

Nichol's Series of Commentaries.

KING ON JONAH

AND

RAINOLDS ON OBADIAH AND HAGGAI.

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LECTURES UPON JONAH.

DELIVERED AT YORK,
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1594.

BY

J O H N K I N G,

AFTERWARDS LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.



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JOHN KING, D. D.,

BISHOP OF LONDON.



THE author of the quaint and rich ‘Lectures’ on the Book of Jonah, now reprinted after a long interval of comparative neglect—JOHN KING—is one of those elder Worthies whose present obscurity contrasts with their contemporary veneration and renown.

Those who love our old literature assign a near-hand place in the shelf of choice books to the antique, various-editioned quarto—usually found done up daintily in fair white vellum, with ties, and touched with faded gold—which enshrines the ripe wisdom, the learning, not ‘a mere hoard of gold,’* the sinewy wit, the nimble fancies, the dexterous home-thrusts, the well-put axioms, passing away occasionally into quiet mirth, now of a saw and now of a pun, and the racy common sense—finest and most uncommon of all sense—expressed not seldom weightily and memorably, of these ‘Lectures’; while his rarely occurring single ‘Sermons,’ delivered at ‘St Paul’s Crosse,’ and elsewhere, cause the genuine Bibliomaniac’s heart to rejoice over them as one who ‘findeth great spoil.’† But, as with Dr Airay and others, his book is his one memorial. Of the man himself—emphatically, ‘a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith’ (Acts xi. 24),—mournfully little is known.

The name—KING—suggests regal descent; and the family of our Bishop were not slow to assert the claim. His son Henry, bishop of Chichester, and a ‘sweet singer’ among the minor poets of England, in his ‘Elegy’ upon his father, thus boasts:—

. ‘from ancestors thou came,
Old as the *Heptarchy*, great as thy *name*.’‡

The ‘Herald’s College’ furnishes an elaborate pedigree, paternally and maternally, the root of which reaches back to the stock—as the descendants of our good bishop were fond of supposing—of the old West-Saxon kings. ‘It is very possible,’ says Hannah, ‘that this tradition may have originated in the accidental meaning of their name; but the later members of the family entertained no doubts upon the subject of their royal ancestry; for we meet with both ‘the ancient kings of Devonshire,’ and the arms of King on all their monuments, although even these latter, which are undoubtedly authentic, do not appear to have had any such prominence till they were painted by the sons of Bishop John King on the windows of Christ Church.’§ From

* 2 Henry IV., iv. 3.

† For a list of these see Watt, Bib. Brit.; Wood, A. O. ii. pp. 295, 296; Hannah as below, page xci.

‡ Poems and Psalms by Henry King, D.D., &c., edited by the Rev. J. Hannah, 1843, 12mo, page 53.

§ As *ante*, ‡, page ii. We take this opportunity of acknowledging our obligations throughout to this erudite but provokingly fragmentary edition of a true poet. For many of the facts in our Memoir, our chief authority is Hannah: but in every case we have gone to the original sources.

Byshe,* and Wood,† and Munday,‡ and Fuller,§ and others, the same industrious biographer of Bishop Henry has compiled super-abundant details. Thither the curious in such things are referred.||

Whatever may be the truth of their descent, the family was certainly in possession of very considerable wealth and influence before the middle of the sixteenth century. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, Robert (the brother of William) Kynge, who had been abbot of Osney, was advanced to the newly created see of Oxford, in September 1542, and 'left a great personal estate.' William Kynge married a daughter of Sir John Williams of Burfield, in Berkshire, whose second son was created Viscount Williams of Thame, Apr. 5 : 1 Mar. 1554. This connection will explain the removal of the family to the borders of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, where two of the sons of William King were settled, at the villages of Shabington and Worminghall. One of these, Philip King of Worminghall, was educated under the supervision of his two uncles, Sir John (afterwards Lord) Williams, and the Bishop of Oxford; and was page in his youth to King Henry VIII. Though a younger son, he was wealthy, having inherited the estates of Bishop Robert Kynge. About the year 1553 or 1554, he married Elizabeth Conquest, of Houghton-Conquest, in Bedfordshire, by whom he had no fewer than twelve children. The most famous of them was our bishop, who was born 'about 1559,' in Worminghall, 'commonly called,' says Anthony a-Wood, 'Wornal, near to Brill in Bucks.'¶ A very fair-faced pleasant village is this Worminghall still. Leafy lanes, that lead out to green fields, odorous of kiue, and fertile downs, brightened with the gleam of rivulets singing beneath the alders, and many a 'sweet meadow,' overshadowed with skirting woods, that surround 'manors' all bright with lustrous memories, make it a covetable birth-place.

Of the childhood of Master John nothing seems to have come down. Probably he attended first of all the village school; but while a mere boy he was removed to London, and there 'was educated in grammar learning in Westminster school.'** From thence he was sent to Oxford. The following table presents his progress there:—

1. Student of Christ Church (from Westminster), 1576.
2. Passed B.A., January 26. 1579–80.
3. Commenced M.A., February 15. 1582–3.
4. Proctor of the University, April 29. 1589.††

When young King proceeded to Oxford in his seventeenth year, there were various 'exiles for religion,' from France and elsewhere, resident in the university. Anthony a-Wood enumerates several, as Petrus Regius, Giles Gualter, Petrus Lozillerius Villerius, and Peter Baro, D.D., of Cambridge. The last appears to have come to Oxford in the same year, 1576, in which King joined; and it is just possible, and therefore to be noted, that inasmuch as Baro's notorious 'Comment on *Jonah*' originated the keen controversy with Chaderton and many other divines, our 'Lecturer' on the same prophet may have had his attention turned to that book by his early acquaintance with Baro, and necessary interest in the long debate thereupon.

The more famous of his contemporaries were John Doderidge, afterwards Sir John, the dis-

* Visit of Sussex, 1662–8.

† *Athenæ* and *Fasti, sub nomine*, also his *Antiq. Oxon.* iii. 466 (ed. Gutch).

‡ In his edition of Stowe's Survey of London, 1633, p. 775. § Church History, b. x. page 90.

¶ As *ante*, †, pages lxxxiii–ciii. Cf. also pp. ii, iii, whence the above details are drawn.

¶ A. O. ii. 294. It is said that Henry, the eldest son

of our Bishop (afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and of whom more anon), was born in the same chamber where his father also had been born. See Fuller, 'Worthies' of Bucks, p. 122. Hannah, p. i. ** *Ibid.*

†† From Wood, in A. O., and *Fasti, sub annis*, and relative notes of Kennet and Bliss. Cf. also Hannah as before, pp. lxxxix, xc.

tinguished judge, and ancestor of the saintly Philip Doddridge of Northampton ; * Miles Smith, subsequently bishop of Gloucester, and whose 'Sermons' much resemble King's; † Walter Travers, 'Lecturer in the Temple,' and who came into collision with Richard Hooker; Erasmus Dreyden, George Peele, the poet and dramatist; Richard Hooker, who proceeded M.A. in Christ Church on March 29. 1577; Nicholas Bownde, D.D., a delightful old writer, and *the* vindicator by pre-eminence of the Sabbath; Giles Lawrence, a great Grecian; William Whittaker, *clarum et venerabile nomen*; Gervase Babington, afterwards bishop of three sees successively; Robert Abbot, subsequently bishop of Salisbury; Henry Cuffe, like Lawrence, 'renowned for Greek;' and last, not least, Lancelot Andrewes, one of the most illustrious of the bishops. ‡ Altogether, King had to fight his way to honours against no common men. It is pity that all our searching in their extant writings and 'Memoirs' has failed to shed light upon his college friendships and companionships. This further table gives his further progress:—

1. Archdeacon of Nottingham, August 12. 1590.
2. Proceeded B.D., July 2. 1591.
3. Married before this time Joane, daughter of Henry Freeman, who seems to have come originally from Staffordshire, but who afterwards settled at Henley-upon-Thames.
4. Eldest son, Henry, 'the Psalmist,' born January 1591–92.
5. Presented by the queen [Elizabeth] to the living of St Andrew's, Holborn, May 10. 1597.
6. Preb. of Sneating, cathedral of St Paul's, October 16. 1599.
7. Degree of D.D., December 17. 1601.
8. Dean of Christ Church—his own college—August 4. 1605.
9. Vice-Chancellor, July 17. 1607 (continued for four years).
10. Preb. of Milton-Manor, cathedral of Lincoln, December 16. 1610.
11. Consecrated Bishop of London, September 8. 1611.§ and ¶

We must return upon these dates and honours. At the time of his advancement to the Archdeaconry of Nottingham, our worthy was a 'preacher in the city of York.' There his 'Lectures on Jonah' were delivered. While in York, he was chaplain to the archbishop, Piers, whose funeral sermon—and a very striking one it is, having many Shakespearean words and subtle touches, if over-loaded with learning,—he preached, November 17. 1594, the year in which his 'Lectures' were given. The birth-places of his children shew that he was occasionally resident in Yorkshire for some years subsequent to 1594. But he soon became one of the chaplains of Elizabeth, who, as tabulated, herself presented him to the rectory of St Andrew's, Holborn, London, and two years afterwards, he received the additional preferment of a prebendal stall in the cathedral of St Paul's. His advancement from this time in the church was markedly rapid. 'He was,' says Thomas Fuller, 'chaplain to Queen Elizabeth; and as he was appointed by her Council to preach the first Sermon at Court when her body lay inhearsed in the Chappel of White-Hall, so was he designed for the first sermon to her successor, King James, at Charter-House, when he entered London, then sworn his first chaplain, who commonly called him the *King of Preachers*.' ¶ He was one of the only two clergymen below the rank of deans and

* Stoughton's 'Philip Doddridge; his Life and Labours,' 1851, p. 34.

† Folio, 1632.

‡ We have selected these from the *Fasti, sub annis*. Wood gives interesting details.

§ Cf Hannah as before, pp. lxxxix, xc, and see before ‡.

¶ Election confirmed, Sept. 7; Consecrated, Sept. 8; Temporalities restored, Sept. 18. See Dugdale's St Paul's, by Ellis, pp. 222, 402; Newcourt Repertorium, i. 29;

Wood's A. O., ii. 295, 297. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 181, Hannah, as before, p. viii, foot-note *.

¶ This pun, which is very characteristic of James, is further illustrated by Hannah from Argall, Farley, and Howel. See pp. v foot-note ‡, and 177. We may add here another upon the name of the holy 'ejected' John King of Abbot's-Langley, a collateral descendant and equal to any of the Family. In an inedited tractate in the British Museum, entitled, 'A True Picture of the much honoured

bishops who were called to attend at the Hampton Court Conference in January 1603–04, on the ecclesiastical as distinguished from the puritan side; and he was afterwards appointed, with three others, to preach before the Scotch clergy at Hampton Court in 1606.* One is relieved to find no base adulation of the king, no hungering after advancement, and no brow-beating of the opposite side associated with King, either now or hereafter.

A very remarkable testimony was rendered to him in 1604. In this year, Dr Ravis being about to be removed from the deanery of Christ Church, by his elevation to the see of Gloucester, a petition was drawn up and signed by thirty-two of the students, in the name of the rest, for the purpose of requesting King James to bestow the vacant deanery upon our King, whom they describe as *clarissimum lumen Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ*—that he who had been their chosen companion might now be their leader and guide. We present below the interesting document, which was preserved among Anthony a-Wood's papers.† As already stated, the request was granted, and he was installed Dean of Christ Church on the 4th of August. 'It was therefore,' observes Hannah, 'under the happiest auspices that his sons (Henry and John) were admitted into the university, of which their father was vice-chancellor, as members of a college over which he had been thus honourably appointed to preside.‡

During the term of his vice-chancellorship of the university, 1607–10, there were many afterwards eminent men in attendance, as students, or for advanced degrees, as well of the nobility of genius as of rank. In 1607, there were Tomkins, the distinguished pupil of William Bird, whose 'Anthems' are still remembered; Hugh Robinson, John Reading, Roger Manwaring, Giles Widdowes, all names of mark. Then yet more illustrious, Thomas Hobbes (of Malmesbury), Robert Sanderson, and Richard Capell, and Robert Abbot. Besides these, and

and revered Mr John King (sometimes minister of Abbot's-Langley, Hertfordshire), for the closets of his friends [1680] 11, 626 c.,' occurs the following play upon the name:—

'Will he that diggs up rugged stone direct,
Or the rough mason venture to erect
A royal tomb? Yet I, unskilful I,
Am call'd to strain my nature in an elegy
On a good King.'

Fuller, Church History, b. x. p. 91. Bishop Henry King alludes to the 'first sworn chaplaincy' in his 'Sermon' on the death of his father, of which more onwards. Cf. Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Charles, subsequently Charles I. See also for above facts Le Neve's Arch. of York, p. 79.

* Spotiswood, Hist. of the Scotch Church, p. 497. Cf. also Collier, ii. 691. Quoted in Hannah *as before*, p. v.

† This 'Petition,' which is quoted by Wood (A. O. ii. p. 295), is printed entire by Hannah from the original. See Appendix A. § iii. We take it from thence:—

'Ex præclarissimis illis virtutibus, quibus regalo tuum pectus cumulatissimè stipatur, Potentissime Princeps, eam si non primam, certè quidem inter primas esse censemus, quòd literarum studia summo opere colas, et literatos viros ad amplissimas dignitates promoveas. Cujus præstantissimæ virtutis fructum, nos Alumni Celsitudinis vestræ, et non mediocrem jam percepimus. quòd Ecclesiæ Christi et vestræ Decanus, vir vitæ atque eruditione spectatissimus, ad Episcopalem Sedem designatus sit, et uberiores etiam sperantes, consentientibus et animis, et vocibus, a Maiestate vestrà contendimus universi, vt Decanatus istius quodcumque vacatur munus in ejusmodi demum Virum, qui et in huius Ædis gremio educatus, et de eadem optimè meritis fuerit, conferatur. Talem autem et fuisse hæcenus experti sumus, & futurum in posterum nobis pollicemur,

Johannem Kinge, Theologiæ Doctorem, tuæ Maiestati a sacris, quondam alumnum huius Ædis, nunc clarissimum lumen Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; qui olim præsens ea præcepta doctrinæ ad omnium institutionem tradidit, ea exempla vitæ ad omnium imitationem proposuit, ut qui felices nos ipsi putavimus hoc studiorum nostrorum socio tantum atque comite, eodem studiorum duce ac præside felicissimos futuros arbitraremur. Nec vel dubitare possumus (modo nos optati nostri compotes faciat Maiestas vestra), quin et hæc Ecclesia, quem filium semper sensit peramantem, eum parentem sit sensura amenissimum; et nos, quem vidimus optimè paruisse, eundem summâ suâ cum laude, nostro cum fructu præesse visuri simus. Virum igitur hunc, suo et nomine et dotibus commendatissimum, et nostro quali qualicumque testimonio nequaquam indigentem, Maiestati vestræ, cumque nobis nostrisque studiis, secundum deum, summè & solùm tutelarem, regum Regi Deo Opt. Max. humillimè, & (vt officii nostri est) devotissimè commendamus. Dat: ex Æde Christi Idibus Octob. anno salutis 1604. Serenissimæ Maiestatis tuæ

Humillimi servi, &
Fidelissimi subditi.'

Then follow the names of thirty-two students, 'cum reliquis studentibus in Æde Christi.' The paper from which above is transcribed—in Wood's MSS. in Ashm. F. 28, fol. 171—appears to be the original document, as it has evidently been sealed and sent. It is addressed on the outer page, 'Serenissimo potentissimoq.; Monarchæ Jacobo Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regi.' Hannah *as before*, pp. xc, xci.

‡ As before, p. vi. *Sic*: but Henry and John King did not proceed to B.A. until June 19. 1611, the year after their father's vice-chancellorship. Cf. Wood's Fasti, i. 342 (ed. by Bliss).

others of lesser note, there was William Seymour, afterwards Duke of Somerset. In 1608, there were William Stonard, the co-equal of Tomkins; Richard Gove, whose precious little books remain as a 'garden of nuts,' yea, of 'spices;' Gilbert Ironside, Edward Bagshaw, Isaac Colfe, Samuel Smith, William Greenhill, Richard Eedes, Accepted Frewen, John Ball, John Ley, Sebastian Benefield, Christopher Sutton, John Williams, afterwards archbishop and lord chancellor, John Squire, and John Preston—each a name of renown. In 1609, there were Edward Littleton, Brian Duppa, Christopher Wren, John Hales, Thomas Sutton, Thomas Goodwin, Robert Bolton, William Gouge, and one of the greatest of earlier Scotchmen, William Forbes, afterwards Principal of Marischall College, Aberdeen—each again severally noted. In 1610—Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor—on the letters authorising re-election being read, 'twas ordered that the heads of colleges and halls should at all times be ready and diligent to assist the vice-chancellor in his government of the university, especially in matters of religion, for the suppressing of popery and faction.'* It is suggestive that Laud proceeded D.D. in 1608. The last year of King's vice-chancellorship furnishes Richard Deering, Christopher Potter, Nathanael Carpenter, William Strode, Humphrey Sydenham, Jasper Fisher, Edward Chaloner, George Hakewill, Thomas Jackson, Henry Mason, and a noble trio, John Donne, Ralph Cudworth, and John Norton.† It was no light honour to preside over the university, and to win, as the vice-chancellor did, universal regard, with such a 'cloud' about him of young, eager, inquisitive minds, in the fresh enthusiasm of their first studies. To have thus touched so many and various intellects in their young spring-time, to have given direction, under finest opportunities, to the whole after-voyage of lives so influential in the world, is what has been given to few; but John King was equal to the demand. He is never mentioned subsequently by his 'students' without an epithet of reverence or of love.

Consecrated 'Bishop of London' on September 8. 1611, our Worthy threw his whole energies into his duties. 'When he was advanced,' says Fuller, 'to the see of London, he endeavoured to let the world know that that place did not cause him to forget his office in the pulpit, shewing by his example that a bishop might govern and preach too. In which office he was so frequent, that unless hindered by want of health, he omitted no Sunday whereon he did not visit some pulpit in or near London.'‡ More fully, and with characteristic quaintness, his son Henry thus puts it, in repelling the popish slanders of his conversion to them, of which more anon: 'Sir, I hope,' says he, 'with modesty I may use Saint Hierom's words, *Adversus ob-trectatorum libidinem pugnat meriti magnitudo*: he had deserved better rank in your estimations than so [to need clearance of papist 'defamation']. For did he so long run his course through this church's zodiac, and as a true Diocesan visit each pulpit within your city (some of them oftener) and not only taught within it, but καὶ ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου (Luke iv. 14) in all the adjoining villages where he lived . . . never allowing his numerous affairs so much as a Sabbath or Sunday's rest, whilst he was able? So, by his unwearied industry telling the world that they which for gain or ease, or for ambition, aimed at bishopricks, mistook that weighty calling; since that (as Theophylact speaks) *Ministerium affert, non facit dominum*; when Christ made his apostles bishops and superintendents of his Church he appointed them not so much to lord the flock as to feed it. Did he all this, and with that zealous care, that as a torch he consumed himself to light others? and when himself should fail, provided, so far as in him lay, for a succession in his blood to set hand to the same plough, having dedicated (in his desire) all his sons (in act two) to the ministry of this Church, and by no means willing to hear of

* Wood's Fasti, as before, i. p. 337.

† These names are selected from the Fasti, compared with their respective Memoirs.

‡ Wood, A. O. ii. 295.

any other course (though otherwise invited by generous offers for some of them in particular) to be undertaken by them save that function alone? And can it be conceived he should, after all this, turn a shifter of his religion?' * Of his 'preaching,' Dr William Hull observes: '*Deus bone, quam canora vox, vultus compositus, verba selecta, grandes sententiae! Allicimur omnes lepore verborum, suspendimur gravitate sententiarum, orationis impetu et viribus flectimur.*'† Of his eloquence, Sir Edward Coke—no mean judge—has left this testimony, that 'he was the best speaker in Star-Chamber in his time.'‡ In everything he was in earnest: yet was his the fervour of a noble soul flaming with zeal, not fierce with passion. There are no dark entries in the Records of the Protestant Inquisition-Chamber in association with his name, no ensnaring questioning, no audacious oppression, no unholy scorn. His consuming earnestness is the more remarkable, in that for many years he was a martyr to an excruciating disease, to which his son refers in the celebrated defensive 'Sermon' already mentioned. 'From the first beginning of his sickness,' he says, 'he was indued with such a *Spartana patientia*, well-knit patience, that some of his reverend brethren coming purposely to comfort him, professed they found more comfort from him than they could bring: and though he might truly say with David "I am weary of my groanings," and "every night wash I my bed with tears," yet never did any impatient murmur (it was a religious boast in the Lord uttered by himself) break from his lips against that high hand which had so long humbled him: neither did that *petra*, rock-stony disease grow so fast within him but his Christian resolution hardened as fast, and his faith built as firmly on the true Rock of his salvation Christ Jesus.'§ The same Sermon gives a pathetic and tender narrative of his last illness and death; nor is there more to delay us from 'the end.' Having partaken of 'the Communion,' eating with grateful devoutness 'the sacred bread,' and drinking of the memorial 'cup of salvation,' he 'gave thanks to God that he had lived to finish that blessed work (it was his own speech), and after a short prayer, conceived by himself, he dismissed the company.' Then the narrative continues, 'Such was his devout preparation, and so long did he observe the tedious vigils before the festival of his dismissal; his day of rest was now come, which, as if reserved by God's favour, was that very day his Saviour died on, *Good Friday*: and that time of the day when our whole Church was exercised in prayer, according to the custom of that day (near eleven of the clock in the forenoon), as if he had stayed to take the help and advantage of good men's devotion to set him forward: a day which might incite prophets and patriarchs to desire to end in, being truly *dies meus* (as Christ said), "My Day": a good and blessed day, and of all others most proper to crown and dignify the end of good men. Drawing now fast to his end, and ready to hoist sail for another world, he requests the valediction of our prayers at the parting. Our obedience forthwith actuated his will, straight was his bed compassed with mournful clients ready to offer up a religious violence to heaven for his sake. But he expressly causeth his chaplain, and his ghostly father, to read the confession and absolution according to the ordinary form of Common Prayer in our Liturgy. Which ended, and our prayers having taken a short truce as awaiting somewhat now from him, he bids the curtains to be quite thrown open, and whilst we kneeled, not unmindful of his Episcopal office, to show he was not so exhausted but he had yet one blessing in store, he distributes a benediction round about to every one of us there present; so that his bed was now

* A Sermon preached at Pavl's Crosse the 25. of November 1621. Upon occasion of that false and scandalous Report (lately printed) touching the supposed apostasie of the right Reverend Father in God, Iohn King, late Lord Bishop of London. By Henry King, his eldest Sonne. Whereunto is annexed the Examination and Answer of Thomas Preston, J.P., taken before my Lords Grace of

Canterbury, touching this Scandale. Published by authority. At London, Imprinted by Felix Kyngston for William Barret, 1621, 4to, pp. 62, 63.

† Epistle Dedicatory of his 'Harbourless Guest,' 1614, 4to.

‡ Fuller, Church History, b. x. p. 91.

§ Sermon, as before, pp. 66, 67. Cf. also Godwin de Præs, p. 196.

like the Mount Gerizzim, from each corner whereof a blessing resounded. His speech here felt a stop; but neither our prayers nor his understanding; for testimony whereof, desired by his chaplain to make some sign his heart went along with us, and took the same course our prayers pointed out; with a most speedy hasted elevation of hands he expressed that his heart, like Elias before the chariot, yet kept pace with us, though his tongue could not: and though he wanted organs to ejaculate his prayers, the ejaculation of his eyes darted up to heaven, and supplied that want. There they got fixed, as if either he had with Stephen beheld the heavens opening for his admittance, or meant to make that place whither his soul now bended, or else that his body was emulous to have gone along with it. For we might perceive that like the two disciples that ran to the sepulchre, they both ran to seek Christ; but that other disciple outran Peter: *anima antecessit corporis moram*, the soul too swift for the body left it behind.* And so 'he died' on March 30. 1621, aged 62-63, asking 'to be buried in the Cathedral Church of St Paul without any pomp or solemnities,' and that the one word '*Resurgam*' might be inscribed upon his 'tomb-stone.'†

Those familiar with the history of the period need not to be informed, that immediately after the death of our saintly Bishop it was reported by the papists that he had sent for a Romish priest during his illness, and had died in communion with the Church of Rome. It were to disobey the Divine charge *not* 'to take up an evil report,' to revive the old mendacious slander. We place below the authorities bearing upon the matter, ‡ and dismiss it with two quotations from the already cited 'Sermon.' Having in a manly and yet becomingly softened way, and with superabundant disproof, repelled the malicious wrong, the son gathers up all thus: 'What can I say? What proportion will words hold against peremptory assertions? I have nothing to convince them but a plain unglossed denial, *Petilianus dicit, ego nego*. They say it is so, I know it is not; and in a just case it is rhetoric enough.' Then, after many details in refutation, he observes: 'Let no man doubt or waver or think the worse of religion for that so noted a professor is traduced. *These are stale tricks with our adversaries*, since it hath been long their practice, like the lunatic in Athenæus, ever wont to stand upon the quay of the city, if any fair ship of rich burthen (any noted *Σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς* (Acts ix. 15) vessel fraught with knowledge and true professor of the gospel) had made to the haven to crie "It is theirs, it is theirs." Again, Let no man be confirmed that this scandal is true because they so peremptorily believe it. Such is their impious credulity that it is grown a maxim among them to believe any thing were it never so false, were it contradiction, so it made any way for them: For those very tongues which out of malice gave out in time of his sickness, that through impatience he had offered violence to himself; those very same, after his death, out of the abundance of their Romish charity, would persuade the world he died reconciled unto their Synagogue, for I may

* As before, pp. 68-71.

† *Ibid.* p. 72.

‡ Those wishing to get at the whole facts must consult authorities *pro* and *con*. Asserting the charge are these:—

1. 'English Protestant's Plea and Petition for English Priests and Papists.' 1621.
2. 'The Bishop of London His Legacy. Or Certaine Motives of Dr King, late Bishop of London, for his change of Religion and dying in the Catholike and Roman Church, with a Conclusion to his Brethren,' &c. (1621, 4to), written by Gregory Fisher, *alias* Musket, a Jesuit: and of which there were at least three impressions.
3. 'The Church History of England,' commonly called

Dodd's, *sub nomine*. Letters of Broughton to Kellison are herein given. Then *contra*,

4. Bishop Henry King's 'Sermon,' quoted in our Memoir above.
5. The Bishop's own 'Sermons:' (1.) Of Public Thanksgiving. Pr. Apr. 11. 1619, p. 38; (2.) Preached before the King on behalf of St Paul's Church, March 26. 1620, pp. 14, 15, &c.
6. On the 'Sermons' specified in 5, see Chamberlain's Letter in Nichol's Progress of James I., iii. 533-34, and iii. 602. Dugdale's St Paul, p. 102, ed. by Ellis.
7. Gee's 'Foot out of the Snare,' 1624.
8. Hannah as before, pp. xvi-xxii, and relative notes and footnotes.

not call it Church, unless it be *Ecclesia malignantium*, *Ecclesia maledicentium*. Nor let this lie prove more authentic because printed: that rather discredits and weakens it, and you have now more cause to suspect it than before. It is a ground in their Religion that "unwritten traditions have more authority than written Scriptures." And if so, why should not we take them at their word and make as slight and scornful reckoning of their writings as they of God's? Lastly, that none may wonder or be perplexed, or through a nice misprision suspect there could not but be some ground for their far-blown calumny, let him "Remember the word that Christ said," and what He suffered, and then all wonder will end in satisfaction. For who can think it strange that Christ's servants are slandered when He their Lord and Master could not avoid the poisoned breath of slander? * More than enough of this impudent libel. It speedily vanished into 'thin air.' The Bishop was cherished lovingly for many years in the nation's memory: and as his sons grew into a fame that over-shadowed his own, Churchmen and Puritan alike deemed it highest praise to designate them 'worthy of such a father.' 'What man,' adds Gauden, 'had more of the majesty of goodness and beauty of holiness than Bishop John King?' † Associated in life with Donne and Isaac Walton, he shares that mellowed light of love which must ever illumine their names. ‡

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

KINROSS.

* Sermon as before, pp. 74, 75.

† *Eccl. Angl. Susp.*, pp. 613, 615 (1659).

‡ Cf. Hannah, as before, pp. xxv, xxvi-xxxii.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR THOMAS EGERTON, KNIGHT,
LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL,

My very singular good Lord, such honour and happiness in this world as may undoubtedly be accompanied with the happiness and honour of Saints in the world to come !

RIGHT Honourable, in this prodigal and intemperate age of the world, wherein every man writeth more than need is, and chooseth such patronage to his writings as his heart fancieth, if I have taken the like liberty to myself, both of setting my labours openly in the eyes of men, and your honour's eyes especially over my labours, I hope, because it is not my private fault, your Lordship will either forget to espy or not narrowly examine it. The number of books written in these days without number, I say not more than the world can hold (for it even emptieth itself of reason and moderation to give place to this bookish folly, and serveth under the vanity thereof), but more than well use, the titles whereof but to have read or seen, were the sufficient labour of our unsufficient lives,* did earnestly treat with me to give some rest to the reader, and not to divide him into more choice of books, the plenty whereof hath already rather hurt than furthered him, and kept him barer of knowledge.† For 'much reading is but a weariness to the flesh, and there is no end of making' or perusing 'many books,' Eccl. xii. 12. For mine own part, I could have been well content not to have added more fullness to the sea, nor to have trained the credulous reader along with the hope of a new seeming book, which in name, and edition, and fashion, because the file hath a little otherwise been drawn over it, may so be, but touching the substance, that of the preacher, Eccles. i., was long since true, and together with the growth of the world receiveth daily more strength, 'That that is, hath been, and there is no new thing under the sun.' But as we all write,‡ learned and unlearned, crow-poets and pie-poetesses, though but our own follies and ignorances, and to purchase the credit of writers, some as mad as the sea, foam out their own shame and uncurable reproach, whose dishonest treatises, fitter for the fire than the books of Protagoras, presses are daily oppressed with, the

world burdened, and the patience of modest and religious ears implacably offended; so the ambitious curiosity of readers for their parts calling forth books, as the hardness of the Jewish hearts occasioned the libel of divorce, and a kind of Athenian humour, Acts xvii., both in learned and unlearned, of hearkening after the mart, and asking of the stationers 'what new things?' thereby threatening as it were continually to give over reading, if there want variety to feed and draw them on, made me the more willing to go with the stream of the time, and to set them some later task, wherein, if their pleasure be, their idler hours may be occupied.

My end and purpose therein, if charity interpret for me, will be found nothing less than vain* ostentation. Because I have spoken at times, and may hereafter again, if God give leave and grace, the meditations of my heart to as many and as chosen ears almost as these books can distract them unto; and these which I now publish were public enough before, if the best day of the seven, frequent concourse of people, and the most intelligent auditory of the place wherein I then lived, may gain them that credit. So as this further promulgation of them is not much more than (as the gentiles besought Paul in the Acts, chap. xiii.), 'the preaching of the same words another Sabbath-day,' and some testimony of my desire (if the will of God so be) to do a double good with my single and simple labours, in that 'it grieveth me not to write and repeat the same things.' And to adjoin one reason more, I shall never be unwilling to profess, that I even owed the everlasting fruit of these unworthy travails to my former auditors, who, when I first sowed this seed amongst them, did the office of good and thankful ground, and received it with much gladness. To whom since I went aside for a time far from the native place both of my birth and breed, as Jonah went to Nineveh to preach the preachings of the Lord, or into the belly of the fish out of his proper and natural element to make his song, so I to deliver these ordinary and weekly exercises amongst

* Vix totâ vitâ indices.—*Senec.*

† Onerat discentem turba, non instruit. *Id.*

‡ Scribimus indocti doctique.—*Pers.*

* That is 'anything rather than.'—*Ed.*

them, the providence of God not suffering me to fasten the cords of mine often removed tabernacle in those northward parts, but sending me home again; let it receive favourable interpretation with all sorts of men, that I send them back that labour which they paid for, and therein the presence of my spirit, pledge of mine heart, and an epistle of that deserved love and affection which I justly bear them. I trust no man shall take hurt hereby, either nearer or farther off, except myself, who have changed my tongue into a pen, and whereas I spake before with gesture and countenance of a living man, have now buried myself in a dead letter of less effectual persuasion.* But of myself nothing on either part. I have taken the counsel of the wise, neither to praise nor dispraise mine own doings. The one, he saith, is vanity, the other folly.† Thousands will be ready enough to ease me of that pains, the uncertainty of whose judgment I have now put my poor estimation upon, either to stand or fall before them. Howbeit I will not spare to acknowledge that I have done little herein without good guides. And, as Justus Lipsius spake of his politic centons, in one sense all may be mine, in another not much more than nothing.‡ For if ever I liked the waters of other men's wells, I drank of them deeply, and what I added of mine own, either of teaching or exhortation, I commend it to the good acceptance of the world, with none other condition than the emperor commended his sons, *si promerebunter*, if it shall deserve it.

Now the reasons which moved me to offer these my first fruits unto your good Lordship may soon be presumed, though I name them not. 1. For when 'the eye that seeth you blesseth you,' and all tongues give witness to your righteous dealing, should mine be silent? Yea, blessed be the God of heaven, that hath placed you upon the seat of justice to displace falsehood and wrong. 2. The vine of our English Church spreadeth her branches with more cheerfulness, through the care which your honour hath over her. You give her milk without silver, and bread without money, which not many other patrons do. 3. In this unprofitable generation of ours, wherein learning is praised, and goeth naked, men wondering at scholars, *ut pueri Junonis arem*,§ and scholars wondering more at men that they do so little for them, learning never departeth ashamed and discontented from your face. 4. I add with most zealous and thankful commemoration, in behalf of my mother and all the children at her knees, your love to our university; of whose age and nativity, which others have been careful to set down, I dispute not. But whether she

be the elder sister, it seemeth by that neglect wherein she now standeth, that she hath lost the honour and inheritance of her birthright; or whether the younger, your Lordship hath not many companions to join with you in compassion, and say in these days, *soror est nobis parva*, 'we have a little sister, and she hath no breasts,' or rather hath not succour to fill out her breasts, 'what shall we do for her?' How many common respects, to let private alone awhile, have naturally borne me to the centre and point of your honour's only patronage!

I deny not, when, at my coming from the north, it first came into my head to divulge these readings, my purpose was to have made the chief founders and procurers thereof (my two deceased Lords) the chief patrons also; that as 'the rivers run to the place from whence they come,' so these tokens of my grateful mind might return to the principal authors. Wherein the world might justly have censured me with the words of the prophet, 'What! from the living to the dead?' contrary to the use and fashion of all other men? But so I mean; both to avoid the suspicion of a fault which the world laboureth of (flattering of great personages), who was, and am content that all mine expectations in any respect from them or theirs be laid in the same dust wherein their bones lie, and to shew that 'love is stronger than death,' and that the inexorable bars of the grave cannot forbid a man to continue that affection to the memory of the dead which he carried to the living. For which cause, as others provided spices and balms, and monuments of stone or brass to preserve their bodies, so I intended a monument of paper, and such other preservatives as I could, to keep their names in life, which the violence of time cannot so quickly injure as the fatal ungratefulness of these latter days.

But your Lordship's most undeserved and unlooked-for bounty towards me hath altered that meaning. In whose countenance and speech evermore, from the first hour that I came into your honourable presence, there dwelt such plentiful comforts and encouragements to make me hope for better times, that I never went away but with more fatness to my bones. And now the world can witness with me how largely you have opened your hand, and sealed up that care, in freely bestowing upon me, not Leah, but Rachel, even the daughter of your strength, the best that your honour had to bestow,* I say not for my service of twice seven years, but being yet to begin my first hour's attendance; which more than credible benignity, my right hand were worthy to forget her cunning if she took not the first occasion to write and report with the best skill she hath.

Notwithstanding, I have been bold thus far, after the trees shaken and the vintage gathered to your honour's use, to leave, as it were, a berry or two in the utmost boughs to my former Lords; and by making some little mention of their happy memories, both to testify

* I suppose, the Bishopric of London.—ED.

* *Solet acceptior esse sermo vivus quam scriptus.—Bernard.* A mortuâ pelle ad hominem vivum recurre.—*Gregor.*

† *Laudare se, vani; vituperare, stulti—Aristot. apud Valer. Max. lib. vii. cap. ii.*

‡ *Nihil egi sine Theseis, et nihil nostrum et omnia.*

§ *Juvenal.*

mine ancient duty towards them, and to deliver them, what I might, from the night of forgetfulness, who were the shining lamps of the north in their lifetime. Such a Moses and such an Aaron, such a Joshua to lead the people, and such a priest to bear the ark, such a Zerubbabel, and such a Jehozadak, such a centurion in Capernaum to rule the country, and such a Jairus to govern the synagogue, when the Lord shall send together again, I will then say he hath restored his blessing amongst them. To this purpose I have added two sermons more to these lectures upon Jonah, the one preached at the funerals of my former lord the late Archbishop of York; the other, no way pertinent to the latter, the right noble Earl of Huntingdon, except because he commanded it, and it was not many weeks before his death, and the subject was so agreeable to his most faithful and unstained heart. For if the sound of the tongue and applause of the hands may persuade for him, he never beheld the light of

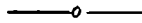
heaven within this land that more honoured the light of England. Long may it sparkle and flame amongst us according to his hearty wishes. Let neither distempered humours within quench it, nor all the waters of the sea betwixt Spain and us bring rage and hostility enough to put it out; but let the light of God's own most blessed countenance for ever and ever shine upon it.

It now remaineth that, in the humblest manner I can, I wholly resign myself and the course of my life to your honourable both protection and disposition, asking pardon for my boldness, and defence for these my simple endeavours; and beseeching the God of heaven and earth to multiply his richest blessings upon your honour, your lady, and your children, whether within or without the land.

Your Lordship's most bounden and dutiful Chaplain,

JOHN KING.

KING ON JONAH.



LECTURE I.

The word of the Lord came also unto Jonah the son of Amittai, saying, Arise, and go to Nineveh, &c.--
‘JONAH I. 1, 2.

COMPARISONS betwixt scripture and scripture are both odious and dangerous. In other sorts of things, whatsoever is commendable may either be matched or preferred according to the worth of them. I will not make myself so skilful in the orders of heaven, as to advance angel above angel,* but I am sure ‘one star differeth from another in glory;’ and God hath given the rule of the day to the sun, of the night to the moon, because they differ in beauty. The captains of the sons of Gad, without offence, might bear an unequal report: ‘One of the least could resist an hundred, and the greatest a thousand,’ 1 Chron. xii., because their prowess and acts were not equal. There was no wrong done in the anthem which the women sung from all the cities of Israel, ‘Saul hath slain his thousand, and David his ten thousand,’ 1 Sam. xviii. The unlike deserts of these two princes might justly admit an unlike commendation. One Cato may be of more price than hundred thousands of vulgar men, and Plato may stand for all.† Our Saviour, in the Gospel, Luke v. 39, preferreth old wine before new; and Aristotle liketh better of the wine of Lesbos than the wine of Rhodes: he affirmeth both to be good, but the Lesbian the more pleasant, alluding under that parable to the successor of his school, and noting his choice rather of Theophrastus, born at Lesbos, than Menedemus, at Rhodes.‡ But ‘the whole scripture is given by inspiration of God,’ neither in his great house of written counsels is there any vessel more or less in honour than the rest are. Moses is no better than Samuel; Samuel than David; David a king than Amos an herdman; John Baptist more than a prophet,

not more than a prophet in his authority; Peter or Andrew, the first that was chosen, not better than Paul, that was born out of due time. The four beasts in the Revelation, chap. iv., have eyes alike, ‘before and behind;’ and the apostles’ names are evenly placed in the writings of the holy foundation, Rev. xxi. 12. Solomon, the wisest king that ever was in Jerusalem, perceived right well that wheresoever the uncreated wisdom of God spake, it spake of ‘excellent things, even things seemly for princes,’ Prov. viii.; David, his princely father before him, had so high a conceit of these ordinances of the Most High, that where he defineth anything, he esteemeth them, for value, above great spoils, and thousands of gold and silver, yea, all manner of riches; and for sweetness, above the honey, and the honeycomb, Ps. xix.; and where he leaveth to define, he breaketh off with admiration: ‘Wonderful are thy testimonies;’ ‘I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy commandment is exceeding broad,’ meaning thereby, not less than infinite.

The Jews acknowledge the Old Testament, abhor the New; the Turks disclaim; Julian, atheists, and scornors deride; Grecians have stumbled at both Old and New; papists enlarge the Old with apocryphal writings; some of the ancient heretics renounce some prophets, others added to the number of evangelists; but, as the disciples of Christ had but ‘one Master,’ or teacher in heaven, ‘and they were all brethren,’ Mat. xxiii. so one was the author of these holy writs in heaven, and they are all sisters and companions; and with an impartial respect have the children of Christ’s family from time to time received, revered, and embraced the whole and entire volume of them. They know that one Lord was the original fountain of them all, who being supremely good, wrought and spake perfect goodness. One word and wisdom of

* Quid sint, dicant qui possunt, dummodo quod dicunt probare valeant.—*August. Enchirid.* cap. xxxviii.

† Unus Cato mihi pro centum millibus; Plato instar omnium.

‡ Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. xiii. 5.

God revealed these words to the sons of men, himself the subject and scope of them;* one Holy Ghost indited them; one blood of the lamb sealed and confirmed the contents of them; one measure of inspiration was given to the penmen and actuaries that set them down; one spouse and beloved of Christ, as gages of his eternal love, hath received them all in keeping. And surely she hath kept them as the apple of her eye; and rather than any maim or rent should be made in their sacred body, she hath sent her children into heaven maimed in their own bodies, and spoiled of their dearest blood they had, thinking it a crown of joy unto them, to lay down their lives in the cause of truth. And therefore, as branches of the same vine that bare our predecessors, to whom by devolution these sacred statutes are come, we esteem them all for God's most royal and celestial testament, the oracles of his heavenly sanctuary, the only key unto us of his revealed counsels, milk from his sacred breasts, the earnest and pledge of his favour to his church, the light of our feet, joy of our hearts, breath of our nostrils, pillar of our faith, anchor of our hope, ground of our love, evidences and deeds of our future blessedness; pronouncing of the whole book, with every schedule and scroll therein contained, as he† did of a book that Sextius wrote, but upon far better grounds, *vivit, riget, liber est, supra hominem est*; it is a book of life, a book of livelihood, a book indeed, savouring of more than the wit of man. Notwithstanding, as the parcels of this book were published and delivered by divers notaries, the instruments of God's own lips, in divers ages, divers places, upon divers occasions, and neither the argument nor the style, nor the end and purpose the same in them all;‡ some recounting things forepast; some foreseeing things to come; some singing of mercy; some of judgment; some shallow for the lamb to wade in; some deep enough to bear and drown the elephant; some meat that must be broken and chewed with painful exposition;§ some drink that at the first sight may be supped and swallowed down; somewhat in some or other part that may please all humours, as the Jews imagine of their manna, that it relished not to all alike, but to every man seemed to taste accordingly as his heart lusted;|| so, though they were all written for our learning and comfort, yet some may accord at times, and lend application unto us for their matter and use, more than others. Of all the fowls of the air, I mean the prophets of the Lord, flying from heaven with the wings of divine inspiration, I have chosen the *dove*, (for so the name of Jonah importeth, and Jerome so rendereth it to Paulinus), to be the subject of my labour and travel undertaken amongst you; who, under the type of his shipwreck and escape, figuring the passion and resurrection of the Son of God, and

coming from the sea of Tarshish, as that dove of Noah's ark came from the waters of the flood, with an olive branch in his lips in sign of peace, preacheth to Nineveh, to the gentiles, to the whole world, the unreserved goodness of God towards repentant sinners.

For if you will know in brief what the argument of this prophet is, it is abridged in that sentence of the psalm: 'The Lord is merciful and gracious, of long-suffering, and of great goodness,' Ps. cxlv. He is merciful, in the first part of the prophecy, to the mariners; gracious, in the second, to Jonah; long-suffering, in the third, to the Ninevites; and of great goodness, in the fourth, in pleading the rightfulness of his mercy, and yielding a reason of his fact to him which had no reason to demand it. So from the four chapters of Jonah, as from the four winds, is sent a comfortable breath and gale of most abundant mercies. And as the four streams in paradise, flowing from one head, were the same water in four divisions, so the four chapters or sections of this treatise are but quadruple mercy, or mercy in four parts; and so much the rather to be hearkened unto, as an action of mercy is more grateful unto us than the contemplation, the use than the knowledge, the example than the promise; and it is sweeter to our taste, being experienced by proof, than when it is but taught and discoursed. You hear the principal matter of the prophecy; but if you would know besides what riches it offereth unto you, it is a spiritual library, as Cassiodore noted of the psalms, of most kinds of doctrine fit for meditation; or as Isidore spake of the Lord's prayer and the creed, the whole breadth of Scripture, *omnis latitudo scripturarum*, may hither be reduced. Here you have Genesis, in the sudden and miraculous creation of a gourd, Moses and the law in denunciation of judgment, Chronicle in the relation of an history, prophecy in prefiguring the resurrection of Christ, psalmody in the song that Jonah composed, and finally gospel in the remission of sin mightily and effectually demonstrated.

The duties of princes, pastors, people, all estates; the nature of fear, force of prayer, wages of disobedience, fruit of repentance, are herein comprised. And as the finers of silver and gold make use not only of the wedge, but even of the smallest foil or rays that their metal casteth,* so in this little manual which I have in hand, besides the plenty and store of the deeper matters, there is not the least jot and tittle therein, but may minister grace to attentive hearers.

The substance of the chapter presently to be handled and examined, spendeth itself about two persons, Jonah and the mariners. In the one, opening his commission, transgression, apprehension, execution;† in the other, their fear, and consequent behaviour,

* Verba innumerabilia, et unum tantum verbum omnia. —Hugo de arca Noe.

† Seneca.

‡ Gregor. prolegom. in moral. § Ibid. || Hieron.

* Non tantum auri massas tollunt, verum et bracteolas parvas.—Chrys. hom. i., ad pop. Antio. chap. i.

† Præco mittitur, missus contemnit, contemnens fugit, fugiens dormit, &c.—Isidor. lib. de patrib. vet testament.

which I leave to their order. The words already proposed, offer unto us these particulars to be discussed :

1. First, a warrant, charge, or commission : 'The word of the Lord also came.'

2. Secondly, the person charged : 'to Jonah the son of Amittai.'

3. Thirdly, the matter or contents of his commission : 'Arise, and go to Nineveh, that great city.'

1. In the commission I refer you to these few and short collections.

(1.) The particle of connection, *and* or *also* ; either it joineth Jonah with other prophets, or Nineveh with other countries, or the business here related with other affairs incident to those times. It seemeth to begin a book without beginning, and rather to continue a course of some precedent dealings ; but soothly it implieth unto us, that he who is *Alpha* and *Omega* in himself, is also first and last to his church, the author and finisher of his good works ; who as he sent his word to other prophets, so also to Jonah ; and as for Israel, so also for Nineveh ; and as he furnished that age of the world with other memorable occurrences, so with this also among the rest, that Jonah was sent to Nineveh, and that thus it fell out.

(2.) The nature of the commission. It is *verbum*, a word ; that is, a purpose, decree, determination, edict, advised, pronounced, ratified, and not to be frustrated ; according to the sentence of the psalm, 'Thy word, O Lord, endureth for ever in heaven,' Ps. cxix.

(3.) The author is the Lord, the ocean that filled all these earthly springs, who 'spake by the mouth of all the prophets which have been since the world began,' Luke i.

(4.) The direction or suggestion thereof. It came ; that is, it was not a phantasy or invention of Jonah, but he had his motion and inspiration thereunto.

The first sheweth the continuance of God's graces in his church, how everlasting they are, and without repentance, in that he sendeth line upon line unto it, and prophets after prophets (for do the prophets live for ever ? Zech. i.), and spreadeth his saving health from the east to the west, and leaveth no generation of man empty and bare of profitable examples.

The second sheweth the stability of his ordinances. For with God neither doth his word disagree from his intention, because he is truth ; nor his deed from his word, because he is power.* Hath he spoken, and shall he not perform it ?

The third sheweth the majesty and credit of the prophecies. 'For no prophecy of old time came by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,' 2 Peter i. 21.

The fourth declareth his ordinary and necessary course in disclosing his will, which is too excellent a knowledge for flesh and blood to attain unto without

his revelation. For 'who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor at any time ?' Rom. xi. 34.

The commission in general is most requisite to be weighed, that we may discern the priests of the sanctuary from Jeroboam's priests, of whom we read that 'whosoever would, might consecrate himself,' 2 Kings xiii. 33 ; lawful ambassadors from erratical and wandering messengers, such as run when none hath sent them ; stars in the right hand of Christ, fixed in their stations, from planets and planers of an uncertain motion ; shepherds from hirelings, and thieves that steal in by the window ; prophets from intruders (for even the woman Jezebel calleth herself a prophetess, Rev. ii.) ; seers from seducers, enforced to confess from a guilty conscience, as their forerunner sometimes did, of whom Zechariah maketh mention, 'I am no prophet, I am an husbandman,' Zech. xiii. ; Aaron from Abiram ; Simon Peter from Simon Magus ; Paul, a doctor of the Gentiles, from Saul, a persecutor of the Christians ; Cephas from Caiaphas ; Jude from Judas ; Christ from antichrist ; apostles from apostates, backsliders, revolvers, who, though they bear the name of apostles, are found liars, Rev. ii. ; and finally, faithful dispensers from merchandisers of the word of God, and purloiners of his mysteries. Who ever intruded himself with impunity, and without dangerous arrogancy, into this function ? The proceeding of God in this case is excellently set down in the Epistle to the Romans, wherein, chap. x., as the throne of Solomon was mounted unto by six stairs, so the perfection and consummation of man ariseth by six degrees. The highest and happiest stair is this : 'He that shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.' 'But how shall they call upon him on whom they have not believed ? or how shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard ? or how shall they hear without a preacher ? or how shall they preach except they be sent ?'

A singular and compendious gradation, wherein you have 1, sending ; 2, preaching ; 3, hearing ; 4, believing ; 5, invoking ; 6, saving. 'For no man taketh this honour unto him, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron,' Heb. v. The apostle's rule is universal, and exempteth not the lawgiver himself. For 'Christ took not this honour to himself, to be made the high priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,' gave it him. The first question that God moveth touching this ministration is, 'Whom shall I send, and who shall go for us ?' Isa. vi. The devil could easily espy the want of commission in the sons of Sceva, when they adjured him by the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached ; 'Jesus I acknowledge, and Paul I know ; but who are ye ?' Acts xix. Your warrant is not good, your counterfeit charms are not strong enough to remove me. There are no chains of authority, no links of iron to bind the nobles and the princes of the

* Nec verbum ab intentione, quia veritas, nec factum à verbo, quia virtus est.—Bern. homil. 4 super Missus est.

earth, and to restrain devils, but in those tongues which God hath armed from above, and enabled to his service.

What was the reason that Micaiah was so confident with Ahab king of Israel, 1 Kings xxii., and Zedekiah the king's prophet, or rather his parasite, who taunted him with contumely, and smote him on the face, that yet, notwithstanding, he neither spared the prophet nor dissembled with the king his final doom? Only this, he had his commission sealed from the Lord, Zedekiah had none. What other reason made Elisha, a worm of the earth (in comparison), so plain with Jehoram? 2 Kings iii. 13, 'What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother,' &c.; see his further protestation. Had he nothing to do with the king, when the king had so much to do with him? Did he not fear the wrath of the lion, who could have said to the basest minister that ate the salt of his court, Take his head from his shoulders, and he would have taken it? But his commission was his brazen wall to secure him, and that Jehoshaphat the king of Judah witnessed, saying, ver. 12, 'The word of the Lord is with him.'

This is the fortress and rock that Jeremiah standeth upon before the priests, prophets, and people of Judah: chap. xxvi. 15, 'If ye put me to death, ye shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves; for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears.' Yea, the princes and people upon that ground made his apology: ver. 16, 'This man is not worthy to die, for he hath spoken unto us in the name of the Lord our God.' To spare my pains in examples, fearful are the woes, and not milder than wormwood, and the water of gall (for under these terms I find them shadowed, and but shadowed by the prophets), which he denounceth in the course of that prophecy against false prophets, that spake the 'visions of their own hearts,' and said, 'The Lord saith thus and thus; that were not sent, yet ran; were not spoken unto, yet prophesied; that cried, I have dreamed, I have dreamed,' when they were but dreams indeed, Jer. xxiii. They are given to understand, that their sweet tongues will bring them a sour recompense, and that the Lord will come against them, for their lies, flatteries, chaff, stealth of his word (as they are termed), and other such impieties. Their cup is tempered by Ezekiel with no less bitterness, Ezek. xiii., for following their own spirits, playing the foxes, seeing of vanity, divining of lies, building and daubing up walls with untempered mortar. The head and foot of their curse are both full of unhappiness. Their first entertainment is a woe, *væ prophetis*; and their farewell an anathema, a cursed excommunication: 'They shall not be accounted in the assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the writings of the house of Israel.'

To end this point; let their commission be well scanned that come from the seminaries of Rome and Rheims, to sow seeds in this field of ours,

whether, as Jonah had a word for Nineveh, so these for England and other nations, yea or no; whether from the Lord (for that they pretend, as Ehud did to Eglon, Judges iii.), or from Balak of Rome, who hath hired them to curse the people of God; whether to cry openly against sin, or to lay their mouths in the dust, and to murmur rebellion; whether of zeal to the God of the Hebrews, or to the great idol of the Romans, as they to the great Diana of the Ephesians, to continue their craft, as Demetrius there did, and lest their state should be subverted, Acts xix.; whether to come like prophets with their open faces, or in disguised attire, 'strange apparel,' Zeph. i. 8 (in regard of their profession), a rough garment to deceive with, as the false prophet in Zechariah, chap. xiii.; whether their sweet tongues have not the venom of asps under them, and in their colourable and plausible notes of *peace, peace*, there be any peace, either to the weal public, amidst their nefarious and bloody conspiracies, or to the private conscience of any man, in his reconciliation to their unreconciled church, formal and counterfeit absolution of sins, hearing, or rather seeing, histrionical masses, visiting the shrines and relics of the dead, numbering of *pater nosters*, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and a thousand such forgeries; whether they build up the walls of God's house with the well-tempered mortar of his written ordinances, or daub up the walls of their antichristian synagogue with the untempered mortar of their unwritten traditions; whether they come ambassadors from God, and in stead of Christ seek a reconciliation between God and us, and not rather to set the mark of the beast in our foreheads, to make us their proselytes, and the children of error as deeply as themselves. If this be the word they bring, a dispensation from a foreign power, to resist the powers that God hath ordained, and instead of planting faith and allegiance, to sow sedition, and not to convert our country to the truth, but to subvert the policy and state thereof, to poison our souls, and to dig graves for our bodies against their expected day, to invade the dominions, alienate the crowns, assault the lives of lawful and natural princes, to blow the trumpet of Sheba in our land, 'Ye have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse,' 2 Sam. xx., no part in Elizabeth, nor inheritance in the daughter of king Henry, every man to your tents, O England; let them reap the wages of false prophets even to the death, as the law hath designed, Deut. xviii.; and let that eye want sight that pitieth them, and that heart be destitute of comfort that crieth at their downfall. Alas! for those men. Their bloody and peremptory practices call for greater torture than they usually endure, and deserve that their flesh should be grated, and their bones rent asunder with saws and harrows of iron (as Rabbah was dealt with, 2 Sam. xii.), for their traitorous and unnatural stratagems.

I know they justify their cause and calling, as if

innocency itself came to the bar, to plead her uprightness; and they are willing to make the world believe, that they come amongst their own people and nation, not only lambs amongst wolves, but lambs of the meekest spirit, amongst wolves of the fiercest disposition, whose delight is in bloodshed; making us odious, far more than Scythian cruelty, as far as our names are heard of, and stretching the joints of our English persecutions upon the rack of excessive speech, more than ever they felt in the joints of their own bodies. They remember not the meanwhile how much more justly they fill the mouths of men with arguments against themselves, for raising a far sorer persecution than they have cause to complain of. They persecute the liberty of the gospel amongst us, and labour to bring it into bonds again; they persecute our peace and tranquillity, which by a prescription of many years ye begin to challenge for your own; they persecute the woman with the crown upon her head, Rev. xii., whom they have wished and watched to destroy, and long ago had they undone her life, but that a cunning hand above hath 'bound it up in the bundle of life,' and enclosed it in a maze of his mercies past their finding out; whom because they could not reach with their hand of mischief, they have sought to overtake with 'floods of waters,' floods of excommunications, floods of intestine rebellions, foreign invasions, practised conspiracies, imprinted defamatory libels, that one way or other they might do her harm. So long as there shall be a chronicler in the world to write the legend of the French Jacobin, I shall ever have in jealousy the coming of these emissaries and spies from their unholy fraternities into princes' courts. They persecute the infant in his mother's belly, and the child yet unborn, whom they seek to dispossess of their father's and grandfather's ancient inheritances. How gladly would they see an universal alteration of things! Israel cast out, and the Jebusite brought in; crying in our houses, complaining in our streets, leading into captivity throughout all quarters, themselves as it were the hands and members to this body, and yet playing the first unnatural part, and studying to cut the throat of it. Now what comparison is there betwixt quenching a sparkle of wild-fire, here and there flying up and down to burn our country, and quenching the light of Israel? betwixt the incision of a vein, now and then to let out rank blood, and choking the breath of Israel? betwixt destroying one and one at times, and destroying that unity wherein the whole consisteth? for such is our persecution, and such are theirs.

2. The person to whom the commission was directed is Jonah, the son of Amittai, wherein you have, 1, his name, Jonah; 2, his parentage, the son of Amittai; 3, you may add his country from the ninth verse, an Hebrew; 4, his dwelling place, from the 2d Kings xiv. 25, Gath-hepher (for there was another Gath of the Philistines); 5, the time of his life and prophecy,

from the same book, under the reign of Jeroboam the Second, or not far off; 6, the tribe whereof he was, namely, a Zebulonite, for that Gath appertaineth to the tribe of Zebulon; you have as much of the person as is needful to be known. The opinion of the Hebrews is, and some of our Christian expositors following their steps affirm, that Jonah was son to the widow of Sarepta, and that he is called the son of Amittai, not from a proper person, his father that begat him, but from an event that happened. For after Elias had restored him to life, 1 Kings xvii. 17-24, the mother brake forth into this speech, 'Now I perceive that thou art the man of God, and that the word of the Lord in thy mouth is true.' Wherefore, they say, he was named the son of Amittai, that is, the son of truth, by reason of that miracle truly accomplished. Surely the word of the Lord, that gave a commission to Jonah to go to Nineveh, giveth no commission to us to go to such foreign and improper interpretations. So long as we hear it but in our own country, as the Queen of the South spake, of those that are flesh and blood like ourselves, and interpreters, perhaps, not so much of the counsels of God as their own conjectures, we are at liberty to refuse them; where we hear it from the mouth of Solomon, or Jonah, or one that is more than them both, we are ready to give credit. Our bounds are set which we must not pass; we may not turn to the right hand nor to the left, and neither add nor diminish, nor alter anything of God's testimonies. It is a zealous contention that God maketh in Jeremiah, chap. xlv. 29, 'They shall know whose word shall stand, mine or theirs.' 'Who hath instructed the Spirit of the Lord, or was his counsellor, or hath taught him?' Isa xl. Shall we correct, or rather corrupt, falsify, and deprave the wisdom of God in speaking, who is far wiser than men, who made the mouth and the tongue, openeth the lips and instilleth grace and knowledge unto them? Let it suffice us, that the Spirit of truth, and the very finger of God, in setting down his mind, hath eased us of these fruitless and godless troubles, and expressed this prophet to be an Hebrew, and not a Gentile; his dwelling-place to be Gath-hepher, in the possessions of Zebulon, not Sarepta, a city of Sidon, Luke iv. And as it is the manner of the Scripture, where the prophets are named, there to reckon withal the names of their fathers, as Isaiah the son of Amos, Jeremiah of Hilkiah, Ezekiel of Buzi, &c., so there is no likelihood to the contrary but the father of Jonah is meant when he is called the son of Amittai. But it is the manner of some to languish about words, and in seeking deeply after nothing, to lose not only their time, travel, and thanks, but their wits also. Such hath been the sickness of the allegorists, for the most part, both of the former and latter times (I except not Origen, their prince and original patron), who, not contenting themselves with the literal and genuine sense of the Scrip-

ture, but making some mystery of the plainest history that ever was delivered, and darkening the evident purpose of the Holy Ghost with the busy fancies of their own heads, as if one should cast clouds and smoke upon the sunbeams, have left the Scripture in many places no more like itself than Michal's image in the bed upon a pillow of goat's hair, 1 Sam. xix., was like David. How forward have our schoolmen been in this rankness of wit! How have they doated and even died upon superfluous questions; how have they defaced the precious word of God, finer than the gold of Ophir, with the dross of their own inventions, setting a pearl above value in lead, and burying the richest treasure that the world knoweth in their affected obscurities! For, not to speak of their changing the style of the Holy Ghost into such barbarous and desert terms, as that if the apostles now lived (as Erasmus* noteth), they must speak with another spirit, and in another language, to encounter them. How many knots have they made in divinity, subtilties without the circle and compass of the world, and such as Chrysippus never thought upon,† to as little purpose as if they had thrown dust in the air or hunted their shadows! They had done more service to the church of God if they had laid their hands (a great number of them) upon their mouths, and kept silence. Rupertus Gallus likeneth them to one that carrieth manchet at his back, and feedeth upon flint stones; for these rejecting the bread of life, the simple word of God and the power thereof, macerate and starve themselves with frivolous sophistications.

One of their questions, for a test, or rather, as Melchior Cane‡ termeth them, their monsters and chimeras, is, whether an ass may drink baptism? It is not unlike another in that kind, whether a mouse may eat the body of the Lord? More tolerable a great deal were the questions which Albutius the mooter proposed in a controversy: Why, if a cup fell down, it brake; if a sponge, it brake not? Cestius as scornfully censured him: To-morrow he will declaim why thrushes fly, and gourds fly not? These are the mists of God's judgment upon the hearts of such men, who, having manna from heaven, prefer acorns before it, and leave the bread in their father's house, to eat the husks of beans, and cannot be satisfied with the pure and undefiled word of God converting their souls; but being called out of darkness into a marvellous light, they call themselves out of light into a marvellous darkness again. What is this but to feel for a wall at noonday, as Job speaketh? chap. v., that is, when the clearest light of the gospel of Christ shineth in the greatest brightness and perfection thereof, to wrap it up in the darkness of such disputations as bring no profit. You see the occasion of my speech, the indiscretion and abuse of those men, who take the

Scriptures, as it were, by the neck, and writhe them from the aim and intention of the Holy Ghost.

3. The substance of the commission followeth, 'Arise, and go to Nineveh, that great city,' &c. Every word in the charge is weighty and important.

Arise. In effect, the same commandment which was given to Jeremiah, 'Truss up thy loins, arise, and speak to them,' Jer. i.; the same which to Ezekiel, 'Son of man, stand upon thy feet,' Ezek. ii.; that is, set thyself in a readiness for a chargeable service, sit not in thy chair, lie not upon thy couch, say not to thy soul, Take thine ease; arise. It craveth the preparation and forwardness not only of the body, but also of the mind and spirit of Jonah.

Go. When thou art up, keep not thy tabernacle; stand not in the market-place, nor in the gates of Jerusalem, nor in the courts of the Lord's house; but gird up thy reins, put thy sandals about thy feet, take thy staff in thine hand; thou hast a journey and voyage to be undertaken. *Go.*

To Nineveh. Not to thine own country, where thou wast born and bred, and art familiarly acquainted, linked with thy kindred and friends, and hast often prophesied, but to a foreign nation, whose language will be riddles unto thee, to the children of Asshur, the rod and scourge of Israel; Go to Nineveh.

To Nineveh, a city, &c. No hamlet nor private village, but a place of frequency and concourse, proud of her walls and bulwarks, plentifully flowing with wealth, her people multiplied as the sands of the river; and the more populous it is, the more to be feared and suspected, if thy message please them not. The first that ever built a city was Cain, Gen. iv.; and it is noted by some divines, that his purpose therein was to environ himself with human strength, the better to avoid the curse of God.

A great city. Large and spacious, which had 'multiplied her merchants above the stars of heaven, and her princes as grasshoppers, Nah. iii.; the emperor's court, the golden head of the picture, the lady of the earth, the seat of the monarch, the mother city and head of the whole land.

Cry. When thou art come to Nineveh, keep not silence, smother not the fire within thy bones, make not thy head a fountain of tears to weep in secret for the sins of that nation, write not the burden in tables, whisper not in their ears, neither speak in thy usual and accustomed strength of speech, but cry; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, charm the deafest adder in Nineveh, let thy voice be heard in their streets, and thy sound upon the tops of their houses.

Against it. Thou mightest have thought it sufficient to have cried within the city of Nineveh; it would have drawn the wonder of the people upon thee, to have seen a matter so insolent and seldom used; but thou must cry against it, even denounce my vengeance, and preach fire and brimstone upon their heads if they repent not.

* In Moriae Encomio.

† Subtilitates plusquam Chysippæ et ultra-mundanæ.
—*Id.*

‡ Loc. Theol. xii. 5.

For their wickedness, &c. But the reason shall be handled in the proper place thereof.

For brevity's sake, I will reduce the whole unto three heads.

