is more excellent, that is more safe.

6. To this also appertains, that he who hath done a good turne should so forget it as not to speak of it: but he that boasts it or upbraids it, hath paid himself, and lost the noblenesse of the charity.
7. Give alms with a cheerful heart and countenance, not grudgingly or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver; and therefore give quickly when the power is in thy hand, and the need is in thy Neighbor, and thy Neighbor at the door. He gives twice that relieves speedily.

8. According to thy ability to give to all men that need; and in equal needs give first to good men, rather then to bad men; and if the needs be unequal, do so too; provided that the need of the poorest be not violent or extream: but if an evil man be in extream necessity, he is to be relieved rather then a good man who can tarry longer, and may subsist without it; and if he be a good man, he will desire it should be so: because himself is bound to save the life of his brother with doing some inconvenience to himself: and no difference of vertue or vice, can make the ease of one begger equal with the life of another.

9. Give no almes to vitious persons, if such almes will support their sin: as if they will continue in idlenes, if they will not work, neither let them eat, or if they will spend it in drunkenness, or wantonness: such persons when they are reduced to very great want, must be relieved in such proportions, as may not relieve their dying lust, but may refesh their faint or dying bodies.

10. The best objects of charity are poor house keepers that labour hard, and are burdened with many children; or Gentlemen fallen into sad poverty, especially if by innocent
misfortune (and if their crimes brought them into it, yet they are to be relieved according to the former rule) persecuted persons, widows, and fatherlesse children, putting them to honest trades or schools of learning: and search into the needs of numerous and meaner families; for there are many persons that have nothing left them but misery and modesty: and towards such we must adde two circumstances of charity. 1. To enquire them out. 2. To convey our relief to them so as we do not make them ashamed.

11. Give, looking for nothing again, that is, without consideration of future advantages: give to children, to old men, to the unthankful, and the dying, and to those you shall never see again: for else your alms or curtesy is not charity, but traffick and merchandise: and be sure that you omit not to relieve the needs of your enemy and the injurious; for so possibly you may win him to your self; but do you intend the winning him to God.

12. Trust not your almes to intermedial, uncertain and under dispensers: by which rule is not onely intended the securing your almes in the right chanel; but the humility of your person, and that which the Apostle calls the labour of love: and if you converse in Hospitals, and Alms-houses, and minister with your own hands what your heart hath first decreed, you will finde your heart endeared and made familiar with the needs and with the persons of the poor, those excellent images of Christ.

13. Whatsoever is superfluous in thy estate is to be
dispensed in alms. He that hath two coats must give to him
that hath none; that is, he that hath beyond his need must give
that which is beyond it: Only among needs we are to reckon not
only what will support our life, but also what will maintain
the decency of our estate and person; not only in present needs,
but in all future necessities, and very probable contingencies,
but no further: we are not obliged beyond this, unless we see
very great, publick and calamitous necessities: but yet, if we
do extend beyond our measures, and give more than we are able,
we have the Philippians and many holy persons for our precedent, we
have S. Paul for our encouragement, we have Christ for our
Counsellor, we have God for our rewarde, and a great treasure
in Heaven for our recompence and restitution. But I propound it
to the consideration of all Christian people, that they be not
nice and curious, fond and indulgent to themselves in taking
accounts of their personal conveniences, and that they make
their proportions moderate and easy, according to the order and
manner of Christianity; and the consequent will be this, that
the poor will more plentifully be relieved, themselves will be
more able to do it, and the duty will be lesse chargeable, and
the owners of estates charged with fewer accounts in the spending
them. It cannot be denied, but in the expences of all liberal
and great personages many things might be spared: some superfluous
servants, some idle meetings, some unnecessary and imprudent
feasts, some garments too costly, some unnecessary Law-suits,
some vain journeyes: and when we are tempted to such needless
expences, if we shall descend to moderation, and lay aside the
surplusage, we shall finde it with more profit to be laid out
upon the poor members of Christ, then upon our own with vanity.
But this is onely intended to be an advice in the manner of
doing almes: for I am not ignorant that great variety of clothes
always have been permitted to Princes and Nobility, and others
in their proportion; and they usually give those clothes as
rewards to servants, and other persons needful enough, and
then they may serve their own fancy and their duty too: but
it is but reason and religion to be careful, that they be given
to such onely where duty, or prudent liberality, or almes determine
them: but in no sense let them do it so as to minister to vanity,
to luxury, to prodigality. The like also is to be observed in
other instances. And if we once give our mindes to the study
and arts of almes, we shall finde wayses enough to make this
duty easy, profitable and useful.

1. He that playes at any game must resolve before
hand to be indifferent to win or lose: but if he gives
to the poor all that he wins, it is better then to keep
it to himself: but it were better yet, that he lay by so
much as he is willing to lose, and let the game alone,
and by giving so much almes, traffick for eternity.
That is one way.

2. Another is, keeping the fasting dayes of the
Church; which if our condition be such as to be able
to cast our accounts, and make abatements for our wanting
so many meals in the whole year, (which by the old
appointment did amount to 153, and since most of them are fallen into desuetude, we may make up as many of them as we please by voluntary fasts) we may from hence finde a considerable reliefe for the poor. But if we be not willing sometimes to fast that our brother may eat, we should ill dye for him. S. Martin had given all that he had in the world to the poor, save one coat, and that also he divided between two beggers. A Father in the mount of Nitria was reduced at last to the Inventory of one Testament, and that book also was tempted from him by the needs of one whom he thought was poorer then himself. Greater yet. S. Paulinus sold himself to slavery to redeem a young man, for whose captivity his Mother wept sadly; and it is said that S. Katherine suckt the envenomd wounds of a villain who had injured her most impudently: And I shall tell you of a greater charity then all these put together: Christ gave himself to shame and death to redeem his enemies from bondage, and death, and Hell.

3. Learn of the frugal man, and onely avoid sordid actions and turn good husband and change your arts of getting into providence for the poor, and we shall soon become rich in good works; and why should we not do as much for charity, as for covetousnesse, for Heaven, as for the fading world, for God and the Holy Jesus, as for the needlesse superfluities of back and belly?
14. In giving almes to beggers and persons of that low ranck, it is better to give little to each that we may give to the more, so extending our alms to many persons: but in charities of religion, as building Hospitals, Colledges, and houses for devotion, and in supplying the accidental wants of decayed persons, fallen from great plenty to great necessity, it is better to unite our almes then to disperse them, to make a noble relief or maintenance to one, and to restore him to comfort, then to support only his natural needs, and keep him alive only, unrescued from sad discomforts.

15. The Precept of almes or charity bindes not indefinitely to all the instances and kindes of charity: for he that delights to feed the poor, and spends all his proportion that way is not bound to enter into prisons and redeem captives: but we are obliged by the presence of circumstances, and the special disposition of providence, and the pityableness of an object, to this or that particular act of charity. The eye is the sence of mercy, and the bowels are its organ, and that enkindles pity, and pity produces almes: when the eye sees what it never saw, the heart will think what it never thought: but when we have an object present to our eye, then we must pity, for there the providence of God hath fitted our charity with circumstances. He that is in thy sight or in thy Neighbourhood is fallen into the lot of thy charity.

16. If thou hast no money, yet thou must have mercy, and art bound to pity the poor, and pray for them, and throw thy holy
desires and devotions into the treasure of the Church: and if thou doest what thou art able, be it little or great, corporal or spiritual, the charity of almes, or the charity of prayers, a cup of wine, or a cup of water, if it be but love to the brethren, or a desire to help all, or any of Christ's poor, it shall be accepted according to what a man hath, not according to what he hath not. For Love is all this, and all the other Commandments: and it will express itself where it can, and where it cannot, yet it is love still, and it is also sorrow that it cannot.

Motives to Charity.

The motives to this duty are such as holy Scripture hath propounded to us by way of consideration and proposition of its excellencies, and consequent reward. 1. There is no one duty which our blessed Saviour did recommend to his Disciples with so repeated an injunction as this of Charity and Almes. To which adde the words spoken by our Lord, It is better to give them to receive; and when we consider how great a blessing it is that we beg not from door to door, it is a ready instance of our thankfulness to God, for his sake to relieve them that do.

2. This duty is that alone whereby the future day of judgment shall be transacted. For nothing but charity and almes is that whereby Christ shall declare the justice and mercy of the eternal sentence. Martyrdom itself is not there expressed, and no otherwise involved, but as it is the greatest charity. 3. Christ made himself the greatest and daily example of almes or charity.
He went up and down doing good, preaching the Gospel, and healing all diseases: and God the Father is imitable by us in nothing but in purity and mercy. 4. Almes given to the poor redound to the emolument of the Giver both temporal and eternal. 5. They are instrumental to the remission of sins, our forgivenesse and mercy to others being made the very rule and proportion of our confidence and hope and our prayer to be forgiven our selves. 6. It is a treasure in Heaven, it procures friends when we dye. It is reckoned as done to Christ whatsoever we do to our poor brother; and therefore when a poor man begs for Christ his sake, if he have reason to ask for Christ his sake, give it him if thou canst. Now every man hath title to ask for Christ's sake, whose need is great, and himself unable to cure it, and if the man be a Christian. Whatsoever charity Christ will reward, all that is given for Christ's sake, and therefore it may be asked in his name: but every man that uses that sacred name for an endearment, hath not a title to it, neither he nor his need. 7. It is one of the wings of prayer, by which it flies to the throne of grace. 8. It crowns all the works of piety. 9. It causes thanksgiving to God on our behalf. 10. And the bowels of the poor blesse us, and they pray for us. 11. And that portion of our estate, out of which a tenth, or a fifth, or a twentieth, or some offering to God for religion and the poor goes forth, certainly returns with a greater blessing upon all the rest. It is like the effusion of oyl by the Sidonian woman; as long as she poures into empty vessels, it could never cease running: or like the Widows barrel of meal, it consumes not as long as she fed the Prophet. 12. The
summe of all is contained in the words of our blessed Saviour: Give almes of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you. 13. To which may be added, that charity or mercy is the peculiar character of Gods Elect, and a signe of predestination; which advantage we taught by S. Paul: _Put on therefore as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercy, kindnesse, etc. forbearing one another, and forgiving one another; if any many have a quarrel against any. The result of all which we may reade in the words of S. Chrysostome: To know the art of almes, is greater then to be crowned with the Diadem of kings. And yet to convert one soul is greater then to poure out ten thousand talents into the baskets of the poor.

But because giving Almes is an act of the vertue of mercifulousesse, our endeavour must be by proper arts to mortifie the parents of unmercifulousesse, which are 1. Envy. 2. Anger. 3. Covetousnesse, in which we may be helped by the following rules or instruments.

Remedies against unmercifulousse, and uncharitablenesse.

1. Against Envy: by way of consideration.

Against Envy I shall use the same argument I would use to perswade a man from the Fever or the dropsie. 1. Because it is a disease, it is so far from having pleasure in it, or a temptation to it, that it is full of pain, a great instrument of vexation; it eats the flesh, and dries up the marrow, and
makes hollow eyes, and lean cheeks, and a pale face. 2. It is nothing but a direct resolution never to enter into Heaven by the way of noble pleasure taken in the good of others. 3. It is most contrary to God. 4. And a just contrary state to the felicities and actions of Heaven, where every star encreases the light of the other, and the multitude of guests at the supper of the Lamb makes the eternal meal more festival. 5. It is perfectly the state of Hell, and the passion of Devils: for they do nothing but despair in themselves, and envy others quiet or safety, and yet cannot rejoice either in their good, or in their evil, although they endeavour to hinder that, and procure this, with all the devices and arts of malice and of a great understanding. 6. Envy can serve no end in the world; it cannot please any thing, nor do any thing, nor hinder any thing, but the content and felicity of him that hath it. 7. Envy can never pretend to justice, as hatred and uncharitableness sometimes may: for there may be causes of hatred, and I may have wrong done me, and then hatred hath some pretence, though no just argument: But no man is unjust or injurious for being prosperous or wise. 8. And therefore many men professe to hate another, but no man owns envy, as being an enmity and displeasure for no cause but goodnesse or felicity: Envious men being like Cantharides and Caterpillars, that delight most to devour ripe and most excellent fruits. 9. It is of all crimes the basest: for malice and anger are appeased with benefits, but envy is exasperated, as envying to fortunate persons both their power and their will to do good: and never leaves murmuring till the envied person be levelled,
and then only the Vultur leaves to eat the liver: for if his Neighbour be made miserable the envious man is apt to be troubled: like him that is so long unbuilding the turrets till all the roof is low or flat, or that the stones fall upon the lower buildings, and do a mischief that the man repents of.

2. **Remedies against anger by way of exercise**

The next enemy to mercifulnes and the grace of Almes is Anger, against which there are proper instruments both in prudence and religion.

1. Prayer is the great remedy against anger: for it must suppose it in some degree removed before we pray, and then it is the more likely it will be finished when the prayer is done: We must lay aside the act of anger, as a preparatory to prayer, and the curing the habit will be the effect and blessing of prayer: so that if a man to cure his anger, resolves to address himself to God by prayer, it is first necessary that by his own observation and diligence he lay the anger aside, before his prayer can be fit to be presented; and when we so pray, and so endeavour, we have all the blessings of prayer which God hath promised to it, to be our security for successe.

2. If Anger arises in thy breast, instantly seal up thy lips, and let it not go forth: for like fire when it wants vent, it will suppress it self. It is good **in a fever** to have a tender and a smooth tongue; but it is better that it be so **in anger**; for if it be rough and distempered, **there** it is an ill signe, but
here it is an ill cause. Angry passion is a fire, and angry words are like breath to fan them; together they are like steel and flint sending out fire by mutual collision: some men will discourse themselves into passion, and if their neighbour be enkindled too, together they flame with rage and violence.

3. Humility is the most excellent natural cure for anger in the world: for he that by daily considering his own infirmities and failings makes the error of his neighbour or servant to be his own case, and remembers that he daily needs God's pardon, and his brothers charity, will not be apt to rage at the levities or misfortunes, or indiscretions of another; greater than which he considers that he is very frequently, and more inexcusably guilty of.

4. Consider the example of the ever blessed Jesus, who suffered all the contradictions of sinners, and received all affronts and reproaches of malicious, rash and foolish persons, and yet in all them was as dispassionate and gentle as the morning sun in Autumn: and in this also he propounded himself imitable by us. For if innocence itself did suffer so great injuries and disgraces, it is no great matter for us quietly to receive all the calamities of fortune and indiscretion of servants, and mistakes of friends, and unkindnesses of kinred, and rudenesses of enemies, since we have deserved these and worse, even Hell itself.

5. If we be tempted to anger in the actions of Government and Discipline to our inferiors (in which case anger is permitted
so far as it is prudently instrumental to Government, and onely
is a sin when it is excessive and unreasonable, and apt to
disturbe our own discourse, or to expresse it self in imprudent
words or violent actions) let us propound to our selves the
example of God the Father, who at the same time, and with the
same tranquillity decreed Heaven and Hell, the joyes of blessed
Angels and souls, and the torments of Devils and accursed
spirits: and at the day of judgement when all the World shall
burn under his feet, God shall not be at all inflamed, or shaken
in his essential seat and centre of tranquillity and joy. And
if at first the cause seems reasonable, yet defer to execute
thy anger till thou mayest better judge. For as Phocion told
the Athenians, who upon the first news of the death of Alexander
were ready to revolt, stay awhile, for if the King be not dead,
your haste will ruine you. But if he be dead, your stay cannot
prejudice your affairs, for he will be dead to morrow as well
as today: so if thy servant or inferiour deserve punishment,
staying till to morrow will not make him innocent, but it may
possibly preserve thee so, by preventing thy striking a guiltlesse
person, or being furious for a trifle.

6. Remove from thyself all provocations and incentives to
anger; especially 1. Games of chance, and great wager. Patroclus
killed his friend, the son of Amphidamus, in his rage and sudden
fury, rising upon a cross game at tables. Such also are petty
curiosities and worldly businesse and carefulnesse about it;
but manage thy self with indifferency, or contempt of those
external things, and do not spend a passion upon them, for it
is more then they are worth. But they that desire but few things 
can be crossed but in a few. 2. In not heaping up with an 
ambitious or curious prodigality, any very curious or choice 
Utensils, Seals, Jewels, Glasses, precious stones, because 
those very many accidents which happen in the spoiling or losse 
of these rarities, are in event, an irresistible cause of violent 
anger. 3. Do not entertain nor suffer talebearers: for they abuse 
our ears first, and then our credulity, and then steal our patience, 
and it may be for a lye; and if it be true, the matter is not 
considerable; or if it be, yet it is pardonable: and we may 
always escape with patience at one of these out-lets: either 
1. By not hearing slanders, or 2. By not believing them, or 3. By 
not regarding the thing, or 4. By forgiving the person. 4. To 
this purpose also it may serve well if we choose (as much as we 
can) to live with peaceable persons, for that prevents the 
occasions of confusion: and if we live with prudent persons 
they will not easily occasion our disturbance. But because 
these things are not in many Mens power, therefore I propound 
this rather as a felicity then a remedy or a duty; and an art 
of prevention rather then of cure.

7. Be not inquisitive into the affairs of other Men, nor 
the faults of thy servants, nor the mistakes of thy friends; 
but what is offered to you, use according to the former rules 
but do not thou go out to gather sticks to kindle a fire to 
burn thy own house. And adde this; if my friend said or did 
well in that for which I am angry, I am in the fault, not he:
But if he did amisse, he is in the misery, not I: for either he was deceived, or he was malitious, and either of them both is all one with a miserable person; and that is an object of pity, not of anger.

8. Use all reasonable discourses to excuse the faults of others, considering that there are many circumstances of time, of person, of accident, of inadvertency, of infrequency, of aptnesse to amend, of sorrow for doing it; and it is well that we take any good in exchange for the evil is done or suffered.

9. Upon the arising of anger instantly enter into a deep consideration of the joyes of Heaven, or the pains of Hell: for fear and joy are naturally apt to appease this violence.

10. In contentions be always passive, never active; upon the defensive, not the assaulting part, and then also give a gentle answer, receiving the furies and indiscretions of the other like a stone into a bed of Moss and soft compliance; and you shall finde it sit down quietly; whereas anger and violence makes the contention loud, and long and injurious to both the parties.

11. In the actions of Religion be careful to temper all thy instances with meeknesse, and the proper instruments of it: and if thou beest apt to be angry, neither fast violently, nor entertain the too forward heats of zeal: but secure thy duty with constant and regular actions, and a good temper of body with convenient refreshments and recreations.
12. If anger rises suddenly and violently, first restrain it with consideration, and then let it end in a hearty prayer for him that did the real or seeming injury: The former of the two stops its growth, and the latter quite kills it, and makes amends for its monstrous and involuntary birth.

Remedies against Anger by way of consideration.

1. Consider that Anger is a professed enemy to counsel, it is a direct storm, in which no man can be heard to speak, or call from without: for if you counsel gently, you are despised, if you urge it and be vehement, you provoke it more: be careful therefore to lay up beforehand a great stock of reason and prudent consideration, that like a besieged Town you may be provided for, and be defensible from within, since you are not likely to be relieved from without. Anger is not to be suppressed but by something that is as inward as it self, and more habitual: To which purpose adde, that 2. of all passions it endeavours most to make reason useless. 3. That it is an universal poison, of an infinite object; for no Man was ever so amorous as to love a Toad, none so envious as to repine at the condition of the miserable, no Man so timorous as to fear a dead Bee; but anger is troubled at every thing, and every Man, and every accident, and therefore unlesse it be suppressed it will make a Mans condition restlesse. 4. If it proceeds from a great cause it turns to fury; if from a small cause, it is peevishnesse,
so is always either terrible or ridiculous. 5. It makes a Mans body monstrous, deformed, and contemptible, the voice horrid, the eyes cruel, the face pale or fiery, the gate fierce, the speech clamorous and loud. 6. It is neither manly nor ingenuous. 7. It proceeds from softness of spirit and pusillanimity; which makes that Women are more angry than Men, sick persons more than the healthful, old Men more than young, unprosperous and calamitous people than the blessed and fortunate. 8. It is a passion fitter for Flies and Insects then for persons professing nobleness and bounty. 9. It is troublesome not only to those that suffer it, but to them that behold it; there being no greater incivility of entertainment then for the Cooks fault, or the negligence of the servants, to be cruel, or outrageous, or unpleasant in the presence of the guests. 10. It makes marriage to be a necessary and unavoidable trouble, friendships, and societies, and familiarities to be intolerable. 11. It multiplies the evils of drunkennesse, and makes the Levities of Wine to run into madness. 12. It makes innocent jesting to be the beginning of Tragedies. 13. It turns friendship into hatred, it makes a Man lose himself, and his reason and his argument in disputation. It turns the desires of knowledge into an itch of wrangling. It adds insolency to power. It turns justice into cruelty, and judgement into oppression. It changes discipline into tediousness and hatred of liberal institution. It makes a prosperous Man to be envied and the unfortunate to be unpitied. It is a confluence of all the irregular passions: there is in it envy and sorrow, fear and scorn, pride and prejudice, rashness
and inconsideration, rejoicing in evil and a desire to inflict it, self love, impatience and curiosity. And lastly, though it be very troublesome to others, yet it is most troublesome to him that hath it.

In the use of these arguments and the former exercises be diligent to observe, lest in your desires to suppress anger you be passionate and angry at your self for being angry; like Physicians who give a bitter potion when they intend to eject the bitternesse of choler; for this will provoke the person and increase the passion: But placidly and quietly set upon the mortification of it; and attempt it first a day; resolving that day not at all to be angry; and to be watchful and observant, for a day is no great trouble: but then, after one dayes watchfulnesse it will be as easie to watch two dayes, as at first it was to watch one day; and so you may increase till it becomes easie and habitual.

Onely observe that such an anger alone is criminal which is against charity to my self or my neighbour; but anger against sin is a holy zeal, and an effect of love to God and my brother, for whose interest I am passionate, like a concerned person: and if I take care that my anger makes no reflexion of scorn or cruelty upon the offender, or of pride and violence, or transportation to my self, anger becomes charity and duty: And when one commended Charilaus the King of Sparta, for a gentle, a good and a meek Prince, his colleague said well, How can he be good who is not an enemy even to vitious persons.
3. **Remedies against Covetousnesse, the third enemy of mercy**

Covetousnesse is also an enemy to Almes, though not to all the effects of mercifulnesse: but this is to be cured by the proper motives to charity before mentioned, and by the proper rules of justice; which being secured, the arts of getting money are not easily made criminal. To which also we may adde.

1. Covetousnesse makes a man miserable; because riches are not means to make a man happy: and unless felicity were to be bought with money he is a vain person who admires heaps of gold and rich possessions; for what Hippomachus said to some persons, who commended a tall man as fit to be a Champion in the Olympick games: *it is true* (said he) *if the crown hang so high that the longest arm could reach it*: The same we may say concerning riches, they were excellent things, if the richest man were certainly the wisest and the best: but as they are, they are nothing to be wondered at, because they contribute nothing towards felicity: which appears because some men choose to be miserable that they may be rich, rather then be happy with the expence of money and doing noble things.

2. Riches are uselesse and unprofitable; for beyond our needs and conveniences nature knowes no use of riches; and they say, that the Princes of Italy when they sup alone, eate out of a single dish, and drink in a plain glasse, and the wife eats without purple: *for nothing is more frugal then the back and belly,*

if they be used as they should, but when they would entertain the eyes of strangers, when they are vain and would make a noyse,
then riches come forth to set forth the spectacle, and furnish out the Comedie of wealth, of vanity. No man can with all the wealth in the world buy so much skill as to be a good Lutenist; he must go the same way that poor people do, he must learn and take pains; much lesse can he buy constancy, or chastity, or courage: nay not so much as the contempt of riches: and by possessing more then we need, we cannot obtain so much power over our souls, as not to require more: And certainly riches must deliver me from no evil, if the possession of them cannot take away the longing for them. If any man be thirsty, drink cools him. If he be hungry, eating meat satisfies him; and when a man is cold and calls for a warme cloak, he is pleased if you give it him; but you trouble him, if you load him with six or eight cloaks. Nature rests and sits still when she hath her portion; but that which exceeds it, is a trouble and a burden: and therefore in true Philosophy, No man is rich but he that is poor according to the common account: for when God hath satisfied those needs which he made; that is, all that is natural, whatsoever is beyond it, is thirst and a disease, and unlesse it be sent back again in charity or religion, can serve no end but vice or vanity, it can encrease the appetite to represent the man poorer, and full of a new and artificial, unnatural need; but it never satisfies the need it makes, or makes the man richer. No wealth can satisfie the covetous desire of wealth.

3. Riches are troublesome: but the satisfaction of those appetites which God and nature hath made are cheap and easy: for who ever paid use-money for bread and onions and water to
keep him alive? but when we covet after houses of the frame
and design of Italy, or long for jewels, or for my next neighbours
field, or horses from Barbary, or the richest perfumes of Arabia,
or Galatian mules, or fat Eunuchs for our slaves from Tunis,
or rich coaches from Naples, then we can never be satisfied
till we have the best thing that is fancied, and all that can
be had, and all that can be desired, and that we can lust no
more: but before we come to the one half of our first wilde
desires, we are the bondmen of Usurers, and of our worse tyrant
appetites, and the tortures of envy and impatience. But I
consider that those who drink on still when their thirst is
quenched, or eat even after they have well dined are forced to
vomit, not onely their superfluity, but even that which at first
was necessary: so those that covet more then they can temperately
use, are oftentimes forced to part even with that patrimony
which would have supported their persons in freedom and honour,
and have satisfied all their reasonable desires.

4. Contentednesse is therefore health because covetousnesse
is a direct sicknesse: and it was well said of Aristippus (as
Plutarch reports him) if any man after much eating and drinking
be still unsatisfied, he hath no need of more meat or more
drink, but of a Physician; he more needs to be purged then to
be filled; and therefore since covetousnesse cannot be satisfied,
it must be cured by emptinesse, and evacuation; The man is
without remedy, unlesse he be reduced to the scantling of nature,
and the measures of his personal necessity. Give to a poor man
a house, and a few cowes, pay his little debt, and set him on
work, and he is provided for and quiet; but when a man enlarges
beyond a fair possession and desires another Lordship, you spite
him if you let him have it; for by that he is one degree the
further off from rest in his desires and satisfaction: and now
he sees himself in a bigger capacity to a larger fortune; and
he shall never finde his period, till you begin to take away
something of what he hath: for then he will begin to be glad
to keep that which is left; but reduce him to natures measures,
and there he shall be sure to finde rest: for there no man can
desire beyond his belly full, and when he wants that, any one
friend or charitable man can cure his poverty; but all the
world cannot satisfie his covetousness.

5. Covetousnesse is the most phantastical and contradictory
disease in the whole world, and it must therefore be incurable,
because it strives against its own cure. No man therefore
abstains from meat because he is hungry, nor from wine because
he loves it and needs it: but the covetous man does so: for
he desires it passionately because he sayes he needs it, and
when he hath it, he will need it still, because he dares not
use it. He gets cloaths because he cannot be without them; but
when he hath them, then he can: as if he needed corn for his
granary, and cloaths for his wardrobe, more then for his back
and belly. For covetousness pretends to heap much together for
fear of want, and yet after all his pains and purchase, he suffers
that really which at first he feared vainly; and by not using
what he gets, he makes that suffering to be actual, present, and
necessary, which in his lowest condition was but future, contingent
and possible. It stirs up the desire, and takes away the pleasure
of being satisfied. It increases the appetite and will not content
it, it swells the principal to no purpose, and lessens the use to
all purposes; disturbing the order of nature, and the designes
of God; making money not to be the instrument of exchange or
charity, nor corn to feed himself or the poor, nor wool to
cloath himself or his brother, nor wine to refresh the sadnesse
of the afflicted, nor his oyl to make his own countenance cheerful:
but all these to look upon, and to tell over, and to take accounts
by and make himself considerable, and wondered at by fools, that
while he lives he may be called Rich, and when he dyes may be
accounted Miserable, and like the Dishmakers of China, may leave
a greater heap of dirt for his Nephews, while he himself hath a
new lot fallen to him in the portion of Dives: But thus the Asse
carried wood and sweet herbs to the Baths, but was never washed
or perfumed himself: he heaped up sweets for others, while himself
was filthy with smoak and ashes. And yet it is considerable;
If the man can be content to feed hardly, and labour extremely,
and watch carefully, and suffer affronts and disgrace that he
may get money more then he uses in his temperate and just needs,
with how much ease might this man be happy? And with how great
uneasinesse and trouble does he make himself miserable? For he
takes pains to get content, and when he might have it, he lets
it go. He might better be content with a vertuous and quiet
poverty, then with an artificial troubledom and vitious: The
same diet and a less labour would at first make him happy, and
forever after rewardable.

6. The sum of all is that which the Apostle sayes; Covetousnesse is Idolatory; that is, it is an admiring money for itself, not for its use; it relyes upon money, and loves it more then it loves God and religion: and it is the root of all evil:—it teaches men to be cruel and crafty, industrious in evil, full of care and malice: it devours young heirs, and grindes the face of the poor, and undoes those who specially belong to Gods protection, helpless, craftlesse and innocent people; it inquires into our parents age, and longs for the death of our friends: it makes friendship an art of rapine, and changes a partner into a Vultur, and a companion into a thief; and after all this it is for no good to it self, for it dare not spend those heaps of treasure which it snatched: and men hate Serpents and Basilisks worse then Lyons and Bears; for these kill because they need the prey, but they sting to death and eat not. And if they pretend all this care and heap for their Heirs, (like the Mice of Africa hiding the golden oare in their bowels, and refusing to give back the indigested gold till their guts be out) they may remember, that what was unnecessary for themselves, is as unnecessary for their sons; and why cannot they be without it as well as their Fathers who did not use it? and it often happens, that to the sons it becomes an instrument to serve some lust or other; that as the gold was uselesse to their Fathers, so may the sons be to the publick; fools or prodigals, loads to their Countrey, and the curse and punishment
of their Fathers avarice; and yet all that wealth is short of one blessing; but it is a load coming with a curse, and descending from the family of a long derived sin. However the Father transmits it to the son, and it may be the son to one more, till a Tyrant, or an Oppressour, or a War, or a change of government, or the Usurer, or folly, or an expensive vice makes holes in the bottom of the bag, and the wealth runs out like water, and flies away like a Bird from the hand of a child.

7. —Adde to these, the considerations of the advantages of poverty; that it is a state freer from temptation, secure in dangers; but of one trouble; safe under the Divine Providence: cared for in Heaven by a daily ministration, and for whose support God makes every day a new decree: a state of which Christ was pleased to make open profession, and many wise Men daily make vows: that a rich Man is but like a pool to whom the poor run, and first trouble it and then draw it dry: that he enjoyes no more of it then according to the few and limited needs of a Man; he cannot eat like a Wolf or an Elephant: —that variety of dainty fare ministers but to sin and sicknesses: —that the poor Man feasts oftner then the rich; because every little enlargement is a feast to the poor; but he that feasts every day feasts no day, there being nothing left to which he may beyond his Ordinary extend his appetite: that the rich Man sleeps not so soundly as the poor labourer, that his fears are more, and his needs are greater (for who is poorer, he that needs 5 l. or he that needs 5000?) the poor Man hath enough to fill his belly, and the rich
hath not enough to fill his eye: that the poor Mans wants are ease to be relieved by a common charity, but the needs of rich Men cannot be supplyed out by Princes; and they are left to the temptation of great vices to make reparation of their needs: and the ambitious labours of Men to get great estates is but like the selling of a Fountain to buy a Fever, a parting with content to buy necessity, a purchase of an unhandsome condition at the price of infelicity: that Princes and they that enjoy most of the world, have most of it but in title and supreme rights, and reserved priviledges, pepper-corns, homages, trifling services and acknowledgements, the real use descending to others to more substantial purposes: These considerations may be useful to the curing of covetousnesse, that the grace of mercifulnesse enlarging the heart of a Man, his hand may not be contracted, but reached out to the poor in almes.
SECTION 9

Of Repentance.

Repentance, of all things in the World makes the greatest change: it changes things in Heaven and Earth; for it changes the whole Man from sin to grace, from vitious habits to holy customes, from unchaste bodies to Angelical soules, from Swine to Philosophers, from drunkennesse to sober counsels; and GOD himself, with whom is no variablenesse or shadow of change, is pleased by descending to our weak understandings, to say, that he changes also upon Mans repentance, that he alters his decrees, revokes his sentence, cancels the Bills of accusation, throws the Records of shame and sorrow from the Court of Heaven, and lifts up the sinner from the grave to life, from his prison to a throne, from Hell and the guilt of eternal torture, to Heaven and to a title to never ceasing felicities. If we be bound on earth, we shall be bound in heaven; if we be absolved here, we shall be loosed there; if we repent, God will repent, and not send the evil upon us which we had deserved.

But repentance is a conjugation and society of many duties; and it containes in it all the parts of a holy life, from the time of our return to the day of our death inclusively; and it hath in it somethings specially relating to the sins of our former dayes which are now to be abolished by special arts, and have obliged us to special labours; and brought in many new
necessities, and put us into a very great deal of danger; and because it is a duty consisting of so many parts and so much imployment, it also requires much time, and leaves a Man in the same degree of hope of pardon, as is his restitution to the state of righteousness and holy living, for which we covenanted in Baptism.

For we must know that there is but one repentance in a Mans whole life, if repentance be taken in the proper, and strict Evangelicall Covenant-sense, and not after the ordinary understanding of the word: That is, wee are but once to change our whole state of life, from the power of the Devil and his intire possession, from the state of sin and death, from the body of corruption, to the life of grace, to the possession of Jesus, to the kingdom of the Gospel; and this is done in the baptism of water, or in the baptism of the Spirit, when the first rite comes to be verified by Gods grace coming upon us, and by our obedience to the heavenly calling, we working together with God. After this change, if ever we fall into the contrary state, and be wholly estranged from God and Religion, and professe our selves servants of unrighteousnesse, God hath made no more covenant of restitution to us, there is no place left for any more repentance, or intire change of condition, or new birth: a Man can be regenerated but once: and such are voluntary, malicious Apostates, Witches, obstinate impenitent persons, and the like: But if we be overtaken by infirmity, or enter into the marches or borders of this estate, and commit a grievous sin, or ten, or twenty, so we be not in the intire possession of
the Devil, we are for the present in a damnable condition if we dye; but if we live we are in a recoverable condition; for so we may repent often: we repent or rise from death but once, but from sickness many times; and by the grace of God we shall be pardoned if so we repent. But our hopes of pardon are just as is the repentance, which if it be timely, hearty, industrious and effective, God accepts: not by weighing granes or scruples, but by estimating the great proportions of our life; a hearty endeavour and an effectual general change shall get the pardon; the unavoidable infirmities, and past evils, and present imperfections, and short interruptions, against which we watch, and pray, and strive, being put upon the accounts of the crosse, and payed for by the Holy Jesus. This is the state and condition of repentance; its parts and actions must be valued according to the following rules.

Acts and parts of Repentance.

1. He that repents truely is greatly sorrowful for his past sins; not with a superficial sigh or tear, but a pungent afflictive sorrow; such a sorrow as hates the sin so much, that the man would choose to dye rather then act it any more: This sorrow is called in Scripture a weeping sorely, a weeping with bitternesse of heart, a weeping day and night, a sorrow of heart, a breaking of the spirit, mourning like a dove, and chattering like a swallow: and we may read the degree and manner of it by the lamentations and sad accents of the Prophet Jeremy, when he
wept for the sins of the nation; by the heart breaking of David, when he mourned for his murder and adultery; and the bitter weeping of S. Peter, after the shameful denying of his Master. The expression of this sorrow differs according to the temper of the body, the sex, the age, and circumstance of action, and the motive of sorrow, and by many accidental tendernesses, or Masculine hardnesses; and the repentance is not to be estimated by the tears, but by the grief; and the grief is to be valued not by the sensitive trouble, but by the cordial hatred of the sin, and ready actual dereliction of it, and a resolution and real resisting its consequent temptations. Some people can shed tears for nothing, some for any thing; but the proper and true effects of a godly sorrow are; fear of the divine judgements, apprehension of Gods displeasure, watchings and strivings against sin, patiently enduring the crosse of sorrow (which God sends as their punishment) in accusation of our selves, in perpetually begging pardon, in mean and base opinion of our selves, and in all the natural productions from these according to our temper and constitution: for if we be apt to weep in other accidents, it is ill if we weep not also in the sorrows of repentance: not, that weeping is of it self a duty, but that the sorrow, if it be as great, will be still expressed in as great a manner.