1. The place which the prophet is sent unto. Arise and go to Nineveh.

2. What he is to do in Nineveh. Cry against it.

3. For what cause. For their wickedness is come up before me.

1. *Arise and go.* These two former words, differing somewhat in degree, the one calling up Jonah, as it were from sleep, *Arise*, the other setting him forward in his way, *Go*; and the one haply belonging to the inward, the other to the outward man; as they import a dulness and security in us, without God's instigation and furtherance: so they require a forwardness and sedulity of every servant he hath, in his several calling. Our life is a warfare upon the earth, saith Job, chap. vii., the condition whereof is still to be exercised. Jacob the patriarch, after his long experience of an hundred and thirty wearisome winters, called it 'a pilgrimage of few and evil days,' Gen. xlvii., therefore no rest to be taken in it. 'They that account it a pastime shew that their heart is ashes, and their hope more vile than the earth we walk upon. We must 'awake from sleep, and stand up from the dead,' (for idleness is a very grave unto us), that 'Christ may give us light;' we are called into a vineyard, some one or other vocation of life, and Christianity, the universal vineyard common to us all. Shall we stand to see and to be seen, as in a marketplace, and do nothing? Are we now to learn that the penny of eternal bliss is reserved for workmen? and the difference between the hiring of God and the devil is, that God requireth the labour before he payeth the wages; the devil payeth the wages beforehand, that so he may dull our edge unto labour,* and nurse us in idleness, for pains to come. When we hear the messengers of God return with these unwelcome tidings unto him, 'We have gone through the whole world, and, behold, it sitteth still, and is at rest,' Zech. i., can we be ignorant what echo resounds unto it? for 'when they shall say, Peace and safety, then shall come upon them sudden destruction, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape,' 1 Thes. v. 3. Have we not read that idleness and security was one of the sins that overthrew Sodom and her daughters? that although themselves slept and snorted in pleasure, yet their damnation slept not? And what else is an idle man, but a city without defence? which, when the enemy of the soul hath destroyed, he saith, as that other enemy in Ezekiel, 'I will go up to the land that hath no walled towers; I will go to them that are at rest, and dwell in safety, which dwell all without walls, and have neither bars nor gates,' chap. xxxviii. 11. The fodder, the whip, and the

* Vulgo dictum, pretio ac pecuniis datis, brachia effracta sunt.

burden belong to the ass; meat, correction, and work unto thy servant: send him to labour that he grow not idle, for idleness bringeth much evil; it is the counsel of the son of Sirach, Ecclus. xxxiii; happy is that man that ordereth his servant according to that counsel; I mean, that saith unto his flesh, Arise, and it ariseth; Go, and it goeth; as the centurion in the Gospel said to his soldier, Do this, and he did it.

Augustus, the emperor, hearing that a gentleman of Rome, notwithstanding a great burthen of debt where-with he was oppressed, slept quietly, and took his ease, desired to buy the pallet that he lodged upon; his servants marvelling thereat, he gave them this answer, that it seemed unto him some wonderful bed, and worth the buying, whereon a man could sleep that was so deeply indebted. Surely if we consider with ourselves the duty and debt we owe to God and man, to our country, to our family, to home-born, to strangers, that is, both to Israel and to Nineveh, and most especially to those of the household of faith; that as it was the law of God before the law, that we should 'eat our bread in the sweat of our face,' Gen. iii., so it is the law of the gospel also, that 'he that laboureth not should not eat,' 2 Thes. iii.; that the blessed Son of God ate his bread, not only in the sweat, but in the blood, of his brows; rather he ate not, but it was his 'meat to do his Father's will, and to finish his work,' John iv.; that even in the state of innocency, Adam was put into the garden to dress it, Gen. ii.; that albeit all labourers are not chosen, yet none are chosen but labourers; that the fig-tree was blasted by the breath of God's own lips with an everlasting curse, because it bare but leaves; and the axe of heavy displeasure is 'laid unto the root of every tree' that is barren of good fruits, and if it be once dead in natural vegetation, it shall be twice dead in spiritual malediction, and plucked up by the root; it would make us vow with ourselves, 'I will not suffer mine eyelids to slumber, nor the temples of my head to take any rest,' until I have finished that charge whereunto I am appointed. Jacob's apology to Laban may be a mirror to us all, not to neglect our accounts to a higher master than ever Laban was: 'These twenty years have I been in thy house; I was in the day consumed with heat, and with frost in the night, and the sleep departed from mine eyes,' Gen. xxxi.; so industrious was Jacob to discharge the duties of his place, and careful to make his reckoning straight with his master upon the earth. But I speak of an heavier reckoning, to an heavier lord, that will ask an account of every idle word, much more of an idle habit; and therefore let them foresee that heat, and that frost to come, those restless eyes, the hire of their fore-passed drowsiness, for days, for nights, for everlasting generations, that are ever framing an excuse, It is either hot or cold that I cannot work; there is a lion in the street, or a bear in the way, Prov. xxvi., that I dare not go forth; that being called to an office, and having their tasks

laid forth unto them, say not with Samuel at the call of the Lord, 'Speak, Lord, thy servant heareth,' 1 Sam. iii., but in a stubborn and perverse vein, Speak and command, Lord, and appoint my order wherein I shall walk, but I neither hear thy voice, neither shall my heart go after thy commandments. 'I passed by the field of the slothful,' saith Solomon, Prov. xxiv., 'and by the vineyard of the man destitute of understanding, and lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof.' Peruse the rest of that scripture. The wise king beheld, and considered it well, and received instruction by it, that a little sleep brought a great deal of poverty, and a little slumber a great deal of necessity. And surely as the field of the slothful is covered with nettles and thorns, so shall his body be overgrown with infirmities, his mind with vices, his conscience shall want a good testimony to itself, and his soul shall be empty of that hope hereafter which might have rejoiced it. I end this point.

Jonah his *Arise and go to Nineveh* giveth a warning to us all, for we have all a Nineveh to go unto. Magistrates, arise and go to the gate, to execute God's judgments. Ministers, arise and go to the gospel, to do the works of evangelists. People, arise and go to your trades, to eat the labours of your hands; eye, to thy seeing; foot, to thy walking; Peter, to thy nets; Paul, to thy tents; merchant, to thy shipping; smith, to thy anvil; potter, to thy wheel; women, to your wherms and spindles; let not your candle go out, that your works may praise you in the gates. Your vocations of life are God's sanctions, he ordained them to mankind, he blesseth them presently at his audit, he will crown them, if, when he calleth for an account of your fore-passed stewardships, you be able to say, in the uprightness of your soul, 'I have run my race;' and as the master of the house assigned me, so by his grace and assistance, I have fulfilled my office.

But why to Nineveh? Nineveh of the Gentiles, uncircumcised Nineveh; Nineveh of the Assyrians, imperious, insolent, intolerable Nineveh; Nineveh swollen with pride, and her eyes standing out of her head with fatness;* Nineveh settled upon her lees not less than a thousand three hundred years; Nineveh infamous for idolatry with Nisroch, her abomination, 2 Kings xix.; Nineveh with idleness so unnaturally effeminated, and her joints dissolved under Sardanapalus, as some† conceive, their thirty-eighth monarch, who sat and span amongst women; that as it was the wonder and by-word of the earth, so the heavens above could not but abhor it.

Four reasons are alleged, why Jonah was sent to Nineveh: first, God will not smite a city or town without warning, according to the rule of his own law, that no city be destroyed before peace hath been offered unto it, Deut. xx. The woman of Abel in her wisdom objected this law unto Joab, when he had cast up a mount against Abel, where she dwelt: 'They

* Gualter in Jon.

† Ar. Mont.

spake in old time, and said, They should ask of Abel; and thus have they continued,' 2 Sam. xx. 18; that is, first, they should call a parley and open their griefs, before they used hostility against it. The sword of the Lord assuredly is ever drawn and burnished, his bow bent, his arrows prepared, his instruments of death made ready, his cup mingled; yet he seldom poureth down his plagues, but there is a shower of mercy before them, to make his people take heed. *Pax domui huic*, peace be unto this house, Luke x. 5, was sounded to every door where the apostles entered; but if that house were not worthy of peace and benediction, it returned back unto them. Virtues were wrought in Chorazin and Bethsaida, before the woe took hold upon them. Noah was sent to the old world, Lot to Sodom, Moses and Aaron to the Egyptians, prophets from time to time to the children of Israel, John Baptist, and Christ and the apostles, together with signs in the host of heaven, tokens in the elements, to Jerusalem, before it was destroyed. Chrysostom, upon the first to Timothy,* giveth the reason hereof, that God, by threatening plagues, sheweth us how to avoid plagues, and feareth us with hell beforehand, that we may learn to eschew it. And it was his usual speech (as he there confesseth) that the commination of hell fire doth no less commend the providence of God towards man, than the promise of his kingdom; the terror of the one, and sweetness of the other, working together, like oil and wine, to make man wise to his salvation. Nineveh had not stood a longer time, if Jonah had not said before, 'Nineveh shall be overthrown,' the message of their overthrow, overthrew the message; the prophecy fell, and the city fell not, because her fall was prophesied. O new and admirable thing! saith he in a homily to the people of Antioch,† the denunciation of death hath brought forth life, the sentence of destruction hath made a nullity in the sentence, &c. It was a snare, it became their fortress; it was their gulf, it became their tower of defence; they heard that their houses should fall, and they forsook not their houses, but themselves, and their ancient wicked ways.

Secondly, He sendeth him to Nineveh, to make the conversion thereof, as it were, of his first-fruits, a figure and type of the conversion of other the Gentiles, and to shew to the people afar off (far from the seat of Judea, and farther from the covenant), that the days drew on, wherein they should be called by the names of sons and daughters, though they were now strangers. And as ten men in Nineveh took hold of the skirt of one Jonah an Hebrew, and said, We will go with thee, for we now hear that God is with you,

* Homil. 15. Nisi gehenna intentata esset, omnes in gehennam laberemur. Non ergo minus, quod semper dico, dei providentiam gehenna commendat, quam promissio regni.

† Homil. 5, ad pop. Antioch.

Zech. viii., so ten and ten millions of men, out of all languages, should join themselves to the Jews in the worship of that Lord whom they adored. A glimpse of this overspreading light had now and then opened itself in some singular persons, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, as in Melchisedec king of Salem, Naaman the Syrian, Job in the land of Uz, in Thamar, Rahab, and Ruth, inserted into the pedigree of Christ, Mat. i., to shew, amongst other reasons, that as he came of the Gentiles, so for the Gentiles too; and that 'the waters of life' (as Zechariah termeth them), chap. xiv., 'should flow from Jerusalem' (farther than to the river of Tigris, whereon Nineveh stood), 'half of them towards the east sea, and half of them towards the uttermost sea,' that both ends of the earth might be watered therewith.

Thirdly, He sendeth him to Nineveh, as he sent Joseph into Egypt, to provide a remedy against a mischief not far off; Joseph to prepare bread for his father's house, in the famine; Jonah to prepare a place for the Lord's exiles in the captivity. This carefulness of their well-doing herein appeareth unto us, in a charge given to Moab in the prophecy of Isaiah: chap. xvi. 3, 4, 'Hide them that are chased out; bewray not him that is fled; let my banished dwell with thee, Moab; be thou their covert from the face of the destroyer.' The time was to come when the sons of Jacob should go captives into Assyria, righteous and unrighteous, clean and unclean, those whom he tendered as the apple of his own eye, with their ungrateful and ungracious brethren; yet such was his provident foresight towards his little remnant, growing as thin among the rest as olive berries upon the tree after the vintage, a berry here and there in the outmost boughs, that though they bear their part of thralldom in a strange land, yet they should meet with some of mild and tractable spirits, whose hearts had been mollified before by the preaching of Jonah.

Lastly, He sendeth him to Nineveh (which I rather fasten upon), to provoke his people of the Jews, with those that were not a people, to upbraid their contempt, defy their frowardness, and to shew that his soul loatheth, abhorreth, abominateth their incorrigible rebellions; whom he had girt to himself, as a girdle to one's reins, and married in everlasting kindness; to whom he had risen early, and stretched out his hand all the day long, and cried upon them all, 'Hearken, O Israel, and I will protest unto thee, Thou shalt be my people, and I will be thy God;' whom he had chidden or not chidden, with so fatherly a spirit, and such obtesting protestations, that they seem to be angry without anger, 'As I live, I would not your deaths;' 'Why will ye die, O house of Israel? wilt thou not be made clean? when shall it once be?' Lastly, to whom he had appealed, though men of unequal judgments, yet not so far from equality as to condemn his ways: 'Wherein have I grieved thee? testify against me;' these he giveth to understand,

that, at the preaching of one prophet,—when they had precept upon precept,—a stranger among strangers, a man of an unknown tongue, the whole people of Nineveh, though heathenish and idolatrous, should be won to repentance. 'Arise, Jonah, go to Nineveh;' sanctify a people unto me, where I had no people; fetch me sons and daughters from far; let the barren bear children, and let the married be barren. I have been served with the sins of Israel for a long time, I am weary of their backsliding; let them henceforth lie and rot in their iniquity, go thou to Nineveh. Many the like angry and opprobrious comparisons hath the mouth of the Lord uttered with much indignity* in other places: In the eighteenth of Jeremiah, 'Ask now amongst the heathen, Who hath heard such things? the virgin of Israel hath done very filthily;' strumpets and brothels had done but their kind, but in the virgin of Israel who would have thought it? In the first of Hosea, 'Go, take thee a wife of fornication;' the meaning of the type is this, I will find more faithfulness in a land inured to whoredoms, than one which I tenderly loved as mine own wife. Christ in the Gospel justifieth this collection against the evil and adulterous generation of that time: Mat. xii., 'The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and, behold, a greater than Jonah is here.' And in the same evangelist, chap. xxi., he rateth them in parables, for despising the doctrine of John: 'Publicans and harlots shall go before you into the kingdom of God, for they believed him; and ye, though ye saw it, were not moved to repentance.' The argument briefly thus standeth: the people of Nineveh shall condemn the people of Israel, for they will repent at the preaching of one Jonah: the others repent not at the preaching of many hundreds of prophets.

It is a curse of all curses, the very bottom of the vial, and dregs of the vengeance of God, when prophets are willed to relinquish their accustomed flocks, and their message is translated to foreigners and strangers; the dust of whose feet but shaken against a city or town, or the lap of their garment emptied, the least remembrance, I mean, and watchword in the world, between God and his servants, that here or there they have been, delivered their errand in his name, and were not accepted, shall witness (with a witness) their disobedience in the day of his visitation. So the disciples of Christ were willed to proclaim in every city of the earth, where they were not received, even in the streets and thoroughfares thereof, Luke x., 'The very dust of your city which cleaveth unto us, we wipe off against you: notwithstanding, know this, that the kingdom of God was come near unto you.' You see the scourge of those places from which the disciples are enforced to go for want of entertainment; the kingdom of God goeth with them. And if that

* That is 'indignation.'—Ed.

kingdom be once gone, their joy goeth with it; all the empires and dominions in the world subdued, all sceptres and crowns heaped together, cannot bless them. Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii., observed the direction of their master to the Jews at Antioch, both in gesture and speech; for they first shook off the dust of their feet against those that despised them, and then went to Iconium: but they had told them before their going (which, if they had any sense, was as the wounding of penknives and razors unto their hearts), 'It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken unto you,' because the law must come out of Zion, and the gospel begin at Jerusalem; 'but seeing you put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy everlasting life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles.' Gospel and everlasting life, you hear, are joined together. And therefore the judgment of God was sharper against them there pronounced, than if they had brought them tidings;—Behold, the Romans are come to take away your kingdom, to fire your towns, ruin your houses, ravish your wives and daughters, to dash your infants against the stones in the streets, to pull your eyes from out your heads, and your bowels from out your bodies. 'Behold, we turn to the Gentiles,' wild, unnatural, and neglected branches; and herein behold the full measure of your miseries, behold the dispersion and dissipation of your persons upon the face of the earth, behold the desolation and waste of your country, behold the detestation of your names, the hissing and clapping at your downfall amongst all nations. The loss of the word of God hath lost you credit, liberty, peace, prosperity, salvation, both in your own days and in the days of your children's children. In the eighteenth of the Acts, when the Jews at Corinth resisted and blasphemed the doctrine of Paul, 'testifying unto them, that Jesus was that Christ,' he shook his raiment as before, and loosed his tongue with much boldness against them: 'Your blood be upon your own heads, I am clean; from henceforth I will go to the Gentiles.' As if he had said, I found you the children of death, and so I leave you; grow in your filthiness and unrighteousness till you have fulfilled the measure of your forefathers; for mine own part, I wash my hands in innocency, I can free my soul in the sight of God, I was careful to apply my cure to the hurts of Corinth, but you were not healed.

Lastly, at Rome, in the last of the Acts, he made an open proclamation to the unbelieving Jews, 'Be it known unto you that the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and they shall hear it.' And so be it known unto us (my brethren) that the meaning of the Holy Ghost in these terms of promulgation, know and be it known, *Γινώσκετε*, Luke x., *Γινώσθον ἕστω*, Acts xx., was to make these despisers of Antioch, Corinth, and Rome, examples to all posterity, especially to us, on whom the ends of the world are come, and with the end of the world an end of all goodness, that if we

take not warning hereby, as we plough the like disobedience, so we shall reap the like wretchedness.

If ever the like transgression be found in this land of ours (I will sooner wish it a wilderness for serpents and dragons to dwell in) that as Jordan went back and turned his course, so the gospel go back and turn his passage; and as it was said to a prophet in Israel, 'Arise, and go to Nineveh,' so it be said to the prophets in England, Arise, and go into India, Turkey, or Barbary, and there prophesy, and there eat your bread; I will then say that judgment hath both begun and made an end with us, and that our case is more desperate than if the ground of this island had opened her jaws, and in one common grave buried all her inhabitants. If ever the like transgression be found in this city of yours (I will sooner wish it pools of water, and all the stones of your building thrown down into emptiness), that as the brutish people of the Gadarenes esteemed of their swine, so you of the pleasure of sin for a season, more than Christ Jesus, and even hunt him from your coasts, as they did; and as it was said unto a prophet in Israel, Arise, and go to Nineveh, so to the prophets amongst you, Arise, and go the borders, where theft and revenge are held for current law, and all the streams of blood which Christ shed upon the tree, cannot beg redemption for one injury done unto them; go, carry your tidings of peace to those unpeaceable, uncivil, lawless, and graceless persons; then were your honour gone. And though the gravel of your river that bringeth in merchandise unto you,* were turned into pearls, and every shower of rain from the clouds above were a shower of silver and gold into your houses, yet then were you cast from the favour of God, your sons and your daughters accursed, the sin of their fathers not to be forgotten, nor the iniquity of the mothers to be done away, whilst your name and memory should continue. The prophets are yet in Israel, long may they prophesy in Israel; the pearl is yet in our field, foreign merchants have not bought it from us; the gospel is yet amongst us, oh always may it flourish, and spread like a palm-tree, amidst our tabernacles; the kingdom of God is now not far off, neither in heaven above, that we need climb up, neither in the earth beneath, that we need dig low, neither beyond the sea, that we need go over for it, neither in those mists and obscurities, wherein former ages had involved it; we have the sound thereof daily in our ears, the books in our houses and hands, the letter walking through our lips, oh that we wanted not the power of the gospel in our consciences, the life and manifestation of it in our lives. The Lord make an happy and an inseparable conjunction between all these, and grant that his law and our obedience may always meet together, his gospel and our fruits kiss each other, his truth and our righteousness, his bless-

* This sentence is scarcely applicable to York, where the Lectures were delivered, and may have been inserted on their transcription, with a view to re-delivery in London.—ED.

ings and our thankfulness, never be found asunder ! Let him say of England, even for ever and ever, as sometimes he said of Zion, Ps. lxxviii., ' Here will I dwell, I have chosen England for my habitation ; ' let him confirm that blessing of the psalm upon us, ' The Lord gave the word, great was the company of the preachers. ' And let him make those preachers and

hearers, hearers and doers, doers and perseverers, good teachers, good learners, good liver, everlasting companions within our borders. So shall our land be blessed with all both heavenly and earthly increase, and God, even our own God, shall never repent that he bestowed such blessing upon us. Amen.

LECTURE II.

Arise, and go to Ninereh, that great city, and cry against it ; for their wickedness is come up before me.—
JONAH I. 2.

NOT to trouble you with longer repetition, we inquired in the former exercise of these three points: 1, the place which Jonah was sent unto ; 2, his business there ; 3, the cause. Touching the place, we proposed four reasons why God sent him to Nineveh: 1, to keep his manner and use of foretelling the plague before he inflicteth it ; 2, to set up a standard of hope to the rest of the Gentiles, that they also should partake the goodness of God ; 3, to prevent his people with mercy, and to take up favour in Assyria for them beforehand, against the time of their banishment ; 4, to shame and confound the house of Israel, with the singular repentance of a strange people.

Nineveh is further beautified in my text by two epithets or additions, the one describing the nature or kind of the place, ' a city ; ' the other, the quantity and ampleness thereof, ' a great city. ' The inference from both these must needs be this, that because it was a city, and a great city, it was therefore stately for wealthiness, glorious for buildings, well peopled, tedious to be gone through, perilous to be threatened, where the prophet was likely to find in all states of men, princes, councillors, courtiers, merchants, commoners, mighty contradiction. The greatness of Nineveh is more plentifully set down in the third of this prophecy, where it is termed, ' a great and an excellent city, of three days' journey. ' It had an ancient testimony long before in the book of Genesis, chap. x. 11 ; for thus Moses writeth, that ' Asshur came from the land of Shinar, and built Nineveh and Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah. ' At length he singleth out Nineveh from the rest, and setteth a special mark of pre-eminence upon it, ' This is a great city ; ' which honour, by the judgment of the most learned, though standing in the last place, belongeth to the first of the four cities, namely, to Nineveh. Others* imagined, but their conjecture is without ground, that the whole four cities were closed up within the same walls, and made but one of an unusual bigness. Some† ascribe the building of Nineveh to Ninus, the son of Belus, of whom it took its name, to be called either Ninus, as we read in

Pliny,* or, after the manner of the Hebrews, Nineveh. They conceive it thus, that when Nimrod had built Babylon, Ninus, disdaining his government, went into the fields of Asshur, and there erected a city after his own name, between the rivers Lycus and Tybris.† Others suppose that the affinity betwixt these names, deceived profane writers touching the author thereof, and that it took the name Nineveh because it was beautiful or pleasant.‡ Others hold opinion that Asshur and Ninus are but one and the same person ; and lastly, to conclude, the judgment of some learned§ is, that neither Asshur, nor Ninus, but Nimrod himself, was the founder of it. But by the confession of all, both sacred and gentile histories,|| the city was very spacious, having four hundred and eighty furlongs in circuit, when Babylon had fewer almost by an hundred, and as afterwards it grew in wealth and magnificence, so they write, it was much enlarged. Raphael Volateranus affirmeth that it was eight years in building, and not by fewer at once than ten thousand workmen. There was no city since, by the estimation of Diodorus Siculus, that had like compass of ground, or stateliness of walls, the height whereof was not less than an hundred feet, the breadth sufficiently capable to have received three carts on a row, and they were furnished and adorned besides with one thousand five hundred turrets. The Holy Ghost, no doubt, had a double purpose in giving this glorious title of distinction to Nineveh: the one in respect of Jonah, the other of Nineveh itself.

1. In respect of Jonah, it was the meaning of God to try and arm his prophet beforehand, with commemoration of the greatest difficulties, that by naming the worst at the first unto him, he might prove his obedience, whether he felt himself disposed to hold out, and so settle his thoughts in some sort in declaring the costs of the building before he undertook it, lest afterwards, when he came and found the danger of the place beyond his expectation, he might complain of God, as we read that Jeremiah did, chap. xx., ' I am deceived, O Lord, and thou hast deceived me. '

* Natur. Hist. vi. 13.

† Qu. ' Tigris ' ?—Ed.

‡ Ar. Mont.

§ Jun. et Tren.

|| Diodor. Sic. Strabo. Paulus de Palatio upon Jonah.

* Anius upon Berosus.

† Raph. Volater.

Thus he dealt with Abraham his servant in the 22d of Genesis, about the offering up of his son, whose faith and obedience he sounded before,* by aggravating in his ears every circumstance of the action, that Abraham might forecast with himself whether the infirmity of his nature were able to brook it; for it is written there that 'God did prove Abraham.' The proof was thus: Abraham, take (1) thy son; (2) thine only son; (3) Isaac thy son; (4) whom thou lovest; take him (5) thyself; take him (6) now presently; (7) get thee into the land of Moriah; (8) there offer him; offer him (9) for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I shall shew thee. The weight of every word is enough to bruise him in pieces, and make him sink down under the burden of that charge. (1) Take thy son, not thy bondman, nor beast, nor any common thing, that belongeth unto thee; (2) thine only son, the only begotten of the free woman; (3) not Ishmael, but Isaac thy son, to whom thy promises are established; (4) Isaac whom thou lovest, as tender and dear unto thee as the bowels of thine own breast; (5) take him in thine own person, even thou, the father of the child, turn not over the execution to any other man; (6) take him without delay, I give thee no time to deliberate, nor day nor hour to confer with thyself, and to comfort thy broken heart about the loss of thy beloved; (7) get thee into the land of Moriah, which will ask the travel of three days, so long will I hold and suspend thy soul in bitterness; (8) leave not thy son in Moriah as an orphan without his father, to sojourn in a strange country; offer him in sacrifice, commit slaughter upon his flesh; (9) lastly, when thou hast slain him, thou shalt burn him in the fire, and consume him to ashes; thou shalt not spare thy son for my sake, neither quick nor dead.

So, likewise, when he sent Ezekiel to the rebels of Israel, he gave him this provision, chap. ii.: 'Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel.' What are they? I will not dissemble with thee, they are 'a rebellious nation, they and their fathers before them unto this day, children hard of face and stiff-hearted: Thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, but surely they will not hear, neither will they cease, for they are rebels, and thorns, and scorpions.' I have now unfolded the conditions of thy charge; if thou findest thy courage sufficient to endure the gain-saying of rebels, the pricking and rending of thorns, tearing the ears with contumely, and the name of thy maker with blasphemous speech, the hissing and stinging of pestilent scorpions, then go to the children of Israel; if not, thou art unmeet for this business. As if a prophet of our days should be sent to Constantinople, and have his instruction given him at his setting forth, that it is a portly and insolent city, the seat of the great Turk, the heart of the empire, a cago of all uncleanness, an enemy to the name of Christians,

* *Affectum inquit, non factum exigit.—Ambros. de patriarch.*

warring continually against the saints, a scorner of our crucified Redeemer, a worshipper of the false prophet Mahomet, with other such like cold encouragements, feeling his pulses, as it were, and examining his spirit, whether it hath a power to fight with these dangers.

It was some comfort, no doubt, amongst the discomforts to come, that our Saviour lessoned his disciples before their going abroad: Mat. xii., 'Behold I send you as lambs among wolves; they will deliver you up to the councils, and scourge you in their synagogues: and you shall be brought to the governors and kings for my sake, in witness to them and to the Gentiles.' In the 16th of John he plainly professeth his meaning, in these kind of predictions, 'These things have I said unto you that ye should not be offended. They shall excommunicate you: yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he doth God service. But these things have I told you, that when the hour shall come you may remember that I told you of them.' The foreknowledge of dangers ensuing gave invincible constancy and resolution to Paul, as appeareth in his excellent oration made at Miletum, Acts xx. 22, 'Behold I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, and know not what things shall come unto me there: save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bands and afflictions stay for me.' Hereupon he composeth his heart to patience, and calleth all his forces home to himself to resist those afflictions: 'But I pass not at all, neither is my life dear unto me,' &c. And when Agabus at Cesarea, chap. xxi., had taken the girdle off Paul, and bound his own hands and feet, saying from the mouth of the Holy Ghost, 'So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle,' when his friends would have held him back from going to Jerusalem, he answered boldly, and said, 'What do ye, weeping and breaking mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus.' Peter persuadeth the dispersed saints, dwelling here and there, to patience in troubles, by an argument drawn from the knowledge and experience thereof before had: 1 Pet. iv. 12, 'Dearly beloved,' saith he, 'think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is among you to prove you, as though some new thing was come unto you;' as if he had said, This fire is ancient and well known; you have long seen the smoke thereof, and therefore the breaking forth of the flames should not so greatly astonish you. His own practice was not inferior to his advice; for upon that presage which his master gave in the last of John, 'When thou art old, thou shalt stretch forth thine hands, and another shall gird thee,' &c., he took his occasion to use more diligence in his calling, knowing, as himself speaketh, 2 Pet. i., that 'the time was at hand, when he must lay down his tabernacle, even as the Lord Jesus Christ had shewed him.'

Thus much on the behalf of Jonah, that if the

greatness of the city were any terror unto him, he might not complain that he was taken at unawares, suddenly called, and improvidently thrust forth, but with alacrity of mind set his shoulder to the work, and settle his confidence in the greatness of that God from whom he was commanded. It is a direction to us all, whatsoever our service be wherein God shall employ us, whether in church or in commonwealth, whether we sit upon the thrones of David for execution of judgment, or in the chair of Moses for exposition of the law, which are the cumbersomest charges upon the earth, the very heat and burden of the day, if I may so term them, not to remit our labours, and with the sons of Ephraim, being armed and bearing bows, to turn our backs in the day of battle. But though we be crossed with a thousand afflictions, and have just cause to cry out, as Moses in his government, Num. xi. 2, 'Why hast thou vexed thy servant?' yet persist and go forward in our pains, addressing our souls to contentment and quietness, This was I called unto; I cannot plead ignorance, neither had I reason to expect less; travail, vexation, anguish of spirit were given me for my lot and my portion to drink, when I first entered into these affairs.

2. Touching the place, when we hear it commended for a great city, shall we infer hereupon, therefore privileged to carelessness, haughtiness, oppression, wickedness, which are the worms and moths, for the most part, that breed of greatness? therefore may Nineveh sin with impunity, and say, I am the queen of the earth, who shall control me? therefore must sins set up a monarchy also in Nineveh? must prophets go to Bethel, and prophesy in out corners, because Nineveh is the king's court, and cannot bear the words of prophets? can the mightiness of her state, singularity of her government, climbing* of her walls, aspiring of her towers, multitude of her people, make her secure against the wrath of the Lord of hosts? or can the bars of her gates keep out his judgments? Alas, what is the greatness of Nineveh compared with the greatness of the Lord? The lands of Alcibiades, in the map of the whole world, were less than a centre, and small tittle, they could not be espied; all the islands of the sea are as a little dust, in the sight of the Almighty, and the nations 'as the drop of a well-bucket,' Isa. xl. What is the number and the height of thy proud turrets? Though they hold the earth in awe, they cannot threaten heaven, and the closer they press to the seat of God, the nearer they lie to his lightning. The challenge of God to the selfsame city, is notably set down in the prophecy of Nahum: chap. iii. 8, 'Art thou better than No, which was full of people, that lay in the rivers, and had the waters round about it, whose ditch was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and there was no end; Put and Lubim were her helpers. Yet was she carried away, and went into captivity: her young

* That is 'height.'—ED.

children were broken in pieces at the head of all the streets: and they cast lots for her noble men, and all her mighty men were bound in chains.' The reason holdeth by equality: the strength and puissance of No was abased, and thy might shall be cast down. It was afterward accomplished upon Nineveh, because 'she was full of blood, full of lies and robbery, a mistress of witchcrafts, her multitude was slain, and the dead bodies were many, there was no end of her carcases, and they even stumbled as they went upon her corpses.' Mercurius Trismegistus sometimes spake to Asclepius of Egypt* after this sort, Art thou ignorant, O Asclepius, that Egypt is the image of heaven? &c.—And if we shall speak more truly, our land is the temple of the whole world;—and yet the time shall come when Egypt shall be forsaken, and that land which was the seat of the Godhead shall be deprived of religion, and left destitute of the presence of the gods.

It is written of Tyrus, in Isa. xxiii., that she was 'rich with the seed of Nilus, that brought her abundance; the harvest of the river were her revenues, and she was a mart of the nations,' &c. Yet the Lord triumpheth and maketh disport at her overthrow: 'Is this that glorious city of yours, whose antiquity is of ancient days? &c., who hath decreed this against Tyrus? she that crowned men, whose merchants are princes, and her chapmen the nobles of the world? The Lord of hosts hath decreed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring to contempt all the honourable in the earth.' 'It is fallen, it is fallen' (saith the angel in the Revelation, chap. xviii.), 'Babylon the great city' (having the same title of greatness that Nineveh hath in this place), 'and is become the habitation of devils, and the hole of all foul spirits, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird,' though she had said in her heart, 'I sit as a queen, I am no widow, and shall see no mourning.' That everlasting city of Rome, *urbs eterna*, as Ammianus Marcellinus called her, shall see the day when the eternity of her name, and the immortality of her soul wherewith she is quickened, I mean the supremacy of her prelates above emperors and princes, shall be taken from her; and as Babylon before mentioned hath left her the inheritance of her name, so it shall leave her the inheritance of her destruction also, and she shall become as other presumptuous cities, 'a dwelling for hedgehogs, an habitation for owls and vultures; thorns shall grow in her palaces, and nettles in her strongholds.' The lamentations of Jeremiah touching the ruin of Jerusalem, sometimes 'the perfection of beauty, and the joy of the whole earth,' Lam. ii., as near unto God as the signet upon his right hand, yet afterwards destroyed as a lodge in a garden, that is made but for one night, if they can pass by the ears of any man and leave not lamentation and passion behind them, I will say that his heart is harder than the nether millstone. How were her gates sunk to the ground, her bars broken,

* August. de Civi. Dei, viii. 23.

the stones of her sanctuary scattered in the corners of every street, her mountain of Sion so desolate, that the very foxes run upon it, whose strength was such before, 'that the kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world, would never have believed that the enemy should have entered into the gates of Jerusalem,' chap. iv.

I now conclude. Greatness of sins will shake the foundations of the greatest cities upon the earth; if their heads stood amongst the stars, iniquity would bring them down into dust and rubble. Multitude of offences will diminish and consume multitudes of men, that although the streets were sown with the seed of man, yet they shall be so scarce that a child may tell them: yea, the desolation shall be so great, that none shall remain to say to his friend, 'leave thy fatherless children behind thee, and I will preserve them alive, and let thy widows trust in me,' Jer. xlix.

The days can speak, and the multitude of years can teach wisdom; ask your fathers, and they can report unto you, that grass hath grown in the streets of your cities for want of passengers, and a man hath been as precious as the gold of Ophir, as rare almost to be found as if the ground of your city had been the moors and wastes where no man dwelleth. One would have wished a friend more than the treasures of the east, to have kept him company, relieved his necessity, to have taken some pains with his widow and orphans, to have closed his eyes at the time of his death, to have seen him laid forth for burial, and his bones but brought to the grave in peace. The arm of the Lord is not shortened; he that smote you once can smite you the second time; he can visit the sons as well as the fathers; he is a God, both in the mountains and in the valleys, in the former and later ages; he is able again to measure the ground of your city with a line of vanity, pull down your houses into the dust of the earth, and turn the glory of your dwellings into ploughed fields; only the fear of his name is your safest refuge, righteousness shall be a stronger bulwark unto you, than if you were walled with brass; mercy, and judgment, and truth, and sobriety, and sanctimony of life shall stand with your enemies in the gate, and repel the vengeance of God in the highest strength thereof.

2. And so I come to the second general part, wherein we are to consider what Jonah was to do at Nineveh. It is manifested in the words following, 'Cry against it;' lay not thine hand upon thy mouth, neither draw in thy breath to thyself, when the cause of thy master must be dealt in. Silence can never break the dead sleep of Nineveh; softness of voice cannot pierce her heavy ears; ordinary speaking hath no proportion with extraordinary transgression; speak, and speak to be heard, that when she heareth of her fall, she may be wounded with it. It was not now convenient that Jonah should go to Nineveh, as God came to Elias, 1 Kings xix., in a 'still and soft voice,' but rather as a 'mighty

strong wind, rending the mountains, and breaking the rocks,' abasing the highest looks in Nineveh, and tearing the hardest heart in pieces; as an 'earthquake and fire,' consuming all her dross, and making her quake with the fear of the judgments of God, as the trees of the forest. Jericho must be overthrown with trumpets and a shout, and Nineveh will not yield but to a vehement outcry. A prophet must arm himself, I say not with the spear, but with the zeal of Phinehas, when sin is impudent and cannot blush: God cannot endure dallying and trifling in weighty matters. The gentle spirit of Eli is not sufficient to amend children past grace, and a prophet like Mitio doth but bolster a sinner in his froward ways.

He chargeth his messenger otherwise in the prophecy of Isaiah: chap. lviii., 'Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, shew my people their transgressions, and to the house of Jacob their sins.' Much less can he abide flattery and guilefulness in his business, for 'cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently,' Jer. xlviii., or rather, as the word importeth, 'with deceit.' 'Woe unto them that sow pillows under men's arm-holes,' Ezek. xiii., when it is more time to prick them up with goads, 'that sell the cause of the Lord for handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread,' for favour, for fear, for lucre, or any the like worldly respects; and when the people committed unto them shall 'say unto their seers, See not, and to their prophets, Prophesy not right things,' *loquimini placentia*, speak pleasings and leasings unto us, prophesy errors,' Isa. xxx., are easily drawn to betray the will of their Lord, and to satisfy their humours. God hath disclosed his mind in this treachery, 'Behold, I will come against the prophets that steal my word from their neighbours. Behold, I will come against the prophets that have sweet tongues, that cause my people to err by their lies and flatteries,' Jer. xxiii. For then is the word of the Lord stolen and purloined from our brethren, when we 'justify the wicked, and give life to the souls that should not live;' when we 'heal the hurts of Israel with sweet words,' when we anoint the heads of sinners with precious balms, whose hearts we should rather break with sharp corrosives; when we put honey into the sacrifice instead of salt; when we should frame our song of judgment, and we turn it into a song of mercy; when we should mourn to make men lament, and we pipe to make them dance, putting the evil day far from them, and hunting for their praise and acceptance of us with pleasing discourses, affected eloquence, histrionical jests, rather than grave and divine sentences. Jerome gave another exhortation to Nepotian, *Lachrymæ auditorum, laudes tuæ sint*, Let the tears of thy auditors be thy praises. And Augustine had a stranger opinion of these applauses and acclamations of men: These praises of yours (saith he to his hearers) do rather offend and endanger me; *toleramus illas et tremimus inter illas*: we suffer them, indeed, but we tremble when we hear

them. We cannot promise you such deceitful handling and battering of the word of God, for whether you hear or hear not the prophecy that is brought unto you, yet you shall know that there have been prophets amongst you; we will not suffer your sins to sleep quietly in your bosoms, as Jonah slept in the sides of the ship, but we will rouse them up; if we see your pride, your usury, your adulteries, your oppressions, we will not only cry them, but cry against them, lest they cry against us; we will set up a banner in the name of the Lord of hosts, and proclaim them in your hearing; and if our cry will not help, we will leave you to that cry at midnight, when your bodies that sleep in the dust of the earth, and your sins that sleep with your bodies, both shall be awaked, and receive their meed at God's hands; we will charm your deafness with the greatest cunning we have. If our charming cannot move you, we will send you to the judgment-seat of God with this writing upon your foreheads, *Noluerunt incantari*, They would not be charmed.

3. The reason of his crying against Nineveh is this, 'For their wickedness is come up before me.'

They that are skilful in the original, observe that the name of *wickedness*, here used, importeth the greatest extremity that can be, and is not restrained to this or that sin, one of a thousand, but is a most absolute and all-sufficient term, for 'three transgressions, and for four,' as it is in Amos, that is, for seven, that is, for infinite corruption. Whatsoever exceedeth modesty, and is most contrary to the will of God, beyond all right or reason, settled into dregs, frozen like ice, given over, sold to the will of Satan, is here meant; where every person in the commonwealth is degenerated: 'there is none good, no, not one,' Ps. xiv.; and every part in the body and soul of man doth his part to lift up the head of sin, 'the throat an open sepulchre, the tongue used to deceit, the poison of asps under the lips, the mouth full of cursing and bitterness, the feet swift to shed blood, destruction and calamity in all their ways, no knowledge of the way of peace, no fear of God before their eyes.' And whether the word hath that power, yea or no, it skilleth not much to dispute; for the words adjoined in the text make it plain without further amplification. First, it is *wickedness*; secondly, it *ascendeth*; thirdly, into the *presence of God himself*. Whereby you may perceive, that the wickedness of Nineveh was not base and shamefaced, fearful to advance itself, but an high kind of wickedness, swelling like Jordan above his banks. It lay not close in the bottom of the sea, nor in the holes of rocks, nor in the covert and secrecy of private chambers; it hath 'an whorish forehead, and could not be ashamed;' they 'declared their sins as Sodom, they hid them not,' and as a fountain casteth out waters, so they their malice.

(1.) The phrase here used noteth a great aggravation of the thing intended. So in the sixth of Genesis it is said, that 'the earth was corrupt before the Lord;'

and in the tenth of that book, 'Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord;' that is, the corruptions of the world, and the violence of Nimrod, were so gross, that the Lord could not choose but take knowledge of them. So it is here said, 'Their wickedness is come up before me.' It knoweth no end, it climbeth like the sun in the morning, and passeth the bounds of all moderation; it is not enough that the bruit and fame thereof is blown into the ears of men, but it hath filled the earth, possesseth the air, lifteth itself above the stars amongst the angels of God, offereth her filthiness and impurity before the throne of his majesty, and if there were farther to go, such is her boldness and shamelessness, she would forbear no place.

What! are there seasons and times when the Lord beholdeth sin and wickedness, and when he beholdeth it not? 'He that made the eye, doth he not see?' doth he slumber or sleep that keepeth Israel? or hath he not torches and cresset light at all times to descry the deeds of Babylon? or is he subject to that scoff which Elias gave Baal, 1 Kings xviii., 'It may be he sleepeth, and must be awaked?' or what else is the meaning of that phrase, 'Their wickedness is come up before me?' As if there were some wickedness which came not to his notice. Surely, besides the increase and propagation of their wickedness (for there is difference betwixt creeping and climbing), it noteth some order in the actions of God. He saw their sins in the book of eternity, before their hearts did ever conceive them; he saw them in their breasts, before their hands committed them; he saw their infancy and their full strength, their thirst and drunkenness, their beginning and proceeding. But then he saw them indeed and to purpose, when he saw them perfected and fulfilled; and having winked as it were before, and in patience forborne them, now beheld them with fiery eyes, and his heart unremoveably bent to take vengeance. 'The wild ass used to the wilderness, snuffeth up wind at her pleasure; who can turn her back? they that seek after her, will not weary themselves, but will find her in her month,' Jer. ii. 24. God seeth and observeth at all times the untamed madness of the wicked, wearying themselves like the wild ass, or the dromedary, in a race of abominations; but he will take them in their month, and turn them back when their sins are ripe and his wrath thoroughly incensed.

(2.) *Their wickedness is come up before me.* The phrase doth minister a further instruction unto us. Sin, in the eyes of some men, seemeth not sin. Lactantius writeth of those who were not ashamed of their faults, but rather sought out patronage and defence for them, that at the least they might seem to sin honestly, *Ut honeste peccare videantur*. Jeremiah speaketh of the Jews in the same manner, chap. vi.: 'Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not ashamed, neither could they have shame.' He smiteth them afterward

in chap. xi. of his prophecy, with a sharper reproof, that 'when they did evil, they rejoiced at it.' And it is the fashion of us all, to bolster and bear out the vices of our friends, changing sour into sweet, and evil into good, even for their friendship's sake. Alcous took a mole on the body for a grace, yet was it a blemish. One mule rubbeth another; an hypocrite liketh an hypocrite, because he is like unto him; a drunkard, a drunkard; an usurer, him that practiseth the same trade; he that transformed himself into an angel of light, being a fiend of darkness, hath taught an harlot to clothe herself like an honest matron, and vices to disguise themselves under the habit of virtues. But howsoever the eyes of men are blinded with partiality, yet 'the eyelids of the Lord shall try the children of men;' his righteous and flaming countenance shall soundly examine their actions, uncover the faces of their iniquities, and call them rightly and truly by their proper names.

(3.) But whatsoever we find else in the riches and store of these words, this we may gather from the nature of them, that there are some sins winged, of an high elevation, ascending above the top of Carmel, aspiring and pressing before the majesty of God's own throne. The speech is but altered in other scriptures, the substance and signification all one, where it is said that some sins cry in the ears of God; that which is the wings or chariot unto them in this place, to make them mount so high, is their cry in those others, I mean their outrage and enormity. Cain's sin cried unto the Lord, Gen. iv. And in the 18th of Genesis, 'Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great,' which is expounded in the next words, 'and because their sin is exceeding grievous, I will now go down, saith the Lord, and see whether they have done altogether according to that cry which is come up unto me.' 'Behold, the hire of the labourers which have reaped the fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of hosts,' in the epistle of James, chap. v. Answerable to that part of Job his apology, which he presenteth unto his judge, in the 31st of his book, 'If my land cry against me, or if the furrows of my field complain, &c., let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley.' Oppression is threatened by the like terms, in the second of Habakkuk, 'The stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe unto him that buildeth a town with blood, and erecteth a city with iniquity!' All which sentences of Scripture, expressing the loudness and vocality of sin, are of the same force, as before I said, with those that declare the sublimity and reach of it. God speaketh to Sennacherib in another manner of speech, but the matter and purpose is not different from this, 2 Kings xix. 28, 'Because thou ragest against me, and thy tumult is come up to mine ears, I will put my hook in thy nostrils,' &c. Likewise the prophet

telleth the children of Israel in the second of Chronicles, chap. xxviii. 3, that because the Lord God was wroth with Judah, he had delivered them into the Israelites' hands, and they had slain them in a rage, that reached up to heaven. By these and the like conferences, a man may determine the nature, and set down a catalogue in some sort of crying sins. Bloodshed is a crying sin, I say not all kinds of bloodshed, for the speech of God to Cain hath *bloods*, not blood, which noteth an unsatiable appetite, wherewith he was so dry, that if his brother had possessed a thousand times as much blood, he would have spilt it all; and though he took away his life, yet he took not leave of his own malicious thirst of blood. Blasphemy and rage against God is a crying sin; oppression, extortion, fraud against poor labourers, against right owners, is a crying sin; and sin with outrageousness and impudency any way, public, infamous, enormous sin, contemning the judgment of God and censures of men, committed with greediness, drawn with cart-ropes, gloried in, where men even sell themselves to work wickedness, is a crying sin.* Which immoderate and proud humour of viciousness is notably expressed in the sixth of Genesis, where it is alleged, that 'when the Lord saw the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, and all the imaginations of the thoughts of his heart were only evil continually, then it repented the Lord that he had made man, and he was sorry in his heart. 1, It was wickedness; 2, great; 3, evident, for the Lord saw it; 4, their hearts were evil; 5, every thought of their heart; 6, every imagination of thought; 7, only evil; 8, continually, or day by day, there was no hope of amendment. Equal hereunto is that general and unbridled corruption, which David setteth down in the 14th Psalm, where they begin with a most damnable principle of atheism, the gate and highway into all iniquity, 'The fool saith in his heart, There is no God;' then is the sink or channel opened to all dissolution of life, 'They are corrupted, and do abominably, there is none that doth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand, and seek after God; but they were all gone out of the way,' &c. When this canker of impiety hath so overspread and eaten into the manners of people, then is fulfilled that which Isaiah putteth down for a sound position, chap. xxvi., 'Let mercy be shewed to the wicked, yet he will not learn righteousness; in the land of uprightness will he do wickedly, and will not behold the majesty of the Lord.' If neither the mercy nor the majesty of God, nor the company of the righteous, can reform him, then is his bettering despaired and past hope. I need no farther examine this part.

The cause why Jonah cried against Nineveh, was the cry of their sins. Their regions were white to harvest,

* Voluptatum monstra non species.—*Cypr. in prolog. d. Cardin. ope. Christi.*

their iniquities ripe, and looked for a sickle from heaven to cut them down. The sufficiency of which cause to derive the judgments of God upon us, Jeremiah layeth down in his prophecy, chap. xxii.: 'Many nations shall pass by the city (meaning of Jerusalem), and shall say every man to his neighbour, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus to this great city? Then shall they answer, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord their God,' &c. For the judgment of the Lord, pronounced by David, Ps. xxi., shall stand longer than the stars in the firmament: 'Him that loveth iniquity, doth his soul hate. Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and stormy tempests: this is the portion of their cup.' And in the first Psalm, it is a singular opposition that is made between the just and the wicked, *Non sic impii, non sic*, the wicked are not so. That thou mayest unmoveably believe how unmoveably God is bent to deny the wicked his grace, he strengtheneth the negative by doubling it.* Therefore the wicked shall not stand in judgment, for they are fallen before their judgment cometh. What! shall they not rise again? Surely yes; but in judgment, saith Jerome, for they are already judged.

The wickedness of our land, what it is, and in what elevation of height, whether modest or impudent, private or public, whether it speaketh or crieth, standeth or goeth, lieth like an asp in her hole, or flieth like a fiery serpent into the presence of God, yourselves be judges. Write my words in tables, that they may be monuments for latter days;† for when your children's children shall hear them hereafter, they will scarcely believe them. The months of the year have not yet gone about,† wherein the Lord hath bowed the heavens, and come down amongst us with more tokens and earnestness of his wrath intended, than the agedest man of our land is able to recount of so small a time. For say if ever the winds, since they blew one against the other, have been more common, and more tempestuous, as if the four ends of

† Ut immobiliter credas, firmitatem negationis iterando monstrat.—*Cassiod.*

† The year of the Lord 1593, and 1594.

heaven had conspired to turn the foundations of the earth upside down; thunders and lightnings, neither seasonable for the time, and withal most terrible, with such effects brought forth, that the children unborn shall speak of it. The anger of the clouds hath been poured down upon our heads, both with abundance, and (saving to those that felt it) with incredible violence; the air threatened our miseries with a blazing star; the pillars of the earth tottered in many whole countries and tracts of our island; the arrows of a woeful pestilence have been cast abroad at large in all the quarters of our realm, even to the emptying and dispeopling of some parts thereof; treasons against our queen and country, we have known many and mighty, monstrous to be imagined, from a number of lions' whelps, lurking in their dens, and watching their hour to undo us; our expectation and comfort so failed us in France, as if our right arms had been pulled from our shoulders. We have not altered the colour of the hair of our heads, nor added one inch to our stature, since all these things have been accomplished amongst us. Consider then well, and think it the highest time to forsake your highest wickedness; I call it highest wickedness, for if we knew how to add anything, in our several veins and dispositions, to those idols of sin which we serve, some to our covetousness, some to our pride, some to our unchasteness; some to our malice, and such like, we would break our sleep, nay, we would compass sea and land to increase it. Yet, howsoever it fareth with the multitude, let there be a seed and remnant among us, left to entreat for peace. Ten righteous persons would have saved Sodom, and it may so stand with the goodness of God, that a few innocent fools shall preserve the island, as Job speaketh, chap. xxii. 30. Let us thankfully embrace the long sufferance of our God forepast, leading us as by a hand of friendship to repentance; and let us redeem with newness of life our days and years formerly mis-spent, lest by impenitent transgressions against the law of our Maker, we fall upon his sentence of wrath, irrevocably passed and resolved by him, 'I have thought it, and will not repent, neither will I turn back from it,' Jer. iv.

LECTURE III.

But Jonah arose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, and he went down to Joppa, &c.—

JONAH I. 3.

THE commission given to Jonah, we have already weighed; it followeth that we handle his recusancy and disobedience therein committed. This verse now in hand delivereth the whole body thereof, with every member belonging unto it, 1, his preparation is set down in that 'he arose;' 2, his speed, 'to fly;' 3, the end and period of his journey, 'to Tarshish;' 4, his end and purpose, why to Tarshish, 'to escape the

presence of the Lord;' 5, the opportunities, helps and furtherances to his travel, are exactly put down. (1,) 'He went down to Joppa,' an haven town; (2,) he 'found a ship going to Tarshish;' (3,) 'he paid the fare thereof;' (4,) he 'went down into it;' (5,) lastly, his reason of flying to Tarshish,* is again specified,

* *οὐκ ἐργαζόμενος ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐργαζόμενος*, 2 Thes. iii. 11.
—*Non agit sed satagit.*

with a regression in the end of the verse, 'that he might go from the presence of the Lord.' A notable pattern of man's disposition, 1, tho Lord biddeth him arise, and he ariseth, who, if he had sitten still, till his flesh had cloven to the pavement, or if he had stretched himself upon his bed and folded his arms to sleep, he had done a service more acceptable to God; 2, he is bidden to go, but not content with going, he doth more than so, he fleeth, he hath the feet of an hind, and the wings of a dove to do that he should not, who had reaped more thanks if he had crept but like a snail in his right course; 3, he is bidden to go to Nineveh, he goeth to Joppa and Tarshish; he is not idle, but he doth ill, he doth that which he was not charged with, *non nihil agit, sed male, sed aliud*, and like one of those lords in Jeremiah, chap. ii., who told God to his face, 'we are lords, we will no more come at thee,' so doth he flatly cross and overthwart that direction which God had set him; 4, he heareth of a great city, of a wearisome perambulation, asking the travel of three whole days, but he saveth the labour of his feet, goeth into a little vessel, and travelleth by sea, a far easier journey; 5, he is bidden to cry, but he is so far from making any noise, that all the clamour and noise of the mariners could not awake him and stir him up; 6, he heareth that the wickedness of Nineveh is come up before the presence of the Lord; notwithstanding he feareth not to mock and abuse the presence of the same Lord, neither despireth he to avoid it.

There is nothing in all these but stubbornness and rebellion, which is as kindly to man, as the flesh and bones that he beareth about him. Amongst the other plants in the garden of Eden, not far from the goodliest trees of life and knowledge, grew the bitter root of disobedience, which our forefathers had no sooner tasted, but it infected their blood, and the corrupt nutriment thereof converted itself into the whole body of their succeeding lineage. The breasts of Eve gave no other milk than perverseness to her children, and Adam left it for a patrimony and inheritance unto all his posterity. Though God had precisely said, Gen. ii., 'Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death;' though there were no comparison between their maker, and a murderer from the beginning, the father of truth, and the father of lies, a God and a devil, and the one had forbidden but one tree, and fenced it as it were with a double hedge, of a twofold death; yet, when the serpent came to the woman with a mere contradiction to the voice of God, 'ye shall not die the death,' Gen. iii., how credulous and forward was she to entertain his suggestion! Moses proved to the children of Israel, in the 9th of Deuteronomy, by a perfect induction, that there was nothing but rebellion in them; 'Remember, and forget not,' saith he, 'how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to anger in the wilderness:

also in Horeb, afterwards in Taberah, and in Massah, and at the graves of lust; likewise when the Lord sent you from Kadesh-barnea,' &c. At length he concludeth, 'ye have been rebellious unto the Lord since the day that I knew you.' And God pronounceth of the same people in the fourth of Numbers, that though 'they had seen his glory, and the miracles which he did in Egypt, and in the wilderness, yet they had tempted him ten times, and had not obeyed his voice.' In the 17th of the same book, the Lord gave commandment unto Moses, that Aaron's rod, which budded for the house of Levi, when the other rods budded not, should be kept in the ark for a monument of their murmurings and rebellions forepassed. To forbear infinite other testimonies, the whole world may be the ark to keep the monument of their and our disobedience; it is so common to us both, when we are willed to 'ask for the old way, which is the good way,' to answer, 'we will not walk therein;' when the watchmen cry unto us, 'take heed to the sound of the trumpet,' to answer, 'we will not take heed,' Jer. vi.; when 'wisdom crieth abroad, and uttereth her voice in the streets: O ye foolish, how long will ye learn foolishness, &c., to despise her counsel, and to make a scorn of her correction,' Prov. i. What work of our hands betrayeth not this malice? what word of our mouths speaketh not perverse things? almost, what thought of our hearts kicketh not against the pricks of God's sacred commandments, and desperately adventureth herself upon the point of his sharp curse? 'O that our ways were made so direct, that we might keep his statutes; then should we never be confounded, whilst we had respect unto all his commandments.'

It is a question made by some (though I make no question of it), whether this detraction and refusal of Jonah were a fault, yea or no? Dionysius Carthusianus upon this place, doth partly excuse it; I think it far from excuse, for doubtless the voice of God is the first rule and rudiments of all Christian instruction, the first stone to be laid in the whole building, that cloud by day, that pillar of fire by night, whereby all our actions are to be guided. Paul, in his marvellous conversion, desired no other light, and lode-star to be governed by, but the will and word of his Saviour, 'Lord what wilt thou have me do?' Acts ix. The very prophet of Moab would not depart from his standard; for when Balak by his messengers sent him word that he would promote him, and God did but keep him back from honour; he made this answer unto him, Num. xxiv. 13, 'If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot pass the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine own mind; what the Lord shall command, that same will I speak.' He had said before to the king in person, 'Lo, I am come unto thee, and can I now say anything at all? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak,' chap. xxii. 38. . . .

The words of Samuel to Saul determine the doubt, and make it as plain as the light at noonday, that the fact of Jonah here committed, was an unexcusable offence; 'Behold, saith he, 'to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken is better than the fat of rams, for rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and transgression is wickedness and idolatry,' it followeth in the next words, 'because thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, therefore he hath cast away thee from being king,' 1 Sam. xv. You hear the nature of these two contraries, obedience and disobedience, kindly deciphered, the one to be better than sacrifice; for he that offereth a sacrifice, offereth the flesh of a beast, but he that obeyeth, offereth his own will as a quick and a reasonable sacrifice (which is all in all), the other to be as witchcraft and idolatry; for what is disobedience, but when the Lord hath imposed some duty upon us, we confer with our own hearts, as Saul consulted with the woman of En-dor, 1 Sam. xxviii., or Ahaziah, king of Samaria, with the god of Ekron, Beelzebub, whether the word of the Lord shall be hearkened to, yea or no? Thus we set up an idol within our own breasts, against the God of heaven, and forsaking his testimonies, we follow the voice and persuasion of our own devices. Bernard, alluding to this place before recited, writeth thus: The children of disobedience make their will their idol.* He addeth for further explication, that it is one thing not to obey, another thing to purpose and prepense disobedience; neither is it the simple transgression of God's commandment, but the proud wilful contempt of his will, which is reputed the sin of idolatry; and surely I see no reason they have to conceal the infirmity of Jonah herein, when Jonah himself (if I mistake not the meaning of the whole sentence) doth amply disclose it.

But Jonah. Jonah was the author and writer of this history, yet Jonah reporteth the fault in himself, as if some stranger and person without his skin had committed it. He forgetteth, as it were, his own people and his father's house, and setting affection aside to his own credit, maketh a simple and plain declaration, namely and singularly, of the transgression of Jonah. A wise man, by the rule of Solomon, in the beginning of his speech will accuse himself (Prov. xviii. in the vulgar), so doth Jonah, not shrouding his head, nor running into a bush, as Adam did, but writing his fault in his brow, and pointing with his finger at the very transgressor; under his proper and individual name, he bringeth the accusation, '*Then Jonah arose,*' the party not long since mentioned, even the son of Amittai, he that immediately before received the word of the Lord to go to Nineveh, let his name be registered, and his fault be published to the whole world. Jonah arose.

Arose. Will you now see his readiness in an evil cause? no sooner called but he arose forthwith. He

might have excused himself, as Moses did in the 3d and 4th chapters of Exodus, when he was called to his burthensome office, 'Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring the children of Israel out of Egypt?' again, 'O Lord, send by the hand of him whom thou shouldest send.' It hath been the use of God's servants, when they have found their ability unmeet to undergo the duties of their provinces allotted them, in modesty and humility to withdraw themselves. So did Gideon in the 6th of Judges; for when the Lord had encouraged him, 'Go in thy might; thou shalt save Israel out of the hands of the Midianites,' he answered again, 'Ah, my Lord, whereby shall I save Israel? Behold my father is poor in Manasseh, and I the least in my father's house.' Likewise, when Samuel asked Saul, 1 Sam. ix., 'On whom is all the desire of Israel set; is it not upon thee and thy father's house?' he returned this answer unto him, 'Am not I the son of Benjamin, of the smallest tribe of Israel, &c., wherefore, then, speakest thou so to me?' But Jonah hath no such excuse, nor that he is the son of Amittai, nor of the least tribe, nor of the poorest family, nor himself the unfittest of all the rest to be sent to Nineveh, but at the first call and summons of the Lord he ariseth up.

To flee. When he is up, he fleeth; his driving is as the driving of Jehu, the son of Nimshi (saith the watchman in the second Book of the Kings and the ninth chapter), for he driveth as if he were mad. So driveth Jonah, as if he had received that posting commission which the apostles received, 'Salute no man by the way,' or rather as if he had vowed a fast with himself neither to eat nor drink till he had frustrated God's commandment. Cyprian* wrote to Cornelius of five schismatics that had taken shipping and sailed to Rome with their mart of lies, as if the Lord of heaven who rideth upon the cherubim could not overtake them, *Quasi veritas post eos navigare non posset.*

To Tarshish. If he had fled to the right place, the haste he made had added much to the commendation of his painfulness. God loveth cheerfulness and alacrity in his work; excuses dislike him much. The delay that Elisha made, 'Let me go kiss my father,' and those shifts in the gospel, 'Let me go bury my father,' or 'take my leave of my friends,' are not to be admitted into his business. Paul witnesseth of himself in the first of the Galatians, that when he was called by the grace of God to preach his Son amongst the Gentiles, 'immediately he communed not with flesh and blood, neither came he again to Jerusalem, but went into Arabia,' and so forward, for the execution of that message. That which he did, he did presently, *ευθέως*, and his haste is praise-worthy, because he followed the will of the Lord, rather than the motions of flesh and blood. In this sense it is true that 'the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent catch it away.' A man can never run too

* Filiis inobedientiæ sua voluptas idolum est, &c.—*Tract. de præcept. et dispens.*

* Li. i. epist. 3.

fast that runneth in these ways. 'I will run the ways of thy commandments,' saith David, Ps. cxix., 'when thou hast set my heart at liberty.' Otherwise to run the way of our own devices is *cursus celerimus prater riam*,* a swift race, besides the way. 'So run,' saith the apostle, 1 Cor. ix., 'that ye may obtain;' run wisely, run aright, run by the level and rule of God's statutes. Philosophers hold, that if the inferior spheres were not governed and stayed by the highest, the swiftness of their motion would quickly fire the world. And if the affections of men were not moderated by the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, it could not be chosen, but this little image of the world would soon be overthrown. Haste in Jonah was not amiss; but there was more haste than good speed in his travel, because he went to the wrong place. This is to go, I grant, but not with the right foot, *ὀρθοπόδῳ*, as the apostle speaketh in the second to the Galatians. The wicked have their ways, but they are crooked and circular endless ways, as it is noted of them in the 12th Psalm, *Impii in circuitu ambulant*, they walk by compass, they walk not 'towards the mark, the prize that is set before them,' and therefore lose both their pains and their recompense; they follow their father the devil in these walks, who testifieth of himself in the first of Job, that he had 'compassed the whole earth.' These crooked ways are ever applied, by the judgment of Cassiodore, to evil manners, *Tortuosæ viæ malis semper moribus applicantur*. They shall never come to the rest of the eighth day† that thus go wheeling about to no purpose, like the turning of Samson's mill, which, when it hath laboured the whole day long, is found at night in the self-same place, where it first began. Thus the wicked have their compassing ways, *περιόδους*, and the devil hath his outways and byways, *μεθόδους*; but happy is that man that ordereth his feet in the paths of God's commandments.

Now, whether the place here mentioned signify the sea, as the Chaldaic paraphrast, and Jerome, and others, according to the Hebrew name so importing, expound it; (whose reason is not much amiss, that being amazed, and at his wit's end, more confused in his mind than the winds and waves that drave him, he cared not whither he went, so he walked not with God, as Enoch did; taking his mark at large, and putting himself unto the sea to fall by adventure upon any country); or whether Tarshish were that famous haven-town of Africa, of which we read, Ezek. xxvii., 'They of Tarshish were thy merchants, for the multitude of all riches, for silver, iron, tin, and lead, which they brought to thy fairs,' the riches whereof may be esteemed by that report which is made in the second of the Chronicles, chap. 9, that 'silver was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon; for the king's ships went to Tarshish, with the servants of Hiram; every three years once came the ships of Tarshish, and brought gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks,' or

* Augustine.

† Qu. 'right way'?—Ed.

whether it signify Carthage, which Dido sometime built, and is now called Tunis, which is the opinion of Theodoret, and others; or whether Tartessus, a town in Spain; or whether that city in Cilicia, nearer to Syria, whence Paul reporteth himself to have been, in the 21st of the Acts, 'I am a citizen in Tarshish, a famous city in Cilicia;' or whether the whole country of Cilicia, because in ancient times, if Josephus deceive us not, all Cilicia was called Tarshish, by the name of the chief city; or whether it name unto us any other place not yet agreed upon, partly by curious, partly by industrious authors, it skilleth not greatly to discourse; I leave you, for your satisfaction therein, to more ample commentaries. But certain I am, whether his mind bear him to land or to sea, to Asia or Africa, country or city, nearer or farther off, at Nineveh he cometh not, which was the place of God's appointment.

Many dispute many things, why Jonah forsook Nineveh and fled to Tarshish. (1.) The infirmity of the flesh, some say, was the cause; pusillanimity of mind, want of courage, being terrified with the greatness of the city. (2.) Or there was no hope, say others,* of the dry, when the green was so barren. The children of Israel had so hardened his heart with the hardness of theirs, that he could not imagine the children of Asshur would ever have fallen to repentance. (3.) Or the strangeness of the charge dismayed him; for when all other prophets were sent to Israel, he reasoneth with himself, why should I be sent to Nineveh? It was as uncouth unto him as when Peter was willed to 'arise, kill, and eat unclean beasts,' Acts x., and he answered in plain terms, 'Not so, Lord.' (4.) Or it might be zeal to his country, because the conversion of the Gentiles, he saw, would be the eversion of the Jews. And surely this is a great temptation to the mind of man, the disadvantage and hinderance of brethren. For this cause Moses interposed himself in the quarrel between the Hebrew and the Egyptian, and slew the Egyptian, Exod. ii.; and in the behalf of all Israel he afterwards prayed unto the Lord against his own soul, Exod. xxxii., 'If thou wilt pardon their sin,' thy mercy shall appear; 'but if thou wilt not, I pray thee raze me out of the book of life which thou hast written.' (5.) Or it might be he was afraid of being accounted a false prophet, if the sequel of his prophecy fell not out, which reason is afterward expressed by him in the fourth chapter, 'I pray thee, Lord, was not this my saying when I was in mine own country?' &c. As I said of the place before, so of the reasons that moved him (for this present, till fitter occasions be offered), whatsoever it were that drew him away, whether weakness of spirit, or despair of success, or insolency* of charge, or jealousy over the Israelites, or fear of discredit, sure I am that he cometh not to Nineveh, but resolveth in his heart to reject a manifest commandment.

I make no question but in every circumstance fore-

* That is, 'unusualness.'—Ed.

handled he uncovereth his own nakedness, and layeth himself open to the censure and crimination of all men. As who would say, will you know the person without dissembling his name? it was Jonah. His readiness without deliberation? he ariseth. His haste without intermission? he fleeth. The place far distant from the which God had appointed? Tarshish. And if all these will not serve to prove the disobedience of Jonah a fault by his own confession, then hearken unto the next word; if others were but candles to discover it, this is a blazing lamp to lay it forth to all men's sight.

From the presence of the Lord. He fleeth into Tarshish from the presence of the Lord. How can that be, if it be true which David wisheth in the 27th Psalm, 'Blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let all the earth be filled with his glory'? But in the hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm, wonderful are the testimonies that the prophet there bringeth to amplify God's illimited presence, 'O Lord, thou hast tried me, and known me. Thou knowest my sitting and my rising: thou understandest my thoughts afar off,' &c. For not to stay your ears with commemoration of all those arguments, this I gather in sum, that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor the uttermost part of the sea, neither day nor night, light nor darkness, that can hide us from his face. Our sitting, rising, lying down, the thoughts of our hearts, words of our tongues, ways of our feet, nay, our reins, our bones, our mother's wombs, wherein we lay in our first infirmity and imperfection, are so well known unto him. If this were his purpose, to think that the presence of God might be avoided, 'who sitteth upon the circle of heaven, and beholdeth the inhabitants of the earth as grasshoppers, whose throne is the heaven of heavens, and the earth his footstool, and his ways are in the great deep,' I must then needs say with Jeremiah, chap. x., 'doubtless every man is a beast by his own knowledge,' prophet or no prophet. If the Spirit of God instruct him not, he is a beast; worse than Melitides, that natural fool of whom histories speak, that he could not define whether his father or his mother brought him forth. But I cannot suppose such palpable and gross ignorance in a prophet, who, knowing that 'God was well known in Jewry, and his name great in Israel,' could not be ignorant that God was the same God, and the presence of his Godhead no less in Tarshish and all other countries. What, then, is the meaning of this phrase, 'He fled from the presence of the Lord'? (1.) Some expound it thus: He left the whole border and ground of Israel, where the presence of the Lord, though it were not more than in other places, yet it was more evident, by the manifestations of his favours and graces towards them. There was the ark of the covenant, and the sanctuary, and the Lord gave them answer by dreams and oracles, and other more special arguments of his abode there. Moses spake truth in the fourth of Deuteronomy of this

privilege of Israel, 'What nation is so great, unto whom their gods come so near unto them as the Lord is near unto us in all that we call upon him for?' David's acclamation, Psalm cxlvii., goeth hand in hand with it, 'He hath not dealt so with other nations: neither have the heathen knowledge of his judgments.'

(2.) But I rather conceive it thus, which maketh much for the confirmation of my matter now in hand. He fled from the presence of the Lord, when he turned his back upon him, shook off his yoke, and wilfully renounced his commandment. It is a sign of obedience that servants bear unto their lords and masters, when they stand before their face, attending their pleasure, and ready to receive and execute their imposed hests. You have the phrase in the first of Job: 'On a day, when the children of God came and stood before the Lord, Satan came also and stood amongst them.' And Ps. cxliii., 'Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hands of her mistress; so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until he have mercy upon us.' In the 18th of Matthew, our Saviour adviseth his disciples not to despise one of those little ones: the reason is this, 'For I say unto you, that in heaven their angels always behold the face of my father which is in heaven.' The like manner of speech did Elisha use to Naaman the Syrian, when he offered him a reward, 2 Kings v., 'As the Lord liveth before whom I stand,' a witness to my actions, the searcher of my heart, whose honour and service I tender more than my gain, I will not receive it. By these may we see what the phrase intendeth, of fleeing from the presence of the Lord. It letteth us understand that Jonah, as a fugitive and refractory servant, ran from the Lord, as Onesimus from his master Philemon, breaking his bond of duty, and making no conscience or care to do service unto him.

Some have presumed by conjecture upon his going to Tarshish, and fleeing from the face of the Lord, that not only he reneged his obedience in this particular action, but changed the whole trade of his life, and leaving the office of a prophet, became a merchant adventurer. A worldly dangerous profession, not only for the hazard of life, and for wreck of goods, but for wreck of conscience also, which is the worst shipwreck; which wrecks notwithstanding are taken not only in your ships abroad, but in your shops and warehouses at home, when you fall either upon the syrtes and quicksands of lying, which is a present and quick kind of sin, always at the tongue's end, or upon the rocks of perjury, which is a more obstinate and indurate transgression. I will not be so strict in this point as Chrysostom was, who counselled Christians to avoid marketing, that neither they suffered nor offered guileful dealing: *Tu qui Christianus es, fuge forum, ut neque patiaris, neque facias fraudem.* I know they are lawful and profitable callings in commonwealth, if lawfully handled. The state of the world cannot

stand without buying, selling, traffic, transportation. *Non omnis fert omnia tellus*: no country yieldeth all kind of commodity. There must be a path from Egypt to Assur, and from Assur to Egypt again, to make a mutual supply of their several wants. Mesech the king of Moab was a lord of sheep, Hiram had store of timber and workmen, Ophir was famous for gold, Chittim for ivory, Bashan for oaks, Lebanon for cedars, Saba for frankincense, &c. But this I must tell you that live upon buying and selling, you walk upon coals and carry fire in your bosoms; gain is a busy temptation, and there is neither stone or ephah, measure nor balance, you use, but Satan is at hand to do some office. 'It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer,' in the twentieth of the Proverbs, 'and when he is gone apart he boasteth.' Now, on the other side, It is good and very good, saith that seller, and when he hath sold his wares, he boasteth indeed, because he hath given dross for silver, and water for wine, Isa. i. I say no more; but take heed 'that the treasures of wickedness be not found in your houses, neither a scant measure, which is an abomination unto the Lord.' 'Shall I justify,' saith God, Micah vi. 11, 'the wicked balances, and the bag of deceitful weights?' His meaning is, that they shall never be justified; much less a wicked and deceitful conscience. I will not enforce this collection upon you, because it is not plainly expressed in the text, and without such foreign and unnecessary helps, if I may so term them, the bare letter of the words doth notoriously evict the disobedience of Jonah, wherein he was so fixed and confirmed, that neither respite of time, neither danger of voyage, nor expense of money could change his purpose. Examine the particulars.

(1.) He goeth down to Japho, or Joppa (Jaffa, at this day), a city of Palestine, an haven town and road for shipping; it spent some travel and time, no doubt, before he came to Joppa.

(2.) He findeth a ship going to Tarshish. I am sure he was not presently acquainted with the quay, neither did he find that ship without some inquiry.

(3.) He payeth the fare. What! incontinently? It is not unlikely but they stayed one tide at least.

(4.) And it standeth with the order of the text, that he paid the fare aforehand, and in haste, before he needed.

(5.) Some of the Rabbins add, that he paid the fare of the whole ship, for the rest of the passengers that were bound for Tarshish.

(6.) Lastly, when he had paid, he goeth down into the ship, not remembering the danger he entered into, to put his life within four inches of death;* and what safety it is, in comparison, to see the raging of the waters from the sea banks. It was one of the three things that Cato repented; travel by sea, when by land he might have gone; and a charge that Antigonus gave his sons, when they were tossed with a tempest:

* *Quanta spissitudo navium? quatuor digitorum.—Anach.*

remember, my sons, and warn your posterity of it, that they never hazard themselves upon such adventures. What needed the recital of these particular, and, one would think, trifling circumstances, as that he went to the haven, found a ship, paid the fare, descended into it, which might have been spoken at once, He went to Tarshish; but to express thus much: that though there were many occurrences that met him in the way of disobedience, as the angel met Balaam; many messengers, as it were, sent from God to call him back again; many spaces of ground, many interruptions of time, many occasions of better advice and consultation; yet, as Agrippa came into the world with his heels forward, so Jonah holdeth on his untoward course, whither his feet would bear him, having little reason, and less grace, to direct him?

The sum of all that hath been spoken hitherto, for I will leave a remnant behind at the least to make a connection between this and the next sentence, is, strong and incredible disobedience. I say not conceived alone, but brought forth, perfected, persisted in, without remorse; not against father, mother, magistrate, any superior, but against God himself; not in the tail of the people, to use the words of a prophet, but in the chiefest and honourablest part. The complaint of God, Isa. xlii. 19, is now revived again, 'who so blind as my servant? or so deaf as he whom I have sent?' Jonah, a servant in the highest room, a vessel of the greatest honour in the great house, a prophet, one of a principal spirit, and, as their usual name was for unusual gifts, a man of God, having received a mandate from his Lord, is blind, deaf, senseless to perform it; or rather he goeth, hasteneth, flieth, saileth with the wings of the wind from the execution thereof. Paul upbraideth the Jew, Rom. ii., on this wise: 'Thou art called a Jew, and retest in the law, and gloriest in God, and knowest his will, and allowest the things that are excellent, in that thou art instructed in the law; and persuadest thyself that thou art a guide to the blind, a light to them which are in darkness, an instructor of them which lack discretion, &c. Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou that sayest, a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, committest thou sacrilege? thou that gloriest in the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?' The coals of this scripture may be heaped upon Jonah his head. Thou art a prophet, a familiar friend with God, thou hast seen visions and dreamed dreams, and always standest in the presence of the Lord to know his counsels; thou art a seer to the blind, a teacher of the ignorant, a watchman over those that are asleep; thou therefore that teachest Israel, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest obedience to Jeroboam, art thou disobedient? thou that beginnest thy message, 'Hear the word of the Lord,' dost thou reject

it? What shall we say then, but that which Daniel yieldeth unto in the 9th of his prophecy? 'O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us appertaineth open shame, to our kings, to our princes, to our fathers;' we may further say, to our prophets, to our priests, because we have all sinned against thee. 'There is no difference,' saith the apostle, Rom. iii., he meaneth neither of Jew nor Gentile, 'for all have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God, and are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' And, Gal. iii., 'the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith in Christ Jesus should be given to those that believe.' Gal. v.: I shew you your sin and the propitiation, your sickness and the remedy to cure it; think not of the other remedies. If you deem that either Tarshish, or any other region beyond seas; that a cabin in a ship, or a couch in a chamber; that the clouds of the day, or the darkness of the night; the top of the mountains, or the bottom of the sea; a secret friend, or more secret conscience; heaven or hell, or any the like evasion, can hide it from the eyes of God, you are deceived. His seven eyes go through the whole world, Zech. iv. You may interpret them seven thousand thousand of eyes, for he is *totus oculus*,* altogether eye. Therefore let us not flatter ourselves, with those that pluck out the eyes of knowledge itself, in the

* Augustine.

tenth Psalm, 'Tush, who seeth us? God hath forgotten, he hideth away his face and will never see;' but rather let us acknowledge with Jacob, Gen. xxviii., all places to be filled with the majesty of God, 'The Lord was in this place; and I was not aware of it; how fearful is this place! this is the house of God, and the gate of heaven;' this, and that, and the other within the compass of the round world, all are alike. Let us reclaim ourselves in time from sinning, which Jonah could not do, and in a serious cogitation, before we go too far, ask one the other, What have we done? If we forget it in Israel, let us remember it in Joppa. Let either house or field, land or sea, youth or full strength, put us in mind of our duty neglected. Let us not follow our sensuality too far, nor buy voluptuousness with a price, but rather say with the Athenian orator, when we hear how chargeable pleasure is, *Non emam tanti penitere*, I will not buy my repentance at so high a rate. Or if we have paid the fare of pleasure, let us withdraw our feet, before we descend into the bottom and sink of it; let not the sides and entrails of the ship bury us, nor a careless profound sleep bereave us of all sense; let not the waters go over our heads, nor a flood of iniquity overwhelm us, lest that (which is the wages of sin, and presently overtook Jonah in his transgression), we endanger both body and soul to the justice of God.

LECTURE IV.

But the Lord sent out a great wind into the sea, &c.—JONAH I. 4.

THE recusancy of Jonah was the abridgment of the whole third verse; whereof, 1, he accuseth himself by name; 2, he noteth his readiness in arising; 3, his speed in flying; 4, his perverseness, because to Tarshish; 5, open rebellion in going from the face of the Lord to renounce his service; 6, his confirmation therein, that having such stops and remembrances laid in his way, as, namely, 1, to reach the haven not near at hand; 2, to find a ship not without inquiry, and to stay the leisure thereof; 3, to be at charge; 4, therein to be more liberal or more hasty than cause was; 5, to commit himself to so manifest a danger as the travel by the sea bringeth with it; yet he swalloweth and digesteth all these hooks, and is not revoked by any means to perform his obedience. For all this he did: to what end? 'That he might go to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord.' Once again he repeateth the cause, and by a retire to his former speech, maketh the publication of his crime both Alpha and Omega, the first and the last of the sentence: thus he beginneth, and thus he endeth, 'That he might flee,' &c.

With them. To this you may add, as the conclusion of all the rest, the company he made choice of,

'that he might go with them.' Who were they? By accord of all opinions, men of sundry nations, languages, conditions, and, as is evident in the fifth verse, idolaters. Thus he mingled himself, in the cestacy of his wilfulness, as fire and water, hyæna with dogs, an Israelite with gentiles, the circumcised with the uncircumcised, a prophet with profaners of sound religion, and one that feareth the God of the Hebrews with those that worship strange gods. The parable in Matthew, chap. xxi., maketh mention of a man that had two sons; the one he biddeth go to his vineyard, and he answered, I will not; yet afterwards repented himself, and went; the other said, I will go, yet went not. The one is the image of the penitent, the other of the hypocrite; the one a deed without show, the other a show without deed. Jonah may stand in a third branch, who neither saith that he will not and doth, nor that he will and doth not; neither in truth nor in colour obedient, but having cleared and dissolved all objections of travel, charge, peril, company, is shipped, as you see, and under sail to go to Tarshish.

'*But the Lord sent out a great wind,*' &c. Behold a pursuivant dispatched from heaven to attach him,

vengeance is shipped in a whirlwind, and saileth aloft in the air, to overtake him.* There is no counsel (as Jerome here noteth), against the Lord. In a calm cometh a tempest; the ship is endangered which harboureth a dangerous passenger, *Periclitatur navis quæ periclitantem exceperat*, there is nothing peaceable where the Lord is an enemy. Whom the voice of the Lord could not move, a storm followeth him (as when Absalom could not draw Joab unto him by entreaty and fair means, he fireth his barley fields to make him come, 2 Sam. xiv.); and whom a still spirit could not charm, the turbulent spirit of a raging wind, *Severior magister*, a rougher instructor to deal withal, enforceeth to hearken. There be spirits (saith the son of Sirach†), that are created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them. Fire, and hail, and famine, and death, all these are created for vengeance; the teeth of wild beasts, and the scorpions, and the serpents, and the sword execute judgment for the destruction of the wicked. Nay, the principal things for the whole use of man's life, as water, fire, and iron, and salt, and meal, wheat and honey, and milk, and the blood of the grape, and oil, and clothing, all these things are for good to the godly, but to the sinners they are turned to evil. To these you may add the wind, which being a meteor whereby we live in some sort, for our life is a breath (*anima*, *ἄνεμος*), a fan in the hands of God to purge the air that it be not corrupted, as the lungs lie by the heart to do it good, is here converted to be a plague unto them; that as David was afflicted by the son of his own bowels, who should have been the staff of his age; Samson by the wife of his bosom who should have been his helper; the children of Israel by manna stinking and full of worms, and by quails coming out of their nostrils; and the children of the prophets by a bitter herb in the pottage, which were appointed for their sustenance and food; so these mariners for the sin of Jonah, are scourged with a wind, a principal furtherance and benefit at other times required to sailing.

Obedience hath her praise both with God and men; the offspring of the righteous is obedience and love. The Rechabites shall never want a testimony of their obedience, unless the book of Jeremiah the prophet be again cut with a penknife, and burnt upon an hearth, as in the days of Zedekiah. 'Jonadab their father commanded them to drink no wine, and they would not drink it for that commandment's sake, they, nor their wives, their sons, nor their daughters.' Christ prophesieth of himself, Isa. l., 'The Lord hath opened mine ear, and it was not rebellious; neither turned I back.' It was written of him in the book, that he should do the will of his father, he was ready to do it. The law was in the midst of his bowels,

* *Fugiebat terram, et Dei iram non fugiebat.*—*Chrysost. homil. 5. ad pop.*

† *Eccles. xxxix.*

Ps. xl., and without protracting the time, he offered himself, 'Lo, I come.' He was 'obedient unto death, even the death of the cross,' Philip. ii. And 'though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things he suffered,' Heb. v., *qui ne perderet obedientiam, perdidit vitam*;* though he slept a woeful and heavy sleep to flesh and blood, yet he slept in peace.

Disobedience, on the other side, hath never escaped the hands of almighty God. It cast Jonah out of the ship; and the angels, before Jonah, out of heaven; Adam and Eve out of paradise; Lot's wife out of her life and nature too; Saul out of his kingdom; the children of Israel out of their native soil, and further, their natural root that bear them. For no other reason is given but this, Jer. xxxv., 'I spake, and they would not hear; I cried, and they would not answer.' To leave foreign examples, the justice of God now presently manifesting itself against disobedience cometh in a storm, the vehemency and fury whereof appeareth,

1. By the author, 'God sent it.' Who although he be the author of all winds and weathers, and bringeth them out of his treasures, yet when it is singularly noted of God that he was the cause, it carrieth a likelihood not of his general providence alone, but of some special and extraordinary purpose.

2. By the instrument, which is 'a wind,' and neither thunder nor rains to help it.

3. By the epithet and apposition of the instrument, 'a great wind.'

4. By the nature of the word here used, it was 'sent'; nay, rather thrown and sent headlong, as the lightning is shot from heaven. It was cast from God, as the mariners cast their loadings into the sea, for the same word is originally used in both places. A wind so sudden and furious, that they could guess at other tempests before they fell, they had no signs whereby to prognosticate this.

5. By the place that receiveth it, 'the sea;' a champain and plain channel, an open floor, where there was neither hill, nor forest, nor any other impediment to break the force of it.

6. By the explication added, there was 'a tempest' upon it, even a 'mighty tempest.'

7. By the effects that ensued, in 4th and 5th verses, marvellously described.

(1.) The breaking of the ship, a strong and an able ship by conjecture, because so lately set forth to sea; and the danger is the more to be considered, that it fell not upon rocks or shelves, but by the power of the only wind was almost splitted; the Hebrew phrase is very significant, the ship 'thought to be broken,' as if it had soul and sense to feel the hazard it was in.

(2.) The fear that followed upon the whole company of the passengers.

(3.) The fear of the mariners, men accustomed and inured to the like adventures, of whom it is truly

* Bernard.

spoken, 'illis robur et æs triplex,'* &c., their hearts are of brass and oak to encounter dangers.

(4.) Their prayers, nay, their vociferations and outcries upon their gods, as the priests of Baal cried upon their idol.

(5.) The casting out of their ladings, the necessary instruments and utensils for their intended voyage.

All which, and whatsoever besides is set down to the end of the 5th verse, may be reduced to three persons, with their actions and administrations belonging unto them; the first is, the Lord; the second, the mariners; the third, Jonah.

Of the *first*, it is said, that he 'sent out a great wind.'

It was the error of the Paynims to divide the world amongst sundry gods, with every several region, city, family, and almost chamber, and chimney therein, with heaven and hell, land and sea, woods and rivers, wine and corn, fruits of the ground, all things whatsoever. Amongst the rest, the winds in the air they ascribed to Æolus, whom they imagined to have them closely mewed up and housed in a lodge, and to have sent them abroad either for calms or tempests at his discretion. Horace commended Virgil his friend going toward Athens, to the mighty goddess of Cyprus, and the two brethren of Helen, and the father of the winds, that is, to Venus, and the two twins, Castor and Pollux, and Æolus, wishing, for his better speed, that all the winds might be bound up, besides Iapyx, a quiet western wind, *Obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga*, with many the like fables, not unknown to grammar schools. The blowing of the winds more or less we impute not to Æolus, nor any the like devised gods of the Gentiles; we honour the Lord of Hosts alone in the power of this creature, who sitteth upon the circle of heaven, and causeth both the sun to shine, and the rains to fall, and the winds to blow in their seasons, and at this time appointed this wind to a singular service. It is he that 'flieth upon the wings of the wind,' Ps. xviii. 'The channels of the waters have been seen, and the foundations of the earth discovered at his rebuking, and at the blasting of the breath of his nostrils.' You see it is called the breath of the Lord, as also in the book of Job, chap. xxxvii., not that substantial breath of his whereof we read in the first of Genesis, 'The Spirit of God moved upon the waters,' but a created breath, extracted, and engendered out of other creatures. The wind that came from the wilderness and overthrew the corners of the house wherein the children of Job were feasting, that saint acknowledgeth to have come from heavenly disposition, 'The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away,' Job i. Wind, and fire, and bands of robbers, he assigneth not to any idol of the heathen, nor to the malice of men, nor to the hazard of fortune, which others made a goddess, but to the almightiness and sovereignty of him who ruleth all things. And as

* Horat.

his dominion is undoubted in the air, so doth the sea submit itself likewise to his governance, who 'sitteth upon the water-clouds, and is a king for evermore,' as the Psalmist speaketh. For who but he 'hath shut up the sea with doors, when it issued and came forth as out of the womb? Who established his commandments upon it, when he set bars and gates, and said, hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther; here will I stay the proud waves?' Who else divided the Red Sea into two parts, that the children of Israel passed through on dry foot? But as for Pharaoh and his host, the horse and the rider, they were overthrown therein. Who else turned the stream of Jordan the contrary way, whereof the prophet demandeth with admiration, 'What aileth thee, O Jordan, that thou wentest back?' Who else turned the waters into blood, and drieth up the rivers, that the fishes rot for want of moisture? Tell me his name (to use the words of Job) if thou knowest it, and what is his Son's name. It is he and his Son, who in the gospel of Mark, chap. iv., 'rebuked the winds, and said unto the sea, Peace, and be still; and the wind ceased, and there was a great calm;' and they could not be satisfied about it, but asked 'Who it was, that both the winds and the sea should thus obey him?' All kinds of weather, by land or sea, thunders and lightning, even the coals of fire that were never blown, hailstones and stormy tempests, they come by his assignment, who cleaveth the rocks asunder with his voice, and shooteth forth his thunderbolts as arrows at a mark; who 'biddeth his lightnings walk, and they say, Lo, here we are,' Job xxxviii.; and divideth the spouts in the air, to yield their moisture to the ground, more or less, at the will of their maker. And we utterly renounce herein not only the palpable idolatry of the Gentiles, who gave the glory of the Most High to their base and inglorious abominations, but the foolish ignorance of others nearer home, who in the working of these creatures never look up to the seat of majesty, that ordereth all things; but whatsoever befalleth them by fall of fire, blast of wind, inundation of waters, or the like, they term it chance. Alas, chance is nothing; for nothing is done in the whole world without an order from above; and it was wisely noted by a learned man,* *φύσις φύει τὸ ζῷον*, nature bringeth forth that which we wrongfully call chance, because it cometh unexpected.

I read of a certain people in Africa, who, being troubled with the north wind driving heaps of sands upon their fields and dwelling places, they gathered an army of men to fight against it; but with so evil success, that themselves were also buried under hills of sands.† Xerxes, the Persian monarch, having received a loss by the rage of Hellespontus, himself more mad than the sea, caused fetters and manacles to be cast into the waters thereof, as if he would make it his prisoner, and bind it with links of iron at his pleasure. Darius‡

* Jul. Scal. Exerc. 188.

† Herodot.

‡ Some say Cyrus.

did the like upon the river Gynde, who, because it had drowned him a white horse, threatened the river to divide it into so many streams, and so to weaken the strength of it, that a woman great with child should go over it dry shod. It is not unlike the madness of our days, who must not be crossed either with wet or dry, wind or rains, fair or foul, but we fall to repining, murmuring, banning, blaspheming, and all kind of cursed speaking, or wishing at least. But as God asketh Sennacherib, 2 Kings xix., 'Whom hast thou railed upon, or whom hast thou blasphemed?' so I ask these men, Whom are you angry with; who hath displeased you? Are you angry with the saw or with him that lifteth it? do the winds and the seas move your impatience? They are but servants unto that Lord who saith unto them, smite, and they do it; favour, and they are obedient. Rabshakeh speaketh to the nobles of Jerusalem, Isa. xxxvi., 'Am I come hither without the Lord? The Lord said unto me, Go up against this land to destroy it.' So it is in the force of these creatures, when either they drown, or blast, or parch too much, it is not done without the Lord; the Lord saith unto them, do thus or otherwise.

Besides the impieties above named, it is an error of our times, heathenish enough, to give the honour of God in these and the like accidents, to witches and conjurors. For if ever tempest arise, more than common experience hath inured us unto, especially with the havoc and loss either of life or limb in ourselves, or of our cattle, or housings, forthwith the judgment is given, as if the God of heaven and earth were fallen asleep, and minded nothing, There is some conjuring. Be it so. What is conjuring? a pestilent commission, convention, stipulation, betwixt men and devils. Men and devils! what are they? Look upon the sorcerers of Egypt for the one; *Magorum potestas*, saith Augustine,† *defecit in muscis*, they cried in the smallest plague that was sent, and past their cunning to remove, 'this is the finger of the Lord,' Exod. viii.; their power is limited therefore. Look upon the martyrings of Job for the other; for though the circuit of Satan be very large, even to the compassing of the whole earth to and fro, Job i., yet he hath his days assigned him to stand before the presence of the Lord for the renewing of his commission; and besides, *Oriculum unam auferre non potuit, &c.*, he could not take one poor sheep from Job till the Lord had given him leave, 'put forth thine hand;' nor enter into the herd of swine, Mat. viii., without Christ's permission. And so, to conclude, whether men or devils be ministerial workers in these actions, all cometh from him, as from the higher supreme cause, whose judgments executed thereby, no man can either fully comprehend, or reprehend justly. God professeth no less of himself, Isa. xlv., 'I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things.' And in the 54th of the same prophecy,

'Behold I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and him that bringeth forth an instrument for his work, and I have created the destroyer to destroy;' destruction cometh from the instrument, the instrument from the smith, and the smith and all from God. In the 10th of the same book, Asshur is called 'the rod of his wrath, and the staff in his hands was the Lord's indignation.' And the prophet prayeth in the 17th Psalm, to the same effect, 'Up, Lord, disappoint him, cast him down, deliver my soul from the wicked, which is a sword of thine.' We need not farther instructions in this point, but whatsoever it is that outwardly troubleth us, let us learn to fear him therein, from whose secret disposition it proceedeth; who hath a voice to allay the winds and the seas; a finger to confound sorcerers and conjurors; an hook for the nostrils of Sennacherib; and a chain for the devil himself, the prince of darkness.

In the *second* person, which were the mariners, we are directed by the hand of the Scripture, to consider three effects, which the horror of the tempest wrought upon them. For, (1), they were afraid; (2), they cried upon their gods; (3), they cast out their wares: the first, an affection of nature; the second, an action of religion; the third, a work of necessity. Some of the Rabbins held, that the mariners in this ship had more cause to be astonished and perplexed than all that travelled in these seas besides; for when other ships were safe and had a prosperous voyage, theirs only, as the mark whereat the vengeance of God aimed, was endangered. But because it appeareth not in the book, I let this pass, with many other unwritten collections; as namely, that they were near the shore, and laboured with all their force to tow their ship to land, but could not do it; which haply may be true, and as likely otherwise, and therefore I leave it indifferent, and am content to see no more than the eye of my text hath described for me. But this I am sure of: affliction beginneth to school them, and drive them to a better haven than they erst found. It ever worketh good for the most part;* and although the better sort of men are corrected by love, yet the greater are directed by fear. As the wind the seas, so the fear of the wrath of God, in this imminent danger of shipwreck appearing, shaketh and perturbeth their hearts, though they had hardened them by use against all casualties by sea, like the hardest adamants. All the works of the Lord, to a considerate mind, are very wonderful; his mercy reacheth to the heavens, and his faithfulness is above the clouds; his wisdom goeth from end to end; his righteousness is as the highest mountains, and his judgments like a great deep, and whatsoever proceedeth from him, because that artificer excelleth, must needs be excellent.† But it is as true a position: *perseverantia consuetudinis amisit admirationem*,* the assiduity and continuance of

* August. de doct. Christi. lib. ii. † De Trin. iii. 7.

* August. de correctione Donatis.

† Habet justam venerationem quicquid excellit.—Tull.

things bringeth them into contempt. *Quam multa usitata calcantur, quæ considerata stupentur!*† how many things doth custom make vile which consideration would make admirable! because the nature of man is such, to be carried away rather with new than with great things. The creation of man, who maketh account of, because it is common? But would we ponder in our hearts, as David did, Ps. cxxxix., that we are ‘wonderfully and fearfully made, and that our bones were not hid from the Lord, though they were shaped in a secret place, and fashioned beneath in the earth; that he possessed our reins in our generation, and covered us in our mothers’ wombs; that his eyes did see us when we were yet unperfect, and all things were written in his book, when before they were not;’ it would enforce us to give acclamation to the workmanship of our maker, as the sweet singer of Israel there did, ‘Marvellous are thy works, O Lord, and that my soul knoweth right well.’ A tempest to mariners is nothing, because they have seen, and felt, and overlived so many tempests. As David, because he had killed a lion and a bear at his fold, persuaded himself that he could also kill Goliath, so these, having passed already so many dreadful occurrences, begin to entertain a credulous persuasion of security, ‘No evil shall approach us.’ They make their hearts as fat as brawn, to withstand mishaps. It fareth with them as with soldiers beaten to the field; they have seen hundreds fall at their right hand, and thousands at their left, and therefore are not moved; and though they bear their lives in their hands, they fear not death; whereupon grew that judgment of the world upon them, *Armatis, divum nullus pudor*,‡ soldiers, the greater part, fear not God himself.

Undoubtedly our seamen drink down and digest their dangers with as much facility and felicity too, as some their wine in bowls; yet notwithstanding, the mariners here spoken of, even the master of the ship, with the vulgar sort, having such iron sinews in their breasts, giants by sea, and, if I may term them so, *Θείμαχοι*, men that fight with God, being in their proper element, the region and ground where their art lieth, having fought with the waves and winds a thousand times before, they are all stricken with fear, and their hearts fall asunder within them like drops of water. David, Ps. evii., setteth down four kinds of men which are most indebted to God for deliverance from perils. The first, of those that have escaped a dearth; the second, prisoners enlarged; the third, such as are freed from a mortal sickness; the last, sea-faring men, of whom he writeth thus: ‘They that go down into the sea in ships, and occupy their merchandise by great waters; they see the work of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth and raiseth up the stormy winds, and it lifteth up the waves thereof; they mount up to heaven,

and descend again to the deep, so that their soul melteth for trouble. They are tossed to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone.’ A lively image of their uncertain and variable lives; and, if you hearken to the comparison, it is next to famine, imprisonment, a deadly disease, to be a seaman. Sailors and adventurers are neither amongst the living, nor amongst the dead.* They hang between both, ready to offer up their souls to every flaw of wind, and billow of water wherewith they are assaulted. Yet these are the men, and such the instruments and means, whereby your wealth cometh in, that live by merchandise; you eat, and drink, and wear upon your backs, you traffic and spend the blood of your sons and servants. So David called the water of the well of Bethlehem, blood, 1 Chron. xi. 13, because it was brought through the army of the Philistines with the hazard of men’s lives. You owe much unto God for the preservation of their lives, your ships, and commodities, and are bound to rehearse unto your souls day and night that verse of thanksgiving which David repeateth in the psalm before named, as the burden and *anabebum* to those songs of deliverance: ‘Let us therefore confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men: let us exalt him in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders.’ And as you fear his majesty yourselves, ‘who turneth the floods into a wilderness, and a wilderness into springs of water,’ who ‘breaketh the ships of the sea with an east wind,’ Ps. xlviii., so see that your factors beyond the seas, with all the officers and ministers belonging to your company, be men of the like affection. It is not the tallness of your ships, nor their swiftness, manning, and munition, that can protect them against God’s vengeance. You call them lions, leopards, bears, and scorning the names of beasts, you term them angels, archangels; but remember that when all is done, that as Themistocles called the navy of Athens wooden walls, so yours are but wooden beasts, and wooden angels. And ‘woe be to him that saith to a stone, Thou art my father; and to a piece of wood, Thou art my helper.’ They have good fortune written upon their beaks, saith Plutarch, but many misfortunes in the success of their labours. Horace spake to as proud a ship, it should seem, as any those times knew: †

Though Pontus pines thy frame,
A forest fair thy dame,
Proud be thy stock,
And worthless name:
The winds will mock,
To see thy shame.
Take heed.

* *Navigantes neque inter vivos, neque inter mortuos.*
—*Pittac.*

† 1 Car. od. 14,—

Quamvis Pontica pinus.
Sylvæ filia nobilis, &c.

* August. de Trin. lib. iii. chap. 2. epist. ad Volus.

† Tull.

‡ Sil. Italic.

The navy of Tyrus, if the prophet describe it aright, Ezek. xxvii., was the noblest navy that ever the seas were furrowed with; 'the builders thereof made it of perfect beauty. The boards of the fir-trees of Senir; the masts of the cedars of Lebanon; the oars of the oaks of Bashan; the banks of the ivory of Chittim; the sails of the fine embroidered linen of Egypt; the coverings blue silk and purple, of the isles of Elishah. They of Zidon and Arvad were her mariners; the wisest in Tyre her pilots; the ancients of Gebal her caulkers; they of Persia, and Lud, and Phut, her soldiers; the Gammadims were in her towers, and hung their shields upon the walls round about; and the king of Tyre said in the haughtiness of his heart: I am a god; I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the sea;' yet see the end in the same place; 'her rowers brought her into great waters, and the east wind brake her in the midst of the sea;' her riches, together with mariners, pilots, and caulkers, merchants, and men of war, all were overthrown, and came to a fearful ruin. The fear of the Lord will be instead of all these provisions; fear him, and both floods and rocks shall fear you, and all winds shall blow you happiness, and shipwrecks shall avoid the place where your foot treadeth; and as the apples of God's own eyes, so shall they reverence you, and not dare to approach the channel where your way lieth; hills shall fall down, and mountains shall be cast into the sea; but those that fear the Lord shall never miscarry; the fear of the Lord shall both land your ships in an happy haven, and after your travels upon the earth, harbour your souls in his everlasting kingdom.

They were afraid. I will not examine what kind of fear it was which surprised these mariners. There is a fear that accompanieth the nature of man, and the Son of God himself was not free from it: Mark xiv., It is written of him that he 'began to be afraid;' which fear of his, and other the like unpleasant affections, he took upon him (our divines say), as he took our flesh, and undertook death rather in pity, than of necessity.* And Jerome upon the place of the evangelist before cited, noteth, that the fear of our blessed Saviour was not a passion which overbare his mind, but a pro-passion, *προπάθεια*, which he seemeth to collect from the word itself; he began, *ἤρξατο*, to be afraid.

There is, besides, a fond and superstitious fear, when men are afraid of their shadows, as Pisander was afraid of meeting his own soul; and Antenor would never go forth of the doors, but either in a coach closed upon all sides, or with a target borne over his head, fearing, I guess, lest the sky should fall down upon it, according to that in the psalm, they fear where no fear is, Ps. xiii. *vulg.* The disciples were abashed at the sight of their master after his resurrection, supposing they had seen a spirit, when neither had they

seen a spirit at any time to move that conceit, neither is it possible that a spiritual substance can sensibly be perceived. We may easily acquit this company from such foolish fear, it hath so apparent a reason to be grounded upon.

There is another fear, the object whereof is only God; which, by the prayer and cry that followeth in the next words, seemeth to be the fear meant (though ignorantly misplaced), and this in some is a servile fear, full of hatred, malice, contumely, reproach, if they durst bewray it, *tristis, inutilis, crudelis, qui quia veniam non querit, non consequitur*, saith Bernard,* it fleeth and abhorreth the Lord, because he is *Deus percussus*, a God of vengeance; in other it is filial, such as the child honoureth his father with, perfectly good, wherein there is nothing but love, reverence, purity, ingenuity, born of 'a free spirit;' Ps. li., the spirit of bondage and slavery wholly abandoned, so near in affinity to love, that you can hardly discern them. *Pene illa est, et pene non est*; it is almost love, and almost not love,† so little difference is; it never beholdeth God, but in the gracious light of his countenance; 'There is mercy with thee, O Lord, therefore shalt thou be feared,' howsoever the clouds of displeasure seem sometimes to hide that grace away. The fear of these men I cannot decide, whether it were mixed with hope, or altogether desperate, and it skilleth not greatly to inquire, because they apply it not to the true and living God. But let this be observed as a matter (saith the psalm), of deep understanding, and one of the secrets within the sanctuary of the Lord, that sea-beaten mariners, barbarians by country, and men as barbarous for the most part for their conditions, fearing neither God nor man, of sundry nations some, and most of sundry religions, it may be epicures, but, as my text bewrayeth them, idolaters, they all know that there is a God, whom they know not; they fear a supreme majesty, which they cannot comprehend; they reverence, invoke, and cry upon a nature above the nature of man and all inferior things; potent, benevolent, apt to help, whereof they never attained unto any special revelation. This man adoreth the god of his country, that man some other god, and Jonah is raised up to call upon his God; but all have some one god or other, to whom they make supplication, and bemoan their danger.

If Jonah had preached the living and immortal God unto them, the God of the Hebrews, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Holy One of Israel, I would have imputed their devotion to the preaching of Jonah. Or had there been any other soul in the ship, belonging to the covenant, and 'born within the house' (as the prophet speaketh), that might have informed them in this behalf. There was not one. Who then instructeth them? Nature. *Nauta intellexerunt aliquid esse venerandum sub errore religionis;*‡

* Epist. lxxxvii., ad Oger.

† Gillibert, in Cant. iii. ser. xix.

‡ Hieron.

* Non humane conditionis necessitate, sed miserationis voluntate.—Senten. iii. dist. 15.

the mariners understood even in the falsehood of that religion which they held, that something was to be worshipped.

It is not denied by any sort of divines, ancient or recent, but that by nature itself, a man may conceive there is a God. There is no nation so wild and barbarous which is not seasoned with some opinion touching God.* The Athenians set up an altar *Ignoto Deo*, 'to an unknown God,' Acts xvii. 'The Gentiles not having the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, and are a law unto themselves, and shew the effect of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness, and their thoughts accusing one another or excusing.' Rom. ii., 'For the invisible things of him, that is, his eternal power and Godhead, are seen by the creation of the world, being considered in his works, to the intent that they should be without excuse,' Rom. i. These are common impressions and notions (Κύριον δοῦναι, Κίναναι ἔννοιαν) sealed up in the mind of every man, a remnant of integrity after the fall of Adam, a substance or blessing in the dead elm, sparkles of fire raked up under the ashes, which cannot die whilst the soul liveth. Nature within man, and nature without man, which Jerome calleth *Naturam et facturam*, nature and the creature; our invisible consents, and God's visible works; an inward motion in the one, and an outward motion of the other; if there were no further helps, shew that there is a God, and leave us without excuse.† Protagoras Abderites, because he began his book with doubt, *De diis, neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere*, I have nothing to say of the gods, either that they be, or that they be not, by the commandment of the Athenians was banished their city and country, and his books publicly and solemnly burned to ashes. I may call it a light that shineth in darkness (though the purity and beams thereof be mightily defaced), which some corrupt and abuse, and so become superstitious and vanish away in their vain cogitations; and others extinguish, and so become mere atheists. For so it is, as if we took the lights in the house and put them out, to have the more liberty in the works of darkness. Thus do the atheists of our time; the light of the Scripture principally, and the light of the creature, and the light of nature they extinguish within the chambers of their hearts, and with resolute, dissolute persuasions, threep‡ upon their souls against reason and conscience that there is no God, lest, by the sight of his justice, their race of impiety should be stopped. I trust I may safely speak it, there are no atheists amongst

* Nulla est gens tam fera, &c.—*Tul.*

† *Tul. Academ. quest.*

‡ A word still retained in the Scottish dialect, signifying to argue.—*Ed.*

you, though many haply such as Agrippa was, Acts xxvi., but 'almost Christians;' I 'would to God you were not only almost, but altogether such' as you seem to profess. But there are in our land that trouble us, with virulent, pestilent, miscreant positions; I would they were cut off, the children of hell, by as proper right as the devil himself, the savour of whose madness stinketh, from the centre of the earth to the highest heavens. Let them be confuted with arguments drawn from out the scabbards of magistrates, arguments without reply, that may both stop the mouth and choke the breath of this execrable impiety; and, as the angel cursed Meroz, Judg. v., so cursed be the man (and let the curse cleave to his children) 'that cometh not forth to help the Lord in this cause.' Is it fit to dispute by reason, whether there be a God or no? which heaven, earth, angels, men, and devils, all ages of the world, all languages; and in the atheist himself (who bindeth a napkin to the eyes of his knowledge), shame, fear, and a thousand witnesses like gnawing worms within his breast, did ever heretofore, and to the end of the world shall acknowledge? Let us leave such questions, παραδόξους, ἄδοξους, ὑποθέσεις,* incredible, inglorious, infamous questions, to the tribunal and trial of the highest judge, if there be no throne upon the earth that will determine them; and for our own safety, and the freeing of our souls, let us hate the very air that the atheist draweth, as John eschewed the bath wherein Cerinthus was; and let their damned spirits 'having received damnation in themselves,' ἀυτοκαταχρίσται, Tit. iii. 11, ripen and be rotten to perdition; let them sleep their everlasting sleep in filthiness not to be revoked, and when death hath gnawn upon them like sheep for a taste beforehand, let them rise again from the sides of the pit, maugre their stout gainsaying, at the judgment of the great day, to receive a deeper portion.

As for ourselves, my brethren, which know and profess that one and only God for ever to be blessed, let us be zealous of good works, according to the measure of our knowledge which we have received. Let us fear him (without fear) as his adopted sons, and serve him without the spirit of bondage, in righteousness, all the days of our lives, that at the coming of the Son of God to judge the ends of the earth, we may be found faithful servants; and as we have dealt truly in a little, we may be made rulers over much, through the riches of his grace, who hath freely and formerly beloved us, not for our own sakes, but because himself is love,† and taketh delight in his own goodness. ☩

* *Aul. Gel.*

† *Amat quia amat.—Bern.*

LECTURE V.

And cried every man upon his god, and cast the wares in the ship into the sea to lighten it of them.—

JONAH I. 5.

I SHEWED before, that by the instinct of nature itself, the mariners might conceive there was a God. Here it appeareth by the multitude they worship, 'every man his god,' that nature alone sufficeth not without further revelation. Nature may teach that there is a God; but what in substance and propriety, and how to be worshipped, must elsewhere be learned. Nature without grace is as Samson without his guide, Judges xvi., when his eyes were out, without whose direction he could not find the pillars of the house; nor the natural man any pillar or principle of faith without the Spirit of God guiding his steps unto it; or as Barak without Deborah, Judges iv., who would not go against Sisera, unless the prophetess went with him. Such is the faintness of nature, except it be strengthened with a better aid. *Tæ soli*: if nature be single, woe to it, she falleth down, and there is not another to help her up. Therefore our Saviour maketh a plain distinction betwixt these two, Mat. xvi.: 'Blessed art thou Simon the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee;' the affirmative part followeth, 'but my Father which is in heaven;' when he made that notable and fundamental confession. Afterwards, when he had dehorted his master, with carnal persuasions, 'Sir, pity theyself,' he biddeth him avaunt, not by the name of Peter, nor the son of Jonas, nor Cephas, but of Satan himself. Nature was then alone, and the heavenly light had withdrawn her influence from him. No man living had ever greater endowments, and blessings of nature, than the apostle Saint Paul. First he was 'a man that was a Jew,' Acts xxii., as great a comfort unto him, no doubt, as it was to Plato to be born at Athens, rather than in Barbary; and although 'born at Tarsus in Cilicia, yet brought up in the city of Jerusalem, at the feet of Gamaliel, and instructed according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and zealous towards God.' You have his birth, education, master, learning, and devotion already set down; we may add his sect and profession, out of the same history, chap. xxvi., for, 'after the strictest sect of the Jewish religion, he lived a pharisee.' In his epistle to the Philippians, chap. iii., he concludeth from the whole heap of his prerogatives, 'If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof to trust in the flesh, much more I: circumcised the eighth day, of the kindred of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, by profession a pharisee; concerning zeal, I persecuted the church; touching righteousness in the law, I was unrebukeable;' so he persecuted the church, you see out of that place; and he 'verily thought in himself that he ought to do many things contrary to

the name of Jesus of Nazareth, which thing he also did in Jerusalem,' Acts xxvi. Thus, notwithstanding, he had, (1) received the sign of the covenant, circumcision, not as the manner of proselytes was at the time of their conversion, sometimes old, sometimes young, but, (2) according to the law, the eighth day; and, (3) his kindred and descent were from Israel, not from Esau, which lost the inheritance; (4) his tribe such as never fell to idolatry, but continued in the service of God; and, (5) his antiquity in that line not inferior to the ancientest, being as able to shew his great, and great-grandfathers, from the first root of the Hebrews, as any man; besides those personal advantages of profession, emulation, conversation, yet till there shined a clearer light from heaven, not only upon his face, but upon his heart, and he was thrown to the ground, Acts ix., both from his horse and from his confidence in the flesh, and heard a voice speaking unto him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' and was instructed who it was that spake unto him, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth,' &c., and received direction for his life to come, 'Arise and go to Damascus,' all the knowledge he had before was but dung, and loss, and not worth the reckoning. Socrates was a man excellent for human wisdom, the like to whom could not be found among many thousands of men; *qualem non repperis unum*; of whom, notwithstanding, Lactantius* writeth thus: *ut ceterorum argueret inscitiam, qui se aliquid tenere arbitrabantur, ait se nihil scire, nisi unum quod nihil sciret*: to convince the ignorance of others, who thought they knew something, he professed to know nothing but this one, that he knew nothing. He further testified openly, and in a place of judgment, that there was no wisdom of man; and the learning, whereof the philosophers then gloried, he so contemned, scorned, renounced,† that he professed it his greatest learning to have learned nothing. It is not unknown what Cicero said: *Utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa convincere*: I would I were as able to find out truth, as to refute falsehood; the most renowned orator that ever Rome, or the earth bare. Daniel, chap. ii., saw more in the secrets and counsels of God than all the wizards of Babylon besides. The enchanters and the astrologians, and the sorcerers and Chaldeans, as they are numbered in the second of Daniel, they confess plainly before the king, concerning his dream, 'there is none other that can declare it before the king, except God, whose dwelling is not with flesh;' yet they are called in the same prophecy,

* De ira Dei.

† Contempsit, derisit, abjecit.—*Lact. de origine erroris.*

the 'king's wise men.' But by the judgment of the queen, wife of Belshazzar, Daniel exceedeth them all in wisdom, chap. v. : 'There is a man in the kingdom,' saith she, 'in whom is the spirit of the holy gods, and in the days of thy father, light and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him.' Pharaoh made no less report of Joseph in the ears of all his servants, Genesis xli. : 'Can we find such a man as this, in whom is the Spirit of God?' It was wisdom in them, that they were able in some sort to discern such spirits, and to give them their proper names, though secretly condemning themselves thereby, to have but the spirits of men or beasts, when Daniel and Joseph were inspired far otherwise. The little flock of Christ exempted only, to whom 'it is given to know mysteries,' we may seek the whole world besides with cresset light, and inquire as the apostle did, 1 Cor. i., 'Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness?' To what other end is that confession or thanksgiving of our Saviour in the eleventh of Matthew? 'I give thee thanks, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes;' wise, and yet fools, men of understanding, yet they understand nothing. How are wisdom and folly bound up together in one heart? or what agreement between light and darkness in one eye? No marvel if we ask of it, for the Lord himself calleth it a marvellous work, Isa. xxix. 14, 'Even a marvellous work, and a wonder: for the wisdom of the wise men shall perish, and the understanding of the prudent men shall be hid.' Before, he bade them 'stay themselves, and wonder, that men should be drunken, but not with wine; and stagger, but not with strong drink.' The cause followeth, 'the Lord hath covered them with a spirit of slumber, and shut their eyes.'

There are many and mighty nations at this day; their soil most happy, their air sweetly disposed; people, for flesh and blood, as towardly as the ground carrieth, most provident to forecast, most ingenious to invent, most able and active to perform, of whom you would say, if you tried them, 'Surely this is a wise people, and of great understanding;' to whom, notwithstanding, if Christ should speak in person, as he spake to Saul before his illumination, 'why persecutest thou me?' why do you stumble at my gospel, and are offended at my name, and account the preaching of my cross foolishness? they would ask, as he did, 'Who art thou?' or what is thy gospel, name, and cross, that thou tellest us of? So blind they are to behold our day-spring, so ignorant and untaught touching Jesus of Nazareth. Or if we should ask them of the Holy Ghost, 'Have you received the Holy Ghost since you believed?' Acts xix. 2, nay, do you believe that there is an Holy Ghost? they would answer as the Ephesians did to Paul, 'We have not

so much as heard whether there be an Holy Ghost,' 'What new doctrine is this?' they seem to be 'setters forth of new gods,' and though they acknowledge some God, which nature itself obtrudeth unto their thoughts, yet they know not 'the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego,' Dan. iii., whom Nebuchadnezzar with that difference confessed, after his understanding was restored unto him; nor the God of Daniel, whom Darius by that name magnified, Dan. vi., after he saw the deliverance of his prophet from the lion's den; nor the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom the promises were made; nor 'the Lord God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land,' here specified.

Is it not a wonder, think you, that the people of the Turks, the hammer of the world, as sometimes Babylon, the rod of Christendom, able to say, as the Psalm spake of Gilead and Manasses, &c., Asia is mine, Africa is mine, over Europe have I cast my shoe, a warlike, politic, stately, magnificent nation, should more be carried away by the enchantments of their lewd prophet Mahomet, than by the celestial doctrine of the everlasting Son of God, who shed his blood, and gave his soul a ransom for the sin of mankind? What is the reason hereof? want they nature? or an arm of flesh? are they not cut from the same rock? are they not tempered of the same mould? are not their heads upward toward heaven, as the heads of other men? have they not reasonable souls, capable and judicious? What want they, then? It is *rectus spiritus*, a 'right spirit,' Ps. li., whereof they are destitute; they have a spirit, I grant, to enlive their bodies, but not rectified, sanctified, regenerated, renewed, to quicken their souls. They have a heart to conceive, but it is a froward heart, a slow heart, a stony heart, a vain and foolish heart, a scornful, contemptuous, insolent, incredulous heart, against him that framed it. Now if Egypt be so dark that the darkness thereof may be felt, and it is a wonder in our eyes to see such mists in other places; yet let Goshen rejoice that it standeth enlightened still. And those that have seen an happy star in the east to lead them to Christ, which Herod and his princes, the Turk and his pachas never saw, let them come and worship, and bring presents unto the King of glory; not of gold, myrrh, and frankincense, but of the finest metal, purest odours, frankest offering of thankful hearts. And let them not think, but where more is received, more will be required; and that they must answer to the Lord for these talents, not only for nature, but for a special inspiration besides, wherewith they are endued. And so to end this point; blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear; I will not say, that which many prophets and righteous men have desired, but to change the speech a little, that which many mighty empires and large continents, and not small cantons or corners, but whole quarters of the world, never attained unto, and

will bitterly rue the time, and wish to redeem with the loss of both their eyes, that they have not heard and seen as much as you have done.

They cried every man upon God. To come now to my purpose: these mariners fear, but where no fear is; they fear nothing, because they fear but idols and fancies, the suppositions of their own brains. And as they fear, so they pray, which was the second action; and (their error therein being pardoned) a natural, necessary service belonging to every mortal man; and their prayer is consequent to their fear. For upon the reverence they carried towards their imaginary gods, they betook themselves to this submissive and suppliant service.

Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor.*

Unless we feared, we could not think that there were a God. But this action of theirs hath something good in it, something to be reprov'd.

1. In that they *pray*, it sheweth the debility and weakness of the nature of man, if it be not holpen, and commendeth the necessity and use of prayer in all sorts of men.

2. In that they pray with *crying* and vehemency, it noteth that their hearts were fixed, and earnestly longed for that which their lips craved.

3. In that they cry to *their gods*, it proveth it a tribute due unto God alone, by the practice of heathen men.

4. In that they pray *every man*, as if in a common cause, though they had not a common religion, yet they had one soul, heart, and tongue common to them all, it noteth the communion and fellowship of mankind. Thus far the observations hold good. Their praying sheweth the misery of mortal men; crying in prayer, their earnest desire to obtain; praying to gods, the majesty of the immortal power; praying together, that bond of humanity and brotherhood wherewith we are coupled.

5. Their error is a part of their object, in the number of the gods which they invoke, that every person in the ship hath a proper and peculiar god whom he calleth upon.

The gods of the nations have been multiplied as the sands of the sea; what have they not deified? It cost but a little frankincense, *Exigua thuris impensa*, to give the godhead where it pleased them. They have 'turned the glory of the immortal God into the similitude of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and of creeping things,' Rom. i. Besides the sun and moon, and the whole host of heaven, they have consecrated for gods the sons of men, whose breath is a vapour in their nostrils, who shall be consumed before the unprofitable moths; of which foolish idolatry one of their own sophists† sometime spake in derision, *Bono estote animo, quando dii moriuntur ante homines*, Be of good courage, since gods die before men. And not only men have they

* Statius.

† Theocritus in Cle. Alex. protrep.

thus hallowed, but their qualities and virtues, *justice*, *prudence*, and the like; yea, their affections and perturbations, *fear*, *hope*, *love*, with the rest, whereof Lactantius* writeth, *Audax consilium Græciæ quod cupidinem et amorem consecrant*, Greece was very bold in making love a god. Shall I add, moreover, the defects and infirmities of men? they had their dumb goddess, *Dea Muta*, by Lactantius a thing most ridiculously taxed in them: *Quid præstare colenti potest, quæ loqui non potest?* What good can she do to her suitors, that cannot speak? They are not yet filthy enough, unless they erect altars and shrines to these vices, to *impudence* and *contumely*, as Epimenides did at Athens,† and to those plagues which their sins deserved, as to *furies*, and *fiends*, *revenge*, and the like mischiefs. Tullus Hostilius put fear and paleness, *pavorem palloremque*, in the number of his gods. It is pity, saith Lactantius, that ever his gods should go from him; and the people of Rome held *rust*, and the *ague*, in no less account. The fruits of the ground, as *corn* and *wine*, the very *land marks* in the field, *terminus*, rude and unshapen stones, were not debarred of this honour. They had their god for *dunging* their land, *Stercutius*, and (the basest thing that could be imagined) a goddess for their *draught-houses*, *Cloacina*; and not to disquiet any longer Christian ears with their heathenish absurdities, drunkards (*Bacchus*), harlots (*Venus*), and thieves (*Laverna*), were not left without their patrons. A poet of their own‡ inveighed against their multitude of gods in a satire long since:

Nec turba deorum

Talis ut est hodie, contentaque sydera paucis
Numinibus, miserum urgebant Atlanta minore
Pondere.

There were not wont to be so many gods as now-a-days; the heavens were content with a smaller number of them, and laid less burden upon the shoulders of poor Atlas. We read in the history of the sacred book that Astaroth was the idol of Zidon, Melchom of Ammon, Chemosh of Moab, Beelzebub of Ekron; and for every nation that came out of Asshur to inhabit Samaria, who were therefore destroyed by lions, 'because they knew not that manner of worship which the God of the country required,' 2 Kings xvii., a several god was found out: for the men of Babel, Succoth-Benoth; for the men of Cuth, Nergal; for Hamath, Ashima; Nibhaz and Tirtak for the Avims; for Shepharvaim, Adramelech and Anammelech, to which they burned their children in the fire.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum:

so much mischief could their very religion persuade unto them. Lactantius§ setteth down the cause of this vainness in the thoughts and darkness in the hearts of men, that 'wherein they profess themselves to be most wise, therein they become most fools.'

* De fals. relig., lib. i. cap. 10.

† Clem. Alex. in protrep.

§ Institut. lib. iii. cap. 10.

‡ Juvenal.

Men are therefore deceived, because either they take upon them religion without wisdom, or study wisdom without religion; so they fall to many religions, but therefore false, because they have forsaken wisdom, which could teach them that there cannot be many gods; or they bestow their pains in wisdom, but therefore false, because they have let slip the religion of the highest God, which might instruct them in the knowledge of truth. To shew the absurdities wherewith this opinion floweth of devising many gods, Cyprian* proveth that the majesty and sublimity of the Godhead cannot admit an equal. Let us borrow an example from the earth, saith he: when did you ever know society and communion in a kingdom either begin with fidelity, or end without bloodshed?† Thus was germanity and brotherhood broken betwixt the Thebans (Eteocles and Polyuces). One kingdom could not hold those brethren of Rome (Romulus and Remus), though the harbour of one womb contained them. Pompey and Cæsar, though so nearly allied, yet they could not endure,

Cæsarvé priorem,
Pompeiusvé parem. . . .

either Cæsar his better, or Pompey his peer. Neither marvel, saith he, to see it thus in man, when all nature doth consent therein. The bees have but one king, *Rex unus est apibus*, &c.; flocks and herds but one leader, much more hath the world but one governor. That which was spoken to this effect in general, *Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*, that the kingdom of many governors is not good, Cæsar applied to his own name, *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη*, in exception to the multitudes of Cæsars or emperors. The College of bishops in Rome answered Marcellus, when he would have built but one temple both to honour and virtue, One chapel or chancel cannot well be dedicated to two gods.‡ I often allege Lactantius in these matters, a man that hath notably deserved of the gospel of Christ against the vanities of Gentility, who being, as it were, a stream issuing from the eloquence of Tully, *Quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ*, as Jerome commended him, converted all the force of his eloquence to assault, beat down, vanquish, triumph over the enemies of true religion. Thomas Beacon, a countryman of ours, in an epistle to D. Nowell (cherubim to cherubim), giveth him this commendation to close up his appetite amongst many others before uttered. I cannot but cry out, O *Celius*, a man truly celestial and divine; O *Lactantius*, an author sweeter than any milk and honey; O *Firmianus*, a champion in defending Christian verity, most firm, faithful, and constant. Behold the man, &c., alluding to his happy names, which he rightly fitted by answerable good conditions. This Lactantius presseth his arguments nearer to the

mark: If there be more Gods than one, then singly and apart they must needs have less strength,* for so much shall be wanting to every one as the rest have gleaned from him; and the nature of goodness cannot be perfect and absolute, but where the whole, not where a little portion of the whole is. If they shall say, that as there are sundry offices to be looked unto, so they are divided amongst many officers, all cometh to the same end.† For their several jurisdictions cannot exceed their bounds, because they are crossed and kept in by others, as two contrary winds cannot blow together in one place; for if they have equal force, one hindereth the other; if unequal, the weaker of the two must perforce yield. Again, if offices be shared amongst them, besides that the care of every god will go no farther than his own charge and province, they must of necessity often fall out, as they did in Homer, where the court is divided into two factions, some alleging for Troy, that it should be defended, others against it, that it should be sacked. If in an army of men there should be as many generals as there are regiments, bands, and companies, neither could they well array, nor easily govern and hold in their soldiers. And to say that the world is ruled by the disposition of many gods, is such a kind of speech as if a man should affirm there were many minds in one body, because the members thereof have diverse ministries, every sense to have a peculiar mind set over it; which whoso saith, *Ne ipsam quidem quæ una est habere videatur*, proveth himself destitute of that which is but one in every man. But amongst the rest, there is some one principal supereminent, as Antisthenes sometimes said that there were many popular gods, having tuition of the divers nations and people of the world (perhaps he meant vulgar and trivial gods), and but one natural, *Multi dii populares, unus naturalis*, by whom the whole creature was formed; then are the rest not gods (Lactantius inferreth), but servants and attendants. He addeth to his former confutations the testimony of the Sybils, that there is but one only God, *εἷς μόνος ἔστι θεός*; and the reason which Mercurius Trismegistus bringeth why God is without name, is, because he is but one, and one hath no need of any name, *ὁ εἷς ὀνόματος οὐ προσδέεται*, for there is no use of a proper name for distinction from the rest, but where there are more of the same kind to enforce it. Clemens Alexandrinus frameth the like discourse: that which is one is not subject to division;‡ wherefore it is infinite, and wanteth both difference and name. For though we call him improperly sometimes, either *one*, or *good*, or that that is, or *Father*, or *God*, or *maker*, or *Lord*, we do not this to declare his name, but to shew the ampleness of an unexplicable sub-

* De fals. relig., lib. i. cap. 3. Minus habebunt singuli nervorum.

† Virtutis perfecta natura, &c. At officia multi partiti sunt.

‡ Nec opus est proprio vocabulo, nisi cum nomen exigui multitudo.—Strom. 5.

* De vanitate idolorum, tract. 4.

† Quando unquam aut cum fide cæpit, aut sine cruore desiit? Sic Thebanorum germanitas rupta.

‡ Una cella duobus diis non rectè dicanda Val. Max.

stance.* To conclude, God termeth himself I AM, Exod. iii., opposing his being and existence to things that are not, as Justin Martyr collecteth in his oration to the Greeks, *Ego sum existens, se ipsum non existentibus opponens*; and as it appeareth by the same father, there was no difference in describing the nature of the Godhead betwixt Moses, if I may so speak, a Plato amongst the Hebrews, and Plato a Moses amongst the Athenians, but a little varying the article; for where the one writeth, He that is, *ὁ ὢν*, the other writeth, That that is, *τὸ ὢν*, both tending to the same scope, that the everlasting being of one only God might be averred. He furthermore witnesseth, that Plato took delight, and spent much contemplation in the brevity of that speech, consisting but of one participle (we may say particle), as one perceiving therein, that, when God had a purpose to reveal his eternity to Moses, he chose to do it by a word; which, being but one syllable amongst the Greeks, doth, notwithstanding, signify and contain three times, that which is past, that which is present, and that which is to come; all which are indistinct in God, because he is not changed, 'but is yesterday, to-day, and the same for evermore.' I have shewed you the error of the Gentiles, together with the improbability and absurdity thereof, in forging to themselves, and consequently fearing, adoring, honouring many gods. In regard of ourselves, I grant, an impertinent speech; 'for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be gods many and lords many, yet to us there is but one God;' and 'we know that an idol is nothing in the world;' but because 'every man hath not knowledge,' as the apostle continueth his speech, and some men have not conscience: the infidel, through ignorance, on the one side, mistaking; and the athiest, through maliciousness, on the other side denying and defying; and the papist in a third crew, through heresy, in manner dividing that one only God, by giving his glory as great as himself to angels and saints, the works of his fingers, it is not amiss to be stored with all kinds of proofs on this behalf, that some may be instructed, others convinced, silenced, utterly confounded.

The third action specified in these mariners, is the casting forth of their wares to lighten their ship, which some ascribe in part to religion, as if their intent were to make some satisfaction, and to pacify their gods, if by piracy or other unlawful means they had taken aught before. Others impute it to necessity alone, and, methinketh, the text speaketh for them, 'To lighten it.' For it is no unusual practice, in peril of shipwreck, to disburden the ship. So did Paul and his company in the 27th of the Acts, by reason of that jeopardy wherein they stood: one day they cast out wares, the next day, with their own hands, they cast away their tacklings; for in such extremities they

must conclude, as the philosopher once did, *Perieram nisi perissem*, I had perished if I had not perished, we lose our lives, unless we lose our goods.