2. Our sorrow for sins must retain the proportion of our sins, though not the equality; we have no particular measures of sins: we know not which is greater of Sacriledge or Superstition, Idolatory or Covetousnesse, Rebellion or Witchcraft; and therefore
God ties us not to nice measures of sorrow, but only that we keep the general Rules of proportion; that is, that a great sin have a great grief; a smaller crime being to be washed off with a lesser shower.

3. Our sorrow for sins is then best accounted of for its degree, when it together with all the penal and afflictive duties of repentance, shall have equalled or exceeded the pleasure we had in commission of the sin.

4. True repentance is a punishing duty, and acts its sorrow, and judges and condemns the sin by voluntary submitting to such sadnesses as God sends on us, or (to prevent the judgement of God) by judging our selves, and punishing our bodies and our spirits by such instruments of piety as are troublesome to the body: such as are, fasting, watching, long prayers, troublesome postures in our prayers, expensive alms, and all outward acts of humiliation. For he that must judge himself, must condemn himself if he be guilty; and if he be condemned he must be punished; and if he be so judged, it will help to prevent the judgement of the Lord, *S. Paul* instructing us in this particular. But I before intimated that the **punishing actions** of repentance are onely actions of sorrow, and therefore are to make up the proportions of it. For our grief may be so full of trouble as to outweigh all the burdens of fasts and bodily afflictions, and then the other are the lesse necessary; and when they are used, the benefit of them is to obtain of God a remission or a lessening of such temporal judgements which God hath decreed.
against the sins, as it was in the case of Ahab: but the sinner is not by any thing of this reconciled to the eternal favour of God; for as yet, this is but the Introduction to Repentance.

5. Every true penitent is obliged to confess his sins, and to humble himself before God for ever: Confession of sins hath a special promise. \( \text{If we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins: meaning that God hath bound himself to forgive us if we duly confess our sins, and do all that for which confession was appointed; that is, be ashamed of them, and own them no more. For, confession of our sins to God can signify nothing of itself in its direct nature: He sees us when we act them, and keeps a record of them; and we forget them unless he reminds us of them by his grace; so that to confess them to God does not punish us, or make us ashamed, but confession to him, if it proceeds from shame and sorrow, and is an act of humility and self condemnation, and is a laying open our wounds for cure, then it is a duty God delights in: in all which circumstances, because we may very much be helped if we take in the assistance of a spiritual Guide; \( \text{therefore the Church of God in all ages hath commended, and in most ages enjoined that we confess our sins, and discover the state and condition of our souls to such a person whom we or our superiors judge fit to help us in such needs. For so if we confess our sins one to another as S. James advises, we shall obtain the prayers of the holy Man whom God and the Church hath appointed solemnly to pray for us: and when he knowes our needs he can} \)
best minister comfort, or reproof, oyl or Causticks, he can more
opportune recommend your particular state to GOD, he can
determine your cases of conscience, and judge better for you then you
do for your self; and the shame of opening such Ulcers, may
restrain your forwardnesse to contract them; and all these
circumstances of advantage will do very much towards the
forgiveness. And this course was taken by the new Converts
in the days of the Apostles, a For many that believed, came
and confessed and shewed their deeds. And it were well if this
duty were practised prudently and innocently in order to publick
Discipline, or private comfort and instruction: but that it be
done to God, is a duty, not directly for it self, but for its
adjuncts, and the duties that go with it, or before it, or
after it: which duties because they are all to be helped and
guided by our Pastors and Curates of souls, he is careful of
his eternal interest that will not lose the advantage of using
a private guide and judge. b He that hideth his sins shall not
prosper (Non dirigetur, saith the Vulgar Latin, he shall want a
guide) but who confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.
And to this purpose Climacus reports that divers holy persons
in that age did use to carry Table-books with them, and in them
described an account of all their determinate thoughts, purposes,
words and actions, in which they had suffered infirmity, that
by communicating the estate of their souls they might be
instructed and guided, and corrected, or encouraged.

6. c True repentance must reduce to act all its holy purposes,
and enter into and run through the **state of holy living**, which is contrary to that **state of darknesse** in which in times past we walked. For to resolve to do it, and yet not to do it, is to break our resolution and our faith, to mock God, to falsifie and evacuate all the preceding acts of repentance, and to make our pardon hopelesse, and our hope fruitlesse. He that resolves to live well when a danger is upon him, or a violent fear, or when the appetites of Lust are newly satisfied, or newly served, and yet when the temptation comes again, sins again, and then is sorrowful, and resolves once more against it, and yet fals when the temptation returns, is a vain Man, but no true penitent, nor in the state of grace; and if he chance to dye in one of these good moods is very far from salvation: for if it be necessary that we resolve to live well, it is necessary we should do so. For resolution is an imperfect act, a term of relation, and signifies nothing but in order to the action: it is as a faculty is to the act, as Spring is to the Harvest, as Egges are to Birds, as a Relative to its Correspondent, nothing without it. No Man therefore can be in the state of grace and actual favour by resolutions and holy purposes; these are but the gate and portal towards pardon: a holy life is the onely perfection of Repentance, and the firme ground upon which we can cast the anchor of hope in the mercies of God through Jesus Christ.

7. No Man is to reckon his pardon immediately upon his returnes from sin to the beginnings of good life, but is to
begin his hopes and degrees of confidence according as sin dyes
in him, and grace lives; as the habits of sin lessen, and
righteousnesse grows, according as sin returnes but seldom
in smaller instances and without choice, and by surprize without
deliberation, and is highly disrelished and presently dashed
against the Rock Christ Jesus by a holy sorrow and renewed
care, and more strict watchfulnesse. For a holy life being
the condition of the Covenant on our part, as we return to God,
so God returns to us, and our state returns to the probabilities
of pardon.

8. Every Man is to work out his salvation with fear and
trembling; and after the commission of sinnes his feares must
multiply, because every new sin, and every great declining
from the wayes of God is still a degree of new danger, and
hath increased Gods anger, and hath made him more uneasie to
grant pardon: and when he does grant it, it is upon harder
terms both for doing and suffering; that is, we must do more
for pardon, and it may be, suffer much more. For we must know
that God pardons our sins by parts: as our duty increases, and
our care is more prudent and active, so Gods anger decreases:
and yet it may be the last sin you committed, made God unalterably
resolved to send upon you some sad judgement. Of the particulars
in all cases we are uncertain; and therefore we have reason
always to mourn for our sinnes that have so provoked GOD, and
make our condition so full of danger, that it may be , no
prayers, or tears or duty can alter his sentence concerning some
sad judgement upon us. Thus GOD irrevocably decreed to punish the Israelites for Idolatry, although Moses prayed for them, and God forgave them in some degree; that is, so that he would not cut them off from being a people; yet he would not forgive them so, but he would visit that their sin upon them: and he did so.

9. A true penitent must all the dayes of his life pray for pardon, and never think the work completed till he dyes; not by any act of his own, by no act of the Church, by no forgivenesse by the party injured, by no restitution: these are all instruments of great use and efficacy, and the means by which it is to be done at length: but still the sin lyes at the door ready to return upon us in judgement, and damnation, if we return to it in choice or action: and whether God hath forgiven us or no, we know not, and how far we know not; and all that we have done is not of sufficient worth to obtain pardon: therefore still pray, and still be sorrowful for ever having done it, and for ever watch against it; and then those beginnings of pardon which are working all the way, will at last be perfected in the day of the Lord.

10. Defer not at all to repent; much lesse mayest thou put it off to thy death-bed: It is not an easie thing to root out the habits of sin, which a Mans whole life hath gathered and confirmed. We finde worke enough to mortifie one beloved lust, in our very best advantage of strength and time, and before it is so deeply rooted as it must needs be supposed to be at the end of a wicked life: and therefore it will prove
impossible when the work is so great, and the strength is so little, when sinne is so strong and grace so weak: for they always keep the same proportion of increase and decrease, and as sin growes, grace decayes: so that the more need wee have of grace, the lesse at that time wee shall have: because the greatnesse of our sinnes which makes the need, hath lessened the grace of GOD (which should help us) into nothing. To which add this consideration; that on a Mans death-bed, the day of repentance is past: for repentance being the renewing of a holy life, a living the life of Grace, it is a contradiction to say, that a Man can live a holy life upon his death-bed: especially, if we consider, that for a sinner to live a holy life must first suppose him to have overcome all his evil habits, and then to have made a purchase of the contrary graces, by the labours of great prudence, watchfulnesse, self denial and severity. Nothing that is excellent can be wrought suddenly.

11. After the beginnings of thy recovery, be infinitely fearful of a relapse, and therefore upon the stock of thy sad experience, observe where thy failings were, and by especial arts fortifie that faculty, and arm against that temptation. For if all those arguments which God uses to us to preserve our innocence, and thy late danger, and thy fears, and the goodnesse of God making thee once to escape, and the shame of thy fall, and the sence of thy own weaknesses will not make thee watchful against a fall, especially knowing how much it costs a man to be restored, it will be infinitely more dangerous if ever thou fallest again, not onely for fear God should no more accept thee
to pardon; but even thy own hopes will be made more desperate and thy impatience greater; and thy shame turn to impudence, and thy own will be more estranged, violent, and refractory, and thy latter end will be worse then thy beginning. To which adde this consideration: That thy sin which was formerly in a good way of being pardoned, will not onely return upon thee with all its own loads, but with the basenesse of unthankfulnesse, and thou wilt be set as far back from Heaven as ever; and all thy former labours and fears, and watchings and agonies will be reckoned for nothing, but as arguments to upbraid thy folly, who when thou hadst set one foot in Heaven, didst pull that back and carry both to Hell.

Motives to Repentance.

I shall use no other arguments to move a sinner to repentance, but to tell him unlesse he does he shall certainly perish; and if he does repent timely and entirely, that is, live a holy life, he shall be forgiven and be saved: But yet I desire that this consideration be enlarged with some great circumstances; and let us remember,

1. That to admit mankinde to repentance and pardon was a favour greater then ever God gave to the angels and devils: for they were never admitted to the condition of second thoughts: Christ never groaned one groan for them; he never suffered one stripe, nor one affront, nor shed one drop of blood to restore them to hopes of blessednesse after their first failings.
But this he did for us, he paid the score of our sins, only that we might be admitted to repent, and that this repentance might be effectual to the great purposes of felicity and salvation.

2. Consider that as it cost Christ many millions of prayers and groans, and sighs, so he is now at this instant and hath been for these 1600 years night and day incessantly praying for grace to us that we may repent, and for pardon when we do, and for degrees of pardon beyond the capacities of our infirmities, and the merit of our sorrows and amendment: and this prayer he will continue till his second coming; for he ever liveth to make intercession for us, and that we may know what it is in behalf of which he intercedes, S. Paul tells us his designe, we are Embassadours for Christ, as though he did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christs stead to be reconciled to God; and what Christ prays us to do, he prays to God that we may do; that which he desires of us as his servants, he desires of God who is the fountain of the grace and powers unto us, and without whose assistance we can do nothing.

3. That ever we should repent, was so costly a purchase, and so great a concernment, and so high a favour, and the event is esteemed by God himself so great an excellency, that our blessed Saviour tells us, there shall be joy in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth: meaning that when Christ shall be glorified and at the right hand of his Father make intercession
for us, praying for our repentance, the conversion and repentance of every sinner is part of Christ's glorification; it is the answering of his prayers, it is a portion of his reward, in which he does essentially glory by the joys of his glorified humanity. This is the joy of our Lord himself directly, not of the Angels, save only by reflexion: The joy (said our blessed Saviour) shall be in the presence of the Angels; they shall see the glory of the Lord, the answering of his prayers, the satisfaction of his desires, and the reward of his sufferings, in the repentance and consequent pardon of a sinner. For therefore he once suffered, and for that reason he rejoices for ever; and therefore when a penitent sinner comes to receive the effect and full consummation of his pardon, it is called an entering into the joy of our Lord, that is, a partaking of that joy which Christ received at our conversion and enjoyed ever since.

4. Add to this, that the rewards of Heaven are so great and glorious, and Christ's burden is so light, his yoke is so easy, that it is a shameless impudence to expect so great gloryes at a lesse rate then so little a service; at a lower rate then a holy life. It cost the heart blood of the Son of God to obtain Heaven for us upon that condition; and who shall dye again to get Heaven for us upon easier terms? What would you do, if God should command you to kill your eldest son, or to work in the mines for a thousand years together, or to fast all thy life time with bread and water? Were not Heaven a very great bargain even after all this? And when God requires nothing
of us, but to live soberly, justly and godly (which things of
themselves are to a man a very great felicity, and necessary
to our present well being) shall we think this to be an
intolerable burden, and that Heaven is too little a purchase
at that price? and that God in meer justice will take a death-bed
sigh or groan, and a few unprofitable tears and promises in
exchange for all our duty?

If these motives joyned together with our own interest,
even as much as felicity and the sight of God, and the avoyding
the intolerable pains of Hell and many intermedial judgements
comes to, will not move us to leave, 1. The filthinesse, and
2. The trouble, and 3. The uneasinesse, and 4. The unreasonablenesse
of sinne, and turn to God, there is no more to be said, we must
perish in our folly.
SECTION 10

Of preparation to, and the manner how
to receive the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

The celebration of the holy Sacrament is the great
5 mysteriousnesse of the Christian religion, and succeeds to
the most solemn rite of natural and Judaical religion, the Law
of sacrificing. For God spared mankinde, and took the sacrifice
of beasts together with our solemn prayers for an instrument
of expiation. But these could not purifie the soul from sin,
but were typical of the sacrifice of something that could.
But nothing could do this, but either the offering of all
that sinned, that every man should be the anathema or devoted
thing, or else by some one of the same capacity, who by some
superadded excellency might in his own personal sufferings have
15 a value great enough to satisfie for all the whole kinde of
sinning persons. This the Son of God JESUS CHRIST, God
and Man undertook, and finished by a Sacrifice of himself
upon the Altar of the Crosse.

2. This Sacrifice, because it was perfect, could be but
one, and that once; but because the needs of the world should
last as long as the world it self, it was necessary that
there should be a perpetual ministery established, whereby
this one sufficient sacrifice should be made eternally effectual
to the several new arising needs of all the world who should
desire it, or in any sense be capable of it.

3. To this end Christ was made a Priest for ever: he was initiated or consecrated on the crosse, and there began his Priesthood, which was to last till his coming to judgement. It began on earth, but was to last and be officiated in Heaven, where he sits perpetually, representing and exhibiting to the Father that great effective sacrifice (which he offered on the crosse) to eternal and never failing purposes.

4. As Christ is pleased to represent to his Father that great Sacrifice as a means of atonement and expiation for all mankinde, and with special purposes and intendment for all the elect, all that serve him in holinesse: so he hath appointed that the same ministry shall be done upon earth too, in our manner, and according to our proportion; and therefore hath constituted and separated an order of men, who by shewing forth the Lords death by Sacramental representation may pray unto God after the same manner that our Lord and high Priest does, that is, offer to God and represent in this solemn prayer and Sacrament, Christ as already offered, so sending up a gracious instrument whereby our prayers may for his sake and in the same manner of intercession be offered up to God in our behalf, and for all them for whom we pray to all those purposes for which Christ dyed.

5. As the Ministers of the Sacrament do in a Sacramental manner present to God the sacrifice of the crosse, by being imitators of Christs intercession; so the people are sacrificers
too in their manner; for besides that, by saying Amen, they joyn in the act of him that ministers, and make it also to be their own: so when they eat and drink the consecrated and blessed Elements worthily, they receive Christ within them, and therefore may also offer him to God, while in their sacrifice of obedience and thanksgiving they present themselves to God with Christ whom they have spiritually received, that is, themselves with that which will make them gracious and acceptable. The offering their bodies and souls and services to God in him, and by him, and with him, who is his Fathers well-beloved, and in whom he is well pleased, cannot but be accepted to all the purposes of blessing, grace, and glory.

6. This is the sum of the greatest mystery of our Religion: it is the copy of the passion, and the ministration of the great mystery of our Redemption; and therefore whatsoever intitles us to the general priviledges of Christs passion, all that is necessary by way of disposition to the celebration of the Sacrament of his passion: because this celebration is our manner of applying or using it. The particulars of which preparation are represented in the following rules.

1. No Man must dare to approach to the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper if he be in a state of any one sin, that is, unlesse he have entred into the state of repentance, that is, of sorrow and amendment; lest it be said concerning him, as it was concerning Judas, the hand of him that betraeth me is with me on the Table: and he that receiveth Christ into
an impure soul or body, first turns his most excellent nourishment into poison, and then feeds upon it.

2. Every communicant must first have examined himself, that is, tried the condition and state of his soul, searched out the secret Ulcers, enquired out its weaknesses and indiscretions, and all those aptnesses where it is exposed to temptation, that by finding out its diseases he may finde a cure, and by discovering its aptnesses he may secure his present purposes of future amendment, and may be armed against dangers and temptations.

3. This examination must be a Mans own act, and inquisition into his life; but then also it should leade a Man on to run to those whom the Great Physician of our souls Christ Jesus hath appointed to minister physick to our diseases, that in all dangers and great accidents we may be assisted for comfort and remedy, for medicine and caution.

4. In this affair let no Man deceive himself, and against such a time which publick Authority hath appointed for us to receive the Sacrament, weep for his sins by way of solemnity and ceremony, and still retain the affection: but he that comes to this feast must have on the Wedding garment, that is, he must have put on Jesus Christ, and he must have put off the old man with his affections and lusts, and he must be wholly conformed to Christ in the image of his minde: For then we have put on Christ, when our souls are clothed with his righteousnesse, when every faculty of our soul is proportioned and vested
according to the pattern of Christ's life. And therefore a man
must not leap from his last night's Surfet, and Bath, and
then communicate: but when he hath begun the work of God
effectually, and made some progress in repentance, and
hath walked some stages and periods in the ways of godliness,
then let him come to him that is to minister it, and having
made known the state of his soul, he is to be admitted: but
to receive it into an unhallowed soul and body, is to receive
the dust of the Tabernacle in the waters of jealousy; it will
make the belly to swell, and the thigh to rot: it will not convey
Christ to us, but the Devil will enter and dwell there, till
with it he returns to his dwelling of torment. Remember always
that after a great sin or after a habit of sins, a man is not
soon made clean; and no unclean thing must come to this Feast.

It is not the preparation of two or three days that can
render a person capable of this banquet: For in this feast,
all Christ, and Christ's passion, and all his graces, the blessings
and effects of his sufferings are conveyed: nothing can fit
us for this, but what can unite us to Christ, and obtain of
him to present our needs to his heavenly Father: this Sacrament
can no otherwise be celebrated but upon the same terms on which
we may hope for pardon and Heaven itself.

5. When we have this general and indispensably necessary
preparation, we are to make our souls more adorned and trimmed
up with circumstances of pious actions, and special devotions,
setting apart some portion of our time immediately before the
day of solemnity according as our great occasions will permit; and this time is specially to be spent in actions of repentance, confession of our sins, renewing our purposes of holy living, praying for pardon of our failings, and for those graces which may prevent the like sadnesses for the time to come; meditation upon the passion, upon the infinite love of God expressed in so great mysterious manners of redemption; and indefinitely in all acts of virtue which may build our souls up into a Temple fit for the reception of Christ himself and the inhabitation of the holy Spirit.

6. The celebration of the holy Sacrament being the most solemn prayer, joyned with the most effectual instrument of its acceptance, must suppose us in the love of God, and in charity with all the World: and therefore we must before every Communion especially, remember what differences or jealousies are between us and any one else; and recompose all disunions, and cause right understandings between each other; offering to satisfy whom we have injured, and to forgive them who have injured us, without thoughts of resuming the quarrel when the solemnity is over; for that is but to rake the embers in light and phantastick ashes: it must be quenched, and a holy flame enkindled: no fires must be at all, but the fires of love and zeal; and the altar of incense will send up a sweet perfume, and make atonement for us.

7. When the day of the feast is come, lay aside all cares and impertinencies of the World, and remember that this is thy
Souls day; a day of traffique and entercourse with Heaven. Arise early in the morning. 1. Give God thanks for the approach of so great a blessing. 2. Confesse thy own unworthinesse to admit so Divine a Guest. 3. Then remember and deplore thy sinnes which have made thee so unworthy. 4. Then confesse Gods goodnesse and take sanctuary there, and upon him place thy hopes. 5. And invite him to thee with renewed acts of love, of holy desire, of hatred of his enemy, sin. 6. Make oblation of thy self wholly to be disposed by him, to the obedience of him, to his providence and possession, and pray him to enter, and dwell there for ever: And after this, with joy and holy fear, and the forwardness of love, addresse thy self to the receiving of him, to whom and by whom, and for whom, all faith, and all hope, and all love in the whole Catholick Church, both in Heaven and Earth is designed; him, whom Kings and Queens, and whole Kingdoms are in love with, and count it the greatest honour in the World, that their Crowns and Scepters are laid at his holy feet.

8. When the holy Man stands at the Table of blessing and ministers the rite of consecration, then do as the Angels do, who behold, and love, and wonder, that the Son of God should become food to the souls of his servants; that he who cannot suffer any change or lessening should be broken into pieces and enter into the body to support and nourish the spirit, and yet at the same time remain in Heaven while he descends to thee upon Earth; that he who hath essential felicity should become miserable and
dye for thee, and then give himself to thee for ever to redeem thee from sin and misery; that by his wounds he should procure health to thee, by his affronts he should intitle thee to glory, by his death he should bring thee to life, and by becoming a Man he should make thee partaker of the Divine nature. These are such glories that although they are made so obvious that each eye may behold them, yet they are also so deep, that no thought can fathome them: But so it hath pleased him to make these mysteries to be sensible, because the excellency and depth of the mercy is not intelligible; that while wee are ravished and comprehended within the infinitenesse of so vast and mysterious a mercy, yet we may be as sure of it, as of that thing we see and feel, and smell and taste; but yet is so great, that we cannot understand it.

9. These holy mysteries are offered to our senses, but not to bee placed under our feet; they are sensible, but not common: and therefore as the weaknesse of the Elements addes wonder to the excellency of the Sacrament: so let our reverence and venerable usages of them adde honour to the Elements, and acknowledge the glory of the mystery, and the Divinity of the mercy. Let us receive the consecrated Elements with all devotion, and humility of body and spirit; and do this honour to it, that it be the first food we eat, and the first beverage we drink that day, unlesse it be in case of sicknesse, or other great necessity: and that your body and soul both be prepared to its reception with abstinence from secular pleasures, that you may better have attended fastings
and preparatory prayers. —For if ever it be seasonable to observe the counsel of Saint Paul, that married persons by consent should abstain for a time that they may attend to solemnne Religion, it is now. It was not by Saint Paul nor the after ages of the Church called a duty so to do, but it is most reasonable, that the more solemn actions of Religion should be attended to without the mixture of any thing that may discompose the minde, and make it more secular, or lesse religious.

10. In the act of receiving, exercise acts of Faith, with much confidence and resignation, believing it not to be common bread and wine, but holy in their use, holy in their signification, holy in their change, and holy in their effect, and believe if thou art a worthy Communicant thou dost as verily receive Christ's body and blood to all effects and purposes of the spirit, as thou dost receive the blessed elements into thy mouth; that thou puttest thy finger to his hand, and thy hand into his side, and thy lips to his fontinel of blood, sucking life from his heart: and yet if thou dost communicate unworthily, thou eatest and drinkest Christ to thy danger, and death, and destruction. Dispute not concerning the secret of the mystery, and the nicety of the manner of Christ's presence: it is sufficient to thee that Christ shall be present to thy soul, as an instrument of grace, as a pledge of the resurrection, as the earnest of glory and immortality, and a means of many intermedial blessings, even all such as are necessary for thee, and are in order to thy salvation: and to make all this good to thee, there is nothing
necessary on thy part but a holy life, and a true belief of all the sayings of Christ; amongst which, indefinitely assent to the words of institution, and believe that Christ in the holy Sacrament gives thee his bodie and his blood. He that believes not this, is not a Christian; He that believes so much, needs not to enquire further, nor to intangle his faith by disbelieving his sence.

11. Fail not this solemnity according to the custom of pious and devout people to make an offering to God for the uses of religion and the poor, according to thy ability. For when Christ feasts his body, let us also feast our fellow members who have right to the same promises, and are partakers of the same Sacrament, and partners of the same hope, and cared for under the same providence, and descended from the same common parents, and whose Father God is, and Christ is their Elder Brother. If thou chancest to communicate where this holy custom is not observed publickly, supply that want by thy private charity, but offer it to God at his holy Table, at least by thy private designing it there.

12. When you have received, pray and give thanks. Pray for all estates of men: for they also have an interest in the body of Christ whereof they are members: and you in conjunction with Christ (whom then you have received) are more fit to pray for them in that advantage, and in the celebration of that holy sacrifice which then is Sacramentally represented to GOD. Give thanks for the passion of our Dearest Lord: remember all its
parts, and all the instruments of your Redemption: and beg of GOD that by a holy perseverance in well doing you may from shadowes passe on to substances, from eating his body to seeing his face, from the Typicall, Sacramentall, and Transient, to the Reall, and Eternall Supper of the Lambe.

13. After the solemnity is done, let Christ dwell in your hearts by faith, and love, and obedience, and conformity to his life and death; as you have taken CHRIST into you, so put CHRIST on you, and conforme every faculty of your soul and body to his holy image and perfection. Remember that now Christ is all one with you; and therefore when you are to do an action, consider how Christ did, or would do the like, and do you imitate his example, and transcribe his copy, and understand all his Commandments, and choose all that he propounded, and desire his promises and fear his threatnings, and marry his loves and hatreds, and contract all his friendships; for then you do every day communicate; especially when Christ thus dwells in you, and you in Christ, growing up towards a perfect man in Christ Jesus.

14. Do not instantly upon your return from Church, return also to the world, and secular thoughts and imployments; but let the remaining parts of that day be like a post Communion or an after-office, entertaining your blessed Lord with all the carresses and sweetnesse of love and colloquies, and entercourses of duty and affection, acquainting him with all your needs, and revealing to him all your secrets, and opening all your infirmities; and as the affairs of your person or imployment call you off, so
retire again with often ejaculations and acts of entertainment to your beloved Guest.

The effects and benefits of worthy communicating.

When I said that the sacrifice of the crosse which Christ offered for all the sins and all the needs of the world is represented to God by the Minister in the Sacrament, and offered up in prayer and Sacramental memory, after the manner that Christ himself intercedes for us in Heaven (so far as his glorious Priesthood is imitable by his Ministers on earth) I must of necessity also mean, that all the benefits of that sacrifice are then conveyed to all that communicate worthily: But if we descend to particulars; Then and there the Church is nourished in her faith, strengthened in her hope, enlarged in her bowels with an increasing charity: there all the members of Christ are joyned with each other, and all to Christ their head; and we again renew the Covenant with God in Jesus Christ, and God seals his part, and we promise for ours, and Christ unites both, and the holy Ghost signes both in the collation of those graces which we then pray for, and exercise and receive all at once: there our bodies are nourished with the signes, and our souls with the mystery: our bodies receive into them the seed of an immortal nature, and our souls are joyned with him, who is the first fruits of the resurrection and never can dye: and if we desire any thing else and need it, here it is to be prayed for, here to be
hoped for, here to be received. Long life and health, and recovery
from sickness, and competent support and maintenance, and peace,
and deliverance from our enemies, and content, and patience, and
joy, and sanctified riches, or a cheerful poverty and liberty,
and whatsoever else is a blessing, was purchased for us by Christ
in his death and resurrection, and in his intercession in Heaven:
and this Sacrament being that to our particulars, which the great
mysteries are in themselves, and by designe to all the world,
if we receive worthily we shall receive any of these blessings,
according as God shall choose for us; and he will not onely
choose with more wisdom, but also with more affection then we
can for our selves.

After all this, it is advised by the Guides of souls, wise
men and pious, that all persons should communicate very often,
even as often as they can without excuses or delayes: Every thing
that puts us from so holy an imployment when we are moved to it,
being either a sin or an imperfection, an Infirmity or ind devotion,
and an unactiveness of Spirit. All Christian people must come:
They indeed that are in the state of sin must not come so, but
yet they must come: First they must quit their state of death,
and then partake of the bread of life. They that are at enmity
with their neighbours must come, that is no excuse for their not
coming; onely they must not bring their enmity along with them,
but leave it, and then come. They that have variety of secular
imployments must come; onely they must leave their secular thoughts
and affections behinde them, and then come and converse with God.
"If any man be well grown in grace he must needs come, because
he is excellently disposed to so holy a feast: but he that is
but in the infancy of piety had need to come that so he may
grow in grace. The strong must come lest they become weak,
and the weak that they may become strong. The sick must come
to be cured; the healthful to be preserved. They that have
leisure must come because they have no excuse: They that have
no leisure must come hither, that by so excellent religion they
may sanctifie their businesse." The penitent sinners must come,
that they may be justified: and they that are justified, that they
may be justified still. They that have fears and great reverence
to these mysteries, and think no preparation to be sufficient
must receive, that they may learn how to receive the more
worthily: and they that have a lesse degree of reverence, must
come often to have it heightned: "that as those Creatures that
live amongst the snowes of the Mountains turne white with their
food and conversation with such perpetual whitenesses:" so our
souls may be transformed into the similitude and union with
Christ by our perpetual feeding on him, and conversation, not
only in his Courts, but in his very heart, and most secret
affections, and incomparable purities.
Prayers for all sorts of Men, and all necessities; relating to the several parts of the vertue of Religion.

Ad Section 1, 2, 3

A Prayer for the Graces of Faith, Hope, Charity.

O Lord God of infinite mercy, of infinite excellency, who hast sent thy holy Son into the world to redeem us from an intolerable misery, and to teach us a holy religion, and to forgive us an infinite debt: give me thy holy Spirit, that my understanding and all my faculties may be so resigned to the discipline and doctrine of my Lord, that I may be prepared in minde and will to dye for the testimony of Jesus, and to suffer any affliction or calamity that shall offer to hinder my duty, or tempt me to shame or sin, or apostacy: and let my faith be the parent of a good life, a strong shield to repel the fiery darts of the Devil, and the Author of a holy hope, of modest desires, of confidence in God, and of a never failing charity to thee my God, and to all the world, that I may never have my portion with the unbelievers, or uncharitable, and desperate persons; but may be supported by the strengths of faith in all temptations, and may be refreshed with the comforts of a holy hope in all my sorrows, and may bear the burden of the Lord, and the infirmities of my neighbour by the support of charity, that the yoak of Jesus may become easy to me, and my love may do all
the miracles of grace, till from grace it swell to glory, from earth to heaven, from duty to reward, from the imperfections of a beginning, and little growing love it may arrive to the consummation of an eternal and never ceasing charity, through Jesus Christ the Son of thy love, the Anchor of our hope, and the Author and finisher of our faith, to whom with thee, O Lord God, Father of Heaven and Earth, and with thy holy Spirit be all glory, and love, and obedience, and dominion now and forever.

Amen.

Acts of love by way of prayer and ejaculation:

to be used in private

1. O God thou art my God, early will I seek thee: my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land where no water is, to see thy power and thy glory so as I have seen thee in the sanctuary: because thy loving kindness is better then life, my lips shall praise thee.

2. I am ready not only to be bound, but to dye for the name of the Lord Jesus.

3. How amiable are thy Tabernacles thou Lord of Hosts: my soul longeth, yea even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God: Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they will still be praising thee.

4. O Blessed Jesu thou art worthy of all adoration, and all
honour, and all love: Thou art the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace, of thy government and peace there shall be no end: thou art the brightnesse of thy Fathers glory, the expresse image of his person, the appointed Heir of all things: Thou upholdest all things by the word of thy power: Thou didst by thy self purge our sins: Thou art set on the right hand of the Majesty on high: Thou art made better then the Angels, thou hast by inheritance obtained a more excellent name then they. Thou, O dearest Jesus, art the head of the Church, the beginning and the first born from the dead: in all thing thou hast the preheminence, and it pleased the Father that in thee should all fulnesse dwell. Kingdoms are in love with thee: Kings lay their crowns and scepters at thy feet, and Queens are thy handmaids, and wash the feet of thy servants.

A Prayer to be said in any affliction, as death of children, of husband or wife, in great poverty, in imprisonment, in a sad and disconsolate spirit, and in temptations to despair.

O Eternal God, Father of Mercyes, and God of all comfort with much mercy look upon the sadnesses and sorrowes of thy servant. My sins lye heavy upon me, and presse me sore, and there is no health in my bones by reason of thy displeasure and my sin. The waters are gone over me, and I stick fast in the deep mire, and my miseries are without comfort, because they are punishments of my sin: and I am so evil and unworthy a person,
that though I have great desires, yet I have no dispositions of worthiness towards receiving comfort. My sins have caused my sorrow, and my sorrow does not cure my sins: and unless for thy own sake, and merely because thou art good, thou shalt pity me and relieve me, I am as much without remedy, as now I am without comfort. Lord pity me; Lord let thy grace refresh my Spirit. Let thy comforts support me, thy mercy pardon me, and never let my portion be amongst hopelesse and accursed spirits; for thou art good and gracious; and I throw my self upon thy mercy. Let me never let my hold go, and do thou with me what seems good in thy own eyes: I cannot suffer more then I have deserved: and yet I can need no relief so great as thy mercy is: for thou art infinitely more merciful then I can be miserable: and thy mercy which is above all thy own works, must needs be far above all my sin and all my misery. Dearest Jesus, let me trust in thee for ever, and let me never be confounded. Amen.

Ejaculations and short meditations to be used in time of sickness and sorrow, or danger of Death.

1. *Hear my Prayer, O Lord, and let my crying come unto thee. Hide not thy face from me in the time of my trouble, incline thine ear unto me when I call: O hear me and that right soon. For my dayes are consumed like smoak, and my bones are burnt up as it were a firebrand. My heart is smitten down and withered like grass; so that I forget to eat my bread: and that*
because of thine indignation and wrath: for thou hast taken me up and cast me down. 

Thine arrows stick fast in me and thy hand presseth me sore. There is no health in my flesh because of thy displeasure: neither is there any rest in my bones by reason of my sin. My wickednesses are gone over my head and are a sore burden too heavy for me to bear. But I will confess my wickednesse, and be sorry for my sin. 

O Lord rebuke me not in thy indignation, neither chasten me in thy displeasure. 

Lord be merciful unto me, heal my soul for I have sinned against thee.

2. Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness, according to the multitude of thy mercies do away mine offences. 

O remember not the sins and offences of my youth: but according to thy mercy think thou upon me, O Lord for thy goodness.

Wash me thoroughly from my wickednesse: and cleanse me from my sin. Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, from thy all-hallowing and life-giving presence: and take not thy holy Spirit, thy sanctifying, thy guiding, thy comforting, thy supporting, and confirming Spirit from me.

3. O God, thou art my God for ever and ever: thou shalt be my guide unto death. 

Lord comfort me now that I lye sick upon my bed: make thou my bed in all my sickness. 

deliver my soul from the place of Hell: and do thou receive me. 

My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me. 