The order and proceeding they hold is very good, and which the children of the light need not scorn to imitate. First they try their gods by supplication; then they consult of their means and likelihoods for the preservation of themselves. Which order others pervert, using God but for a shift, and at second hand, if haply by other device we are not able to withstand a mischief. *Nec Deus oratur, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit*; we never use the aid of God but when the knot is so hard that ourselves cannot undo it. We are all reasonable creatures, and God will use us for the most part in matters appertaining to our good, as living and reasonable instruments. What else was the reason that Naaman, the Syrian lord, was willed to go and wash himself seven times in Jordan, 2 Kings v., when there was a God in Israel that could have restored his flesh, as he first formed it, with a word of his mouth, as the centurion spake in the Gospel, 'Say but the word, Lord?' and that they were bidden to take a lump of dry figs and lay upon the boil of Ezekias, Isa. xxxviii., and he should recover his sickness, when the Lord had before told him, 'I have heard thy prayer, and seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years?' and that the blind man in the Gospel, John ix., was sent to wash his eyes in Siloam, and he went, and returned seeing, when our Saviour had made a plaster of spittle and clay, and applied to the part affected? What else is the meaning hereof, but that we must not eschew such ordinary and honest helps as God hath designed? 'The sluggard lusteth,' as it is in the Proverbs, chap. xiii., 'but his soul hath nothing;' doubtless, because he doth but lust and will not follow it; 'For he hideth his hand in his bosom, and it grieveth him to put it to his mouth,' chap. xix. He that will feed such slow bellies, and slack hands, deserveth to want himself. 'The desires of the slothful slay him, for his hands refuse to work,' chap. xxi.; you hear the right properties of a sluggard, he is wholly made of desires, lusts, appetites, wishings, longings, but it is death unto him to thrust forth a finger for the achievement of anything. They had an evasion to the like effect, to colour their idleness withal, in ancient times, which the philosophers called the idle reason, *ἄργος λόγος*. *Ignava ratio*. For thus they disputed. If it be thy destiny to recover of such a sickness, whether thou shalt use a physician or not use him, thou shalt recover, &c. I would have such patrons of idleness used, as Zeno used his servant, who being taken with theft, and alleging for himself that it was his destiny to steal, his master answered, And thy destiny to be beaten; and accordingly rewarded him. If these mariners had so disputed, or sitten upon the hatches of their ship, their arms folden together, and their hearts only desiring to escape, their sorrows had there presently been ended; but neither their hearts

* Non ut nomen ejus proferentes dicimus, sed propter rei ineffabilis amplitudinem.

nor hands were unoccupied. And, therefore, as in the curing of bodily diseases, though of the Most High cometh healing, yet the physician must be honoured with that honour that belongeth unto him, and the apothecary [who] maketh the confection; as in the wars of Israel against Madia, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon went together, Judges vii., and the cry of the people was not left out; and, as in preventing this shipwreck, spirits and bodies, prayer and labour, heaven and earth (if I may so say), were conjoined; so in all the affairs and appurtenances of our lives, we must beware of tempting God. We must not lie in a ditch sullen, and negligent of ourselves, and look to be drawn out by others; nor think to be fed as the young ravens, without sowing; neither to be clothed as lilies of the field, without spinning and labouring; health cometh not from the clouds without seeking, nor wealth from the clods without digging. We must cast our care upon God, that yet we be not careless and dissolute in our own salvation: *Odi homines ignarâ operâ, philosophâ sententiâ*.* I hate men that haply have good and provident thoughts, but they will take no pains. That which Metellus sometime spake by number, I hold a truth in him that is without number, Our one and onemost God; † *iisdem deos propitios esse æquum est, qui sibi adversarii non sunt*: It is meet that God favour them, who are not enemies and hinderers to themselves.

But to leave this point, there is a time, I perceive, when the riches of this world are not worth the keeping, especially compared with the life of man. Their wares, adventures, and commodities, and not only the ballast of the ship, but the necessary implements, furniture (for the original word, though signifying a vessel in particular, is a general name for all such requisite provision), their victual, munitions, and whatsoever was of burden besides, are they conveyed and landed by boat, or any way thought upon to be saved? Nay, they are thrown into the sea, to lighten their ship, without ever hope of recovery. It is a proverb justified by truth, though the father of lies spake it, Job ii., 'Skin for skin, and all that a man hath, will he give for his life.' And it is a rule in nature allowed, 'No man ever hated his own flesh, nay, rather he will nourish and cherish his life, as the Lord his church,' Eph. v. 'Is not the life more worth than meat, and thy body than raiment? will not a man give his riches for the ransom of his life?' Mat. vi. The poorest worm in the earth, which hath a life (saith Austin), as well as the angel in heaven, *Tam vitâ vivit quam angelus*, will not forego that life without resisting, Prov. xvi. If either horns or hoofs, or tusks, or talons, or beaks, or stings of beasts, birds, flies, unreasonable creatures may withstand, they will not spare to use their armour and weapons of nature to defend themselves withal.

* Pacuvius.

† *Unus et (si dici debet) unissimus.*—*Ber. ad Eugen.*

Is the life of the body, my beloved brethren, so dear, and is not the life of the soul more precious? is the life present so tender, and the life to come so much inferior? will you unload a ship to save it? will you burthen and surcharge a soul to destroy it? shall the necessary instruments of the one be thrown out, and shall not the accessary ornaments, superfluous, sumptuous, riotous delights of the other be departed with? or, are not souls better than bodies? and incorruptible lives hereafter, better than these present, subject to corruption? or, are not riches a burthen to your souls? 'Ho, he that increaseth that which is not his own, and he that ladeth himself with thick clay! how long?' Hab. ii. 6. Are not riches a load? or what doubt you of? I know your answer, we increase but our own. Your own? Who entitled you thereto? Is not the earth the Lord's, and the fulness thereof! are you *coloni* or *domini*;* lords of the earth, or tillers, manurers, dressers, dispensers? Jerome writeth of Abraham, and other rich patriarchs of former age, that they were rather to be termed the bailiffs of the Lord, than rich men; *dispensatores magis Dei quam divites appellandi*. But were it your own; hath the sea bars or doors to keep it in, and is your appetite without all moderation? How long? is there no end of increasing? The widow in 2 Kings, that had her liberty given to borrow as many vessels for oil to pay her debts, as her neighbours could spare her, had as large a scope, I am sure, and with better authority than ever was proposed to you; yet there was a time when she said to her son, 'Give me yet a vessel, and he answered, there are no more vessels,' and the oil ceased, and I doubt not, but with the oil, her desire ceased too. It may be you have filled your vessels with oil, your own and your neighbours', your garners, your coffers, your bags, your warehouses, your fields, your farms, your children, are full. I ask again with the prophet, How long? do you ever think to fill your hearts? The barren womb, unmerciful grave, unsatiable death will sooner be satisfied. It is a bottomless purse; the more it hath, the more it coveteth. See an image hereof. Alcæon being willed by Cræsus to go into his treasure-house and take as much gold as he could carry away with him, provided for that business a long hanging garment down to his ankles, and great boots, and filled them both; nay, he stuffed his mouth, and tied wedges of gold to the locks of his head; I think, but for hurting his brain, he would have ferst† the skull of his head, and the bowels within his breast, if he could have spared them. Here is an heart set upon riches, and riches set upon an heart; heaps of wealth like the hills that want‡ cast up; *cumuli, tumuli*, every hill is a grave, every heap a tomb to bury himself in. Is this to dispense? Is this to exercise bailiwicks? Is this to shew fidelity in your master's house? In few words I exhort you, if

* Senec.

† That is, 'stuffed.'—Ed.

‡ Qu. 'ants?'—Ed.

the ship be too full, unlade it ; cast your goods into the sea, lest they cast yourselves ; cast your bread upon the waters, distribute your mercies to the needy, where you look for no recompense. It is not certain, it is not likely, and so it may fall out, that it is not possible 'for those that are rich to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' You can dissolve that riddle, I know ; our Saviour, you say, meant of such as trust in riches ; and do not you trust in them ? Do you not say to the wedge of gold, in the applause that yourselves give to it, 'Thou art my confidence' ? Do you not plant, build, purchase, add house to house, join field to field, put to use, grind, eat, tear, rack, extort to the uttermost ? What meaneth such costliness in your houses, delicacy at your tables, stately habiliments upon your wives and daughters, insolent neighbourhood against your brethren, like the malignant aspect of unlucky planets upon them, discountenancings, disturbings, dispossessings of them, but that you trust in riches ? Where is your trust in the living God, meantime, 'riches in good works, readiness to distribute and communicate,' which the apostle preached to Timothy, 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, and willed him to give in charge (because such hard doctrine must be driven in with hard hammers), to 'those that are rich in this present world,' lest they be deprived

of those incorruptible riches which God hath stored up ? Where are your morsels of bread to feed the hungry, your fleeces of wool to warm the loins of the naked, hospitality in your halls, bounty at your gates, liberality in your hands ? I think, you keep the rule of the gospel, that the right hand knoweth not what the left doth, because neither right nor left doth anything. I like the advice of an heathen well : use thy wealth as thou wouldst use thy coat ; let it be rather fit than too long, *Concinnam, magis probo quam longam*. A little may be a burthen, but in too much there is no question. In the land of Havilah there is good gold ; in the land of the living, in the land of promise, in the land of heavenly Jerusalem, there is good gold indeed, gold tried in the fire (in the third of the Revelation), where neither moth nor rust can corrupt, nor thief purloin it ; gold of more worth than all the mines of the earth can send up. Oh, thirst after this gold, if you must needs thirst ; be covetous after durable riches ; lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven, and of your unrighteous mammon (neither well gained perhaps, and ill kept, and worse laid out), make friends in time, that they may receive you into the heavenly tabernacles ; save your ships, if it may be, and save your lives ; but save your souls, though you lose your wares, your ships, and your lives too.

LECTURE VI.

But Jonah was gone down into the sides of the ship ; and he lay down, and was fast asleep.—JONAH I. 5.

THE mariners had thrown out their wares, but the greatest burden was behind, the sin of Jonah ; for wickedness is as 'a talent of lead,' Zech. v. 7, the weight whereof cannot be expressed. Salt, and sand, and a lump of iron is easier to bear* than an unwise, foolish, and ungodly man. We see by the proof of this example that the sin of one private person is likely to sink a ship in the midst of the sea ; and Peter thought it of force to overturn more than one, Luke v. For when the two ships were so fraught with fish, that they were ready to sink, he fell down at the knees of Jesus, and said, 'Go from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man ;' thinking that his sin had so endangered them. They say, no element is ponderous in the proper place of the element, *elementum in loco suo non ponderat* ; we feel not the weight of the air, though we live in the circle of it ; the water of the sea, as much as the whole channel holdeth, if we lay in the nethermost bottom thereof, would not offend us with burden, though annoy us otherwise ; so is it in the estimate of sin, it seemeth not a burden in the will of man, wherein the region and element of sin is, because of that lust and appetite the will hath to commit sin ; but bring it from the house and home where it dwelleth, convent it before reason, examine it with judgment and

understanding, consider what an infinite majesty it offendeth, and what infinite plagues it bringeth forth, then shall we know the weight of sin. No sooner had Jonah entered the ship, but the sea, which was at rest before, feeling a burden more than common, came forth like a bridegroom out of his chamber and channel, to ease itself, and to shake his bones with an ague that troubled the quiet thereof ; that we may learn (saith Chrysostom*), *ubi peccatum, ibi procella*, where sin is, there will also be a storm ; and if we will save ourselves, we must drown sin as they drowned Jonah.

The sleep of Jonah is as strange, prodigious, and brutish kind of sleep as ever I heard of. The winds rage, the sea roareth, the ship tottereth and groaneth, the mariners fear, and pray, and cry, every soul in the ship, so many persons upon so many gods (it was as the howling of Baal's priests, or as the yelling of wolves), they run to and fro, they ransack all the corners of the ship, unbowel her inmost cells, throw out commodities, rend and rape down tackles, sails, all implements ; Jonah in the mean time, as a man possessed with the deaf devil, Mark vii., or as one that had lost his soul, as they write of Hermotimus, that his soul would depart from the body at times and come home again, sleepeth. 'If a thief should come

* Ecclus. xxii.

* Homil. v. ad pop.

to rob, would he not steal till he had enough? if grape-gatherers should come to a vine, would they not leave some grapes?' Obadiah 5. Behold, the customer of the life of man, who taxeth half our days to his own use, *atrocissimus vitæ humanæ publicanus, somnus*, cometh upon Jonah, and is not content with ordinary, moderate fees, but bereaveth him of all sense. And no orator in the world could better have described this drowsiness, to the disgrace of Jonah, than Jonah himself.

He descended. He staid not upon the hatches, to visit the light of heaven, to behold the waves of the sea, his persecutors, but removed as far from God and his anger as his heart could devise, shewing that his works were evil, because he buried himself in darkness. A sinner ever descendeth till he cometh to the lowest that may be; his affections are downwards, and, I am sure, his inheritance and hope is not above; but as we bury dead flesh under the ground, so it is not unlikely of dead souls; and as the heaviest bodies draw to the centre of the earth, so the saddest and heaviest spirits, which the mercy of God hath forsaken.

He descended not into the bosom and thoroughfare of the ship, where the passage of the mariners up and down might have disturbed him, but into the sides or thighs of it.

He descended into the sides of the keel, the veriest bottom that the vessel had. I think if there had been a vault in the ship as deep as hell and destruction itself, he would have entered thercinto.

He descended into the ship, not to bestow time in any serviceable employment for the furtherance of the voyage, but to lie down.

Not for the ease of his body alone, to give it some short repose, but to sleep.

Nay, he slept and slept, Endymion's sleep; *somno sopitus est*, it was an heavy, stupid, deadly sleep.

The best inducement to sleep, you know, where the body is aptly framed unto it, is stillness and quietness; and therefore the poet* describeth the place of sleep to be in a vault of the earth, where the light of the sun never cometh; a long gallery or porch leading unto it remove it from the assembly of people; no door to the house, lest the turning of the hinges should disquiet his ease; and neither dog, nor cock, nor goose, nor any wakeful creature to break silence, nor tree to make a noise: thus is he lodged upon a bed of down, in a bedstead of ebony, free from the annoyance of anything.

This was the reason that the Sibarites, a sleepy, lascivious, riotous nation of men, who would lodge themselves for pleasure in beds of violets, the better to take their ease, banish cocks from their cities, and all kinds of trades wherein hammerings or noise might be used. Jonah hath nothing in the world, neither without nor within, to invite sleep; clamours, and commotions, and cursitations one way; vexation and

* Ovid. xi. Metamor.

trouble of heart another way; these were his helps. Admit he were weary with travel from the city to the haven, as Jacob was weary when he went to Aram, and lay down by the way, and slept upon a pillow of stone; what? so weary that neither the voice of men, nor God, nor conscience, nor the voice of the ship, which, as before I noted, yearned in her inward spirit, and thought to be rent, could awake him? The sleep of Adam was an heavy sleep, so the text termeth it, Gen. ii., when God took a rib from his side, and closed up the flesh again, and he felt it not; but the reason is there given, God cast him into it; it was a matter devised and composed beforehand. The sleep of Sisera, Judges iv., was an heavy sleep, when a nail was driven into the temples of his head; but he had run on foot from the battle, and was wearied with hot pursuit. The sleep of Ish-bosheth, 2 Sam. iv., an heavy sleep, when his two captains slew him at noon, upon his bed; but the heat of the day procured that sleep. The sleep of Samson, Judges xvi., an heavy sleep, when the seven locks of his head were shaven off; but the charms and enticements of Delilah caused him to sleep upon her knees. The sleep of Eutychus, Acts xx., an heavy sleep, when he fell from the third loft, and was taken up dead; but the night, which was the time of rest, was far spent; that reason Scipio giveth, and it holdeth in nature, *quia ad multam noctem vigilassem, arctior me somnus complexus est*: because I had watched long till a great part of the night was spent, I fell into a deeper sleep. It was a marvellous sleep which Lot was surprised with, when his two daughters abused themselves with him, and he neither perceived when they lay down, nor when they rose up; but the text noteth their shameless policy, they gave him wine to make him sleep. The seven sleepers, in the time of Decius the emperor (if the history deceive us not), slept in an hill, by a miracle; Epimenides, the Cretian, slept fourscore years in a cave (they that say fewer say enough), beyond a miracle, and I nothing doubt but beyond the truth. Surely the sleep of Jonah, though neither so fabulous as some, nor so miraculous as others, and more unprobable than the most, is, for the time, not inferior to any before mentioned, and no right cause can be rendered of it.

For what can we say? Was it because he was vexed, and troubled in his spirit, as the disciples of Christ; Mat. xxvi., and in the number of the disciples, the choice, Peter, John, and James, to whom our Saviour came and said, 'Could ye not watch with me one hour?' and a second time in the same manner. But they are there excused in part by the weakness of nature, 'for their eyes were heavy,' and surely the heaviness of their eyes came from the heaviness of their spirits.

Or was it not rather the hardness and resolution of his heart, the dregs of sin frozen and congealed within him, sin beyond measure sinful, and beyond measure

dull, that so oppressed him? Undoubtedly there is a time and state in sin (let it be heard attentively, that the enchantments thereof get not too deep a possession), there is a time and state in sin when the heart is as fat as grease, the conscience scared as with hot irons; and, as they write of Dionysius Hieracleote, though they thrust needles into his belly to let out his fat, by reason of his grossness he felt them not; so wound, and extimulate, and grieve this head-strong iniquity never so much, it careth not, stoutly bearing itself against God and man, and as it hath no hope, so having in a manner no desperation. Such was the case of Catiline, when he had fired the city of Rome with his conspiracies, he had no better comfort than this, *incendium meum ruina extinguiam*.* I will quench the fire I have kindled with a final ruin; I will add worse to evil, thirst to drunkenness, and leave the success of my mischievous and ungracious actions to the extremest adventures. Cyprian writeth of himself,† who had sometime been a great persecutor, and afterwards proved a glorious martyr, *Μέγας καὶ διώκτης καὶ σπένδόμενος*,‡ that being entangled in the errors of his former life, past hope of getting out, he even gave over himself to his adherent vices, and favoured his sins as now become proper unto him, born as it were in his own home, and incorporate into his flesh and bones by long acquaintance. ‘*Et malis meis reluti jam propriis et vernaculis adfavebam*.’ And Bernard in his books of consideration to Eugenius,§ doth notably describe an hard heart. What it is, saith he? It is that which is not cut with compunction (a razor will sooner cut a whetstone), not softened with love, not moved with entreaty, yieldeth not to threatenings, with scourges is hardened, unthankful for benefits, unfaithful in counsels, unmerciful in judgments, shameful in dishonesty, reckless in dangers, in things appertaining to men, void of humanity; in matters concerning God, full of temerity; unmindful of what is past, negligent of what is present, improvident of what to come. This might be the cogitation of Jonah. I have run too far in rebellion to return, I know the worst that can befall me; but be it as it may, from henceforth sleep my soul, and take thy ease, bury thyself in security, and digest thy sorrow with carelessness.

Or was it a spirit of slumber sent from God? Was he brought into this drowsiness for some end unknown unto him? Were his eyes held of purpose (as the eyes of the two disciples that went to Emmaus), his senses bound up that some extraordinary work of God might afterwards be manifested? There is a conflict and repugnancy herein, which I know not how to reconcile, a man so troubled in conscience, that he descendeth into the sides of the ship, flying the face of God, the face of men, the face of his own person, the face of the light of heaven, not able to endure the face of the winds and seas, that were up in arms against him,

* Sallust. † Lib. ep. 22. ‡ Nazian. § Lib. i.

yet sleepeth. It is against all reason. For sleep departeth from the eyes of fearful men: ‘If they lay them down, they say, When shall I rise? They measure the hours of the night, they are full of tossing to and fro, until the dawning of the day. When they say, My couch shall relieve me, and my bed shall bring comfort in my meditation; then are they feared with dreams, and astonished with visions,’ Job. vii. Therefore the poet* called one of the sons of sleep, Phobctor, a terrifier of men, presenting himself unto their phantasy in the likeness of beasts, of birds, of serpents, of anything that may affright the wicked.

Fit fera, fit volucris, fit toto corpore serpens.

I never would have thought that conscience could have slept till this time; she is so marked and observed by her own eye, though no other eye perceive her; so followed and chased by her own foot, though nothing else in heaven or earth pursue her. She fleeth when no man followeth, and hath a thousand witnesses within her own breast when she is free from the whole world besides. The worm that ever gnaweth, the fire that ever burneth, is the remembrance of her forepast iniquities. And though we escape the hands of the living God, we shall find it fearful enough to fall into the hands of a living and yet dying conscience. But nothing in the world, I think, save either a dulness of sin incredible, and the next degree to a reprobate sense, or else a purpose of God, to shew the perfection of his power in the imperfection and weakness of his prophet, could have wrought this effect.

The end of all is this. He neither slumbereth nor sleepeth that keepeth Israel, he walketh in heaven that hath an eye and care of Jonah in his profound sleeping. Though smitten into the place of dragons, or whales, and covered with the shadow of death, he cometh to light again; ‘though he lieth amongst the pots,’ as another psalm speaketh, Ps. lxxviii., in a filthy, fuliginous corner, as one forgotten, forsaken, forlorn; he becometh as ‘a dove, whose wings are of silver, and her feathers of yellow gold,’ purified as it were by the finer of his soul, and restored to that beauty and perfection wherewith before he shone. Though he dwelleth in the ‘land of forgetfulness, and is laid in the lowest pit, &c., in the deep of displeasure, as a man without strength, free among the dead, and exiled from the living, and as the slain in the grave, whom God remembereth no more,’ Ps. lxxxviii. (for such was the cabin of security which Jonah was entered into), yet he is quickened with life, and brought up to heaven to be an example of mercy to those that were then unborn. Of judgment and mercy may be our song; judgment in the revenge, mercy in the deliverance of Jonah; judgment in his flight and running from God, mercy in his retreat; judgment in his sleeping, mercy in his rising up. If God had not watched to preserve Jonah (as when we all sleep, he waketh for us all.

* Ovid.

'*Omnium somnos illius rigilantia defendit*),' Jonah might have slept his sleep (to use the phrase of the psalm, Ps. lxxvi.), and (as Jeremiah expoundeth it) his everlasting sleep, Jer. li.; not that sweet sleep of the body, wherewith nature is refreshed, but of the soul in sin, and of the body and soul in immortal perdition. If God should have said unto him, touching the spirit of slumber now fallen upon the spirit of Jonah, as our Saviour said to his disciples, touching the sleep of their bodies, 'from henceforth sleep and take thy rest,' till thy eyes sink into the holes of thy head, I will neither come nor send to call thee up again; the night had compassed him in with darkness, and the pit had shut her mouth upon him for ever.

Look not, my brethren, for favour at the hands of God so singular as Jonah found; make not the watchfulness of God an occasion to your sluggishness; neither sleep you in sin because he sleepeth not in his providence and protection. Look not that the sun shall stand still any more, as it did to Joshua, or go back again, as to Hezekiah; or that Jordan shall flee from his place, the sea divide itself, and stand up like walls, as to the children of Israel; nor that a voice shall be heard from heaven, or a light seen besides the ordinary light of the firmament, as when Paul was converted. Do ye complain that the arm of the Lord is shortened in your days, because ye see not the like signs? or will ye not be saved without miracles? are your eyes evil because God hath a larger hand towards other men? or is not his hand full enough towards us if we knew our happiness? Unless the course of the world be altered for our sakes, the pillars of the earth moved, the channels of the waters discovered; unless we see tokens in the sun and the moon, and one rise from the dead to give us warning, will we not be warned? 'The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: we preach Christ crucified,' 1 Cor. i. And woe to the world if the open face of the gospel cannot move us without a sign, nor the simplicity of Christ Jesus persuade us without other wisdom. Jonah was suffered to run his race of disobedience, and when he had wearied and spent himself in perverse ways, mightily brought back. Thou sayest, Why not I? I dispute not. God will measure his graces at his pleasure; and though they run over to some, they are plentiful enough to us all. As it is in the tenth to the Romans, 'He that is Lord over all, is rich unto all that call unto him.' That answer which he gave to Paul in another case, *Sufficit tibi gratia mea*, 2 Cor. xii., 'My grace sufficeth thee,' may suffice all suitors. But if they will not return to God till they have tempted his justice as far as Jonah did; and be cast into a bed of sin, as Jezebel into a bed of fornication; and rocked asleep in the deepest security that can be imagined; till they have lain like 'brands in the fire,' wasted to the stump, Zach. iii.; or as a sheep in the mouth of the lion, consumed to an ear or a leg, Amos iii. 12,

as the prophets spake; in this case, if God give them over also, and leave them to perish in the fire and in the lion's mouth, and in that bed of rest which their hearts have coveted, their destruction is of themselves, for putting back that accepted time, were it more or less, which God had offered them. But Jonah findeth more favour with God, as appeareth by a message sent unto him.

So the shipmaster came unto him, and said unto him, What meanest thou, O sleeper? &c., ver. 6.

The shipmaster, or the master of the cable, the cordage, and tackle, cometh unto Jonah, and biddeth him arise. I will not say what a shame it is to Jonah, that he which was appointed a watchman unto others should himself be awaked; nor how much the greater reproach to be condemned by a heathen, who himself was condemned by the sentence of the Hebrews* for an uncircumcised, common, and unclean person. But methinketh I see an image in the shipmaster of a good governor, who is not content alone himself to take pains (which was the complaint of Nehemiah, chap. iii., that the great men of the Tekoites put not their neck to the work), but so ordereth the rest of his company, as the head and heart, copartners in the kingdom, or one the king, the other the viceroy, [order] the members of the body, that there is not a man amongst them suffered to sit at rest and do nothing.

The care of a governor over his charge is no way better expressed than by the phrases which the Scripture hath used. For therefore is he said to 'go in and out before the people,' to note not only the priority of his place, but the prudence of virtue every way, and to 'lead them, as a shepherd his sheep,' on whom their dependence standeth, both for the safeguard of their lives and estate, and their provision otherwise. To forbear other proofs herein, Moses nameth both at once in that serious request of his, which, after the knowledge of his death given, Num. xxvii., he made to the Lord for substitution of some other in his room, 'Let the Lord God of the spirits of all flesh appoint a man over the congregation, who may go in and out before them; and both lead them forth and bring them home again, and that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep without a shepherd.' It appeareth by a former speech by him uttered, that he was not only charged with them as a leader with his followers, or a shepherd with his sheep, but as a father, mother, or nurse with his children and sucking babes. Else why did he ask his Maker in terms of most natural reference, Num. xi. 'Have I conceived all this people? or have I begotten them, that thou shouldst say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nurse beareth her sucking child?' Let masters and magistrates learn by this speech, that when they are put in authority, they receive, as it were, a roll from the Lord, like the roll of Ezekiel, wherein their

* Major est poena à damnato damnari.—*Cypr. de sing. cler.*

duties are abridged and summed up in this short sentence, 'carry them in thy bosom.' For as a writing received immediately from the mouth of God, so doth Moses set it down, or as if there had passed some interlocation betwixt God and him; as much as to say, let them be tender and dear unto thine affection, let them be under thine eye, and near thine heart, that they perish not; pity their miseries, redress their wrongs, relieve their wants, reform their errors, prevent their mishaps, procure their welfare and peace by all good means. It is an art of arts, and science of sciences to rule man;* and they are magistrates indeed which have the knowledge and skill that belongeth to magistrates;† which have *oculum cum sceptro*, by which emblem the Egyptians figured their governments, a sceptre for jurisdiction and power, an eye for watchfulness and discretion. For if they interpret their callings aright, they have not the bondage and service of the people so much as the tutelage of them;‡ neither is the commonwealth theirs to use as they list, but they the commonwealth's.§ What meant Clem. Alexandrinus in his fiction|| that he citeth out of Plato, that the former of all things hath mingled gold with the complexion and temperature of princes, of their subordinate helpers and assessors silver, but in the constitutions of husbandmen and artificers brass and iron; but that the excellentest rooms should be furnished with the excellentest gifts, and as for meaner callings, they were sufficiently sped if they had common and ordinary qualities? *Sedes prima et vita ima*, saith Bernard:¶ the highest place and basest life agree not; and the ancient proverb agreeth hereunto: *Rex fatuus in solio, simia in tecto*, a foolish king in a throne is an ape upon the housetop, highly perched, but absurdly conditioned. The example of good governors (we know) is of great force to draw the hearts of the people after them; their proclamations and edicts are not so available to persuade, *Nec sic inflectere sensus &c.*, as their manners. *Confessor papa, confessor populus*, saith Cyprian to Cornelius, bishop of Rome: where the prelate or pastor is confessor of the name of Christ, his people will confess it also. When Shemaiah counselled Nehemiah to fly into the temple and shut the doors, because his enemies would that night come to slay him, he drew an argument of courage and magnanimity from the pre-eminence of his office, and withstood his persuasion: Neh. vi., 'Should such a man as I flee? who is he, that, being as I am, would go into the temple to live? I will not go in.' Where an hart leadeth the army, though it consist wholly of lions, he maketh them all harts, but where a lion is captain

* *Ars artium, disciplina disciplinarum regere hominem.*—*Nazianz.*

† *Superiores sunt, qui superiores esse sciunt.*—*Der. ser. xxiii. in cant.*

‡ *Civium non servitus tradita, sed tutela.*

§ *Nec res publica tua sed tu reipublicæ.*—*Senec de cle.*

|| *Strom. 5.*

¶ *2 de consid. ad Eugen.*

over harts, he turneth them all into lions. The fear of Nehemiah, being their prince and commander, had been enough to have weakened the hands and hearts of all his flock; for thus they would have reasoned against themselves, our leader is discomfited, under whose shadow we said, we shall be safe, Lam. iv. 20. What a mischief it is to a commonwealth to be encumbered with a foolish, intemperate ruler, the wisest preacher of the earth next the Son of God hath soundly defined in these words, Eccles. x. 16, 'Woe to thee, O land, where thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning!' When they have not wisdom to govern, and rather follow those pleasures which accompany the honour and royalty of princes, than the pains which their magistracy requireth. Whereas on the other side, the government of an honourable and temperate magistrate bringeth singular blessings with it: ver. 17, 'Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in time, for strength, and not for drunkenness.' What are the stays and strengths of Jerusalem and Judah, cities and nations, all public and politic bodies? Isa. iii. 1, 2, Are not 'the strong man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, the prudent, and the aged, the captain over fifty, the honourable and the counsellor,' and so forth? And are not their joints loosed, and their sinews taken away, when that judgment of God is fulfilled upon them, ver. 4, 'I will appoint children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them.' Amongst those dreadful curses which the prophet calleth from heaven against his malicious, unthankful adversaries, leaving no part unexamined, but running like oil into every joint and bone of them, smiting themselves, wives, children, posterity, goods, good names and memories that they leave behind them, the first that leadeth them all the race, as Judas led that cursed band of soldiers, is this, 'Set thou the wicked man to be ruler over them,' Ps. cix.

I have hitherto commended the person^o of the shipmaster, and, under this pattern or sampler, shewed the duty of all magistrates, who in the proportion and extent of their government, be it more or less, must care for the whole body of their subjects, and shew a part of their diligence herein, that none of their company neglect the duties which to them appertain.

Now for the nature and use of government, both by land and sea, in houses and cities, in regions, in all mankind, whole nature, and the universal world (as the orator* writeth), how necessary and requisite it is, I also observe in this, that the master of the ship, having authority in his hands, rather than any of the inferiors, cometh unto him to raise him up, 'What meanest thou, sleeper?' Others might have asked him, *Quid tibi est?* what meanest thou? and he have made answer again, *Quid vobis est?* what mean you to trouble me? As they asked Moses,

* *Cic. de legib. 3.*

Exod. ii., 'Who made thee a man of authority and a judge over us?' There must be a mastery and dominion in every order of men, specially designed, besides private persuasion or reproof, to say unto sleepers, Why sleepest thou? and to other offensive and disordered persons, either in church or in commonwealth, Why do ye thus?

*Hoc puto non justum est, illud male, rectius istud.**

This is not right, that is evil, and the other is better. This is the band whereby the commonwealth hangeth together, the life-breath (*spiritus vitalis*) which these many thousand creatures draw, likely of themselves to prove nothing save a burden to themselves and a booty to their enemies, if the spirit and soul of government be taken from them.† For to rule and to be ruled, is not only in number of things necessary, but convenient and commodious also.‡ I will invert it: besides the commodiousness it bringeth, it is of necessity, and cannot be missed. In the beginning, when heaven and earth were first made, God established a superiority and rule both in other creatures before after their kinds, and afterwards in man, Gen. i., he made 'two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night.' Not long after, when he had created man, he invested him presently into imperial authority, 'to subdue the earth, and to rule over the fishes of the sea, and over the fowls of heaven, and over every beast that moveth upon the earth.' And why is it called the *host* of heaven, in the second of Genesis? but because there are orders and degrees therein, which being withdrawn from an army it hath no good composition. And howsoever it may be true that the government of man over man came from sin (for God gave sovereignty to Adam over fishes and birds, &c., not over reasonable creatures made to his own likeness, and the first righteous men we read of were rather shepherds and herdmen over beasts than kings over nations, *pastores pecorum, magis quam reges gentium*, and the name of servant was never imposed in Scripture till Noah bestowed it upon his accursed son, Gen. ix., 'Cursed be Canaan, servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren,' whereupon Augustine § gathereth, *Nomen itaque illud culpa meruit, et non natura*, that name was purchased by transgression not by nature), yet the nature of mankind standing as it doth, corrupted so far that without the head of authority we could not live and converse together, God hath devised the means for the repressing of our mutual violences and injuries, which before we were subject unto. Irenæus, in his fifth book against heresies, giveth the reason why God appointed kingdoms; because man, forsaking God, was waxen so fierce that he thought those of his kind and blood to be his enemies, and in all restlessness, murder, and covetousness, bare himself without fear, God put upon

him the fear of man (for he knew not the fear of the Lord), that fearing human laws they should not devour and consume one the other, as the manner of fishes is. He addeth, by whose commandment men are created, by his commandment kings also are ordained; * some for the profit and amendment of their subjects, and the preservation of justice; some for fear, and punishment, and reproof; some for illusion, contumely, insolency, as those that rather disgrace authority, despite their people, and shame themselves, than otherwise. By this that hath been alleged, we may easily confute the masterless and lawless Anabaptist, who striketh at the head of government in general, and would frame a body of men, like the body of Polyphemus, without his eye, or like the confused chaos of old time, when height and depth, light and darkness, were mingled together. As also those turbulent, either people or states, who level at magistrates in particular; allowing authority, I grant, but such as pleaseth themselves; whose nice distinctions, like so many paring-knives, if we shall admit that the king hath his institution from God, constitution from the people; † and that his kingdom is given him from God, delivered from the people; ‡ that he reigneth from God through and for the people; § is elected of God, but his election confirmed by the people, || by this liberty which they take unto themselves in the instalment of princes into their states, you shall see them oftentimes not only pruning away the superfluous boughs of misgovernment and tyranny in their superiors, but cutting up the very root of lawful and profitable government. Let them be coupled with the Anabaptists and rebels before named, who taking the power of two swords unto them before it be given, and bearing more crowns by three upon their heads than they ought to do, cry in the church of Rome against the Gods and Christs of the earth, as they did sometimes amongst the heathen against God's anointed Son, Ps. ii., 'Let us break their bands asunder, and cast their cords from us.' For assuming this to themselves, that schismatical and erroneous princes may be deposed by the church, they will interpret ears to be horns; departure from a church extremely corrupted, and corrupting others, schism; the service of the true God, and in a true manner, heresy; lawful and lineal succession in the throne, both by blood and assent, without authorisement and confirmation from them, unjustifiable intrusion. Of all these we may say, that as they are very loose, luxate, and palsy-shaking members in the body, that will not move by the appointment and direction of the head, so the unruliest and disorderliest people, that

* *Cujus jussu homines nascuntur, ejus et jussu reges constituuntur.*

† *Rex instituitur à Deo, constituitur à populo.*

‡ *Datur illi regnum à Deo, traditur à populo.*

§ *Regnat rex à Deo, per et propter populum.*

|| *Eligitur Rex à Deo, confirmatur electus à populo.—*
Vindict. tyrann. qu. 3.

* Persius sat. 4. † Si mens illa imperii subtrahatur.—Senec.

‡ Arist. i. Pol. § Li. 9, Dei de civ., cap. 9.

will not submit their necks and souls to the yoke of their natural sovereigns, whom I will not send to learn obedience and subjection of the soldiers of Scipio, who had never a man in his army (by his own report) that would not for a word of his mouth have gone up into a tower, and cast himself headlong into the sea,* but to the children of Israel tendering their service to Joshua with more moderation, Josh. i., 'All that thou hast commanded us, we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go; as we obeyed Moses in all things, so will we obey thee. And those that rebel against thy commandment, let them die the death.' The volume of the whole book, I am sure, both the precepts and practices of all the servants of God, harpeth upon this string. Yea, the Master of the house, by his own example, taught those of his household how to behave themselves in this case. For as he obeyed his Father even unto the death of the cross, his parents in the flesh in following their instructions, the law in following all righteousness, so the emperor of Rome, too, though he a stranger and himself free-born, in paying tribute unto him, Mat. xvii. 27. Though we are defamed and slandered concerning the emperor's majesty, yet Christians could never be found to be either Albinians, or Nigrians, or Cassians, that is, rebels to their liege lords and masters, as Tertullian, in the name and cause of all Christianity, wrote to Scapula. The Christian is no man's enemy, much less the emperor's. But the matter is safe enough. Rom. xiii., 'There is no power but of God, and he that resisteth the powers that be resisteth God's ordinances.' 'And the Lord is king, be the earth never so impatient.' 'Promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south, but from the Lord of Hosts.' By him are kingdoms disposed, princes inaugurated, crowns of gold set upon their heads, sceptres and states established, people mollified and subdued; and by him were Korah and his confederates swallowed quick into the earth, Zimri burned in his palace, Absalom hanged by his hairy scalp, Ahithophel in a halter, for denying their fealty to God's lieutenants.

As the master of the ship came to Jonah and called him up, 'What meanest thou sleeper?' &c., so let masters and governors within this place, who sit at the sterns of another kind of shipping, and have rudders of city and country in their hands, let them awake themselves, that they may awake and rouse up other sleepers, all careless, dissolute, indisposed persons, who love the threshold of their private doors upon the Sabbaths of the Lord, and their benches in ale-booths, better than the courts of the Lord's house, and neither in calms nor storms, when the ship groaneth, the whole land mourneth, all the creatures sigh and lament, will either fast, or pray, or sorrow, or do anything with the rest of their brethren. Awake

* Nullus est horum qui non conscensa turri, semet in mare precipitaturus sit, si jussero.—*Plutar.*

these drowsy Christians, awake them with eager reprehension, 'What mean you? If reprehension will not serve, prick them with the sword, and raise them up with severe punishment. How long shall the drunkard sleep within your gates in the puddle and sink of his boozing, and lose both honesty and wit, without controlment; the adulterer in chambering and wantonness upon his lascivious bed of pleasure, decked with the laces and carpets of Egypt; the idolater and superstitious upon the knees and in the bosom of the whore of Babylon; profaners of our sanctified sabbaths, in the sabbath, and rest, and jubilee of their lewd pastimes; the usurer and oppressor of others, whose jaws are as knives, and his teeth of iron, in his 'bed of mischief,' as the psalm calleth it, and in the contemplation and solace* of his ill gotten goods; the swearer in the habit and custom of abominable oaths (for these be the faults of your city, as common as the stones in your streets); how long shall they sleep and snort herein without reprehension? It is your part to reform it who are the ministers of God, not only for wealth, but for wrath also, unless you bear the sword in vain; you are the vocal laws of the land, *leges loquentes*, and justice in life *ἐμψυχον δίκατον*, to punish with rigour, where it is convenient. We also of the ministry have a place of preferment in the ship, and owe a duty to God, though in another kind. We have a sword in our mouths, too, as you in your hands, whose edge is of more than steel, and cutteth deeper than into flesh and blood; yet such are the earthly spirits of men fallen asleep amongst us, that the sword of the Spirit, without the sword of the magistrate, cannot stir them up. How long have we called and lifted up our voices on high, to those that sleep in drunkenness, and lie in their vomit worse than dogs! 'Awake drunkards, weep and howl, your wine shall be pulled from your mouths,' and they awoke not, but to follow drunkenness again, and to join the morning and the evening together till the wine have enflamed them. How long to those that sleep in fornication! Awake adulterers and unclean persons, else God shall throw you into a bed of shame and uncover your nakedness, and make you a reproach and scorn so far as your name is spread; yet they open not their eyes, but to await for the twilight, and to lie at their neighbour's door for wife or daughter! To those that are at rest, and nestled in idolatry in the service of strange gods, awake idolaters, you that say to the wood and stone, awake, help us; awake and rise up yourselves, else God is a jealous God, and will visit your sins with rods, and your offences with scourges! To all other sleepers in sin, sabbath-breakers, swearers, liars, extortioners, usurers, what mean you sleepers? It is now time that you should arise from sleep, Eph. v., 'Yea, the time is almost past.' 'Now is salvation nearer than when you first believed,' Rom. xiii., and now is damnation nearer

* At mihi plaudo ipse domi.—*Horace.*

than when you were first threatened. The night is past of blindness and ignorance forepast, the bright morning star hath risen, and hid himself again within the clouds of heaven.* The glorious Sun of righteousness hath illuminated the whole sphere of the world, from the east to the west, and though his body be above, the light of his beams is still amongst us, and we may truly say, the day is come, yea, the day is well nigh spent. The natural sun of the firmament runneth his race with speed, like a giant refreshed with wine, to make an end of his course, and to finish all times. You are now brought to the eleventh hour of the day, there is but a twelfth, a few minutes of time between you and judgment; what mean you sleepers? Will you go away in sleep, and shall your life pass

* Alluding, I suppose, to Edward VI.—ED.

from you like a dream? Came you naked of goodness from your mother's womb, and will you back naked? Brought you nothing into the world with you of the best and blesseddest riches, and will you carry nothing out? Or do you tarry to be started with the shrillest trumpet that ever blew, and the fearfullest voice to sleepers that ever sounded, Arise, ye dead? What mean you, sleepers? The night is coming wherein no man can work, yea, the day is coming wherein none shall work acceptable to God, profitable to man, behoveful to himself, he neither can nor shall work anything. That working that is, shall be the everlasting throbings and throes of his heart for his endless miseries, the eyes labouring for tears which shall ever run down, and the teeth grinding one the other without ceasing.

LECTURE VII.

Arise, call upon God, &c.—JONAH I. 6.

BEFORE, I have shewed and commended the diligence of the shipmaster, and proved that there must be some power and superiority, to restrain inferiors by fear, to reprove sleepers and all kinds of offenders. The praise of this governor farther appeareth, that he doth not only reprehend Jonah, 'What meanest thou sleeper?' but urgeth and prosecuteth him, 'arise'; and instructeth him what he ought to do, 'Call upon thy God,' and openeth the uncertainty and hazard whereinto they were fallen, 'If so be that God will think of us'; and that the imminent danger toucheth not their goods alone, but their lives also, as appeareth by the end of his speech, 'That we perish not.' Thus he is not content to pull him as it were by the ear with checking him, but he shaketh him by the arm too, to set him on his feet; he entereth into his conscience with wise and godly advice, and pricketh the inwardmost vein of his heart, with commemoration of their danger, if God stay it not. He hath laid his hand upon a plough, and his eye goeth not from it; he sticketh not in the beginnings of his calling, but groweth onward by degrees, till he cometh to the full stature of a good magistrate. Give me a shepherd thus zealous of his flock, and I will say he is better than seven other shepherds, and a man of principality so careful of his duty, more than eight principal men that neglect theirs. It was not enough for Eli, you know, to chide his sons, 1 Sam. ii., 'Why do you such things, for of all this people I hear evil reports of you. Do no more so; it is not a good report that I hear of you;' because he did no more but so, and proceeded not in the chastisement and reformation of them, God chargeth him in plain terms, that he 'honoured his children above him,' and threateneth to 'cut off his arm, and the arm of his father's house.' Afterwards he telleth

Samuel, chap. iii., that he will do a thing in Israel, that whosoever heard of, his two ears should tingle.' He would 'judge the house of Eli for ever, because his sons ran into slander, and he stayed them not: and the wickedness of his house should not be purged with sacrifice and with offering whiles the world stood.' And if you hearken for the sequel of all this, his two sons, Hophni and Phineas, died both in one day, and himself receiving a tidings worse than death, brake his neck. All this we hear of, fathers, and masters, and magistrates, and ministers, and yet our ears tingle not; we suffer our sons, our servants, our people, our flocks, to run into slander themselves, to redouble that slander upon our own heads, to multiply it against God, his gospel, his church, and we stay them not. The rest of our tongues within their walls and wards, and the rust of the sword within the scabbard, the admonition of the one winking with both the eyes, and the correction of the other fast asleep, shew how unworthy we are to be trusted in our places, and how unlike the master of the ship here spoken of. Behold I have sought one by one to match this example of gentility, and I have found one man of a thousand that may contend with him.

The government of Nehemiah, throughout the whole book, is a singular precedent to all rulers.

1. In the building of the walls of Jerusalem; he would not be checked by Sanballat and his mates, when they despitely asked him, 'What do you? will you rebel against the king?' Neh. ii. He then answered, 'The God of heaven will prosper us, and we will rise up and build: but as for you, ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jerusalem.'

2. When they determined by conspiracy to fight against Jerusalem and slay the builders of the walls, he placed them with spears and bows, and gave them

this encouragement, chap. iv., 'Be not afraid of them, but remember the great Lord and fearful, and fight for your brethren, your sons, your daughters, your wives, and your houses. So they did the work of the Lord with one hand, and held the sword with the other, wrought by day, and watched by night; yea, they were so careful in their watch, he, and his servants, and his brethren, and the men of the ward which followed him, that no man put off his clothes, save that they put them off for washing.'

3. When the people were oppressed by their brethren, their lands, houses, vineyards, gaged for corn, their sons and daughters brought to subjection, he rebuked the princes and rulers, chap. v., 'Ye lay burdens every one upon his brethren, we have redeemed them from the heathen, and ye will sell them again; that which ye do is not good, restore them their lands, olives, vineyards, houses, remit the hundredth part of the silver, corn, wine, oil, that ye exact of them.' Yea, he 'called the priests, and caused them to swear to do it. Moreover, he shook his lap, and said, Thus let the Lord shake out every man that performeth not his promise, even thus let him be shaken out and emptied.'

4. When the Sabbath was profaned amongst them (for some in Judea trode wine-presses, and brought in sheaves, and laded asses with wine, grapes, and figs, and other of Tyre brought fish, and all wares, and sold them on the Sabbaths in Jerusalem), he not only rebuked their rulers, chap. xiii., 'What evil is this that ye do?' and shewed them the danger, 'This did our fathers, and God plagued the city;' but he 'caused the gates of the city to be shut before the Sabbath, and set servants of his at the gates, and the chapmen remained without the walls at night, and he protested unto them, that if they tarried again about the wall, he would lay hands upon them.'

5. When some of the Jews married their wives from Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab, and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, first, he reprov'd them; secondly, cursed them; thirdly, smote certain of them; fourthly, pulled off their hair, for a further reproach unto them; and, lastly, took an oath of them by God, chap. xiii., 'Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, neither shall ye take of their daughters for your sons nor for yourselves.'

6. Eliashib the priest, kinsman to Tobiah, in the absence of Nehemiah from Jerusalem, having the oversight of the chamber of the house of the Lord (where the offering and incense, vessels and tithes, for the provision of Levites, singers, and porters, and the offerings of priests were wont to be laid), he made a chamber thereof for his kinsman, Tobias the Horonite. The order that Nehemiah took for the amendment of this abuse, is thoroughly pursued; (1.) it grieved him sore; (2.) he cast out the vessels of Tobiah out of the chamber, and then caused the chambers to be cleansed,

and the vessels of the house of God to be brought thither again; (3.) because the portions of the Levites and singers had not been given to them, and every one was fled to his land, he reprov'd the rulers, 'Why is the house of God forsaken?' (4.) he caused the tithes to be restored, brought the Levites together to their place again, and appointed faithful officers and treasurers to distribute unto them. The petition that he maketh unto the righteous Lord, who will not forget our labours, at the foot of every of those services, is framed to this effect: 'Remember me, O my God, in goodness, and wipe not out my kindness concerning this, and pardon me according to thy great mercies.' Thus, Nehemiah, you see, was not unmindful of the Lord, that the Lord might be mindful of him again, neither in the building, nor in the warding of the walls of Jerusalem, nor in relieving the burdens of his brethren, nor in sanctifying the Sabbath, nor in purging the people from commixtion with strangers, nor in replenishing the chambers of God's house, with maintenance for his ministers. All which he zealously undertook, and constantly followed to the end, fastening his reproofs like nails that are driven in a sure place, and shewing himself a careful magistrate both in war and peace, in civil and religious affairs, towards the children of the land, and towards strangers that trafficked within the borders thereof.

Undoubtedly your charge is great whom the Lord hath marked out to places of government; and if ever you hope, as Nehemiah wished, that God shall remember you concerning this or that kindness shewed in his business, remember you whose image you carry, whose person you present, whose cause you undertake, whose judgments you execute upon earth. And though ye are not troubled with building and warding the walls of your country, because 'peace is the walls, and the strength of God our bulwarks and fortresses;' and mine eyes would fail with expectation of that day, when the chambers of the Lord's house, which Tobiah the Horonite hath seized into his hands, should be restored to their ancient institution for the maintenance of Levites and singers; yet in the oppressions of your brethren, whose vineyards, fields, houses, liberty, living are wrung from them, and their sons and daughters undone, if you do not in all respects, as Nehemiah did, chap. v., lend them money and corn, he and his servants of their own, and bestow the fees of your places, towards their relief ('for he ate not the bread of the governor in twelve years, and an hundred and fifty he maintained daily at his boards with sufficient allowance'), yet such as oppress too much, exhort, reprove, cause them to respite, cause them to remit, tie them by promise to do it, bind them by oath, and if that will not serve (unless you be loath to throw a stone against an adulterer, or to shake your lap against an oppressor, because you are guilty in your hearts of the like trespasses), shake the laps of your garments against them, and with an unfeigned spirit

beseech the just judge, that such as will not restore, may so be shaken out and emptied from all his mercies. Likewise for the Sabbath of the Lord, the sanctified day of his rest, help to bring it to rest, it is shamefully troubled and disquieted; the common days in the week are happier in their seasons than the Lord's Sabbaths. Then are the manuary crafts exercised, every man in his shop applying his honest and lawful business; the Sabbath is reserved as the unprofitablest day of the seven, for idleness, sleeping, walking, rioting, tippling, bowling, dancing, and what not? I speak what I know; upon a principal Sabbath (for if the resurrection of Christ deserve to alter the Sabbath from day to day, I see no cause but the coming down of the Holy Ghost should add honour and ornament unto it), I say, upon a principal Sabbath, not only those of Jerusalem and Judah sold their wares, but those of Tyre also which came from abroad, brought in their commodities, and neither your gates shut, nor foreigners kept out, nor citizens reprov'd, nor anything done, whereby God's name and day might be honoured. Go now and ask, if you can for blushing, as Nehemiah did, 'O Lord, remember us concerning this kindness.'

It is not enough for you to bear the place of pre-eminence in the ship, but you must reprove, as the master here did; nor enough barely to reprove, but you must go forwards in hunting security from her couch, by urging how hard it is to appease the anger of God, if it be thoroughly inflamed, how dangerous against the life and soul, if it be not prevented. It is the fervency of the spirit, even of a double spirit, as Elisha sometime wished, the spirit of magistrates, which are more than single persons, perfect hatred to sin, crushing both the egg and the cockatrice, courage in the cause of the Lord, zeal to his house both kindling and consuming your hearts, a good beginning, and a good ending, which the Lord requireth. Will you safeguard the ship in the ocean sea, and break her within a league of the haven? Will you put your hand to the plough of the best husbandry and thriving in the world, and then look back? Will you lay the foundation of the house, rear up the walls, and not seek to cover it? You know the parable, 'This man began to build.' It had been better not to have known the way of truth, than not to persist in it, nor to have set your shoulders to the work of the Lord, unless ye hold out. The leaf of a righteous man never fadeth, Ps. i.; whereupon the gloss noteth that the fall of the leaves is the dying and decaying of the trees, *lappus foliorum, mortificatio arborum*. When it repenteth a man to have begun well, it is a sinful repentance, and much to be repented of. The fire upon the altar of the Lord must always burn, never go out, and the sedulity of God's lieutenants upon the earth must ever be working, never wearied. All virtues run in the race, one only receiveth the garland, the image of most happy eternity, happy continuance.'

I told you before that nature directed the mariners to the acknowledgment of a God; it is here further ratified, with many other principles of nature, if they were needful to be examined, as (1.) that God only is to be invocated and called upon: *Call upon thy God*. (2.) The unity of the Godhead is avowed. For the shipmaster forgetting the multitude of gods, nameth one singly without other associates: *if so be God*. (3.) That the felicity of mankind dependeth upon the serenity, gracious and favourable aspect of God, as I gather by the phrase here used, *if God will shine upon us*. (4.) It is implied that our life and death are in God's hands: *that we perish not*. But let those pass a while. The matter we are now to examine is the liberty and freedom which the shipmaster gave unto Jonah, to call upon his proper God, not tying him to that which himself adored.

We say, *Religio religat*, religion tieth man to some god, whom, either by heavenly relation, or by their phantasy and conceit, they have made choice of. And therefore the Lord asketh with admiration, Jer. ii., 'Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods?' And Mal. iii., 'Will a man spoil his gods?' Nay, they are so fond and doating in affection upon them, that they will spare no cost to honour them. If they worship but a golden calf, they will strip their wives and daughters of their richest jewels to shew their devotion. When Phidias told the Athenians that it was better to make Minerva of marble than ivory, because the beauty thereof would longer continue,* thus far they endured him; but when he added, and it is better cheap, they enjoined him silence. Alexander was so frank in bestowing frankincense upon his gods, that his officers blamed him. Micah, Judges xviii., accounted the loss of his gods, which the children of Dan took from him, above all losses: 'What had I more to lose?' How did Sennacherib and Rabshakeh deride all the gods of the nations in emulation to their own gods, as appeareth by their insolent speeches? 'Where is the god of Hamath, and of Arphad? where is the god of Sepharvaim? who is he, amongst all the gods of these lands, that hath delivered their countries out of my hands?' Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii. Nay, they forbear not to speak blasphemy against the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, which dwelleth between the cherubims, and is very God alone over all the kingdoms of the earth: 'Go, say to Hezekiah, Let not thy God deceive thee whom thou trustest.' Therefore, when Darius had conceived an opinion of the God of heaven, he made a decree, Dan. vi., that in all the dominions of his kingdom, 'men should tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God, and remaineth for ever, and his kingdom shall not perish, and his dominion shall be everlasting.' Nebuchadnezzar made the like decree before, Dan. iii., when he saw the deliverance of the three [children,

* Valer. Max. lib. i.

that 'whosoever spake any blasphemy against their God, should be drawn in pieces, and his house made a jakes, because there was no god that could deliver after that sort.' Hence came it that David so much disgraced and discountenanced the gods of the heathen, Ps. cxxxv. : 'I know that the Lord is great, and that our Lord is above all gods, &c. As for the idols of the heathen, they are but silver and gold, even the works of men's hands; they have a mouth and speak not, they have eyes and see not, they have ears and hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths.' And for the same cause did Elias scoff at Baal, 1 Kings xviii., when he cried unto his prophets, 'Cry aloud, for he is a god; either he talketh, or pursueth his enemies, or is in his journey, or perhaps sleepeth, and must be awaked.' When Ahaziah sent for help of his sickness to Beelzebub the god of Ekron, 2 Kings i., an angel of the Lord met his messengers, and said unto them, 'Is it not because there is no God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Beelzebub the god of Ekron?' Thus all the servants of God, angels and men, are zealously and unmoveably bent for the advancement of his name above all other gods, which idolaters hang upon. Which maketh me the more to marvel, that the master of the ship can permit Jonah to call upon his own God.

It hath been a question sometimes disputed, whether divers religions at once may be borne with in one kingdom. Which whether the remediless condition of the time and place have enforced, or the negligence of the magistrate dissembled, or the indifferent, lukewarm affection of a policy over-politic suffered to steal in, I know not, but sure I am, that some countries and commonwealths of Christendom stand upon feet partly of iron, partly of clay, that is, there are both Jews and Christians, Arians and anabaptists, papists and protestants, and such a confusion of religions as there was in Babel of languages. To give you my judgment in few words, I wholly mislike it. For if in our private houses we would not endure a man that had his affection alienated and estranged from ourselves, our wives, our children, or any friend of ours, shall we admit him in the commonwealth, which bear a foreign and unnatural concept touching the God we serve, the Prince we obey, the country we are nursed in? The first of those ten words which God spake in Sinai, standing at the entrance of all his moral precepts, like the cherubims at the gates of paradise, crieth unto the house of Israel, and all other people, 'Thou shalt have none other gods besides me.' Those other prohibitions in the law, Lev. xix., Dent. xxii., 'Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed. Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together; a garment of divers stuffs, as of linen and woollen, shall not come upon thee,' what do they intend? I may ask, as the apostle did of another sentence of the law, 'Hath God care of oxen' and asses, garments and grains? And the ordinary gloss upon Leviticus saith, that these things, taken after the letter, seem

ridiculous: *Hæc ad literam videntur esse ridicula.* The abuses they strike at, is 'an heart, and an heart,' doubling in the worship of God, blending of Judaism and Christianity, gospel and ceremonies, sound and heretical doctrines, truth and falsehood in our* church. Such mosten seed light upon that ground which I wish no prosperity unto, and such medley garments sit upon the backs of our enemies! As for this realm of ours, be it far and far from such corruption. For he that threatened Laodicea, Rev. ii. iii., because she was 'neither hot nor cold, to spew her out of his mouth,' commended Ephesus for 'hating the Nicolaitanes,' reprov'd Smyrna for maintaining them, and 'the doctrine of Baalam,' blamed Thyatira for 'suffering Jezebel to teach and deceive his servants, to make them commit fornication, and to eat meat sacrificed to idols;' how can we think that he will not as strictly examine and search out the complexions of other lands, whether they be hot or cold, zealous or remiss in his service? The gospel of Christ, being planted in the church of Galatia, might not abide, you know, the copartnership of Jewish ceremonies, Gal. iv., nor their observation of 'days and months; which being nothing in comparison of an adversary, shouldering religion, are termed by one who thought he had the Spirit of God, 'impotent and beggarly elements;' yet they had been elements in their time, and God had used them before, as the first letters of the book, to school his people with. But their office was ended. That fulness of time which brought Christ into the world, and fulness of knowledge and grace which Christ brought with him, was their diminution. Therefore, besides an anathema again and again ingeminated to those that preached otherwise, and foolishness heaped upon their heads like burning coals, that were bewitched with such preaching, he protesteth unto them, not hiding his face, or dissembling his name, 'Behold I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.' If he could not sustain a little leaven in the lump, as there he calleth it, what would he have said of poison? I mean of an impious, blasphemous, sacrilegious manner of worship, when this was rather curious, frivolous, and ceremonious? When Moses and Christ together were so offensive unto him, he would never have heard of a reconciliation between Christ and Belial, light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness, believers and infidels, the temple of God and idols, the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, the table of the Lord and the table of devils; in the communion whereof he noteth an impossibility, in both his epistles to the Corinthians.

I will not stand to dispute how impossible it is for any, either person or state, to 'serve two masters,' the one not subordinate to the other, but flatly repugnant; say, for example, God and Mammon, or Melchom, or Baal, or any the like abomination. Must they not use a balance and

* Qu. 'one'?—Ed.

a balance, a conscience and a conscience, that do so, and go after two ways? But what danger ensueth upon such confected religions, and halting consciences, as Elias named them, they may best learn both by word and deed, from that zealous God, who hath taken express order against 'strange gods,' and executeth his fierce wrath upon those that have offered but 'strange fire,' and ordained his law strictly to be kept, without 'declining to the right hand or to the left,' and himself would be served alone without co-rivals of his glory, 'with all our heart, soul, and strength,' as he hath often enjoined. 'There is but one Lord, one Mediator, one Spirit, one baptism, one supper, one faith,' Eph. iv., all in unity. The body and state is then strongest, when the multitude of believers have but one heart and one soul amongst them all, Acts iv.; and shall one people within the same land, and under the same government, sunder and distract themselves into many religions? Or can the Lord be at unity with that people, where immunity is given, to deal in the manner or matter of his service, otherwise than he hath prescribed? Nazianzen* writeth, that many people lying round about them, as a circle about the centre, did much observe and marvel at the Cappadocians, not only for their sound faith, but for the gift of concord which God bestowed upon them. For because they thought aright of the Trinity, and defended it jointly, against the Arians, they were defended by the Trinity themselves. Clemens Alexandrinus wisheth much happiness to the king of the Scythians,† whosoever that Anacharsis were, who took a citizen of his, and for imitating some Greekish effeminate sacrifices offered to the mother of the gods, hung him up by the neck, and shot him through with arrows, because he had both corrupted himself amongst the Grecians, and infected others with the like disease. The counsel which Mæcenæ gave to Augustus the Emperor‡ is very sage, and the reasons by him alleged such as touch the quickest vein of the question in hand. Put his words into the mouth of some other man, whose lips an angel hath touched with a coal from the altar of the Lord, and the Holy Ghost sanctified, they are then right worthy to be accounted of. Thus he exhorteth: The divine Godhead see that thou reverence thyself, ἰδὲν θεῖον πάντα πάντως, &c., according to the laws of thy country, and cause others to do the like. And those that change anything in matters appertaining thereunto, τοὺς δὲ ξειζόντας τὲς, &c., hate, and correct, not only in behalf of the gods, whom whosoever neglecteth, he will never regard aught else; but because such as bring in new gods, draw others also to alteration and change. And hence come conspiracies, seditions, conventicles, things not expedient

to a government. Religion is the truest band betwixt man and man, the knot of all communion and consociation.* Now what conjunction of minds can there be? what atonement† of judgments, what inward peace, sincere charity, hearty God-speed, in that disparity of religions, where one house hath Jews, another Samaritans, some calling upon God, some upon angels and saints, creeping to crosses, bowing to images; so burning in emulation for their several services, as fire and water shall sooner agree than their judgments and affections? Let our laws be grounded upon the law of God, and it will be the greatest safety of our land, to enact, as the Athenians sometimes did,‡ that whosoever should speak one word of their god, beside their laws, should be punished unmercifully, Ἀπαραιτήτως, for it.

It hath been a favourable compromission of men more partial than wise, that the questions betwixt Rome and the reformed churches might easily be accorded. I find it not; and I will be bold to say, as Tully sometimes of the stoics and academics, that the contention between us is not for bounds, but for the whole possession and inheritance,§ whether God or man, grace or nature, the blood of Christ or the merits of saints, written verity or unwritten vanities, the ordinance of the Most High in authorising princes, or the bulls of popes in deposing them, shall take place. We have altar against altar, liturgy against liturgy, prayers against prayers, doctrine against doctrine, potentate against potentate, pope against prince, religion against religion, subjection against subjection, faith against faith, so diametrically opposed, as the northern and southern poles shall sooner meet together, than our opinions (standing as they do) can be reconciled. Look upon France and Nether Germany for the proof hereof. The effusion of so much Christian blood, the eversion and dissipation of so many noble houses, the commotions and tumults of so many years, whence have they sprung? The reason, or pretence at least, of those murders, massacres, wastes, tragedies, hath been contrary religions. If this be the fruit, then, shall every subject in a realm be privileged in his house to have a god to himself, a priest to himself, a worship to himself, as Micah had in Ephraim? Shall he believe, and pray, and obey? Shall he both fear God and honour his king, as himself listeth? But what will ye do in this case? Their minds are as free as the emperor's. Every man is a king in his own house, as Telemachus said; his conscience is his castle and fortress; nothing is so voluntary as religion,|| wherein, if the mind be averse, it is now no religion. We may shift the bodies of men from place to place; we can-

* Ἀπάσης κοινωνίας συνέκτιστον.—Plutar. advers. Colet.

† That is, 'at-one-ment,' or agreement.—ED.

‡ Joseph. cont. Ap. ii.

§ Non de terminis sed de tota possessione contentio.—Academ. Quest.

|| Nihil tam voluntarium quàm religio.—Lactant.

* In *Monodia*. Quos circa plures observant populi, ut centrum circulus circumscriptus.

† Multa bone eveniant Scythiarum regi, &c.—In *protrept*.

‡ In Dion. Cas.

not change their minds.* We shall sooner enforce stocks and stones to speak unto us. Advice will do more than threatening;† and faith cometh rather by persuasion than by compulsion.‡ I grant it. Therefore, first speak to the conscience by good counsel; but if the ear of the conscience be stopped with wax, shake the whole house about her, and raise her up; speak to the ears of the body, inheritance, liberty; let the body tell the conscience, I am afflicted; the inheritance, I am diminished; liberty, I am restrained for thy sake. These are arguments and persuasions that have done good, as Augustine§ affirmeth of the Donatists and Circumcellians in Africa, that being terrified by pains, they began to enter into consideration with themselves, whether they suffered for justice, or for obstinacy and presumption. But you will say that some men are not bettered hereby. Shall we, therefore, saith Augustine,|| reject the physic, because the sickness of some is incurable? For of such it is written, 'I have smitten your children in vain; they receive no correction.' And for the better managing of the whole cause, he addeth this judgment: If they were terrified, and not taught, it would seem tyranny; again, if taught and not terrified, it would harden them in an inveterate custom, and make them more sluggish to receive their salvation. As for that objection of liberty of conscience, he answereth it in another place. It is in vain that thou sayest, Leave me to my free will; for why proclaimest thou not liberty in homicides, and whoredoms as well? God hath given, indeed, free will unto man (free from coercion), but it was not his will, meantime, that either the good will of man should be without fruit, or his evil will without punishment.¶ Tertullian is of the same mind with Augustine, that it is meet that heretics should be compelled to do their duty, not allured. I say compelled, if allurements will not serve, for they must not alway be prayed and entreated. He that hath a phrensy must be bound, and he that hath a lethargy must be pricked up, and he that hath strengthened himself in heresy, whether he keep it privately to himself, or diffuse it amongst others, must violently be pulled

from it. These persons bath Augustine distinguished;* for there are some heretics troublesomely audacious, others anciently sluggish, and taken with a sleepy disease; neither of these may in wisdom be forborne. There are some makers, others but followers,† proselytes, disciples in heresies, and these are either weak or indurate; so, then, first counsel, and afterwards compel them, if that will not serve to bring them to the service of God, according to that form which the laws of our country have set down; though I wish not one hair of their heads diminished, but when they strike at our head, and had rather pour blood into their veins than let it out,‡ but when the atrocity of their acts can no longer be tolerated; yet were I worthy to give advice, I would have a writer go with his inkhorn from man to man, and mark them in the foreheads that mourn for the welfare of our realm, and as bondmen to their brethren they should hew wood and draw water to the host of Israel, as Joshua used the Gibeonites for their guile, Josh. ix. Who will pity the charmer that is stung by the serpent, because it was the folly of the charmer to go too near? Or who will favour that man that nourisheth a gangrene within his body, and seeketh not help to remove it? We nurse up lions' whelps for our own overthrow, as Amilcar brought up his sons for the ruin of Rome; we play too boldly at the holes of asps; we embolden the faces, encourage the hearts, strengthen the hands of them that keep an Εφήμερις, a daily record of all our actions, and have taken to use whatsoever hath been spoken or done against them these many halcyon years of ours, meaning to exchange it, ten for one, if ever they see the day of their long expected alteration. But the cause is the Lord's. Whatsoever they look for, let us vindicate his dishonour, who hath made this country of ours a sanctuary for true religion, a refuge and shade in the heat of the day for persecuted professors, who have been chased like bees from their own hives, a temple for himself to dwell in. Let us not make that temple a stew, a common receipt for all comers, that both atheists, papists, anabaptists, and all sorts of sectaries, may hold what conscience they will, and serve such god as like themselves.

* Calanus, an Indian philosopher, to Alexander.

† Monendo magis quam minando.—*Aug. Ep. 65.*

‡ Fides suadenda non imponenda.—*Bern. Ser. 66, in cant.*

§ *Ad Vincentium.*

|| Numquid ideo negligenda est medicina, quia nonnullorum est insanabilis pestilentia.—*Lib. 9. cont. Crescon. c. 51.*

¶ Sed neque, bonam esse voluit infructuosam, neque malam impunitam.—*Adver. Gnostic.*

* Turbulenta audacia, vetusta socordia, seu veteriosa consuetudo.—*Ad Vincent.*

† Conditores, affectatores.—*De Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. vi., cap. 44.* Hæretici, hæresiarchæ, disseminatores.—*Erasmus declar. ad ces. Paris, tit. 23.*

‡ Suffundere malis sanguinem, quam effundere.—*Tertul. in Apolog.*

LECTURE VIII.

Call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not.—JONAH I. 6.

I HAVE noted before, out of these words, both the carefulness of the shipmaster continued towards his charge, and the liberty, or rather license he gave unto

Jonah to serve his peculiar God. Touching which indulgence of his, I shewed my opinion, whether it be expedient that a governor should tolerate a distraction

of his subjects into divers religions. Methinketh there are two things more implied in this member, 'Call upon thy God,' carrying the reasons why he called upon Jonah after this sort; for either he affected the person of Jonah, supposing, perhaps, that some merit and grace in the man might more prevail by prayer than the rest; or else he affianced the God of Jonah, and as one weary or distrustful of his own, hoped there might be another God more able to deliver them. I will not enter into conjectures too far; but surely it is likely enough that either by the looks, or speech, or attire, or behaviour, or some forepassed devotion, or other the like notice, the master conceived a good opinion of Jonah. The forehead sometimes sheweth the man, as the widow of Shunam by the very usage, countenance, and speech of Elisha, was able to tell her husband: 2 Kings iv. 9, 'Behold, I know now that this is an holy man of God, that passeth by us continually.' If this were his reason, it was not greatly amiss, because there is a great difference between man and man; for neither the priority of birth, which Esau had of Jacob, Gen. xxv., nor the height of stature which Eliab had of David, 1 Sam. xvi., nor the pomp and honour of the world, which Haman had of Mordecai, Est. iii., nor all the wisdom of Chaldea, which the astrologers had of Daniel, nor the antiquity of days which many daughters of Sion had of the blessed virgin, nor the prerogative of calling which the Scribes and Pharisees had of poor fishermen, nor the country which Annas and Caiaphas had of Cornelius, nor eloquence of speech which Tertullus had of Paul, nor any the like respect, is able to commend a man in such sort, but that his inferiors in that kind, for more virtuous conditions, may be magnified above him. It may be, the master of the ship was so persuaded of Jonah, that though he were but one to a multitude, a stranger amongst strangers, a scholar and puny amongst merchants, and soldiers, whose state and carriage was every way beyond his, yet he might have a spirit, blessing, and wisdom beyond all theirs, and therefore repaireth unto him, 'Arise, call upon thy God.' How only and incomparable was the favour which Abraham, the great father of many people, found in the eyes of God, who being but dust and ashes, as himself confessed, Gen. xviii., pleaded with his Maker as one would reason with his neighbour in the behalf of Sodom, with six sundry replies, from fifty to ten righteous persons, which number, if it had been found, Sodom had escaped! How dear was the soul of Lot, in that fearful destruction, Gen. xix., on whom the Lord bestowed his life, and the life of his wife and children, and the safety of Zoar, a little city not far off, because he had entreated for it! The angel plucked him into the house from the fury of the Sodomites, and not less than plucked him out of the city (who made but slow haste), bidding him flee to Zoar to save his life, for he 'could do nothing till he was come thither.' Noah and his little family, Gen. vi., the

remnant of the earth, as the son of Sirach termeth them, the only buds of the world that were to seed seed for a new generation of men, at the time of the flood were more precious unto the Lord than all the people under heaven besides, which had the breath of life within them. How often did he gratify Moses, the beloved of God and men, with the lives of the children of Israel, when his anger was so hot, that he entreated his servant to 'let him alone, that he might consume them,' Exod. xxxii.; yet contented in the end to be entreated by him, and to pleasure him with their pardon, 'I have forgiven it according to thy request,' Numb. xiv. Oh what a lot is a righteous man to the justice of God, and even as manacles upon his hands, that he cannot smite, when he is driven to cry unto one, 'Let me alone,' and to another, 'Till thou art gone, I can do nothing.' And did he not grace the person of Job more than his three friends, when he bade Eliphaz, with the other two, to go and offer a burnt-offering for themselves, and his servant Job should pray for them, and he would accept him, Job xlii. And is it not an argument past gainsaying, that Moses and Samuel were according to his own heart, when he reviveth their names, as from their ashes, and blesseth their memory to Jeremiah his prophet, chap. xv. 1, with so favourable account? 'Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet could not my affection be toward this people.' The like whereof we find in Ezekiel, chap. xiv. 14, 'Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were amongst them, they should save neither sons nor daughters, but deliver their own souls by their righteousness.' Eden was chosen to be the garden of the Lord, when all the ground of the earth besides was paled out. Noah's ark floated upon the waters, when all other ships and boats of the sea were overwhelmed; Aaron's rod budded, and brought forth almonds, when all the rods for the other tribes remained dry and withered. One sheaf hath stood upright, and one star hath sparkled, when eleven others have lain upon the ground, and been obscured.

The apple of the eye is dearer unto a man than the whole frame and circle of the eye about it; the signet upon the right hand in more regard, either for matter or for the form, or for the use whereto it serveth, than all his other ornaments; a writing in the palms of his hands, more carefully preserved than all his other papers and records. Doubtless there are some amongst the rest of their brethren, whom God doth tender as the apple of his eye, wear as a signet upon his finger, engrave as a writing in the palms of his hands, and with whom is the secret of the Lord, and his hidden treasures, though his open and ordinary blessings be upon all flesh. Moses hath asked meat in a famine, and water in a drought, for the children of Israel, when their bowels might have piped within them like shalms, and their tongues cloven to the roof of their mouths, if he had not spoken. Elias hath called for

rain when the earth might have gasped for thirst, and discovered her lowest foundations if he had been silent. Phinehas hath stayed a plague, which would not have ceased till it had devoured man and beast, if such a man had not stood up. Paul, in the 27th of the Acts, obtained by the mercy of God the lives of his companions that sailed with him towards Rome in that desperate voyage. As a morning star in the midst of the cloud, and as the moon when it is full; as the flower of the roses in the spring of the year, and as lilies by the springs of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense in the time of summer; as a vessel of massy gold, set with all manner of precious stones; and as the fat that is taken from the peace offerings: so is one Enoch that walked with God, when others walk from him, one Rahab in Jericho, one Elias that boweth not his knees to Baal, one David in Meshech, one Esther in Shushan, one Judith in Bethulia, one Joseph in the council of the Jews, one Gamaliel in the council of the Pharisees, one innocent and righteous man in the midst of a froward and crooked generation. 'The prayer of the righteous availeth much, if it be fervent; the prayer of faith shall save the sick, for the Lord shall raise him up, and if he hath committed sin, it shall be forgiven him,' James v. It may minister occasion to the wicked, to reverence and embrace the righteous, even for policy's sake. For 'the innocent shall deliver the island, and it shall be preserved by the pureness of his hands,' Job. xxii. Many a time there may be, when as stout a king, and as obstinate a sinner, as ever Pharaoh was, shall call for Moses and Aaron, and beseech them, Pray to the Lord for me. In pestilences, deaths and droughts, wars, sicknesses, and shipwrecks, or any other calamities, it lieth in the holiness of some few, the friends and favourites of God, to stand in the gap betwixt him and their brethren, to entreat his majesty for the rest, and to turn a curse into a blessing, as Joseph brought a blessing to all that Potiphar had, Genesis xxxix. This, then, may be a reason of the speech here used, 'Call upon thy God,' a likelihood presumed by the governor, that they might speed the better for Jonah his sake.

Another reason I take it was, that he distrusted his own god, and the gods of his whole society, and might be induced to hope better of that God which Jonah served. For 'what taste is there in the white of an egg?' or what pleasure to a man that cometh to a river of water to quench his thirst, and findeth the channel dried up? What stay is there in a staff of reed, or in a broken staff, the splinters whereof, to recompense his hope, run into the hands of a man and wound him? What trust in broken cisterns which can hold no water? This comparison God himself maketh with great indignity, in the second of Jeremiah, 'My people hath committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and have digged them pits, even broken pits, that can hold

no water.' The change is very unequal, worse than the change of Glaucus, who gave his armour of gold for armour of brass, and the loss unsupportable. For what equality between a natural fountain, which ever floweth, because it is ever fed in the chambers of the earth, and artificial cisterns, or pits fashioned by the hands of man? cisterns that are broken and cannot hold, I say not water of life and perennity, but no water at all? But when they saw their folly herein, 'as a thief is ashamed (saith God) when he is found, so was the house of Israel ashamed, they and their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets, because they had said to a tree, Thou art my father, and to a stone, Thou hast begotten me.' He yet proceedeth against them, 'They have turned their back to me, and not their face, but in their time of trouble they will say, Arise and help us.' You see the fits and pangs of idolaters. First they dig broken pits, afterward they are ashamed; first they fly to the tree and stone for succour; but, when they are vexed, they seek after the help of the true God. Clemens Alexandrinus* marvelleth why Diagoras and Nicanor, with others, should be surnamed atheists, who had a sharper sight in discerning the false gods than their fellows. Amongst whom Diagoras, having something to boil, took his Hercules carved of wood, and thus spake unto him, It is now time, O Hercules, that as thou hast served Euristheus in twelve labours, so thou shouldst serve me in the thirteenth; and so threw him into the fire as a piece of wood: a practice not unlike the counsel, which I have read, given to Clodoveus the French king, Worship that which thou hast burnt incense unto, and burn that which thou hast worshipped, *Adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti*. The children of Israel, in the book of Judges, chap. x., finding their error and folly in idolatry, made a recantation of it; for whilst they served the Lord, he delivered them from the Egyptians, and Amorites, and children of Ammon, and Philistines, Sidonians, Malachites, Mahonites, 'they cried unto the Lord, and he saved them out of their hands.' But when they worshipped strange gods, they were no more delivered, nay, they were vexed, oppressed, and sore tormented; then the Lord upbraided them, 'Go and cry unto your gods which you have chosen; let them save you in the time of your tribulation.' And to that exprobatation they yielded, saying, 'We have sinned against thee, because we have forsaken our own God, and have served Baalim: do thou unto us whatsoever pleaseth thee, only deliver us this day.' The like irrisio he used before in Jeremiah, to those that honoured stocks and stones: 'But where are thy gods which thou hast made thee? let them arise, if they can help thee in the time of thy misery.' A forcible admonition to those whom a truth cannot draw from a doctrine of lies, from the work of their own hands, and

* *In protrept.* Qui errorem hunc de diis falsis acrius ceteris perspexerunt.

worship of their own phantasies; whom Clemens Alexandrinus not unfitly matched with those barbarian tyrants, who bound the bodies of the living to the bodies of the dead till they rotted together; so these being living souls, are coupled and joined with dead images, vanishing in the blindness of their minds, and perishing in the inventions of their own brains. And as the natural pigeons were beguiled by the counterfeit, and flew unto pigeons that were shaped in the painters' shop, so stones, saith he, flock unto stones, stocks unto stocks, men unto pictures, as senseless of heart as stocks and stones that are carved. But when they have tired themselves in their supposed imaginary gods, whom do they worship? Praxiteles made Venus to the likeness of Cratina, whom he loved. All the painters of Thebes painted her after the image of Phryne, a beautiful but a notorious harlot. All the carvers in Athens cut Mercury to the imitation of their Alcibiades. It may be the pictures of Christ and the blessed virgin, and the saints which they have placed in their windows, and upon the walls of their houses, and fastened to their beds, and carry privily in their bosoms, as Rachel hid her father's idols in the camels' straw, are but Pigmalion's pictures, works of their own devising, or draughts of their lovers and friends, as unlike the originals as Alcibiades was to Mercury, Phryne and Cratina to Venus. Lactantius* scattereth the objections made for images in his times, and renewed in ours, like foam. For when it was alleged that they worshipped not the images themselves, but those to whose likeness and similitude they were formed, I am sure, saith he, your reason is, because you think them to be in heaven, else they were not gods. Why then cast you not your eyes into heaven? Why, forgetting the feature of your bodies which are made upright, that your minds may imitate them, and not answering the reason of your name (*Ἀνθρώπου*), pore ye down upon the earth, and bow yourselves to inferior things, as if it repented you, *non quadrupedes esse natos*, that you were not born four-footed beasts? Again, images were devised to be the memorials and representations, either of the absent or of the dead. Whether of these two do you think your gods? If dead, why so foolish as to worship them? If absent, as little they deserve such honour, because they neither see our actions, nor hear the prayers which we pour before them. When they further replied, that they afforded their presence nowhere so soon (or not at all) as at their images, he answereth, It is just as the common people deemeth, that the spirits and ghosts of the dead walk at their graves and relics, and are most conversant in churchyards. I pass his further insectation, how senseless a thing it is, to fear that which itself feareth falling, firing, stealing away, which being in timber was in the power of a contemptible artificer to be made something or nothing; when no man feareth the workman

* Lib. ii. de orig. erroris adver. Gent.

himself, which must of force be greater than his work, when the birds of the air are not afraid of them, because they roost and build, and leave their filthiness upon them; and the figments themselves, if they had any sense or motion, would run to thank and worship the carver, who, when they were rude and unpolished stones, gave them their being. When St Augustine* heard them say in his days, that they took not the idol for a god, he asketh them, What doth the altar there, and the bowing of the knee, and holding up the hands, and such like gesticulations? They seemed in their own conceits to be of a finer religion (such are the pruners and purifiers of popery, the cleanly Jesuits of these times, which were able to distinguish, I worship not the corporal image, only I behold the portraiture of that which I ought to worship), but he stoppeth their mouths with the apostle's sentence, and sheweth what damnation will light upon them, 'which turn the truth of God into a lie, and worship the creature more than the Creator, which is to be blessed for ever.'

For, to return where I first began; besides the folly of the thing, the mischief is behind: 'Go, cry unto your gods which you have chosen, and let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation.' What a woeful discharge and dismissal were this, to be left unto such gods, whose heads the hands of a carver hath polished, and if their eyes be full of dust, and their clothes eaten upon their backs with moths, they cannot help it? The beasts are in better case than they, for they can get them under a covert, or shadow, to do themselves good, Baruch vi. Then they may cry as the apostles did upon the motion of the like departure, 'Lord, whither shall I go?' for as Christ there had the words, John vi., so hath the blessed Trinity alone the power and donation of eternal life. When Sennacherib and Rabshakeh bragged that both the kings and the gods of the nations were destroyed by them, Hezekiah answered the objection, 'Truth it is, Lord, that the kings of Asshur have destroyed their nations and their lands, and have set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, even wood and stone; therefore they destroyed them. Now therefore, O Lord our God, save thou us out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou, O Lord, art only God,' 2 Kings xix. This argument Moses tried upon the golden calf, Exod. xxxii., whereof Israel had said, 'Behold thy gods, O Israel.' To shew that it was no god, 'he burnt it in the fire, ground it to powder, strawed it upon the water, and then caused the people to drink it.' To conclude the point. It is most true which the prophet resteth upon, Ps. lxxxvi., 'Amongst the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord; and there is none that can do like thy works.' And as there is but one truth, encountered with as many falsehoods as there were gobbets and shreds of dis-

† Ser. vi. de verbo. Domini. apud Mat.

membered Pentheus, so is there but one true God, opposed by as many false as haply there are falsehoods.

It may be the master of the ship, finding a defect and miscarriage of their former labours, that there was no succour to be had where they sought comfort, that though they had all prayed, they are not released, standeth in a wavering touching the gods which they called upon, and thinketh there may be a god of more might whom they know not; so as in effect, when he thus spake unto Jonah, he set up an altar, and tendered honour unto an 'unknown God.' As if he had said, I am ignorant whom thou servest, but such an one he may be, as is prone to do us good, and best able to save our ship. For as 'an idol is nothing in the world,' and there is no time in the world wherein that nothing can do good, so there are many times when idolaters, that most doat upon them, as Jeremiah speaketh, are brought to perceive it. Isaiah, in the second of his prophecy, speaketh of a day when men shall not only relinquish, but 'cast away their idols of silver and gold, which they had made to themselves to worship, unto the moles and bats,' children of darkness, fitter for those that are either blear-eyed, or that have no eyes to see withal, than for men of understanding, 'and go into the holes of the earth, and tops of cragged rocks, from the fear of the Lord, and glory of his majesty, when he shall arise to judge the earth.' You see the fruit of idolaters, that as they have loved darkness more than the light, so they leave their gods to the darkness, and themselves enter into darkness, a taste and assay beforehand of that everlasting and utter darkness that is provided for them.

If so be God will think upon us. Now that this was the mind of the master of the ship, to distrust his gods, I gather by this which followeth, wherein the uncertainty of his faith is bewrayed, and his hope hangeth (as the crow on the ark, betwixt heaven and earth, finding no rest), without resolution of any comfort. *Si forte*, 'if so be,' is not a phrase fit to proceed from the mouth of faith; it is meet to come from Babylon, whereof the prophet writeth: Jer. li., 'Bring balm for her sore, *si forte sanetur*, if haply she may be healed;' her wounds were so desperate and unlikely to be cured. It is meet to be applied to the sores of Simon Magus, whom Peter counselled to repent him of his wickedness, and pray unto God, Acts viii.; '*Si forte remittatur*,' if so be the thought of his heart might be forgiven him. The nature and language of faith is much different: it nesteth itself in the wounds of Christ, as doves in the clefts of rocks, that cannot be assaulted; it standeth as firm and stedfast, as mount Sion, that cannot be removed; it casteth an anchor in the knowledge of the true God, and because he is a true God, it doubteth not of might and mercy, or rather mercy and might (as the heathens call their Jupiter, *Optimus maximus*, first by the name of his odness, and then of his greatness). His mercies it

doubteth not of, because they are passed by promise, indenture, covenant, oath, before immoveable witnesses, the best in heaven, and the best in earth. His promises are no less ascertained, because they are signed with the finger of the Holy Ghost, and sealed with the blood of his anointed and beloved. 'By faith ye stand,' saith the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. i.; it is the root that beareth us, the legs, and supporters, and strong men that hold us up. If we listen to the prophet Habakkuk, chap. ii. we, may yet say more, 'For by faith we live;' it is the soul and spirit of the new man; we have a name that we live, but indeed are dead to God-ward if we believe not. For 'if any withdraw himself thence, the soul of God will take no pleasure in him.' 'Woe unto him that hath a double heart, and to the wicked lips, and faint hands, and to the sinner that goeth two manner of ways; woe unto him that is faint-hearted, for he believeth not, therefore shall he not be defended,' Eccles. ii. It is not the manner of faith to be shaken, and wave like a reed to and fro, nor of a faithful man to be 'tossed of every wind, as a wave of the sea that is ever rolling.' And therefore we are willed to 'come to the throne of grace with boldness,' *μετὰ παρρησίας*, Heb. iv.; and 'to draw near with a true heart in assurance of faith,' *ἐν πληροφροσύνῃ*, Heb. x.; and not 'to cast away that confidence, which hath great recompense of reward; and when we ask, to 'ask in faith, without reasoning or doubting,' *Μηδὲν διακρινόμενοι*, James i.; and to 'trust perfectly,' *Τελείως*, 1 Peter i., 'in that grace which is brought unto us by the revelation of Jesus Christ.' Our life is a warfare upon earth; a tried and expert warrior, one that bare in his body the scars of his faithful service, keeping the terms of his own art, so named it, Job vii.; and we are not to 'wrestle against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, and worldly governors, the princes of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickednesses which are in high places,' Eph. vi. Our enemies, you see, are furnished as enemies should be, with strength in their hands, and malice in their hearts, besides all other gainful advantages: as that they are spirit against flesh; privy and secret against that that is open; high against that that is low and far beneath them. Now in this combat of our souls, our faith is not only our prize, exercise, and masteries which we are to prove (as it is called), 'the good fight of faith,' 1 Tim. vi., but a part of our armour which we are to wear, our target to defend the place where the heart lieth, Eph. vi.; 'our breastplate,' 1 Thes. v.; and more than so; for 'it is our victory,' 1 John v., and conquest against the world of enemies. So faith is all in all unto us. 'Blessed be the Lord, for he hath shewed his marvellous kindness towards us in a strong city.' He hath set us in a fortress and bulwark of faith, so impregnable for strength, that neither height nor depth, life nor death, things pre-

sent nor things to come, nor all the gates and devils of hell, nor the whole kingdom of darkness, can prevail against it.

I grant there are many times when this bulwark is assaulted and driven at with the fiery darts of the devil; when the conscience of our own infirmity is greater than the view of God's mercy; when the eye of faith is dim, and the eye of flesh and blood too much open; when the Lord seemeth to stand far off, and to hide himself in the needful time of trouble; to be deaf, and not to answer a word; to hold his hand in his bosom, and not to pull it out, when this may be the bitter moan that we make unto him, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and this our doleful song which we sing to our souls in the night season, 'Will the Lord absent himself for ever? and will he shew no more favour? is his mercy clean gone for ever? doth his promise fail for evermore? hath God forgotten to be gracious? doth he shut up his mercies in displeasure? Lord, how long wilt thou hide thyself? for ever? and shall thy wrath burn like fire?' Ps. lxxxix. These be the dangerous conflicts which the captains of the Lord's armies, and the most chosen children of his right hand, sometimes endure. The lions themselves sometimes roar with such passions, how shall the lambs but tremble? If the souls of the perfect, which have been fed with the marrow of fatness, and drunk of the fulness of the cup, have sometimes fainted in themselves for want of such relief, much more imperfect and weak consciences, which have tasted but in part how gracious the Lord is. I answer in a word, the faithful fear for a time, but they gather their spirits again, and recover warmth at the sunshine of God's mercies; 'their feet are almost gone,' and their 'steps well near slipped,' but not altogether; they find in the sanctuary of the Lord a prop to keep them up; at length they confess against themselves, This is my infirmity; they curb and reprove themselves for their diffidence, and whatsoever they say in their haste, 'that all men are liars,' and perhaps God himself not true, yet by leisure they repent it. The apostle doth pithily express my meaning, 2 Cor. iv., ἀποροῦμεναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαποροῦμεναι, staggering, but not wholly sticking. *Hæsitantes sed non prorsus hærentes*.* Again, they fear the particular, they distrust not the general; it may be victory on their side, it may be overthrow, it may be shipwreck, it may be escape, it may be life, it may be death, whether of these two they know not, and for both they are somewhat indifferent. † As when Shimci cursed David, the speech that the king used for his comfort was this, 2 Sam. xvi., 'It may be the Lord will look upon my tears, and do me good for his cursing this day.' As who would say, if otherwise, the care is taken, I refer it to his wisdom. Amos hath the like speech, chap. v., 'It may be,' *si forte*, 'the Lord God of Israel will be merciful to the remnant of

* Ar. Mont.

Joseph; he meaneth in preventing their captivity. But whether captivity or deliverance, they are at peace, as persuading themselves that if the mercy of God fail them in one thing, it may embrace them otherwise; for they know that 'all things work together for the best to them that love God,' as the apostle writeth, Rom. viii. Though such be the hope of sons and daughters, yet the case of strangers is otherwise. For they are secure neither in particular nor in general; they measure all things by their sense, and as the manner of brute beasts is, consider but that which is before their feet; and having not faith, they want the evidence and demonstration of things that are not. And therefore the master of the ship, as I conceive it, knowing that life alone which belongeth to the earthly man, and perhaps not kenning the immortality of the soul, or if he thought it immortal by the light of reason, in some sort (as the blind man recovered, saw men like trees, with a shadowed and misty light), yet not knowing the state of the blessed, setteth all the adventure upon this one success, and maketh it the scope of all their prayers and pains, *ne pereamus*, 'That we perish not.'

For such is the condition of heathen men; they know not what death the righteous die, as Balaam plainly distinguished it; they are not 'translated' like other men, nor 'dissolved,' nor 'taken away,' nor 'gathered to their fathers and people,' nor 'fallen asleep,' which are the mild phrases of Scripture, whereby the rigour of death is tempered; their life is not hid for a time, to be found out again, but when they are dead in body, they are dead in body and soul too; their death is a perishing indeed, they are lost and miscarried, they come to nothing; their life, their thoughts, their hope, all is gone; and when others depart this life in peace, as Simeon did, and go as ripely and readily from this vale of misery, as apples fall from the tree with good contentation of heart, and no way disquieted, these, as if they were given, not lent to their lives, *donati vite non commodati*,* must be drawn and pulled away from them, as beasts from their dens, with violence. Jerome reporteth of Nepotian's quiet and peaceable departure from his life, thou wouldst think that he did not die, but walk forth, *intelligeres illum non emori sed emigrare*.† And Tertullian hath the like sentence, it is but the taking of a journey which thou deemest to be death, *profectio est quam putas mortem*.‡ Whereas the emperor of Rome,§ for want of better learning, ignorant of the life to come, sang a lamentable farewell to his best beloved, nor long before they were sundered:—

My fleeting, fond, poor darling,||
Body's guest and equal,
Where now must be thy lodging,
Pale, and stark, and stripped of all,
And put from wonted sporting.

* Senec. † Ad Heliod. 3. ‡ De patien.
§ Ælius Adrianus. || Animula vagula blandula, &c.

Compare with these wretched creatures, some plainly denying the immortality of their souls, others disputing, doubting, and knowing nothing to purpose, till their knowledge cometh too late; others objecting themselves to death rather in a vain-glorious ostentation than upon sound reason; I say, compare with them on the other side, Christian consciences, neither loving their lives more than a good cause, and yet without good cause not leaving them, and ask them what they think of this temporal life: they will answer both by speech and action, that they regard not how long or how short it is, but how well-conditioned, *non quanta sed qualis*. I borrow his * words, of whom I may say, concerning his precepts and judgments for moral life, that he was a Gentile-Christian, or as Paul to Agrippa, almost a Christian; as in the acting of a comedy, it skilleth not what length it had, but how well it was played. *Non quam diu sed quam bene sit acta refert*. Consider their magnanimous but withal wise resolutions, such, I mean, as should turn them to greater advantage. Esther knew, chap. iv., that her service in hand was honourable before God and man, and her hope not vain, therefore maketh her reckoning of the cost before the work begun: 'If I perish, I perish;' her meaning assuredly was, If I perish, I perish not; though I lose my life, yet I shall save it. If there were not hope after death, Job would never have said, 'Lo, though he kill me, yet will I trust in him,' chap. xiii. And what availeth it him to 'know that his Redeemer lived,' chap. xix., but that he consequently knew the means whereby his life should be redeemed? If the presence of God did not enlighten darkness, and his life quicken death itself, David would never have taken such heart unto him: 'Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I would fear no evil; for thou art with me, and thy rod and thy staff comfort me,' Ps. xxiii. If his shepherd's staff had failed him against the lion and the bear which he slew at the sheep-fold, or his sling against Goliath, that he had fallen into their hands, yet this staff and strength of the Lord could have restored his losses. The sentence that all these bare in their mouths and hearts, and kept as their watchword, was this, 'Death is mine advantage,' Philip. i. The apostle taketh their persons upon him and speaketh for them all: 'Therefore we faint not, because we know, that if our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed daily,' 2 Cor. iv. God buildeth as fast as nature and violence can destroy. 'We know again,' chap. v., 'that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, we have a building given of God, that is, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.' Upon the assurance of this house, not made of lime and sand, nor yet of flesh and blood, but of glory and immortality, he 'desireth to be dissolved, and to be with Christ,' and 'by his rejoicing that he hath, he dieth

* Senec.

daily,' though not in the passion of his body, yet in the forwardness and propension of his mind; and he 'received the sentence of death in himself,' as a man that cast the worst, before the judge pronounced it. I may say for conclusion, in some sort as Socrates did, *Non vivit, cui nihil est in mente nisi ut vivat*, he liveth not, who mindeth nothing but this life; or as the Roman orator well interpreteth it, *cui nihil est in vitâ jucundius vitâ*, who holdeth nothing in his life dearer than life itself. For is this a life, where the house is but clay, the breath a vapour or smoke, the body a body of death, our garment corruption, the moth and the worm our portion, that as the womb of the earth bred us, so the womb of the earth must again receive us? and as the Lord of our spirits said unto us, Receive the breath of life for a time, so he will say hereafter, 'Return, ye sons of Adam, and go to destruction.'

By this time you may make the connection of my text. The master of the ship and his company, 1. worship and pray unto false gods, that is, build the house of the spider for their refuge. 2. Because they are false, they have them in jealousy and suspicion: 'call upon thy god.' 3. Because in suspicion they make question of their assistance: 'if so be.' 4. Because question of better things to come, they are content to hold that which already they have in possession, and therefore say, 'that we perish not.' With us it fareth otherwise. Because our faith is stedfast, and cannot deceive us, in the corruption of our bodies, vexation of our spirits, orbity of our wives and children, casualty of goods, wreck of ships and lives, we are not removed from our patience, we leave it to the wisdom of God to mend all our mishaps; we conclude with Joab to Abishai, 2 Sam. x., 'The Lord do that which is good in his eyes;' honour and dishonour, good report and evil report,' 2 Cor. vi., in one sense are alike unto us; and 'though we be unknown, yet we are known; though sorrowing, yet we rejoice; though having nothing, yet we possess all things; though we be chastened, yet we are not killed; nay, though we die, yet we live' and are not dead; we gather by scattering, we win by losing, we live by dying, and we perish not by that which men call perishing.

In this heavenly meditation let me leave you for this time; of that blessed inheritance in your Father's house, the penny, nay, the pounds, the invaluable weight and mass of gold, nay, of glory after your labours ended in the vineyard, meat and drink at the table of the Lord, sight of his excellent goodness face to face, pleasures at his right hand, and fulness of joy in his presence for evermore. Let us then say with the psalmist, 'My soul is athirst for the living God: Oh, when shall I come to appear in the presence of our God?' For what is a prison to a palace; tents and booths to an abiding city; the region of death to the land of the living; the life of men to the life of angels; a body

of humility to a body of glory ; the valley of tears to that holy and heavenly mount Sion whereon the Lamb standeth, gathering his saints about him to the

participation of those joys which himself enjoyeth, and by his holy intercession purchaseth for his members ?

LECTURE IX.

And they said every one to his fellow, Come, and let us cast lots, &c.—JONAH I. 7.

AS the manner of sick men is in an hot ague or the like disease, to pant within themselves, and by groaning to testify their pangs to others, to throw off their clothes, and to toss from side to side in the bed for mitigation of their pains, which, whether they do or do not, their sickness still remaineth till the nature thereof be more nearly examined ; and albeit they change their place, they change not their weakness ; so do these mariners, sick of the anger of God, as the other of a fever, disquieted in all their affections, and fearing, as the other pant ; praying, as the other groan ; casting out their wares, as the other off their clothes ; and removing from action to action, from fear to prayer, from prayer to ejection of their wares, from thence to the excitation of Jonah ; in all which they find no success, till they inquire more narrowly into the cause of their miseries, and therefore they betake themselves to a new device of casting lots. For when there is no other remedy in all their forepassed means, they begin to suspect some higher point of sacrilege against the majesty of the Godhead, which cannot be expiated and purged by their goods alone, but by some man's life amongst them. Wherein you have another principle of nature to consider of, that sins are the cause of our calamities, in that the tempest here raised is imputed to the wickedness of some in the ship, not to be quieted and stilled again unless the mouth of the waves may be stopped with that impious person that hath committed it. Go, then, and say with the priests in Malachi, chap. ii. 17, 'Every one that doth evil, is good in the sight of the Lord, and he delighteth in him ;' whereas, nature itself, lying more close to a man than the marrow to his bones, informeth the hearts of these mariners, that the mother and original of all their woe is some notorious wickedness. Let the censure of an heathen philosopher be added hereunto, What wicked man soever thinketh he pleaseth God in his wickedness, he is chiefly and notoriously wicked for that very opinion, *hoc ipso primum sceleratus est*, because he esteemeth the gods either to be foolish or unrighteous. The verse now in hand openeth their means used for the detection of the transgressor, and layeth before our eyes, in order, these four points.

1. Their consultation, 'They said every man to his fellow, Come.'

2. Their resolution, 'Let us cast lots.'

3. The reason of their counsel held and resolved, 'That we may know for whose cause this evil is done.'

4. The issue or success which their deliberation took, 'The lot fell upon Jonah.'

1. In the consultation, by occasion of the phrase, 'every one to his fellow,' *vir ad collegam*, I observe the unity and consent that was amongst them ; for they proceed to their business, as the tribes of Israel brought David to Hebron, 1 Chron. i., with 'a single heart,' *in corde non duplici* ; 'with a perfect heart,' *in corde perfecto* ; 'with one heart,' *in corde uno* ; yea, they are joined and composed together as Jerusalem was built ; not like the foxes of Samson, back to back, every man fancying a course to himself ; nor as the manner of a disordered army is, which Curtius* describeth thus, *Alius jungere aciem, alius dividere, stare quidam, et nonnulli circumvehi*. Some will have the army joined, others disjoined ; some will stand, others ride about ; but with such conjunction of souls, as if they grew together upon one stock, they consult, resolve, execute the best means to help themselves. One common cause, one common fear (which for the most part is the master of disorder and disturbance), hath so concorporated and linked these men together, though they are not the sons of one nation, that as the angels of the mercy-seat did turn face to face, so they applied and fitted invention to invention, opinion to opinion, verdict to verdict, as if the blessing of God, Ezek. xxxvii., had lighted upon them : 'The wood of Judah and the wood of Joseph shall be joined in one tree, and they shall be no more two peoples, nor divided henceforth into two kingdoms.'

These being strangers and foreigners one to the other, can hold agreement. We in a common danger (say, for example, a Spanish invasion), though we be threatened beforehand, as Benhadad threatened Ahab, 1 Kings xx. 3, 'Thy silver and thy gold is mine ; also thy women, and thy fair children are mine,' &c., though our land, our substance, our sons and daughters, our crown and kingdom, were to be forfeited, alienated, passed unto strangers ; though whips provided for our torture, and knives for our slaughter, how do we consult ? *Vir ad amicum suum ?* or *vir ad collegam ?* A man with his friend or companion, with mutual aspect in our faces, or mutual assent in our hearts ? Not so ; but rather as if the curse of the Almighty were fallen amongst us : Zech. xi., 'I will break my staff of bands, and dissolve brotherhood,' a man with his rival, evil-willer, enemy, one jealous and suspicious of the other, one seeking the peace of

* Lib. viii.

the land, another wishing in his heart that it might be overrun. In such distraction and variance of minds, if our state were as strong as the kingdom of Satan, as it is but a kingdom of flesh and blood, and of mortal men, it would fall to ruin. Our Saviour, you know, giveth the rule in the Gospel, and the devils keep it, as the surest principle and maxim in their policy, not to sever their forces. Seven could agree together in Mary Magdalene, a whole legion in another man; whereas amongst us, in one people, and in one family, there is not consent between seven persons. There is a day when Herod and Pilate are made friends, and cleave together in their devices against Christ, as the scales of leviathan; perhaps they fear the dissolution of their authorities and dominions, if Christ be not overthrown. Curtius writeth in his history, of certain barbarous people, that though they were ever banding in arms before, and one provoking the other, yet when Alexander the Great came upon them, the quality of the danger wherein they were joined, joined also their hearts and forces together.* If there were nothing else to move our countrymen to the ensuing of peace, yet the quality, methinks, of the danger, common to both parts, should invite them thereunto. For howsoever they discontent themselves with the government which God hath appointed, and cry with the children of Israel, 'Give us a king, give us a king,' and not Samuel, nor all the Samuels in the world, can dissuade them with the tyranny which the king shall practise upon them, their wives and children, vineyards, fields, servants, asses, sheep, but they still cry, 'Nay, but there shall be a king over us,' yet it may be, when they have their wish, the fable will be moralized, and verified upon them, a stork was given them; and then they would see in how much better case they lived before, than now under the king of the Persians, as Alexander told his soldier;† and though we are now divided into two companies, like Laban's sheep and goats, some black and some speckled, some papists, some protestants, it may be their goods will be taken for protestants, their houses and inheritance for protestants, their heads for protestants, and both theirs and ours laid, as the heads of the sons of Ahab by Jehu, 2 Kings x., upon two heaps.

2. *Come, let us cast lots.* As many other things, so this fact of theirs doth express the force of a most unusual tempest; for there had been tempests upon the sea, when there were no ships; and both tempests and ships, when there were no lots cast, a thousand times; and many a ship perhaps upon the sea at this present, that felt the wrath of the storm, and yet entered not into any the like consultation. But God, the disposer of all things, having his fugitive prophet in chase, putteth it into the hearts of the

mariners, (1.) that there is some man whose iniquity hath brought their lives in question, (2.) that there must be some means for his apprehension. Now what should they do in a matter of fact? There were no witnesses to detect, and neither the conscience of the offender, nor haply his countenance, nor any the like presumption to disclose it; and if an oath had been ministered, which is the end of the controversy, perchance it might have been falsified, as Lysander sometimes spake, *Pueri talis, viri sacramentis*. Children must be deceived by dice and blanks, men by oaths; therefore they put it to lots, as indifferent umpires and arbitrators for all parties, as who would say, Because art faileth, we will go by chance, and in a matter of secrecy, let God be judge, and give sentence. For so doth Tully define sortition, that it is nothing else but haphazard, where neither reason nor counsel can take place.* It was a custom amongst the Gentiles to do many things by lots. Valerius Maximus writeth of the Romans, that by an ancient ordinance amongst them, if they commended anything to their gods, it was by prayer; if they desired or craved, it was by row; if they rendered or repaid, by thanksgiving; if they inquired, by the inward part of beasts, or lots; if they did anything solemnly, by sacrifice. He further reporteth, that it befell Lucius Paulus, their consul, by lot to fight against Perses, king of Macedon; and that going from the court to his own house, and finding Tertia his young daughter very sad, he kissed her, and asked her what she ailed. She answered, that Persa (her little whelp) was dead, which saying of hers he took as a token of good luck (for the affinity of the names) to encourage him the rather against Perses. The Greeks at the siege of Troy cast lots who should fight with Hector, and the lot fell upon Ajax, as appeareth by a part of his own oration unto them, *sortemque meam rovistis*. In the third of Joel, the Lord complaineth against the nations that they had 'cast lots upon his people;' in the prophecy of Obadiah, against Esau, that when 'strangers entered in the gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, he was as one of them;' in the evangelist St Matthew, the soldiers divide the garments of Christ by lots. But without further testimony, it is here apparent, that it was in use amongst most nations, because the whole company of the ship, being of divers languages, all agree upon the same course: 'Come, let us cast lots.' Aquinas† setteth down some forms of lots used amongst them, that either they had tickets of paper, some of which were written, some blank, *schedulæ scriptæ, vel non scriptæ*, wherein they considered who had the one, who the other; or else festaws‡ and cuts, wherein they observed who drew the greater, who the lesser, *festuæ inæquales*; or they threw dice and hucklebones, wherein he that threw

* Quos alias bellare inter se solitos, tunc periculi societas junxerat, lib. ix.

† Quanto mitiore sorte, quàm sub rege Persarum.—Curt. 8.

* Sortiri nihil est aliud quàm spectare temeritatem et casum, &c.—*De Divin.* lib. i. cap. 1.

† xxii. qu. 95, ar. 3.

‡ That is, 'chips.'—Ed.

most was victor, *taxillorum projectio*; or else they opened a book, and by that which a man first lighted upon, they decided the strife, *libri apertio*, answerable whereunto are the tables and books of fortune in our times. Others allege more sorts of them, as little stones, *Λιθίδια*, scores, and tales of wood, *Ξυλῆφιδια*, signed with letters and characters, stamps of clay, beans, pellets, and many the like varieties, *glebulæ, fabæ, globuli*: in the using of all which instruments their manner was, first, to hide them out of sight; as in Homer, they hid their lots in Agamemnon's helmet; then to shake them together confusedly, and afterwards to draw them forth, and to receive as their lots specified. The Hebrews write, that when the land of Canaan was divided amongst the children of Israel, they had twelve scrolls of paper, signed with the names of twelve tribes, and twelve other signed with twelve portions of land, all which being put into a pitcher, and mingled together, the princes for their several tribes drew two apiece, and together with their names received their inheritances.

It is a question amongst divines, whether it be lawful in Christianity to use lots, yea or no? For the solution whereof, we must both distinguish the kinds, and set limits and bounds, which must not be exceeded. Touching the kinds, most of the schoolmen, summists, and other divines, do thus number them; that either they are of consultation, wherein they inquire of somewhat that must be done; or of division, wherein the question is, what shall be share to every man; or of divination and prediction, wherein they are curious to search out future accidents. *Consultoria, quarit quid agendum. Divisoria, quid cuique dividendum. Divinatoria, quid futurum.* Of the former two they make no great scruple, because they are justified and approved to us by many examples of Scriptures, as in choosing one goat for the sacrifice, Lev. xvi., the other for the scape-goat; in dividing the land of promise, Num. xxxiii.; in finding out Achan with the accursed thing, Joshua vii.; in taking Saul to the kingdom, 1 Sam. x.; in preferring Matthias to the apostleship, Acts i. (though Beda* seemeth to mislike the like imitation in our times, because the election then held was before Pentecost, when they had not received such full measure of the Holy Ghost, which afterwards obtained, they chose the seven deacons, not by lot, but by common consent of all the disciples. Augustine, in an epistle to Honoratus,† putteth this case: that if in a time of persecution the ministers of the gospel should vary amongst them, who should abide the heat of the fire, that all fled not; and who should fly, lest, if the whole brotherhood were made away, the church might be forsaken; if otherwise they could not end their variancy, he holdeth it the best course to try by lot who should remain behind, who depart;‡ and he

* Comment in Act.

† Epist. 180.

‡ Quantum mihi videtur, qui maneat et qui fugiant, sorte legendi sunt.

addeth for the proof of his opinion the judgment of Solomon: Prov. xviii., 'The lot causeth contention to cease,' affirming, moreover, that in such doubts God is able to judge better than men, whether it be his pleasure to call the better able unto their martyrdom, and to spare the weaker; or to enable these weaker, for the endurance of troubles, and to withdraw them from this life, who cannot by their lives be so profitable to the church of God as the others. He proposes the like case in his books of Christian learning,* the question standing between two needy persons, whether of the two shall be relieved, when both cannot. I find many other cases, both observed by antiquity, and some by the civil laws allowed, wherein the use of lots hath been admitted;† as in creation of magistrates, in contracting marriages, in undertaking provinces and lieutenantships, in leading colonies, that is, new inhabitants to replenish foreign parts, in entering upon inheritances; and if in a suit of law it cannot be agreed upon between the parties contending who the plaintiff, who the defendant is, both seeking for judgment; in the manumission and freeing of some few in a multitude, when all crave the benefit; in singling out one of many heirs,‡ that cannot agree for the keeping of the deeds and conveyances.

But to bridle our licentiousness herein, who must live by laws, not by examples, and ought not to turn particular facts into general practices, it shall not be amiss (as God set marks about the mount) to propose a few conditions carefully to be observed.

First, We must never fall to lottery but when necessity enforceth us; all other lawful means first assayed, and the wisdom of man unable to proceed, unless a more excellent wisdom from heaven help the defect of it; for he that is taken by lot must be past the comprehension of human judgment, as Ambrose noteth upon the first of Luke, touching the ministry of Zacharias in his course to burn incense: *Qui sorte eligitur, humano judicio non comprehenditur.*

Secondly, We must use great reverence and religiousness in the action; *sancta sanctè*, holy things must be done in an holy manner. Beda calleth for this in his commentaries upon the first of the Acts, handling the election of Matthias. If any think that in a time of necessity (else not) the mind of God must be known by lots, according to the example of the apostles, let them remember that the apostles meddled not therewith, but the brethren being first assembled, and their prayers poured forth unto God: *Non nisi collecto fratrum cœtu, et precibus ad Deum fuis.*

Thirdly, We must avoid impiety and idolatry therein, ascribing the event of our wishes neither to the stars nor to any other celestial body, which cannot want the ingestion and intermeddling of devils; neither to for-

* Lib. i. c. xxviii.

† See Wolph upon the 9th of Nehemiah, Comment. lib. iiii.

‡ Thence Κλῆρονομία.—Ulpian.

tune, which is vanity at the least (though Aquinas make that the most); neither to devils, nor to any other the like spiritual cause, which savoureth of mere idolatry, but only unto him of whom Solomon testifieth, 'The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord,' Prov. xvi.

Fourthly, We must not apply the oracles of God in his sacred Scriptures to our earthly, temporal, transitory losses,* wherein they intolerably offend, that for every trifle stolen from them, or casually gone, are strongly conceited, by reciting the verse of the psalm, 'When thou sawest a thief, thou rannest with him,' and using an hollow key, or by using a sieve and a pair of shears, not without blasphemous invocation of the names of some saints, to make themselves savers again. Doubtless the devil, whom they gratify in this sorcery, who also produced scriptures (*scriptum est*), and the names of saints to as good purpose as they do (Paul we know), hath sifted these men to the bran, and left not a grain of good Christianity in them. Augustine's judgment (me seemeth) is over favourable unto them, who though he rather wished they should take their lots from the leaves of the Gospel than run to inquire of devils, yet he misliked that custom that the oracles of God should be converted to secular affairs and the vanities of this life: *Tamen ista mihi displicet consuetudo*. We may justly control them from the same psalm: 'What hast thou to do to take my covenant within thy mouth, seeing thou hatest to be directed by it? thou gavest thy mind to evil, and with thy tongue thou forgest deceit: thou sittest and imaginest against thy brother, and slanderest thy mother's son.' Thus indeed they do; for he is the thief whom either they in their jealousy think upon, or the devil and father of lies in his malignity offereth unto them.

Fifthly, The ends of our lots must be respected: the honour of God, as the moderator of all such ambiguities; the furnishing of his church, if two or more be fit, with the fitter; the preserving of justice; the avoidance of greater mischiefs, otherwise in the reason of man inevitable, as envies, suspicions, tumults, factions, seditions, arising without such competent and equal judges.

Lastly, We must eschew all fraud and deceit in permitting our causes to heavenly arbitrament, lest we procure at least the reproof that Ananias bare, Acts v., 'How hath Satan filled your hearts, that you should lie unto the Holy Ghost? You have not lied unto men, but unto God;' undoubtedly he hath a girdle of truth about his reins that will heavily repay it. Therefore the fact of Temon the priest, recorded by Pausanias,† can never be pardoned amongst religious ears, who, in a controversy for land between Cresphon and the issue of Aristodemus, to be tried by lottery,

* Ad negotia sæcularia et vitæ hujus vanitatem, divina oracula convertere.—*Aug. ad inquisit. Jan. Epist. 119, cap. 20*; see more there.

† In Messeniciis.

in favour of Cresphon, who had bribed him, beguiled the right heirs. The lots were of clay, to be cast into a pot of water, wherein as they sooner or later resolved, so the matter should be ended. But Cresphon's being hardened in the fire, the other but against the sun, it is not hard to say whether longer endured. Within these borders must our lots be held; and then there is little question but as in nature they are things indifferent, so being bettered by such conditions, they may rightfully be borne with.*

Concerning cards and dice, as usual pastimes to some as the fields to walk in, dividing to men the wager or stake pawned down betwixt them, if any have pronounced with so much severity as to comprise them with the number and train of unlawful lots, and utterly to abandon them, for mine own part I hinder them not, let them proceed to their judgments. Yet amongst sober and discreet companions, who use them to no bad end, and neither are so gross on the one side to make fortune their goddess (*te facimus fortuna deam, &c.*), in assigning good or evil luck unto her, nor so saucy on the other to call the majesty of God from heaven to determine their doubts (for they look not so high in such frivolous and gamesome quarrels; but as they carelessly undertake them, so they further them as lightly, and as merrily end them, with no other purpose of heart save only to pass the time, if not so well as they might, which scarcely any recreation is so happy to challenge, yet not so ill as the most do, to exercise wit, to cherish society, to refresh the mind for a space from serious occupations), I think it, under correction, no great offence. Which temperate excuse of mine notwithstanding far be it off that it should be racked to the patronaging of Temon's cozenage, those studied frauds and fallacies I mean, which the world useth in packing of cards, shifting and helping of dice (they term it), to the hurting of others' estate and their own consciences. Neither do I allow them for a trade or vocation of life. To erect dicing and carding houses, or commonly to haunt such, as places to thrive by, is to set up temples to fortune anew, rather to devils, and to lay a foundation which deserveth no milder a curse than the re-edifying of Jericho. A young man reproved by Plato for playing at dice, answered him, It is a small thing to play at dice, *parrum est alea ludere*; but the philosopher replied, It is no small fault to make it an habit, *at non parrum assuescere*.

The last thing that I mislike in them is that, that Alexander the Great both blamed and amerced in his friends, that when they played at dice, they played^s not, but riotously wasted and consumed their whole ability. In which profusion of substance, when the matter engaged jeopardeth the stock and state of man, his passions must needs be stirred, and a troop

* Sors non est aliquid mali, sed res in humana dubitatione divinam indicans voluntatem.—*Glos. in Psal. xxx. ex August.*

of wretched sins commonly ensueth: swearing, forswearing, banning, defying, heart-burning, fighting, spilling of blood, unsupportable sorrows of heart, cursed desperation, weeds able to disgrace the law-fullest recreation wheresoever they are found, as the harpies defiled the cleanest meats.

The third sort of lots serving to divination, the law of God in a thousand express prohibitions and comminations, and the laws of men both civil and canon, mainly impugn, as by their edicts, penances, anathemas, hath been published to the world. They had many sorts of predictions, presensions, foreseings,* and none of them all, but either with the manifest invocation of devils, or with their secret insinuation at the least. In conjuring, and witchery, it is too open; but in their necromancy, and such like prophesyings by signs and characters in the fire, air, water, ground, entrails of beasts, flying, crying, feeding of birds, lineaments of the hand, proper names, numbers, verses, lead, wax, ashes, sage leaves, and the rest, it is somewhat more secret, but no less certain. The artificers and masters of which faculty, are most to be excused that used least earnest; at whom a wise man† marvelled, that they laughed not one upon the other when they met, as being privy to themselves of enriching the ears of the world with fables, to enrich their own houses with treasure. *Aures diritant alienas, suas ut auro locupletent domos.* But how scrupulous and fearful others were, how deeply enthralled to the collusions of Satan, is most ridiculous to consider; as that Pub. Claudius should be condemned by full parliament, because, in the first Carthaginian war, being in fight by sea, and asking how the birds fared, to take his good speed therehence, upon knowledge given him that they would not come out of their coop to feed, he answered so irreligiously, as it was taken, Behold they will not eat, let them drink, and go with a mischief,‡ and so cast them all into the sea. Who would ever have thought that C. Marius, being condemned by the senate of Rome, seeing an ass to forsake his provender, and go to the water to drink, should take occasion thereby to forego the land, and betake himself to sea for safety of his life?§ Yet was the accident imputed both to the providence of his gods that directed him, and to the skill that himself had in interpreting religion. Augustine writeth,|| that one came to Cato, and told him in great sooth, that a rat had gnawn his hose; Cato answered him, it was no marvel, but much more if his hose had gnawn the rat. Fabius Maximus refused his dictatorship, because he heard a rat but squeak. If a man should forsake but his meat or bed for the squeaking of many rats, or a scholar his books because a rat had eaten the leaves thereof, in our times, who would

not laugh at their folly? This was their misery and servility, who went 'from the living to the dead;' from the mouth of the Lord to the mouths of enchanters, birds, beasts, devils; from 'the law and the testimony' to those lawless, curious, idolatrous, pernicious, magical devices.

The manner of our charmers is not much behind these in impurity and profaneness. Wherein what reason can be given of applying holy writ to unholy actions, of uttering insignificant words which carry no sense, of drawing unproportionate figures, of tying to foolish and unnecessary conditions, but a very secret operation, whereby the devil doth infuse himself into such workings? For curing the toothache, or the like disease, a writing must be read or kept, but great regard be had, whether it be written in paper or parchment, in sheep or in goat skin, with the right or the left hand, whether by a virgin or common person. Sometimes Christ himself is abused and his sacred word, with apocryphal, imaginary, false allegations; as that Jesus spake to his wife, when he was never married, and such like blasphemies. You will say, they use good prayers in their chambers. I answer with Augustine, they are either magical or lawful: if magical, God will none of such prayers; if lawful, yet not by such orators.* I deny not but a good event hath sometimes ensued, thy loss recovered, thy teeth cured: what then? Dost thou not know the power of Satan, that he 'transformeth himself into an angel of light,' worketh by strong delusions, lying wonders, that, if it were possible, the very elect should be seduced? Augustine wrote to Faustus the Manichee, You work no miracles, which if you did, yet in you we would beware your very miracles.† It is the deserved judgment of God upon those that have recourse to these unlawful helps (wherein though they understand not themselves sometimes, what they write or speak, the devil understandeth well enough), to lead them to the god of this world, the prince of darkness, who ruleth in the children of disobedience, because they fly from the revealed will of God, to prestigiatory and fraudulent impieties. The Lord demanded in the 1st of Kings chap. xxii., 'Who shall entice,' that is, persuade and deceive, 'Ahab, that he may go and fall at Ramoth in Gilead?' One said thus, another thus. Then there came forth a spirit, and said, I will entice him. Wherewith? I will go and be a false spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then the Lord said, Thou shalt entice him, and shall prevail: go forth and do so.' Such is the counsel that the Lord holdeth in heaven, to bring to confusion all those whom the lode-star of his written word cannot lead, but they will take to themselves crooked and perverse ways, which go down to the chambers

* See Aret. in probl. loc. lxvii. † Cato.

‡ Quia esse nolunt, bibant et in malum abeant.—*Val. lib. i. cap. 4.*

§ Cap. 5.

|| De doct. Christ. ii. 19.

* Si magicæ, non vult tales; si licitæ, non vult per tales.—*Lib. viii. de civ. Dei. cap. 19.*

† Miracula non facitis, quæ si faceretis, tamen in vobis caveremus. *Lib. xiii.*

of death. I now conclude all these with that memorable saying of Augustine, He that desireth neither to live happily hereafter, nor godly in this present world, let him purchase eternal death by such rites: *talibus sacris mortem querat aeternam*. Thus much of the course resolved upon, 'Come let us cast lots.'

3. The reason why they resolved upon lottery was, that they 'might know for whose sake the evil was upon them.' Who are they that inquire thus? *vir ad amicum suum*, every one in the ship; no doubt Jonah amongst the rest, as quick to dissemble his fault as he that was most innocent. Look from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, from the master of the ship to the ship-boy, they had all deserved this tempest; full of idolatry, impurity of life, fitter, for their wickedness, whom the jaws of hell than the waves of the sea should swallow up. Yet as if they were free from stain, they will try by lots, for whose cause the evil is upon them. So is the nature of man wedded to itself, leaving her eyes at home in a box, in discerning her own infirmities, but in the faults of others as quick-sighted as eagles. Then every eye hath a double ball to see with,* and they stand without the head (which is the worst kind of eye) nearer to other men than to themselves. Jonah, I grant, was the man whom the anger of God, as an arrow from a bow, levelled at; yet did not the others know so much, and therefore had little reason to think, that there was not matter enough each man in himself to deserve the punishment. This translation of faults from ourselves to others, was a lesson learned in paradise, when the first rudiments and catechism of all rebellions was delivered to the children of men. For Adam being charged with the crime of disobedience, he put it to the woman, the woman to the serpent, as if both the former had not been touched. When Saul caused lots to be cast between him and Jonathan on the one side, and all Israel on the other, 1 Sam. xiv., to find out the man who, contrary to their vow, had eaten any thing before night, he saith not unto God, Declare the offender, which he should have done, but by an arrogant speech in favour of his own integrity, *cedo integrum*, Shew me the innocent person. Jonathan, I confess, was guilty in this one offence, if it were an offence; yet was the innocence of Saul discredited in many others. Shimei, a dead dog, as Abishai termed him, forgetteth his own people, I mean the sins of his own bosom, and railleth at David with a tongue as virulent as asps, 1 Sam. xvi., 'Come forth, come forth, thou man of blood, thou man of Belial; thou art taken in thy wickedness, because thou art a murderer.' How did the friends of Job break a bruised reed, and add affliction to the afflicted, making their whole conference with him an invective against his wickedness, and conveying in withal a secret apology and purgation of their own justice! It appeareth by

* *Pupula duplex fulminat.—Ovid.*

our Saviour's answer, in the Gospel of Luke, chap. xiii., that there were some amongst the people which supposed those Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, greater sinners than the rest; and those eighteen, upon whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem. Our Saviour answereth them by occupation, 'I tell you, nay; but except you amend your lives, you shall likewise perish.' When the barbarians of Malta saw the viper hanging upon Paul's hand, Acts xxviii., they inferred presently (men more viperous and pestilent themselves), 'This man surely is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance doth not suffer to live.' It was the usual manner of the Scribes and Pharisees to sew pillows of self-liking under their own armholes, and to take no knowledge of beams in their own eyes, but evermore to except against their brethren, as men not worthy the earth they trod upon: 'Why eateth your master with publicans and sinners?' 'This man is a friend to sinners.' Again, 'If this man were a prophet, he would surely have known who and what woman this is that toucheth him; for she is a sinner:' when the woman with a box of spikenard anointed his feet. Such doctrine preached the Pharisee that went into the temple to justify himself, Luke xviii. (a lying prophet against his own soul), 'I thank God I am not as other men, nor as this publican.' He spake like Caiaphas, truer than he was aware of: he was not as the publican, in confession of his misdeeds; nor the publican as he, in arrogation of justice. Thus Diogenes treadeth down the pride of Plato, but with greater pride; and the pharisee reproveth the sin of a publican, but with greater sin. *Mala mens, malus animus*; an evil mind in itself is an evil mind towards all others. You see the disease of mankind, worthy to be searched and seared with severe reprehension, how strange we are to our own, how domestical and inward to other men's offences; how blind in ourselves, how censorious and lynx-eyed against our brethren; how willing to smooth our own pates with the balm of assentation and self-pleasing, how loath to acknowledge that which we brought from the womb, 'I am a sinful man;' but to go further with Paul, *ego primus*, 'I am chief,' 1 Tim. i., to be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, we will scarcely do it. Well, it is a sentence of eternity, hanging as in a table over the judgment-seat of God, and his eyes are never removed from it, 'He that commendeth himself is not allowed, but he whom the Lord commendeth,' 2 Cor. x.; and this other is not unlike unto it: 'He that condemneth another man is not his judge, but God hath appointed a judge both for small and great.' 'Who art thou,' saith James, chap. iv., 'that judgest another?' If he be *alter* unto thee, another from thyself, and without thy skin, judge him not. 'He that judgeth his brother, judgeth the law' (whose office it is to judge), and offereth injury to the lawgiver himself. 'For there is

one lawgiver, which is able to save, and to destroy. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? Rom. xiv., he standeth or falleth unto his own master (not unto thee), yea, contrary to thy thought and will, 'he shall be established, for God is able to make him stand.' But why dost thou judge thy brother? He is not thy servant, but thy brother; your condition is alike. 'We shall all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ. Judge nothing therefore before the time, until the Lord come, who will lighten things that are hid in darkness, and make the counsels of the heart manifest; and then shall every man have praise of God,' 1 Cor. iv. 5. First, then, because he is another; (2.) because he serveth his own Lord; (3.) because he is thy brother; (4.) because the lawgiver hath power of life and death in his hands, and his law must judge; (5.) because the time of judgment is not yet come: for all these reasons and persuasions, judge not another man. Judge him by law, if thou be a magistrate; judge him by charity and discretion, if a private Christian; and be not only an eye to observe, and a tongue to condemn, but an hand to support him: yet rather, if I may counsel thee, 'judge thyself, that thou be not judged with the world.' Say with Bernard upon the Canticles,* I will present my-

* Ser. 24. Volo vultui iræ judicatus præsentari, non judicandus.

self before the countenance of God's wrath already judged, not to be judged. For if we would judge ourselves (the apostle telleth us), we might escape judgment, 1 Cor. xi. Call thy soul to daily account of thine own misdeeds. Thus did Sextius, when the day was ended and the night come, wherein he should take his rest, he would ask his mind what evil hast thou healed this day? what vice hast thou stood against? in what part art thou bettered? Say not, as Peter did of John, John xxi., *Hic autem quid?* what shall he do? as one careful of other men's estates; but, *Domine, quis ego sum?* 'Lord, who am I, that thou shouldst regard me with such favour?' 1 Chron. xvii. *Domine, miserere mei peccatoris,* 'O Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner,' Luke xviii. Thus knock at the breast of thine own conscience, break up those iron and heavy gates, which bar up thine own sins. Look not into the coffers and corners of other men's infirmities. Otherwise thy dissembled sins which thou hoarded up within thy bones, and art afraid to set before thine eyes, shall be written in the brow of thy face, brought to light, and blown abroad with the sound of trumpets, that all the world may say, Lo, this is the man that justified himself in his lifetime, and would not confess his sin.

* Quod malum hodie sanasti?—*Senec. de ira*, lib. iii.

LECTURE X.

And the lot fell upon Jonah.—JONAH I. 7.

OF the four parts before specified and collected out of this verse, the last only remaineth to be examined, to wit, the success of the lots, which the last member thereof doth plainly open unto us. Let me once again remember the proverb unto you: 'The lots are cast into the lap; but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord.' In a matter merely casual, for aught the wisdom of man can judge (as Tully * sometimes said to a man who spake rashly and unadvisedly, *Hoc non est considerare, sed quasi sortiri quid loquere*, this is not to speak with discretion, but as it were by lot and haphazard), the trial standeth hereupon, who threw more, who less, who drew black, who white, and so forth, the choice of the whole bunch lying before him; and his own hands, his carvers and ministers in the action, each man feigning that hope to himself for his evasion, which the son of Sirach mentioneth, Ecclus. xvi., *In populo magno non agnoscar; quæ est anima mea in tam immensâ creaturâ?* I cannot be known in so great a multitude; and what is my own soul amongst a hundred? yet doth the finger of the lot directly and faithfully point him out, for whose cause the storm was sent. The strong persuasion that these men had, that their lot

* Acad. qu. 2.

would not err in the verdict thereof, giveth a singular testimony and approbation to the providence of the Godhead, as being an universal, imperial art, which all the affairs in the world are subject unto, that in the greatest and smallest things, in matters of both choice and chance, as they seem to us, the wisdom and knowledge of God is at hand to manage them, according to the apostle's speech, Eph. i., 'He worketh all things after the counsel and purpose of his will;'* so, first, he hath a will; secondly, a counsel to go before his will; thirdly, an effect and accomplishment to succeed it; lastly, as general and patent a subject as the world hath. There are philosophers, and have been, which thought that the gods had no regard of human affairs, whose opinion (saith Tully), † if it be true, what piety can their be, what sanctity, what religion? Others, though they went not so far as to exempt all things, yet they withdrew the smaller from the heavenly providence, for it was thought most injurious to bring down the majesty of God so low, as to the husbanding of bees and pismires,† as if in the number

* Voluntatis propositum operatur omnia. † De nat. De. 2.