Behold thou hast made my dayes as it were a span long,
and mine age is even as nothing in respect of thee, and verily
every man living is altogether vanity. When thou with rebukes
doest chasten man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume
away like a moth fretting a garment: every man therefore is
but vanity. And now Lord what is my hope? truly my hope is even
in thee. Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with thine ears consider
my calling, hold not thy peace at my tears. Take this plague
away from me: I am consumed by the means of thy heavy hand.
I am a stranger with thee and a sojourner, as all my Fathers
were. O spare me a little that I may recover my strength before
I go hence and be no more seen. My soul cleaveth unto the
dust: O quicken me according to thy word. And when the snares
of death compasse me round about: let not the pains of hell take
hold upon me.

An Act of Faith concerning resurrection
and the day of judgment, to be said by sick persons or meditated.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand
at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms
destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall
see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, though my reins be
consumed within me.

God shall come and shall not keep silence: there shall go
before him a consuming fire, and a mighty tempest shall be stirred
up round about him: he shall call the heaven from above, and the
earth that he may judge his people. O blessed Jesu, thou art
my judge and thou art my Advocate: have mercy upon me in the hour of my death, and in the day of judgment.

Short Prayers to be said by sick persons.

1. O Holy Jesus, thou art a merciful High Priest and touched with the sense of our infirmities; thou knowest the sharpness of my sickness and the weakness of my person. The clouds are gathered about me, and thou hast covered me with thy storm: My understanding hath not such apprehension of things as formerly: Lord let thy mercy support me, thy spirit guide me, and lead me through the valley of this death safely; that I may passe it patiently, holy, with perfect resignation, and let me rejoice in the Lord, in the hopes of pardon, in the expectation of glory, in the sense of thy mercies, in the refreshments of thy spirit, in a victory over all temptations.

2. Thou hast promised to be with us in tribulation. Lord, my soul is troubled, and my body is weak, and my hope is in thee, and my enemies are busy and mighty, now make good thy holy promise. Now O holy Jesus, now let thy hand of grace be upon me: restrain my ghostly enemies, and give me all sorts of spiritual assistances: Lord remember thy servant in the day when thou bindest up thy Jewels.

3. O take from me all tediousnesse of Spirit, all impatience and unquietnesse: let me possess my soul in patience, and resigne my soul and body into thy hands, as into the hands of a faithful Creator, and a blessed Redeemer.
4. O holy Jesu, thou didst dye for us; by thy sad, pungent, and intolerable pains which thou enduredst for me, have pity on me, and ease my pain, or increase my patience. Lay on me no more then thou shalt enable me to bear. I have deserved it all and more, and infinitely more. Lord I am weak and ignorant, timorous and inconstant, and I fear lest something should happen that may discompose the state of my soul, that may displease thee: Do what thou wilt with me, so thou doest but preserve me in thy fear and favour. Thou knowest that it is my great fear, but let thy Spirit secure, that nothing may be able to separate me from the love of God in Jesus Christ; and then smite me here, that thou mayest spare me for ever; and yet O Lord smite me friendly: for thou knowest my infirmities. Into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth. Come holy Spirit, help me in this conflict. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Let the sick person often meditate upon these following promises and gracious words of God.

My help cometh of the Lord who preserveth them that are true of heart, Psal. 7.11.

And all they that know thy Name will put their trust in thee: for thou Lord hast never failed them that seek thee, Psal. 9.10.

O how plentiful is thy goodnesse which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, and that thou hast prepared for them that put their trust in thee, even before the sons of men,
Psal. 31.20.

Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, and upon them that put their trust in his mercy, to deliver their souls from death, Psal. 33.17.

The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart: and will save such as are of an humble spirit, Psal. 34.18.

Thou Lord shalt save both man and beast: how excellent is thy mercy, O God: and the children of men shall put their trust under the shadow of thy wings, Psal. 36.7.

They shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house: and thou shalt give them to drink of thy pleasures as out of the rivers, v.8.

For with thee is the well of life: and in thy light we shall see light, v.9.

Commit thy way unto the Lord, and put thy trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe, Ps. 37.5.

But the salvation of the righteous cometh of the Lord: who is also their strength in the time of trouble, v. 40.

So that a Man shall say, verily there is a reward for the righteous: doubtlesse there is a God that judgeth the earth, Psal. 58.10.

Blessed is the man whom thou choosest and receivest unto thee: he shall dwell in thy court, and shall be satisfied with the pleasures of thy house, even of thy holy temple, Psal. 65.4.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy, Psal. 126.6.

It is written, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee, Heb. 13.5.
The prayer of faith shall save the sick: and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven, Jam. 5.15.

Come and let us return unto the Lord: for he hath torn and he will heal us, he hath smitten, and he will binde us up, Hos. 6.1.

If we sin we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, I John 2.1,2.

If we confesse our sins he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousnesse, I John 1.9. He that forgives shall be forgiven, Luke 6.37.

And this is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will he heareth us. I John 5.14. And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins, I John 3.5.

If ye being evil know to give good things to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven give good things to them that ask him? Matth. 7.11.

This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the World to save sinners. I Tim. 1.15. He that hath given us his Son, how should not he with him give us all things else? Rom. 8.32.

Acts of hope to be used by sick persons, after a pious life.

1. I am perswaded that neither death nor life, nor Angels,
nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things
to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be
able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ
Jesus our Lord, Rom. 8.38,39.

2. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course,
I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a
crown of rightousnesse, which the Lord the righteous Judge
shall give me at that day, and not to me onely, but unto all
them also that love his appearing, 2 Tim. 4.7,8.

3. Blessed be the God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus
Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all comforts who
 comforts us in all our tribulation, 2 Cor. 1.3,4.

A prayer to be said in behalf of a sick
or dying person.

1. O Lord God, there is no number of thy dayes, nor of
thy mercies; and the sins and sorrowes of thy servant also are
multiplied. Lord look upon him with much mercy and pity,
forgive him all his sinnes, comfort his sorrowes, ease his
pain, satisfie his doubts, relieve his feares, instruct his
ignorances, strengthen his understanding, take from him all
disorders of spirit, weakesnesse and abuse of fancy: Restraine
the malice and power of the spirits of darknesse; and suffer
him to be injured neither by his ghostly enemies, nor his own
infirmities, and let a holy and a just peace, the peace of God
be within his conscience.
2. Lord preserve his senses till the last of his time, strengthen his faith, confirm his hope, and give him a never ceasing charity to thee our God, and to all the world: stir up in him a great and proportionable contrition for all the evils he hath done, and give him a just measure of patience for all he suffers: give him prudence, memory, and consideration, rightly to state the accounts of his soul, and do thou remind him of all his duty, that when it shall please thee that his soul goes out from the prison of his body, it may be received by Angels, and preserved from the surprize of evil spirits, and from the horrors and amazements of new and stranger Regions; and be laid up in the bosom of our Lord, till at the day of thy second coming it shall be reunited to the body, which is now to be laid down in weakness and dishonour, but we humbly beg may then be raised up with glory and power for ever to live and to behold the face of God in the glories of the Lord Jesus, who is our hope, our resurrection, and our life, the light of our eyes and the joy of our soules, our blessed and ever glorious Redeemer. Amen.

Hither the sick person may draw in, and use the acts of several vertues respersed in the several parts of this book, the several Letanies, viz. of repentance, of the passion, and the single prayers, according to his present needs.
A prayer to be said in a storm at Sea.

O my God, thou didst create the earth and the Sea for thy glory and the use of Man, and doest daily shew wonders in the deep: look upon the danger and fear of thy servant: my sins have taken hold upon me, and without the supporting arm of thy mercy I cannot look up; but my trust is in thee. Do thou, O Lord, rebuke the Sea, and make it calm; for to thee the windes and the sea obey: let not the waters swallow me up, but let thy Spirit, the Spirit of gentleness and mercy move upon the waters: Be thou reconciled unto thy servants, and then the face of the waters will be smooth. I fear that my sinnes make me, like Jonas, the cause of the tempest. Cast out all my sins, and throw not thy servants away from thy presence, and from the land of the living into the depths where all things are forgotten: But if it be thy wil that we shall go down into the waters, Lord receive my soul into thy holy hands, and preserve it in mercy and safety till the day of restitution of all things: and be pleased to unite my death to the death of thy Son, and to accept of it so united as a punishment for all my sinnes, that thou mayest forget all thine anger, and blot my sinnes out of thy book, and write my soul there for Jesus Christ his sake, our dearest Lord and most mighty Redeemer. Amen.

Then make an act of resignation, thus,

To God pertain the issues of life and death. It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good in his own eyes. Thy will
be done in earth as it is in Heaven.

Recite Psalm 107. and 130.

A form of a vow to be made in this or the like danger.

If the Lord will be gracious and hear the prayer of his servant, and bring me safe to shore, then I will praise him secretly and publickly, and pay unto the uses of charity [or Religion] [then name the sum you designe for holy use.] 0 my God my goods are nothing unto thee: I will also be thy servant all the dayes of my life, and remember this mercy and my present purposes, and live more to Gods glory, and with a stricter duty: And do thou please to accept this vow as an instance of my importunity, and the greatnesse of my needs, and be thou graciously moved to pity and deliver me. Amen.

This form also may be used in praying for a blessing on an enterprize; and may be instanced in actions of devotion as well as of charity.

A prayer before a journey

O Almighty God who fillest all things with thy presence, and art a God afar off as well as neer at hand: thou didst send thy Angel to blesse Jacob in his journey, and didst leade the children of Israel through the Red Sea, making it a wall on the right hand and on the left: be pleased to let thy Angel
go out before me and guide me in my journey, preserving me from dangers of robbers, from violence of enemies, and sudden and sad accidents, from falls and errors: and prosper my journey to thy glory, and to all my innocent purposes: and preserve me from all sin, that I may return in peace and holiness, with thy favour and thy blessing, and may serve thee in thankfulness and obedience all the days of my pilgrimage, and at last bring me to thy country, to the celestial Jerusalem, there to dwell in thy house and to sing praises to thee for ever. Amen.

Ad. Sect. 4.

A prayer to be said before hearing or reading the word of God.

O holy and eternal Jesus who hast begotten us by thy word, renewed us by thy Spirit, fed us by thy Sacraments, and by the dayly ministry of thy word: still go on to build us up to life eternal. Let thy most holy Spirit be present with me and rest upon me in the reading [or hearing] thy sacred word; that I may do it humbly, reverently, without prejudice, with a minde ready and desirous to learn and to obey; that I may be readily furnished and instructed to every good work, and may practise all thy holy laws and commandments, to the glory of thy holy name, O holy and eternal Jesus. Amen.
A form of confession of sins, and repentance

to be used upon fasting days, or days of
humiliation; especially in Lent, and before

the Holy Sacrament.

Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness, according
to the multitude of thy mercies do away mine offences. For I
will confess my wickedness and be sorry for my sin. O my
Dearest Lord, I am not worthy to be accounted amongst the meanest

of thy servants: not worthy to be sustained by the least fragments
of thy mercy, but to be shut out of thy presence for ever with
dogs and unbelievers. But for thy names sake, O Lord, be
merciful unto my sin, for it is great.

I am the vilest of sinners, and the worst of men: proud

and vain glorious, impatient of scorn or of just reproof: not
enduring to be slighted, and yet extremly deserving it: I have
been cosened by the colours of humility, and when I have truly
called my self vicious, I could not endure any man else should
say so or think so. I have been disobedient to my Superiours,
churlish and ungentle in my behaviour, unchristian and unmanly.

But for thy names sake, etc.

O Just and Dear God, how can I expect pity or pardon who
am so angry and peevish, with and without cause, envious at good,
rejoycing in the evil of my neighbours, negligent of my charge,
idle and uselessse, timorous and base, jealous and impudent,
ambitious and hard hearted, soft, unmortified and effeminate in
my life, indevout in my prayers, without fancie or affection,
without attendance to them or perseverance in them; but passionate
and curious in pleasing my appetite of meat and drink and
pleasures, making matter both for sin and sicknesse; and I
have reaped the cursed fruits of such improvidence, entertaining
undecent and impure thoughts; and I have brought them forth in
undecent and impure actions, and the spirit of uncleanness
hath entred in, and unhallowed the temple which thou didst
consecrate for the habitation of thy Spirit of love and
holinesse. But for thy names sake, O Lord, be merciful unto
my sin, for it is great.

Thou hast given me a whole life to serve thee in, and to
advance my hopes of heaven: and this precious time I have thrown
away upon my sins and vanities, being improvident of my time
and of my talent, and of thy grace and my own advantages;
resisting thy Spirit, and quenching him. I have been a great
lover of my self, and yet used many wayes to destroy my self:
I have pursued my temporal ends with greedinesse and indirect
means: I am revengeful and unthankful, forgetting benefits, but
not so soon forgetting injuries: curious and murmuring: a
great breaker of promises: I have not loved my neighbours good,
nor advanced it in all things where I could: I have bin unlike
thee in all things, I am unmerciful and unjust; a sottish
admirer of things below, and careless of heaven and the wayes
that lead thither.
But for thy names sake, O Lord, be merciful unto my sin, for it is great.

All my senses have been windows to let sin in, and death by sin; Mine eyes have been adulterous and covetous; mine ears open to slander and detraction: my tongue and palate loose and wanton, intemperate, and of foul language, talkative and lying, rash and malicious, false and flattering, irreligious and irreverent, detracting and censorious: My hands have bin injurious and unclean: my passions violent and rebellious: my desires impatient and unreasonable: all my members and all my faculties have been servants of sin: and my very best actions have more matter of pity, then of confidence; being imperfect in my best, and intolerable in most. But for thy names sake, O Lord, etc.

Unto this and a far bigger heap of sin, I have added also the faults of others to my own score, by neglecting to hinder them to sin in all that I could and ought: but I also have encouraged them in sin, have taken off their fears and hardened their consciences and tempted them directly, and prevailed in it to my own ruine and theirs, unlesse thy glorious and unspeakable mercy hath prevented so intolerable a calamity.

Lord I have abused thy mercy, despised thy judgements, turned thy grace into wantonnesse; I have been unthankful for thy infinite loving kindnesse: I have sinned and repented, and then sinned again, and resolved against it, and presently broke it; and then I tyed my self up with vows, and then was tempted, and then I yielded by little and little till I was
willingly lost again, and my vows fell off like cords of vanity.

Miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this
body of sin?

And yet O Lord, I have another heap of sins to be unloaded. My secret sins O Lord, are innumerable; sins I noted not, sins that I willingly neglected, sins that I acted upon willfull ignorance and voluntarymispersuasion; sins that I have forgot; and sins which a diligent and a watchful spirit might have prevented, but I would not. Lord I am confounded with the multitude of them, and the horror of their remembrance though I consider them nakedly in their direct appearances, without the deformity of their unhandsome and aggravating circumstances: but so dressed they are a sight too ugly: an instance of amazement, infinite in degrees, and insufferable in their load.

And yet thou hast spared me all this while, and hast not thrown me into Hell, where I have deserved to have been long since, and even now to have been shut up to an eternity of torments with insupportable amazement, fearing the revelation of thy day.

Miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of sin?

Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God; Thou that Prayest for me shalt be my Judge.
The Prayer.

Thou hast prepared for me a more healthful sorrow. O deny not thy servant when he begs sorrow of thee: Give me a deep contrition for my sins, a hearty detestation and loathing of them, hating them worse than death with torments. Give me grace entirely, presently, and for ever to forsake them; to walk with care and prudence, with fear and watchfulness all my days; to do all my duty with diligence and charity, with zeal and a never fainting spirit: to redeem the time, to trust upon thy mercies, to make use of all the instruments of grace, to work out my salvation with fear and trembling, that thou mayest have the glory of pardoning all my sins, and I may reap the fruit of all thy mercies, and all thy graces, of thy patience and long-suffering, even to live a holy life here, and to reign with thee for ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Another form of Confession.

O Holy and Heavenly Father who art seated in inaccessible light, where no mortal eye can approach and live, whose word alone is of an infinite force, in whom we all live and move and have our being, and yet art mercifully pleased to admit into thy presence sinfull man clothed upon with all his weaknesses, to accept and encourage his boldnesse of addresse and to account it to him for righteousness. Mercifully looke down upon me the unworthiest of all thy creatures, yet one for whom Christ dyed,
and descended into the torments of the grave.

Pardon, O Lord, the sins and offences of my youth, that what has been committed by me, before thou hadst touched my heart with thy sanctifying grace, may never rise up in judgement against me to condemne me, forgive the errors of my understanding, the vanity of my affections, and all the faults and offences of my former life, and imprint in my heart such a deep sense of them and make the remembrance of my death so presentiall to my thoughts, that I may never returne into the same sins againe.

Send thy saving grace into my heart to be a controll against all appearance of evill: Let the remembrance of thy goodnesse and gloryes make me fear to offend, but bold to lay my necessities at thy feet. Lord inflame my heart with great degrees of love to thee, that the fondnesse of my affection may spend it selfe wholly upon thy beauties, having first thrown away the love of all worldly things, Let all my actions be so holy and innocent, that they may teame with blessings upon me.

Lord pardon the sins of this day, and let their remembrance dwell with me, till I have forgot to returne to them. Thy mercies towards me have been infinite, and like the divine essence incomprehensible. Particularly in defending me thy servant from all dangers, notwithstanding the guilt of my greivous sins engraven upon my soule in largest characters.

Lord also defend me this night, and forever be my protectour, for I fly unto thee for help, I am not able to promise my selfe one minute of life, all I doe is in thy name and power. Thou restrainest the spirits of darknesse, and keepest them from
hurting us.

Lord also make their temptation void, and take away the evill of my affections, that I may be a fit temple of the Holy Ghost defended and inhabited by thee. Make me alwayes to remember that my soule is in thy hand, that whatsoever thou layest upon me is for my good, that thou carest for me, and in order to my preservation numberest the haires of my head. And make me wholly to resigne myself up to thy disposure in all the affaires of my life, that being adopted into the number of thy Elect, I may hereafter come to make one in that blessed quire whom thou shalt choose to sing thy praises to all eternitye. Heare thy servant O Merciful Father at the intercession of thy deare son Jesus Christ.

Ad Sect. 6.

Special devotions to be used upon the Lords-day, and the great Festivalls of Christians.

In the Morning recite the following forme of Thanksgiving: upon the special Festivalls adding the commemoration of the special blessing according to the following prayers: adding such prayers as you shall choose out of the foregoing Devotions.

2. Besides the ordinary and publick duties of the day, if you retire into your closet to read and meditate; after you have performed that duty, say the song of S. Ambrose commonly
called the Te Deum or "We praise thee, etc." then add the prayers for particular graces which are at the end of the former Chapters, such and as many of them as shall fit your present needs and affections: ending with the Lords prayer. This form of devotion, may for variety, be indifferently used at other times.

"A forme of thanksgiving with a recital of publick and private blessings: To be used upon Easter-day, Whit-sunday, Ascension-day, and all Sundayes of the year: but the middle part of it may be reserved for the more solemn Festivals; and the other used upon the ordinary; as every mans affections or leisure shall determine."

(I.) Ex Liturgia S. Basillii magna ex parte.

O Eternal Essence, Lord God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things in Heaven and Earth, it is a good thing to give thanks to thee, O Lord, and to pay to thee all reverence, worship and devotion from a clean and prepared heart; and with an humble spirit to present a living and reasonable sacrifice to thy holinesse and Majesty: for thou hast given unto us the knowledge of thy turth: and who is able to declare thy greatnesse, and to recount all thy marvellous works which thou hast done in all the generations of the world?

O Great Lord and Governour of all things, Lord and Creator of all things visible and invisible, who sittest upon the throne
of thy glory, and beholdest the secrets of the lowest abyss
and darknesse, thou art without beginning, uncircumscribed,
incomprehensible, unalterable, and seated for ever unmoved
in thy own essential happinesse and tranquillity: Thou art the
Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST: who is,

Our Dearest and most Gracious Saviour, our hope, the wisdom
of the Father, the image of thy goodnesse, the Word eternal and
the brightnesse of thy person, the power of God from eternal
ages, the true light that lightneth every Man that cometh into
the World, the Redemption of Man, and the Sanctification of
our Spirits.

By whom the holy Ghost descended upon the Church; the
holy Spirit of truth, the seal of adoption, the earnest of the
inheritance of the Saints, the first fruits of everlasting
felicity, the life-giving power, the fountain of sanctification,
the comfort of the Church, the ease of the afflicted, the support
of the weak, the wealth of the poor, the teacher of the doubtful,
scrupulous and ignorant, the anchor of the fearful, the infinite
reward of all faithful souls, by whom all reasonable and understanding
creatures serve thee, and send up a never-ceasing, and a never-
rejected sacrifice of prayer, and praises, and adoration.

All Angels and Archangels, all Thrones and Dominions,
all Principalities and Powers, the Cherubins with many eyes, and
the Seraphins covered with wings from the terror and amazement
of thy brightest glory: These and all the powers of Heaven do
perpetually sing praises and never-ceasing Hymns, and eternal
Anthems to the glory of the eternal God, the Almighty Father of
Men and Angels.

Holy is our God: Holy is the Almighty: Holy is the Immortal:
Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full
of the Majesty of thy glory. Amen. With these holy and blessed
Spirits I also thy servant, 0 thou great lover of souls, though
I be unworthy to offer praise to such a Majesty, yet out of my
bounden duty humbly offer up my heart and voice to joyn in this
blessed quire, and confesse the glories of the Lord. For thou
art holy, and of thy greatnesse there is no end; and in thy
justice and goodnesse thou hast measured out to us all thy
works.

Thou madest man out of the earth and didst form him after
thine own image: thou didst place him in a garden of pleasure,
and gavest him laws of righteousnesse to be to him a seed of
immortality.

O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodnesse:
and delcare the wonders that he hath done for the children
of men.

For when man sinned and listned to the whispers of a tempting
spirit, and refused to hear the voice of God, thou didst throw
him out from Paradise, and sentest him to till the Earth; but
yet left not his condition without remedy, but didst provide
for him the salvation of a new birth, and by the blood of thy
Son didst redeem and pay the price to thine own justice for thine
own creature, lest the work of thine own hands should perish.

O that men would therefore praise the Lord, etc.

For thou, 0 Lord, in every age didst send testimonies from
Heaven, blessings and Prophets, and fruitful seasons, and preachers of righteousness, and miracles of power, and mercy: thou spakest by thy Prophets and saidst, I will help by one that is mighty: and in the fulness of time spakest to us by thy Son, by whom thou didst make both the Worlds: who by the word of his power, sustains all things in Heaven and Earth: who thought it no robbery to be equal to the Father: who being before all time was pleased to be born in time, to converse with men, to be incarnate of a holy Virgin: he emptied himself of all his glories, took on him the form of a servant, in all things being made like unto us, in a soul of passions and discourse, in a body of humility and sorrow, but in all things innocent, and in all things afflicted: and suffered death for us, that we by him might live and be partakers of his nature and his glories, of his body and of his Spirit, of the blessings of earth, and of immortal felicities in Heaven.

O that men would therefore praise the Lord etc.

For thou O holy and immortal God, O sweetest Saviour Jesus, wert made under the Law to condemn sin in the flesh: thou who knewest no sin wert made sin for us: thou gavest to us righteous Commandements, and madest known to us all thy Fathers will: thou didst redeem us from our vain conversation, and from the vanity of Idols, false principles, and foolish confidences, and broughtest us to the knowledge of the true and onely God and our Father, and hast made us to thy self a peculiar people, of thy own purchase, a royal Priesthood, a holy Nation: Thou hast washed our soules in the Laver of Regeneration, the Sacrament of
Baptism: Thou hast reconciled us by thy death, justified us by thy Resurrection, sanctified us by thy Spirit (sending him upon thy Church in visible formes, and giving him in powers, and miracles, and mighty signes, and continuing this incomparable favour in gifts and sanctifying graces, and promising that hee shall abide with us for ever) thou hast fed us with thine own broken body, and given drink to our soules out of thine own heart: and hast ascended up on high, and hast overcome all the powers of Death and Hell, and redeemed us from the miseries of a sad eternity: and sittest at the right hand of God, making intercession for us with a never ceasing charity.

O that men would therefore praise the Lord, etc.

The grave could not hold thee long, O holy and eternal Jesus, thy body could not see corruption, neither could thy soul be left in Hell; thou wert free among the dead, and thou brakest the iron gates of Death, and the bars and chains of the lower prisons: Thou broughtest comfort to the souls of the Patriarchs who waited for thy coming, who longed for the redemption of Man, and the revelation of thy day. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob saw thy day, and rejoyned: and when thou didst arise from thy bed of darknesse, and leftest the grave-clothes behind thee, and didst put on a robe of glory (over which for 40 dayes thou didst wear a vail) and then entred up into a cloud, and then into glory, then the powers of Hell were confounded, then Death lost its power and was swallowed up into victory; and though death is not quite destroyed, yet it is made harmlesse and without a sting, and the condition of Humane Nature is made an entrance to eternal
glory; and Thou art the Prince of life, the first fruits of the resurrection, the first-born from the dead, having made the way plain before our faces, that we may also rise again in the Resurrection of the last day, when thou shalt come again unto us to render to every Man according to his works.

0 that men would therefore praise the Lord, etc.
0 give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious: and his mercy endureth for ever.
0 all ye angels of the Lord, praise ye the Lord: praise him and magnifie him for ever.
0 ye spirits and souls of the Righteous, praise ye the Lord: praise him and magnifie him for ever.

And now, 0 Lord God, what shall I render to thy Divine Majesty for all the benefits thou hast done unto thy servant in my personal capacity?

Thou art my Creator and my Father, my Protector and my Guardian, thou hast brought me from my Mothers wombe, thou hast told all my joynts, and in thy book were all my members written: Thou hast given me a comely body, Christian and careful parents, holy education; Thou has been my guide and my teacher all my dayes: Thou hast given me ready faculties, an unloosed tongue, a cheerful spirit, strait limbs, a good reputation, and liberty of person, a quiet life, and a tender conscience [a loving wife or husband, and hopeful children] thou wert my hope from my youth, through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born: Thou hast clothed me and fed me, given me friends and blessed them; given me many dayes of comfort and health, free from those sad
infirmitis, with which many of thy Saints and dearest servants are afflicted: Thou hast sent thy Angel to snatch me from the violence of fire and water, to prevent praecipices, fracture of bones, to rescue me from thunder and lightning, plague and pestilential diseases, murder and robbery, violence of chance and enemies, and all the spirits of darkness: and in the days of sorrow thou hast refreshed me: in the destitution of provisions thou hast taken care of me, and thou hast said unto me, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.

I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart, secretly among the faithful and in the congregation.

Thou O my dearest Lord and Father hast taken care of my soul, hast pitied my miseries, sustained my infirmities, relieved and instructed my ignorances; and though I have broken thy righteous Lawes and Commandements, run passionately after vanities and was in love with Death, and was dead in sin, and was exposed to thousands of temptations, and fell foully, and continued in it, and loved to have it so, and hated to be reformed; yet thou didst call me with the checks of conscience, with daily Sermons and precepts of holiness, with fear and shame, with benefits and the admonitions of thy most holy Spirit, by the counsel of my friends, by the example of good persons, with holy books and thousands of excellent arts, and wouldest not suffer me to perish in my folly, but didst force me to attend to thy gracious calling, and hast put me into a state of repentance, and possibilities of pardon, being infinitely desirous I should live, and recover, and make use of thy grace, and partake of thy glories.

"I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart,
secretly among the faithful, and in the congregation. For salvation belongeth unto the Lord, any thy blessing is upon thy servant. But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercies, and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple. For of thee, and in thee, and through thee, and for thee are all things. Blessed be the name of God from generation to generation. Amen."

"A short Form of thanksgiving to be said upon any special deliverance, as from Childbirth, from Sickness, from battel, or imminent danger at sea, or Land, etc."

O most merciful and gracious God, thou fountain of all mercy and blessing, thou hast opened the hand of thy mercy to fill me with blessings, and the sweet effects of thy loving kindnesse: thou feedest us like a Shepherd, thou governest us as a king, thou bearest us in thy arms like a nurse, thou doest cover us under the shadow of thy wings, and shelter us like a hen; thou (O Dearest Lord) wakest for us as a Watchman, thou providest for us like a Husband, thou lovest us as a friend, and thinkest on us perpetually, as a careful mother on her helplesse babe, and art exceeding merciful to all that fear thee; and now, O Lord, thou hast added this great blessing of deliverance from my late danger, (here name the blessing) it was thy hand and the help of thy mercy that relieved me, the waters of affliction had drowned me, and the stream had gone
over my soul, if the spirit of the Lord had not moved upon these waters: Thou O Lord, didst revoke thy angry sentence which I had deserved, and which was gone out against me: Unto thee, O Lord, I ascribe the praise and honour of my redemption: I will be glad and rejoice in thy mercy, for thou hast considered my trouble, and hast known my soul in adversity: As thou hast spread thy hand upon me for a covering, so also enlarge my heart with thankfulnesse, and fill my mouth with praises, that my duty and returns to thee may be great as my needs of mercie are; and let thy gracious favours, and loving kindnesse endure for ever and ever upon thy servant: and grant that what thou hast sown in mercy may spring up in duty: and let thy grace so strengthen my purposes that I may sin no more, lest thy threatening return upon me in anger, and thy anger break me into pieces: but let me walk in the light of thy favour, and in the paths of thy Commandments; that I living here to the glory of thy name, may at last enter into the glory of my Lord, to spend a whole eternity in giving praise to thy exalted and ever glorious name. Amen.

"We praise thee O God: we knowledge thee to be the Lord, All the earth doth worship thee the Father Everlasting. To thee All Angels cry aloud, the Heavens and all the powers therein. To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry. Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and Earth are full of the Majesty of thy glory. The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee. The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee. The noble army of Martyrs praise thee. The holy Church throughout all the world doth knowledge thee. The Father of an infinite
Majesty, Thy honourable, true and only Son. Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter. Thou art the King of glory O Christ. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father. When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst not abhor the Virgins womb. When thou hadst overcome the sharpnesse of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers. Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father. We believe that thou shalt come to be our Judge. We therefore pray thee help thy servants whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood. Make them to be numbered with thy Saints in glory everlasting. O Lord save thy people, and blesse thine heritage. Govern them and lift them up for ever. Day by day we magnifie thee. And we worship thy name ever world without end. Vouchsafe O Lord, to keep us this day without sin. O Lord have mercy upon us: have mercy upon us. O Lord let thy mercy lighten upon us as our trust is in thee. O Lord in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded." Amen.

A Prayer of thanksgiving after the receiving some great blessing, as the birth of an Heir, the successe of an honest designe, a victory, a good harvest, etc.

O Lord God, Father of mercies, the fountain of comfort and blessing, of life and peace, of plenty and pardon, who fillest Heaven with thy glory, and earth with thy goodnes; I give thee
the most earnest, most humble, and most enlarged returnes of my glad and thankful heart, for thou has refreshed me with thy comforts, and enlarged me with thy blessing, thou hast made my flesh and my bones to rejoyce: for besides the blessings of all mankinde, the blessings of nature, and the blessings of grace, the support of every minute, and the comforts of every day, thou hast opened thy bosom, and at this time hast powred out an excellent expression of thy loving kindnesse [here name the blessing.] What am I O Lord, and what is my Fathers house, what is the life, and what are the capacities of thy servant that thou shouldst do this unto me, that the great God of men and Angels should make a special decree in Heaven for me, and send out an Angel of blessing, and instead of condemning and ruining me as I miserably have deserved, to distinguish me from many my equals and my betters, by this and many other special acts of grace and favour.

Praised be the Lord daily, even the Lord that helpeth us and powreth his benefits upon us. He is our God, even the God of whom cometh salvation: God is the Lord by whom we escape death. Thou hast brought me to great honour, and comforted me on every side.

Thou Lord hast made me glad through thy works, I will rejoyce in giving praise for the operation of thy hands.

O give thanks unto the Lord, and call upon his name: tell the people what things he hath done.

As for me, I will give great thanks unto the Lord: and praise him among the multitude.
Blessed be the Lord God, even the Lord God of Israel:
which only doth wondrous and gracious things.
And blessed be the name of his Majesty for ever: and all
the earth shall be filled with his Majesty. Amen. Amen.
Glory be to the Father, etc.
As it was in the beginning, etc.

"A Prayer to be said on the Feast of Christmas, or the birth of
our blessed Saviour Jesus; the same also may be said upon the
Feast of the Annunciation, and the Purification of the Blessed
Virgin Mary."

1. O Holy and Almighty God, Father of mercies, Father of
our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of thy love and Eternal mercies,
I adore and praise, and glorifie thy infinite and unspeakable
love, and wisdom, who has sent thy Son from the bosom of felicities
to take upon him our nature and our misery, and our guilt, and
hast made the Son of God to become the Son of Man, that we might
become the Sons of God, and partakers of the divine nature:
since thou hast so exalted humane nature, be pleased also to
sanctify my person, that by a conformity to the humility and
laws, and sufferings of my dearest Saviour I may be united to
his spirit, and be made all one with the most Holy Jesus. Amen.

2. O Holy and Eternal Jesus who didst pity mankinde lying
in his blood, and sin and misery, and didst choose our sadnesses
and sorrows that thou mightest make us to pertake of thy felicities:
let thine eyes pity me, thy hands support me, thy holy feet tread
down all the difficulties in my way to Heaven, let me dwell in thy heart, be instructed with thy wisdom, moved by thy affections, choose with thy will, and be clothed with thy righteousness, that in the day of judgement I may be found having on thy garments, sealed with thy impression; and that bearing upon every faculty and member the character of my elder brother, I may not be cast out with strangers and unbelievers. Amen.

3. O Holy and ever blessed spirit, who didst overshadow the holy Virgin-Mother of our Lord, and causedst her to conceive by a miraculous and mysterious manner: be pleased to overshadow my soul, and enlighten my spirit, that I may conceive the holy Jesus in my heart, and may bear him in my minde, and may grow up to the fulnesse of the stature of Christ, to be a perfect man in Christ Jesus. Amen.

To God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. To the eternal Son that was incarnate and born of a virgin. To the spirit of the Father and the Son be all honour and glory, worship and adoration, now and for ever. Amen.

The same Form of Prayer may be used upon our own Birth-day, or day of our Baptisme: adding the following prayer.

A Prayer to be said upon our Birth-day, or day of Baptisme.

O Blessed and Eternal God, I give thee praise and glory for thy great mercy to me in causing me to be born of Christian
parents, and didst not allot to me a portion with Misbelievers and Heathen that have not known thee; thou didst not suffer me to be strangled at the gate of the womb, but thy hand sustained and brought me to the light of the world, and the illumination of baptism, with thy grace preventing my election, and by an artificial necessity, and holy prevention engaging me to the profession and practises of Christianity: Lord since that, I have broken the promises made in my behalf, and which I confirmed by my after act; I went back from them by an evil life; and yet thou hast still continued to me life and time of repentance; and didst not cut me off in the beginning of my days, and the progress of my sins: O Dearest God, pardon the errors and ignorances, the vices and vanities of my youth, and the faults of my more forward years, and let me never more stain the whiteness of my baptismal robe: and now that by thy grace, I still persist in the purposes of obedience, and do give up my name to Christ, and glory to be a Disciple of thy institution, and a servant of Jesus, let me never fail of thy grace; let no root of bitterness spring up and disorder my purposes, and defile my spirit. O let my years be so many degrees of nearer approach to thee; and forsake me not O God, in my old age, when I am gray-headed; and when my strength faileth me be thou my strength and my guide unto death, that I may reckon my years and apply my heart unto wisdom, and at last after the spending a holy and a blessed life, I may be brought unto a glorious eternity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then add the form of thanksgiving formerly described.
A prayer to be said upon the dayes of
the memory of Apostles, Martyrs, etc.