† Usque ad apium formicarumquo, perfectionem.—*Acad. qu. 2.*

of gods there were some Myrmecides* to carve and procure the smaller works. Elsewhere, he also reciteth their improvident speeches to the same purpose; as, for the smaller things, that gods neglect them; they go not so far as to take view of every parcel of ground, and little vine that every one hath,† neither if blasting or hail hath endamaged any man, doth Jupiter observe it; yea, they make a scorn, that those who are quiet and at ease in heaven, should trouble themselves about petty occasions.‡ The peripatetics, another sect, and college of philosophers, housed that providence above the moon, and thought it had no descent beneath the circle thereof, to intend inferior businesses. What, do the epicures in Job say less? Chap. xxii. (Eliphaz at least in their names) 'How should God know? can he judge through the dark clouds? the clouds hide him that he cannot see; and he walketh in the circle of heaven.' Averroës, surnamed the Commenter, a Spanish physician, that he may seem to be mad with reason, by reason fortifieth the former judgments, for he thinketh that the knowledge and understanding of God would become vile, *vilesceret Dei intellectus*, if it were abased to these inferior and infirmer objects; as if a glass were deformed, because it presenteth deformities; or the beams of the sun defiled, because they fall upon muddy places; or the providence of God vilified: 'Who though he hath his dwelling on high, yet he abaseth himself to behold things in heaven and in earth,' Ps. cxiii.; as 'he spake the word, and all things were created,' so he sustaineth and beareth up all things by the power of his word, Heb. i. His creation was as the mother to bring them forth, his providence the nurse to bring them up; his creation a short providence, his providence a perpetual creation; the one setting up the frame of the house, the other looking to the standing and reparation thereof. I cannot determine this point in terms more grave and significant than Tully§ hath used against the atheists and epicures of that age. He is *curiosus et plenus negotii Deus*, a curious God, exquisite in all things, full of business; he is not a reckless, careless, improvident God, or a God to halves and in part, above and not beneath the moon; or, as the Syrians deemed, upon the mountains, and not in the valleys, in the greater and not in the lesser employments; he is very precise and inquisitive, having a thousand eyes, and as many hands; yea, all eye, all hand, both to observe and to despatch withal; examining the least moments and tittles in the world that can be imagined, to an handful of meal and a cruse of oil in a poor widow's house, the calving of

hinds, the feeding of young lions and ravens, the falling of sparrows to the ground, clothing of lilies and grass of the field, numbering of hairs, and (to return to that from which I first digressed), the success of lots. I cannot conceive how the land of Canaan could be divided, as it was, Num. xxvi., xxxiii., between many and few (for so was the order by God set, 'that many should have the more, and few the lesser inheritance'), unless the hand of the Lord had been in the lap to reach unto every tribe and family what was convenient and proportionate; otherwise, the fewer might have had the more, and the more the less inheritance. And was it not much, think you, that when Samuel had anointed Saul king over Israel, he would afterwards go from his right, leave a certainty, and put it to the hazard of lots, whether Saul should be king or no, but that he assured himself, the providence of the Lord would never forsake his intendment, 1 Sam. x. Therefore of all the tribes of Israel, Benjamin, of all the families of Benjamin, Matri; of all the kindred of Matri, the house of Cis; and of all the house of Cis, Saul was chosen to the kingdom. In the book of Esther, chap. iii., the day and the month were by lot appointed, when all the people of the Jews, old and young, women and children, within the city of Shushan, and throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, should be destroyed; but did the Almighty sleep at this wicked and bloody designment? or was his eye held and blindfolded that he could not see it? No; that powerful and dreadful God, who holdeth the ball of the world in his hand, and keepeth a perfect calendar of all times and seasons, had so inverted the course of things for his chosen's sake, that the month and day before prefigured, became most dismal to those that intended mischief. Without further allegations, this may suffice as touching the success of the lots, and consequently the providence of God in the moderation thereof.

It is now a question meet to be discussed, the offender being found, whether it stand with the justice of God to scourge a multitude, because one in the company hath transgressed? For though I condemned their arrogancy before, in that, not knowing who the offender was, they 'wiped their mouths' (each man in the ship), with the harlot in the Proverbs, and asked in their hearts, Is it I? yet when the oracle of God hath not dissolved the doubt, and set as it were his mark upon the trouble and plague of the whole ship, they had some reason to think, that it was not a righteous part to lay the faults of the guilty upon the harmless and innocent. This was the cause that they complained of old, that the whole fleet of the Argives was overthrown,

Unius ob noxam et furias Ajacis Oilei,

for one man's offence. Nay, they were not content there to rest, but they charged the justice of God with an accusation of more weight,

* Minutorum operum fabricator. He made a chariot that was covered under the wing of a gnat, and a ship under a bee's wing.

† Neque agellos singulorum, nec viticulas persequuntur. — *De nat. De. 2.*

‡ Ea cura quietos sollicitas?

§ De Nat. De.

Plerumque nocentes,

Præterit; exanimatque indignos, inquenocentes.*

as though oftentimes he freed the nocent, and laid the burden of woes upon such as deserved them not. It appeareth in Ezekiel, chap. xviii., that the children of Israel had taken up as ungracious a by-word amongst them, 'The fathers have eaten the sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge,' and they conclude therehence, 'The ways of God are not equal,' Jer. xxxi. It was an exception that Bion took against the gods, that the fathers' smart was devolved to their posterity; and thus he scornfully matched it, as if a physician, for the grandfather's or father's disease, should minister physic to their sons or nephews.† They spake evil of Alexander the Great, for razing the city of the Branchides, because their ancestors had pulled down the temple of Miletum. They mocked the Thracians, for beating their wives at that day because their forerunners had killed Orpheus. And Agathocles escaped not blame for wasting the island Coreyra, because in ancient times it gave entertainment to Ulysses. Nay, Abraham himself, the father of the faithful, heir of the promises, friend of God, disputeth with the Lord about Sodom to the like effect: Gen. xviii., 'Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?' Again, 'Be it far from thee for doing this thing, to slay the righteous with the unrighteous, and that the just should be as the unjust; this be far from thee. Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?' In the book of Numbers, chap. xvi., when God willed Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from the congregation, that he might at once destroy them, they fell upon their faces, and said, 'O God, the God of the spirits of every creature, hath not one man only sinned, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?' In the first of Chronicles, chap. xxi., when for the offence of David in numbering his people, the plague fell upon them and slew seventy thousand of them, the king with the elders fell down and cried unto the Lord, 'Is it not I that commanded to number the people? It is even I that have sinned and committed this evil; but these sheep, what have they done? O Lord my God, I beseech thee, let thine hand be upon me and upon my father's house, and not on thy people for their destruction.'

I answer this heinous crimination and grievance against the righteousness of God in few words, from the authorities of Ezekiel and Jeremiah before alleged: 'Behold, all souls are mine, saith the Lord, both the soul of the father and also of the son are mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. O ye house of Israel, is not my way equal, or are not your ways unequal?' If it were a truth which the poet sang to his friend,

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, ‡

thou shalt bear the faults of thy forefathers without

* Lucret. † Plut. de serâ num. vin. ‡ Horat.

thine own deservings, the question were more difficult. But who is able to say, 'My heart is clean,' though I came from an unclean seed? Though I were born of a Morian, I have not his skin; though an Amorite were my father, and my mother an Hittite, I have not their nature; I have touched pitch, and am not defiled; I can wash mine hands in innocency, and say with a clear conscience, I have not sinned? But if this be the case of us all, that there is not a soul in the whole cluster of mankind that hath not offended, though not as principal touching the fact presently inquired of, as Achan in taking the accursed thing, Korah in rebelling, David in numbering the people, yet an accessory in consenting or concealing; if neither principal nor accessory in that one sin, yet culpable in a thousand others committed in our lifetime (perhaps not open to the world, but in the eyes of God as bright as the sun in the firmament; for the scorpion hath a sting though he hath not thrust it forth to wound us, and man hath malice though he hath not outwardly shewed it); it may be some sins to come which God foreseeth, and some already past which he recounteth; shall we stand in argument with God, as man would plead with man, and charge the Judge of the quick and dead with injurious exactions, I have paid the things that I never took, I have borne the price of sin which I never committed? You hear the ground of mine answer. We have all sinned, father and son, rush and branch, and deservedly are to expect that wages from the hand of God which to our sin appertaineth. And touching this present company, I nothing doubt but they might particularly be touched for their proper and private iniquities, though they had missed of Jonah. Bias to a like fare of passengers, shaken with an horrible tempest as these were, and crying to their gods for succour, answered not without some jest in that earnest, Hold your peace, lest the gods hap to hear that you pass this way; * noting their lewdness to be such as might justly draw down a greater vengeance.

Besides, it cannot be denied, but those things which we sever and part in our conceits, by reason that distance of time and place hath sundered them, some being done of old, some of late, some in one quarter of the world, some in another, those doth the God of knowledge unite, and vieweth them at once, as if they were done together. Say, that being young thou wert riotous, gluttonous, libidinous, given to drinking and surfeiting, giving thy strength to harlots, shall not thine old age rue it? Art thou not one and the same person, both in thy younger and older years, in the waxing and in the waning of thy days? Shall the difference and change of times exempt thee from the gout, dropsy, and the like distemperature? Thy grandfather, and two or three degrees beyond, thy father, and thyself,

Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis,

* Silete, ne vos hâc illi navigare sentiant.—*Bruson.*

thy children's children, and nephews to come, you are all but one house (*Æacides* from *Æacus*), springing from one root, the head of the family, in his sight and account who esteemeth a thousand generations but as one day. Plutarch himself was wise enough to answer the argument. There is not the like comparison betwixt father and son, as betwixt a workman and his work, neither can they alike be separated; for that which is born or begotten is not only *from* the father, but *of* him, as a part belonging unto him.* The Castilians' blood in France spilled at the massacre, may rightfully be required of the Guisian race in the fourth or fifth generation to come. This is the cause that David curseth the wicked on both sides; both in their descent,—‘Let their children be vagabonds, and beg their bread,—and in their ascent,—‘Let the iniquity of his father be had in remembrance, and let not the sin of his mother be done away.’ The like is daily practised in the community and fellowship of diverse parts within the same body; as in a matter of felony, the hand only hath taken and borne away, but the feet are clapped in iron, the belly pinched with penury, the bones lie hard, and the best joint is endangered for it. Sundry parts, though distinguished both in place and office, feel the punishment which, they may fondly say, the hand only deserved. Yea, the eye may be sore, and a vein pricked in the arm to cure it; the hoof tender and weak, and the top of the horn anointed for remedy thereof. Even so, in the body of a city, the body of an army, the body of a church, the body of a ship, though haply few offend, yet their iniquity is brought upon the head of a whole multitude. The kings are mad, the Greeks are plagued,†

Πόλις αὖ καὶ ὅλη πᾶσα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρός ἐπαυρεῖ,‡
the whole city oftentimes reapeth the fruit of one wicked man amongst them. What injury is done therein? is it more than one city? and is not that citizen a member of their body? Is not Socrates one and the same man at the head and at the foot? Is not England one and the same land at Berwick and at the Mount? Is not London one and the same city at Ludgate and at Aldgate? § These may be the reasons why the whole number of passengers is plagued, both in the loss of their wares and the hazard of their lives, for the principal transgression of Jonah: (1.) they were wicked themselves, because they were idolatrous, and what other corruptions they had the Lord knoweth; (2.) they were all but one body, under the same discipline and government, tied together by orders and laws for sea, as by joints, by reason they had entertained and consorted themselves with disobedient Jonah. Other causes there may be, secret

unto God, which I dare not search out. Why should I climb into paradise, or pry into the ark, to behold his counsels? When he hath set darkness and clouds about his pavilion, why should I labour to remove them? We know not the reasons of many a thing belonging to our common life, how it cometh that our clothes are warm about our backs, when the earth is quiet through the south wind, Job. xxxvii., and shall we reach after hidden knowledge? A plague began in Ethiopia,* filled Athens, killed Pericles, vexed Thucydides; or to match the example, a plague becometh in France, taketh shipping at Newhaven, landeth in England with Englishmen, harboureth itself in London, and never departeth thence again. Will you know the reason hereof? It may be ‘that the works of God may be made manifest,’ as Christ spake of the blind man, John ix.; or to shew his power that he hath over his clay; to exercise his justice; to practise and prove our patience, whether we will ‘curse him to his face,’ as (it may be) the devil hath informed against us; or to apply the continual physic of affliction and chastisement unto us, that we run not into desperate maladies. For there are four kinds of men which, by four kinds of means, come to heaven: (1.) some buy it at a price, which bestow all their temporal goods for the better compassing thereof; (2.) some catch it by violence, they forsake fathers, mothers, land, living, life, all that they have, for that kingdom's sake; (3.) some steal it, they do their good deeds secretly, and they are openly rewarded; (4.) others are enforced to take it, and by continual afflictions made to fall into the liking thereof.† Or whatsoever else be the cause, which the sanctuary of heaven hath reserved to itself, and buried in light that may not be approached unto, this I am sure of, that the challenge of the apostle shall stand like a wall of brass against all the objections in the world, *Numquid iniquitas apud Deum?* ‘Is there any unrighteousness with God?’ Rom. ix. And so far was it off that these mariners received loss by their loss, that it was their occasion to bring them to the knowledge and fear of the true God, as hereafter shall appear unto you, in the tendering of their vows, and other the like religious duties.

Then said they unto him, *Tell us for whose cause evil is upon us, &c.* Having presumed that the lots could not lie, being governed and guided by the wisdom of God, they gather themselves together like bees, and all make a common incursion upon Jonah. For by likelihood of their demands (because they are many in number, and many to the same effects as some supposed) it is not improbable that their whole troop assaulted him, and each one had a pull after his fashion; and as they had sundry heads and mouths, so they had sundry speeches to express one and the

* Plutar.

† Mercantur, rapiunt, furantur, compelluntur.—*Donavent. in. Luc.*

* Cum ex ipso, non ab ipso genitum est, velut pars quædam.—*De ser. num. vind.*

† Horat.

‡ Hesiod.

§ This sentence would seem to indicate that the lectures were modified for re-delivery in London.—Ed.

same thing, and therefore one asked, *Unde venis*, 'Whence comest thou?' Another, *Qua terra tua*, 'What is thy country?' A third, *Ex quo populo*, 'Of what people art thou?' when his people, country, and dwelling-place differ not in substance. And certainly I cannot blame them, if in such peril of their lives, when the first-born of death, the next and immediate death to sight was upon them, they all make an head and open their mouths without order or course, against the worker of their woes. When Achan was brought to the valley of Achor to be executed, he, his sons, daughters, asses, sheep, the silver, garment, wedge of gold, his tent, all that he had, there produced, it is said, Josh. vii., that 'all Israel threw stones at him, and burnt them with fire, and stoned them with stones,' as being the very cause that Israel could not stand against their enemies. In the conspiracy at Rome, against Julius Cæsar, there were not fewer (by report) than twenty-four daggers stabbed into his body, because he was taken by the nobility of Rome to be the perturber of their commonwealth, and an enemy to the common liberty. An oath of association was taken in many places of this land (I know not if in the whole) within these few years, for the pursuit and extirpation of those persons, together with their confederates, and as I remember, their families, who by treacherous machination should violate the life and crown of our gracious sovereign. Was it not grounded upon this presumption, that the authors of common calamities and subverters of states, can never be persecuted with too much violence? Traitors executed at Tyburn* of late, were sent, I say not to their graves, but to their ends, such as they were, too, too merciful for traitors, with such a shout of the people, to seal their affections and assents, as if they had gained an harvest, or were dividing a spoil, and I doubt not but the angels in heaven rejoice when they see such deliverances.

Others distinguish the questions, and make them imply several things, as if they inquired of five sundry matters. (1.) His fact; *indica cujus causa*, tell us not for whom, but 'for what, this evil is upon us. (2.) His calling and course of life, his art, profession, *quæ opera tua*? (3.) His travel and journey, and the company and society he last came from, *unde venis*? (4.) His region, *quæ terra tua*? (5.) His dwelling city, *ex quo populo*? which last may be referred to the notifying of his service and religion, whereof it was easy to guess by the city he came from.

In the general course of all which particulars, we have a singular document and instruction of justice from barbarous nations. Jonah had been detected by the suffrage of God himself, speaking in the lot, and doubtless by these men, held and reputed the principal malefactor in the ship. 'The lot fell upon Jonah.' What needeth more conviction? How should their eyes now spare, or their hands longer

* D. Lopus and his fellows.

forbear him? Methinketh they should now cry out against him, as the men of Job's tabernacle, 'Who will give us his flesh to eat?' Job xxxi. 31; or as the priests and false prophets against Jeremiah, 'The judgment of death belongeth to this man,' Jer. xxxviii. 4, 'Away with him, away with him from the earth, he is not worthy to live.' They do not thus but in the extremest peril of their lives, having no time to bethink themselves, driven to take counsel without counsel, as fencers in the sand, *consilium in arenâ*, who defend themselves but as the blow falleth out; yet they deliberate in the cause, they evolve all circumstances for the manifestation of his fact, and by a most exquisite inquisition they proceed in judgment: What is thy fact, thy trade, thy travel, thy country, thy people? Tully affirmeth that a kind of justice there is amongst robbers and pirates in dividing their booties, and maintaining their fraternities: such a justice as Ananias, the high priest, was a judge, who 'sat to judge Paul according to the law, and caused him to be smitten contrary to the law,' Acts xxiii. 3; a painted judge and a painted justice. But it serveth me thus far to collect, that even in the tents of Meshech, in the societies of the most wicked, there is a counterfeit justice, an imitation of that virtue without the which Jupiter himself, saith Plutarch, cannot reign in heaven, much less can amity be maintained betwixt man and man. The empress wisely admonished her husband, when, sitting at play, and minding his game more than the prisoners, he pronounced sentence upon them. The life of man is not as a game at tables,* where a wooden man is taken up by a blot and thrown aside, and the loss is not great, and whether it be life or land, there is no great difference in the account of God, for 'the bread of the poor man is his life,' and he that oppresseth the poor 'eateth him like bread.' Whether, therefore, it be in the life or in the living of man, the office of justice is not to wade to the ankles, but up to the chin, to sound the bottom and depth of the cause, carefully to confer all presumptions and inducements, prudently to deliberate, enucleate all difficulties; and though the case be dangerous, as this was, and great prejudices against the examinee, yet by a curious indagation to have the proof of the fact clearly laid forth. We have a precedent hereof in God himself, who, though he be nearer to offenders than the bark to the tree, by the presence of his Godhead, which filleth heaven and earth, yet when the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah was great (to leave an example of justice to the sons of men), 'I will now go down,' saith he, Gen. xviii., 'and see whether they have done altogether according to that cry, and if not, that I may know.' This discension of God to see and to know, what is it else but the delivery of his justice by rule, by number, and by balance, that first he will weigh and ponder the cause,

* Non est hominum vita ludus talorum.—Ælianus.

afterwards measure out his judgment! Now to the particulars.

1. In the first of these demands, which is of the fact (the other but conjectures tending to the proof of it), they are not content with the sentence of the lot, but they require further the confession of his own mouth, *indica nobis*, 'Tell us for what cause.' The like did Joshua to Achan. 'My son, give the glory to God, and tell me what thou hast done, hide it not.' It is a part of the glory of God, to justify him and his judgments, to yield to the victory of truth when he hath put a spirit as it were into lots and laws, to guess aright, not to dissemble the force thereof. Now, if any shall infer hereupon that, by the examples of Joshua proceeding against Achan, the mariners against Jonah, the trial of life, lands, good name, should be brought from the laws of the country, and put to the decision of lots; besides the rule of Jerome upon this place, *privilegia singulorum non faciunt legem communem*, that the privileges of singular men make not a common law, and the general rule in all examples, that none is further to be followed than the law abetteth and maketh it good, *exempla convenient cum lege communi*, otherwise they are to be admired rather than imitated; and it is the tempting of God to seek signs when they are not for profit, but only for experience,* and we ought to be very circumspect in executing judgment, and to leave no lawful means unattempted, lest we justify the wicked and condemn the innocent; I say, besides all these reasons, it appeareth from both the examples before specified, that neither Joshua nor the mariners rested in the designation of the lots, but desired further to be ascertained from their own confessions, 'Tell us.' Whereunto we may add, that the lottery against Achan was both occasioned by an unexpected overthrow taken at Ai, and by the direction of God himself in the whole manner thereof prescribed; and as for Jonah he was a figure of Christ, whose vesture was to be parted by lots, and therefore the deprehension of his offence not to be brought into ordinary practice.

2. *What is thine occupation?* If Jonah had confessed and opened his fact, other likelihoods and helps to find it out had been needless, but it seemeth that before he could shape his answers to the first question, they thrust another upon him, and without intermission a third, and yet more, like a peal of ordinance thundering about his ears, that by the united strength of so many probabilities, wound together like a four-fold cord, Jonah may be entangled.

This first of the four probabilities is of great moment to scan the life of man. What is thine occupation, thy art, thy calling? For (1.) some have no art or trade at all; (2.) some wicked and unlawful arts; (3.) others such arts as have an easy provocation to injustice and ungodliness.

* *Cum signa flagitantur, non ad salutem, sed ad experientiam desiderata, Deus tentatur.*—*Aug.*

(1.) Those that have no art, are errant, vagabond, wandering persons, as the planets in the zodiac, never keeping a fixed place, and rather using their feet than their hands, or whether they flit abroad or gad at home, their calling and art is idleness; for *otium negotium*, idleness is a business. They are more troubled, I doubt not, how to spend the day, than these that have a trade wherein to be exercised; they live by the sweat of other men's brows, and will not disquiet the temples of their own heads. Let me freely speak without the offence of governors: there are a number in this city, *numerus tantum*, a number only, very artificial in this idle art (those that can plead their age, impotency, and necessary necessities, I am their advocate. I speak of pure and voluntary beggars), who if they would work and have it not, it is pity that you have your wealth, that your talent is not taken from you, and given to others who would better use it to God's behoof (they should be *ditis examen domus*,* the bees that swarm in rich men's houses, much more in opulent and wealthy cities, many inferior towns are superior unto you in the provision thereof); but if they have work, and will not undergo it, why are they suffered? *Spontanea lassitudo*, a willing and proffered laziness in the body of a man, is an introduction and argument of greater diseases, and these willing or wilful rogues are not unapt, if ever occasion be ministered, to pilfer your goods, cut your throats, and fire your city for their better advantage of maintenance. When Jephthah was cast out of the house by his brethren, because he was the son of a strange woman, 'he fled and dwelt in the land of Tob,' and there gathered 'idle fellows' unto him, and they went out with him, Judges xi. The unbelieving Jews in the Acts, chap. xvii., took unto them a company of wandering companions, such as stand idle in the market place, *Azagoroi*, wicked men, and gathered a multitude, and made an uproar in the whole city, and came to the house of Jason to fetch out Paul and Silas. You see how ready they are to serve such turn, to raise a tumult, to make a conspiracy or rebellion, to associate themselves to any that will but lead them. It were your wisest part to deal with such lewd and unordinate walkers, standers, sitters in the ways of idleness, as Philip of Macedon dealt with two of his subjects, in whom there was little hope of grace: he made one of them run out of the country, and the other drive him, *alterum è Macedonia fugere, alterum persequi jussit*; so his people was rid of both.

(2.) Now there be other arts utterly unlawful to be followed, the very naming whereof doth condemn them, as conjurors, charmers, moon-prophets, tellers of fortune (our English Egyptians), robbers by land, pirates by sea, cozeners, harlots, bawds, usurers, which presently censure a man, as soon as they are but heard of, to be wickedly disposed.

(3.) There are many besides, which, though they

* *Horat.*

have use lawful enough in a commonwealth, yet there is but a narrow path betwixt fire and water, as Esdras speaketh, and one may easily miss to do his duty there. You look, perhaps, that I should rehearse them. Though some are become more odious by reason of grosser abuses in them, yet I will cover their face and keep them from the light (as they covered the face of Haman to keep him from the eyes of men), because there is too much abuse to be espied in all our arts. Money hath marred them all; they are all set to sale, as Jugurtha spake of Rome, but want a chapman. Divines sell the liberty of a good conscience for favour and preferment; lawyers sell not only their labours, but the laws and justice itself; physicians sell ignorance, unskilfulness, words, unsufficient drugs; all men, of all kinds of trades, for the most part, sell honesty, truth, conscience, oaths, souls for money. Our arts are arts indeed; that is, cozenages, impostures, frauds, circumventions. Our English tongue doth well express the nature of the word; we call them *crafts*, and those that profess them *craftsmen*; we may as well term them foxes, as Christ termed Herod, they are so bent to deceit. Others, not content with so vulgar a name, call them *mysteries*; indeed, the 'mystery of iniquity' is in them; misty, obscure, dark handling, which God shall bring to light in due time. Call we these callings? Sure they are such, whereof the sentence shall

be verified, 'Many are called' unto them, 'but few elected,' to partake the mercies of God. Oh hearken to the counsel which the apostle giveth, that ye may justify and warrant your vocation before God and man. 'Let every one abide in the same calling wherein he was called,' 1 Cor. vii. 20; and to make it significant, 'Let every one, wherein he was called, therein abide with God.' Let him not stay, like a passenger, for a night, but continue and hold himself not only in the name, but in the nature and use of his calling; that is, let him 'walk worthy of it, as in the sight of God,' who is a witness and judge to all his proceedings. Let him not add unto the challenges and constitutions of God the callings of the devil, as simony, bribery, forgery, hypocrisy, perjuries, (for these are the devil's challenges), and let not those arts and professions, which were given for the ornaments and helps of our life, be turned into snares and gins to entrap our brethren. In the audit of our Lord and master, so far shall we be from giving the accounts of faithful servants, Luke xix., 'Lord, thy piece hath gained other ten,' which we have so falsified and defaced with the sleights of Satan, that we cannot discharge ourselves as the unfaithful reprobate servant did, 'Behold, thou hast thine own,' Mat. xxv.: our lawful and honest vocation, wherein we were first placed, we have so disguised with our own corrupt additions.]

LECTURE XI.

Whence comest thou? which is thy country? and of what people art thou?—JONAH I. 8.

THESE three questions now rehearsed, though in seeming not much different, yet I distinguished apart, making the first to inquire of his journey and travel (for confirmation whereof some a little change the style, *Quo radis? Whither goest thou?* asking not the place from which he set forth, but to which he was bound), or of the society wherewith he had combined himself; the second, of his native country; the third, of his dwelling place. For the country and city may differ: in the one we may be born, and live in the other; as, for example, a man may be born in Scotland, dwell in England; or, born at Bristow, dwell at York. Wherein that of Tully, in his books of laws, taketh place, I verily think that both Cato and all free denizens have two countries, the one of nativity, the other of habitation, *unam naturæ, alteram civitatis*; as Cato, being born at Tusculum, was received into the people of the city of Rome. Therefore, being a Tusculan by birth, by city a Roman, he had one country by place, another by law, *alteram loci patriam, alteram juris*. For we term that our country where we were born, and whereinto we are admitted. So there is some odds between the two latter questions. There was great reason to demand both from whence

he came, and whither he would, because the travels of men are not always to good ends. For the Scribes and Pharisees travel far, if not by their bodily paces, yet by the affections of their hearts 'they compass sea and land,' to an evil purpose, 'to make proselytes, children of death worse than themselves.' As the pope and the king of Spain send into India (they pretend to save souls), indeed to destroy the breed of that people, as Pharaoh the males of the Hebrews, and to waste their countries. They walk that walk 'in the counsel of the ungodly, and in the ways of sinners,' but 'destruction and unhappiness is in all their ways.' They walk that walk in the ways of an harlot, but 'her house tendeth to death, and her paths to the dead; they that go unto her return not again, neither take hold of the ways of life,' Prov. ii. Thieves have their ranges and walks; *surgunt de nocte latrones*,* they rise in the night time, they go or ride far from home, that they may be far from suspicion, but 'their feet are swift to shed blood,' and they bestow their pains to work a mischief. Alexander journeyed so far in the conquest of the world, that a†

* Horat.

† Cæsus in Curt. 2.

soldier told him, We have done as much as mortality was capable of; thou preparest to go unto another world, and thou seekest for an India unknown to the Indians themselves, that thou mayest illustrate more regions by thy conquest than the sun ever saw: to what other end I know not, but to feed his ambition, to enlarge his desire as hell, and to add more titles to his tomb, *titulum sepulchro*. They have their travels and peregrinations that walk on their bare feet, with a staff in their hand, and a scrip about their neck, to Saint James of Compostella, our Lady of Loretto, the dust of the holy land. What to do? The dead to visit the dead; to honour stocks, and to come home stocks; to change the air, and to retain their former behaviour; to do penance for sin, and to return laden with a greater sin of most irreligious superstition, meet to be repented, if they knew their sin. Of such I may say, as Socrates sometimes answered one who marvelled that he reaped so little profit by his travel, Thou art well enough served, saith he, because thou didst travel by thyself, for it is not mountains and seas, but the conference of wise men, that giveth wisdom; neither can monuments and graves, but the Spirit of the Lord, which goeth not with those gad-ders, put holiness into them. They have their walks and excursions which go from their native country to Rome (the first time to see naught, the second to be naught, the third to die naught, was the old proverb). The first and last now-a-days are not much different; they go to learn naught, they drink up poison there like a restorative, which they keep in their stomachs along Italy, France, other nations, not minding to disgorge it, till they come to their mother's house, where they seek to unlade it in her bosom, and to end her happy days. Jonah, for aught these knew, might have come from his country a robber, murderer, traitor, or any the like transgressor, and therefore have run from thence, as Onesimus from his master Philemon, to escape justice; whereupon they ask him, 'Whence comest thou?' that they may learn both the occasion and scope of his journey. And if you observe it well, there is not one question here moved (though questions only conjectural), but setteth his conscience upon the rack, and woundeth him at the heart by every circumstance, whereby his crime might be aggravated. Such is the wisdom that God inspireth into the hearts of men, for the trial of his truth, and in the honour of justice, to fit their demands to the conscience of the transgressors, in such sort, that they shall even feel themselves to be touched, and so closely rounded in the ear, as they cannot deny their offence. 'There are diverse administrations, yet but one spirit;' warriors have a spirit of courage to fight, counsellors to direct and prevent, magistrates to govern, judges to discern, examine, convince, and to do right unto all people. For the questions here propounded, were in effect as if they had told him, thou dishonourest thy calling, thou breakest thy commission, thou shamest

thy country, thou condemnest thy people, in that thou hast committed this evil.

They ask him first, 'What is thine art?' that be-thinking himself to be a prophet, and not a mariner, as these were, not a master in the ship, but a 'master in Israel,' set over kingdoms and empires, 'to build and pull down, plant and root up,' he might remember himself, and call his soul to account, Wretched man that I am, how ingloriously have I neglected my vocation! They ask him next, 'Whence comest thou?' that it might be as goads and prickles at his breast, to recount in his mind, I was called on land, I am escaped to sea; I was sent to Assyria, I am going to Cilicia; I was directed to Nineveh, I am bending my face towards Tarshish; that is, I am flying from the presence of my Lord, and following mine own crooked ways. Thirdly, they ask him 'of his country;' that he might say to himself, What, are the deeds of Babylon better than the deeds of Sion? Was I born and brought up, instructed and an instructor in the land of Jewry, in the garden of the world, the royallest, peculiarest nation that the Lord hath, and have I not grace to keep his commandment? Lastly, they inquire 'of his people;' a people that had all things but flexible and fleshy hearts; the law, promises, covenant, service of God, temple of Solomon, chair of Moses, thrones of David, patriarchs, prophets, Messiah; yet one of this people, in the midst of such prerogatives, as a cedar-tree amidst her branches, hath lived so long amongst them, that a barbarous tongue is set to accuse him.

3. These two questions following (that I may join them both together), seem to inquire, the one more generally, the other more in particular; the one of the place, the other of the people and inhabitants. There may be a good country and an evil people,* or contrariwise, an evil country and a good people. Touching the place, I will not dispute whether they thought that the anger of their gods, as they reputed them, did principally persecute and infest some certain countries; that albeit he committed no harm for his own part, yet he should suffer for the country's sake, and bear the smart of that inveterate hatred, where-with the place itself was maligned. This I know, that both in the dwelling-place where a man reposeth himself, in regard of the influence of heaven; and in the inhabitants, for the disposition of their minds, there is as great diversity, as betwixt north and south for change of weathers. Erasmus, in the preface to St Augustine's epistles, giveth this judgment of that learned father, that if it had been his lot to have been born, or but to have lived in Italy, or France, that wit would have yielded more abundant fruits unto us. But Afric was rude, greedy of pleasure, an enemy to study, desirous of curious devices, *rudis erat Africa, voluptatum avida, studiorum inimica, &c.* Plato rejoiced that he was born at Athens, rather than in

* Terra bona, gens mala.—*Ar. Mont.*

another place. Themistocles was upbraided by one of Scriphus, that the commendation and fame he gat, was for his country's sake, because he was born an Athenian; though Themistocles answered, that neither had himself been worse, if he had been born in Scriphus, nor the other better, if he at Athens. Who marvelleth to see swellings in the throat, *quis tumidum guttur de.*, in cold places where the snow continually lieth? It is the nature and site of the place that bringeth them. They made small reckoning heretofore to lie in Crete, to forswear in Cartbage, to gormandise and surfeit in Capua or Semiplacentia, to lust unnaturally in Sodom, and to be proud at this day in Spain, to poison in Italy, to over-drink in Germany; it is, they say, the custom and fashion of those countries, and then is easily verified that which Seneca wrote;* we thrust one another into vices, and how then can they be reclaimed to good, whom no man stayeth, and the whole people driveth forward? In such places it is a fault to be innocent and honest amongst offenders. *Esse inter nocentes innoxium crimen est.* Seneca† giveth the reason, *Necesse est aut imiteris, aut oderis*; one of the two must needs be done, either thou must imitate or hate, both which are to be avoided, lest either thou become like the evil, because they are many, or an enemy to many, because they are unlike thee. Canst thou walk upon coals, or take fire in thy bosom, and not burn? canst thou be a brother to dragons, and a companion to ostriches, without savouring of their wildness? live with the froward, and not learn frowardness? dwell amongst thieves, and not run with them? converse with idolaters, and not eat of such things as please them? The daughters of men married the sons of God, and the daughters of Heth brought much woe to Rebecca, no doubt for the lewdness of their behaviour. When the disciple in the Gospel asked leave of his master to go and bury his father, it was denied him; some give the reason, lest his unbelieving kindred, which were likely enough to be at the funeral, as eagles flock to the carcase, should contaminate him again; therefore he was answered, 'Let the dead bury the dead, do thou follow me;' because I am life, tarry and live with me, and let the dead alone, lest haply thou die with them. Though there were many wicked kings in Israel, yet there was none like Ahab, 1 Kings xxi., 'who did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord.' Why? The reason is there given. 'Jezebel his wife provoked him.' For, chap. xvi., 'it was a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam, except he took Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon, to wife, by whom he was brought to idolatry.' No marvel if Jehoram, king of Judah, did afterwards evil in the sight of the Lord; for the daughter of Ahab was his wife, 2 Kings viii., and Ahaziah after him no better, for he was the 'son-in-law of the house of Ahab.' All these were in an error; they looked to gather grapes

* Epist. 82.

† Epist. 7

of thorns, and figs of thistles; whereas on the other side, *amicitiæ pares aut faciunt aut quarrunt*, friendship either maketh or seeketh like in conditions. And so is the nature of things, that when a good man is joined with a bad, the evil is not bettered by the good, but the good corrupted by the evil.*

Thus far of the demands. The answer is annexed in the 9th verse, 'I am an Hebrew, and I fear the Lord God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land.' What is this to the matter? Was it a fault to be an Hebrew, and to fear the Lord God of heaven? Not so, but it appeareth in the next verse by a clause thereof, that he confessed the whole crime, 'because he had told them.' He might yet have concealed his fault, and covered his iniquity with some defence, as Adam his nakedness with fig-leaves, and amongst bushes, by pleading the unlawfulness of his accusers, the uncertainty of lots, as governed rather by chance than by divine providence; he doth it not, but maketh an immediate confession of his sin, so inexcusably against himself, that if malice itself had spoken against him, it could not have added much to the accusation. For it was the least part of his ingenuity, simply to relate the rebellion (which is but named in the verse following, as it were at the second hand, and brought in by a parenthesis); but his art, to be observed indeed, are those ornaments and garnishes of speech, which he bringeth against himself, to decipher his disobedience.

(1.) *I am an Hebrew*; if a Cilician, or of any country in the earth besides, my fault were the less; (2.) and I do not only know and acknowledge (which is wanting in others), but *I fear*, reverence, stand in awe of, (3.) not an idol, nor a devil, nor the work of man's hands, but *the Lord of hosts*; (4.) who, though he sitteth in heaven, as in his palace of greatest state, where he is best glorified by his creatures, and his best creatures shall be glorified by him, yet is he not housed within the circles of *heaven*; for the *sea and the land* also are his by creation; the *sea* wherein I am tossed, and *the dry land* from whence I flitted.

(1.) My country is not heathenish, rude, and barbarous, *I am an Hebrew*; (2.) my religion not loose and dissolute, *I fear*, and bear a reverent estimation; (3.) I am not carried away to dumb idols, I fear the *Lord God*; (4.) who is not a God *in heaven* alone, as your Jupiter; nor in the *sea* alone, as your Neptune; nor alone in the *earth*, as your Pluto; but alone is the *God of heaven*, and doth not hold by tenure; but (5.) himself hath *made the sea and the dry land*, not only the land of Israel, wherein he principally dwelleth, and which I relinquished, but the land of Tarshish also, and the continent, *and dry ground* belonging to the whole world, and not the land alone, but all the waters

* Rerum natura sic est ut quoties bonus malo conjungitur, non ex bono malus melioretur, sed ex malo bonus contaminetur.—Chrysost.

of the main sea, which I took for my refuge and sanctuary.

I am an Hebrew, Hebraeus sum. From the beginning of the world to the time of Christ, are numbered four propagations or generations: the first, from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to Christ.* In the second generation was the name of the Hebrews received; in the third, of the Israelites from Jacob, surnamed Israel, whose grandfather Abraham was; in the fourth, of the Jews, after that Judah and Benjamin (which for the unity of minds were as it were one tribe), following Rehoboam the son of Solomon, of the tribe of Judah, made the kingdom of Judah; the other ten betaking them to Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, set up the kingdom of the Ephraimites, or of Israel. One and the same people thrice changed their names.

Touching the first of these names, there are sundry opinions brought whence it arose. 1. Some think they were called Hebrews of Abraham,† with the alteration of a few letters, *Hebrai quasi Abrahami*. 2. Some derive them from Heber, who was the fourth from Noah.‡ 3. The grammarians fetch them from an Hebrew word which signifieth *over* or *beyond*, because the posterity of Shem went over the river Tigris, and abode in Chaldea. This surname you shall first find given to Abraham, Gen. xiv., where it is said that he which brought news that Lot was carried out of Sodom with the rest of the booty, told it to 'Abraham the Hebrew;' because forsaking Ur of the Chaldees, and passing over Euphrates, he came into the land of Canaan, therefore was he named of that country people Ibreus, that is, one that passed over. So there is no doubt made but of Abraham they are called Hebrews, because he hearkened to the word of the Lord, and went beyond Euphrates. Some have gathered here, hence, that in calling himself an Hebrew, he maketh confession of his fault, that as the children of Shem and Abraham passed over rivers, so (by a borrowed speech) he had passed over the commandment of the Lord. For what is sin but transgression, *transitio linearum*,§ the going beyond those lines and limits that are prefigured us? Others observe that he implieth the condition of man's life herein, as 'having no abiding city,' but a travel upon the face of the earth to pass from place to place, as it is written of Israel in the psalm, 'they went from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people,' Ps. cv.; and David confesseth no less, 'I am a stranger and sojourner upon the earth, as all my fathers were.' Jerome would have us note that he termeth not himself a Jew, which name came from the rending of the kingdom, but an Hebrew, that is,

* Carel Sigon. de rep. Hebr.

† Aug. l. i. qu. super Gen.

‡ Hieron. in Genes. et Aug. ii. retract. et 16 de civ. Do. iii. Aret. in ep. ad Hebr.

§ Tull.

a passenger.* I take the letter of the text, without deeper constructions, that his purpose simply was to answer their last question, which was yet fresh in his ears, touching the people from whence he came, and by naming his nation, to make an argument against himself of higher amplification, that lying in that corner of the world, which was the diamond of the ring, and as it were the apple of the eye, heart of the body, being sprung of that root whereof it was said, Deut. iv., 'Only this people is wise and of understanding, and a great nation; for what nation is so great, to whom the gods come so near, as the Lord is near unto us in all that we call unto him for? or what nation so great that hath ordinances and laws so righteous as we have?' It might be his greater offence to be sown good and come up evil, to be richly planted in the goodliest vine, and basely degenerated into a sour grape; as it were a greater shame not to be knit indissolubly to the worship of God in England than any other country almost, it lying in Europe, as Gideon's fleece in the floor, exempted from the plagues of her neighbours, and specially signed with the favour of God: Hungary and Bohemia busied with the Turks, Italy poisoned with the local seat of antichrist, Spain held in awe with a bloody inquisition, nether Germany disquieted with a foreign foe, France molested with an intestine enemy, Ireland troubled with the incivility of the place, Scotland with her fatal infelicity, England amongst all the rest having peaceable days and nights, and not knowing any other bane but too much quietness, which she hath taken from God with the left hand, and used as the fountain of all her licentiousness.

After his country he placeth his religion. 'I fear the Lord God of heaven,' which is here put for the general worship and service that belongeth to God. For that which God saith, Isa. xxix., 'Their fear is taught by the precepts of men,' Christ interpreteth, Mat. xv., by the name of worship, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrine the precepts of men.' Fear and worship in these scriptures are both one. 'Come, children,' saith the psalmist, 'hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord.' And it is a notable phrase that the Hebrews use to this purpose, as in the speech of Jacob to Laban, Gen. xxxi., 'Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away empty;' where it is further to be marked, that when Laban swore by the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac, that is, by that God which his father feared, that is, worshipped and served, *abstractum pro concreto et subjecto*. It implieth thus much, that the strength of Israel is a dreadful God, clothed with unspeakable majesty, as with a garment, and the glory of his face shining brighter than all the lights of heaven in their

* Non dixit, *Judæus*, nomen ex discissione regni factum; sed *Hebraeus* i. e. *περιεγερής*, *transitor*.

beauty, yea, the beholding of his countenance to a mortal man present death; the angels tremble, the heavens melt, the mountains smoke, the sea flieth back, the rivers are dried up, the fish rot, the earth fainteth at the sight thereof, and therefore we ought not approach his ground with our shoes on our feet, with sensual and base cogitations, nor sit at his feast when the bread of his fearful word is broken, without our wedding garment, nor enter his house of prayer with the sacrifice of fools, nor come to his holy mysteries with unwashed hands or hearts, not discerning the body and blood of the Lord, nor offer the calves of our lips with lips unsanctified, nor tender any duty unto him, without falling low upon our faces, and bowing the knees of our hearts in token of our reverence.

It is a question moved, how Jonah could truly say, 'I fear the Lord,' being so stubborn and refractory against his express commandment. For answer whereof, we must fly to that city of refuge which David had recourse unto, I mean the riches of God's mercy, 'If thou shalt mark, Lord, what is done amiss, Lord, who shall stand? But there is pardon with thee that thou mayest be feared,' Ps. cxxx. If the abundant goodness of God did not gloriously interpret our service and sit by his justice, as the steward in the Gospel sat at his accounts, when the debt is an hundred to set down fifty, to cancel a thousand bills of our trespasses, to remove our sins, in multitude as the sand upon the sea shore, from the presence of our Maker, as far as the east is from the west, to drown them by heaps and bundles in the bottom of the sea, to dye purple and scarlet into white, that is, to turn sin into no sin, and even to justify the wicked, and, in a word, to draw the books, and blot out our offences as if they were not; if all the life of Jonah unto this day had been as free from sin as the first fruits of Adam, yet this were enough, this only one transgression, to have stained his former innocency, to have razed out the memory of all his forepassed fear towards God, and made him guilty of the whole law. It fareth with a faithful man oftentimes as it did with Eutychus, Acts xx., of whom Paul said, 'Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him,' though he seemed dead. There is a substance in an elm or in an oak, when they have cast their leaves,' Isa. vi. 13, when we would think, by the bareness of the boughs and dryness of the bark, they are quite withered. There is wine found in an unlikely cluster, and 'one saith, Destroy it not, for there is a blessing in it,' Isa. lxxv. 8, such are the trances and swoonings of faith at some times, drawing the breath of life so inwardly to itself, that no man can perceive it, and unless the goodness of God did embrace it, as Paul embraced Eutychus, it could never recover strength again. David lay in such a trance of adultery, Solomon in the trance of idolatry, Peter in the trance of apostasy, and Jonah in the trance of recusancy for the season, when they passed over their transgressions as in a sleep, and

never felt them. Doubtless God hath a purpose herein, profitable both to those who are taken with such spiritual apoplexies, and to others also. As Augustine wrote of Cyprian, erring in the doctrine of rebaptisation, there was something which he saw not, that he might see somewhat more excellent, *propterea non vidit aliquid, ut aliquid supereminenter videret*.^{*} But in respect of us there are three reasons given by Irenæus,[†] why the infirmities of the saints are chronicled in the book of God. 1. To let us understand that both they and we have one God, who was ever offended with sin, how great and glorious soever the persons were that wrought it. 2. To teach us to abstain from sin; for if the ancient patriarchs, who went before us both in time and in the graces of God, and for whom the Son of God had not yet suffered, bare such reproach among their posterity, by reason their corruptions are registered, what shall they sustain, who live in the later and brighter ages of the world,[‡] and have continued beyond the coming of the Lord Jesus? 3. To give us warning and instruction, that for them there was a cure behind, the sacrifice of the lamb which was not then slain, but for such as now shall sin Christ dieth no more, but his next coming shall be in the glory of his Father. Augustine upon the 51st Psalm, handling the fall of David, maketh this enarration upon it, *commisum atque conscriptum est*, is it done and written for thine imitation? No; that were an argument of too much violence, to draw on sin with the cart ropes of examples, and to take advantage at the ruins of God's saints. David committed murder and adultery, I may do the like; it were a mark of a far more unrighteous soul than that which thou seekest to imitate: *Inde anima iniquior, quæ cum propterea fecerit, quia David fecit, ideo pejus quam David fecit*. Thence becometh the soul more unrighteous, which, taking occasion to do evil because David did so, doth therefore worse than David did; but to inform thee thus much, that if thou takest the wings of the morning, and fliest from one end of the earth to the other, thou canst not find a soul so pure, which had not sinned; and if thou wilt make them thy precedents, thou must follow the steps not of their falling down, but of their rising again by repentance.

Whom did Jonah fear? *Jehovah*; the honourablest title that he could bestow upon him, to make a difference betwixt him and idols; *nomen τετραγράμματος*, a name but of four letters in the Hebrew tongue; but some of the Jews were so superstitious therein, that they called it *ἀνεκφώνητον*, a name which might not be pronounced, neither durst they assume it into their mouths. And howsoever the word be articulate enough, and every syllable and letter therein easy to be sounded, yet the nature which it containeth is beyond all comprehension. What is God? saith Bernard, in his books of consideration to Eugenius.

^{*} Do bapt. con. Donat. xviii. [†] Iren. lib. iv. cap. 45.

Concerning his election, he is saving health; but concerning himself, he best knoweth.* The Rabbins observe, that all the letters in the name are *literæ quiescentes*, letters of rest; and they gather thereout a mystery, that the rest, repose, and tranquillity of all the creatures in the world is in God alone. The prophet signifieth as much, Ps. xi., 'In the Lord put I my trust; how say ye then unto my soul, that she should fly as a bird?' &c., having built her nest and habitation in the bosom of rest itself. I will not much contend for this invention of theirs, but sure there is some secret in this name, which many have eagerly spent their labour upon, as is plain in Exod. vi., where God himself saith, that he 'appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by the name of a strong God, omnipotent, but by his name Jehovah he was not known unto them.' It importeth, first, the eternity of God's essence in himself, that he is 'yesterday, to-day, and the same for evermore;' 'which was, which is, and which is to come;' and next, the existence and perfection of all things in him, as from whom all other creatures in the world have their life, motion, and being. I may say, that God is the being of all other creatures; not that they are the same that he is, but because of him, and by him, and in him are all things.† Undoubtedly it was the purpose of Jonah to weigh his words, and to powder the whole speech delivered with as much honour towards the Lord as his heart could devise. I fear (1.) Jehovah, a God in essence and being; yours in supposition. (2.) The God of heaven; yours not the gods of the poorest hamlets in the earth. (3.) Which hath made the sea and the dry land, as a little monument of his surpassing art and strength; yours not the garments of their own backs. The prophet keepeth the order of nature, placing first the heaven, then the sea, afterwards the dry land, as the principal parts whereof the whole consisteth; for heaven is in nature and position above the sea, the sea above the dry land, heaven as the roof of that beautiful house wherein man was placed, the sea and the dry land as the two floors or foundations unto it. But did not God make the heavens as well as the sea, and the dry land? Doubtless, yes. It is plainly expressed Gen. i., 'In the beginning God made heaven and earth.' The beginning of the world is from the beginning of all things,‡ whereto the name of the author is first set as the seal, God;§ and under the names of the two extremities and borders, heaven and earth, all the rest is comprised, *quicquid medium, cum ipsis finibus exortum est*, whatsoever lieth middle betwixt the ends, with the ends them-

selves. Neither did the Lord only cause and ordain these creatures to be formed, but as the potter shapeth his vessels, so he fashioned and wrought them with his own hands, *totum cælum totamque tellurem, ipsam (inquam) essentiam, materiam simulcum forma, non enim figurarum inventor est Deus, sed ipsius naturæ creator*. The whole heaven and the whole earth, I say, the matter with the form; for God is not the deviser of shapes and features alone, but the maker of nature itself. And that God that hath made the heaven, can fold it up like a book again, and roll it together like a skin of parchment; he that hath made the sea, and at this time set the waves thereof in a rage, and caused it to boil like a pot of ointment, can say to the floods, Be ye dried up; he that made the dry land, can cover it with waters as with a breastplate, or rock it to and fro upon her foundations, as a drunken man reeleth from place to place. He can clothe the sun and the moon in sackcloth, and command the stars to fall down to the earth, and the mountains of the land to remove into the sea, and it shall be fulfilled. 'They all shall perish, but the Lord their maker shall endure; they all shall wax old as doth a garment; as a vesture shall he change them, and they shall be changed: but he is the same God for ever and ever, and his years shall not fail,' Ps. cii.

The scope of the whole confession is briefly this, the more to dilate his fall, by how much the less he was able to plead ignorance; as having the help of religion, the knowledge of the true subsistent God, and able to give a reckoning of every parcel of his creation. All excuse is taken away where the commandment is not unknown, *excusatio omnis tollitur ubi mandatum non ignoratur*. Peter lent the buckler of ignorance to the Jews, Acts iii. 17, therewith in part to defend themselves against the weapons of God's wrath, even in the bloodiest fact that ever the sun saw attempted. 'I know that through ignorance you did it' (that is, killed the Lord of life), 'as did also your governors;' but lest they should lean upon the staff of ignorance too much, he biddeth them 'repent and revert, that their sins might be done away.' This was the cloak that Paul cast over his blasphemies, his tyrannies, his unmerciful persecutions of the church: 1 Tim. i., 'I was received to mercy, because I did it ignorantly through unbelief;' so as ignorance in that place, you see, hath need of mercy to forgive it. And if ignorance have a tongue to plead her own innocency, why did the blood of Christ cry to the Father upon the cross: Luke xxiii., 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.' Is ignorance of the will of God sure to be beaten with rods? And shall not contempt of his will, a careless unprofitable knowledge of his hests and ordinances, be scourged with scorpions? Shall Tyre and Sidon burn like stubble in hell fire, and the smoke of their torment ascend for evermore, wherein there was never virtue done that might have reclaimed them? And shall Chorazin and Bethsaida

* Quod ad electionem spectat, salus; quod ad se, ipse novit, lib. v.

† Sanè esse omnium dixerim Deum; non quòd illa sunt quod est ille, sed quia ex ipso, &c.—*Bern. in Cant. ser. 4.*

‡ Principium à principio rerum omnium.—*Basil.*

§ Nomen authoris et sigillum imponitur.

go quit, and not drink down the dregs of destruction itself, whose streets have been sown with the miracles of Christ, and fattened with his doctrine? Barbary shall wring her hands that she hath known so little, and Christendom rend her heart that she hath known so much to no better purpose. It is no marvel to see the wilderness lie waste and desert; but if a ground well husbanded and manured yield not profit, it deserveth cursing. Lactantius* saith, that all the learning of philosophers was without an head, because they knew not God; therefore when they see they are blind, and when they hear they are deaf, and when they speak they are speechless; the senses are in the head, the eyes, ears, and tongue. We want not an head for senses, because, when we see, we perceive; and when we hear we understand, and when we speak we can give a reason; we want a heart only for obedience: and, as our Saviour spake of the Scribes and Pharisees, *dicunt et non faciunt*, they say and do not; so it is true in us: we see, and hear, and say, and know, but do not; as idle and idol Christians, as those idol gods in the psalm, to our greater both shame and condemnation.

So the apostle enforceth it against the Galatians: chap. iv., 'Now seeing you know God, or rather are known of God, how turn you again to impotent and beggarly rudiments?' To the like effect he schooleth the Ephesians: chap. iv., 'Ye have not so learned Christ.' The nurture and discipline of this school is not like the institution of gentility, with whom it is usual 'to walk in the vanity of their minds, and in dark cogitations; to be strangers from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, and being past feeling, to give over themselves unto wantonness, to work all uncleanness, even with greediness. But if ye have heard Christ, and if ye have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus;' not corrupting the text with cursed glosses, nor perverting the Scriptures to

* *De vero cultu*. Omnis doctrina philosophorum sine capite, &c.

your own overthrow; then with your new learning you must leave your old conversation, as the eagle casteth her bill; and know that 'the kingdom of God cometh not by observation,' but by practice; nor that practice is available with ease, but 'with violence,' and that the hottest and most laborious spirit is fittest to catch it away: 2 Pet. ii. 21, 'It had been better for us never to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto us.' For whereas the end is the perfection of every thing, 'the end of the relapsed Christians is worse than their beginning.' There is *scientia contristans*, a sorrowful and woeful knowledge, as Bernard gathered out of the first of Ecclesiastes,* 'He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow.' It is truest in this sense, when we are able and willing to say with the Pharisee, 'Are we also blind?' and yet with our eyes open we run into destruction. The time shall come, 'when many shall say' (that you may know it is the case of a multitude to be swallowed into this gulf), 'Lord, we have heard thee in our streets,' &c., and yet their knowledge of Christ shall not gain his knowledge of them, but as strangers and reprobates they shall be sent from him. Our knowledge shall then be weighed to the smallest grain; but if our holiness of life, put in the other plate of the balance, be found too light and unanswerable unto it, our sorrows shall make it up. Therefore, unless we be still sick of Adam's disease, that we had rather eat of the tree of knowledge than the tree of life, let us be careful of knowledge, not only to sobriety, but with profit also, that the fruit of a good life, bringing eternity of days to come, may wait upon it. Blessed are those souls wherein the tree of sincere knowledge is rooted, and the worm of security or contempt hath not eaten up the fruit; the Lord shall water them with the dew of heaven in this life, and translate them hereafter, as glorious and renowned plants into his heavenly garden.

* Bern. Serm. xxxvi. in Cantic.

LECTURE XII.

Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him, Why hast thou done this? (for the men knew that he had fled from the presence of the Lord, because he had told them.)—JONAH I. 10.

BECAUSE the confession in the ninth verse is not so absolute as to answer all the questions which were propounded, therefore the supply and perfection thereof must be brought from this tenth; wherein we understand that the whole order and sum of his disobedience was related, albeit not described at large; that being a prophet, and sent with a message to Nineveh, he fled from the presence of the Lord, that is, cast his commandments behind his back.

The connection, then, betwixt these two verses is this, 'I am an Hebrew,' of the happiest people and

country under heaven; I am not ignorant of true religion, for 'I fear the Lord,' &c.—all which is by way of preface, for amplification's sake, the more to extend the fault mentioned, in the words following—yet am I 'fled from the presence of the Lord;' I have taken a froward and unadvised course to frustrate his business. With this addition you may shape an answer directly to every question. 1. *What is thine office?* Shunning the face of God, running from his presence, contempt of his voice. 2. *What is thine occupation?* Not manuary and illiberal, not fraudu-

lent and deceitful, but a calling immediate from God; I stand in his sight as the angels of heaven do, to hear my charge; and when he giveth me an errand, my office is to perform it. 3. *Whence comest thou?* From the presence of the Lord, from whose lips I received my late commission. 4. *What is thy country?* I am an Hebrew. 5. *Of what people?* The most scient and skilful in the service of God. Thus have you his whole confession. Now, he beginneth to be wise, and with a prudent simplicity more worth than a thousand tergiversations, *ingeniosa simplicitas mille tergiversationibus cautior*, to return unto him, by confessing his fault, from whom he was fled by disobedience; to recover his lost justice, by accusing himself; to cast forth the impostumated matter of a dissembling conscience, which being concealed had been present death; to honour the righteous Lord, whom he had grossly dishonoured; and by opening his lips into an humble confession, to shut the mouth of hell, which began to open upon him. 'My son,' saith Joshua to Achan, chap. vii. 19, 'I beseech thee, give glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him; and shew me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me.' It is a part of the glory of God to shame ourselves; I mean, to confess our sins (which in modesty and shamefacedness we strive to keep close), not only unto God, 'against whom only we have sinned,' and to whom only it appertaineth to say, I have pardoned, I will not destroy, but unto men also, either to the magistrate, who hath authority to examine; either to the minister, who hath power to bind and lose; either to our brethren generally, that the common rule of charity, one in supporting the other's infirmities, may be kept in practice. And it is, on the other side, an injury to God not to justify his judgments, nor to acknowledge the conquest of his truth, when it hath prevailed, but in a sullen and melancholy passion to strangle it within our bones, and never to yield the victory thereunto, till, as the sun from out the clouds, so truth hath made her a way by main force from out our dissimulations. The first degree of felicity is, not to offend; the second, to know and acknowledge offences.* And as men dream in their sleep, but tell their dreams waking, so howsoever we may sin by carelessness, yet it is an argument of health and recovery to confess our sins.† For what shall we gain by dissembling them? Wounds, the closer they are kept, the greater torture they bring;‡ and sins not confessed will bring condemnation upon us without confession.§

What followeth? When Jonas had confessed his fault,

* Cyprian.

† Somnium narrare, vigilantis est; et vitia confiteri, sanitatis indicium.—*Senec.*

‡ Vulnere clausa plus cruciant.—*Gregor.*

§ Si non confessus lates, inconfessus damnaberis.—*August.*

1. They knew it, for his own mouth hath condemned him. They had a presumptuous knowledge before, by the eviction of the lots, but now they are out of doubt by his own declaration. So the text speaketh, 'The men knew that he had fled from the presence of the Lord, because he had told them.'

2. Their knowledge wrought a fear in them: 'Then were the men exceedingly afraid.'

3. Their fear brake forth either into an incensation, or a wonder at the least: 'They said, Why hast thou done this?'

Their knowledge was consequent (of force) to his confession; they could not but be privy thereunto, because he poured not his speech into the air, but into their ears, that they might apprehend it. But this knowledge of theirs was not a curious and idle knowledge, such as those men have who know only to know,* but a pragmatical knowledge, full of labour and business; it went from their ears to their hearts, and made as great a tempest in their consciences as the wind in the seas; it mingled and confounded all their cogitations; it kindled a fear within them that sundered their souls and spirits. And though their fear before was vehement enough in the 5th verse, when neither their tongues were at rest for crying, nor their wares had peace from being cast out, yet this was a fear beyond that, as may appear by the epithet, *timuerunt timore magno*, 'they were exceedingly afraid.'

Now why they feared I cannot so well explicate; it may be in regard they bare to the person of Jonah, knowing what he was, not knowing how to release him. They understand him to be an holy man, and of an holy nation, therefore were they brought into straits; they have not heart to deliver him, they have not means to conceal him; he is great that flieth, he is greater that seeketh after him.† That is Jerome's conjecture upon their fear. It may be in regard of their sins. For if a prophet of God, and a righteous soul (to theirs), were so persecuted, they would not for their own parts but fear a much sorer judgment. 'For if judgment begin at the house of God, what shall be the end of them which obey not the gospel of God? and if the righteous shall scarce be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear?' 1 Peter iv. The apostle maketh the comparison, but it is as sensible and easy to the eye of nature to see so much, as the highway is ready to the passenger. God speaketh to the heathen nations with a zealous and disdainful contention betwixt them and his people: Jer. xxv. 29, 'Lo, I begin to plague the city wherein my name was called upon, and shall you go free?' It may be the majesty of God's name did astonish them, and bruise them as a maul of iron, having been used but to puppets

* Quidam seire volunt ut sciant.—*Bern.*

† Intelligunt sanctum et sanctæ gentis virum. Non audent tradere, cælare non possunt. Magnus est qui fugit, sed major qui quærit.

and scarerows, *grandes pupæ*, before, in comparison. They were not acquainted with gods of that nature and power till this time; they never had dreamed that there was a Lord whose name was Jehovah, whose throne was the heaven of heavens, and the sea his floor to walk in, and the earth his footstool to tread upon, who hath a chair in the conscience, and sitteth in the heart of man, possessing his secret reins, dividing betwixt his skin and his flesh, and shaking his inmost powers, as the thunder shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh. It is a testimony to that which I say, that when the ark was brought into the camp of Israel, 1 Sam. iv., and the people gave a shout, the Philistines were afraid of it, and said, 'God is come into the host. Therefore they cried, Woe, woe unto us! for it hath not been so heretofore. Woe be unto us! who shall deliver us out of the hands of these mighty Gods? these are the Gods which smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness.' Wherein it is a wonderful thing to consider, that the sight of the tempest drinking up their substance before their eyes, and opening as it were a throat to swallow their lives up, did not so much astonish them as to hear but the majesty of God delivered by relation. Alas! what did they hear to that which he is indeed? It was the least part of his ways to hear of his creation of heaven, and the sea, and the dry land; he is infinite, and incomprehensible besides; all that thou seest not, that, in some sort, God is.*

And it is not a thing to be omitted, that the speech of the prophet made a deeper penetration and entrance into them, than if a number besides, not having the tongue of the learned, had spent their words. For consider the case. The winds were murmuring about their ears, the waters roaring, the soul of their ship sobbing, their commodities floating, the hope of their lives hanging upon a small twine; yet though their fear were great, it was not so great as when a prophet preached and declared unto them the almightiness of the sacred Godhead. They have not only words, but swords, even two-edged swords, in their mouths, whom God hath armed to his service; they are able to cut an heart as hard as adamant; they rest not in the joints of the body, nor in the marrow of the bones, but pierce the very soul and the spirit, and part the very thoughts and intentions of the heart, that are most secret. 'The weapons of their warfare wherewith they fight are not carnal, but mighty through God to cast down holds and munitions, and destroying imaginations, disceptations, reasonings, and every sublimity that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and captivating every thought to the obedience of Christ,' 2 Cor. x. So there is neither munition for strength, nor disputation for subtilty, nor height for superiority, nor thought in the mind for secrecy, that can hold their estate against the armour of God's

* Quid est Deus? totum hoc quod vides, et totum hoc quod non vides.—*Senec.*

prophets. Have they not chains in their tongues for the kings of the earth? and fetters of iron for their nobles? Did not Pharaoh often entreat Moses and Aaron to pray to the Lord for him? Did not the charm of Elias so sink into the ears of Ahab, that 'he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly?' Did not John Baptist so hew the ears of the Jews with the axe of God's judgments, that they asked him, as the physician of their diseased souls, by several companies, and in their several callings, Luke iii., the people, though as brutish for the most part as the beasts of the field, 'What shall we do then?' the publicans, though the hatred of the world, and public notorious sinners, *publicani publici peccatores*, 'And what shall we do?' the soldiers, though they had the law in their swords' points, 'And what shall we do?' Hath not Peter preached at Jerusalem to an audience of every nation under heaven (of what number you may guess in part, when those that were gained to the church were not fewer than three thousand souls), and was not the point of his sword so deeply impressed into them, that they were 'pricked in their hearts,' Acts ii., and asked (as John Baptist's auditors before), *Viri fratres, quid faciemus?* 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' It is not a word alone, the vehemency and sound whereof cometh from the loins and sides, that is able to do this; but a puissant and powerful word, strengthened with the arm of God; a word with authority, as they witnessed of Christ; a word with evidence and demonstration of the Spirit, smiting upon the conscience more than the hammers of the smith upon his stithy; a word that drave a fear into Herod's heart (for he feared John Baptist both alive and dead), that beat the breath of Ananias and Sapphira from out their bodies, struck Elymas the sorcerer into a blindness, and sent an extraordinary terror into the hearts of these mariners. So, then, the reason of their fear, as I suppose, was a narration of the majesty of God, so much the more increased because it was handled by the tongue of a prophet, who hath a special grace to quicken and enliven his speech, whose soul was a 'well of understanding,' and every sentence that sprung from thence as a quick stream to beat them down.

And that this was the reason of their fear, I rather persuade myself, because it is said for the further confirmation of this judgment, that 'the *men* feared, and the *men* knew that he fled from the presence of the Lord,' who in the whole course of the Scripture unto this place were not termed by the name of *men*, but *mariners*. For when is a better time for man to be laid forth in the colours of his infirmity and frailty, than when God hath been declared in the brightness of his glory? Whether it be *viri* or *homines*, the sex or the generation, men as they are distinguished from women, or men as they are distinguished from other creatures, we need not curiously inquire. The ori-

ginal word lieth to both. The former of these two names, whereby the male kind is notified, Lactantius thus deduceeth: *Vir itaque nominatus est, quod major in eo vis est, quam in femina; et hinc virtus nomen accepit.* The man is called *vir* in the Latin, because there is greater strength in him than in the woman; and here hence *virtue* or *virility* took the name. Whereas the woman, on the other side, by Varro's interpretation, is called *mulier, quasi mollior, à mollitie*, of niceness and tenderness, one letter being changed, another taken away. But what is the stoutest courage of man, *mascula virtus*, the manliest prowess upon the earth, when it hath girded up her loins with strength, and decked itself with greatest glory, where the fortitude of God is set against it? How is it possible that pitchers should not break and fall asunder, being fashioned of clay, if ever they come to encounter the brass of his unspeakable majesty? 'The lion hath roared,' saith the prophet, Amos iii., 'shall not the beasts of the forest be afraid?' The Lord hath thundered in the height, the fame of his wonderful works hath sounded abroad, shall not man hide himself? If the latter name be meant by the word, the whole kind and generation, including male and female both, then is the glory of man much more stained, and his aspiring affections brought down to the dust of the earth. For as the same Lactantius deriveth it, *homo nuncupatus est, quod sit factus ex humo*; he is therefore called man with the Latins, because the ground under his feet was his foundation. According to the sentence of the psalm, 'He knoweth whereof we be made, he remembereth that we are but dust.' The Scriptures, acquainted with the pride and haughtiness of mankind, hang even talents of lead at the heels thereof, to hold it down, lest it should climb into the sides of the north, and set a throne by the most high God. In the eighth Psalm (which is a circular psalm, ending as it did begin, 'O Lord our God, how excellent is thy name in all the world!') that whithersoever we turn our eyes, upwards or downwards, we may see ourselves beset with his glory round about), how doth the prophet abase and discountenance the nature and whole race of man; as may appear by his disdainful and derogatory interrogation, 'What is man, that thou art mindful of him; and the son of man, that thou regardest him?' In the ninth Psalm, 'Rise, Lord; let not man have the upper hand; let the nations be judged in thy sight. Put them in fear, O Lord; that the heathen may know themselves to be but men.' Further, in the tenth Psalm, 'Thou judgest the fatherless and the poor, that the man of the earth do no more violence.'

The Psalms, as they go in order, so, methinks, they grow in strength, and each hath a weightier force to throw down our presumption: 1, we are 'men,' and 'the sons of men,' to shew our descent and propagation; 2, 'men in our own knowledge,' to shew that conscience and experience of infirmity doth convict

us; 3, 'men of the earth,' to shew our original matter whereof we are framed. In the 22d Psalm, he addeth more disgrace; for either in his own name, regarding the misery and contempt wherein he was held, or in the person of Christ, whose figure he was, as if it were a robbery for him to take upon him the nature of man, he falleth to a lower style, *At ego sum vermis, et non vir*, 'But I am a worm, and no man.' For as corruption is the father of all flesh, so are the worms his brethren and sisters; according to the old verse, §

First man, next worms,* then stench and loathsomeness, Thus man to no man alters by changes.

Abraham, the father of the faithful, Gen. xviii., sifteth himself into the coarsest bran that can be, and resolveth his nature into the elements whereof it first rose: 'Behold, I have begun to speak to my Lord, being dust and ashes.' And if any of the children of Abraham, who succeed him in the faith, or any of the children of Adam, who succeed him in the flesh, thinketh otherwise, let him know that there is a three-fold cord twisted by the finger of God, that shall tie him to his first original, though he contend till his heart break. 'O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord,' Jer. xxii.; that is, earth by creation, earth by continuance, earth by resolution. Thou camest earth, thou remainest earth, and to earth thou must return. Thus they are rightly matched (I mean not for equality, but for opposition); the eternity of God, and the mutability of man; the terror of God, and the fearfulness of man; the name of God, and the name of man; having at no other time so just an occasion to remember himself to be but man, as when the honour of the Most High is laid before him. The warning serveth for us all to consider what we are both by name and nature; unable to resist God. For 'who will set the briers and the thorns in contention against him?' Who ever hardened himself against the Lord, and hath prospered? Bernard, in his books of consideration to Eugenius, adviseth him to consider no less. Away with thy mantles and coverings, pull off thy apron of fig-leaves, wipe out the parget of thy flitting honours, and take a naked view of thy naked self;† how naked thou camest from thy mother's womb. Which was in effect that which Simonides sang to Pausanias, and a page every morning to Philip of Macedon, *Μέμνησθε ἑθνεωπὸς ὦν*, remember that thou art a man; for in remembering this, thou rememberest all wretchedness.

And they said unto him, *Why hast thou done this?* Jerome thinketh it no increpation, but a simple interrogation, *non increpant sed interrogant*, &c., of men desirous to know why a servant would attempt to run from his Lord, a man from God. What is the mystery of this dealing? what sense hast thou to forsake thine own country and seek foreign nations? Others take it to be rather an admiration than an interrogation,

* Post hominem vermis, &c.—*Petr. de solo.*

† Tolle perizomata, &c.; et nudum nudè consideres, &c., lib. 2.

admirantis oratio magis quàm interrogantis, that such a man as Jonah, knowing that God is omnipotent, all eye to behold him, all foot to follow him, all hand to smite him in all places, should offer notwithstanding to fly from his presence. Others are out of doubt that it is a reproof and reprehension. Why hast thou transgressed, and not obeyed the voice of the Lord whom thou acknowledgest? A recompense worthy of his disobedience, that as he ploughed contumacy, and sowed rebellion, so he might reap shame. As if God had set the mark of Cain upon him, the mark of a fugitive and a vagabond, and written his fault in his brows, that the basest persons of the earth might control him, why hast thou done this? Thus justice proclaimeth from above, Art thou not subject to God? Thou shalt be subject to men. Dost thou condemn the Lord? Servants shall condemn thee, their eyes shall observe thy ways, and their tongues shall walk through thy actions; children in the street shall cry after thee, There, there; passengers shall wag their head, and say, Fy upon thee, fy upon thee, *et declamatio fiet*; and thou shalt be made the by-word of as many as meet thee.

Reprehension of men for their offences committed is of two sorts. The former hath no other end but to reprehend, to fasten a tooth upon every occasion that is offered; born of the cursed seed of Ham, delighting in nothing so much as to uncover the nakedness of fathers, brethren, all sorts, or rather born of the devil himself, whose name is *diabolus*, an accuser, because 'he accuseth the brethren day and night.' He that reproveth in this sort, and he that approveth and fostereth such reproofs, the one hath the devil in his tongue, the other in his ears. Augustine and Bernard fit them with their proper names, that such are not correctors, but traitors, willing to lay open the offences of other men; not reprovers, but gnawers, because they had rather bite than amend aught amiss.* There is no mercy nor compassion in this kind of reproachers. If the flax smoke, they will quench it; if the reed be bruised, they will break it quite; if a soul be falling, they will thrust at it, and if it be fallen, they will tread upon it. The mercy and kindness of their lips, is as if asps should vomit, That which perisheth, let it perish. *Istic thesaurus stultis est in lingua situs*,† this is all the treasure and goodness that they bear in their tongues; contumelies, slanders, defamations, opprobrious detractions, uncourteous upbraidings, supercilious, insolent, uncharitable accusations, rather to vent their malice, which would burst their hearts within them, than to reform the defects of their brethren. Such an one was Philocles, who had to name, choler and brine, *bilis et salsugo*; and Diogenes, called the dog and the trumpet of reproaches, *canis et tuba convitiarum*; Carpilius Pictor, who put

forth a libel termed the scourge of Virgil's works, *Flagellum Æneidos*; Herennius, who collected together his faults, Faustinus his thefts. The epigram doth well beseech them, which Cornelius Agrippa wrote of himself (I think not seriously purposing to undertake it), 'Momus, amongst the gods, carpeth all things;* amongst the worthies, Hercules plagueth all monsters; amongst the devils of hell, Pluto is angry with all the ghosts; amongst philosophers, Democritus laugheth at all; Heraclitus contrariwise weepeth for all; Pyrrhus is ignorant of all; Aristotle thinketh he knoweth all, and Diogenes contemneth all. Agrippa in this book spareth not any; he contemneth, knoweth, knoweth not, bewaileth, laugheth at, is offended with, pursueth, carpeth all things, himself a philosopher, a devil, a worthy, a god, and all things.' The best is, we may answer all such uncharitable reproachers as St Augustine answered Petilian, who had accused him to be a Manichee, speaking from the conscience and information of other men: I say (saith Augustine†), I am no Manichee, speaking of mine own knowledge, *eligite cui credatis*, choose whether of the two ye will believe. He addeth afterwards, I am a man appertaining to the floor of Christ; if evil, then am I chaff; if good, good corn; Petilian's tongue is not the fan of this floor;‡ the more he accuseth my fault (do it with what mind he will), the more I commend my physician that hath healed it.

There is another kind of reprehension, that handleth the sores of other men as if they were their own, with Christian and apostolic compassion (such as we read of, 'Who is weak and I burn not?'), bringing pity in their eyes and hearts when they chance to behold their infirmities. It is a duty that we owe in community, one to have feeling and care of another's offences. Rabanus noteth upon the 18th of Matthew, that it is as great an offence not to reprove our brother falling into trespass, as not to forgive him, when he asketh forgiveness; for he that said unto thee, If thy brother trespass against thee, forgive him, said before, If he trespass against thee, reprove him. We know, saith Bernard, that the same punishment abideth both the committers of sin, and consenters unto it;§ therefore let no man smoothe sins, let no man dissemble offences, let no man say of his brother, What! am I his keeper? The words of the wise are called 'goads and nails.' Gregory, in his homilies upon the Gospels, giveth this reason, for that they neglect not the faults of transgressors, but prick them, *Quia culpas delinquentium nesciunt calcare sed pungere*. All which agreeth with that wise and wary distinction, which Bernard maketh in the handling of offences. There

* Inter divos nullos non carpit Momus, &c.

† Lib. iii. de bapt. cont. Donat. cap. x.

‡ Non est hujus aræ ventilabrum lingua Petiliani, cap. 12.

§ Scimus quia similis pœna facientes manet et consentientes.—Ser. in natali. Jo. Bapt.

* Non corrector sed traditor.—Aug. de ver. Dom. in Mat. viii. Non correctores sed corrosores.—Ber. epist. 78.

† Plautus.

must be the oil of admonition, and the wine of compunction; the oil of meekness, and the wine of zeal and earnestness: *oleum monitorum, vinum compunctionis; oleum mansuetudinis, vinum zeli*.^{*} And with the apostle's rule, 'Brethren, if a man be preoccupied with a fault' (that is, first taken and snared, when yourselves are not), 'you that are spiritual, instruct him in the spirit of gentleness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted,' Gal. vi. 1; the very insinuation he doth use were enough to persuade them, 1, because we are all brethren; 2, there is no difference between them and us, but in time; they may prevent us offending, but we shall follow them; 3, because flesh and blood is haughty and insolent, therefore the apostle maketh choice of the persons exhorted: 'you that are spiritual,' that have been softened with the unction of the Spirit of God; 4, the medicine is set down, which we must apply: 'instruct him,' shew him the nature and measure of his fault, and how to amend it; 5, the ingredients of the receipt are prescribed: instruct him with 'the spirit of meekness;' 6, we are bound thereunto by equality of condition, 'considering thyself;' 7, it is worth the noting, that where he spake before to a multitude, *ὑμεῖς*, now, by a kind of solecism, he maketh it the case of each man apart; considering *thyself*, lest *thou* also be tempted. Such a construction made a holy father of the fall of his brother, for he wept bitterly, using these words, *ille hodie, et ego cras*,† he hath fallen this day, and I not unlikely to fall to-morrow. Thus much of the kind of reprehension occasioned by the person of the mariners their speech to Jonah.

Now touching the person of Jonah himself, what a discredit was it unto him, that barbarous men should reprove an Hebrew; idolaters, one that feared God; those that worshipped the host of heaven, and creatures both in the sea and in the land, a man that ascribed the creation of all these to the true, substantial God; infidels, a child of Abraham; bondmen and strangers, one that was born in the free woman's house! But this is a part of the judgments of God, the mean time, to clothe us with our shame as with a garment, when we commit such follies, as the barbarous themselves are ashamed of. For what greater confusion before men, than that an infidel should say to an Israelite, a Turk or a Moor to a Christian, a babe to an aged man, an idiot‡ to a prophet, the ignorant to him that should instruct him, 'Why hast thou done this?' That which our Saviour spake of the centurion in the Gospel, is much to the praise of the captain, and no less to the shame of Israel, 'I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel, Οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰσραήλ. And what meant he in the 10th of Luke, by the parable of the man wounded betwixt Jericho and Jerusalem, but, under the person of a Sama-

ritan, to condemn a priest and a Levite, men of more knowledge than the other had? Yet, though they served and lived at the altar, they had not an offering of mercy to bestow upon the poor man, when there was nothing but mercy found in the Samaritan. Why are the dogs mentioned at the gates of the rich man, Luke xvi., but that, for licking the sores of Lazarus, and giving an alms in their kind, they are made to condemn the unmerciful bowels of their master, who extended no compassion? Our Saviour wondereth in the 17th of the same Evangelist, that, when ten lepers were cleansed, one only returned to give him thanks, and he was a stranger; so he had but the tithe, and that from a person of whom he least expected it. Balaam was reproved by his ass, Numb. xxii., as the rich man before by his dogs; and as he proceeded in frowardness, so the ass proceeded in reprehensions: (1) she went aside; (2) dashed his foot; (3) lay down with him; (4) opened her mouth, and asked him, why he had smitten her? Israel, in the first of Isaiah, a reasonable and royal people, is more ignorant of their Lord, than the ox of his owner, the ass of his master's crib. The complaint is afterwards renewed again, Jer. viii., though the terms somewhat varied, 'Even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed time; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow observe the season of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord.' The confession of St Augustine, unless we be shameless and senseless, cannot be denied of our unproficient days. The unlearned arise and catch heaven,* and we with our learning, behold, we wallow in flesh and blood. We are made to judge the angels, but angels and men, infidels, barbarians, publicans, harlots, nay, beasts and stones, shall be our judges, because when we ask in our daily prayers that the will of God may be done in earth as it is in heaven, we are so far off from matching that proportion, that there is not the poorest creature in the air, in the earth, in the deep, but in their kinds and generations go beyond us. Of beasts and unreasonable creatures, Bernard giveth a sage admonition. Let the reasonable soul know, that though it hath the beasts her companions in enjoying the fruits of the earth, they shall not accompany her in suffering the torments of hell, therefore her end shall be worse than her first beginning, because wherein she matched them before, she now cometh behind them.† To this purpose, with some little inversion of the words, he bringeth the sentence which Christ pronounced of Judas, 'It had been good for that man if he had never been born.' Not if he had not been born at all, but if he had not been born a man, but either a beast or some meaner creature, which, because they have not judgment, come not to judgment, and therefore not to

* Ser. 44 in Cantic.

† Bern. de resurrect. Dom. serm. 2

‡ That is, a private person, or layman.—ED.

* Surgunt indocti et rapiunt cœlum, &c., Confess. viii.

† Ser. xxxv. in Cantic.—Quando quæ prius bestiis æquabatur, nunc et postponitur.

punishment. *Non utique sinatus non fuisset omnino, sed si natus non fuisset homo, sed aut pecus, &c.* But amongst reasonable souls there must be a difference kept. As the ground is more or less manured, so it must yield in fruit accordingly, 'some an hundred, some thirty, some sixty fold.' Five talents must gain other five, two must return two, and one shall satisfy with a less proportion. A child may think, and do, and speak as becometh a child; a man must think, and do, and speak as becometh a man; an Hebrew must live as an Hebrew, not as an Egyptian; a prophet as a prophet, not as an husbandman; a believer as a believer, not as an infidel; a professor of the gospel of Christ, as a professor, not as an atheist, epicure, libertine, anabaptist, papist, or any the like, either hell-bound or

heretic, lest we fall and be bruised to pieces at that fearful sentence, 'The first shall be last,' that whom we went before in knowledge and other graces, those we are brought behind in the hope of our recompense. It shall little avail us at the retribution of just men to plead with our judge, as it is exemplified unto us in the 7th of Matthew, 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied by thy name?' unless we have prophesied to ourselves, and lived like prophets; or that, 'by thy name we have cast out devils' out of others, if we have kept and retained devils within our own breasts; or that 'we have eaten and drunken in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets,' when neither the example of his life, nor the doctrine of his lips, hath any way amended us.

LECTURE XIII.

Then said they unto him, What shall we do unto thee, that the sea may be calm unto us (for the sea wrought, and was troublous)?—JONAH I. 11.

YOU have before heard, first the conviction of Jonah by lot, which was in effect by the oracle and answer of God himself. Therewith they are not content, but they will, secondly, know his fault, 'What hast thou done?' and his trade, 'What is thine occupation?' &c. Wherein I observed their justice and uprightness in judicial proceeding against him, *clavis sapientiæ, frequens interrogatio*. They have, thirdly, *confitentem reum*, the confession of his own lips against himself, so as there needed no more to do; as David spake to the young man that brought news of the death of Saul, *Os tuum contra te loquutum est*, 'thine own mouth hath spoken against thee;' and the rulers of the Son of God, 'What need we any more witnesses, for we have heard it of his own mouth.' They are not yet satisfied, but, fourthly, instead of resolution, they are exceedingly afraid, they punish and afflict themselves more than they punish Jonah, and instead of execution they begin to expostulate with him, 'Why hast thou done this?' and though they have not time to breathe almost, yet they find a time to hear a long narration and tale of all his disobedience. Is there yet an end? No; but, fifthly, in a matter already judged, they go to deliberate, nay, against the order and course of all justice, he that is judged must judge, and the transgressor determine what shall be done unto him. Put it to a murderer, a thief, or any the like malefactor, when the fact is notorious, convicted, and confessed, to make choice for himself, What shall we do unto thee? what were he likely to answer, but to this effect, Let me live?

I have a further conjecture of their meaning at this time. For Jonah presented unto them a double person: a sinner, a fugitive servant, a rebel against the Lord, but withal a prophet, one that is seen and skilled in the counsels of the Almighty. They

know themselves ignorant and barbarous men; for howsoever they might be otherwise learned in the wisdom of Egypt and other Gentile knowledge, yet they wanted that knowledge whereof the prophet speaketh, 'they shall all be taught of God,' and they plainly perceived by that unaccustomed narration that Jonah delivered, of a most sovereign and dreadful Lord, that there was some more excellent way which they were not acquainted with. Upon the persuasion hereof, they refer themselves to the wisdom and integrity of Jonah, much like as the captains of the host dealt with Jeremiah, chap. xlii., 'The Lord be a witness of truth and faithfulness betwixt us, if we do not accordingly to all things, for which the Lord thy God shall send thee unto us; whether it be good or evil, we will obey thy voice.'

*What shall we do unto thee? Exposuisti causam morbi, indica sanitatis,** thou hast shewed the cause of the malady, shew the means to cure it. What shall we do unto thee? Shall we kill thee? Thou fearest God. Shall we save thee? Thou fliest from God. *Interficiemus? Cultor Dei es. Servabimus? Deum fugis.†* Shall we set thee to land again? Shall we make supplications? Shall we offer sacrifice? We appoint thee our leader and guide in the whole disposition of this business. And surely it is an admirable moderation of mind in a people so immoderate, whom neither their country could soften, because they were barbarous, and the seas could not choose but harden, because they were mariners, and the imminent danger had reason to indurate and congeal more than both these; yet notwithstanding in an action so perplex, and howsoever it fall out likely to prove perillous, they like to do nothing with tumult, with popular confusion, with raging and heady affections,

* Hieron.

† Id.

swelling in choler and boiling in rancour against the author of their miseries, but they will know from the mouth of the prophet, what the mind and pleasure of the Lord is. In ancient times God gave his answer for decision of doubts and difficulties after diverse manners. He answered Moses face to face, others by angels, some by lots, some by Urim and Thummim, others by visions and dreams, and the event of their matters hath been happy and prosperous, where the mouth of the Lord was hearkened unto. What was the reason that they erred so much in receiving the Gibeonites to mercy, Josh. ix., pretending a 'far country, old bottles, old bread, old garments, old shoes,' but because they accepted their tale concerning their victuals, and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord? In the prophecy of Isaiah, chap. xxx., God pronounceth a peremptory woe against his rebellious, stubborn children, 'that take counsel, but not at him; and seek the protection and defence, but not of his Spirit; and make haste to go into Egypt to strengthen themselves with the strength of Pharaoh, but have not asked at his mouth.' It is noted of the religion of the Turks, that it is a false but a well ordered religion, *falsa sed ordinata Turcarum religio*, &c. A professor of their law proclaimeth, before they attempt any thing, that nothing be done against religion. All the lawgivers of the nations, famous in their lives and generations, bare their people in hand, that they received their instructions from some godhead. Numa in Rome alleged conference with Egeria, Solon in Athens with Minerva, Lycurgus in Lacedæmon with Apollo, Minos in Crete with Jupiter, Charondas in Carthage with Saturn, Osiris in Egypt with Mercury, Zamolxis in Scythia with Vesta. Their wisdom and policy therein was this, that they knew their people would sooner yield to the voice of God than man. Moses in truth and verity received tables of ordinances upon the mount, written with the finger of God, and he presumed thereupon that all the people about them would think, 'Surely this is a great nation,' &c. We are taught here hence, that in our weightiest affairs, either of war or peace, religion or policy, whether we take to mercy, as Joshua did, or enter league with foreigners, as the Jews with the Egyptians, either of life or death, as is specified in that question touching Jonah, we decree nothing without the mouth of the Lord, or at the least without the mouths that speak from that mouth, such as Moses had, 'I will be with thy mouth,' and the disciples of Christ, 'It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father within you;' these must inform us, by the lantern and light of his holy word, what way is best to be followed. It is a testimony without any exception to be made unto it, and a confident assurance to our souls, when we are able to say, *Ad legem et testimonium ivimus*, We went to the law and testimony of almighty God, and these we chose to conduct us.

There is yet a further matter to be considered,

which both the order of things precedent, and the circumstances of the text now in hand, move me to observe; for there are distinct persons here named. First, the person of Jonah, 'What shall we do unto thee?' Secondly, of the mariners, 'That the sea may be calm unto us.' Thirdly, of the sea, 'For the sea went, and was troublous.' 1, Jonah is guilty; 2, the mariners are in jeopardy; 3, the sea is angry: and both the anger of the sea, and their own instant dangers, are mighty and impulsive arguments to incense them against Jonah. A proverb they have in friendship, that the thigh is nearer to a man than his knee; no man dearer to any man than himself, or, at the most, *φιλία ἰσότης*, friendship is no more than an equality, and if a friend be *alter idem*, a second self, it is as much as in reason he can look for. We are not bound, either by the law of nature written in the heart, or by the law of God written in tables, to love another more than ourselves. Bernard maketh a note upon the order of our Saviour's words to the women of Jerusalem, 'Weep not for me, but for yourselves and for your children.' 1, For yourselves; 2, for your children. And though in friendship they set a law of community, *πάντα φίλων κοινὰ*, all things must be parted amongst friends, yet to depart from the life is no common thing: Rom. v., 'A man will scarcely die for the righteous, but for a good man,' and one that is profitable, *τάχα τις καὶ πολλὰ ἀποθάνειν*. See how warily the apostle treadeth in this sentence, 'peradventure some man dareth die.' So it may be, when it is not; and he *dareth*, though he will not do it; and but *some one* perhaps amongst a thousand. Life to a natural man, who thinketh he liveth but whilst he liveth, is sweet upon any conditions, as may appear in the example of the Gibeonites before produced, who did that they did for fear of their lives. And though they were cursed for their wily dealing, and none of them ever afterwards freed from being a bondman, but made hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the congregation of the Lord for ever, yet they were content to escape with their lives, and to endure anything, so the people might not slay them: 'Behold, we are now in thine hands, do as it seemeth good in thine eyes to do unto us.' So true it is, which Lactantius* writeth of this transitory life, that although it be full of vexations, yet is it desired and wished for, of all men, old and young, kings and mean persons, wise and foolish desire it alike. He addeth the sentence of Anaxagoras, *Tanti est contemplatio cœli ac lucis ipsius, ut quascunque miseras libeat sustinere*; the very beholding of heaven, and the light itself, is so much worth, that we are content to endure any wretchedness for it. Now these mariners, having an eye to their private estates, to pacify the anger of God, and quiet the sea for their own delivery, standing upon the loss and miscarriage, not now of their substance, which was already gone, and

* De falsa sapien. 12.

might in time be supplied, but of their lives, which never could be ransomed, I marvel that they make delays, and take not the speediest way for the ridding of Jonah, and safeguarding of their endangered lives. There is no more required of man but this, to do good to men, if it may be, to many; if not, to few; if not, to those that are nearest him; if not, to himself;* and therefore, the saving of Jonah being plainly despaired of, methinketh the care of their own welfare should presently and eagerly have been intended.

The other argument to spur them forwards, was the impatience of the sea: 'the sea wrought,' nay, 'the sea went, and was tempestuous,' an excellent phrase of speech. The sea *went*, it had a charge for Jonah, as Jonah had for Nineveh; for as God said to the one, 'Arise, go to Nineveh,' so to the other, 'Arise, go after Jonah.' Doth the sea sit still (as Elias sat under the juniper tree, and cried, It is enough!), or settle her waters upon her slime and gravel, and not fulfil the commandment of him that made it? No; but as a giant refreshed with wine, so it reneweth and redoubleth her wonted force, feeleth not the labour imposed, but doth the work of the Lord with all possible diligence. The Lord saith, 'Go, and it goeth,' and it goeth with a witness; as Jehu marched, of whom the watchman gave warning, he marcheth like a madman, so doth the sea go furiously, with an unquiet, hasty, turbulent spirit, full of impatience and zeal, till God have avenged himself against his disobedient servant. Thus all the creatures in the world have arms and legs, as it were, and all the members of living things, and a spirit of life in some sort to quicken them, and activity to use them, and courage with wisdom to direct them aright and convert them to the overthrow of those, that with contemptuous security depart from God's ways. Do we then think that the will of God can ever be frustrated? 'The Lord of hosts hath sworn, Surely as I have purposed, so shall it come to pass; and as I have consulted, so shall it stand,' Isa. xiv. 24. 'Who can make straight that which he hath made crooked?' Eccles. vii. 13. 'There is no wisdom, no understanding, no counsel against the Lord,' Prov. xxi. 30. He hath determined; who shall disannul it? His hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it away? See an experiment hercof. Whilst the mariners were knitting and devising a chain of delays, adding protraction to protraction, wherewith to spend the time, desirous either to save or to reprieve the guilty person, and with a number of shifts labouring to evade that counsel which God had enacted, how vain and unprofitable are all their consultations! If all the senates and sessions in the world had joined their wisdom together, to acquit the offender, it had been as bootless as to have run their heads against a wall of brass to cast it

down. Unless they can see and corrupt the heavens with all that therein is, the earth with all that therein is, the sea with all that therein is, to keep silence, to wink at the faults of men and to favour their devices, it cannot be. For whilst these men are in counsel and conference, the sea is in action; they are backward to punish, the sea goeth forward with his service, they lose time, and the sea will admit no dilation; and to teach them more wit and obedience, the sea is in arms against the mariners themselves, and persecuteth them, as consenters and abettors to the sin, because the Lord had elected them ministers of his judgments, and they neglect their office. The will of God must either be done by us, or upon us, *aut a nobis aut de nobis*; as it befell Jerusalem, 'How often would I, &c., thou wouldst not!' Because it was not done by Jerusalem, it was done upon Jerusalem. They would have said afterwards in Jerusalem, when the blessings were all gone, and whole rivers of tears could not have regained them, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' And therefore I conclude with Bernard:* Woe to all crossing and thwarting wills, gaining nothing but punishment for their gainsaying. What is so miserable as ever to intend that which never shall be, and ever to be against that which shall never but be? They shall never attain what they would, and evermore sustain what they would not.

And take this for a further warning out of this phrase, 'the sea went, and was troublous,' whereby is declared the travel and pains it took to take vengeance; that when the anger of the Lord is once thoroughly fired, all the waters in the south cannot quench it. It lieth haply in a smother and smoke a long time before it breaketh out. But when it is once ascended, and hath gotten height, *incandescit cuncto*, it increaseth by going, and gathereth more strength. 'It burneth to the bottom of hell, before it giveth over, consuming the earth with her increase, and setting on fire the foundations of the mountains.' It followeth in the same scripture, 'I lift up mine hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever' (a solemn and venerable protestation); 'If I whet my glittering sword, and my hand take hold on vengeance, I will execute my judgment upon mine enemies, and reward them that hate me. Mine arrows shall be drunk with their blood, and my sword shall eat their flesh,' Deut. xxxii. There is a time, I perceive, when his sword is dull, and rusteth in the scabbard of his long-sufferance, and his hands are so fraught with mercy, that judgment is laid aside, and hath not room to be spanned in them. But if he once whet his glittering sword, and his hand take hold of judgment, then will he do it. The justice of God goeth slowly and orderly,

* *Væ oppositis voluntatibus, &c. Quid tam pœnale quam semper velle quod nunquam erit, et semper nolle quod nunquam non erit? In æternum non obtinebit quod vult, et quod non vult in æternum sustinebit.*

* Hoc nempe ab homine exigitur. ut prosit hominibus, si fieri potest, multis; si minùs, paucis; si minùs, proximis; si minùs, sibi.—*Senec. de vita beata.*

Σχολ. ἡ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, but for the most part it recompenseth the slackness of judgment with the heaviness thereof, *tarditatem supplicii gravitate compensat*. It is long before he cometh; but when he cometh, he cometh indeed, he cometh in the clouds, he cometh in a chariot of whirlwind, swifter than the flight of an eagle; he cometh to begin and to make an end; he cometh not to give a second wound, for he will fasten the first so sure, that there shall be no need of a latter punishment. There never lived unrighteous man upon the face of the whole earth that had a sin in his breast, but he had vengeance attending at his back, waiting perhaps by leisure, and following with woollen feet, but smiting with an arm of iron, when the sin was ripe. It was not enough for God to bring Jonah into reproach with strangers, and to make him subject to the cheek of uncircumcised lips, wondering and hooting at him, as at a bird of diverse colours, but his justice yet crieth, Give, give, and will not be satisfied with the morsel before thrown, but Jonah himself must also be cast out. The Lord would never have said in the book of Leviticus, that the land should spew out her inhabitants, but that the wicked are as it were the oppression of nature, the surcharge and surfeit of the stomach, without the avoidance of whom she shall never be eased. I come now to the purpose of my speech.

The danger was imminent, and called upon the mariners, Yield Jonah, or yield yourselves; the sea importunate, and would not be answered. Two irrefragable arguments: the one fighting against the nature and being of man, with whom it is no easy thing to forego his interest of life, before he needs must; the other expressing the justice above to be inexorable, unless it be satisfied. They have these arguments before their eyes, they ponder and peruse them in their hearts; yet, behold their compassion, their tender regard to the life of man; they are not so hasty as the sea, but put it to his conscience, 'What shall we do with thee?' It standeth not with nature and humanity to make thee away. Their commendation briefly is, that the life of a stranger to them all, a stranger of that land which was most hateful unto them, the life of an open and convicted malefactor, the only matter of their woe, is so precious unto them. Surely man was made unto man, as Moses was to Aaron, in some sense, a god (for succour and comfort), according to the ancient exiled proverb, *Homo homini Deus*, man unto man is, or should be, a god. It is now varied, *Homo homini lupus*, man unto man is a wolf. The first that was created after Adam (which was the woman), was given him for his helper, because the life and welfare of man cannot consist without association; but the next that ever was born by natural and kindly generation, both of father and mother, became a destroyer. St Augustine* reporteth of that sentence in the comedy, *Homo sum, humani nihil à me alienum puto*, I am a man, I think no part of humanity

* Epist. 52.

impertinent unto me, that the whole theatre being full of idiots, and vulgar persons, gave applause unto it, it did so naturally touch the affections of them all.* When Vedius Pollio, a Roman, at a supper provided for Augustus the emperor, would have thrown his servant into his fish-pond, where he kept his lampreys, because he had broken a cup of crystal, the emperor withheld, and controlled him with the words, a man of what condition soever he be, *Homo cujuscunque conditionis*, if for no other cause, yet because he is a man, is more to be valued than all the cups and fish-pools in the world. How is mankind become so degenerate and wild, in that which nature shaped it unto! How is our gold become so dim, our blood so stained! For now we may rightly complain, with that noble and virtuous Frenchman,† whom double honour waiteth upon, What is more rare amongst men, than to find a man! that is, as he interpreteth it, amongst men, how many beasts are there for want of using reason, and for not using it well, how many devils! Lions fight not against lions, serpents bite not serpents,‡ but soothly the most mischief that man sustaineth, cometh from man. Thou are deceived, saith Seneca, if thou givest credit to the looks of those that meet thee; they have the faces of men, the minds of wild beasts. Surely we have justified the madness of the most savage and untractable beasts, and steeled our affections with more cruelty and barbarity, than ever lions and serpents could learn in the wilderness. And therefore I blame not David, who, having his choice of plagues presented unto him, made a present exception to his own nature and kind, 'Let me not fall into the hands of man,' 1 Chron. xxi. 13. Barbarous and uncivil Christendom, if we may say, in comparison of these barbarous men (many whole regions and tracts thereof, but singular persons in her best composed parts without number), whose hearts are so bound and confirmed with sinews of iron, that they are no more moved with the life of a man, than if a dog had fallen before them. Why should they think that the life of another, as fearful made as ever their own was, as dearly redeemed, as tenderly cherished by the providence of God, as serviceably framed for church or commonwealth, as carefully nursed in the mother's womb, and by father and mother as painfully brought up and maintained many years together, now to be spilt and ruined in a minute of time; why should they think that it beareth not as high a price, both with God and man, as their own lives? Yet, such is the nature of some, so fallen from their kind, as if rocks had fathered them, and they had sucked the dragons in the desert, rather than the daughters of men; their delight is in nothing so much as in the slaughter of their brethren, and the style of that ancient murderer, whose children they shew themselves to be, is ever in their mouths, *Ure, seca, occide*, burn, cut,

* Ita omnium affectum naturaliter attigit.

† Phil. Morn. de. ver. chr. relig. cap. xvi.

‡ Pliny.

kill, poison, crucify, take no pity; strangers, known persons, old, young, men, women, brethren, sisters, whosoever doth but cross them with a mistaken word, or wry countenance, *non in compendium, sed occidendi causâ occidunt*,* they will murder upon every occasion, and though they gain not by their death, yet they will kill, because they take pleasure in killing; whereas the care and charge, I say not of Christian, but of civil and well natured people should be, *parce civium sanguini*, spare the blood of citizens, or rather spare the blood of men, because they are all kinsmen and brethren in the flesh. I am amazed to think how wanton and luxurious we are in destroying the life one of another, not content alone to wish the death of an enemy, as they cried in the psalm, 'When shall he die, and his name perish?' But we will be actors with our own hands, and approvers with our own eyes and hearts, deserving thereby a more blood-red commendation, than he in the history,† *bis parricida, consilio prius, iterum spectaculo*, twice a murderer, first in counselling, afterwards in beholding the fact; for we are thrice murderers, first for invention and device, afterwards for act, lastly for taking pleasure either to view or to record the same. Murder with the favourablest terms (unless it be plentifully washed away with a flood of tears, from a bleeding and broken heart, and dyed into another colour, by the blood of Christ) is likely to have ruth‡ enough. There is not a drop of blood spilt upon the earth, from the days of righteous Abel to this present hour, but swelling as big as the ocean sea in the eyes of God; and neither heat of the sun, nor drought of the ground, shall ever drink it up, till it be revenged. But murder with pride, delight, triumph, with affectation of glory thereby, as if it were manhood and credit to have been in the field and slain a man, to make it an occupation as some do, when they have once committed it, to be so far from remorse, that they are the readier to commit it again, till blood toucheth blood. Woe worth it; it is the unnaturalest nature under the heavens; I would term it by a name, if there were any to express it. Caligula, the Roman emperor, whom, for his filthy and sanguinary conditions, I may term as they termed his predecessor, *lutum sanguine maceratum*, dirt socken with blood, wished that the people of Rome had all but one neck, that at one blow he might cut them off. Who would ever imagine, that a man of one heart should so much multiply his cruelties by conceit against a multitude? Seneca writeth, that Messala, proconsul of Asia, beheaded three hundred in one day, and when he had made an end of his tyranny, as if he had done some noble exploit, walked with his arms behind him, and cried, Oh royal act! Lucius Sylla, at one proscription having slain four thousand seven hundred men, caused it be entered of record, *ne memoria tam præclaræ rei dilueretur*, lest the memory of so honour-

able a thing should be worn away. Valerius, setting down the rest of his truculent murders, confesseth against himself, I am scarcely persuaded that I write probably. He killed a gentlemen of Rome without stirring of his foot, for not enduring the sight of one murdered before his face, *nonus punitor misericordiæ*; never was it seen before, that pity itself should be punished, and that it should be held as capital an offence to behold a murder with grief, as if himself had done it. Notwithstanding, saith he, the envy of Marius did mitigate the cruelties of Sylla, whose name shall be striked with the blackest coal of infamy in all the ages of the world, when they shall but hear that an innocent citizen drank a draught of burning coals, to escape his tyrannous tortures. Sabellicus thinketh that the factious cities of Italy, in his and his forefathers' days, were stored with more pregnant examples of cruelty than all these. When the princes of the factions falling into the hands of their enemies, some were burnt alive, their children killed in their cradles, the mothers with child their bellies ripped up, themselves and their fruit both destroyed, some thrown down headlong, some had their garbish pulled out, their hearts, to their further disgrace, hung up and beaten with stripes. You may easily guess (saith he) what butchery there was, when hanging and beheading were accounted clemency. Endless are the histories which report the cruelties that have been committed by man upon man. But of all that ever I read or heard, the most incredible to mine ears, are those that were practised by the Spanish nation upon the West Indians; of whom it is thought, they have slain at times more millions of men than all the countries of the east are able to furnish again. You may judge of the lion by his claws. In one of their islands, called Hispaniola, of twenty hundred thousands, when the people stood untouched, the author* did not think, at the penning of his history, that there were an hundred and fifty souls left. He had reason to exclaim as he did, *O quot Neronēs, quot Domitiani, quot Commodi, quot Bassiani, quot immites Dyonisii eas terras peragrarere?* Oh how many Neros, how many Domitians, with other the like egregious, infamous tyrants, have harrowed those countries! Justus Lipsius† justifieth the complaint, that no age in the world could match some examples by him alleged, but only our own, howbeit in another world. A few Spanish (saith he), about four score years since, sailing into these west and new found lands, good God! what murders and slaughters committed they! I reason not of the causes or right of their war, but only of the events. I see that huge space of ground, which to have seen (I say not to have vanquished) had been a great matter, overrun by twenty or thirty soldiers, and those naked flocks every where laid along, as corn by a sickle. What is be-

* Benzo in his India story.

† Lib. ii. de constant. ca. xxii. The marginal note is, *Indorum strages, imo excidium*.

* Senec. ii. de clem. † Valer. Max. lib. ix. cap. xi.

‡ Qu. 'wrath'?—ED.

come of thee, O Cuba, the greatest of islands ? of thee, Hayti ? of you, the Yucatan ? which sometimes stored and environed with five or six hundred thousands of men, have scarcely retained fifteen in some places, to raise up issue again ? Stand forth, thou region of Peru, a little shew thyself, and thou of Mexico. Oh wonderful and lamentable face of things ! That unmeasurable tract, and in truth another world, is wasted and worn away, as if it had perished by fire from heaven. One of their kings in the province of Yucatan spake to Montegius the lieutenant-governor, after this manner : * I remember, when I was young, we had a plague or mortality amongst us, so sore and unaccustomed, that infinite numbers of worms issued out of our bodies. Moreover, we had two battles with the inhabitants of Mexico, wherein were slain an hundred and fifty thousand men. But these things are trifles, in comparison of those intolerable examples of cruelty and oppression which thou and thy company have used amongst us. They had named themselves for credit and authority the sons of God ; but when the people saw their vile behaviour, they gave this judgment upon them : *Qualis, malum, Deus iste est, qui tam impuros ex se filios et sceleratos genuit ? Si pater filiorum similis, minime profecto bonum esse oportet.* What kind of God, with a mischief, is this, that hath begotten such impure and wicked sons ? If the father be like the children, there can be no goodness in him. Extremities of tyranny practised in such measure, that nothing could be added thereunto by the wit of man, wrung out great liberty and audacity of speech from them. For when Didacus the deputy told the cacique of Veragua, that, if he brought not in gold enough, he would cast his flesh to the dogs, the infidel made him this answer, I marvel how the earth can foster and sustain such savage beasts. Indeed, their impotent outrages were such, as the wretched souls would sooner die than endure them. Therefore they chose rather to starve, and drown, and hang themselves, if they wanted halters, by the hairs of the head, and one to swing the other upon a tree, till their breath were expelled ; they cut and mangled their own flesh, for want of knives, with sharp flint stones ; the women with child destroyed their babes in their wombs, because they would not bear slaves to the Spaniards ; many times they would fire their houses, and kill their children, using this persuasion unto themselves, that it were better to die once, than miserably to spend their days under tyrants. The carrying of their silly vassals by companies, linked and fettered together, like herds of beasts, from the continent land wherein they dwelt, to the mines in the islands, together with branding a letter of slavery in their arms and faces, are not cruelties but mercies in them, for thus long they lived, though they dearly bought their lives. They had not their fill of blood, unless they slew them in sport, to exercise their arms,

* Benzo.

and to try wagers, and threw their carcases to their dogs ; unless they put them to draw their carriages from place to place ; and if they failed by the way (which, how could they hinder, except their strength had been as the strength of stones), pulled out their eyes, cut off their noses, strake of their heads ; unless they lodged them like brute beasts under the planks of their ships, where all the filth and ordure was bestowed, till their flesh rotted from their backs. The poor Nigrite their slave, after his toil the whole day undergone, instead of his meal at night, if he came short in any parcel of his task enjoined, they stripped of all his clothing, bound him hand and foot, tied him cross to a post, beat him with wire and whip cord, till his body distilled with gore blood ; they poured either molten pitch or scalding oil into his sores to supple them, washed him with pepper and salt, and so left him upon a board till he might recover himself again ; this, they said, was their law of Bayonne. If tigers should make laws, could they exceed these men in savageness ? I now wonder the less of the people of Caribana, and others thereabout, being accustomed to eat the flesh of man, would notwithstanding refrain the flesh of a Spaniard, when they had caught one, fearing lest such pestilent nutriment would breed some contagion within them. If I do them injury by repetition of their furiousness against the life of man, let them blame the history, not me. I was very well content to note thus much unto you, under the warrant and protection of mine author, both the matter of my text leading me to a commendation of humanity, even towards a stranger (the praise whereof these are as far from, as a she-bear robbed of her whelps), and because they are the men, whom some of our nation have desired to be lords and rulers over them. But if ever they make trial of their temperate government, they will find the least finger of their hands heavier unto them than another's loins, whom they would cast off ; and how much happier it had been for them still to have felt the sweetness of the olive or fig-tree, under which they have sitten and shadowed themselves, than that the prickles of a brier should have torn them. For, lest they should err in their ground of such a change, the cause of religion pretended is the least thing regarded by them ; and that, these barbarous people right well perceived, having bought their knowledge with a long and lasting experience, of many their houses, cities, countries, sacked, ransacked, turned upside down, and the dust of all their ground most narrowly sifted and searched ; that a wedge of gold was *Deus Christianorum*, the God of the Christians ; and this they would hold aloft, and make proclamation amongst themselves, *En Deus Christianorum*, behold the God of the Christians ; *propter hoc è Castella in terras nostras venêre*, for this they came from Castile into our land (not to convert infidels), for this they spoil us, and are at war within themselves ; this is the cause of their dicing, cursing, blaspheming, ravishing one the

other's wives, and committing all kind of abominations. Insomuch, that a king of Nicaragua asked Benzo himself, the penner of this story, *Christiane, quid enim sunt Christiani?* Christian, what are Christians? And thus he answered himself by defining them: They desire spice, honey, silk, a Spanish cape, an Indian woman to lie with, gold and silver they seek for; Christians will not work, they are scoffers, dicers, blasphemers, slanderers, fighters, and finally to conclude, *omnes mali sunt*, they are all naught. Thus was the honour of God, the name of Christianity, by their lewd behaviour, derided, defamed, reproached, by those that were without, infidels and paynims. I say no more for determining this unsavoury discourse touching that uncivil, ungentle nation; but happy are we, if other men's harms can make us beware, if, when we have seen the firing of their houses, by these incendiaries and robbers, we look carefully to our own, and make our fortunate examples of their unfortunate and unrecoverable subversions.

When some smart (saith Cyprian),* all are admonished, and God in his providence hath taken an easy course, by the terror of a few, to deliver a multitude from the like mischief.

What shall we do unto thee? The time is near at hand when inquisition must be made for blood. You that are magistrates, and sit in the seat of God, let not your eyes or hearts pity that man that hath spilt blood. *Quanto non nasci melius fuit, quam numerari inter publico malo natos!*† How much better were it not to be born, than to be born to do hurt! We cannot prevent the birth of such, but it is not amiss to hinder and shorten their life, that they work not more mischief; if you bear once, you must bear perhaps a second time. God hath pronounced against mount Seir long since, Ezek. xxxv., 'I will prepare thee to blood, and blood shall pursue thee;' unless thou do hate blood, blood shall pursue thee; and although mount Seir be long since desolated, yet the judgment

* Magna providentiæ compendia.—*De sing. cleric.*

† Seneca.

of that righteous judge shall stand like mount Sion, and never be altered. They that commit and they that conceal murder,* they that love to shed blood and they that hate it not, principals, accessaries, abettors, favourers, patrons of bloodshed, they are all in fearful case. You will say, I am cruel myself, and forget to apply my text, whilst I speak against cruelty. Nothing less. I would not that justice should thrust mercy out of place; but mercy and pity† differ as much as religion and superstition: the one honoureth, the other dishonoureth God; the one is an ornament to man, the other reproacheth him. Be compassionate to the life of man, and spare it as discretion shall require, but rather be compassionate to the life of the commonwealth; for be ye assured that the punishment of bloodshed is, not to shed but to save more blood. *Melius est ut pereat unus quam unitas* it is better that one should die by law, than numbers without law. The dog that liveth in the shambles hath commonly a bloody mouth, and he that hath been fleshed upon the blood of man will not easily leave it.

I leave the answer of Jonah to the next place. Let us beseech our merciful God, the preserver of man, as Job calleth him, that he would vouchsafe to preserve unto us this virtue of humanity, without which we are not men, putting softness and tenderness in them that are cruel, justice into those that must bridle the rage of cruelty, kindness and compassion into us all, that whatsoever we are to deal in with any sort of men, we may carefully cast beforehand, as these mariners did, what we should do unto them, setting their rule of friendship and brotherhood before our eyes, not to do wrong or violence in oppressing the state or life, either of brethren or strangers, but to measure unto them all such duties of nature and charity as we wish should be measured again to our own souls.

* Qui non vetat peccatum, &c. Tot occidimus quot ad mortem ire quotidie tepidi et tacentes videmus.—*Greg. super Ezech.*

† Clementia et misericordia.—*Sen.* Misericordia et misericordia.—*Lips.*

LECTURE XIV.

And he said unto them, Take me, and cast me into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my sake, &c.—JONAH I. 12.

THE order I kept in the verse going before was this: three persons were proposed unto you, 1, the person of Jonah, standing upon his delivery; 2, the person of the mariners, being in jeopardy; 3, the person of the sea, continuing troublesome and unquiet unto them; the two latter whereof, the furiousness of the waters, and their own peril, were mighty arguments to incense them against Jonah. In this verse he answereth their whole demand: 1, touching myself, you ask, what you shall do unto me? 'Take me,

cast me into the sea;' by this means, 2, 'the sea shall be quieted;' 3, 'towards you,' against whom it is now enraged. This for the order and coherence. Now for the matter itself, it is divided into three branches: 1, the resolution, decree, and sentence of Jonah upon himself, 'Take me, cast me into the sea;' 2, the end, and it may be the motive, to hearten them, 'so shall the sea be calm unto you;' 3, the reason, warrant or justification of their fact, 'for I know that for my sake,' &c.; the verse riseth by degrees. You ask

what you shall do with me? 'Cast me into the sea,' What is that for our safety? Yes, 'the sea shall be quiet unto you.' But how may we purchase our peace with so unjustifiable an action? Right well, 'for I know that for my sake the tempest is upon you.'

Rabbi Ezra, and some of our later expositors following his opinion, think that he maketh this offer unto them, upon an obstinate obfirmed mind against the commandment of God, that rather than he would be held in life to go to Nineveh, to gain a foreign uncircumcised nation, he would die the death. And they guess, moreover, that he would never have given that liberty unto them against his life, but that he heard them say, unless he went to Nineveh, they would cast him forth. There is not a syllable in the text to justify this judgment; for Jonah had made a reverent confession of God, a singular testimony of a mind recalling itself. And as for the mariners, what kindness they shewed him, both before and after, the letter of the Scripture plainly demonstrateth. I rather take it to be a doom of most prophetic and resolute magnanimity, wrestling with the terrors of death, as Israel with God, and prevailing against them; as if he had said, You shall not lose an hair of your heads for mine offence; I will not add murder to rebellion, and the wreck of so many souls to my former disobedience; 'Take me,' not as if you feared to touch me; *tollite me*, take me on high, take me with force and validity of arms, take me with violence, lift and hoise me up; when you have so done, use no gentleness towards me, let me not down with ropes, neither suffer me to take my choice, how or where I may pitch, 'cast me' at adventures, as you threw forth your wares; and though the sea hath no mercy at all, threatening both heaven and hell with the billows thereof at this time, and bearing a countenance of nothing but destruction, and it had been a blessing unto me to have died on the land in some better sort, or to have gained the favour of a more merciful death, yet 'cast me into the sea,' and let the barbarous creature glut itself. Jonah might have stood longer upon terms: I have committed a fault, I am deserv'd by the lots, I confess my misdeed, the sea is in wrath, your lives in hazard, what then? will it work your peace to destroy me? say I were gone and perished, is your deliverance nearer than before it was? But without cunctation and stay, possessing his soul in patience, and as quiet in the midst of the sea as if he beheld it on firm ground, making no difference between life and death, animated with a valiant and invincible spirit, triumphing over dread and danger, charitable towards his companions, faithful and bold as a lion within himself, and yielding to nothing in the world, save God alone, he giveth not only leave and permission unto them, Do what you will, I cannot resist a multitude, you may try a conclusion by the loss of a man, but with a confident intention, as willing to leave his life as ever

he was to keep it, and as ready to go from the presence of men as before he went from the presence of God; first, he putteth them in right and possession of his person, 'Take me;' secondly, he prescribeth them the manner and form of handling him, 'cast me into the sea;' thirdly, driveth them by agreements* thereunto, not of conjecture and probability, it may be thus and thus; but of certain event, 'the sea shall be calm unto you;' and of undoubted persuasion,† 'I know that for my sake,' &c.

It is a question not meet to be considered in this place (which many have handled from the first age of the world, not only with their tongues, but with their hands, and instead of sharpness of wit, have used the sharpness of knives and other bloody instruments to decide it), whether a man may use violence in any case against himself? I find it noted upon these words, God would not let Jonah cast forth himself, but would have it done by the ministry of the mariners;‡ but the odds is not great in effect, if you observe what is mentioned. For Jonah setteth on the mariners, and not only counselleth, but in a sort compelleth them to cast him forth. Saul was not dead by the wounds which he gave himself, till an Amalekite came and despatched him, 2 Sam. 1., yet was Saul an homicide against his own person, and the other that made an end of him *filius mortis*, 'the child of death.' Surely God hath given a commandment in express terms against this horrible practice: *non occides*, 'thou shalt not kill;' *præsertim, quia non addidit, proximum tuum*,‡ especially, because he added not, thy neighbour, thou mayest the rather understand thyself, as in the other commandment, when he forbade false witness, he said, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;' although, if the law had spoken more fully, Thou shalt not kill thy neighbour, thou hadst not been freed thereby, *quoniam regulam diligendi proximum a semetipso dilector accipit*,‡ because he that loveth taketh the rule of loving his neighbour, first, from himself. And the conclusion holdeth good, *non occides, non alterum, ergo nec te; nec enim qui se occidit, alium quam hominem occidit*, thou shalt not kill no other man, therefore not thyself, for he that killeth himself killeth no other but a man. 'I will require your blood,' saith the Lord, Gen. ix., 'at the hands of beasts, at the hands of man himself; at the hands of every brother will I require it.' Will he require blood at the hands of beasts in whom there is no understanding, and at the hands of every brother (which conjunction of brotherhood is the effectual cause why we should spare one the other's life); and will he be slack to require it at thine own hands, who art nearer to thyself than thy brother is? Tho.

* Qu. 'arguments?'—ED.

† Noluit Deus ut sese projiceret, sed id nautarum ministerio fieri voluit.—*Hier.*

‡ August. i. de civ. Dei, 20.

§ Ibid.

Aquinas giveth three reasons to condemn the unlawfulness of these bloody designments: 1, they are evil in nature, because repugnant to that charity wherewith a man should love himself; and death, we all know, is an enemy in nature, and life is a blessing of God in the fifth commandment; 2, each man is a part of the communion and fellowship of mankind, and therefore he doth injury to the commonwealth, that taketh away a subject and member thereof; 3, life is the gift of God, and to his only power subdued, who hath said, 'I kill and I give life.' Therefore Jerome, writing to Marcel of Blesillae's death, in the person of God abandoneth such souls, *non recipio tales animas, quæ, me nolente, exierunt è corpore*, I receive not such souls, which, against my will, have gone out of their bodies; and he calleth the philosophers that so died, *martyres stultæ philosophiæ*, martyrs of foolish philosophy.

There were two vile kinds of deaths, wherewith of old (it seemeth) they were wont to finish their unhappy days, *laqueus et præcipitium*, either they hung themselves, or brake their necks from some steep place. Petilian,* an enemy to the Catholic church, had thus reproachfully spoken against the sound believers. The traitor Judas died by an halter, and the halter he bequeathed to such as himself was (meaning the orthodox Christians). No, saith Augustine; this belongeth not to us, for we do not honour those by the name of martyrs who halter their own necks. How much more do we say against you, that the devil, the master of that traitor, would have persuaded Christ to have fallen down from the pinnacle of the temple, and took repulse! Then what are they to be termed whom he hath both counselled so to do, and prevailed with? Truly, what else but the enemies of Christ, the friends of the devil, the disciples of the seducer, fellow-disciples with the traitor? for both from one master have learned voluntary deaths, the one by strangling himself, the other by falling down headlong.† The same father bringeth these murderers into straits, and holdeth them in so closely on both sides, that there is no escaping from them. When thou killest thyself, either thou killest an innocent, whereby thou becomest guilty of innocent blood, or an offender, which is as unlawful to do, because thou art neither thine own judge, and thou cuttest off space of repentance. Judas, when he slew himself, he slew a wicked man; notwithstanding, he is culpable, both for the blood of Christ and for his own blood, because, though for his wickedness, yet was he slain by another wickedness. *Licet propter scelus suum, alio scelere suo occisus est.*

Some have offered themselves unto these voluntary deaths, to leave a testimony of courage and undaunted

resolution behind them; of whom St Augustine speaketh, Perhaps they are to be admired for stoutness of mind, but not to be commended for soundness of wisdom.* Albeit, if reason may be judge, we cannot rightly call it magnanimity, for it is a far greater mind which can rather endure than eschew a miserable life. *Qui vitam ærumncsam magis potest ferre quàm fugere.* I am sure the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles never did thus; and though they were pinched in their reins, and their souls heavy unto the death, as Christ's was, insonmuch that they cried out, 'Take my life from me, my soul chooseth to be strangled: Oh, that my spirit were stifled within my bones,' and 'Wretch that I am, who shall deliver me?' yet they never paid their debt of nature, till their creditor called upon them; which time they would never have stayed, if, in a moment of an hour, the service of their own hands might justly have released them. Cleombrotus Ambraciote, having read Plato his books of the immortality of the soul, threw himself headlong from a wall, and brake his neck, that he might the sooner attain to immortality. He had another reason than the former; it was rather a great than a good act, *magnè potius factum quàm bene.* Plato would have done so himself, or at least have advised it, but that in that learning, wherewith he saw the immortality of the soul, he also saw such means to attain it utterly unlawful. Some, to avoid a mischief to come, have fallen into the greatest mischief, as virgins and honest matrons in a time of war, to avoid the rapes and constuprations of enemies. In two words, do they consent to that filthiness, or do they not consent? if they consent not, let them live, because they are innocent. *Non inquinatur corpus, nisi de consensu mentis.*‡ The body is not defiled but when the mind agreeth. If they consent, yet let them live too, that they may repent it. Whether is better, adultery to come, yet not certain, or a certain murder presently wrought?§ Is it not better to commit an offence, which may be healed by repentance, than such a sin, wherein no place is left for contrition? Oh rather let them live, who sin, that they may recover themselves 'before they go hence, and be no more seen.' It is a reason sufficient to raze the history of the Maccabees out of the canon of the Scriptures, that the author thereof commendeth the fact of Razis, who, being beset by Nicanor round about, and having no means to escape, 2 Mac. xiv., 'fell on his own sword, and missing his stroke, ran to a wall to break his neck; and yet, his life being whole within him, ran through the people, and gat to the top of a rock, and when his blood was spent (gushing out from him like a fountain), he took out his bowels with both his hands and threw them upon the people, call-

* August. contrit. — *Petilian*, l. ii c. 49.

† Quid enim nisi inimici Christi, amici diaboli, discipuli seductoris, condiscipuli traditoris? spontaneas enim mortes ab uno magistro utrique didicerunt, ille laqueum, isti præcipitium. — *Lib. i. de civ. Dei*, cap. xvii.

* Animi magnitudine fortasse mirandi, non sapientiæ sanitate laudandi sunt. — *Lib. i. cap. 22.*

† Aquinas 2, quæ. 64, ar. 5.

‡ Nonné satius est incertum de futuro adulterium, quam certum de præsentis homicidium? — *L. i. de civ. Dei*, cap. xxv.

ing upon the Lord of life and spirit, that he would restore them again unto him, and so he died.' This the story commendeth for a manful and valiant act. Aquinas thinketh otherwise. There are some, saith he, that have killed themselves to avoid troubles and vexations, *mala pœnalìa* (of which number was Razis), thinking they do manfully, *astimantes se fortitur agere*; which, notwithstanding, is not true fortitude, but rather a certain effeminate-ness of mind, *quedam molities animi*, not able to endure their crosses. I will pronounce nothing rashly. The mercy of God may come *inter pontem et fontem*, as the proverb is, between the bridge and the brook, *inter gladium et jugulum*, between the sword and a man's throat; and the last words of Razis testify his petition to the Father of life and spirit, that his bowels might be restored him. But, excepting that conclusion, what difference, I pray you, between him and Cato? of whom Seneca* writeth at large, that the last night he lived, he read Plato his books (as Cleombrotus did), and taking his sword in his hand, said, 'Fortune, thou hast done nothing in withstanding all my endeavours; I have not hitherto sought for mine own liberty, but for the liberty of my country, neither have I dealt so unmoveably, to live free myself, but that I might live amongst free men, *non ut liber sed inter liberos*; now, because the affairs of mankind are irrecoverable, let Cato be borne to rest; so he stabbed his body, and when his wound was bound up by the physicians, having less blood, less strength than before, yet the same courage, *minus sanguinis, idem animi*, and now not angry against Cæsar alone, but against his own person, he tumbleth his hands in his wound, and sendeth not forth by leisure so properly, as by violence ejecteth his generous spirit, scorning and disdain- ing that any higher power should command him. Both these, you hear, betake themselves to a desperate refuge, the point of the sword: Razis to avoid Nicanor, Cato, Cæsar; both allege the good of their country, not their private estates; both are impatient of the misery to come, the reproach and disgrace that captivity might bring upon them; both miss their fatal strokes; both are implacably bent to proceed in their voluntary homicides; both toss and imbrue their hands in their own bowels; and as the one reposeth himself upon God's goodness, so the other was not without hope of rest, when he cried, *Cato deducatur in tutum*, let Cato go to a quiet place; both are commended for their valiant death. But it is certain that Cato died through impatience of mind. *Occidit enim se, ne diceretur, Cæsar me servavit*, for he killed himself that it might not be said, Cæsar hath saved me; and Seneca affirmeth as much, that it might not be happy to any other man, either to kill or to preserve Cato. Valerius Maximus reporteth the words of Cæsar when he found him dead: Cato, I envy thy glory, for thou enviedst mine. It was a candle before the dead, and

* Lib. iii. ep. 24.

as messes of meat set upon a grave, but a truth, which another told him, thou shouldst have read and understood Plato otherwise.

Scripta Platonis

Non ita erant animo percipienda tuo.

If thou hadst well considered what Plato wrote, thou mightst have found reasons sufficient to have stayed so unnatural a fact: 1, that God is angry with such, as a lord with his bondmen that slay themselves; 2, that the relinquisher of his own life is more to be punished than a reneger of his service in war.* And therefore there is no doubt, but the fact of Razis also must have very favourable interpretation, if it be any way excused. Albeit Seneca, in the place before alleged, commended the dying of Cato in some sort, yet it is not amiss to consider with what golden sentences he endeth that epistle: It is a ridiculous thing, through wearisomeness of life, to run to death, when by the kind of life thou hast so handled the matter, that thou art driven to run unto it. Again, so great is the folly, or rather the madness of men, that some, for the fear of death, are enforced to death, *timore mortis coguntur ad mortem*. He addeth singular precepts: A wise and a valiant man must not fly, but go from life, *non fugere debet à vitâ sed exire*; and above all things that affliction must be shunned which hath taken hold upon many, a longing and lustfulness of dying, *libido moriendi*. He would have us prepared both ways, neither to love nor to hate this life too much, and sometimes to finish it, when reason calleth us forth, but not with a cease† and impotent forwardness, *non cum procursu capiendus est impetus*. His counsel certainly agreeth with divinity. For our Saviour exhorted his disciples, 'If they persecute you in one city, fly into another.' Notwithstanding he had warned them, 'whosoever will find his life,' and not forsake it when the time and cause require him to lay it down, 'that man should lose it.'

Which law and precept of Christ, by the judgment of Gregory Nazianzen,‡ compelleth no man to offer himself wilfully to death, or to yield his throat to him that seeketh it, lest through a desire we have to please God, in pouring forth our blood, we either compel our neighbour to break that commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' or seek to purchase and procure our own deaths; but when the time calleth us to the combats, then we must cheerfully stand forth. So sayeth Jerome upon these words of Jonah: *Non est nostrum mortem arripere, sed illatam ab aliis libenter excipere*. It is not for us to catch after death, but, when it is offered by others, then willingly to receive it.

Seneca, in his eighth book of Controversies, setteth down a law against felons of themselves, and debateth it both ways. The law is, whosoever murdereth him-

* Majori supplicio afficiendus desertor vitæ quam desertor militiæ.—*Ludov. Viv. in lib. i. de civ. Dei, cap. xxii.*

† Qu. 'fierce'?—ED.

‡ In Monod.

self, let him be cast forth without burial.* The declaration on the one side, in defence of the felon, is made to say something for fashion's sake. Be angry with the murderer, but pity him that is murdered, *irascere interfectori, miserere interfecti*. I ask not that it may be honour for him thus to die, but that no danger, *non ut gloriosum, sed ut tutum sit mori*. They are as cruel that hinder those that are willing to die as others that kill them when they are willing to live. But on the other part, what vehemency and eagerness doth he use? It is a shameful part that any hands should be found to bury him whom his own hands have slain. He would have attempted anything, that could find in his heart to kill himself. No doubt he had great crimes in his conscience, that drove him so speedily to his end, and this, amongst the rest, is one, that we cannot proceed against him (as against other malefactors) by course of judgment. But order is taken against such offenders, that, because they fear not death, they should fear something after death. So said the poet, who saw no further into these things than the glass of nature gave him light,

'They that have wrought themselves a causeless death,†
And hating light above, thrown out their breath,
How would they joy to be alive again,
Though put to penury and bitterest pain.'

And methinketh the reason of that law, to debar them from honest burial, can never be disproved. *Que sibi ipsi non parcit, quomodo parcat aliis?* He that spareth not his own person, how will he spare other men? There is but one example in the whole book of God wherein there is any colour of patronage for this prodigious and treacherous sin against their own bodies, the example of Samson burying himself and the Philistines with the fall of an house, which is not otherwise excused by Augustine, but that a secret spirit willed him so to do, *spiritus latenter hoc jusserat*. For it appeareth in the Book of Judges, where the history is written, that his strength was renewed, and he called upon the Lord at the instant of his death. And in the 11th to the Hebrews, he is well reported of, in that cloud of righteous men, by the Spirit of God.

I have held you long in disputing this question, which many a one hath disputed himself without reply, when the malignant spirit hath once but whispered it into his ears, easily drawn to make a conclusion against body and soul, without longer deliberation. Such have been the direful tragedies which oft have been presented upon the face of the earth, carrying always a note of a most distrustful mind, either suspecting itself, that it is unable to bear the burdens of calamity imminent, or hating and abhorring itself for some iniquity committed. Now what shall we think the affliction of

Jonah was in this case, giving, and not less than thrusting upon them, full power of his person? 'Take me, and cast me into the sea.' Judas, we know, upon the sting of his guilty conscience, hung himself upon an alder tree, and burst in the midst. Ahithophel did the like, because his counsels were defeated. Saul fell upon his sword, that he might not come into the hands of the Philistines. Domitius Nero, fearing the approach of Galba, and hearing that a sentence of the senate was passed against him, to stand in the pillory, and to be beaten with rods to death, for his outrageous both tyrannies and impurities of life, finding no man to strike him, and exclaiming against them all, What! have I neither friend nor foe? I have lived dishonourably, let me die shamefully, strake himself through with his own sword, his trembling hand directed thereunto by a beastly eunuch. Others through other impatience, angry with heaven and earth, God and man, have desperately departed, with Ajax in the tragedy, It doeth me good to have vanquished heaven, the gods, the lightning, the sea, all opposition, *jurat vicisse cælum, &c.* Thus, in effect, did Cato triumph, *Nihil egisti, fortuna, fortune, thou hast not sped*. Thus might Jonah cast with himself: Is there a God in heaven, winds in the air, and waves in the sea, that cross my intent? I will have my will, though I die for it.