O Eternal God to whom do live the spirits of them that depart
hence in the Lord, and in whom the souls of them that be elected
after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh be in peace
and rest from their labours, and their works follow them, and
their memory is blessed: I blesse and magnifie thy holy and ever
glorious name, for the great grace and blessing manifested to thy
Apostles and Martyrs, and other holy persons who have glorified
thy name in the dayes of their flesh, and have served the interest
of religion, and of thy service, and this day we have thy servant
[name the Apostle or Martyr, etc.] in remembrance, whom thou hast
lead thorough the troubles and temptations of this World, and now
hast lodged in the bosome of a certain hope and great beatitude
until the day of restitution of all things. Blessed be the
mercy and eternal goodnesse of God; and the memory of all thy
Saints is blessed: Teach me to practise their doctrine, to
imitate their lives following their example, and being united
as a part of the same mystical body, by the band of the same
faith, and a holy hope, and a never ceasing charity: and may
it please thee of thy gracious good nesse shortly to accomplish
the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy Kingdom, that we
with thy servant [*] and all others departed in the true faith
and fear of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation
and blisse in body and soul in thy eternal and everlasting kingdom.

Amen.
A form of prayer recording all the parts and mysteries of Christ's passion; being a short history of it: to be used especially in the week of the passion, and before the receiving the blessed Sacrament.

All praise, honour, and glory be to the holy and eternal Jesus. I adore thee O blessed Redeemer, eternal God, the light of the Gentiles and the glory of Israel; for thou hast done and suffered for me more than I could wish, more than I could think of, even all that a lost and a miserable perishing sinner could possibly need.

Thou wert afflicted with thirst and hunger, with heat and cold, with labours and sorrowes, with hard journeys and restlesse nights; and when thou wert contriving all the mysterious and admirable wayes of paying our scores, thou didst suffer thyself to be designed to slaughter by those for whom in love thou wert ready to dye.

What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the Son of man that thou thus visitest him?

Blessed by thy Name, O holy Jesus; for thou wertest about doing good, working miracles of mercy, healing the sick, comforting the distressed, instructing the ignorant, raising the dead, inlightning the blinde, strengthening the lame, straitning the crooked, relieving the poor, preaching the Gospel, and reconciling sinners by the mightinesse of thy power, by the wisdom of thy Spirit, by the Word of God, and the
merits of thy Passion, thy healthful and bitter passion.

Lord what is man that thou art mindful of him, etc.

Blessed be thy Name O holy Jesus who wert content to be

5 conspired against by the Jews, to be sold by thy servant for

a vile price, and to wash the feet of him that took money for

thy life, and to give to him and to all thy Apostles thy most

holy Body and Blood, to become a Sacrifice for their sins, even

for their betraying and denying thee; and for all my sins, even

for my crucifying thee afresh, and for such sins which I am

10 ashamed to think, but that the greatnesse of my sins magnifie

the infinitenesse of thy mercies who didst so great things for

so vile a person.

Lord what is man, etc.

Blessed be thy Name O holy Jesus, who being to depart the

15 World didst comfort thy Apostles, powring out into their ears

and hearts treasures of admirable discourses; who didst recommend

them to thy Father with a mighty charity, and then didst enter

into the Garden set with nothing but Bryers and sorrowes, where

thou didst suffer a most unspeakable agony, until the sweat

20 strained through thy pure skin like drops of blood; and there

didst sign and groan, and fall flat upon the earth, and pray

and submit to the intolerable burden of thy Fathers wrath which

I had deserved and thou sufferedst.

Lord what is man, etc.

25 Blessed be thy Name O holy Jesus, who hast sanctified to

us all our natural infirmities and passions, by vouchsafing to

be in fear and trembling, and sore amazement, by being bound and
imprisoned, by being harrassed and dragged with cords of violence and rude hands; by being drenched in the brook in the way, by being sought after like a thief, and used like a sinner, who wert the most holy and the most innocent, cleaner then an Angel and brighter then the Morning Star.

Lord what is man, etc.

Blessed be thy Name O holy Jesus, and blessed be that loving kindnesse and pity, by which thou didst neglect thy own sorrows, and go to comfort the sadnesse of thy Disciples, quickning their dulnesse, incouraging their duty, arming their weakness with excellent precepts against the day of trial. Blessed be that humility and sorrow of thine, who being Lord of the Angels, yet wouldest need, and receive comfort from thy servant the Angel; who didst offer thy self to thy persecutors, and madest them able to seiz thee, and didst receive the Traytors kisse, and sufferest a veil to be thrown over thy holy face, that thy enemies might not presently be confounded by so bright a lustre; and wouldest do a mircale to cure a wound of one of thy spiteful enemies; and didst reprove a zealous servant in behalf of a malicious adversary; and then didst go like a Lamb to the slaughter without noise or violence, or resistance, when thou couldest have commanded millions of Angels for thy guard and rescue.

Lord what is man, etc.

Blessed be thy Name O holy Jesus, and blessed be that holy sorrow thou didst suffer when thy Disciples fled, and thou wert left alone in the hands of cruel men, who like evening Wolves
thirsted for a draught of thy best blood: and thou wert led to
the house of Annas, and there asked insnaring questions, and
smitten on the face by him whose ear thou hadst but lately healed:
and from thence wert dragged to the house of Caiaphas, and
there all night didst endure spittings, affronts, scorn,
contumelies, blowes, and intolerable insolencies, and all this
for man who was thy enemy and the cause of all thy sorrows.

Lord what is man, etc.

Blessed be thy Name, O holy Jesus, and blessed be thy mercy,
who when thy servant Peter denied thee, and forsook thee, and
forswore thee, didst look back upon him, and by that gracious
and chiding look didst call him back to himself and thee: who
wert accused before the High Priest, and railed upon, and
examined to evil purposes, and with designes of blood: who
wert declared guilty of death for speaking a most necessary
and most profitable truth: who wert sent to Pilate and found
innocent, and sent to Herod and still found innocent, and wert
arrayed in white both to declare thy innocence and yet to deride
thy person, and wert sent back to Pilate and examined again, and
yet nothing but innocence found in thee and malice round about
thee to devour thy life, which yet thou wert more desirous to
lay down for them, then they were to take it from thee.

Lord what is man, etc.

Blessed be thy Name, O holy Jesus, and blessed be that
patience and charity by which for our sakes thou wert content
to be smitten with canes, and have that holy face which Angels
with joy and wonder do behold, be spit upon, and be despised when compared with Barabbas, and scourged most rudely with unhallowed hands, till the pavement was purpled with that holy blood; and condemned to a sad and shameful, a publick and painful death, and arrayed in Scarlet, and crowned with thorns, and stripped naked, and then clothed, and loaden with the crosse, and tormented with a tablet stuck with nails at the fringes of thy garment, and bound hard with cords and dragged most vilely and most piteously till the load was too great, and did sink thy tender and virginal body to the earth; and yet didst comfort the weeping women, and dist more pity thy persecutors then thy self, and wert grieved for the miseries of Jerusalem to come forty years after more then for thy present passion.

Lord what is man, etc.

Blessed be thy Name, O holy Jesus, and blessed be that incomparable sweetnesse and holy sorrow which thou sufferedst, when thy holy hands and feet were nailed upon the crosse, and the crosse being set in a hollownesse of the earth did in the fall rend the wounds wider, and there naked and bleeding, sick and faint, wounded and despised, didst hang upon the weight of thy wounds three long hours, praying for thy persecutors, satisfying thy Fathers wrath, reconciling the penitent thief, providing for thy holy and afflicted mother, tasting vinegar and gall, and when the fulnesse of thy suffering was accomplished, didst give thy soul into the hands of God, and didst descend to the regions of longing souls who waited for the revelation of this thy day in their prisons of hope: and then thy body was
transfixed with a spear and issued forth two Sacraments, Water and blood, and thy body was composed to burial, and dwelt in darkness 3 days and 3 nights.

Lord what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the Son of man that thou thus visitest him?

The prayer.

Thus 0 blessed Jesu thou didst finish thy holy passion with pain and anguish so great, that nothing could be greater then it, except thy self and thy own infinite mercy, and all this for man, even for me, then whom nothing could be more miserable, thy self onely excepted who becamest so by understanding our guilt and our punishment. And now Lord who hast done so much for me, be pleased onely to make it effectual to me, that it may not be uselesse and lost as to my particular, lest I become eternally miserable, and lost to all hopes and possibilities of comfort. All this deserves more love then I have to give: but Lord do thou turn me all into love, and all my love into obedience, and let my obedience be without interruption, and then I hope thou wilt accept such a return as I can make: make me to be something that thou delightest in, and thou shalt have all that I am or have from thee, even whatsoever thou makest fit for thy self. Teach me to live wholly for my Saviour Jesus, and to be ready to dye for Jesus, and to be conformable to his life and sufferings, and to be united to him by inseparable unions, and to own no passions but what may be servants to Jesus,
and Disciples of his institution. O sweetest Saviour clothe my soul with thy holy robe: hide my sins in thy wounds, and bury them in thy grave, and let me rise in the life of grace, and abide and grow in it till I arrive at the Kingdom of Glory. Amen.

Our Father, etc.

Ad. Sect. 7, 8, 10

"A form of prayer or intercession for all estates of people in the Christian Church. The parts of which may be added to any other formes: and the whole office entirely as it lyes is proper to be said in our preparation to the holy Sacrament, or on the day of celebration.

1. For our selves

O thou gracious Father of mercy, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon thy servants who bow our heads, and our knees, and our hearts to thee: pardon and forgive us all our sins, give us the grace of holy repentance and a strict obedience to thy holy word; strengthen us in the inner man with the power of the holy Ghost for all the parts and duties of our calling and holy living: preserve us for ever in the unity of the holy Catholick Church, and in the integrity of the Christian faith, and in the love of God, and of our neighbours, and in hope of life Eternal. Amen.
2. **For the whole Catholick Church**

O holy Jesus King of the Saints, and Prince of the Catholick Church, preserve thy spouse whom thou hast purchased with thy right hand, and redeemed and cleansed with thy blood; the whole Catholick Church from one end of the Earth to the other; she is founded upon a rock, but planted in the sea. O preserve her safe from schisme, heresy, and sacriledge. Unite all her members with the bands of Faith, Hope and Charity, and an external communion, when it shall seem good in thine eyes: let the daily sacrifice of prayer and sacramental thanksgiving never cease, but be for ever presented to thee, and for ever united to the intercession of our dearest Lord, and for ever prevail for the obtaining for every of the members of thy Church grace and blessing, pardon and salvation. Amen.

3. **For all Christian Kings, Princes and Governours**

O King of Kings, the Prince of all the Rulers of the Earth, give thy grace and Spirit to all Christian Princes, the spirit of wisdom and counsel, the spirit of government and godly fear: Grant unto them to live in peace and honour, that their people may love and feare them; and they may love and fear God: speak good unto their hearts concerning the Church, that they may be nursing Fathers to it, Fathers of the Fatherlesse, Judges and Avengers of the cause of Widowes, that they may be compassionate to the wants of the poor, and the groans of the oppressed, that they may not vex or kill the Lords people with unjust or ambitious wars,
but may feed the flock of God, and may inquire after and do all things which may promote peace, publick honesty and holy religion, so administring things present, that they may not fail of the everlasting glories of the world to come, where all thy faithful people shall reign Kings for ever. Amen.

4. For all the orders of them that minister about Holy things.

O thou great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Holy and Eternal Jesus, give unto thy servants the Ministers of the Mysteries of Christian religion the Spirit of prudence and sanctity, faith and charity, confidence and zeal, diligence and watchfulness, that they may declare thy will unto the people faithfully, and dispense the Sacraments rightly, and intercede with thee graciously and acceptably for thy servants. Grant O Lord, that by a holy life and a true belief, by well doing and patient suffering (when thou shalt call them to it) they may glorifie thee the great lover of souls, and after a plentiful conversion of sinners from the error of their ways they may shine like the stars in glory. Amen.

"Give unto thy servants the Bishops a discerning Spirit that they may lay hands suddenly on no man, but may depute such persons to the Ministeries of religion, who may adorn the Gospel of God, and whose lips may preserve knowledge, and such who by their good preaching, and holy living may advance the service of the Lord Jesus." Amen.
5. For our nearest relatives, as Husband,

Wife, Children, Family etc.

O God of infinite mercy, let thy loving mercy and compassion descend upon the head of thy servants [my wife, or husband, children and family:] be pleased to give them health of body and of spirit, a competent portion of temporals, so as may with comfort support them in their journey to Heaven: preserve them from all evil and sad accidents, defend them in all assaults of their enemies, direct their persons and their actions, sanctify their hearts and words, and purposes, that we all may by the bands of obedience and charity be united to our Lord Jesus, and always feeling thee our merciful and gracious Father, may become a holy family, discharging our whole duty in all our relations, that we in this life being thy children by adoption and grace, may be admitted into thy holy family hereafter for ever to sing praises to thee in the Church of the first born, in the family of thy redeemed ones. Amen.

6. For our Parents, our Kinred in the flesh,

our Friends and Benefactors.

O God merciful and gracious, who hast made [my Parents] my Friends and my Benefactors ministers of thy mercy and instruments of providence to thy servant, I humbly beg a blessing to descend upon the heads of [name the persons or the relations.] Depute thy holy Angels to guard their persons, thy holy spirit to guide their souls, thy providence to minister to their necessities: and
let thy grace and mercy preserve them from the bitter pains of eternal death, and bring them to everlasting life through Jesus Christ. Amen.

7. For all that lye under the rod of war, famine, pestilence: to be said in the time of plague, or war, etc.

O Lord God Almighty, thou art our Father, we are thy children, thou art our Redeemer, we thy people purchased with the price of thy most precious blood, be pleased to moderate thy anger towards thy servants, let not thy whole displeasure arise, lest we be consumed and brought to nothing. Let health and peace be within our dwellings, let righteousness and holiness dwell for ever in our hearts, and be expressed in all our actions, and the light of thy countenance be upon us in all our sufferings, that we may delight in the service and in the mercies of God for ever. Amen.

O gracious Father and merciful God, if it be thy will, say unto the destroying Angel, it is enough, and though we are not better than our brethren who are smitten with the rod of God, but much worse, yet may it please thee, even because thou art good, and because we are timorous and sinful, not yet fitted for our appearance, to set thy mark upon our foreheads, that thy Angel the Minister of thy justice may passe over us, and hurt us not: let thy hand cover thy servants and hide us in the clefts of the rock, in the wounds of the holy Jesus, from the
present anger that is gone out against us: that though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death we may fear no evil, and suffer none: and those whom thou hast smitten with thy rod, support with thy staff, and visit them with thy mercies and salvation, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

O Lord God who art the Father of them that trust in thee, and shewest mercy to a thousand generations of them that fear thee, have mercy upon all women great with childe [*] be pleased to give them a joyful and a safe deliverance; and let thy grace preserve the fruit of their wombs, and conduct them to the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, that they being regenerated by Spirit, and adopted into thy family and the portion and duty of Sons, may live to the glory of God, to the comfort of their parents and friends, to the edification of the Christian Common-wealth, and the salvation of their own souls thorough Jesus Christ. Amen.

8. For all women with childe
and for unborn children.

O Lord God who art the Father of them that trust in thee, and shewest mercy to a thousand generations of them that fear thee, have mercy upon all women great with childe, be pleased to give them a joyful and a safe deliverance; and let thy grace preserve the fruit of their wombs, and conduct them to the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, that they being regenerated by thy Spirit, and adopted into thy family and the portion and duty of Sons, may
live to the glory of God, to the comfort of their parents and friends, to the edification of the Christian Common-wealth, and the salvation of their own souls thorough Jesus Christ. Amen.

9. For all estates of Men and Women in the Christian Church.

O Holy God, King Eternal, out of the infinite store-houses of thy grace and mercy give unto all Virgins chastity, and a religious spirit; to all persons dedicated to thee and to religion, continence and meeknesse, an active zeal, and an unwearied spirit: to all married paires faith and holinesse: to widows and fatherless, and all that are oppressed, thy patronage, comfort and defence: to all Christian women simplicity and modesty, humility and chastity, patience and charity: give unto the poor, to all that are robbed and spoiled of their goods, a competent support, and a contented spirit, and a treasure in heaven hereafter: give unto prisoners and captives, to them that toil in the mines, and row in the gallyes strength of body and of spirit, liberty and redemption, comfort and restitution: to all that travel by land about lawful occasions thy Angel for their guide, and a holy and prosperous journey and return: to all that travel by sea about lawful occasions freedom from Pirates and shipwrack, and bring them to the Haven where they would be: to distressed and scrupulous consciences, to melancholy and disconsolate persons, to all that are afflicted with evil and unclean spirits give a light from heaven, great grace and
proportionable comforts, and timely deliverance; give them patience and resignation; let their sorrows be changed into grace and comfort, and let the storm waft them certainly to the regions of rest and glory.

Lord God of Mercy give to thy Martyrs, Confessors and all thy persecuted, constancy and prudence, boldnesse and hope, a full faith and a never failing charity: To all who are condemned to death do thou minister comfort, a strong, a quiet, and a resigned spirit: take from them the fear of death, and all remaining affections to sin, and all imperfections of duty, and cause them to dye full of grace, full of hope: and give to all faithfull, and particularly to them who have recommended themselves to the prayers of thy unworthy servant, a supply of all their needs temporal and spiritual, and according to their several states and necessities, rest and peace, pardon and refreshment: and shew us all a mercy in the day of judgment. Amen.

Give O'Lord, to the Magistrates justice and equity, sinceritie, courage and prudence, that they may protect the good, defend religion, and punish the wrongdoers: Give to the Nobility wisdom, valour, and loyalty: To Merchants justice and faithfulnesse: to all Artificers and Labourers truth and honesty: to our enemies forgivenesse and brotherly kindnesse.

Preserve to us the Heavens and the Ayre in healthful influence and disposition, the Earth in plenty, the kingdom in peace and good government, our marriages in peace, and sweetnesse and innocence of society, thy people from famine and postilence, our houses from burning and robbery, our persons from being burnt
alive, from banishment and prison, from Widowhood and destitution,
from violence of pains and passions, from tempests and earth-quakes,
from inundation of waters, from rebellion and invasion, from
impatience and inordinate cares; from tediousness of spirit and
despair, from murder, and all violent accursed and unusual deaths,
from the surprize of sudden and violent accidents, from passionate
and unreasonable fears, from all thy wrath, and from all our
sins, good Lord deliver and preserve thy servants for ever. Amen.

Repress the violence of all implacable warring and tyrant
Nations: bring home unto thy fold all that are gone astray: call
into the Church all strangers: increase the number and holiness
of thy own people: bring infants to ripeness of age and reason;
confirm all baptized people with thy grace and with thy Spirit:
instruct the Novices and new Christians: let a great grace and
merciful providence bring youthful persons safely and holily
through the indiscretions and passions and temptations of their
younger years: and to those whom thou hast or shalt permit to
live to the age of a man, give competent strength and wisdom,
take from them covetousness and churlishness, pride and impatience,
fill them full of devotion and charity, repentance and sobriety,
holy thoughts and longing desires after Heaven and heavenly
things: give them a holy and a blessed death, and to us all a
joyful resurrection through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
Ad. Sect. 10

The manner of using these devotions by way of preparation to the receiving the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

The just preparation to this holy Feast consisting principally in a holy life, and consequently in the repetition of the acts of all vertues, and especially of Faith, Repentance, Charity and Thanksgiving, to the exercise of these four graces let the person that intends to communicate in the times set apart for his preparation and devotion; for the exercise of his faith recite the prayer or Letany of the passion. For the exercise of Repentance, the form of confession of sins with the prayer annexed: And then for the graces of thanksgiving and charity, let him use the special formes of prayer above described: or if a lesse time can be allotted for preparatory devotion, the two first will be the more proper as containing in them all the personal duty of the communicant. To which upon the morning of that holy solemnity, let him add:

A prayer of preparation or addresse to the holy Sacrament.

An act of Love.

O most gracious and eternal God, the helper of the helplesse, the comforter of the comfortlesse, the hope of the afflicted, the bread of the hungry, the drink of the thirsty, and the Saviour of all them that wait upon thee, I blesse and
glorifie thy Name, and adore thy goodnesse, and delight in thy love, that thou hast once more given me the opportunity of receiving the greatest favour which I can receive in this World, even the body and blood of my dearest Saviour. O take from me all affection to sin or vanity: let not my affections dwell below, but soar upwards to the element of love, to the seat of God, to the Regions of Glory, and the inheritance of Jesus, that I may hunger and thirst for the bread of life, and the wine of elect soules, and may know no loves but the love of God, and the most merciful Jesus. Amen.

An act of Desire.

O blessed Jesus, thou hast used many arts to save mee, thou hast given thy life to redeem me, thy holy Spirit to sanctifie me, thy self for my example, thy Word for my Rule, thy grace for my guide, the fruit of thy body hanging on the tree of the crosse, for the sin of my soul: and after all this thou hast sent thy Apostles and Ministers of salvation to call me, to importune me, to constraine me to holinesse and peace and felicity. O now come Lord Jesus, come quickly: my heart is desirous of thy presence, and thirsty of thy grace, and would fain entertain thee, not as a guest, but as an inhabitant, as the Lord of all my faculties. Enter in and take possession, and dwell with me for ever, that I also may dwell in the heart of my dearest Lord which was opened for me with a spear and love.
An act of contrition.

Lord thou shalt finde my heart full of cares and worldly desires, cheated with love of riches, and neglect of holy things, proud and unmortified, false and crafty to deceive it self, intricated and intangled with difficult cases of conscience, with knots which my own wildnesse and inconsideration and impatience have tied and shuffled together: O my dearest Lord, if thou canst behold such an impure seat, behold the place to which thou art invited is full of passion and prejudice, evil principles and evil habits, peevish and disobedient, lustful and intemperate, and full of sad remembrances that I have often provoked to jealousie and to anger thee my God, my dearest Saviour, him that dyed for me, him that suffered torments for me, that is infinitely good to me, and infinitely good and perfect in himself. This O dearest Saviour is a sad truth, and I am heartily ashamed, and truly sorrowful for it, and do deeply hate all my sins, and am full of indignation against my self for so unworthy, so carelesse, so continued, so great a folly: and humbly beg of thee to increase my sorrow, and my care, and my hatred against sin; and make my love to thee swell up to a great grace, and then to glory, and immensity.

An act of Faith.

This indeed is my condition: But I know O blessed Jesus that thou didst take upon thee my nature, that thou mightest suffer for my sins, and thou didst suffer to deliver me from
them and from thy Fathers wrath: and I was delivered from this wrath that I might serve thee in holiness and righteousness all my days: Lord I am as sure thou didst the great work of Redemption for me and all mankind, as that I am alive: This is my hope, the strength of my spirit, my joy and my confidence: and do thou never let the spirit of unbelief enter into me and take me from this Rock: Here I will dwell for I have a delight therein: Here I will live, and here I desire to dye.

The Petition.

Therefore O blessed Jesu, who art my Saviour and my God, whose body is my food, and thy righteousness is my robe, thou art the Priest and the Sacrifice, the Master of the feast, and the Feast itself, the Physician of my soul, the light of my eyes, the purifier of my stains: enter into my heart, and cast out from thence all impurities, all the remains of the Old man; and grant I may partake of this holy Sacrament with much reverence and holy relish, and great effect, receiving hence the communication of thy holy body and blood, for the establishment of an unreproveable faith, of an unfained love, for the fulness of wisdom, for the healing of my soul, for the blessing and preservation of my body, for the taking out the sting of temporal death, and for the assurance of a holy resurrection, for the ejection of all evil from within me, and the fulfilling all thy righteous Commandments, and to procure for me a mercy and a fair reception at the day of judgement, through thy mercies O holy and ever blessed Saviour
Jesus. Amen.

Here also may be added the prayer after receiving the cup.

Ejaculations to be said before or at the receiving
the holy Sacrament.

Like as the Hart desireth the water brooks: so longeth my soul after thee, O God. My soul is athirst for God, yea even for the living God, when shall I come before the presence of God?

O Lord my God great are thy wondrous works which thou has done: like as be also thy thoughts which are to us-ward, and yet there is no man that ordereth them unto thee.

O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me unto thy holy hill and to thy dwelling: And that I may go unto the Altar of God, even unto the God of my joy and gladnesse: and with my heart will I give thanks to thee O God my God.

I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord: and so will I go to thine altar: that I may shew the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all thy wondrous works.

Examine me, O Lord, and prove me, try thou my reins and my heart: For thy loving kindnesse is now and ever before my eyes: and I will walk in thy truth.

Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me: thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. But thy loving kindnesse and mercy shall follow me all the dayes of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for
This is the bread that cometh down from Heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not dye.

Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him: and hath eternal life abiding in him, and I will raise him up at the last day.

Lord whither shall we go but to thee? thou hast the words of eternal life.

If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink.

The bread which we break, is it not the communication of the body of Christ? and the cup which we drink, is it not the communication of the blood of Christ? What are those wounds in thy hands? They are those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.

Immediately before the receiving, say

Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof. But do thou speak the word onely and thy servant shall be healed.

Lord open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew thy praise.

O God make speed to save me, O Lord make haste to help me.

Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

After receiving the consecrated and blessed bread, say,

O taste and see how gracious the Lord is: blessed is the
man that trusteth in him. The beasts do lack and suffer hunger; but they which seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good. Lord what am I, that my Saviour should become my food, that the Son of God should be the meat of Wormes, of dust and ashes, of a sinner, of him that was his enemy? But this thou hast done to me because thou art infinitely good and wonderfully gracious, and lovest to bless every one of us, in turning us from the evil of our ways. Enter into me blessed Jesus, let no root of bitternesse spring up in my heart; but be thou Lord of all my faculties. O let me feed on thee by faith, and grow up by the increase of God to a perfect man in Christ Jesus. Amen. Lord I believe, help mine unbelief. Glory be to God the Father, Son, etc.

After the receiving the cup of blessing.

It is finished. Blessed be the mercies of God revealed to us in Jesus Christ. O blessed and eternal high Priest, let the sacrifice of the Crosse which thou didst once offer for the sinnes of the whole World, and which thou dost now and alwayes represent in Heaven to thy Father by thy never ceasing intercession, and which this day hath been exhibited on thy holy Table Sacramentally, obtain mercy and peace, faith and charity, safety, and establishment to thy holy Church which thou hast founded upon a Rock, the Rock of a holy Faith; and let not the gates of Hell prevail against her, nor the enemy of mankinde take any soul out of thy hand, whom thou hast purchased with thy blood, and sanctified by thy Spirit.
Preserve all thy people from Heresie, and division of spirit, from scandal and the spirit of delusion, from sacrilege and hurtful persecutions. Thou O blessed Jesus didst dye for us: keep me for ever in holy living, from sin and sinful shame, in the communion of thy Church, and thy Church in safety and grace, in truth and peace unto thy second coming. Amen.

Dearest Jesu, since thou art pleased to enter into me, O be jealous of thy house and the place where thine honour dwelleth: suffer no unclean spirit, or unholy thought to come near thy dwelling, lest it defile the ground where thy holy feet have trod. O teach me so to walk, that I may never disrepute the honour of my Religion, nor stain the holy Robe which thou hast now put upon my soul, nor break my holy Vows, which I have made, and thou hast sealed, nor lose my right of inheritance, my priviledge of being coheir with Jesus, into the hope of which I have now further entred: but be thou pleased to love me with the love of a Father, and a Brother, and a Husband, and a Lord; and make me to serve thee in the communion of Saints, in receiving the Sacrament, in the practise of all holy vertues, in the imitation of thy life, and conformity to thy sufferings; that I having now put on the Lord Jesus, may marry his loves and his enmities, may desire his glory, may obey his laws, and be united to his Spirit; and in the day of the LORD I may be found having on the Wedding Garment, and bearing in my body and soul the marks of the LORD JESUS, that I may enter into the joy of my LORD, and partake of his glories for ever and ever. Amen.
Ejaculations to be used any time that day,

after the solemnity is ended.

Lord, if I had lived innocently, I could not have deserved to receive the crumbs that fall from thy Table: How great is thy mercy who hast feasted me with the Bread of Virgins, with the Wine of Angels, with Manna from Heaven!

O when shall I passe from this dark glasse, from this vail of Sacraments, to the vision of thy eternal clarity, from eating thy Body, to beholding thy face in thy eternal Kingdom!

Let not my sins crucifie the Lord of life again: Let it never be said concerning me, the hand of him that betraie th me is with me on the Table.

O that I might love thee, as well as ever any creature loved thee! Let me think nothing but thee, desire nothing but thee, enjoy nothing but thee!

O Jesus be a Jesus unto me. Thou art all things unto me. Let nothing ever please me but what favours of thee, and thy miraculous sweetnesse.

Blessed be the mercies of our Lord, who of God is made unto me Wisdom, and Righteousnesse, and Sanctification, and Redemption.

He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. Amen.

THE END.
21.3. a1. Care to set apart Time for God's service.

21.13. b2. to intend and direct Our Actions to God's glory and service.

21.17. c Πιθομένων τινὸς, πῶς ἔστων ἐσθελεν ἄρεστώς θεοῖς; ει δικαιῶς ἔστων, ἃν, καὶ εὐγνωμῶνες, καὶ ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγκρατῶς, καὶ κοσμίως, οὐκ ἔστω καὶ ἄρεστῶς τοὺς θεοῖς; 

21.24. d Consider we are always in God's providence.

25.22. e Ezekiel 16:49

25.23. f Seneca.

27.9. g See Chap.4. Sect.6.

27.17. h S. Bern. de triplici custodia.
27.24. Laudatur Augustus Caesar apud Lucanum.

-- media inter praelia semper

Stellarum coelique plagis, superisque vacabat.


33.10. Plutarch. de Curiosit.

33.23. Ος ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἷς ἡμαρτον, εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀκολογίαν εἰσαεὶ φέρονται. Procop. 2. Vandal.

34.7. Cor. 7:5.

34.17. Μηδ' ὑπνὸν μαλακοῖς ἐπὶ δῆμοι προσδέξασθαι,
Πρόν τιν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἔκαστον ἐπέλθειν·
Πὴ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐχ ἐπελέσθη;

Pythag. Carm.

37.6. 1 Cor. 10:31.

38.4. Atticus eximie si coenat, lautus habetur,

Se Rutilus, demens -- Juven. Sat. 11.


43.5. ^See Sect. 1. of this Chapt. Rule 18.


44.17. ^S. Chrys. lib. 2 de Compunc.


47.23. ^S. Bern. lib. de praecept.

48.5. ^Publius Mimus.


50.15. ^Theod. perlechei ἡ βουλήσει τὸ πάν, ἡ μείζων τοῦ παντὸς

      ὁσπερ ἡ οὐσία, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀξία. Resp. ad orthod.


52.4. ^1 Kings 5:9. Psal. 138:1,2.
52.20. 1 Cor. 3:16. 2 Cor. 6:16.

53.25. h S. Aug. de Verbis Domin. c.2.

55.3. i Psal. 139:7-13.

55.8. j Boeth. lib.5. de consol.

57.17. k Isa. 26:12.


60.1. m In vitam S. Anton.

60.23. n Ezek. 9:9. Psal. 10,11.

63.14. o Rev. 11:17.

63.15. p and 5:10,13.

63.17. q and 4:10.

63.22. r Rev. 15:3.

67.9. s For the Church.

67.19. t For the King.
68.1. For the Clergy.

68.3. For wife or husband.

68.10. For our children.

68.15. For Friends and Benefactors.

68.21. For our family.

68.25. For all in misery.

73.16. Psal. 66:1,5,7.


74.2. Psal. 29:3-4.

74.6. Psal. 33:8.

74.7. Psal. 65:5.


74.16. Psal. 65:6-8.

74.22. Psal. 89:9.
74.23. ^Psal. 86:8-9.
75.3. ^Psal. 89:7, 15.
75.7. ^Psal. 96:6.
75.9. ^Psal. 71:5-6.
75.23. ^Psal. 124:8.
76.1. ^Psal. 80:3.
76.3. ^Psal. 125:4.
76.5. ^Psal. 25:5.
81.4. ^Psal. 121:1 etc.
83.15. ^Psal. 4: 4,8.
84.25. ^2 Pet. 3:10-11.
88.13. Tit. 2:11,12.

89.13. Tu si animum vicisti potius quam animus te, est quod gaudeas: Qui animum vincunt, quam quos animus, semper probiores cluent. Trinum.

90.3. Μόνον σκέψαι, πόσου πολέμες τὴν σεαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν, ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μὴ ὁλόγου αὐτὴν πωλήσῃς. Arrian. Lib. 1, c. 2.

90.8. Θέλεις ὀλύμπια νυκήσαι; ἄει σ᾽ εὔτακτεῖν, ἀναγκοτροφεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι πεμμάτων, γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην, κ. τ. λ. Epict. c. 29.

90.11. 1 Cor. 9:25.


92.7. Desideria tua parvo redime, hoc enim tantum curare debes ut desinant. Senec.

92.17. Facilius est initia affectum prohibere, quam impetum regere. 
   Senec. ep. 85.

93.5. Νυκτορίζων καὶ ὀλγαριστῶν.

   Laeta venire Venus, tristis abire solet.

95.4. Ἐγκράτεια, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν κράτει ἐξελύ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.

98.3. Felix initium prior aetas contenta dulcibus arvis, 
   Facili quae sera solebat jejunia solvere glande. Boeth. 1.2 de consol. 
   Arbuteos foetus, montanaque fraga legebant.

99.3. Ecclus. 31:17,18.

99.5. Cicero vocat temperantiam ornatum vitae, in quo decorum illud et honestum situm est.


99.16. Ibid.

99.17. Plutarch. de cupid divit.

100.23. Luke 21:34.
101.2. ἀπὸ προτεραίας aut ἀπὸ χθύμης οὐνομάσας.
Schol. in Aristoph. Idem fere apud Plutarch. Vinolentia animi quandam remissionem et levitatem, ebrietas futilitatem significat.
Plutarch. de garrul.


102.5. Insaniae comes est ira, contubernalis ebrietas. Plutarch.
--- Corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat. Horat.
Ebrietas est voluntaria insania. Senec.

102.18. Ephes. 5:18.
Οὐδεὶς σε τρώει μελιήθης, ὐς τε καὶ ἄλλους
Βλάπτει, ὑς ἄν μν χανόδυν ἔλη, μηδ' αἷσιμα πύμη.
Homer.

. . . . . Οὔδες δὲ μεθύων, ὑς σκοτής,
ὅς οὐχὶ δοῦλός ἐστι τοῦ πεπωκέναι.
Philem.
103.7. **b** Alexandrum intemperantia bibendi, et ille Herculanus ac fatalis Scyphus perdit.

104.25. **c** Senec. Ep. 83.

Chi ha bevuto tutto il mare può bere anchor un tratto.

105.20. **d** Nil interest, faveas sceleri an illud facias. Senec.

109.25. **e** 1 Thes. 4:3-5.


111.7. **g** Apoc. 14:4. Isa. 56:45.


112.6. **i** ἀτύμα πάθη.


112.9. **k** Appetitus fornicationis anxietas est, satietas vero penitentia. S. Hieron.

112.22. **l** 1 Cor. 6:18.

113.2. **m** ἐκακεὶν τῶν ἀρχῶν.
113.4. -Spiritū principali me confirma. Ps. 51.

113.17. 1 Cor. 6:19. 1 Cor. 3:17.

114.1. Ephes. 5:32.

114.9. Moral. 31.

114.20. Cyprian. de bono pudicitiae.


115.14. ὑμεῖς.


115.18. Cod. de adulteriis. ad legem Juliam, lib.1. et Cod. Theod. de adulteriis c. placuit.


Plut. conjug. praecept.

117.7. -- Casso saltem delactamine

Amare quod potiri non licet. Poeta.

117.10. Patellas luxuriae occulos, dixit Isidorus. Ἄληθῶς ἀνθρώπων, alius quidam.


119.25. 1 Pet. 1:22.

121.10. Nisi fundamenta stirpis jacta sint probe,
Miseros necesse est esse deinceps posteros. Eurip.


123.15. De Conjug. praecept.

124.4. 1 Cor. 7:5.

civitatis recte colimus, cavendum est, ne ad tempula et sacrificia accedamus, Paulo ante re veneara usi. Atque expedit, nocte et somno interjecto, jostque intervallo adhibito, mundos rursum quasi de integro, et ad novum diem nova cogitantes (ut ait Democritus) surgere.

125.4. h Contra libidinis impetu apprehende fugam si vis obtainere victoriam. S. Aug.

Nella guerra d'amor chi fuge vince.

126.2. i -- Quisquis in primo obsitit

Pepulitque amorem, tutus ac victor fuit.

Qui blandiendo dulce nutrivit malum,


126.26. j In vita S. Pauli.

127.4. k Benedictus in spinis se volutavit. S. Martinianus faciemi et manus ussit. S. Johannes cognomento Bonus, calamos acutos inter unguces et carnem digitorum intrusit. S. Theoctiste in silvis more ferarum vixit, ne inter Arabes pollueretur.

127.6. l Στέφος πλέκων ποθ' εὗρον

έν τοῖς ἄδοξος Ἑρωτα,

καὶ τῶν πτερῶν κατασχὼν

ἐβάπτυσ' εἷς τῶν οὐνον,

λαβὼν δ' ἐπιλον ἀυτῶν.
Venus rosam amat propter fabellam quam recitat. Libanius.


127.13. *Il fuoco che non mi scalda non voglio che mi Scotti.

127.24. *-- numquid ego a te
Magno prognatum deposco consule --

128.17. *Mens impudicam facere; non corpus solet.

129.18. *Danda est opera ut matrimonio diviniscantur, quod est tutissimum
juventutis vinculum. Plut. de educ. lib.


134.21. *Il villan nobilitado non cognosce il suo parentado.
Chi del' arte sua si vegogna sempre vive con vergogna.

136.8. *Τι οὖν ὠδελύσχον καταπιῶν περιπατεῖτες; ἦθελον ἦνα με καὶ
οἱ ἀπαντῶντες θαυμάζοντες, καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐπιεικρανάζοντες,

139.14. Ama l'amico tuo con il difetto suo.

139.17. In colloquiis pueri invisi aliis non fient, si non omnino in disputationibus victoriam semper obtinere laborent. Non enim tantum egregium est scire vincere, sed etiam posse vinci pulchrum est, ubi victoria est damnosa. Plut. de educ. liber.

140.6. Nihil ita dignum est odio ut eorum mores qui compellantibus se difficiles praebeant. Plut.

141.18. Οὐχ οὗτος εἶ σεν περὶ δὲν εὐώδας λέγειν ὅτι μαῦνονται; τῷ οὖν, ὑπὸ τῶν μαλακών ϑέλεως θαυμάζεσθαι; Arrian. Lib. 1, cap. 21.

142.22. Fabis abstine, dixit Pythagoras. Nam olim Magistratus per suffragia fabis lata creabantur. Plut.

144.12. Mat. 11:25.
144.22.  -James 4:6.

145.7.  -John 13:15.

148.7.  -Assai commanda, chi ubidisce al saggio.

148.13. -Verum humilem patientia ostendit. S. Hier.

150.11. -Eυχημοσύνη.


150.20. -Qui scrutatur est Majestatis opprimetur a gloria. Prov. 25.

Αὖτις ἄρχη τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, αὐσθησίς τοῦ ἐδου ἡγεμονικοῦ, πῶς ἔχει μετὰ γὰρ τὸ γνῶναι ὅτι ἄσθενῶς, οὐκέτι θελήσει χρησάων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.


Et plus sapere interdum vulgus quod quantum opus est sapiat.

Lactant.

151.11. -Eccles. 7:21.

Ne occhi in lettera, ne mano in tasca, ne orecchic in secreti altrui.
154.11. k Ἄσχυν.


Πρῶτον ἁγαθὸν ἀναμάρτητον, δεύτερον δ’ ἀσχύναι.

Meliss.

155.11. m A Chione saltem vel ab Helide disce pudorem,

Abscondunt spurcas haec monumenta lupas. Mart. lib.1. ep. 35.

Obstare primum est velle nec labi via:


155.22. n Ecclus. 3:25.

156.2. o Κοσμίστης, εὐταξία or εὐπρέπεια.

157.12. p Phil. 4:8.

157.21. q At meretrix abigit testem veloque seraque,

Raraque Summoeni fornice rima patet. Mart.

158.6. r Tuta sit ornatrix: odi quae sauciat ora

Unguibus, et rapta brachia figit acu.
Devovet, et tangit dominae caput illa, simulque
Plorat ad invisas sanguinolenta comas. Ovid.

158.17. 1 Tim. 2:9.


161.9. Non facta tibi est, si dissimules, injuria.


163.22. Ὁ θεὸς τέθεικεν, καὶ φησίν, εἷς τῷ ἄγαθῳ θέλειν, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβέ.


165.3. Chi ben e mal può soffrire a grand honor non puo venir.

165.20. Πᾶν τὸ εὐλογοῦν, φορητόν.

170.9. La speranza è il pan de poveri. --

-- Non si male nunc et olim

Sic erit.

170.12. Ἀεὶ γεωργὸς εἰς νεώτα πλούσιος.
173.11. 
Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
Quem sors dierum cunque dabit lucro
Appone. Hor. lib.1. Od.9.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus,
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidet: quod adest, memento
Componere aequus. Hor. lib.3. Od. 29.

Τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι·
Τὸ δ' ἁλρόν τίς οἶδεν; Anacr. Od. xv.

176.16. Assai basta per chi non è ingordo.

177.3. Quanto praestantius esset
Numen aquae, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.

-- me pascunt olivae
Me cichorea, levesque malvae.
Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Amabo levem cupressum,  
Omissis Cretae pascuis:  
Terrae mihi datum est parum;  
Careo interim doloribus. Pindar.

178.5. \textsuperscript{h}Vacare culpa in calamitatibus maximum solatium.

178.16. \textsuperscript{i}2 Cor. 4:8.

178.18. \textsuperscript{j}1 Pet. 3:13. 4:15,16.

179.16. \textsuperscript{k}Beatitudo pendet a rectis consiliis in affectionem animi constantem desinentibus. Plut.

180.19. \textsuperscript{l}Non te omnia ad laeta genuit,  
O Agamemnon, Atreus;  
Opus est te gaudere et moerere:  
Mortalis enim natus es, et, ut haud velis,  
Superi sic constituerunt.

182.11. \textsuperscript{m}Prandet Aristoteles, quandet Philippo lubet, Diogenes quando  
Diogeni.

183.18. \textsuperscript{n}Servius Sulpitius.

183.27. \textsuperscript{o}Hic in foro beatus esse creditur,  
Cum foribus apertis sit suis miserrimus;
Imperat mulier, jubet omnia, semper litigat.
Multa adferunt illi dolorem, nil mihi.

Ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes,
Nemo recusat.

184.21. Si natus es tu, Trophime, solus omnium hac lege,
Ut semper eant tibi res arbitrio tuo,
Felicitatem hanc si quis promisit Deum,
Irascereris jure, nam mala is fide
Et improbe egisses. Menan.

185.5. Ali9 Psalm. 10 part. v.3.


188.22. Alta fortuna alto travaglio apporta.

189.12. Da autorità la ceremonia al' atto.

189.23. Οὐδεὶς ὁδίῃς τραγῳδῶν συμπληρωτ, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἡμερευτής.
Bis sex dierum mensura consero ego agros,
Berecynthia arva.
Animusque meus sursum usque evectus ad polum
Decidit humi, et me sic videtur alloqui;
Disce hauđ nimis magni facere mortalit2. Tantal. in Tragoed.
funesta pecunia, Templo
Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras
Ut colitur pax atque fides.

Horat. Od. 31. lib. 1.

Chapt. 4. Sect. 8. Title of Covetousness.

James 2:5-7.

Matt. 6:25.


Phil. 4:6.

1 Tim. 6:17.

Heb. 13:5, 6.

Idem si puer parvulus occidat, aequo animo ferendum putant: si vero in cunis, ne querendum quidem: atqui ab hoc acerbius exegit natura quod dederat. At id quidem ipsum in caeteris rebus melius putatur, aliquam partem quam nullam attingere. Senec.

Juvenis relinquit vitam quem Dii diligunt. Menand.
204.5. Κρεῖττου τῶν παῖδα καὶ θύγατερ, ἡ σε κακουάμονα.

Epict.

204.14. Σοὶ δ᾿ ἀρκεῖ τὸ εὐσταθεῖν.

204.19. Ad fines cum perveneris ne revertito. Pythag.

205.6. Οὐ καταανεῖν γὰρ, &c.

207.14. The petition.

207.16. The order or reason of it.

207.18. The petition repeated with arguments.

207.23. The means turned into petitions.

212.3. Job. 25.

CHAPTER III


216.22. -Mores leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam;
-- leges mori serviunt. Trinum.

217.4. -'Ex archēs mēn outhēn dialérevel. Ótanvōde óunyai, dialérevel.
Arist. Eth. 5. cap. 7.


223.19. -Ω χρὴ καννῦχλον εὐδελν βουλησάρον ἀνδρα,
τις λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσα μέμπλε.
Homer. Il. 2

225.9. -Jude 8, 9.

228.3. -Omittenda potius praevalida et adulta vitia, quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fiat quibus flagitiis impares simus. Tacit.

230.8. *Chi compra il magistrato, forza è che vendra la giustitia.


1 Tim. 5:4.

234.8. *Liberi sine consensu parentum contrahere non debent. Andromacha apud Euripedem cum petita fuit ad nuptias, respondit, patris sui esse sponsalium suorum curam habere:*

*Ovid. Electra.*

Me tibi Tyndareos vita gravis auctor etannis

Hermione...
Et Achilles apud Homerum regis filiam sine patris sui consensu noluit ducere.

"Hyn gar o' me sówai theo, kai oixado' zwtai,
Pleus o' mou epeita gyynaika gaméssetai autós. ΠΙΙ. 9.


234.9. Æosdem quos maritus nosse Deos et colere solos uxor debet:
supervacaneis autem religionibus, et alienis superstitionibus fores

234.22. Ζ Σοι δὲ θεοί τόσα δοξεν "Ανδρα τε καὶ οἶκον, καὶ ὀμφροσύνην ὄπασεν Ἐσθητήν· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρείσσον καὶ ἄρειον, ὦ δὲ ὀμφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον Ἀνὴρ ἤδε γυνὴ πόλλ᾽ ἀλγεὰ ὑσιμενέσσαι, Χάρματα δ᾽ εὐμενέτησοι, μᾶλλον δε τ᾽ ἔχλυον αὐτοῖ. Odyss. 6.

234.23. Α "Ενεστ᾽ ἀληθεῖς φίλτρον εὐγνώμων τρόπος;
Τοῦτῷ κατακρατεῖν ἀνδρὸς εἰσώθην γυνὴ. Menand.

ΚΗ μοῦνοι φιλέουσι άλοχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων Ἀτρεύδαιοι; ἔπει δόστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχέφρων, Τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κηδεῖται· ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν Ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλέουν δουρικτητὴν περ ἐούσαιν. Homer.

235.9. Β Κλέφασα καὶ ἱλέματα ἀνευ ἀνδρὸς τὰς εὐποίεις ἐπούησε.
235.16. Laetum esse debet et officiosum mariti imperium. Plut.

Namque es ei Pater, et Frater, venerandaque Mater: nec minus facit 
as dignitatem viri, si mulier eum suum Praeceptorum, Philosophum, 
Magistrumque appellet. Plut.


235.24. Οὐ χρυσὸς, οὐ τυραννικός, οὐ πλούσιος χαλική 
tossoitou eixe dialerrouss tis δόνας, 
ως ἀνδρὸς ἔσθελον καὶ γυναικὸς εὔσεβος 
γυνώμη δικαία, καὶ φρονοῦσα τ' ἀνδρικά.

Inferior Matrona suo sit, Sexte, Marito 
Non aliter fiunt foemina virque pares. Mart.

240.19. Mercanzia non vuol ne amici ne parenti.

241.15. Surgam ad sponsalia quia promisi, quamvis non concoicerim: sed non 
si febricitavero: subest, inquam, tacita exceptio, si potero, si 
debo. Effice ut idem status sit cum exigitur, qui fuit cum 
promitterem. Destituere levitas non erit si aliquid intervenit 
de Benefic.

   Athen. Deipn. lib.3.


244.5. *l* Chi non vuol rendere, fa mal a prendre.

244.19. *m* Si tua culpa datum est damnum, jure super his satisfacere te oportet.

245.11. *n* Ezek. 33:15.

245.17. *o* 'O γάρ ἐκαυνέσας τὸν δεδραχότα, οὐδέν τι ἦσσον τῶν πετραγμένων αὐτοῦργος γυνεῖαν.

   Totilas apud Procop. Goth. 3.

245.19. *p* 'Ὁ ἐμπρησμὸς τοῦ ἀνάψαυτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατασβέσαι δυναμένου, δράσαι δὲ τι τολοθρόνος ὅλως μὴ βουληθέντος.

   *-Nicet. Choniat.* in Michael Commen.
Sic Scyrii ab Amphyctionibus judicio damnati, quia piraticam non prohibuerunt cum poterant.


Involuntarium ortum ex voluntario censetur pro voluntario.


247.8. Πλεονεκτεῖ οὐδὲν ὁ οὐ βοηθήσας χρήματι ὥσ' ἀνελευθερώσῃ.

Eth. Lib. 5: c. 2.

249.10. Δι' ἀλλήλων ἔργον πταίει οὐδεὶς. Epict.

249.12. Πᾶσα φυσική ἄκουσα στερεῖται τῆς ἁληθείας. Plato.


250.10. Ἄ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ, ἢ οἱ παῖδες, ἢ οἱ συγγενεῖς, τοῦ φονευθέντος έλαβον, τρόπον τυλίκες ἐκείνῳ ὃ ἔδοται.


250.12. Sic Vivianus resipuit de injusta accusatione: apud Cassiodor. 4.41.

252.16. Gratitude.

258.5. These words to be added by a delegate or inferior.

CHAPTER IV

264.7. James 1:27.

264.15. Titus 2:12.

266.9. Demus, Deum aliquid posse, quod nos fateamur investigare non posse. S. August. de Civitat. lib.21. cap.7.


271.15. 2 Cor. 13:5. Rom. 8:10.

272.1. John 5:44.

272.9. James 1:5.


274.4. Ἑν χιρίδ. c.8.


278.1. Di cose fuori di credenza,
Non fare isperienza.

278.22. Μικρόψυχοι μακρόλυποι.

279.2. Ἐλπίς, καὶ οὐ Τύχη, μέγα χαύρετε· τὴν ὅθεν εὐρον·
οὐκέτι γὰρ σφετέρους ἐπιτέρπομαι· ἔρρετε ἀμφώ.
οὐνεκεν ἐν μερόπεσι πολυπλανέες μάλα ἐστὲ·
δόσα γὰρ ἄτρεκέςς οὐκ ἔσσεται, ὑμεῖς ἐν ἡμῖν
φάσματα, ἡς ἐν ἦνὶ ἕμβαλλετε, οὐα τ' ἐδντα·
παύσετε, στροφέοτε, ὅσους ἐμεῖ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ ὀντας
εὐροτ' οὐ νοέοντας ὅπερ θέμως ἐστὶ νοῆσαι.

Homer.


282.13. Bede.


288.8. 1 Cor. 13:7.
289.3. *Amoris at morsum qui vere senserit.

289.23. †Plutarchus citans carmen de suo Apolline, adjecit ex Herodoto quasi de suo, De eo os meum continens esto.

294.17. ‡Sic Jesus dixit S. Carpo apud Dionysium epist. ad. Demophilum.

296.3. †Καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι εἰν τῷ καλῷ πάντοτε.

         Gal. 4:5.

296.22. ‡Phil. 3:6.

298.2. *Lavora, come tu avessi a campar ognora:
         Adora, come tu avessi amorir allora.

298.6. ‡Rom. 10:2.


299.1. ‡Cor. 7:11.

299.11. ‡Rom. 12:1.


       Revel. 1:3. 2 Tim. 3:16.


310.8. Chi digiuna, et altro ben non fa,
        Sparagna il pan, et al inferno va.

312.15.
        Ne per causam necessitatis eo impingamus, ut voluptatibus serviamus.

312.24. Αμμωνιον την ημεραν.

313.15. Baruch 2;18.

324.4. When thou beginnest thy office, for the time lay aside all
        worldly cares, all thoughts of civill employment, and for that time
        be as a man unconcerned in the world.


328.13. r1 Thess. 5:17.

328.19. sPhil. 1:4.

329.24. tPhil. 4:6.

330.3. u Εἶτα λέγομεν, κύριε ὁ θεὸς, πᾶς μὴ ἁγνυεῖ; μωρὲ, χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχεις; οὐκ ἐπούνησέ σοι αὐτὰς ὁ θεὸς; εὖχοι νῦν καθήμενος, ὅπως αἱ μυξαί σου μὴ ῥέωσιν· ἀπόμυξαῖ μᾶλλον.

Arrian. Lib. 2, c. 16.

330.25. v Inter sacra et vota verbis etiam profanis abstinere mos. Tacit.


331.18. W1 Tim. 2:1-3.

334.1. v Angustum annulum non gesta, Dixit Pythagoras: id est, vitae genus liberum sectare, nec vinculo temetipsum obstringe. Plutarch.
Sic Novatus novitios suos compulit ad jurandum, ne unquam ad catholicos episcopos redirent. Euseb. Eccl. hist.


345.23. \(^\text{a}\) Matt. 25:35.

345.25. \(^\text{b}\) Matt. 26:12. 2 Sam. 2:5.

346.10. \(^\text{c}\) Nobilis haec esset pietatis rixa duobus;

\text{Quod pro fratre mori vellet uterque prior.} Mart.

346.16. \(^\text{d}\) Heb. 10:24.

346.18. \(^\text{e}\) 1 Thess. 5:14.


347.3. \(^\text{g}\) Laudi ductum apud Vett.

\text{Αὐθία τε καὶ μέγα νείκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαισε.}

347.17. \(^\text{h}\) S. Greg. 7 lib. 106 Epist.

347.24. \(^\text{i}\) Praebeant misericordia ut conservetur justitia. S. Aug.
348.4. jProv. 3:9.

348.20. kDecret. ep. tit. de Simonia.

349.9. lDonum nudum est, nisi consensu vestiatur. lib.2. C. de Pactis.

349.23. mQui dedit beneficium taceat: narret, qui accepit. Senec.

350.2. n2 Cor. 9:7.


350.18. p2 Thess. 3:10. A cavallo che non porta sella, biada non si crivella.

350.19. qDe Mendico male meretur qui ei dat quod edat aut quod bibat: Nam et illud quod dat perdit, et illi producit vitam ad miseriam. Trinum.

351.4. rBeatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem. Psalm.
A donare e tenere ingegno bisogna havere.

351.26. s
-- Praemonstro tibi
Ut ita te aliorum miserescat, ne tui alios misereat. Trinum.

356.4. 1 Pet. 1:22.

356.6. 2 Cor. 8:12.


356.17. 1 Tim. 4:4.

357.3. Phil. 4:17.


357.25. 2 Kings 4:1 and 1 Kings 17:14.

358.5. Col. 3:12.


359.22. Homerus, Thersites malos mores describens, malitiae summam apposuit, Pelidae imprimis erat atque inimicus Ulyssi.

360.21. Ira cum pectus rapida occupavit, Futiles linguae jubeo cavere
Vana latratus jaculantis. **Sappho.**

Turbatus sum, et non sum locutus. **Psal. 76.**

362.22. "Huii τῇ, ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον 'Αμφιδάμαντος,
Νῆπιος, ὁ ἔθελων, ἀνήπτραγάλουσι χολωθείς.

**Homer. II.**

363.1. *Qui paucia requirunt, non multis excidunt. Plut.*


365.11. *Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν, οὖν ἐρῆμω μέλλω κακά·
θυμὸς δὲ κρεόσσων τῶν ἐμῶν θυμωμάτων.*

**Medea.**

365.25. *Ὁ θυμὸς φόνων αὐτὸν, συμφορᾶς συμμαχον, ἐλαβης σύνεργον καὶ ἀτυχίας, χρημάτων ἀπάλεια, έτι δὲ καὶ φθορᾶς ἄρχηγον.*

**Aristot.**

366.11. *Dicere quid coena possis ingratius ista?*

367.7. *Amaram amaro bilem pharmaco qui eluunt.*

367.22. *Plut. de odio et invidia.*

368.7. *Quid refert igitur quantis jumenta fatiget

Porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
Jugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
Nemo malus felix. *Juv.* Sat. 4.

368.25. *Plut.*

370.5. *Ergo sollicitae tu causa, pecunia, vitae es:*

Per te immaturum mortis adimus iter. *Propert.*

Χρυσὸς ἄει ὀδὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄργυρος ἄνθρωποις.
Χρυσὲ, κακὼν ἄρχηγέ, βυσσάριοι, πάντα χαλέπτως,
Εξίθε σε μὴ θυτοῦσι γενέσθαι πῆμα ποθελοῦν.
Σοῦ γὰρ ἐξήπτυ μάχας τε, λεπλασώ τε, φόνοι τε,
'Εχθρὰ δὲ τέκνα γονεῦσον, ἀδέλφειοι τε συναίμοις.
*Phocylid.*

374.9. *Provocet ut segnes animos, rerumque remotas*
Ingeniosa vias paulatim exploret egestas. *Claudian.*

374.18. *-- sed olim*
Prodigio par est in nobilitate Senectus.

374.19. *Hortulus hic, puteusque brevis, nec reste movendus,*
In tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
Vive bidentis amans, et culti villicus horti,
Unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
Est aliquid, quocunque loco, quocunque recessu,
Unius sese Dominum fecisse lacertae. Juven. Sat. 3.


380.5. • Hugo de S. Victor.

380.19. • 1 Cor. 11:31.

381.6. • 1 John 1:9.

381.19. άνάγκατον τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκουμέναν τῶν
μυστηρίων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.

S. Basil. reg. brev. 228.

Concil. Laod. c.2; Concil. Quinisext. c. 102.
Tertull. de Poenit.


1 Cor. 7:19. 2 Cor. 13:5. Col. 1:21-23. Heb. 12:1,14,16;
1 John 1:6; 3:8,9; 5:16.
383.3. Nequam illud verbum'st, Bene volt, nisi qui bene facit. Trinum.

385.7. Dandum interstitium penitentiae. Tacit.


386.12. Mortem venientem nemo hilaris excipit, nisi qui se ad illam diu composuerat.


388.14. 2 Cor. 5:20.


393.9. Nosti tempora tu Jovis sereni,
Cum fulget placidus, suoque vultu,

399.1.  QD -- Discedite ab avis
   Queis tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus. Tibull.

399.13. PCruci haeramus, sanguinem sugimus, et inter ipsa Redemptoris

403.24. qL'Eveque de Geneve, introd. a la vie devote.


406.19. Psal. 84:1,2,4.

408.20. Psal. 102:1-4,10.

409.2. Psal. 38:2-4,18.

409.7. Psal. 6:1.


409.11. Psal. 51:1.


409.15. Psal. 51:2,10,11.

409.22. cPsal. 41:3.

409.23. dPsal. 49:15.


409.26. fPsal. 39:5,11,7,12,10,12,13.

410.11. gPsal. 119:25.

410.12. hPsal. 116:3.

410.17. iJob 19:25.

410.22. jPsal. 50:3-4.

410.25. kSee John 5:28 and 1 Thess. 4:15.

433.8. lJoshua 1:5; Deut. 31:8; Hebr. 13:5; Ps. 37:33.

461.5. mPsal. 42:1,2.

461.8 nPsal. 40:6.

461.11. oPsal. 43:3,4.
461.16. Psal. 26:6,7.

461.19. Psal. 26:2,3.

461.20. Psal. 23:5-6.

462.2. John 6:50.


462.7. John 6:68.


462.10. 1 Cor. 10:16.


TEXTUAL NOTES

2.4-5 Baron of Emlin, and Molingar] om 4+

10.22 Honoured] Honorable 2 3

11.4 and means] om 2 3

11.7 our] om 4 5 6

17.5 17 Rules] ed, 16 Rules 1+

21.3 note a] KC, om 1+

21.13 note b] KC, om 1+

21.24 note d] KC, om 1+

23.16-17 besides our sinful and hurtful, our tempting or malicious language,

    even] 2 3, om 1 4+

24.19 the great] a great 5+

25.27 vermin] a - 4+

27.6-7 in itself] 2 3, om 1 4+

28.5 thy body] the body 5+

29.12 your] our 5+

30.7 or] and 5+

31.9 concern] 4+, concerns 1 2 3

32.17 your] our 5+

33.20 those spaces which] those which spaces 2

34.13 importunity] importunities 3, opportunity 5+

36.2 incurious] curious 4+

38.4 note q] 4+, om 1 2 3

39.5 present] om 7 8
39.14 action] day 3
39.15 1.] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
41.5 thine] thy 6+
41.13 an] and 6+
42.5 oblation] - it 2 3; be] om 5+
44.17 note v Compunc.] cor, Compuncordis 1+
44.19 note w cap. 43] cor, cap. 25 1+
46.3 heart] hearts 3
46.15 may] 4+, om 1 2 3
49.9 note z Jer. 23:23,24] KC, Jer. 23.24 1+
50.15 note d] 4+, om 1 2 3
52.15 are of Heaven] are Heaven 4+
53.25 note h c.2] cor, c.3 1+; Domin.] cor, Domic. 1+
54.3 sinnes] sin 7 8
55.3 note i Psal. 139: 7-13.] KC, Psal. 137.7,8. 1 2 3 4, Psal. 13.75. 5,
Psal. 13,7,8. 6
55.9 that] the 5+
63.14 note o] om 2 3
63.15 note p] om 2 3
63.17 note q] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
64.15 to] unto 2 3
65.22 the vilest] 1+, not of - - KC
66.5 0] 2 3, om 1 4+
66.19-20 thoughts, words and] KC, om 1+; protector in) illegible word after
"protector" in KC (perhaps "& deliverer"); dangers:] illegible word
follows in KC
66.23 or] KC, om 1+
66.24 or KC, om 1+

67.19-24 In mercy.... Amen.] 2+, in appendix at end of Chapter IV 1

67.19 note t King] Ruler 2 3

67.19 King] Ruler 2 3

67.20 crown] power 2 3; kingdoms] 6+, dominions 2 3, kingdom 1 4 5

70.10 may] KC, might 1+

71.3 proud or ... comforts or] KC, -and ... -and 1+

71.19 offend in] -not - 6+

72.19 third or] 2, -and 3, om 1 4+

72.22 Now and in] Now in 7 8

73.4 do] to 4+

73.16-76.6 0 be joyful .... My Saviour] All notes in this passage appear for the first time in 7 and are reprinted in subsequent editions.

73.19 toward] towards 3 7 8

78.10 obliging; a body chaste] GH 4+, obliging body; a chaste 1, obliging, a body chaste 2 3

82.4 let] 6+, om 1 2 3 4 5

83.15 note r Psal. 4:4,8] 7 8, Psal 4. 1 2 3 4 5 6

88.13 note a] om 7 8

89.13 note b] 4+, om 1 2 3

90.8 note d Epict.] 7 8, Epist. 1 4 5 6, Ep. 2 3; cap. 29] cor, cap.34 1+

90.8 and a warfare] and warfare 5+

92.17 note i ep. 85] cor, ep. 86 1+

96.4 in] om 5+

98.3 note m Boeth. lib. 2 de consol.] 2+, om 1; fraga] cor, fragra 2+

98.4 eat] ate 7 8

98.6 eat] ate 7 8
99.8  note p Verse 20] Verse 22 2 3, om 5+
99.16  of] 3+, om 1 2
101.9  and] but 2 3
102.5  note y Horat] 4+, om 1 2 3
102.18  note z  ὠνὸς  ... Homer.] 4+, om 1 2 3
103.1  grows it] it grows 2 3 7 8
103.18-19 drunk; to] 6+, drunk? To 1 2 3 4 5
106.13  others go] 5+, other goes 1 2 3 4
108.1  SECTION 3] 4+, om 1 2 3
109.25  note e 1 Thes. 4:3-5.] 6+, i Thes. 3.4,5. 1 2 3 4, 5 Thess.3.4,5. 5
110.20. conveniences] conveniencies 2
111.15  it] om 5+
111.25  note h Prov. 6:23] om 6+
112.20  no] the 5+
114.14  deliberation] deliberations 2 3
115.16  a] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
116.18-21 and since ... in Christianity.] 4+, om 1 2 3
117.15  then] that 2 3
118.4  note z Postumiam] cor, Postumium 1+
118.10  remember] remembers 6+
122.5  a] the 2 3
123.2  4.] 2 3 6 7 8, om 1 4 5
123.7-9 alwaies remembring ... mind.] 4+, om 1 2 3
123.9  And] 4+, For 1 2 3
126.2  note i] 4+, om 1 2 3
126.9-10 accounted ... some profit] 4+, an approved remedy 1 2 3
126.26  Nicomedia] Nicodemia 4 5
127.6 note 1] 4+, om 1 2 3
127.8 stranger] strange 5+
127.11 wine and strong drinks,] 4+, om 1 2 3
127.12 note m] 4+, om 1 2 3
127.24 note o] 4+, om 1 2 3
128.17 note p] 4+, om 1 2 3
128.17-129.10 And there is .... Therefore,] 4+, om 1 2 3
132.21 Whatever] Whatsoever 3 5+
134.4 a] om 7 8
134.21 note t il suo] cor, om 1+
138.21 to hide] 2+, hide to 1
143.19 you may] thou may 3 4 5, thou mayest 6+
146.25 much] om 4+
151.9 where] their 2 3
155.11 note m Honesta primum ... Senec. Hip.] 4+, om 1 2 3
158.3-7 and the first ... and immodesty above.] 4+, om 1 2 3
158.6 note r] 4+, om 1 2 3
158.11 note s Isaiah 3:16-18] 7 8, Isa. 3.15. 1 2 3 4 5 6; Prov. 6:13] om 7 8
161.4 and immortal] 4+, an- 1 2 3
161.13-21 But because this ... peace and felicity.] part of preceding paragraph 4+
165.1 note z 1 Tim. 6:6] 7 8, 1 Tim. 6.8 1 2 3 4 5 6
166.24 with] by 7 8
167.5 the favour] thy - 2 3
169.6 beauty] bounty 7 8 [see Commentary]
169.17 or be] or to be 2 3
170.7 and] an 4+
171.10 thy spirit] the - 5+
173.11 note e Od. 9.] 6+, Od. 4. 1 2 3 4 5
174.7 forward] forwards 5+
175.10 he] 6+, om 1 2 3 4 5
177.24 the one] he only 5+
178.4 when] when 7 8
179.11 make us the] make the 4+
182.20 ran] 5+, run 1 2 3 4
184.8-11 And when ... own subjects.] 2+, in appendix at end of Chapter IV 1
184.21 note p tu] cor, om 1+; nam] cor, non 1+
189.24 or] and 2 3
193.19 note d] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
194.23 lesse] least 2 3
195.3 fear lesse] fearlesse 2 3 8
195.17 Titius] Titia 2 3
200.2 note e] 4+, om 1 2 3; ab] cor, om 4+; dederat] cor, dederit 4+
200.11 at] om 7
201.7-8 from them] 4+, them from 1 2 3
203.4 deaths] death 4+
206.1 Ad. Chap. II] ed, om 1+
207.14 note k] GH, om 1+
207.16 note l] GH, om 1+
207.18 note m] GH, om 1+
207.23 note n] GH, om 1+
210.20 Jesus's] Jesus his 2+
213.6 a] KC, om 1+; commutative] 6+, Communicative 1 2 3 4 5
213.7 as is, 5
216.22 note i] 4+, om 1 2 3
217.23 displeased] pleased 6+
218.26 if it be not] 2+, if be not 1
220.13 matter] manner 7 8
229.19 imbecilled] imbezilled 4 5 6
230.4 those] 7 8, the 1 2 3 4 5 6
230.25 note s] 4+, om 1 2 3
233.1 note u vel] cor, om 1+
233.1 infinitely. Provide] 4+, infinitely, provide 1 2 3
234.8 note X Νυμφευμάτων ... Hermione.] 4+, om 1 2 3;
   Secundarium .... Num. 30.] 4+, om 1 2 3
234.22 note z] 4+, om 1 2 3
235.24 note e Mart.] om 7 8
238.11 in] and 2 3
241.15 note q levitas erit] cor, levitas non erit 1+; intervenit] cor,
   intervenerit 1+
245.19 note P Scyrii] cor, Syri 1+
246.21 upon] on 7 8
247.4 he] 6+, and 1 2 3 4 5 6
247.8 note s Eth. lib. 5. c.4.] om 2 3
249.6 made. In] made, in 2 3
252.8 as soon] so 4+
253.8 they] 6+, thy 1 2 3 4 5
254.21 Kings and all] om 2 3
255.11 last] 5+, least 1 2 3 4
255.20 nor us] KC, and we 1+
Place a guard .... Amen.] 2+, in appendix at end of Chapter IV

King] Ruler 2 3

the King] his Viceregent 2 3

our Soveraign] the Ruler 2 3

Kings or] om 2 3

Prince] Ruler 2 3

does] doth 4+

S. James's signe] S. James's his signe 8

for next] for the next 7 8

note f] GH, om 1+

note g] GH, om 1+

note h] GH, om 1+

of light] of the light 4+

for persons] 7 8, for a person 1 2 3 4 5 6

non fare isperienza] cor, far speranza 1+

note n] 4+, om 1 2 3

tere] these 4

intervene] 7 8, intervenes 1 2 3 4 5 6

disproves] disapproves 6+

at] om 6+

excrescencies] excrescences 6 7

note x ognora] cor, ogni hora 1+

note z Rev. 3:19] Rev. 3:16 4+

note d Deut. 31:11] cor, Deut. 31:13 1+

a part] 3+, apart 1 2

it] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6

eate] ate 7, are 8
note h cap. 4] cor, cap. 5 1+
that] the 4+
determined] determining 6+
day] duty 2 3
Precedent 7 8
affective] 6+, effective 1 2 3 4 5
note k] GH, om 1+
out] om 4+
note m James 1:5,6,7] 7 8, James 5,6,7 1 2 3 4 5, James 1.6,7 6
it] om 7 8
note t Phil. 4:6] 6+, Phil. 9:6 1 2 3 4 5
11. To this purpose ... effective practices.] 4+, om 1 2 3
note x 1 Tim. 2:1-3] cor, 1 Tim. 2.2 1+
outgoings] outgoing 7 8
matter] matters 6+
were not obliged] were not formerly obliged 4 5
draw us nearer to God] 6+, draw us to God, nearer 1 2 3 4 5
not certain] nor 4+
too] to 4+
by actual desires and] GH, om 1+
and] om 4+
well] will 2
and] 2+, & an 1
and] or 4+
106 Epist.] cor, 110 Epist 1+
note 1 lib. 2] cor, lib.3 1+
the door] thy 4+
350.14 to] of 2, or 3
350.19 note q] 4+, om 1 2 3
351.8 to them] unto - 4+
351.24 heart] 3 6+, hearts 1 2 4 5
351.26 note s] 4+, om 1 2 3; tis] cor, tui 4+
355.5 in] om 7 8
356.14 note w 25:45] cor, 25.30 1+
356.17 note x] om 6+
357.24 greater] great 6+
357.25 note b] GH, om 1+
362.22 note g] 4+, om 1 2 3
362.22-24 Patroclus killed....Such also are] 4+, om 1 2 3
363.6 are] is 3+
363.25 thy] thine 6+
365.11 note j Medea] Meded 3, om 5, Medica 8
365.25 note k] 4+, om 1 2 3
370.5 note q] 4+, om 1 2 3
370.12 even] om 4+; have] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
370.17 desires] desire 4+
371.14 and] om 7 8
373.11 an] 2+, an 1
373.14 note r] 4+, om 1 2 3
374.9 note s] 4+, om 1 2 3
374.19 note u sese Dominum] cor, Dominum sese 1+
376.21 of our return] 4+, of return 1 2 3
383.3 note d] 4+, om 1 2 3
386.1 strength is] 2 3, strength's 1 4 5 6, strengths 7 8
"If any man ... their businesse:" quotation marks om 6+
"that as those ... perpetual whitenesses:" quotation marks om 6+
Notes r to t in this passage form part of the text in all editions.
All notes in this passage appear for the first time in 7 and are reprinted in subsequent editions.
413.4 Psal. 33.17] 7 8, Psal. 33. 1 2 3 4 5 6
414.3 Jam. 5.15] Jam. 5.5. 7
414.8 I John 2.1,2] 7 8, I John 2.2. 1 2 3 4 5 6
414.20 I Tim. 1.15] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
414.22 Rom. 8.32] 7 8, om 1 2 3 4 5 6
415.4 Rom. 8.38,39] 7 8, Rom. 8.38 1 2 3 4 5 6
415.12 2 Cor. 1.3,4.] 7 8, 2 Cor. 1.3. 1 2 3 4 5 6
416.19 person] persons 4 5 7 8
423.6 secret] 2 3 7 8, secrets 1 4 5 6
423.12 appearances] appearance 4+
424.17-
426.13 Another form of Confession .... Jesus Christ.] GH, om 1+
     Another form of Confession] ed, no title GH
425.22 servant] ed, om GH
426.12 servant] ed, om GH
427.7-12 "A forme ... shall determine."] quotation marks om 6+
429.22 left] leftest 2 3 6+
431.21-22 and didst put] KC 6+, and put 1 2 3 4 5
431.23 entred] entredst 2 3 6+; up] KC, om 1+
432.1 Thou art] KC, art become 1+
433.8 note 1] KC, om 1+
434.5-6 through thee, and] through and 4+
434.16 thy] thine 2 3
438.25 partake] partake 4+
439.8-14 0 Holy and ever blessed ... Christ Jesus. Amen.] 2+, in appendix at
     end of Chapter IV 1
442.1 of prayer] of a prayer 2 3
444.7 that] thy 6+
Like as the Hart .... of my friends] All notes in this passage appear for the first time in 7 and are reprinted in subsequent editions.
EMENDATION OF ACCIDENTALS

10.25 JER:] 4+, om 1 2 3
21.17 religion.] 4+, - , 1, -; 2 3
25.2 offices,] 4 5,- 1 2 3 6+
30.14 glut] 2+, glat 1
31.17 be,] 2 4+,-- 1 3
46.3 heart~] 2 6+,--, 1 4 5, hearts~3
46.15 that,] GH 2 3 5+,-- 1 4
46.16 religion,] GH 2 3 6+,-- 1 4 5
55.3 omnipresent,] 7 8,-- 1 2 3 4 5 6
57.21 brother;] 6+, -, 1 2 3 4 5
65.8 counsel,] 3 7 8,-- 1 2 4 5 6
65.25 intemperate,] ed,-- 1+
72.15-20 To this ... children, etc.] 4+, rom 1 2 3
72.24 judgement, holy,] 2 3 5+,-- 1, --, --, 4
73.16-
76.6 0 be joyful .... my Saviour] 7 8, rom 1 2 3 4 5 6
73.19-20 He ruleth ... ever] 7 8, part of succeeding paragraph 1 2 3 4 5 6
73.22-
74.1 He is the God .... scarceness,] 7 8, separate paragraph 1 2 3 4 5 6
74.13 note f] 7 8, cited in text 1 2 3 4 5 6
74.22 Hosts,] 4+-, 1 2 3; thee?] 6+, -- 1 2 3 4 5
78.17 Sabaoth] 6+, Sabbath 1, Sabaoth 2 3 4 5
81.4-18 I will lift .... for evermore] 7 8, rom 1 2 3 4 5 6
83.18 flesh,] 4+,-- 1 2 3
83.21 note s] 7 8, cited in text 1 2 3 4 5 6
84.25 note u] 7 8, cited in text 1 2 3 4 5 6
85.4 hastning] 4+, hasting 1 2 3; God?] 4+, -. 1 2 3
85.5 Lord,] 6+, -. 1 2 3 4 5
92.15-16 said the Philosopher] 6+, ital 1 2 3 4 5
92.21 You] 6+, lc 1 2 3 4 5
93.5 him.] ed, -. 1+; Hard marches ... next day] ed, rom and within square brackets 1+
100.24 drunkennesse.] 2 3 6+, -. 1 4 5
100.25 effects,] 2+, -. 1
113.17 argument:] ed, -. 1 4+, -. 2 3
114.11 actions,] 2 3 5+, -. 1 4
115.14 scorn:] ed, -. 1 2 3 4 5 6, -. 7 8
116.16 But ... crime] 6+, rom 1 2 3 4 5
120.11 remember:] 4 5, -. 1 2 3, -. 6+
129.10 Therefore] ed, with preceding paragraph 4+, om 1 2 3
144.9 First,] 6+, I. 1 2 3 4 5
153.8 compares:*] 4+, -. 1 2 3
157.26 amorous] 2+, amarous 1
165.23 fear:] 6+, -. 1 2 3, -. 4 5
167.10 cry:] 2 3 4 5, -. 1, -. 6+
168.12 spectacle] 2+, spectale 1
170.2 it] 2+, cap 1
177.2 Heaven,] 5+, -. 1 2 3 4
178.10 Sacriledge?] 3+, -. 1 2
183.2 weakest:] 4+, -. 1 2 3
183.23 allayes:] 6+, -. 1 2 3 4 5
184.4 alone:] 2 3, -; 1 4 5, -. 6
186.17 Theramenes,] ed, -; 1+
192.14 arguments:] 6+, -; 1 2 3 4 5
192.23 Which] 4+, 1c 1 2 3
193.6 seek.] ed, -; 1 2 3, -- 4+
193.26 words.] 6+, -; 1 2 3 4 5
194.11 Do] 2+, 1c 1
194.19 Infancy:] ed, -? 1+; We] 6+, 1c 1 2 3 4 5
198.10 Paulina,] 7 8, -; 1 2 3 4 5 6
200.2 thither] 2+, thithe 1
202.14 The] 6+, 1c 1 2 3 4 5
203.6 death.] 2+, -- 1
204.18 You] ed, 1c 1+
211.20-212.4 What is .... a Worm] 7 8, rom 1 2 3 4 5 6
214.11 Commandment:] ed, -; 1+
222.10 words,] 7 8, -; 1 2 3 4 5 6
222.12 these,] 7 8, -; 1 2 3 4 5 6
225.9 Jude:] ed, -; 1 2 3, -; 4+
225.10 Archangel,] 7 8, -; 1 2 3 4 5 6
225.12 Moses,] 4+, -- 1 2 3
227.18 as,] 3 6+, -; 1 2 4 5
266.16 another,] 6+, -; 1 2 3 4 5
269.26 works,] 6+, -- 1 2 3 4 5
270.6 Christ: ... forgiven.] ed, -; 1 2 3 4 5, -; 6+
279.15 blessing:] ed, -; 1+
this, [ 2 3 4 5 6 ]

Prophets, [ 4+ ]

softnesse, [ 4+ ]

wants, [ 2+ ]

prayer, [ ed ]

Peter: [ 6+ ]

thrice, [ ed ]

them: [ ed ]

idlenes, [ 7 8 ]

eat, [ ed ]

alive?, [ 4+ ]

Lord, [ 4+ ]

Apostles, [ 2 3 ]

Latin, ... guide] [ 6+, - ]

designe, [ 7 8 ]

repentance, [ 7 8 ]

Lord, [ ed ]

received, [ 6+ ]

imperfection, [ 6+ ]

0 God ... praising thee] [ 7 8 ]

Hear my Prayer .... hold upon me. [ 7 8 ]

hope? [ 6+, - ]

note i] [ ed, cited in text ]

note k] [ ed, cited in text ]
412.19-
414.22 My help ... things else] 7 8, rom 1 2 3 4 5 6

414.7 Father,] 7 8, -- 1 2 3 4 5 6

414.25-
415.12 I am persuaded ... all our tribulation] 7 8, rom 1 2 3 4 5 6

417.11-12 me, like Jonas,] 6+, -- 1 2 3 4 5

423.3 am,] 3 4 5, -- 1 2, -- 6+

427.22 world?] 4+, -- 1 2 3

432.15 capacity?] 4 6 7 8, -- 1 2 3 5

453.21 childe,] 6+, -- 2 3, -- 1 4 5

455.12-13 and particularly ... unworthy servant] KC, rom 1+

461.5-462.14 Like as .... be healed] 7 8, rom 1 2 3 4 5 6

462.7 thee?] 4+, -- 1 2 3

462.8 life.] 4+, -- 1 2 3
COMMENTARY

This Commentary provides glosses, documents sources, and gives translations of Taylor's notes. Taylor's quotations of some Greek authors are from Latin versions of their works. For convenience, my references are to the best modern editions of Greek texts and their modern English translations. When the source of a translation is not given in a note, it indicates that the translation has been prepared for this edition. Complete details of works cited by short reference in this Commentary are provided in the Bibliography that follows the Commentary. Scriptural references are to the Authorized Version unless otherwise indicated.

The following abbreviations have been used:

OED - The Oxford English Dictionary
PG - Patrologia Graeca
PL - Patrologia Latina
LCL - Loeb Classical Library Series
2.3. Richard Lord Vaughan. Born c. 1600, the eldest son of John, first Earl of Carbery. He was knighted at the coronation of Charles I in 1625, was a member of Parliament for Carmarthen from 1624 to 1629, and succeeded to his earldom in 1634. In 1642 he was appointed Lieutenant General of the King's forces in Carmarthen, Cardigan and Pembroke. A year later he was defeated by Rowland Laugharne. On his defeat and surrender, impeachment proceedings were started against him in Parliament, but he had received a promise of pardon from Laugharne and, besides, had a powerful friend in the Earl of Essex. Influence being exerted on his behalf, he was pardoned in January, 1647. He spent the rest of the war in his ancestral home of Golden Grove. He was married three times: first to Bridget Lloyd, then to Frances Altham (for whom Taylor wrote *Holy Dying* and his most famous funeral sermon), and then to Alice Egerton, daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater. After the Restoration, Carbery became President of the Court of Marches and Lord Lieutenant of Wales with his seat at Ludlow. Taylor is not the only literary figure with whom his name is associated. While Lord Lieutenant, Carbery appointed Samuel Butler as his secretary and it was at Ludlow Castle that Butler is said to have written the first part of *Hudibras*. Carbery died in 1686.

2.9-11. Tabernacle ... covered with skins of beasts and torn curtains. An echo of Exodus 26. The purpose of the reference is ironic contrast. The tabernacle that Moses was ordered to build to house the sanctuary of the Lord had "curtains of fine twined linen, and blue and purple and scarlet" (26:1). It was covered with "curtains of goat's hair" and was held together with clasps of gold (26:6-7).
3.9. plot. Design or purpose.

5.16-17. in the bands of the Lord Jesus. That is, in the bonds of the Lord Jesus. Cf. Phil. 1:13: "... my bonds in Christ are manifest."

7.10. Hellebore. A poisonous plant of the genus Helleborus. The Christmas Rose is one of its species. Since ancient times, hellebore was used as a drug to treat madness and other mental diseases.

21.17. note c. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.13: "Now when someone asked [Epictetus] how it is possible to eat acceptably to the gods, he said, 'If it is done justly and graciously and fairly and restrainedly and decently, is it not also done acceptably to the gods?'" (W.A. Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, The Discourses as Reported by Arrian, LCL, II,99.)

22.5-6. Elisha stretched upon the childe. See I Kings 17:17-22.


25.23. and note f The reference is to a phrase in Seneca's Epistle 82: "Leisure without study is death; it is a tomb for the living man." (Richard M. Gummere, trans., Epistulae Morales, LCL, II,243.)

26.15. conveniencies. Obsolete variant form of "convenience."
27.2. **high calling.** The phrase echoes Phil. 3:14. The word "calling" is used here in the sense of a "summons, invitation, or impulse of God to salvation or to his service; the inward feeling or conviction of a divine call" (OED). Also, "the state of grace and obedience into which the Christian is called; duty" (OED). Cf. 28.4: "inward calling." "Calling" as vocation, position or station in life sometimes also has this religious connotation; it refers to the estate in life to which God has "called" a man. Cf. 28.23: "being called by God ... to judge a people."

27.17. note _h_. See St. Bernard's *Sermones De Diversis*, XVII, "De triplici custodia, manus, linguae et cordis,"3 in PL, CLXXXIII, 584.

27.24. note _i_. "Augustus Caesar is praised by Lucan: 'Always in the midst of battle he had time for the courses of the stars and for the gods above.'" Cf. Lucan's *Pharsalia*, X.185-86 (LCL, p. 603).

28.7. **assoon.** As readily, as willingly.


29.1-3. **Aeropus ... Harcatius ... Biantes.** Cf. Nicolas Caussin's *The Holy Court*, Part I, II.6: "Hartabus, King of the Hyrcans caught Moles, Bias King
of the Lydians stabbed frogges, Aeropus King of the Macedonians made Lanternes." (T. Hawkins, trans., The Holy Court, Rouen, 1634, p. 87.)

29.7. Theophylact the Patriarch of C.P. Probably Theophylactus of Achrida (c.1050-c.1108), who studied philosophy in Constantinople and was tutor to Constantine Pophyrogenitus, son of Michael VII. He was the author of several exegetical works, and in 1078 was made Archbishop of Achrida (present day Ochrid in Yugoslavia). I could not locate the source of Taylor's reference. WW (III,12, note j) cites Ioannes Scylitza Curopalates, Historiarum Compendium.

30.22-23. learn to do good works ... uses. See I Tim. 2:10.

32.9 and note j. the example of S.John. See Cassianus, Collationes 24, Ch. 21. (PL, XLIX, 1312.)

32.16. rule. Daily custom or habit.

33.3-4. the Patriarch ... in S.Sophia. See note to 29.7 above.

33.10. and note l. it did honour to Rusticus ... Lecture. See Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 15. (Moria, VI, 513.)

33.23. note m. From Procopius, History of the Wars, IV (= Vandalica II) II.16. The passage is from a general's harangue to his troops: "[For] those who win applause in the very matter of their former wrong-doing always gain
for themselves a fairer apology." (H.B. Dewing, trans., Procopius, The History of the Wars, LCL, II, 361.)

33.24. redeem the time. Taylor borrows the phrase from St. Paul. See Eph. 5:16 and Col. 4:5.

34.17. note o. From Pythagoras's Carmina Aurea, 40-42: "Don't welcome sleep to your weary eyes before you go thrice over each of your deeds of the day [and ask yourself], 'In what way did I transgress? Why did I do it? What obligation of mine was left unfulfilled?'"

36.2. incurious. Heedless, inattentive, careless. Taylor is using the word in its original Latin sense, derived from the word incuriosus: "careless, unconcerned, negligent" (OED).


38.4. note q. From Juvenal's Satire XI, 1-2: "If Atticus dines sumptuously, he is thought a fine gentleman; if Rutilus does the same, people say he has lost his senses." (G.G. Ramsay, trans., Juvenal and Persius, LCL, p. 221.)


38.12-14. the mourning of David ... the repentance of Judas. See 2 Sam. 1:17-27; 2 Chron. 33:12-13; Matt. 27:75; Matt. 27:3-5.
38.14-21 and note r. "For the praise ... the separation." Taylor is paraphrasing a passage in Seneca's "De Beneficiis," I.6: "... what counts is not what is done or what is given, but the spirit of the action, because a benefit consists, not in what is done or given, but in the intention of the giver or doer." (John W. Basore, trans., Seneca's Moral Essays, LCL, III, 23.)

39.3-4. The poor farmer ... Artaxerxes. See Plutarch's "Artaxerxes," 5. (Lives, LCL, XI,135)

39.5. a Disciple in the name of a Disciple. From Matt. 10:42.


note s. "He who steals so that he can commit adultery is more of an adulterer than a thief." The passage in Aristotle's Ethics that comes closest to Taylor's note occurs in V.2: "Suppose two men to commit adultery, one for profit, and gaining by the act, the other from desire, and having to pay, and so losing by it: then the latter would be deemed a profligate rather than a man who takes more than his due, while the former would be deemed unjust, but not a profligate; clearly therefore it is being done for profit that makes the action unjust." (H. Rackham, trans., The Nicomachean Ethics, LCL, p. 263.)

41.24 - 42.1. S. Bernard ... make an end. See Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea, "St Bernard." (The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, trans., Ryan and Ripperger, p. 472.)
43.21. Pharaohs chariots when the wheels were off. See Exod. 14:24-25.

44.10. Am not I better ... ten sons? I Sam. 10:8.

44.13-17 and note u. "He is not just ... not often wholesome." Taylor paraphrases Seneca in Epistle 113: "Those who wish their virtue to be advertised are not striving for virtue but for renown. Are you not willing to be just without being renowned? Nay indeed you must often be just and at the same time be disgraced. And then, if you are wise, let ill repute, well won, be a delight." (Gummere, trans., Epistulae Morales, III, 299.)

44.17-19 and note v. "And indeed ... pleased God." From St. Chrysostom's Ad Stelechium de Compunctione, II.6. (PG, XLVII, 420.)

44.19-23 and note w. "He that does good works ... trifle." From St. Gregory's Moralia in Job, VII.43. (PL, LXXV, 844.)

45.6-7. S.James converted but eight persons ... in Spain. See Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea, "St James the Greater." (The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, trans., Ryan and Ripperger, p. 369.) The tradition that St. James the Apostle preached in Spain before his martyrdom in A.D. 44 is rejected by modern scholars.

45.17-18. Moses ... wished all the people might be prophets. See Num. 11:29.
47.13-15. alms of the Pharisee, the fast of Jezabel, the prayer of Judah ... the humiliation of Ahab. See Luke 18:10-14; 1 Kings 21:5-14; Isa. 1:10-17; 1 Kings 21:27-29.

47.19. **Saul** the King. See 1 Sam. 15:9-15.

47.21. **Saul** the Pharisee. That is, St. Paul. See Phil. 3:15 and Gal. 1:14.

47.23 - 48.4 and note x. The reference is to St. Bernard's De Praecepto et Dispensatione (PL, CLXXXII, 859-894), but I was unable to locate a passage in it that comes close to Taylor's quotation.

48.5-7 and note y. a wise Heathen.... how pure." Taylor is referring to Publilius Syrus the Mime. I was able to locate only a part of Taylor's quotation in Publilius's Sententiae 355: "He must be called bad who is good only in his own interest." (J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, trans., Minor Latin Poets, LCL, p.61.)

48.7-9. Many cease from sin ... but timorous. Cf. St. Augustine, Epistle 153, Chap. 6 (PL, XXXIII, 630): "Men are not to be called good because they refrain from wrong-doing through their fear of [punishment] - no one is good through dread of punishment, but through love of righteousness." (Wilfred Parsons, trans., Letters of St. Augustine [New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953], III, 293.)

49.15. note c. From St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei, VII.30. (LCL, 11,487.)
50.9-10. as the sun ... is unpolluted in its beams. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, VI.2: "Someone having reproached [Diogenes] for going into dirty places, his reply was that the sun too visits cesspools without being defiled." (LCL, II, 65.)

50.15. note d. Justinus Martyr, Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos. (See PG, VI, 1317.)

       roules. OED gives "roule" as variant form of "roll" as well as "rule". Taylor is obviously using the word in the former sense for the rolling orbs and a fixed Earth imply a geocentric idea of the universe.

50.22-51.4. He it is ... Almightyesse. Cf. Ps. 104.

       Bittern. A long-legged wading bird (botaurus stellaris) that frequents marshes and pools of water. "Bittern" is also the Authorised Version rendering of the Hebrew kippod, an animal that is mentioned in the Old Testament (Isa. 14:23 and 34:11). The Vulgate identifies it with the hedgehog, and the Revised Version with the porcupine.

       Elk. Since he pairs it with the unicorn, Taylor must be referring to the species of large deer which inhabit parts of northern Europe and North America. In America it is known as the moose. In the sixteenth century, some kinds of English deer were also called elk. The name is applied as well to the wild swan or "Hooper" and to wild geese (OED).

51.15-16. I desire to be dissolved ... so said Paul. See Phil. 1:23.

53.25-54.2 and note h. He that remembers ... temptation to sin. Cf. St. Augustine's Sermon LXIX, "De Verbis Evangelii Mathei" (alias Sermon X, "De Verbis Domini"), Ch. 2: Multi enim propterea mala faciunt, dum putant quod
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non videantur a Deo: "Many therefore do evil so long as they suppose that they are not in the sight of God."

54.2-4. "For the greatest part ... his conversation. Cf. Seneca, Epistle 11: "We can get rid of most sins, if we have a witness who stands near us when we are likely to go wrong." (Gummere, trans., Epistulae Morales, I,65.)

55.8-12 and note j. For it is a great necessity ... wrath and indignation. Taylor's summary of the concluding portion of Book V of Boethius's De Consolatione: "There remaineth also a beholder of all things which is God, who foreseeth all things, and the eternity of his vision, which is always present, concurreth with the future quality of our actions, distributing rewards to the good and punishments to the evil .... There is, if you will not dissemble, a great necessity of doing well imposed upon you, since you live in the sight of your Judge, who beholdeth all things." (E.K. Rand, trans., The Consolation of Philosophy, LCL, p.411.)

56.12-14. Seven times a day .... So said David. See Ps. 119:164,55.


58.9-10. note 1. Jer. 11:15 in the Vulgate reads: "Quod est, quod dilectus meus in domo mea fecit scelera multa? numquid carnes sanctae auferent a te malitias tuos, in quibus gloriata es?"

60.1-3 and note m. There is one way ... in our mindes. See St. Athanasius's Life of St. Anthony, 42. (PG, XXVI, 906).
60.16-17. according to the saying of God to Abraham. See Gen. 17:1.

CHAPTER II

89.13. note b. From Plautus's Trinummus, II.2.29,31. Philo is speaking to his son, Lysiteles: "If you, my boy, have conquered your inclinations rather than they you, you should rejoice:... Those who conquer their inclinations, rather than they them, are always known as men of probity indeed." (Nixon, trans., Plautus, V,127.)

90.3. note c. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.2: "Only consider at what price you sell your freedom of will. If you must sell it, man, at least do not sell it cheap." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I,23.)

90.8. note d. From Epictetus's Enchiridion, 29: "Do you wish to win an Olympic victory?... You have to submit to discipline, follow a strict diet, give up sweet cakes, train under compulsion." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, II,507.)

92.7. note g. "Hold back your desires a little, for you only have to worry about one thing, namely, that they cease." Taylor is probably quoting from memory and mistakenly attributes this passage to Seneca. It does not appear in any of Seneca's known works.

92.13-16 and note h. Taylor's summary of a passage from Aristotle's Ethics, III.12:"... Children, like profligates live at the prompting of desire; and
the appetite for pleasure is strongest in childhood, so that if it be not disciplined and made obedient to authority, it will make great headway .... Hence our indulgences should be moderate and few, and never opposed to principle ... and the appetitive part of us should be ruled by principle, just as a boy should live in obedience to his tutor." (Rackham, trans., The Nicomachean Ethics, pp. 185-86.)

92.17. note i. From Seneca's Epistle 85: "For it is easier to stop [sensual desires] in the beginning than to control them when they gather force." (Gummere, trans., Epistulae Morales, II,291.)

93.3-7. For to this sense ... their provisions. Plutarch uses this anecdote concerning Alexander several times in the Moralia and once in his Life of Alexander, 22. Leonidas is mentioned only in the Life, which is apparently Taylor's source. (See Lives, VII,287.)


93.12. note k. "Nature has subdued in our hearts the tired pleasures which are going away full of repentance so that they have little desire to return." Taylor attributes this passage to Seneca but it does not appear in any of Seneca's works.

Laeta venire ... solet. "Venus is in the habit of coming happily and departing sadly." I was unable to trace the source of this quotation.

94.3-4. Solomon tried it ... of them all. See 1 Kings 11:1-25.
95.4. note 1. "Self control: from having passion in one's own control."

96.25-27. it cost Jonathan ... sun went down. 1 Sam. 14:27-28, 41-46.

97.14-16. the sons of Israel loathed Manna ... fell upon them. See Num. 11:18-20, 31-33.

97.17-19. The sons of Eli ... rost it with fire. 1 Sam. 2:12-17.


98.3. note m. "The first age was happy in the beginning, when men were content with the sweet [returns from their] fields and broke their long fasts with an easily gotten acorn." Cf. Boethius, De Consolatione, II, Song 5. 1-2, 4-5: Felix nimium prior aetas/ Contenta fidelibus arvis .../
Facili quae sera solebat / Jejunia salvere glande: "Too much the former age was blest, / When fields their pleas'd owners fail'd not,/ Who broke their fasts with acorns easily got." (Rand, trans., The Consolation of Philosophy, p.205.)

Arbuteos... legebant. From Ovid's Metamorphoses, I.104: "They gathered the arbute fruit, strawberries from the mountainside." (Frank J. Miller, trans., Metamorphoses, LCL, I,8.) In Book I of the poem, Ovid deals with the creation of the universe and the origin of the world.

99.5. note o. "Cicero calls temperance an ornament of life in which everything decorous and honest is situated." Cf. Cicero's *De Officiis*, 1.27: "[In Temperance] we find considerateness and self-control, which give, as it were, a polish to life." (Walter Miller, trans., *De Officiis*, LCL, p. 95-97.)


99.17-24 and note r. *Stratonicus* said.... is gone. See Plutarch's "De Cupiditate Divitiarium,"5. (*Moria, VII,19.)

99.18. handsomely. In a fit, appropriate and apt manner.

101.2. note t. Taylor quotes from a Greek and a Latin scholium to show the distinction between surfeiting and drunkennesse: "'Intoxication from the day before' or 'from yesterday's drinking binge.' Scholium in Aristophanes [see Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, 1.278]. It is almost the same in Plutarch; being drunk on wine signifies a certain slackness and levity of the mind, drunkenness signifies futility [see Plutarch's "De Garrulitate," 4 in *Moria, IV, 405-407"]."

101.4-6. But he ... sin of drunkennes. Cf. Isa. 5:22.

101.20. note w. "Drunk people do many things of which they are ashamed afterwards when sober." Cf. Seneca, Epistle 83: ...*quam multa ebrii faciant, quibus sobrii erubescent*: "How often the drunkard does things which make him ashamed when sober." (See *Epistulae Morales*, II, 268-70.)
102.5. note y: Insaniae ... ebrietas. "Anger is a companion of insanity, and drunkenness is a comrade." Cf. Plutarch's "De Garrulitate," 4: "For while, ... anger lives next door to madness, drunkenness lives in the same house with it." (W.C. Helmbold, trans., *Moralia*, VI,405.)

Corpus onustum ... praegravat. From Horace's *Satires*, II.2.76-77: "Clogged with yesterday's excess, the body drags down with itself the mind as well." (H. Rushton Fairclough, trans., *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, LCL, p.143.)

Ebrietas ... insania. Cf. Seneca's Epistle 83: *nihil aliud esse ebrietatem quam voluntarium insaniam*: "drunkenness is nothing but a condition of insanity purposely assumed." This is from a sentence, part of which Taylor quotes in note w (92.23) above. See *Epistulae Morales*, II, 269-71.

102.18. note z: ὀίνος...πίνη. From the *Odyssey*, XXI.293-94: "It is wine that wounds thee, honey sweet wine, which works harm to others too, if one takes it in great gulps, and drinks beyond measure." (A.T. Murray, trans., *The Odyssey*, LCL, II,324.)

102.19. since *Josephs* cup ... divining goblet. That is, no man can drink and be wise at the same time. Joseph used his cup both for drinking and for divination. See Gen. 44:1-12.

102.24. note a: ὀδεῖς...πεποκένων. Philemon in Stobaeus's *Anthologium*, 18.6: "No one is a drinker, if you examine the matter, who is not a slave to drinking." See *Stobaei Anthologii*, ed. Otto Hense, III, 514.

103.7. note b. From Seneca's Epistle 83: "It was intemperance in drinking, the famous death dealing bowl of Hercules, that laid Alexander low." (Gummere, trans., Epistulae Morales, II, 272-73.)

103.9. the drunkenness of Noah and Lot. See Gen. 9:20-24 and Gen. 19:30-36.

104.25-105.2 and note c. they think they shall taste the aconite ... and be not drowsie. Taylor's paraphrase of a passage in Seneca's Epistle 83: "For if you try to prove that the wise man can souse himself with much wine and yet keep his course straight, even though he be in his cups, you may go on to infer ... that he will not die if he swallows poison, that he will not sleep if he takes a sleeping potion." (Gummere, trans., Epistulae Morales, II, 275.)

Chi ha bevuto ... tratto. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p.211: "He who has drunk the whole sea can still drink a little more."

105.1. aconite. A genus of poisonous plants. A common European species is known as monk's-hood or wolf's-bane. Since ancient times, an extract of this plant was used as poison and for medicinal purposes. The name was also applied, loosely and figuratively, as Taylor has done here, to any kind of deadly poison.
105.20. note d. "There is no difference in your looking with favour upon a crime and committing it yourself." I was unable to locate this sentence in any of Seneca's works.

106.1-3. Let us ... salvation. 1 Thess. 5:8.

106.5-6. The faith of the Mahometans ... abstain religiously. Taylor's source here is Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea, "St. Pelagius the Pope." (The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, trans., Ryan and Ripperger, p. 753.)

106.6. the sons of Rechab. A Kenite tribe which dwelt among the Israelites. Its chief, Jonadab, had placed it under a strict rule of life which included complete abstention from wine and all intoxicating drinks. See Jer. 35:1-19.

107.11-12. All things ... said Paul. 1 Cor. 6:12.

107.15. Smoke. Tobacco was introduced into England during the 1570's from the Americas. The habit of smoking came later and became widespread. Smoking had as many detractors as adherents. King James I himself wrote a Counterblaste to Tobacco (1604) against it. For an account of the growth of smoking in England, documented from the literature of the time, see Berthold Laufer, Introduction of Tobacco into Europe, Anthropology Leaflet 19 (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1924).
109.4-5. circumcision of the heart. Cf. Deut. 10:16; Jer. 4:4,9; Rom. 2:29.

109.5-7. cutting off all superfluity of flesh ... carnal pleasures. Cf. Col. 2:11.


111.25. note h: Prov. 6:23. All editions in which this note appears agree in this reference, but, though relevant, Prov. 6:23 is concerned with a wider subject than Taylor is dealing with here. It reads: "For the commandment is the lamp; and the law is light; and reproofs of instruction are the way of life." The reference may be an error for Prov. 6:32: "But whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding: he that doeth it destroyeth his own soul."

112.6. note i. From Rom. 1:26: "dishonourable passions". The Authorized Version renders the phrase as "vile affections."

112.9. note k. "The desire for fornication breeds anxiety; the satiety of the desire breeds regret." I was unable to locate this sentence in St. Jerome's works. Taylor probably saw it in Nicolas Caussin's *The Holy Court,*
Part 1, II.9 where it is quoted as a marginal note. (See The Holy Court, trans. Hawkins, p.99.)

112.11. amazements. Overwhelming fears or apprehensions.


113.4. note n. Cf. the Vulgate, Ps. 51:12: Spiritu principali confirma me: "Confirm me in the principal spirit."

114.9-13 and note g. S. Gregory reckons ... Heaven thereafter. See St. Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job, XXXI.45. (PL, LXXXVI, 623.)

114.11. unprejudicate. Unprejudiced.

114.20-22 and note r. For to overcome pleasure ... inclinations. See St. Cyprian's Liber De Disciplina et Bono Pudicitiae, 11. (PL, IV, 858.)


114.26. meddle with. To associate with; also, to have sexual intercourse with (OED).

115.5-7. The Egyptian Law ... adulterer. See Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History, I.78. (LCL, I, 271.)
115.7-6. The Locrians ... both eyes. Cf. Claudius Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, XIII.24: "Zaleucus, the Lawgiver of the Locrians ordained that whosoever was taken in Adultery should lose both his eyes." (Thomas Stanley, trans., *Claudius Aelianus, His Various History*, London, 1665, p.275.)


115.10-12. The Gortinaeans ... effeminacy. See Claudius Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, XII. (Lyons, 1588, p.187.)

115.12-13. the Cumani ... hooted at. See Plutarch's "Quaestiones Graecae,"2. (Moralia, IV,177.)


115.17. note u. The references are to the records of the Councils of the Church. Concilium Triburense (AD 895), Canon 46 and Concilium Aurelianense (AD 511), Canon 1. See *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. Mansi, XVIII A, 154 and VIII, 350-351.

115.18. note v. See the *Digestorum Seu Pandectarum*, XLVIII. 5 in *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Codex Theodosianus*, IX, title 7, par. 3, "Ad legem Julianam de Adulteriis."

116.5. defensative. Defence, protection.
116.7-11 and note w. And it is unjust ... towards her. From St. Augustine's quotation of Marcus Aurelius in "De Incompetentibus Nuptiis," II.8. (Pl., XL, 475.)

It is as if ... a prisoner. See Plutarch's "Conjugalia Praecepta," 47. (Moralia, III, 337.)

117.7. note x. "To love, at least with hollow enjoyment, that which is impossible to obtain." I was unable to trace the source of this verse.

117.10. note y: Patellas luxuriae ... alius quidam. "Isidorus says the eyes are the platters of lechery, and someone else says [the eyes are] the sorrows of men." Cf. marginal note in Nicolas Caussin's The Holy Court, Part I, III, 23, p. 168: "Occuli patelle luxurie. Apud S. Bern. tom. i. Serm. de luxuria." The Greek expression that Taylor uses appears to be derived from Herodotus's phrase ἀλγηδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν (History, V.18), meaning "torment of the eyes" or "eye torture."

Time videre ... securus. From St. Augustine's Ennaratio in Psalmum L, 3 (Pl., XXXVI-XXXVII, 587): "Fear to see from whence you can fall, and do not become secure in perverse simplicity."


117.18-20. There are some vessels ... by the ears. Cf. Plutarch, "De Vitoso Pudore," 18, on people who are easily flattered: "Bion compared men of this sort to pitchers easily carried away by the ears." (Philip H. de Lacy and Benedict Einarson, trans., Moralia, LCL, VII, 85.)
118.4. note z. From Plutarch's "De Capienda ex Inimicis Utilitate," 6: "Minucius Pontifex admonished Postumias that she should not use words that do not measure up to the chastity of life [i.e., she should use chaste words]." (Moralia, II,25.)

121.10. note b. From Euripides' Hercules Furens, I. 1261: "When the home's foundation is wrongly laid,/ The children needs must be unfortunate." The line is quoted by Plutarch in "De Liberis Educandis," 2. (Moralia, I,5.)

122.12. note c. From Plutarch's "Conjugalia Praecepta," 29: "We must not use the same person both as a friend and as a flatterer, nor the same woman as a wife and a whore." (Moralia, II, 321.)

122.9-11. Onan did separate ... not conceive. Gen. 38:8-10.

122.12. note d. From Plutarch's "Conjugalia Praecepta," 10: "Herodotus was not right in saying that a woman removes her modesty when she takes off her clothes. She who is modest is modest even when her clothes are off, for modesty clothes her instead of her dress. Spouses use the greatest modesty towards each other as a token of their love." (Moralia, II, 305.)

122.18-19. It is a duty ... lawful pleasures. Cf. St. Cyprian, Liber De Disciplina et Bono Pudicitiae, 4 (PL, IV,854): "Chastity maintains the first rank in virgins, the second in those who are continent, the third in the case of wedlock.... For even to maintain the marriage faith is a matter of praise in the midst of so many bodily strifes; and to have determined on a limit in marriage defined by continency is more virtuous still because

123.15-23 and note e. Socrates was wont to say ... superads chastity. Taylor's summary of a passage in Plutarch's "Conjugalia Praecepta," 25. (Moralia, II, 317.)

124.7. note g. "Tertullian also says this in the manner of Christians when he counsels Christian women not to marry unbelievers: 'Who will bear without anxiety [a wife's] absence all night long at the Paschal solemnities?' [Tertullian, Ad Uxorem, II.4; see PL, I, 1407.] And in the manner of gentiles Plutarch too says that we must take care, if we are to obey the laws of the state, not to approach the temples and the sacrifices if we have only a short while previously engaged in sexual intercourse. And he says that it is better to let a sufficient interval come in between and then rise again, clean and pure, with (as Democritus says) 'new thoughts for the new day.'" (See Plutarch, Quaestiones Convivales, III.6 in Moralia, VIII, 267.)

125.4. note h. Contra libidinis ... victoriam. From St. Augustine's Sermon 293: "Take flight against the temptation to lust if you wish to obtain victory." (PL, XXXIX, 2301.)

Nella guerra ... vince. From Gruter's Florilegium, I.2, p. 164: "In the war of love he who flees, wins."
125.9-12. S. Hierome very Wittily ... direct contention. See St. Jerome's Adversus Jovinianum, I.41. (PL, XXIII, 82-85.)

126.2. note i. From Seneca's Hippolytus, 132-35: "Whoever at the outset has resisted and routed love, has been safe and conqueror, but whoso by dalliance has fed the sweet torment, too late refuses to bear the accepted yoke." (Frank J. Miller, trans., Seneca's Tragedies, LCL, I, 329.)

126.5. cockatrice. Fabulous serpent, often identified with the basilisk, which kills with a glance. It was said to be hatched from a cock's egg.

126.18. Moses praying against Amalek. See Exod. 17:8-12.

126.23-24. S. Pauls remedy ... body under. 1 Cor. 9:27.

126.25-127.3 and note j. But it was a great ... into her face. See St. Jerome's Life of St. Paul the First Hermit (PL, XXII, 17). Taylor uses this story in two of his sermons also: in "The Flesh and the Spirit" (WW, IV, 121-22) and "The Foolish Exchange" (WW, IV, 558). In St. Jerome's version, the "son of the King of Nicomedia" is not mentioned. Taylor conflates two accounts of the story. WW (III, 66, note u) cites Nicephorus's Historia Ecclesiastica, VIII.13, a reference which I have been unable to verify, but compare Nicolas Caussin's The Holy Court, Part I, III.23: "... that youth, reputed the son of the King of Nicomedia, who fast tyed on a bed of flowers and woed [sic] by a courtesan with intention to corrupt him, spit out his tongue like a dart of fire and bloud in the face of this shee-wolfe." (Hawkins, trans., The Holy Court, p. 169.)
127.4. note k. "Benedict rolled himself in thorns (see St. Gregory's Dialogues, II.2 in PL, LXVI, 132). St. Martinianus burnt his face and his hands. St. John called the Good pushed sharp needles between the nails and flesh of his fingers. St. Theoctiste lived in the forest in the manner of wild animals lest he become tainted among the Arabs." I was unable to locate Taylor's sources for the three last references. WW (III, 66, note v) cites Joannes Bolland's Acta Sanctorum, February 13, and Simeon Metaphrastes in Sur. de Sanctis, November 10.

127.6. note l. Ἔι'ες. yapaxCont. "Once while weaving a garland I found Eros among the roses and, catching him by the wings, I dipped him into the wine and, taking up the wine, I drank it. Even within my limbs he tickles me with his wings."

Venus rosam ... recitat. "Venus loves the rose because of the fable which it recites."

I was unable to locate and verify the source of either of these quotations.

127.9-10. starings upon ... women that are singers. Cf. Ecclus. 9:4-8.

127.12. note m. From St. Jerome's Epistle 69.9: "The stomach that is full of wine quickly foams over into lust." (PL, XXII, 663.)

127.13. note n. "I do not want the fire that does not warm me to burn me." I was unable to locate the source of this sentence.

127.21-23. Like the Sun make a mayden lay by ... close about her. A variation on the ancient fable of the sun and the wind, but Taylor may have
found a suggestion in Plutarch's "Conjugalia Praecepta," 12: "The Sun won a victory over the North Wind. For the wind tried by force to rob a man of his cloak, and blew briskly against him, but the man only drew his garment closer, and held it more tightly together. But when the heat of the sun succeeded the wind, the man began to get warm, and later very hot, and ended by stripping off his shirt as well as his cloak. This is the way most women act." (F. C. Babbitt, trans., *Moralia*, II, 307.)

127.24. note o. Horaces's *Satires*, I.2.69: "Do I ever, when my rage is at its worst, ask you for a dame, clad in a *stola*, the offspring of a great consul?" (Fairclough, trans., *Satires*, p. 25.)

128.16-17. S. Pauls other remedy ... thrice. 2 Cor. 12:8.

128.17. note p. "It is the mind that makes one shameless, not the body." Cf. Seneca, *Hippolytus*, II.725: *Mens impudicum facere, non casus solet;* "'Tis thinking makes impure, not circumstance" (Miller, trans., *Seneca's Tragedies*, I, 376).

128.20. bodily exercises ... (as S. Pauls phrase is). 1 Tim. 4:8.

129.18. note q. From Plutarch's "De Liberis Educandis," 19: "One has to take care that youth are bound by matrimony, which is the most secure bond for them." (*Moralia*, I, 65.)

130.9-10. Learne of me ... soules. Matt. 11:29.
133.6-16 and note r. But we may.... never far off. See Apuleius Madaurensis, De Deo Socratis, 4. (Opera Omnia, ed. G.F. Hildebrand [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968], pp. 122-23.)

134.16. note s. "Love to be unknown and to be esteemed for nothing." I was unable to locate the source in Jean Gerson but the saying is used by St. Thomas a Kempis in De Imitatione Christi, I.2. The authorship of the Imitatione was at one time ascribed to Gerson.

134.21. note t. Il villan ... parentado. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 264: "The peasant who has been ennobled does not know his own lineage."

Chi del' arte ... vergogna. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 223: "He who is ashamed of his craft will always live with shame."

134.26-135.2. Primislaus ... whence he was raised. Cf. Nicolas Caussin, The Holy Court, Part I, III.31: "The good Primislaus being come from the fortune of a peasant to the Soveraignty of Bohemia, caused his country cassock and high shoes to be kept in the Church, and yearly represented to him to renew the memory of his bloud, and thereby cherish his own humility." (Hawkins, trans., The Holy Court, p. 182.)

135.2-4. Agathocles ... king of Sicily. See Ausonius's Epigram 2. (Ausonius, LCL, II, 157.)

135.24-25. thy face, like Moses ... others. See Exod. 34:29-35.
136.8. note u. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.21: "Why then do you walk around in our presence as though you had swallowed a spit [i.e. strut about ramrod stiff]? 'It has always been my wish that those who meet me should admire me and, as they follow me, should exclaim, O the great philosopher!'" (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 143.)

136.16. suppletories. Supply a deficiency; as in the legal term "suppletory oath," an oath taken by a person in his own favour to supply a deficiency in evidence.

136.19. note v. From Seneca's Epistle 7: "Each of us is enough of an audience for the other .... Content with one, content with none at all." (See Epistulae Morales, I, 35-37.)


139.1. Monitor. A person who admonishes or gives advice regarding conduct. Taylor uses the word here in the sense (common in the seventeenth century) of a thing, event or action which reminds and admonishes by its nature (OED).

139.14. note u. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 198: "Love your friend with his defects."

139.17. note x. From Plutarch's "De Liberis Educandis," 14: "In debates, boys may avoid getting themselves disliked if they do not strive to obtain victory at all times. For it is a fine thing to understand not only how to
be victorious, but to be able to submit to defeat when victory would be harmful." (See Moralia, I, 47.)

140.3-4. as Anytus said to Alcibiades. Anytus said it about Alcibiades, after the latter had taken away half of his gold plate. See Plutarch's "Alcibiades," 4. (Lives, IV, 13.)

140.6. note y. "Nothing is so worthy of hate as the behaviour of those who show themselves difficult for those who urge them." I was unable to locate this passage in Plutarch's works.

141.4-5. one fly is enough ... ointment. Cf. Eccles. 10:1.

141.18. note z. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.21: "[Who are those people by whom you wish to be admired?] Are they not those about whom you are in the habit of saying that they are mad? What then? Do you wish to be admired by the mad?" (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 143.)

142.22. note a. From Plutarch's "De Liberis Educandis," 17: "'Abstain from beans,' said Pythagoras [meaning that a man should keep out of politics], for at one time beans were used to vote upon magistrates offices." (See Moralia, I, 61.)

145.3-4. the mote in his eye ... the beam in his own eye. Matt. 7:3-5; Luke 6:41-42.
148.7. note e. From Gruter's *Florilegium*, II.2, p. 201: "He commands enough who obeys the wise man."

148.13. note f. "Patience shows the truly humble." I was unable to verify the source of this quotation.

150.11. note g. "Propriety" or "decorum."

150.20. note i: Qui scrutator ... a gloria. From the Vulgate, Prov. 25:27: "He who examines majesty will be oppressed by its glory."

Αὕτη ... μεγίστα. From Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus*, I.26: "This, then, is the starting point in philosophy — a perception of the state of one's own governing principle; for when once a man realizes that it is weak, he will no longer wish to employ it upon great matters." (Oldfather, trans., *Epictetus*, I, 169.)

Et plus ... sapiat. "Occasionally the crowd, which should know as much as is necessary to know, knows more." C.F. Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, III.5 (*PL*, VI, 359): *nam vulgus interdum plus sapit; quia tantum, quantum opus sapit*: "For the crowd is sometimes more wise, because it is wise only so far as it is necessary to be wise." (Mary F. McDonald, trans., *Lactantius, The Divine Institutes* [Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964], p. 172.)

151.11. note j. From Gruter's *Florilegium*, II.2, p. 290: "No eyes on a letter, nor a hand in the pocket, nor an ear in the secrets of others."
151.14-16. Never ask ... covered curiously. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 3: "And ... it was surely a clever answer that the Egyptian gave to the man who asked him what he was carrying wrapped up: 'That's why it is wrapped up.'" (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 481.)

151.19-23. Every man ... evil minde. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 1: "Such a malady of the mind ... is curiosity, which is a desire to learn the troubles of others, a disease which is thought to be free from neither envy nor malice .... Shift your curiosity from things without and turn it inwards; if you enjoy dealing with the recital of troubles, you have much occupation at home ... so great a quantity of transgressions will you find in your own life, of affliction in your own soul, of oversights in the performance of your own obligations." (Moria, VI, 475.)

151.23-26. What is it to me ... wife be expensive. Cf. Plutarch's "De Curiositate," 2: "But we while treating our own affairs with considerable laxity and ignorance and neglect, pry into the pedigrees of the rest of the world: our neighbour's grandfather was a Syrian and his grandmother a Thracian; and so-and-so owes three talents and has not paid the interest. We inquire also into such matters as where so-and-so's wife was coming back from." (Moria, VI, 479.)

152.1. busie bodies. See 1 Tim. 5:13 and 1 Pet. 4:15.

152.6-153.7. But if great things .... begot curiosity. Taylor's variation on a passage in Plutarch's "De Curiositate," 5: "Direct your curiosity to heavenly things and things on earth, in the air, in the sea. Are you by
nature fond of small or of great spectacles? If of great ones, apply your
curiosity to the sun: where does it set and where does it rise? Inquire
into the changes of the moon, as you would into those of a human being ....
Or suppose you have renounced great things. Then turn your curiosity to
smaller ones: how are some plants always blooming and green and rejoicing
while others are sometimes like these, but at other times, like a human
spendthrift, they squander all at once their abundance and are left bare and
beggared? Why again do some plants produce elongated fruits, others
angular, and still others round and globular?

But perhaps you will have no curiosity about these subjects since there
is nothing evil in them. Yet if your zest for meddling must by all means be
forever feeding and dwelling on depraved things, like a maggot on dead
matter, let us escort it to history and supply it with an unstinted
abundance of evils. For there you will find

'The deaths of men, the shufflings off of life,'
seductions of women, assaults of slaves, slanders of friends, compounding of
poisons, envies, jealousies, shipwrecks of households, overthrow of empires.

But curiosity apparently takes no pleasure in stale calamities, but
wants them hot and fresh; it enjoys the spectacle of novel tragedies."
(Moralia, VI, 485-487.)

153.7-10. Therefore Plutarch rarely well compares ... chaste or holy. See
"De Curiositate," 6. (Moralia, VI, 489.)

painful for all of us, is the revelation of our own troubles that many die
rather than reveal to physicians some hidden malady. Just imagine
Herophilus or Eristratus or Asclepius himself, when he was a mortal man, carrying about their drugs and instruments, calling at one house after another, and inquiring whether a man had an abscess in the anus or a woman a cancer in the womb." (Moralia, VI, 491.)

153.16-19. We are not angry ... sealed letters. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 6: "We are annoyed and displeased with customs officials, not when they pick up those articles which we are importing openly, but when in the search for concealed goods they pry into baggage and merchandize which are another's property." (Moralia, LCL, VI, 491.)

153.20-25. Curiosity is the direct ... single possessour. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 8: "And indeed adultery does seem to be a sort of curiosity about another's pleasure and a searching out and examination of matters which are closely guarded." (Moralia, VI, 495.) Also, "De Curiositate," 9: "Inquisitiveness, in fact, is indicative of incontinence no less than is adultery, and, in addition, it is indicative of trouble, folly and fatuity. For to pass by so many women who are public property open to all and then to be drawn toward a woman who is kept under lock and key and is expensive ... is the very height of madness and insanity." (Moralia, VI, 497.)

154.1-3. For men stand upon ... out of their way. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 9: "For everyone is on his guard to hide things from [inquisitive people] and is reluctant to do anything while a busybody is looking." (Moralia, VI, 495.)
154.3-5. as men clap their garments ... nakednesse. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 3: "And ... 'the winds with which we are most vexed,' as Ariston says, 'are those which pull up our garments.'" (Moralia, VI, 481.)

154.5-6. as knowing ... speak of. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 9: "For what the curious delight to hear, they delight to tell." (Moralia, VI, 495.)

154.11. note k. "A sense of shame."

155.8. note l: Quem deus ... ostendit. "God does not show the public the faults of the man whom he covers with the veil of modesty."

Πρῶτον ... αἰσχῦναν. "The first of good things is to be without sin, and the second to have a sense of shame." I was unable to identify the source of either of the above notes. WW (III, 81, note d) cites Genzium, Annotations in Maimonides's Canones Ethici, 3, and Antonius the Monk's Melissa, 19.

155.11. note m. A Chione saltem ... Monumenta lupas. From Martial's Epigrams, 1.34.7-8: "From Chione at least, or from Ias [Helias in Taylor's note] learn modesty: for dirty drabs even tombs are hiding places." (Walter C.A. Ker, trans., Martial's Epigrams, LCL, I.151.)

Obstare ... peccandi modum. "The first thing is to wish to resist, and to wish not to fall from the right path; the second is to have a limit in transgressing." Cf. Seneca's Hippolytus, I.140. (Seneca's Tragedies, I, 329.)
156.2 note o. "Decorum, propriety;" "orderly behaviour;" "comeliness, decency."

156.18-19. rejoice ... weep. Rom. 12:15.

157.10. that law ... to the Jewes. See Lev. 18 and 20.

157.21. note q. From Martial's Epigrams, I.35. 5-6: "But a harlot repels a witness both by curtain and bolt, and barely a chink gapes in the archway under the walls." (Ker, trans., Martial's Epigrams, I, 49.)

158.6. note r. From Ovid's Artis Amatoriae, III. 239-242: where Ovid is advising women on dressing and make up: "Let the tiring woman be safe; I hate her who tears with her nails her handmaid's face, or seizing a needle stabs her arms. That maid curses, as she touches it, her mistress' head, and weeps the while, bloodstained, over the hated locks." (J.H. Mozley, trans., Ovid, LCL, II, 135.)

158.22-26. As those meats ... moral interest. Cf. Plutarch, "De Curiositate," 13: "For as Socrates used to advise the avoidance of such foods as tempt us to eat when we are not hungry and such drinks as tempt us to imbibe when we are not thirsty, so we also should avoid and guard against such sights and sounds as master and attract us without fulfilling any need of ours." (Moralia, VI, 509.)
relations. Narrations, accounts; used here in the sense of idle, gossipy stories, told for no other purpose but amusement to while away the time.

Theatres. Things displayed to view as objects of curiosity; spectacles.

note u. From Plutarch's "De Curiositate," 14: "It was curiosity which involved Oedipus in the greatest calamities." (Moralia, VI, 511.)

God was pleased ... body of Epiphanius. I was unable to locate Taylor's source. WW (III, 84, note q) cites Simeon Metaphrastes, Sur. de Sanctis, May 12.

He that despiseth ... little and little. Ecclus. 19:1.

note v. From Plutarch's "De Exilio," 1: "No injury is done to you, unless you so pretend." (Moralia, VII, 519.)

Taylor translates this note in the text: "If this please God, let it be as it is."

note y. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.29: "This is the law which God has ordained, and He says, 'If you wish any good thing, get it from yourself.'" (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 187.)

The old Stoics ... as at other times. Taylor's sources for this are several thematically similar passages in Arrian's Discourses of

165.3. note a. From Gruter's Florilegium, I.2, p. 131: "He who cannot suffer good or bad cannot come to great honours."

165.6-8. We are in the world ... as we can. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 5: "Plato ... compared life to a game of dice in which we must try, not only to throw what suits us best, but also when we have thrown, to make good use of whatever turns up. But with circumstances, though it is not in our power to throw what we please, yet it is our task, if we are wise, to accept in a suitable manner whatever accrues from Fortune." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 181.)

165.20. note b. "Everything rational is endurable." Cf. Arrian, Discourses of Epictetus, I.2: "To the rational being only the irrational is unendurable, but the rational is endurable." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 15.)

166.16. The ox ... treads surest. The source of this popular proverb, much quoted in Taylor's time and later, is St. Jerome's Epistle 112. (See PL, XXII, 831.)

166.24. Thasus. An island in the Aegean, off the coast of Thrace. It was famous in ancient times for its gold mines. See Livy, XXXIII.30 and Herodotus II.44.
167.6-7. And when Zeno ... philosophy. Plutarch uses this example several times in the *Moralia*. See "De Tranquillitate Animi," 6. (VI, 183.)

167.26-27. Being revenged ... philosophers. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 6: "For it is possible to change the direction of Fortune when she has given us things we do not wish. Diogenes was driven into exile: 'Not so bad after all!' [he said, and] began to lead the life of a philosopher." (Moralia, VI, 183.) See also, Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI. (LCL, II, 51.)

168.9-10. lessened as was Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was the king of Epirus who believed himself the descendant of Achilles and Hercules. He attacked Rome in 280 BC but was ultimately defeated by the Romans under Fabricius. When he fought his first battle with the Romans he was victorious, but at too great a cost to himself, achieving only "a Pyrrhic victory." Plutarch wrote his life.

168.10-11. routed like Crassus. Marcus Licinius Crassus, was Roman consul and censor, and a partner with Caesar and Pompey in the triumvirate before Caesar made himself dictator. His defeat and death at the hands of the Parthians in 53 BC was considered one of the greatest calamities ever to have befallen Roman arms. Plutarch wrote his life.

168.12. spectacle like Bajazet. Bajazeth (Sultan Bayazid I of Turkey) was defeated and made captive by Tamburlaine (Timur the Lame) at the battle of Angora in 1402. Accounts of Timur's treatment of Bayazid in captivity -- which included the latter being used as a mounting block, being imprisoned
in an iron cage and fed with scraps from Timur's table -- became current in Europe by 1500. In England his name was popularised by the enormous success of Christopher Marlowe's play Tamburlaine (1587-88).


168.14. flead alive like Valentinian. Taylor is probably referring to Valerian (Publius Licius Valerianus) who was proclaimed emperor by the Roman legions in Rhaetia in 254 A.D. On an expedition against the Parthians, he was defeated and treacherously made captive by Sapor, the Parthian king. After making him suffer many indignities, Sapor ordered him flayed alive. His death occurred in 260 A.D. See the History of Trebellius Pollio, chap. 3.

168.14-20. If thou admirest ... thou beholdest. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 10: "Whenever ... you are lost in admiration of a man borne in his litter as being superior to yourself, lower your eyes and gaze upon the litter-bearers also; and whenever you account happy, as the men of Hellespont did, that famous Xerxes crossing his bridge, look also upon those who are digging through Atho beneath the lash, and those whose ears and noses are mutilated because the bridge was carried away by the current." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 201.)

169.6. Absalom for his beauty. The variant "bounty" in the later editions is an obvious mistake. Absalom was better known for his beauty than his bounty. See 2 Sam. 14:25.
169.25-170.1. If I be overthrown ... or good hopes. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 8-9: "For it is the act of a madman to be distressed at what is lost and not rejoice at what is saved, ... if we are troubled by Fortune in one matter, we make everything else also unprofitable by lamenting and taking it hard .... 'And what,' someone may ask, 'do we really have and what do we not have?' One man has a reputation, another a house, another a wife, another a good friend." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 195.)

170.5-9. Antipater of Tarsus ... Athens. See "De Tranquillitate Animi," 9. (Moralia, VI, 195.)

170.9. note c. La speranza ... poveri. From Gruter's Florilegium, I.2, p. 160: "Hope is the bread of the poor."

Non si male ... Sic erit. From Horace, Odes, II.10: "If we fare ill today, 'twill not be ever so." (C.E. Bennet, trans., The Odes and Epodes of Horace, LCL, p. 131.)

170.12. note d. "A farmer is always rich until next year." I was unable to verify Taylor's source. WW cites Zenobius, II.43 in Paroemioraphi Graeca.

172.1-4. Aristippus in a great suit at law ... by one. See Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi," 8. (Moralia, VI, 193-95.)

172.15-20. I am fallen ... good conscience. Taylor's adaptation of a passage in Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi," 9: "[We must not be]
distressed at what is lost [but] rejoice at what is saved .... [In our afflictions] we should not overlook even common and ordinary things, but take some account of them and be grateful that we are alive and well and look upon the sun; that there is neither war nor factious strife among us, but that both the earth grants cultivation, and the sea fair sailing to those who wish it; that we may speak or act, be silent or at leisure, as we choose." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 195.)

173.4-5. Nero ... Poppaeas hairs. See Tacitus, Annales, XV.23.


173.11. note o. Quid est futurum ... Appone. From Horace's Odes, I.9. 13-14: "Cease to ask what the morrow will bring forth, and set down as gain each day that Fortune grants." (Bennet, trans., The Odes, p. 29.)

Prudens futuri ... aequus. From Horace's Odes, III.29, 11. 29-33: "With wise purpose does the god bury in the shades of night the future's outcome, and laughs if mortals be anxious beyond due limits. Remember to settle with tranquil heat the problem of the hour." (Bennet, trans., The Odes, p. 275.)

Τὸ σήμερον... τίς ὅλιον; From Anacreon's Ode 15.9: "All my care is for today." (Thomas Stanley, trans., Anacreon [London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893], p. 37.)

173.26. Sufficient to the day ... thereof. Matt. 6:34.

174.5-7. the Ancients fained ... finished. See Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi," 14. (Moralia, VI, 217.)
174.22-23. **O death ... possessions.** Ecclus. 41:1.

175.9. **Stone.** The disease in which a hard concretion forms in some parts of the body, especially the kidney, urinary bladder or gall bladder.

176.16. **note f.** From Gruter's *Florilegium*, II.2, p. 201: "Enough is sufficient for him who is not greedy."

176.18-19. He that would shoot an arrow ... his prey. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 12: "For he is not unfortunate who wishes to shoot with his plough and hunt the hare with his ox, nor does a malicious destiny oppose him who cannot capture deer or boar with fishing creels or drag-nets; it is through folly and stupidity that such men attempt the impossible." (Helmbold, trans., *Moralia*, VI, 205.)

177.3. **note g.** Quanto ... tophum. From Juvenal's Satire III.18-20: "How much more near to us would be the spirit of the fountain if its waters were fringed by a green border of grass, and there were no marble to outrage the native tufa!" (Ramsay, trans., *Juvenal and Persius*, p. 33.)

   **me pascunt ... dones.** From Horace's *Odes*, I.31.15-18: "My fare is the olive, the endive, and the wholesome mallow. Grant me, O Latona's son, to be content with what I have." (Bennet, trans., *The Odes*, p. 85.)

   **Amabo ... doloribus.** Pindar, quoted by Plutarch in "De Exilio," 9: "I shall love the light cypress after I have quitted the fields of Crete. Too little land is given to me, but in the meantime I have no pains." (See *Moralia*, VII, 541.)
178.5. note b. Crantor, quoted by Plutarch in "Consolatio ad Apollonium," 25: "The greatest solace in calamities is to be free of guilt." (See Moralia, II, 173.)

178.14-15. Anytus and Melitus ... hurt me. Socrates's famous saying, as reported by Plato in The Defence of Socrates, Ch. 18. It is quoted by Plutarch in "De Tranquillitate Animi," 17 (Moralia, VI, 229) and by Epictetus in Discourses I.29 (LCL, I, 191) as well as in Enchiridion, 53 (LCL, II, 537.)

178.22. Calenture. A violent fever. A disease which affected sailors in the tropics was also known as calenture. It was characterized by fever and delirium in which the sea appeared as a green field to the sufferer who attempted to leap into it (OED).

179.16. note k. From Plutarch's "Consolatio ad Uxor," 9: "Happiness depends on right reasoning resulting in a stable frame of mind." (See Moralia, VII, 597.)

180.19. note l. Quoted by Plutarch in "Consolatio ad Apollonium," 5: "O Agamemnon, Atreus did not bring you into the world for happy things only. You were born a mortal and must experience both joy and grief. The gods above have arranged it so, though against your wish." (See Moralia, II, 115.)

180.25-26. the swiftness of Ahimaaz. A fast runner, Ahimaaz was one of Joab's messengers to David during Absalom's rebellion. See 2 Sam. 21-23.
181.3-6. *Nero* ... then he was. See Lucian, *Nerone*, 9. ([Lucian, LCL, VIII, 517.])

181.6-9. *Dionysius* ... *Aegina*. See Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi," 12. ([Moralia, VI, 207.])

181.13-16. If you covet learning ... no leisure at all. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 13: "Training in rhetoric and the pursuit of mathematics require a quiet life and leisure, while political functions and the friendship of kings cannot succeed without hard work and the full occupation of one's time." ([Helmbold, trans., *Moralia*, VI, 209.])

181.18-19. The Greek ... exquisite picture. Cf. Pliny's account of Zeuxis the painter in *Natural History*, XXXV.36 ([LCL, IX, 309]). Also Cicero's *De Inventione*, II.1 ([Cicero, LCL, II, 169.])

182.5-6. If thou wouldest ... poverty. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 6: "Are you distressed by your present poverty? Well, what Beotian rather than Epameinondas, what Roman rather than Fabricius would you have preferred to be?" ([Helmbold, trans., *Moralia*, VI, 185.])

Epaminondas. Theban general (c. 420-362 B.C.), celebrated for his private virtues and military accomplishments.

Fabricius. Caius Luscinus Fabricius, consul and Roman general against Pyrrhus in 278 B.C. He was noted for his honesty and morally upright nature in peace and war.
182.9-10. Let Euphorion sleep ... Alexander. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 13: "That man is out of his wits who is annoyed and pained that he is not at the same time both a lion ... and a little Maltese dog .... But not a whit better than he is the man who wishes at the same time to be an Empedocles or a Plato ... and like Euphorion to be married to a wealthy old woman, or, like Medius, to be one of Alexander's boon companions and drink with him." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 211.)

182.11. note m. Diogenes, quoted by Plutarch in "De Exilio," 12: "Aristotle eats when it pleases Philip, Diogenes when it pleases Diogenes." (See Moralia, VII, 551.)


182.20-21. Philip ... Galilee. See Josephus, Antiquities, XVIII.5. (LCL, IX, 77 and note b.)

183.18-21 and note n. he that at once ... one woman. See Cicero, Epistulae ad Familiares, IV, Epistle 5. (LCL, I, 271-272.)

183.27. note o. His in foro ... nil mihi. Quoted by Plutarch in "De Tranquillitate Animi," 11: "He was believed to have been happy in the Forum, since he was most miserable within his doors. The wife rules all, orders everything, always fights. Many things bring him pain. Nothing brings me pain." (See Moralia, VI, 203.)
Ferre quam ... recusat. From Seneca's *Troades*, Act IV, 1016: "To bear the lot which all endure, none can refuse." (Miller, trans., *Seneca's Tragedies*, I, 211.)

184.21. note p. Menander, quoted by Plutarch in "Consolatio ad Apollonius," 5: "If you alone, [Trophimus], at your birth / Had gained the right to do whatever you would / Throughout your life and ever be in luck, / And if some god agreed to this with you, / Then you have the right to feel aggrieved." (Babbitt, trans., *Moralia*, VII, 117.)

184.22-24. the daughter of Stilpo ... his misery. See Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi," 6. (*Moralia*, VI, 187.)

185.23. Josephs being sold ... merchants of Amalek. Joseph's brothers sold him to Midianite traders who sold him to the Ishmaelites (Gen. 38:25-28). The Amalek or Amalekites were ancient enemies of Israel from the time of Exodus. It was against them that Joshua won the battle of Rephidim (Exod. 17:8-16). Perhaps Taylor uses the name figuratively to denote enemies of the Hebrews.

186.2-5. The case of Themistocles ... undone. See Plutarch's "De Exilio," 7. (*Moralia*, VII, 535.)

186.17-20. the fortune of Theramenes ... tyranny. See Plutarch's "Consolatio ad Apollonium," 104. (*Moralia*, II, 125.)
187.12. note r. Menander, quoted by Plutarch in "De Tranquillitate Animi," 19: "Nobody can refuse to bear what it is necessary to suffer." (Moralia, VI, 235.)

188.22. note s. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 198: "Great fortune brings high travail."

189.12. note t. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 231: "Ceremony gives authority to the act."

189.23-190.3. "all our Tragedies ... and calamities." Taylor's translation of a passage in Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.24. (See Epictetus, I, 155.)

note u. Ὀὗδε... χορευτής. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.24: "No poor man fills a tragic role except as a member of the chorus." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 155.)

Bis sex ... mortalia. From Aeschylus's Niobe, quoted by Plutarch in "De Exilio," 9: "The field I saw is twelve days journey long,/ The Berecynthian land ... My fate, while reaching upward to the skies,/ Falls to the earth, and speaks these words to me: Learn not to honour human things too much." (De Lacy and Einarson, trans., Moralia, VII, 543.)

190.15. note v. From Juvenal's Satire I, 113-15: "O baneful money, thou hast no temple of thine own; not yet have we reared altars to Money in like manner as we worship Peace." (Ramsay, trans., Juvenal and Persius, p. 13.)
190.22-25 and note w. Corn from Sardinia ... health in. See Horace's Odes, I.31. 3-8. (The Odes, p. 85.)


197.9-10. S. Peter ... for provisions. See Matt. 17:27 and 1 Kings 17:2-7.

198.8. rarely innocent. Instances of rare innocence.


200.2. note e. Taylor names Seneca in his note but this passage is from Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, I.39: "The ... grumblers think that if a small child dies, the loss must be borne calmly; if an infant in the cradle, there must not even be a lament. And yet in this latter case Nature has called in her gift with greater cruelty .... But in all other matters this is counted better -- to get a part rather than nothing." (J.E. King, trans., Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, LCL, p. 111-13.)

200.3-11. remove thy thoughts ... at all. Cf. Plutarch, "Consolatio ad Uxorem," 8: "Try to carry yourself back in your thoughts and return again and again to the time when this little child was not yet born ... next try to link this present time with that as though our circumstances had again become the same .... Yet we must not obliterate the intervening two years from our memory; rather, since they afforded us delight and enjoyment of [a
child], we should credit them to the account of pleasure; and we should not consider the small good a great evil, nor ... be ungrateful for what was given. (de Lacy and Einarson, trans., Moralia, VII, 595-97.)

200.20-23. And this the wisest ... their other dead. Cf. Plutarch, "Consolatio ad Uxorem," 11: "Our people do not bring libations to those of their children who die in infancy, nor do they observe in their case any of the other rites that the living are expected to perform for the dead .... For the laws forbid us to mourn for infants, holding it impiety to mourn for those who have departed to a dispensation and a region, too, that is better and more divine." (Moralia, VII, 605.)

201.22. note f_. Menander, quoted by Plutarch in "Consolatio ad Apollonium," 34: "He whom the gods love leaves this life as a young man." (See Moralia, II, 201.)

203.6. lost his head. That is, was beheaded.

203.15-16. there are many Kings ... died Childless. Cf. Plutarch, "De Tranquillitate Animi," 6: "Does childlessness ... vex you? Consider the Kings of Rome, of whom not one was able to bequeath the kingdom to a son." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 185.)

204.5. note g. From Epictetus's Enchiridion, 12: "Better for your child to be evil than for you to be possessed by evil." (See Epictetus, II, 493.)

204.5-6. For all the wilde Americans ... Dodanaim. I was unable to determine the source of Taylor's statement, but the idea is part of the ancient tradition of ascribing Old Testament ancestors to every race of people. It was current in the Renaissance, too. Sir Walter Raleigh, for instance, devotes much space in Book I of his History of the World to the genealogy of several races of mankind (see Works, ed. Oldys and Birch, Oxford, 1829). The Dodonaim were the descendants of Dodanim (or Rodanim, according to some texts of the Old Testament), who was the fourth son of Javan (see Gen. 10:4).

204.8-9. The son of Solomon ... the son of Hezekiah. Solomon's son was Rehoboam, from whom ten of the twelve tribes revolted (see I Kings 12:1 - 14:31, and 2 Chron. 10:1 - 12:16). Manasseh, Hezekiah's successor, undid all his father's work and erected altars to Baal (see 2 Kings 21:1-18 and 2 Chron. 33:1-20).

204.14. note h. "Let tranquillity suffice for you."

204.19. note i. Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch in "De Liberis Educandis," 17: "Do not turn back when you have reached the end." (Moralia, I, 61.)

205.3-5. Fannius ... Portia. See Martial's Epigrams, II.80 and I.42. (LCL, I, 155 and I, 55.)
205.5. Cato ... own throat. See Livy, Epitome of Book 114. (LCL, VIII, 535.)

205.6. note j. Quoted in Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, II.1: "Not death is dreadful, but a shameful death." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 217.) The LCL translator notes that the line is from "an unknown tragic poet," but is "included also among the Monostichs of Menander."

211.20-22. What is man ... regardest him. Ps. 8:4; Heb. 2:6.

CHAPTER III.

213.4-5. WHATSOEVER YE WOULD ... DO TO THEM. Matt. 7:12.

213.6. commutative justice. One of the two main divisions of justice, according to Aristotle (see Ethics, V. 4). From the Latin Commutativa justitia, the term used by Aquinas as equivalent to Aristotle's description of the kind of justice "that is corrective between man and man." (See Summa Theologica, Ila-IIae, Quest. 61.)

213.21. obnoxious. Open to, or liable to be affected by harm, injury or evil of any kind (OED).

214.3. justice ... called distributive. The justice that consists in the distribution of something in shares proportionate to the deserts of each
among several parties. From Aquinas' term Distributiva justitia in his commentary on Aristotle. (See note to 213.6 above.)


216.22. note i. From Plautus's Trinummus, IV.1037, 1043: "Custom's gained control over our very laws .... Laws are slaves of custom." (Nixon, trans., Plautus, V, 203.)

217.4. note j. From Aristotle's Ethics, V.7: "A rule of justice may be settled one way or the other indifferently, though having once been settled it is not indifferent." (Rackham, trans., The Nicomachean Ethics, p. 295.)

221.10. He that despiseth ... despiseth me. Luke 10:16.

221.10-11. Dathan and Abiram ... against the Lord. Num. 16:11.


223.3. For the crime ... his people. See Exod. 32:25-28.

223.11. Rebellion is ... witchcraft. 1 Sam. 15:23.

223.19. note m. From the Iliad, II.24-25: "It does not beseem a ruler of men, who is charged with the welfare of the people and the good of the state, to sleep through the night."
224.4-8. Obey them ... for you. Heb. 13:17.

224.12-13. the Son of God ... of his Father. Cf. John 4:34.

228.3. note o. From a letter of the Emperor Tiberius to the Senate about an unenforced law in Tacitus's Annales, III.53: "Leave vigorous and full-blown vices alone, rather than force matters to an issue which might only inform the world with what abuses we were powerless to cope." (John Jackson, trans., Annales, LCL, II, 605.)

228.17. note p. From Aristotle's Ethics, V.10: "The equitable consists in a correction of the law where the law is defective because of its generality." (See The Nicomachean Ethics, p. 317.)

228.20-21. the people ... Jonathan. See 1 Sam. 14:45.

229.14. note q. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 131: "The avarice of kings is the pestilence of the kingdom."

229.15-16. lost to the son of Solomon ... of Israel. See 1 Kings 12:1-16.

229.19. imbecilled. A variant and obsolete form of "imbezilled" or "embezzled."

230.8. note r. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 131: "The man who buys the office, it is inevitable that he will sell justice."
230.25. note s. From Tertullian's *Apology*, IV.13: "A [civil] law does not owe to itself alone a sure sense of its own justice; it owes it to those from whom it expects obedience." (Gerald H. Rendall, trans., *Tertullian, LCL*, pp. 27-29.)

231.14-22. the tutor of Cyrus ... who bought it? See Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, I.3. (*LCL*, I, 41-43.)

233.1. note u. From Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, I.2: "Honest conduct seems better to me than even the greatest eloquence." (*LCL*, p. 40-41.)

233.8. note v: Crates apud Plutarch de liber educand. Crates is not mentioned in Plutarch's "De Liberis Educandis" but the following passage from Ch. 20 may be what Taylor is referring to: "Fathers above all, by not misbehaving and by doing as they ought to do, should make themselves a manifest example to their children, so that the latter, by looking at their fathers' lives as at a mirror, may be deterred from disgraceful deeds at home." (Babbitt, trans., *Moralia*, I, 67.)

233.21-22. a laying up for the children. Cf. 2 Cor. 12:14.

234.8. note x. "Children are not allowed to marry without the consent of their parents. When Andromache was asked to get married in Euripides she answered that it was up to the father to take care of her wedding: My father will take care of my betrothals; it is not my job to make these decisions. Euripides [*Andromache*, 987-88, not *Electra]*.
I was given to you by Tyndareus, weighty of counsel, both for his life and for his years; the grandsire was arbiter of the grandchild's fate. Ovid in Epistle to Hermione. [Grant Showerman, trans., Ovid's Heroides VIII, LCL, p. 101.]

Even Achilles in Homer did not wish to marry the daughter of a king without her father's consent:

For if the gods keep me safe and I reach home, Peleus himself will, no doubt, at that time find a wife for me. Iliad IX, [393-94].

And the Emperor Justinianus says that it agrees with both natural and civil law that sons do not take wives without the permission of their parents [see Institutes, Bk. I, title 10 in Corpus Juris Civilis, p. 4]. Simo Terentianus prepared to disown his son, Pamphilos, because he had secretly taken a wife. In this manner, marriage becomes invalid if the parents do not consent to it. But if intercourse has taken place, many cautions and dangers urge that the marriage be not hastily made invalid. But children, as long as they are not of age according to the laws of their fathers, sin against the fifth commandment and the second natural law if they marry secretly. Properly speaking, parents do not have the power but they have the authority. They have the right to command and to prohibit, to make void the marriage. And this authority is to be exercised according to what is just and good, that is to say, so that the father will not be slow and difficult. The mother has hardly any rights except that of persuasion and love and gratitude. But, according to Roman law, if a father had not given his daughter away in marriage before she was the age of twenty-five, she
could marry whomever she wanted [see The Theodosian Code, Bk. III, title 7, "De Nuptiis," Art. 1]. The authority of the fathers is either greater or less according to the laws of the state, and is usually extended to a certain age and then lapses as far as matrimony is concerned. And this authority is greater when it pertains to daughters than when it does to sons. See Num. 30."

234.9. note y: Eosdem ... facit. From Plutarch's "Conjugalia Praecepta," 19: "A wife must know and worship only those gods which her husband worships, but exclude or shut the doors on empty religions and other superstitions. For no sacrifices to the gods which the woman makes secretly and furtively will be pleasing to anyone." (See Moralia, II, 311.)


234.22. note z. From the Odyssey, VI, 180-85. Odysseus is speaking to Nausicaa: "May the gods grant thee all that thy heart desires; a husband and a home may they grant thee, and oneness of heart -- a goodly gift. For nothing is greater or better than this, when man and wife dwell in a house in one accord, a great grief to their foes and a joy to their friends; but they know it best themselves." (Murray, trans., Odyssey, I, 217.)

234.23. note a. "Εὐερτ'...γυνή. Menander, in Stobaeus's Anthologium, 22.1: "A genuine love philter is inherent in a prudent disposition; by this means a woman is accustomed to exercise control over her husband." See Stobaei Anthologii, ed. Otto Hense, IV, 496. But see also No. 646 in John M. Edmonds, ed. Fragments of Attic Comedy (Leiden: Brill, 1957), III B. Edmonds emends Menander's line and translates: "There is one genuine philter, a kindly manner..."
"Τις μοιχαλ. έξεχαν. From the Iliad, IX, 340-43: "Do the Atreides alone of mortal men love their wives? Since any man who is noble and of good judgement loves and cherishes his own wife, so I also loved her from my heart, captive of the spear though she was."

235.1. complicated. Intertwined or combined.


235.14-15. And Abigail ... Nabal had refused it. See 1 Sam. 25:4-35.


Namque ... philosophum. From Plutarch's Conjugalia Praecepta, 48: "For he is to her a father and brother and venerable mother ... It does not diminish the dignity of a man if his wife calls him her teacher, philosopher and master." (See Moralia, II, 337-339.)

235.19. note d. "Companionship is like an increase of benevolence."

235.19-23. as the old philosopher ... noblest of friendships. Cf. Plutarch, "Conjugalia Praecepta," 20: "As the mixing of liquids, according to what men of science say, extends throughout their entire content, so also
in the case of married people there ought to be a mutual amalgamation of their bodies, property, friends and relations." (Babbitt, trans., Moralia, II, 325.)

235.24. note e. Οὐ χρυσὸς...ἀνδρόκρα. Apollonides, in Stobaeus's Anthologium, 22.3: "Neither gold nor kingly power, nor the luxury of wealth offers pleasures so various as the right judgement of a noble man and of a pious woman -- one who also thinks her husband's thoughts." See Stobaei Anthologii, ed. Otto Hense, IV, 494-95.

Inferior ... pares. From Martial's Epigrams, VIII.12: "Let the matron be subject to her husband, Priscus [Sextus in Taylor's note], in no other way do woman and man become equal." (Ker, trans., Martial's Epigrams, II, 3.)

236.6-7. By S. Pauls oeconomy ... in minority. See Gal. 4:1.

236.23-24. as knowing ... in Heaven. Eph. 6:9.


241.15. note g. Taylor quotes parts of a passage in Seneca's "De Beneficiis," IV.39 which runs: "I will arise from my table because I have promised to attend a betrothal, although I have not digested my food; but not so if I have a fever .... There is understood, I say, the unexpressed reservations: 'If I can, if I ought, if things remain so-and-so.' When you exact fulfilment, see to it that the situation is the same as it was when I
promised; then, if I fail, I shall be guilty of fickleness. If something new has happened .... Put everything back as it was, and I shall be as I was." (Basore, trans., Moral Essays, III, 285-87.)

242.12. note h. From Brasavolus's Examen Omnium Simplicium. I was unable to locate and verify the source.

242.18. note i. I was unable to verify Taylor's reference to Caelius Rhodiginus. WW cites Bk. IX, Ch. 12. The second reference is to Athenaeus's The Deipnosophtists, III.73 (see LCL, I, 317-19).

242.20-23. the procurators of King Antigonus ... the waters dried up. See Athenaeus's The Deipnosophtists, III.73. (LCL, I, 319.)

244.5. note j. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 226: "He who does not want to give should not take."

244.19. note m. "If any damage was caused by your fault, you must give satisfaction for it." I was unable to locate the source of this sentence. It is possible that it is not a quotation but simply a note in which Taylor adds to what he says in the text.

245.17. note o. 'Ο γὰρ ... γύνεταν. From Procopius's History of the Wars VII.25. Totila, king of the Goths, is addressing his soldiers: "For he who praises the man who has done a deed becomes himself the agent of the deed no less than the other." (Dewing, trans., Procopius VI, 373.)
Qui laudat ... malitiam. Ulpian in Digestorum Seu Pandectarum, IX, title 3.1: "He who praises a fugitive servant should be held in custody, for it is not fitting that evil deeds be increased through being praised." (See Corpus Juris Divilis, ed. Paul Krueger, I, 183.)

245.19. note p. 'Ο ἐμπρησμός...βουληθέντος. "A fire is the responsibility of the one who started it, but also of the one who is able to put it out but is totally unwilling to do so." See Nicetas Choniates, Historia Byzantina, "Manuel Comnenus," II.3 in PG, CXXXIX, 388.

Sic Scyri ... poterant. "So the Scyrians were penalized through the judgement of the Amphictyonis because they did not prohibit piracy when they could." See Plutarch's "Cimon," 8. (Lives, LCL, II, 427.)

246.20. note q. Etiamsi ... defenditur. From the Elder Seneca's Controversiae, V.5: "You did not intend one part of the loss: but if you intended the other part, you are liable for the whole as if you had caused it purposely; a man who defends himself by a plea of non-intention must not have intended the act even in part." (M. Winterbottom, trans., Controversiae, LCL, I, 487.)

Involuntariam ... voluntario. "An involuntary act arising from a voluntary act is considered to be voluntary."

246.26-247.6 and note r. Ariarathes ... the damage. See Strabo's Geography, XII.2 (LCL, V, 363-5.). In Strabo the river is called Melas and "Euphrates" is an error for "Halys."

247.8. note s. From Aristotle's Ethics, V.2: "He who does not help with money because of his lack of generosity is not to be called greedy." (See The Nicomachean Ethics, p. 260.)
248.15-17. Philip of Macedon ... his own dominions. See Aristides, Orations, 38.

249.10. note t. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, I.28: "No one comes to his fall for another's deed." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 183.)

249.12. note u. Πᾶσα...ἀληθεύεις. Plato, quoted by Arrian in Discourses of Epictetus, I.28: "For every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 179.)

Non licet ... Samaritani. From Maimonides's Canones Ethici: "It is not permitted to steal a mind secretly, even the Samaritan's." I was unable to verify Taylor's source.

250.9-11. Hercules ... his children. See Diodorus Siculus's The Library of History, IV.31. (LCL, II, 443.)

note v. From Michael Ephesius's Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics, V: "For what the wife or children or relatives of a slain man receive, has in a way been given to the man himself." I was unable to verify Taylor's source.


CHAPTER IV

264.15. duties of the first Table. That is, religious duties exclusively, as distinguished from moral duties. The term is derived from the belief
that these two broad divisions of the Law separately occupied the "two tables of stone" which Moses received from the Lord (see Exod. 31:18).

266.9. note c. From St. Augustine's Epistle 137, Chap. 2: "Let us assume that God can do something which we have to admit we cannot investigate." (See PL, XXXIII, 519.)


269.20. momentany. Obsolete form of "momentary."


270.1-4. Ferinando of Arragon ... believed him not. I was unable to locate Taylor's source.

272.13. note i. From St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei, XXI.7: "The final reason for believing in miracles is the omnipotence of the Creator." (William M. Green, trans., The City of God, LCL, VII, 40.)

274.4. note j. See St. Augustine's Enchiridion, 8 in PL, XL, 234.

276.8-12. Herod the Sophister ... letters perfectly. See Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists, II.10. (LCL, p. 165.)

278.1. note 1. From Gruter's *Florilegium*, II.2, p. 234: "Do not [try to] experience things that are beyond belief."

278.10-12. The men of Bethulia ... came at last. See Judith 7:30 - 12:20.

278.22. note m. "Small souled people are prone to sorrow." I was unable to find Taylor's source.

279.2. note n. "Hopes, and yon Fortune, a firm farewell! I have found the right path: for no longer do I find pleasure in your ways. You are very deceptive among mortals: you toss illusions, as in sleep, among us which appear real though they are not. Begone, evil puppets, full of grief; begone both of you. May you find and twirl about many others who cannot think rightly and who are less wiser than I." Taylor names Homer in his note but this passage does not appear in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. WW (III, 152) assigns it to Palladus in the *Greek Anthology*. I was unable to locate it.

282.13. note p: Ven. Bede. I was unable to locate Taylor's quotation in Bede's works.


284.1-2. Experience begets ... not ashamed. Cf. Rom. 5:3-4.

287.2 and note g. our vices ... but in God. See St. Augustine's *Confessions*, II.6. The reference is to the title of the chapter: "All those things which under the show of Good invite us to sin, are in God alone to be found true and perfect." (William Watts, trans., *Confessions*, LCL, I, 83.)

289.3. note s. From Plutarch's "Quomodo Quis Suos in Virtute Sentiat Profectus," 4: "He who truly feels the sting of love." (Moralia, I, 413.)

289.10. disproves. Variant form of "disapproves."

289.23. note t. "Plutarch, quoting a poem about his Apollo, adds [something] from Herodotus as though it were from his work: 'From speaking of that my mouth should abstain.'" See Plutarch's "De Exilio," 17. (Moralia, VII, 569.)

293.21-22. as Hezekiah did ... before the Lord. See 2 Kings 19:14.

294.17. note u. "So Jesus said to St. Carpo according to Dionysius's letter to Demophilos." See Dionysius the Areopagite, Epistle 8, Sect. 6 in PG, III, 1100.

294.21. the sugar canes of India. See Pliny, *Natural History*, XII. 17. See also Plutarch's use of the cane simile in "Quomodo Quis Suos in Virtute Sentiat Profectus," 4. (Moralia, I, 411.)

295.22. suckers. Shoots thrown out from the base of a tree or plant, which serve for propagation of the plant.

296.3. note v. From Gal. 4:18: "But it is good always to be zealous in a good matter."

296.14-16. Moses broke ... the first. See Exod. 32:19.

297.6-11. The Zealots ... the Synagoguge. See the Mischna, "Sanhedrin," Chap. 9, Sect. 6.

298.2. note x. From Gruter's Florilegium, I.2, p. 161: "Work as if you have to live each hour; adore as if you have to die immediately."

299.18-19. bodily exercises. See 1 Tim. 4:8.


304.9. remark. To observe and take notice of carefully.

306.15-16. Thus the Jews ... the sixth hour. Cf. Josephus, Life, 54: "... the sixth hour, at which it is our custom on the Sabbath to take our midday meal." (H. St. J. Thackeray, trans., Josephus, LCL, I, 105.)

307.16. milk-meats. Food made with or from milk (OED).

307.25. note e. From St. Augustine's Sermon 142: "Fasting without alms is like a lamp without oil." (See PL, XXXIX, 2024.)


310.8. note g. From Gruter's _Florilegium_, III.2, p. 275: "He who fasts and does not do any other good acts, saves the bread and goes to hell."

312.15. note h. S. Basil's _Constitutiones Monasticae_, Chap. 4, Sect. 6 in _PG_, XXXI, 1345.

Ne per causam ... serviamus. From Cassianus's _Collationes_, XXI.22: "Lest through the cause of necessity we come to the point where we serve pleasure."

312.24. note i. "Guarding the day." Taylor attributes this phrase to Gregory of Nazianzus. It occurs in St. Basil's _De Jejunio_, Homilia I, Chap. 10. (See _PG_, XXXI, 181.)

313.11. maigreness. That is, meagreness: leanness or emaciation. Cf. "Maigre-days": days on which, in the Roman Church, abstinence from flesh is enjoined.


314.22. Creature. Obsolete form of "Creation."
315.15. the Jew in Synesius ... great storm. See Synesius's Epistle 4 in PG, LXVI, 1332.

319.24-25. intangled ... of bondage. CF. Gal. 5:1.

323.5. president. A variant and obsolete form of "precedent" (OED).

328.14-15. For this cause ... thrice. 2 Cor. 12:8.

330.3. note u. From Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, II.16: "And then we say, 'O Lord God, how may I escape anxiety?' Fool, have you not hands? Did not God make them for you? Sit down now and pray forsooth that the mucus in your nose may not run! Nay, rather wipe your nose ..." (Oldfather, trans., Epictetus, I, 325.)


330.25. note v. "Amid rites and vows, abstain from profane words." Cf. Tacitus, Annales, IV. 70: Quern enim vaccuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset...: "Amid sacrifices and prayers, at a season when custom prohibited so much as an ominous word..." (Jackson, trans., Tacitus, III, 125.)


334.1. note y. Angustum annulum ... obstringe. From Plutarch's "De Liberis Educandis," 17: "'Do not wear a tight ring,' said Pythagoras. That
is, one should live an unhampered life and not be subject to any bond."
(See Moralia, I, 59.)

   Sic Novatus ... redirent. "So Novatus forced his novices to swear that they would never return to the Catholic bishops." See Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, VI. 43. (LCL, I, 113-15.)

341.23-24. It is appointed ... judgement. Cf. Heb. 9:27.


343.1. pungent. Sharp, acute or keenly felt (OED).

344.5. Thamars midwife ... distinguish them. See Gen. 38: 27-30.

346.10. note c. From Martial's Epigrams, I.36: "Now would there be proud rivalry of love betwixt you twain, for each would wish to be the first to die for his brother." (Ker, trans., Epigrams, I, 51.)

346.24. note f. From the History of Apollonius, King of Tyre, Chap. 33: "The girl said, throwing herself at his feet: 'Have pity, O Lord, on my virginity and do not prostitute this body under a shameful title.'" (See Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, ed. Josef Raith [Munich: Max Hueber, 1956], p. 23.)

347.3. note g. "Conduct praised amongst the ancients: 'Speedily and skilfully he brings to an end even a great quarrel.'" See Hesiod's Theogony, 87.
347.17 and note h. Let no man do almes ... none of his own. See St. Gregory's Epistles, Bk. IX, Ep. 106, "Ad Sygarium, Aetherium, Virgilium et Desiderium, Episcopos" (PL, LXXVII, 1030): "For indeed it is not to be accounted almsgiving if that be dispersed to the poor which is got by unlawful dealings." (James Barmby, trans., Selected Epistles of Gregory the Great, The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers Vol. 8, 2nd series [New York: Scribner, 1905], p. 24.)

347.24. note i. "Let them exhibit pity so that justice is preserved." See St. Augustine's Sermon 113.2 in PL, XXXVIII, 649.

348.20-22 and note k. In case of Simony ... powred. See the Decretals of Gregory IX, Bk. V, title 3, chap. 11, "De Simonia." (Corpus Juris Canonici, ed. Friedberg, II, 752.)

349.9. note l. "A gift is naked if it is not dressed in consent." See the Digestorum Seu Pandectarum, Bk. II, title 14, "De Pactis." (Corpus Juris Civilis, ed. Krueger and Mommsen, I, 56.)

349.21-22. our light ... shine before men. Matt. 5:16.

349.23. note m. From Seneca's "De Beneficiis," II.11: "Let the giver of a benefit hold his tongue; let the recipient talk." (Basore, trans., Moral Essays, III, 69.)

350.18. note p. A Cavallo ... crivella. From Gruter's Florilegium, III.2, p. 269: "One does not sift oats for a horse that does not carry a saddle."

351.4. note r. Beatus qui ... pauperem. From the Vulgate, Ps. 40:2:

"Happy is he who understands the poor and the deficient."

A donare ... havere. From Gruter's *Florilegium*, II.2, p. 192: "In order to give and to keep, it is necessary to have the ability."

351.26. note s. From Plautus's *Trinummus*, II.2.61: "I forewarn you to pity others in such a way as not to let others pity you." (Nixon, trans., *Plautus*, V, 131.)


354.8-12. A Father in the mount of Nitria ... then himself. See Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 116 in PG, XXXIV, 1220.

354.12-14. S. Paulinus sold ... wept sadly. See St. Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, III.1 in PL, LXXVII, 217.
354.14-16. S. Katherine ... impudently. I was unable to locate Taylor's source.

355.25. note t. Chi ti da ... morto. From Gruter's Florilegium, II.2, p. 218: "He who gives you a bone would not wish you dead."

357.19. note a. In Holy Dying Taylor uses the same note and translates it as follows: "I do not remember to have read that ever any charitable person died an evil death" (WW, III, 304). He attributes the saying to St. Jerome but it does not appear in any of St. Jerome's letters to Nepotian.


359.7. note d. "No one envies the virtue of another if he has sufficient trust in his own. Cicero against Marcus Antonius." Cf. Cicero, Phillipics 10: Neminem alterius, qui suae confideret virtuti invidere: "No man judges another's merit who is conscious of his own." (Walter C.A. Ker, trans., Phillipics, LCL, p. 423.)

359.22. note e. "Homer, describing the bad behaviour of Thersites, added, as the greatest of his sins, that he was the enemy of Pelides and of Ulysses." (Iliad, II. 211-220.)
359.22. Cantharides. "Spanish flies, used to raise a blister, ... bred of a worm or caterpillar" (Johnson's Dictionary). The Spanish Fly was also known as the Blister Beetle Fly.

360.21. note f. Ira cum pectus ... joculantis. Sappho, quoted by Plutarch in "De Cohibenda Ira," 7: "When rapid anger fills my breast I command my tongue to refrain from futile barking and boasting about vain things." (See Moralia, VI, 115.)

Turbatus sum ... locutus. From the Vulgate, Ps. 76:5: "I was disturbed and did not speak."

360.23-24. It is good ... in anger. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cohibenda Ira," 7: "... just as it is a good thing in a fever, so it is an even better thing in anger, to keep the tongue soft and smooth." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 133-35.)

362.12-17. For as Phocion ... as today. See Plutarch's "De Cohibenda Ira," 11. (Moralia, VI, 133-35.)

362.22. note g. From the Iliad, XXIII. 87-88: "The day when I slew Amphidamus's son in my folly, though I willed it not, in wrath over the dice." (A.T. Murray, trans., Iliad, LCL, II, 501.)

363.1. note h. From Plutarch's "De Cohibenda Ira," 13: "Those who require few things are not deprived of many." (See Moralia, VI, 141.)

But they that desire ... cause of violent anger. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cohibenda Ira," 13: "We must, therefore, accustom the body to contentment by plain living and to self sufficiency, for those who need but little are not
disappointed of much .... We must ... accustom ourselves to make cheerful use of any kind of table utensils and not prefer this service to that .... Therefore anyone who is prone to anger should abstain from rare and curiously wrought things, like drinking-cups and seal-rings and precious stones; for their loss drives their owner out of his senses more than do objects which are easily procured and may be seen everywhere." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 141-45.)

364.12. note i. I was unable to locate this quotation.

365.11. From Euripides's Medea, 1078: "And I understand, to be sure, what evils I intend to do: but my passion is stronger than my reason."

365.25. note k. "Passion is a cause of murders, a companion of disaster, a helper of lust and dishonour, a destroyer of property, and still an initiation of ruin." I was unable to locate this quotation in Aristotle's works.

366.1-4. It makes a Mans ... clamorous and loud. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cohibenda Ira," 6: "Those who are transported by anger also change most in countenance, colour, gait and voice." (Helmbold, trans., Moralia, VI, 109.)

366.4-8. It proceeds from ... blessed and fortunate. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cohibenda Ira," 8: "With the weakest souls the inclination to inflict hurt produces a flaring up of temper as great as the soul's infirmity is great. That is also the reason why women are more prone to anger than men, and sick
persons than healthy, and old men than men in their prime, and the unfortunate than the prosperous." (Moralia, VI, 117.)

366.14-18. It makes marriage ... madness. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cohibenda Ira," 13: "Speaking generally, we see that if anger is present in a home, husbands cannot endure even their wives' chastity, nor wives even their husbands' love, nor friends even familiar intercourse with one another. Thus neither marriage nor friendship is tolerable if anger is there, but without anger even drunkenness is easily borne. For the wand of Dionysus suffices to punish the drunkard, unless hot temper is added and makes the undiluted drink a cause of savagery and madness .... If madness is mingled with anger, it produces tragedies and tales of horror." (Moralia, VI, 145-47.)

366.18-19. It makes innocent jesting ... Tragedies. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cohibenda Ira," 3: "For anger does not always have great and powerful beginnings; on the contrary, even a jest, a playful word ... may rouse many people to anger." [Plutarch then offers the example of Helen and of Callisthenes's jesting with Alexander.] (Moralia, VI, 101-3.)

366.19-367.2. It turns friendship ... impatience and curiosity. Taylor's adaptation of a passage in Plutarch. Cf. "De Cohibenda Ira," 14: "Surely we should allow no place to anger even in jest, for that brings enmity in where friendliness was; nor in learned discussions, for that turns love of learning into strife; nor when rendering judgement, for that adds insolence to authority; nor in teaching, for that engenders discouragement and hatred of learning; nor in prosperity, for that increases envy; nor in adversity,
for that drives away compassion when men become irritable and quarrel with
those who sympathise with them." Also, "De Cohibenda Ira," 15: "Temper
appears to be a mixture of seeds drawn from all the passions. For it is
drawn from pain and pleasure, and from insolence; and although it has envy's
malicious joy in the ills of others, it is even worse than envy; for the
object of its striving is, not that it may itself avoid suffering evil, but
that at the cost of suffering evil, it may utterly ruin its antagonist; and
the most unlovely kind of desire is in it." (Moria, VI, 147-149.)

you say what is more unpleasant than this supper?" (See Moralia, VI, 143.)

367.7. note m. Sappho, quoted by Plutarch in "De Cohibenda Ira," 16:
"Those who purge bitter bile with bitter drugs." (See Moralia, VI, 155.)

367.22. note n. See Plutarch's "De Invidia et Odio," 5. (Moria, VII,
101.)

368.7. note o. From Juvenal's Satire IV.5-8: "What matters it, then, how
spacious are the colonnades which tire out his horses, how large the shady
groves in which he drives, how many acres near the Forum, how many palaces,
he has bought? No bad man can be happy." (Ramsay, trans., Juvenal and
Persius, p. 57.)

368.10-13. For what Hippomachus ... reach it. See Plutarch's "De
Cupiditate Divitiarum," 1. (Moria, VII, 7.)
368.25-369.2 and note p. See Plutarch's "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 10. (Moralia, VII, 37.)

369.8-14. And certainly riches .... six or eight cloaks. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 1-2: "Having wealth is not the same as being superior to it, nor is possessing luxuries the same as feeling no need of them. From what other ills then does wealth deliver us, if it does not deliver us from the craving for it? Nay, drink allays the desire of drink, and food is a remedy for hunger; and one who says:

A cloak I beg: Hipponax is acold
is annoyed when several are brought and rejects them; but neither silver nor gold allays the craving for money, nor does the greed of gain ever cease from acquiring new gains." (de Lacy and Einarson, trans., Moralia, LCL, VII, 9.)

369.25-370.17. Riches are troublesome ... reasonable desires. Taylor's adaptation of a passage in Plutarch. Cf. "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 3: "Indeed in what suffices no one is poor; and no one has ever borrowed money to buy barley meal, a cheese, a loaf, or olives. Rather one man has run into debt for a splendid house, another for an adjoining olive plantation, another for fields and vineyards; there are still others that Galatian mules or a set of horses

'Rattling an empty chariot behind'
have driven into a morass of bonds, usury and mortgages. And then, as those who drink when no longer thirsty, or eat when no longer hungry, vomit up with the surfeit the rest as well that was taken to satisfy the hunger or
thirst, so those who seek the useless and superfluous do not even retain the necessary." (de Lacy and Einarson, trans., Moralia, VII, 9-11.)

370.5. note g. From Propertius's Elegies, III.7: "Life's anguish hath no pause!/ Thou money art the cause;/ Through thee on death's untimely road we speed." (E.H.W. Meyerstein, trans., The Elegies of Propertius [London: Oxford University Press, 1935], p. 102.)

370.19-23. well said of Aristippus ... to be filled. See Plutarch's "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 3. (Moralia, VII, 11.)

370.26-371.7. Give to a poor man .... of what he hath. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 3: "He who is in want and destitute would perhaps call a halt once he got an estate or discovered hidden treasure or was helped by a friend to pay his debt and get free from his creditor; whereas he who has more than enough and yet hungers for still more will find no remedy in gold or silver or horses and sheep and cattle. For his ailment is not poverty but insatiability and avarice, arising from the presence in him of a false and unreflecting judgement; and unless someone removes this, like a tapeworm, from his mind, he will never cease to need superfluities." (de Lacy and Einarson, trans., Moralia, VII, 13.)

371.10-11. any one friend ... his poverty. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 4: "Poverty in money is a thing from which a single friend, as Menander says, could deliver a man by his bounty." (Moralia, VII, 15.)
371.15-20. No man therefore use it. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 4: "No one refuses good food because he has a weakness for it, or wine because he is fond of the bottle, as men abstain from using money because they love it." (Moralia, VII, 15.)

372.2-3. It stirs up being satisfied. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 5: "[Avarice,] like an oppressive and vexatious mistress ... compels us to make money but forbids the use of it, and arouses the desire but cheats us of the pleasure." (Moralia, VII, 19.)

372.15-17. But thus the Asse perfumed himself. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 5: [Avaricious people] put up with every discomfort and get no good of it, like a bathhouse keeper's ass that carries faggots and kindling, always foul with smoke and ashes, but getting no bath or warmth or cleanliness." (Moralia, VII, 21.)

373.3. Covetousness is idolatory. Cf. Col. 3:5.

373.6. note r. From Phocylides: "Love of money is the mother of all evil. Gold and silver is ever a trap for men. O gold, initiator of evils, life destroying, all crushing, would that you were not a desired trouble for men; because of you, battles arise and thefts and murders; and children become hostile to their parents and brethren to their kin." I was unable to verify Taylor's source.

373.6-17. it teaches men kill and eat not. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 6: "[Another kind of avarice] runs to legal
blackmail, to the pursuit of legacies, to cheating and intrigue and scheming, it counts the number of friends still alive, and after all this puts the ill gotten wealth to no use. Thus... vipers, blister-beetles, and venomous spiders offend and disgust us more than bears and lions, because they kill and destroy men without using what they destroy." (Moralia, VII, 21-23.)

373.17-20. And if they pretend ... till their guts be out. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 7: "Someone will say 'But [miserly people] preserve and lay up their goods for children and heirs.' When in their lifetime they gave them nothing? Nay, as with the mice that eat the gold ore in the mines, the gold cannot be had until they are dead and laid open." (de Lacy and Einarson, trans., Moralia, VII, 23.)

374.3-8. the Father transmits ... hand of a childe. Cf. Plutarch, "De Cupiditate Divitiarium," 7: "[Miserly people leave money to their heirs so] that these may preserve it for others, and these for still others ... until some outsider, an informer or tyrant, cuts off and shatters the keeper of the wealth." (Moralia, VII, 25.)

374.9. note s. From Claudian's The Rape of Proserpine, III.30: "So that clever poverty may provoke the tardy souls and make them gradually explore the remote path of things."

374.18. note t. From Juvenal's Satire IV. 96-97: "To be old and noble has long since become as good as a prodigy." (Ramsay, trans., Juvenal and Persius, p. 65.)
374.19. note u. From Juvenal's *Satire* III.226-31: "And you will there have a little garden, with a shallow well from which you can easily draw water, without need of a rope, to bedew your weakly plants. There make your abode, a friend of the mattock, tending a trim garden fit to feast a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something, in whatever spot, however remote, to have become the possessor of a single lizard." (Ramsay, trans., *Juvenal and Persius*, p. 49.)

375.10. pepper-corns. Insignificant, trivial things.

376.8. with whom ... of change. Cf. James 1:17.

380.5. note w. See Hugo de St. Victor, "De Sacramentis," Bk. II, par. 4, Sect. 2. (PL, CLXXVI, 555.)


See Concilium Laodicenum (AD 367), Canon 2 and Concilium Quinisextum (AD 692), Canon 102 in *Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed., Mansi, II, 564 and XII, 54.


382.20-21. Climacus reports ... with them. I was unable to locate and verify this reference. St. Johannes Climacus was a sixth century monk who
wrote on the virtues of the monastic life. His *Scala Paridisa* (or *Ladder of Paradise*) is reprinted in *PG*, LXXXVIII, 585-1248.


385.1-6. GOD irrevocably decreed ... he did so. See Exod. 32:31-34.

385.7. note e. "One must give time to repentance." Cf. Tacitus, *Histories*, I.32: *daret malorum penitentiae*: "Give time to the disloyal to repent." (See *Histories and Annals*, LCL, I, 56.)

385.14. note f. From Gruter's *Florilegium*, I.2, p. 153: "Sins and debts are always more than one believes they are."

385.22. note g. From Arrian's Discourses of *Epictetus*, I.27: "What reinforcements, then, is it possible to find with which to oppose habit? Why, the contrary habit." (Oldfather, trans., *Epictetus*, I, 173.)

386.12. note h. From Seneca's Epistle 30: "No one welcomes [death] cheerfully, except the man who has long since composed himself for death." (Gummere, trans., *Epistulae Morales*, I, 219.)

386.16. From Arrian's Discourses of *Epictetus*, I.15: "Nothing great comes into being all at once." (Oldfather, trans., *Epictetus*, I, 107.)

391.12-13. *anathema* or *devoted thing*. Cf. 1 Cor. 16:22.
393.9. note m. From Martial's Epigrams, V.6. 10-12: "You know the seasons when Jove's brow is unruffled, when he beams with that calm look, all his own, that is wont to deny suppliants naught."  (Ker, trans., Epigrams, LCL, I, 299.)


393.21. note n. "Pure vessels for divine service." Cf. Plautus's Captivi, II.2. 289-91: Genio suo ubi quando sacrificat ad rem divinam quibus est opus, Samiio vasis utitur, ne ipsi Genius surripiat ...: "Whenever he sacrifices to his own Guardian Spirit he won't use any dishes needed in the service except ones made of Samian earthenware, for fear his very guardian Spirit may steal 'em."  (Nixon, trans., Plautus, I, 489.)

394.22-23. put off the old man ... lusts. Cf. Eph. 4:22.

399.1. note o. "Depart from the altars; you, to whom Venus gave joy last night."  Cf. Tibullus's Elegies, II.1. 11-12.

399.13. note p. "We hang on the cross, suck the blood, and fix our tongue to the wounds of our Saviour."  I was unable to verify Taylor's reference to St. Cyprian. Cf. John Donne, "Deaths Duell," "There wee leave you in that blessed dependancy, to hang upon him that hangs upon the Crosse, there bath in his teares, there suck at his woundes, and lye down in peace in his grave..."  See The Sermons of John Donne, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), X, 248.
403.24-404.8 and note g. They that have variety ... sanctifie their businesse. See Francois de Sales' \textit{Introduction a la Vie Devote}, II.21. (\textit{Oeuvres}, ed. Andre Ravier [Paris: Gallimard, 1969], I, 121.)

404.14-16. "that as those creatures ... perpetual whitenesses." Cf. de Sales, \textit{Introduction a la Vie Devote}, II.21: "And, believe me, as hares in our mountains become white in winter, because they neither see nor eat anything but snow, so by adoring and eating beauty, purity, and goodness itself, in this Divine Sacrament, you will become altogether good and altogether pure." (John K. Ryan, trans., \textit{Introduction to the Devout Life} [London: Longmans, Green, 1953], p. 105.)

427.13. \textit{Ex Liturgia ... ex parte}. "Based on the Liturgy of St. Basil to a great extent." (See PG, XXXI, 1630 ff.)

435.19-436.17. "We praise thee .... be confounded." \textit{The Te Deum}. 
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