Sic, sic juvat ire sub umbras.

So, even so, it caseth my stomach to take my leave of this life. But never shall it enter into my heart thus to conceive of a righteous and repentant prophet, who rather humbleth his soul under the hands of God, framing these or the like persuasions to himself. I see the purpose of the Most High cannot be changed. I kick against the pricks, heaven hath proclaimed me a traitor, the winds and the seas have heard it, and whiles there is breath in the one, and water in the other, I shall not go unpunished. The word of the Lord is good that he hath spoken, the wisdom of the Lord is wiser than the foolishness of men, and the strength of the Lord stronger than the weakness of man; the Lord do that that is good in his sight. Cast me therefore into the sea, throw me into the mouth of justice, let the hunger and thirst of it be satisfied, for I have deserved no less. Surely there is not a word in this whole speech but full of virtuous, charitable, and mystical obedience.

We are now come to the end of his resolution. Wherein we have two things to bear away: first, his charity to his companions, wherein he tendered the safeguard of their lives; secondly, the figure he bare. For he was a type of that undefiled Lamb by whom the nations of the world should be redeemed. His charity appeareth in plain terms, 'that the sea may be calm unto you.' It is no pleasure unto him to have the lives of others brought in question for his sake; he is not of the nature of some men, neither

* Homicida in se, insepultus abjiciatur. The like was at Athens, forbidding burial *in agro Attico*.

† 'Qui sibi lethum

Insontes peperere manu,' &c.

profitable in their lifetime, and, at their deaths, of most ungracious, desolatory, hateful affections, who make it their ease and comfort in some sort to have their miseries accompanied; and, so they be not alone in destruction, they are less grieved. The poets express the uncompassionate style of these Catilinary dispositions. When I am dead, saith one of them, let the earth be mixed with fire. *Εμοῦ θανάτου, γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρὶ*. Medea crieth in the tragedy, It were the only felicity to see all things ruinated when I go myself. Domitius Nero, of whom I spake before, caused Rome to be fired in twelve places together, that he might see a pattern how Troy burnt, *ut specimen Troje ardentis videret*, himself the mean while singing verses out of Homer.

What were their prizes and combats in the theatre of Rome, but the slaughterings of men, to move pleasure and delight? When the people desired Theodosius the emperor to grant them those sports, he answered them, A mild prince must temper himself both from cruel governments and from cruel spectacles, *pium principem oportet non tantum regnare sed etiam spectare clementer*. The same matter falling into debate at Athens, Demonaux gave judgment, that if they will publicly receive so great atrocity and cruelty amongst them, they should first overthrow the altar of mercy. His meaning was, that mercy hath no place where there is admission of such heathenish cruelties. Cyprian, in his second book of Epistles,* making mention of this custom, sheweth their manner thereof, that their bodies were fed beforehand, and dieted with strong meats, to fill them with juice and blood, that being fatted to punishment, they might die with more cost, *carius* (it may be glory, *clarius*), but with less contentation, *charius*. He much inveigheth against it, that man should be killed to delight man, and that an art, science, or skill thereof, *peritia est, usus est, ars est*, should be practised, and not only wickedness wrought, but taught by precept, *scelus non tantum geritur, sed docetur*. They had a custom besides to enter combat with wild beasts; men of a sound age, lusty, able, well-favoured persons, well-apparelled, went to a voluntary death, and fought with the beasts, not for any offence committed, but in a mad mood, *non crimine, sed furore*. And as the actors themselves gloried in their miseries, so their parents were well pleased to behold their sons; the brother was within the rails or bars, the sister near at hand, the mother present at her sorrows; and though beholding such ungodly sports, they never thought that, at the least, for looking on, they were parricides, *oculis parricide*. You see the humours and affections that some men have, how lightly they are conceited of the life of their brethren, whereas brotherhood, indeed, requireth at their hands that they should rather wish, with Marcus Antonius, to raise up many from the dead, than to destroy more, *utinam possem*

* Epist. 2.

multos ab inferis excitare, or with Moses, in the sacred volume, rather himself to be razed from the book of life, than that his people should perish.

This former reason is expressed in my text, the latter is implied and conceived, that he made this proffer unto them, as being the figure and type of the most loving Son of God. The explication whereof, though it stand chiefly in the article of his resurrection, whereof himself speaketh in the Gospel, 'They seek a sign, but there shall no sign be given them, but the sign of the prophet Jonah,' yet there are many comparisons besides wherein they are resembled. Jonah was a prophet, and Christ that person of whom Moses spake, *prophetam excitabit Deus*, 'God shall raise up a prophet unto you.' Jonah was sent upon a message unto Nineveh, and Christ was *angelus magni consilii*, 'the angel of the great council of God,' *legatus fœderis*, 'the ambassador of the covenant.' Much inquiry was made of Jonah: whence art thou? what is thy calling, country, people? why hast thou done thus? Much questioning with and about Christ: 'Art thou the king of the Jews?' 'Art thou the Son of the living God?' 'Who is this that the winds and the seas they obey him?' 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' 'Whence hath he this wisdom?' Jonah was taunted and checked by the master of the ship, 'What meanest thou, sleeper?' Christ by the masters of Israel, the rulers of the people and synagogues, as 'a Samaritan,' as 'one that had a devil, and by the finger of Beelzebub cast out devils,' 'a glutton,' 'a wine-bibber,' 'a blasphemer of the law of Moses.' Both came under the trial of lots, the one for his life, the other for his vesture. Both had a favourable deliberation passed upon them, Jonah that he might be saved, Christ that he might be delivered, and Barabbas executed. Both had a care of their brethren more than of themselves. Jonah crieth, 'The sea shall be quiet unto you.' Christ answereth him, 'If ye seek me, let these depart;' and 'of those that thou gavest unto me have I not lost one.' The one saith, *Tollite me*, 'Take me and cast me into the sea;' the other saith, 'When the Son of man is lift up, he shall draw all things to himself.' Finally, both are sacrificed, the one in the water, and the other in the air; both are buried, the one in the bowels of the whale, the other of the earth; both allay a tempest, the one of the anger of God present and particular, the other of that wrath which, from the beginning to the end of the world, all flesh had incurred. The difference betwixt them is this: that Jonah died for his own offence, Christ for the sins of others. Jonah might have said unto them, Though I see the goodness of your natures, yet who amongst you is able to acquit me from my sin? Christ made a challenge to malice itself; he might have justified it at the tribunal of highest justice, 'Who is able to reprove me of any sin?' Jonah made no doubt, but for that his latest misdeed of flying from the presence of the Lord, he

was cast out. Christ had done many good works amongst them, and none but good, and therefore asked upon confidence of his innocency, 'For which of these works do you stone me?' Our innocent Abel persecuted by cruel Cain (I am deceived, for as 'his blood speaketh better things than the blood of Abel,' so it is blood of better and purer substance); our innocent Jacob hunted by unmerciful Laban, although he might truly say, Gen. xxxi., 'What have I trespassed; how have I offended that thou hast pursued after me?' I might add, our innocent Joseph, sold and betrayed by his spiteful brethren, and little less than murdered, though he went from his father, and wandered the fields gladly to seek and see how they did; our innocent David chased by unrighteous Saul, though by Jonathan's just apology, 'Wherefore should he die; what hath he done; or who so faithful amongst all the servants of Saul as David was?' or if from the state of innocency to this present hour, I should reckon all the innocents of the earth, and put in angels of heaven, yet all not innocent and holy enough to be weighed with him; and therefore to call him by his own names, 'our Sun of righteousness,' 'Branch of righteousness,' 'the Lord our righteousness,' 'he that was born of a virgin,' 'that holy thing,' Luke i., 'the undefiled Lamb,' our 'holy, harmless, blameless high priest, separate from sinners,' our 'Jesus the just;' he that had the shape of a serpent in the wilderness, but not the poison, the similitude of sinful flesh in the world, but not the corruption; he that 'knew no sin,' and much less was born sin, yet 'was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;' he had the wages of sin, though he never deserved it, and made his grave with the wicked, though he had done no wickedness, neither was there any deceit in his mouth; he was wounded for our transgressions, and broken for our iniquities, and the chastisement of our peace was upon his shoulders; all we like sheep had gone astray, and the Lord his Father had laid upon him the iniquities of us all,' Isa. liii. But was he compelled thereunto? That were to go from the figure, and to shew less humanity to mankind than Jonah to his companions. For what hand could cut this stone from those heavenly mountains? The apostle telleth us otherwise, Philippians the second, *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*, 'he emptied himself, and took the form of a servant,' *ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν*, 'he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross,' Heb. ix., 'he offered himself, *ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν*, to purge our consciences from dead works;' Gal. ii., 'He gave himself.' The prophet telleth us otherwise, Isa. liii., *Oblatus est, quia ipse voluit*. He was offered, because he would himself; and 'he hath poured out his soul unto death,' which noteth a liberal and voluntary dispensation. When sacrifice and oblation God would not have, and somewhat must be had, what saith the Scripture of him? 'Then said I;

*Dixi facto, quod annuntiaveram per prophetas.** I said it indeed, for I had passed my word before in the prophets, 'Behold I come:' *venio voluntariè, non coactus adducor*, I come of mine own accord, I am not brought by coercion. 'It is written in the book that I should do thy will; I am content to do it, O my God;' it is as deeply written in my will, and 'thy law is in the midst,' not in a corner 'of my heart,' *non in angulo, sed in medio cordis*. You see his willingness; being called, he answered; being sent, went, with as cheerful a spirit as ever any servant the centurion kept: 'his ear was opened' with attention, as it were with the awl of the law, Exod. xxi.; his desires accommodated no other way; and not an angle, but the heart of his heart, and the inmost concavity, which they say is made to contain vital breath, was filled up with subjection to his father's pleasure. Incredulous soldiers, if ye believe not this, open his side with a spear, and pierce his heart to the centre of it, and tell me if he wrote not with streams of blood, as sometimes he wrote on the dust, perfect obedience toward his Father, incredible loving-kindness towards our ungrateful generation. Look into the ark, ye curious Bethshemites, examine the secrets of it, and tell me what ye find. Bring hither your fingers, and thrust your nails into the prints of his wounds, and sound the bottom, if you can, of his willing and hearty disposition. Was he not 'dumb before the shearer?' Or did he ever abuse, nay, 'open his mouth before the slaughterer, though they took both fleece and flesh from him, his cloak and his coat too, did he ever repine? Was his voice ever heard in the streets, though the very stones in the streets could have found in their hearts to have spoken and cried in his cause? Augustine applieth to his passion the words of the psalm, 'I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest,' Ps. iv. *Ego cum pondere pronuntiandum est*, we must pronounce *I* with weight, to shew that he suffered death with his free assent. And Bernard noteth upon the second of the Canticles,† 'Behold, he cometh leaping by the mountains, and skipping over the hills;' that being nimble of spirit, fervent in love, zealous in piety, he overcame all others in the alacrity of his ministration, as he whom God had 'anointed with the oil of gladness above all his fellows;' he outleaped Gabriel the archangel, sayeth he, and came to the virgin before him, by the testimony of the angel himself, Hail Mary, full of grace, *Dominus tecum*, 'The Lord is with thee.' Behold thou leftest him in heaven, and findest him in the womb. How can this be? *Volavit et prævolarit super pennas ventorum*, He flew and overflowed thee upon the wings of the wind, and he that sent thee before is come before thee. If you will know his other leaps, Gregory setteth them down, that as he leapt from heaven into the womb, so from the womb into the manger, from the manger to the cross, from the cross

* Hugo Card

† Ser. 54.

to the grave, from the grave into heaven again, and thence we look for his second coming.

I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you. Jonah knew the cause of their danger, partly by prophetic revelation, which manner of knowledge was private to Jonah, but with few other men; partly by touch of conscience, which he liveth not upon the earth that can escape. Tempests you have had in your days without number; but *first, grandis tempestas hæc*, this great and unwonted tempest, which is not only come upon me, but, *secondly, super vos*, upon you also; *thirdly*, I know, and am without doubt, that it is raised, *fourthly*, for my sake. Though it mingle the nocent and innocent, unrighteous and righteous, together, as the nets in the Gospel mingle the good and bad fish, yet am I the spring of it, and thereof I am as certain as that I know my right hand. *I know that for my sake.* Jonah was very forward before in confession; he told them the whole progress of his disobedience, but never proceeded thus far. For yet he might have pleaded, I grant I am a sinner, it may be, you as deeply as myself; but when he seeth the siege of the anger of God lie so hot and close to the walls of his conscience that it will not be removed, then, *Nori quia propter me*, 'I know that it is for my sake.'

Many are strangers to themselves for a space, and will seem to be ignorant of their own doings; charge them with sin, they will say, and swear, and bind it with cursing, I know it not, in the same terms that Peter denied his master, *Non nori hominem*, 'I know not the man.' But when Christ looked back, I mean, when they find themselves narrowly eyed, and remembered, then I know that for my sake it is that he looketh back. When our Saviour told his people, as he sat at supper with them, Mat. xxvi., 'One of you shall betray me,' do you think the traitor would bewray himself? No, though they 'were all sorrowful, and asked one after one, Is it I?' yet is he as forward as the rest to ask that question also, 'Is it I, master?' albeit he knew it as perfectly as his own name. Being but one amongst twelve, and eleven more in company to bear a part of the burden, he thought he was safe enough. Seneca, by his own confession and preface to his tale, reporteth a strange but a true thing, *rem incredibilem narro sed veram*, of Harpastes a fool, and, with age, a blind beldame. She knoweth not that she is blind, and often entreateth her guide to go forth of doors, because the house is dark. Neither is there any, saith he, amongst us, that knoweth his faults. Every man flattereth himself, *Non ego ambitiosus sum*, I am not ambitious, nor covetous, nor luxurious, nor given to this or that vice. David knew not the man that Nathan spake of, 2 Sam. xii.; he pronounced of a person unknown unto him, 'The man that hath done this is the child of death.' This is but muffling of the conscience for a time, as Tamar muffled her face to

take a short pleasure; but Tamar shall be discovered, and all hearts shall be opened; the cockatrice that hath lien in her hole will come to warm herself against the heat of the sun; Adam will be brought from his bushes, and Sarah from behind the door, and a man shall say to his conscience, as Ahab said to Elijah, 'Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?' The Delphians made no scruple to murder Æsop amongst them;* but when they were plagued with death and mortality thereupon, they walked up and down in all the public assemblies of Greece, and caused it to be proclaimed by noise of criers, that whosoever would, should be avenged upon them for the death of Æsop; they knew that for their sakes the plagues came. The accusers of the adulteress in the Gospel, how skilful and busy were they in detecting and following her fact: (1.) they had taken her; (2.) in the act; (3.) they set her in the midst; (4.) they urged the law, 'Moses commanded that she should be stoned,' John viii. How ignorant were they and forgetful of themselves, till Christ advertised them! 'Then they went out' (saith the Gospel), 'one by one, from the eldest to the last, being accused by their own conscience;' then there was none left to give evidence against her, but our Saviour asked, 'Woman, where be thy accusers?' or rather their own accusers? They knew that for their sakes Christ spake, and they found that writing which he drew in the dust engraven so deep in their own hearts with a pen of iron, that it could not be dissembled. This is the case of all those that cover their sins, *quorum si mentes recludantur, possint adspici laniatus et ictus*,† whose minds, if they could be opened, we should see their rents and stripes within. Sins may be without danger for a time, but never without fear, *tuta esse scelera, secuta non possunt*. Happy are they that know as they should know‡ (for this *nori*, whereof I speak, belongeth to us all), whose knowledge is not *contristans scientia*, a sad, unpeaceable, sorrowing knowledge (the knowledge of devils, who know there is an hell for them, and albeit they know much, yet they know not the way to salvation), but fruitful, comfortable, joyful knowledge, who know to amendment of life, who know to run to the remedy of their sins, to lay a plaster of the blood and wounds of Christ to the wounds and hurts of their soul; who 'know that their Redeemer liveth,' as Job did, know Christ crucified not only for the world, but for themselves also, and 'account all things but loss and dung in comparison of that excellent knowledge,' Philip. iii. This is to be 'rich in knowledge,' as the apostle speaketh, 1 Cor. i.; and without this, 'if we knew all sorts, and all knowledge besides,' 1 Cor. xiii., we might be poor, beggarly, miserable, ignorant, reprobate, as bad as devils.

* Plutar. de ser. num. vindict.

† Tacitus.

‡ Fructus et utilitas sciendi in modo sciendi.—Ber.

LECTURE XV.

Nevertheless the men rowed to bring it to land, but could not, &c.—JONAH I. 13.

IN the former verse, there are pregnant causes laid down why the mariners should have eased themselves of Jonah : 1, the liberty and leave he gave them to cast him forth ; 2, the good that should ensue by the pacification of the sea ; 3, their warrant, (1) the tempest was upon them ; (2) a tempest *for his sake* ; (3) himself, upon knowledge, avowed it.

Nevertheless, though they see the danger, and the causes of the danger, and the remedy thereof, plainly and assuredly demonstrated, *they row to bring it to land*. It seemeth very strange unto me that they take not the first occasion and offer to unwind themselves from the peril they were in ; and that neither the master of the ship in his wisdom, nor the multitude of the mariners in their tumultuous and heady violence, nor any one person amongst them, forward for the common cause, taketh the benefit of all these opportunities to save themselves. It giveth us a memorable instruction, that in singular and extraordinary facts, which either the law of God or the law of nature repugneth and is plainly against, we be not too eager and quick in expedition thereof, until it be out of doubt by some special warrant from heaven, that they may be attempted. Touching this present enterprise, there is no question but, though they had not learned the letter of the law of God, 'Thou shalt not kill,' yet the law of nature tied them by secret bonds to deal with Jonah as they wished to be dealt with themselves. Then why should they drown him ? Because the lots had convinced him ? The lots might err at a time ; or, if they spake a truth, must these men be his judges ? or, if judges, of his life and death ? There might some lesser punishment be devised. Again, what though he offered himself to be thrown into the sea for their safety ; must they take him at his first word ? Cannot their hurts be cured but by so desperate a medicine as nature cannot brook ? When Constantine the emperor (if the history be true) heard that there was no means to cure his leprosy but by bathing his body in the blood of infants, his heart abhorred it. *Malo semper ægrotare, quàm tali remedio convalescere*, I had rather be sick whilst I have my being, than recover by such a medicine. Again, the warrant he gave them, 'I know that for my sake,' might perhaps be without warrant. A man might speak in the bitterness of his soul what else he would not ; weary of his life, not able to bear his crosses, and therefore, as the manner of many distressed is, seeking for death more than for treasures. Whatsoever they did or might conceive, this I am sure of, they had great reason to be very circumspect and scrupulous, to bear their hearts in their hands, to walk with advice and chariness before

they did anything in an action so unusual, and that which nature itself forbade them. Augustine, in the first book of the *City of God*, chap. xxvi., handling Abraham's parricide intended upon his own son—a fact both against nature, for 'no man ever hated his own flesh,' and against the written precept, 'I will require the blood of man,'—speaketh thus : It doth not excuse another from impiety, that shall purpose to offer his son, because Abraham did so, even with commendation, *sed non ideo sine scelere facit*, &c. For a soldier, also, when, for obedience sake to that power under which he is lawfully ordained, he shall kill a man, he is not chargeable with murder by any law of the city ; nay, he shall be guilty of contempt to his governor if he do it not, *Immo nisi fecerit, reus est imperii deserti* ; which, had he committed by his own accord and authority, he had fallen into question of spilling man's blood. *Itaque unde puniatur si fecerit injussus, inde puniatur nisi fecerit jussus*, therefore, by what reason he is punished if he shall do it without commandment, by the same he is punished if, being commanded, he do it not. *Quod si ita est, jubente imperatore, quanto magis jubente creatore ?* If it be thus for the bidding of the emperor, much rather for the bidding of the Creator. He adjoins the example of certain virgins, Pelagia with her mother and sisters, who threw themselves into a river rather than they would be defiled by a villainous soldier. In excuse of whom he demandeth, What if they did it, not deceived by human persuasion, but commanded by God ? Not of error, but through obedience, as in Samson's departure from his life, it is not lawful for us to think otherwise. Only let him beware, that killeth himself or his child, and fully be satisfied that the commandment of God hath no uncertainty in it. *Tantummodo videat utrum divina jussio nullo nutet incerto*. It is the judgment of sound divinity, that some facts which the Scripture recordeth are singular, and died with the persons that did them, enforcing no imitation at our hands, without the like special direction and dispensation from almighty God that he gave to them ; as namely, Abraham's obedience in offering his son ; Phinehas his zeal in killing the adulterers ; Samson's magnanimity in destroying himself and the Philistines with the fall of the house ; the Israelites' policy in spoiling the Egyptians of their jewels and ornaments, all which, and the like singularities, *cum Deus jubet, seque jubere sine talis ambagibus intimat, quis obedientiam in crimen vocet*.* When God commandeth them, and maketh it a clear case, without any perplexities, that so his pleasure is, who can accuse thy obedience ? But before, be assured in thy con-

* Aug. ib.

science that God hath commanded them; tie and untie a thousand knots, and both make and remove as many objections as thy heart can devise.

The Anabaptists in Germany framed and feigned an imagination to themselves, that, by the will of God, the ancient magistracy must be quite rooted from the earth; * they said, and haply believed, that they had speech with God, and that he enjoined them to kill all the wicked in the land, and to constitute a new world, consisting only of the innocent. Who persuaded them? He that spake with God concerning Ahab, 'I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets to deceive Ahab;' a spirit of error and falsehood, a spirit born and bred within their own brain. The conceit was extraordinary, that private men, by violence and force of arms, should not only displace, but destroy their rulers and magistrates. What slaughter and havoc it caused, what profusion of blood between the nobles and the commons, Germany then felt and smarted for; history and monuments of time will relate to all posterity, and the precedent thereof may make the world take heed how they be drawn by fanatical spirits into these or such like unaccustomed and improbable courses.

What disputing and scanning was there of late within this realm of ours, by conference in private, by brokers and coursers up and down, by books and ballads in print, whether there were not in these days extraordinary callings; upon the persuasion hereof, what hasty, headlong, heathenish endeavours to reform a church, to dissolve government, to unjoint order, to compel a prince, and not to tarry her leisure, if presently she agreed not! Each man having a forge in his own hand, to make and mar, to turn square into round, white into black, church into no church, ministry into no ministry, sacraments into no sacraments; this man coining himself a prophet, that man a Christ, others they knew not what; thus travelling and toiling themselves in the fire of their own fancies, till they lost themselves, their wits, their grace, and some their lives! What shall we say hereof, but that it was a singular enterprise, proceeding from the singular spirits of singular persons; and if God had not wrought for us in mercy, the sequel must needs have been singular unhappiness.

My conclusion is, that by the example of these mariners, fearful and nice to deal in so dangerous a matter, we follow the common rule (as the king's beaten way) which the law of nature engraffed, and the will of God revealed, hath prescribed unto us; and if ever we meet with actions which have not agreement with these two, to examine all ambiguities therein, and to be certain of the will of God before we enterprise anything.

That this was the purpose of the measures, is plainly to be gathered both by the whole context and body of the history hitherto continued (when, though they

* Joh. Sleidan. in Comment.

had many provocations to free themselves and their ship, they withheld their hands), and by a phrase of their further pains most effectually significant, wherein, as they contended with their oars to bring their ship to land, so writers have contended with their wits how to express their labours. Our English hath simply and in a word, 'The men rowed;' truly but not sufficiently. The Latin saith no more but *remigabant*, which is as much as our English. The Seventy interpreters, *παρεβιάζοντο*, they offered violence to the sea. And Jerome, with an excellent circumlocution, *Rerum naturam vincere cupiebant*; they desired to exceed nature, and do more than they could do. The original tongue saith, *Foderunt remis*, they digged, and delved, and furrowed the sea with their oars, as a man the ground with culcers and shares. *Et aquæ fundum investigabant*, They searched and sounded the bottom of the waters, as men that would turn them upside down, rather than miss the success of their charitable intention. Solon could do no more for Athens than he did. When Pisistratus had taken it, he afterwards hung up his spear and target at the court gates, with this protestation, *Oh patria! tibi et dictis et factis capitulatus sum*, O my country, I have aided thee both with word and deed; so betaking himself to his own house to take his rest. Alexander's soldiers told him, when, as they thought, he proposed to go into another world, and to seek an India unknown to the Indians themselves, *Quicquid mortalitas capere potuit, implevimus*; we have done as much as men might undergo. These men here mentioned, to their uttermost power, stood and fought for Jonah against the rage of the tempest. *Qui amat, aut non laborat, aut ipsum amat laborem*; he that loveth, either laboureth not, or at least he loveth and taketh pleasure in his labours; as the pains of hunters, hawkers, and fishers, seem not grievous unto them. And it is the property of love to transform and alter a man into that he loveth, *amor transanimat in rem amatam*. These men think of Jonah, I take it, as of themselves, make it their own cause, thus speaking in themselves, Why should we cast away a man, if there be any means to deliver him? See what a load they plot of reciprocal kindness one to the other. Jonah to the mariners, in the former verse, willing to forego his life for the preservation of others, 'Take me, and cast me into the sea, that it may be quiet unto you;' and these as earnestly labouring with hazard of themselves, if it be possible, to save Jonah. It is such an image, methinketh, of that sociable and mutual amity, that turning and winding, and retailing of courtesy, which ought to pass between man and man, as is worthy to leave behind it an heedful observation. For what were the life of man, without this harmony and consent of friendship? When there is no *date et dabitur*, giving and taking, lending and borrowing, gratifying and regratifying (as it were light for light), changing of offices and good turns, what were it but the life of

beasts, which, as they are sundry in kinds, so there is no communion betwixt them in fellow-like duties? I will not now declaim against the inhumanity of men; that one thing which all men know, I will not so much utter to others as hold to myself; that by biting of a serpent we lose our lives, but by the biting, barking, breathing of a man, together with life, all that we have perisheth.* The prophet once cried, 'O ye heavens, drop down righteousness,' when righteousness was taken up into the clouds, and the earth void of it. We may cry, for lack of love among us, O ye heavens, drop down kindness and charity unto our times, that the uncourteous and churlish Nabals of this present generation, which are not willing to redeem the lives of their brethren—shall I say with the hazard of their own lives? no, nor with the loss of their shoe-latchets; with the hazard I mean of transitory and fading commendations, which never are touched with the afflictions of Joseph, and, though a member be grieved and pinched, as if they belonged to a foreign body, never vouchsafe to partake the smart with them; with whom it is a common speech, 'That that dieth, let it die,' Zech. xi., that they may know at length they were not born to sing or cry, laugh or joy to themselves, not to eat and drink, thrive or live to their private families; but that others which stand in need, by many prerogatives of mankind, have also an interest in their communion and service. I noted the humanity of the mariners, by occasion of some circumstances before past, and I would now have spared you in the repetition of the same argument, but that my text spareth you not. I were worthy of much blame, if, when my guide shewed me the way, I would purposely forsake it; neither can I justly make my excuse, if, when the Scripture taketh me by the hand, and biddeth me commend humanity once again, I then neglect it.

You may perceive how well they affected Jonah, both by the continuance and by the excess of their pains. I make it a further proof, that it is said in the text, 'the men rowed,' as if he had said, they were mere strangers unto me; I cannot say they are Grecians, or Silicians, I know not their countries or dwelling places, I know not their private generations and kindreds, much less their proper names and conditions. I know them no more than to be men, after the name commonly belonging to all mankind. It is an usual manner amongst us, when we know not men by their other differences and proprieties, to term them by that general appellation which appertaineth equally to us all. When Paul was disposed to conceal his person, as touching the visions and revelations which were sent unto him, 2 Cor. xii., 'I know,' saith he, 'a man in Christ, whether in the body or out of the body,' &c. I say not that he was an Hebrew, I name no

apostle, I name not Paul; 'I know a man, of such a man I will rejoice, of myself I will not, except it be of mine infirmities.' They asked the young man whose sight was restored, John ix., how his eyes were opened? who, because he knew not Christ in the propriety either of his nature or office, to be the Son of God, or the Messias that should come, he answered thus for himself, 'The man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes.' Concerning whom he afterwards bewrayeth his ignorance; 'whether a sinner or no, I cannot tell; but one thing I know, that I was blind, and now I see.'

Is it not, think you, a wonderful blemish and main to Christianity, that those who were but men, even strangers unto Jonah, aliens in country, aliens in religion (but that they began a little to be seasoned with the knowledge of the true God), should thus be minded unto him; we that are joined and built together, not only in the frame of our common kind, but in a new building that came from heaven; we that are men, and more than men, men of another birth than we took from Adam, men of a better family than our father's house, regenerate, sanctified, sealed by the Spirit of God against the day of redemption, men that are concorporate under one head, Jesus Christ, knit and united by nature, grace, by flesh, faith, humanity, Christianity, should be estranged in affection, Christians towards Christians, protestants towards protestants, more than ever were Jews and Samaritans, of whom we read in the gospel, that they might not converse?

Doubtless there are many things that have an attractive virtue to win and gain the opinions of men unto them. The unestimable wisdom of Solomon drew a woman, a queen, from a far country, that she might but hear and question with him. The admirable learning of Origen caused ungracious and wicked Porphyry to go from his native land to the city of Alexandria to see him,* and Mammæa the empress to send for him into her presence. It never wanteth honour, that is excellent. The voice of friendship, where it is firmly plight, is this, as Ambrose† observeth in his Offices, *tuis sum totus*, I am wholly thine. What difference was there betwixt Alexander and Hephæstion? Marriage, by the ordinance of God, knoweth no other method but composition: of two it maketh one, as God of one before made two by resolution. The first day of marriage solemnised amongst the heathens, the bride challenged of the bridegroom, *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*,‡ where you are master, I will be mistress. But the only loadstone and attractive upon the earth, to draw heaven and earth, men and angels, east and west, Jews and barbarians, sea and land, lands and islands together, and to make one of two, of thousands, of all, is religion, by which they are coupled and compacted under the government of one Lord; tied and conglutinate by the sinews of one faith, washed from their sins by the same laver of

* *Nolo nunc in hominis inhumanitatem declamare. Id unum quod omnes sciunt, non tam dicam quam mihi habeam, &c.* Jul. Scaliger. Exerc. 33.

* Vincen. Lirin.

† Offic. iii.

‡ Plutare.

new birth, nourished by the milk of the same word, feasted at the supper of the same Lamb, and assumed by the same Spirit of adoption, to the undoubted inheritance of one and the same kingdom. And I cannot mislike their judgment, who think that the little knowledge of God, and but elementary learning which Jonah preached, when he made his grave confession of the true God, laid the foundation of all this kindness which proceeded from these mariners.

How hath religion been a band unto Christendom, the discords and dissensions whereof (like a fire in the midst of the house, consuming both timber and stones) have laid more countries to the dition of the Turk, than ever his bow and shield could have purchased. We may truly say, as they in Athens sometimes, *Aurimus Philippum nos ipsi Athenienses*, we of Athens ourselves have amplified and strengthened Philip our enemy. It was prudently espied by Cortugal, one of the Turkish princes, in his oration persuasive to his lord to besiege Rhodes, *Christianus occasus discordiis intestinis corroboratur*, the fall of Christendom is set forward by civil disagreement. In the days of Mahomet the Second, they had gleaned out of Christendom (I mean those polluted Saracens), like scattered ears of corn neglected by the owners, two hundred cities, twelve kingdoms, and two empires. What an harvest they have reaped since that time, or rather we reaped for them, who knoweth not? And yet the canker runneth on, fretting and eating into Christendom, because the whole neglecteth the parts, and seeketh not to preserve them. Who is not moved with that lamentable description which Æneas Silvius maketh of Greece, in his oration against the Turks, for the composing and atoning of christened kingdoms? O noble Greece, behold now thine end, thou art dead and buried; if we seek for thy walls, we find but rubble, nay, we find not the ground wherein thy walls have stood; we look for Greece in Greece; we search for her cities, and find nothing save their carcases and ruined fragments. It is a paradox in common reason, hardly to be proved, but that experience findeth it true, brethren, kinsmen, or friends, when they fall to enmity, their hatred is greater than betwixt mortal foes; according to the prophecy of Christ, *inimici viri domestici ejus*, 'a man's enemies' indeed, and to purpose, to work him most harm, 'shall be they of his own house.' Of all the vials of the wrath of God poured down upon sinners, it is one of the sorest, when a man is 'fed with his own flesh, and drunken with his own blood, as with sweet wine,' Isa. xlix.; that is, taketh pleasure in nothing more than in the overthrow and extirpation of his own seed:—

Non nisi quæsitum cognatâ cæde cruorem,
Illicitumque bibit,

careth not for any blood but that which is drawn from the sides of his brethren and kinsmen. Tacitus*

* Annal. i.

noteth no less than I speak of, between Segestes and Ariminius, the one the father, the other the son-in-law, both hatefully and hostilely bent, *Quæ apud concordæ vincula charitatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos sunt*; that which bound them together in love, whilst they were at concord, put them further at variance, being once enemies. What more eager and bitter contention hath ever been between Christian and Saracen, than between Christian and Christian? We are brethren, I confess, one to the other, *fratres uterini*, brethren from the womb, *ὁμοπάτριοι, ὁμομήτριοι*, having one Father in heaven, and one mother upon earth; but it is fallen out upon us, which Jacob pronounced upon Simeon and Levi, we are brethren in evil; 'they in their wrath slew a man, and in their self-will digged down a wall,' and therefore their rage was accursed. Can we escape a curse, that have slain a man and a man, digged down a wall and a wall, betrayed a kingdom and a kingdom, laid open the vineyard for the wild boar, given the soul of the turtle to the beast, resigned up many sanctified dominions wherein the sceptre of Christ was acknowledged, to capital and deadly enemies, by our mutual intestine seditions? I can better shew you the malignity of the disease, than prescribe the remedy; but where brethren, kinsmen, confederates, contend together, what part gaineth? *Victi victoresque in lachrymas fusi*, the vanquished and the victors may both beshrew themselves; they may fight and imbrue their hands in blood, and get the honour of the day, but they will have little list to triumph at night. Jocasta told her two sons (rather her firebrands, as Hecuba foresaw of Paris), agreeing together like fire and water, that whosoever conquered the other, he would neither make show nor bear sign of the conquest; *Cadmea victoria, Frangenda palma est*:—

Bella geri placuit, nullos habitura triumphos.

'Oh pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper, and speed right happily, that wish her prosperity.' Pray not for the peace of Edom, whilst it is Edom; pray not for the peace of Babylon, whilst it continueth Babylon; so long as they cry against Sion, 'Down with it, down with it even to the ground,' the Lord return it sevenfold into their bosom. But pray to the prince of peace, whose blessing and gift peace is, that if ever we fight by moving either hand or pen, we may fight against Edom and Babylon, Ammon and Aram (as Joab and Abishai did), those that are without, but evermore desire, procure, and ensure the peace of Jerusalem. Thus far of the kindness shewed by the mariners unto Jonah, who, though they were but men, strange and unknown unto him, yet upon that knowledge of God which he had instilled into their minds by his preaching, they endeavoured what they could to save his life. How sped their labours?

But they could not, for the sea wrought, &c. I remit you for instruction herehence to the 11th verse,

where you have most of these very words. It shall stand more durable than the firmament of heaven, which the king of Babylon testified of God : Dan. iv., 'According to his will he worketh in the army of heaven and in the inhabitants of the earth ; and no man can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou ? ' He pronounceth as much of himself: Isa. xlv., 'My counsel shall stand, and I will do whatsoever I will ;' the earnestness and improbity of man's labour, nothing availeth, if God be against it ; it is but the labour of Sisyphus, labouring in the fire, and ploughing upon the rocks (as the mouth of God speaketh), according to his word in Malachi, 'They shall build, but I will pull down.' The vigour of the words once again giveth this counsel unto us, *μη θεομαχεῖν*, not to contend or wrestle with the power of God, which is as if a fly should oppose her force against a bulwark. They preach doctrine of sufferance and patience at the will of God ; *Quod ferendum est, feras*, that which thou must bear of necessity, bear with good contentment of mind, *malus est miles qui imperatorem gemens sequitur*.* He is an unmeet soldier that followeth his general groaning ; thou canst not strive with thy Maker, thou canst not add to the stature of thy body, nor change one hair of thy head from the colour which God gave it. It is not thy rising early that can make thee rich, nor barring the gates of thy city that can make thee safe ; much less canst thou ransom thy life, nor the life of thy brother, from the hand of God, thou must perforce let that alone for ever. A league with all the elements of the world, with the beasts of the field, stones in the street, with death and hell themselves, is unable to secure thee ; therefore, whatsoever befall thee in thy body, goods, children, or beasts, enter into thy chamber, be secret and still, and let the right hand of the Lord of hosts have the pre-eminence.

This was the reason, I conceive, that after those last words, 'cast me into the sea,' though the men strove with their oars, and cried to the Lord in the

* Senec.

next verse, yet there is no mention made either of deed or word added by Jonah ; for what should he do, when the countenance of the Lord was against him, but 'run the race set before his eyes with patience,' and fall to another meditation than before he had, that, although he were thrown into the sea, yet God was the Lord both of the land and the waters, and whether he sunk or swam, lived or died, he was that Lord's ? *Impatientia natales in ipso diabolo deprehendo*, I find that impatience was born of the devil, saith Tertullian ; to him let us leave this plant, which the hand of the Lord never planted, and to malcontented imps, with whom there is nothing so rife as banning, blaspheming, bitter and swelling speech against the highest power of heaven, if ever they be crossed or wrung with the least tribulation. They never learned how the links of that heavenly chain are fastened one to the other ; that 'tribulation bringeth patience, patience experience, experience hope, and hope will never suffer them to be ashamed or dismayed ;' they break the chain at the first link ; troubled they are against their wills, but that which is voluntary, as patience, experience, hope, they will not add, that both in body and soul they may be confounded. We on the other side hang upon the chain, and trust to climb to heaven by it (through the merits of Christ's death and passion), whereof the last link consisteth ; and we suffer none of those comfortable persuasions to fall to the ground without use, that 'if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him,' and 'through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.' We regard not so much what part we have in the whip, but what place in the testament : *non quam penam in flagello, sed quem locum in testamento*.* We know who hath sequestered for us (to use the word of Tertullian), *Idoneus patientie sequester Deus*. God will truly account for all our sufferings ; if we commit our wrongs unto him, he will revenge them ; our losses, he will restore them ; our lives, he will raise them up again.

* August.

LECTURE XVI.

Then they cried unto the Lord, and said, We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee.—JONAH I. 14.

THE sea is angry, you have heard, for the Lord of hosts' sake, and will have a sacrifice ; they gave it space and respite enough to see if time could make it forget the injury that was offered ; they entered consultation with Jonah himself of some milder handling him ; they spared not their painfulest contention of arms and oars, to reduce him to land again. But when delay wrought no better success, and neither the prophet himself could by advice prescribe, nor they effect by labour and strength, the release of God's vengeance, what should they do but make ready the

sacrifice, and bind it to the horns of the altar, bestowing a few words of blessing and dedication (if I speak rightly), before the offering thereof ? Jonah is sacrificed, in the next verse, 'So they took up Jonah ;' but the consecration and hallowing of the sacrifice goeth before in these words, 'wherefore they cried,' &c. It is the catastrophe of the whole act, now it draweth to an issue and accomplishment ; their fear, prayer, projection of their wares, sortilege, examination of Jonah, consultation, and other machinations and essays whatsoever, were but prefaces and intro-

ductions to this that followeth. The sea hath made a vow, and will surely perform it: I will not give my waters any rest, nor lie down upon my couch, till Jonah be cast forth.

Wherefore, or then. It implieth an illation from the former speeches; when neither head nor hands, counsel nor force could provide a remedy, they make it their last refuge to commend both themselves and Jonah to God by supplication: Jonah, by a touch, and in secret, in that they call his blood *innocent blood*, as who would say, he never did us hurt; themselves of purpose, and by profession, that having to deal in a matter so ambiguous, the mercy and pardon of God might be their surest fortress. The substance and soul of the whole sentence is prayer, a late but a safe experiment; and if the worst should fall out, that there were imperfection or blame in their action now intended, prayer, the sovereignest restorative under heaven to make it sound again. For thus in effect they think, It may be we shall be guilty of the life of a prophet, we address ourselves to the effusion of harmless blood, we must adventure the fact; and whether we be right or wrong, we know not; but whatsoever betide, we beg remission at thine hands, be gracious and merciful unto our ignorances, require not soul for soul, blood for blood, neither lay our iniquities unto our charge. Prayer hath asked pardon, and prayer (I doubt not) hath obtained pardon for some of that bloody generation which slew the very son and heir of the kingdom; which offered an unrighteous sacrifice of a more righteous soul than ever Jonah was; else why did he open his mouth at his death, and pour forth his groanings for those that opened his side and poured forth his blood, 'Father, forgive them'?

Before, they had handled the oars of their trade and occupation, but prevailed not, 'for bodily exercise profiteth nothing;' now they betake them to the oars of the Spirit, invocations, intercessions to the ever-living God, that, if the banks of the land, which they hoped to recover, should fail them, they might be received to an harbour and road of the mercies of God. These are the oars, my brethren, which shall row the ship through all the storms and insurrections of the waves of the seas, I mean the ark of God's church universal, and these vessels of ours, our bodies and souls in particular, through all the dangers of the world, and land them in the haven of eternal redemption. This world is a sea, as I find it compared, swelling with pride, and vain glory the wind to heave it up, blue and livid with envy, boiling with wrath, deep with covetousness, foaming with luxuriousness, swallowing and drinking in all by oppression, dangerous for the rocks of presumption and desperation, rising with the waves of passions and perturbations, ebbing and flowing with inconstancy, brinish and salt with iniquity, and finally, *mare amarum*, a bitter and unsavoury sea, with all kinds of misery. What should

we do, then, in such a sea of temptations, where the arm of flesh is too weak to bear us out, and if our strength were brass, it could not help us; where we have reason to carry a suspicion of all our ways, and he that is most righteous in the cluster of mankind, falleth in his happiest day seven times, and 'though we were privy to nothing in ourselves, yet were we not justified thereby,' but had need to crave, 'Cleanse us, O Lord, from our secret faults;' where we are taught to say, 'Father, forgive our debts;' and if the sum of our sins at our life's end be ten thousand talents, then whether we speak or think, wake or sleep, or whatsoever we do, we add a debt. When 'all offend in many things,' and many in all, and 'he that offendeth in one jot of the law breaketh the whole,' what should we do, I say, but as the apostle's exhortation is, 1 Thes. v., 'pray continually,' and think neither place, nor time, nor business, unmeet to so holy and necessary an exercise; that whether we begin the day, we may say with Abraham's servant, Gen. xxiv., 'O Lord, send me good speed this day;' or whether we be covered with the shadows of the night, we may beg with that sweet singer of Israel, Ps. xiii., 'Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death;' or whatsoever we attempt in either of these two seasons, we may prevent it with the blessing of that other psalm, Ps. xc., 'Prosper the work of our hands upon us, oh prosper thou our handiworks.' *Egredientes de hospitio armet oratio, regredientibus de platea occurrat oratio*.* when thou goest out of thine house, let prayer arm thee; when thou comest home to thine house, let prayer meet thee. Receive not thy meat without thanksgiving, take not thy cup without blessing, pray for the sin of thine own soul, and offer a sacrifice for thy sons and daughters; when thou liest down, couch thyself in the mercies of God; when thou risest up, walk with the staff of his providence.

In this prayer of the mariners, there are many notable specialties: *First*, it is common; the work of the whole multitude. In the fifth verse there was mention of prayers, I grant, but there it is said, *Invocarunt quisque Deum suum*, though all prayed, yet all apart, to their proper Gods. *Secondly*, fervent; they cried in their prayer. It is not a formal service; the sound of their lips, and the sighs of their souls, are sent with an earnest message to the ears of God. *Thirdly*, discreet; they pray not to their idols, as before, but to the Lord of hosts. *Fourthly*, vocal and public; there was a form and tenor of supplication which their lips pronounced, *they said*. *Fifthly*, humble; they come with the term and phrase of obsecration, *we beseech thee, O Lord*. *Sixthly*, importunate, as appeareth by their ingemination, *we beseech thee, we beseech thee*. *Seventhly*, seasonable and pertinent, applied to the thing then in hand to be executed, *bring not upon us innocent blood*. *Eighthly*, reasonable and just, standing upon a good

* Hieron.

ground, fitted to the will and pleasure of the Almighty, *for thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.*

1. *They.* We are willed, Matthew the sixth, to 'enter our chambers, and shut the doors, and pray to our Father in secret; and our Father that seeth in secret shall openly reward it;' because it was the fashion of hypocrites to stand and pray in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, to be seen of men. Our Saviour never meant thereby to condemn prayers in synagogues, either standing or kneeling, or prayers in the corners of the streets, or in the height of the market-places, or upon the house-tops, in the sight both of men and angels, but only to exclude the affected ostentation of men-pleasing hypocrites, who prayed to a wicked end, not to obtain, but only to be seen of men. Enter into thy chamber and pray, go into the temple and pray; commune with thine own heart, commune with the multitude, both are good. And that we may know that we are not stinted in our prayers, only to ourselves and our private families (as the Athenians would offer sacrifice but only for their own city and their neighbours of Chios), our Saviour hath taught us the contrary, in that absolute form of his, willing us to say, '*Our Father* which art in heaven;' as if we all came from one womb, and whosoever spake, pleaded the cause of the rest of his brethren. Not that we may not say asunder and in private, *My Father*, as Thomas said, '*My God and my Lord*;' but as there is a time for the one, so we must not omit the other in due season. It is a principle both of nature and policy, *vis unita fortior*, strength united receiveth more strength; it holdeth likewise in divinity. If the prayer of one righteous person availeth much, the prayer of many righteous shall avail more. If the Syrophœnician obtained for her daughter the suit she made, much more shall the church and congregation of Christ obtain for her children. If, 'where two or three be gathered together in his name, he is in the midst of them,' much rather in the midst of a people, in the midst of thousands, in whom there is *anima una, cor unum*, one soul, one heart, one tongue, as if they were all but one man. Lord, heal the sores of our land in this point; and as it is thy work alone that 'those who dwell together in one house shall be of one mind,' so magnify this work amongst us, that the children of this realm, which fly from our churches and oratories, as John from the bath wherein Cerinthus was, rending and tearing the soul of this country into two pieces, dividing the voice and language thereof in their prayers to God, Elias and his company praying in one place, and with one style, '*O Lord God of Abraham*,' and they in another, '*O Baal, hear us*' (for so they do in effect, when they pray to such as hear them not); some calling for fire to consume the sacrifice, and some for water to consume the fire; some praying for the life of Deborah the queen of this land, and some for the life of Jabin the king of Spain; thus mingling and confounding the ears of the Lord with opposite petitions,

from crossing and contrary affections, that at length they may consider from whence they are fallen and severed, both from the unity of this public body of ours, wherein they have their maintenance, and, if they take not heed, of that mystical body of their Lord and Redeemer Christ Jesus.

2. *They cried.* It is a condition which James requireth, '*the prayer of the just, if it be fervent.*' Else even the prayers of the just, if they be perfunctory and cold, rather of custom than of devotion and piety, they profit not, but to condemnation. '*Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently;*' prayer is a work of his. '*The Lord is near unto all them that call upon him faithfully,*' not formally. He giveth both *aquam et sitim*,* the benefit, and the grace to desire and thirst after it. We hear not our own prayers (I mean not for want of sound, and much babbling, but for want of inward desire); the voice of our spirit is soft and submissive, and dieth in the air before it ascendeth into the presence of God; and shall we think that God will hear us?† Our bodies haply in the church, our minds without; our tongue uttereth prayers, our heart thinketh on usuries; we bow the knees of our flesh, but not the knees of our hearts. He that knew in his soul that prayer 'from feigned lips' and a false heart would return empty into his bosom that sent it up, but 'a broken and contrite spirit the Lord would not despise,' never pressed into the courts of his God, but the inwardest and deepest affections of his mind were given in sacrifice. '*Every night washed he his bed, and watered his couch with tears;*' he in the night time, when others slept and took their natural recreation; yea, there was not a night that escaped without task, and it washed not his plants alone, but the very pallet and couch which he lodged upon. So richly was his soul watered with the dew of heaven, that it ministered continually both fountains to his eyes, and a fluent expedition to his tongue to commend his prayers. We may learn to be zealous in our prayers, even of those wooden priests, 1 Kings xviii., of whom it is written that 'they called upon the name of Baal from morning till noon,' and when they had no answer, 'they cried loud,' nay, 'they cut themselves with knives and lances, till the blood flowed out;' so they prayed not only in tears, but in blood, that they might be heard. I would the children of the light were as zealous in their generations. But rather let them receive their light and directions for the framing of this holy exercise from the Sun of righteousness, of whom the apostle witnesseth, Heb. v., that 'in the days of his flesh he offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to help him.' And the Gospel further declareth, not only that 'he kneeled' (at the naming of whose name all knees have bowed, both in heaven and earth, and under the earth), but that 'he fell upon the ground,' the footstool of his

* Gregor.

† Chrysost.

own majesty, and 'lay upon his face,' which never angel beheld without reverence; and when he had prayed before, he prayed 'more earnestly' (as the Scripture recordeth), he once prayed, and departed; and a second time, and departed; and yet a third time, and departed; evermore using the same petition. His prayer ascended by degrees, like incense and perfume, and not only his lips went, but his agony and contention within was so vehement, that 'an angel was sent from heaven to comfort him;' and whereas the priests of Baal used art to make them bleed, cutting their flesh with lances and knives to that purpose, he, with the trouble of his soul, sweat a natural, or rather unnatural, sweat, 'like drops of blood trickling down to the earth.' We, when we go to prayer, as if our souls and tongues were strangers, the one not witting what the other doth, the lips babbling without, and the heart not pricked with any inward compunction, 'honouring God with our mouths, and our spirits far from him,' deserve to be answered as he answered the Jews, Isa. i., 'When you stretch forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; and though you make many prayers, I will not hear you.' The reason is there, 'your hands are full of blood;' the reason to us may be, your hearts bleed not; you call me Lord, Lord, but mean it not: the altar is without fire, prayer without heat, words without intention, gesture of the body without the consent of the inward man.

3. *They cried unto the Lord.* It is not less than a miracle, that men so newly endued with the knowledge of God, can so presently renounce their ancient idols which they had ever served, and within but few minutes of time most religiously adored; they call upon Jehovah, that hidden and fearful name, which erst they had not known; and neither the accustomed manner of their countries, nor colour of antiquity, nor want of experience in another Lord, nor the simple narration of one singular prophet, nor any the like motions, can hold them in awe of their former imaginary gods, and keep them from invocation of the Lord of hosts. No reason can be yielded but this, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth,' and the Spirit breatheth where it will, and the mercy of God softeneth where his pleasure is. It is a gift from him alone, who giveth the new heart and putteth the new spirit within a man; who taketh the stony heart from him, and giveth him an heart of flesh instead thereof, Ezek. xxxvi. 26, who of the stones by the banks of Jordan (saith John Baptist) 'is able to raise up children to Abraham,' and daily doth raise up children to himself, to do him worship and service, of those that were hardened in idolatry before, like flints in the streets. Turn us, O Lord, and we shall be turned; wash us with clean water, and we shall be cleansed; renew us (as the eagle her days), and we shall be renewed; gather thy chosen flock from the mountains and deserts when they stray, to fulfil thy fold, and we shall be gathered; say, thou wilt sweep thy house, and find thy goate, and we

shall be found. Nature cannot make a new birth; entering into our mother's womb again, is unable to work it; the gold of Sheba and Seba cannot purchase it. 'No man cometh to the Son, unless the Father draw him;' and if the Father have once given him into his hands, all the devils in hell cannot pull him out again. I make it the wisdom of him that prayeth, to level his heart and affections at the very right centre and mark of prayer, which is God alone; he is the sanctuary to whom we must fly, the period and scope in whom our requests must end. Prayer and faith (if the apostle deceive us not, Rom. x.) must kiss each other; 'how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?' Faith is the ground of prayer; first, 'we believe,' and then 'speak;' so was the order of David, Ps. cxvi. Do we (my brethren) believe in angels? for that is the apostle's phrase, how shall they call on him, *ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν*, 'in whom,' or 'upon whom, they have not believed?' We believe *angelos*, that there are angels, which the Sadducees denied. And if an angel should come from heaven unto us with a message from God, as he came to Mary and others, we would believe angels, *angelis*, that is, give credence unto them, as they did. But if we believe in angels, *in angelos*, we forget their place of ministration which they are appointed unto, and make them our gods. Much less believe we in the sons of men, which are less than angels. Therefore the gleanings of these mariners is more worth than the whole vintage of Rome, who, in a moment of time, have gathered more knowledge how to inform their prayers aright, than they in the decourse of many continued generations. These pray to Jehovah, the true subsisting God; they not only to God, but to angels, and men, and stocks, and stones, and metals, and papers, and I know not what.

It may be a challenge sufficient unto them all (to say no more), that in so many prayers of both ancient and righteous patriarchs, prophets, judges, kings, registered in the book of God, and in an hundred and fifty psalms, an hundred whereof at least are prayers and supplications, and in all the devout requests that the apostles of Christ, and other his disciples sent into heaven (if they take the pen of a writer, and note from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelation), they cannot find one directed to cherub or seraphim, Gabriel or Raphael, Abraham or Moses, or John Baptist after his death, or any other creature in heaven or earth, save only to the Lord and his anointed. Have these all erred? Even so will we; and more sweet shall our error be unto us, with these, of whom we make no question, but that they are bound up in the bundle of life with the congregation of first-born, than a new and recent device of prayer, obtruded unto us by those who falsely suppose themselves to be the pillars and stays of God's militant church. The 86th Psalm (to give you a little portion of food to ruminate upon), as some conceive, was not a psalm composed for any particular use, but left to the church of God,

as a general rule and prescription to fit the condition of every man. Wherein there are first some reasons in our own behalf, wherewith we insinuate ourselves into the favour of God, that he may hear us: 1. 'Bow down thine ear unto me, O Lord.' Why? 'I am poor and needy;' the exigence of my distressful affairs requireth thy help. 2. 'Preserve thou my soul.' Why? 'I am merciful;' I ask not mercy at thy throne, but as I shew mercy again to my brethren. 3. 'Save thou thy servant, my God.' Why? 'Because he putteth his trust in thee;' he hath no other rock to cleave unto. 4. 'Be merciful unto me, O Lord.' Why? 'I cry upon thee continually;' I have constantly decreed with myself not to give over the hope of thy comfort. 5. 'Rejoice the soul of thy servant.' Why? 'For to thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul;' the best and chosenest member I have shall do thee service. His misery, mercy, faithfulness, constancy, sincerity, speak for audience. Now, on behalf of God, there are other inducements recited from the 5th verse, why we resort to the wings of his favour when we are distressed: 1. From his mercy and kindness to all that call upon him: 'for thou, Lord, art good and gracious, and of great compassion;' therefore give ear to my prayer, and hearken unto the voice of my supplication. 2. From experience and trial: 'In the day of my trouble will I call upon thee, for thou hearest me.' 3. From comparison and greatness of his works: 'Amongst the gods there is none like unto thee, and who can do like thy works?' 4. From consent of the world: 'All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.' 5. From the soleness and singularity of his Godhead, which is the chief: 'For thou art great, and doest wondrous things, and art God alone.' 1, His general exhibition of mercy to all; 2, particular and personal application to some; 3, the rareness and majesty of his works; 4, the consent of nature and nations; 5, the singularity of Godhead: these are motions and persuasions to call forth our prayers; and these, if they can be verified, either of angels or men, I refuse not to give them a part with God in this our sacred oblation.

4. *They cried and said.* Their prayers were also vocal and expressed. The groanings of the spirit undoubtedly, though Zacharias be dumb and cannot speak a word, shall never be refused. He made the heart and the tongue, that understandeth the language of both alike; he is as near to our reins as to our lips; and the voice of the one is not more audible to him that heareth without ears, than the other's intention. *In Dei auribus desiderium vehemens clamor magnus est; remissa intentio, vox submissa;** in the ears of God a vehement desire is a great cry, a remiss and careless intention is a submiss and still voice. Hannah, a type of the church, 'spake in her heart, her lips did only move, and her voice was not heard,' 1 Sam. i. Yea,

* Bernard.

the gestures of her body through the grief of her soul were such, that Eli reproved her of drunkenness. Indeed, she was drunk, not with the wine of grapes, but with the wine of devotion, which ran from the winepress of a troubled spirit, and the Lord remembered her petition, though she prayed with her heart alone, and her tongue stirred not. What then? Hath the tongue immunity thereby from doing that homage unto the Lord which he hath enjoined it? Shall not 'the calves of our lips' be required, because we have tendered the calves of our hearts? Must not both the heart believe, and the mouth make confession? and as the one is the cistern within thyself to contain the honour of God, so must not the other be the pipe to convey it to thy brethren? Surely yes. Ask both body and soul, and every part of them both, whose image and inscription they bear? They will tell thee. God's; then pay the tribute of both, and glorify God with thy body and spirit, for both are his. And as thou liftest up thy soul with David in the 86th Psalm, so lift up thy hands also with Moses, lift up thine eyes with Stephen, lift up thy voice with Deborah, and with all the children of God, whose pleasure and joy it is to hear God praised in the great congregation. If there be priests to pray for the people, which must weep 'between the porch and the altar,' even in the body and navel of the church, where the sound of his voice may best be heard, and say, 'Spare thy people, O Lord,' &c., Joel ii.; if there be temples and churches which the prophet hath termed, and Christ ratified to be, the 'houses of prayer;' if there be seldom and set times appointed for these duties to be done in; if there be forms and patterns devised, even from the Son of God, how our prayers should be conceived: then is there no question but we must open our lips in the service of God, and our mouth must be willing to shew forth his praise.

5. *We beseech thee, O Lord.* They use the properest terms of submission that may be. They come not to brag, 'We are worthy, O Lord, whom thou shouldst do for,' as the princes of the people spake for the centurion in the Gospel; they come not to indent and bargain, 'If thou wilt be our God,' &c.; they know they stand upon grace, not desert, and that the Lord must be entreated, or they cannot live. Humility is both a grace itself, and a vessel to comprehend other graces; and this is the nature of it, the more it receiveth of the blessings of God, the more it may. For it ever emptieth itself, by a modest estimation of her own gifts, that God may always fill it; it wrestleth and striveth with God, according to the policy of Jacob, that is, winneth by yielding; and the lower it stoopeth towards the ground, the more advantage it getteth to obtain the blessing. *O quam excelsus es, Domine, et humiles corde sunt domus tua;** O Lord, how high and sovereign art thou, and the humble of heart are thine houses to dwell in. 'Where is that house that

* August. in confess.

ye will build unto me, and where is that place of my rest? To him will I look, even to him that is pure, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my words,' Isa. lxvi. Plutarch writeth of some who sailed to Athens for philosophy's sake, that first they were called *sophista*, wise men, afterwards *philosophi*, but lovers of wisdom; next, *rhetores*, only reasoners and discoursers; last of all, *idiotæ*, simple, unlettered men. The more they profited in learning, the less they acknowledged it. Thus, in spiritual graces, we should study to be great, but not know it; as the stars in the firmament, though they be bigger than the earth, yet they seem much less. *In alto non altum sapere*, not to be high-minded in high deserts, is the way to preferment. David asketh, *Quis ego sum, Domine*, 'O Lord, who am I?' He was taken from that lowliness of conceit to be the king of Israel. Jacob protesteth, *Minor sum*, 'I am less than the least of thy mercies;' he was preferred before his elder brother, and made the father of the twelve tribes. Peter crieth, *Eri à me, Domine, homo peccator sum*, 'Go out from me, Lord, I am a sinful man;' he heard, 'Fear not, I will henceforth make thee a fisher of men.' John Baptist soundeth, *Non sum dignus*. 'I am not worthy to loose the latchet of his shoe;' he was found worthy to lay his hands upon the head of Christ. The centurion treadeth in the same footsteps, *Non sum dignus*, 'I am not worthy, under the roof of whose house thou shouldst come;' his commendation was rare, 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.' Paul departeth not from the same words, *Non sum dignus*, 'I am not worthy to be called an apostle;' he 'obtained mercy to the example of those that were afterwards to come.' The blessed virgin, in her answer to the angel, sheweth that the salutation no way lifted up her heart, *Ecce ancilla Domini*, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord;' she obtaineth that for which 'all the generations of the world should call her blessed.' This base and inglorious style of the most glorious saints of God, *non sum dignus*, and the like, shall get us the honour of saints, shall raise us from the dust, and set us upon thrones, take us from amongst beasts, and place us with angels. What was it in the blessed virgin, the mother of God's first-born, the glory and flower of womankind, that God regarded so much? She telleth you, in her song of thanksgiving, 'He hath regarded

the lowliness of his handmaid;' yea, the blood and juice of that whole song is in praise of humility. 'He hath scattered the proud in the imaginations of their heart, he hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek.' Oh that the women of our age could sing *Magnificat* with that humbleness of spirit that Mary did, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord;' that recompense would be theirs which followeth: 'He that is mighty hath magnified me again, and holy is his name.' But they magnify themselves too much with pedlars' ware (what shall I term it?), unprofitable garments, which the moth shall fret, and time itself rot upon their backs, but they never think in their hearts how God may be magnified. It is not without some mystery that the angels told the shepherds, Luke ii., 'This shall be a sign unto you, you shall find the infant wrapt in swaddling clothes.' *In signum positi sunt panni tui, O bone Jesu, sed in signum adversus humilitatem*, 'A sign that is spoken against;* a sign that is done against; we cannot abide thy clouts, thy rags (O Lord Jesu), nor any part of thy humility. His nativity was by his ordinance first preached to shepherds; he contended with his forerunner who should be the lowlier of the two; he took fishermen to be his disciples, embraced young children, paid tribute to his inferiors, fled away that he might not be made a king, washed the feet of his apostles, charged the leper not to tell any man, rode upon an ass, sought his Father's glory, not his own, to whom he was 'obedient to the death, even to the death of the cross.' In all which he doth not less than proclaim unto us, 'learn of me to be humble and meek, and you shall find rest for your souls.' I say but this. The Master is worthy your hearing, the lesson your learning, the recompense your receiving. In this bed of humility let me rest your souls for this time, and let us beseech the God of majesty, who is higher than the highest in the earth, who will resist the proud, and give his graces to the humble and weak; that whether we ask, we may ask in humility; or whether we have received, we may use it without vainglory, that all our words and works may be powdered with that salt in the psalm, which eat out all ostentation, 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the honour and praise.' Amen.

* Bern. ser. de verb. Angel.

LECTURE XVII.

We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life.—JONAH I. 14.

THE prayer of the mariners beginneth not till you come to these words. The other were the words of the history, reporting what they did; these now propounded are their own, or at least the sum and effect of them. We may reduce them to two heads: first, a petition, and therein a preface, 'We beseech thee,

O Lord, we beseech thee,' comprising the manner and form of praying, and the matter or substance of the petition, 'Let us not perish for this man's life,' &c.; second, the reason, 'For thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.' So as in the words of the history, signifying how they behaved themselves, together

with the petition, and the reason of the same, we find eight conditions requisite to the nature of prayer, five whereof we have already dealt in; the sixth we are to proceed unto.

6. The importunity they use, implied in the doubling and iterating of their suppliant terms, *We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee.* 'Woe be to him that is alone,' who, when he hath spoken once, speaketh no more, as if he were weary of well-doing, and repented himself that he had begun. If his former request be weak and infirm, fainting in the way to the mercy of God, he hath not a friend to help it, nor a brother to say unto it, 'Be strong.' This double supplication of theirs falleth as the showers of the first and latter rain; if the one faileth of watering the earth sufficiently, the other fulfilleth the appetite and thirst thereof. So should our prayers be bent, that as the kine of the Philistines, which bare the ark, 1 Sam. vi., though they were milch, and had calves at home, 'yet they kept the straight way to Beth-shemesh, and held one path, and lowed as they went, and turned neither to the right hand nor the left, neither ever stood still till they came into the field of Joshua, where he was reaping his harvest;' so the affection of our souls bearing the ark and coffer of our suits, though it hath worldly allurements to draw it back, as the kine had calves, yet keepeth on the way to the house of God, as they to Beth-shemesh, holding one path of perseverance, lowing with zeal, turning neither to the right nor to the left hand with wandering cogitations, till it cometh into the field and garden of God, where her harvest groweth.

We beseech thee, we beseech thee. This ingemination of speech noteth an unmoveable and constant affection to the thing we affect, as if the tongue and heart were willing to dwell thereupon. 'O Absalom, O my son Absalom, O Absalom, my son, my son,' was the mourning of David, when he heard of the death of Absalom, as if his soul had been tied to the name and memory of his son, and his tongue had forgotten all other speech, save only to pronounce Absalom. It sheweth what love our Saviour bare to the holy city, in that he repeated his sorrows over it, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem,' as if he had made a vow, with David, 'If I forget Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning, or rather my tongue her moving.' I cannot leave thee at the first naming, thou art deeper in my heart, therefore I say, *Jerusalem*, and again *Jerusalem*, I ever regarded thy welfare with undoubted compassion. The mariners import no less in repeating their request, *we beseech thee, O Lord*, and once again, *we beseech thee*; pardon our importunate outeries, 'our hearts are fixed, yea, our hearts are fixed,' our 'souls are athirst for thy loving-kindness, we will give thee no rest' till thou receivest our prayers. The longer Abraham talked with God, Gen. xviii., the more he gained. He brought him from the whole number to fifty, and from fifty to ten, before he left him. 'Be-

hold, I have begun to speak unto my Lord, and am but dust and ashes; let not my Lord be angry, and I will speak again,' and once more, 'I have begun to speak,' and once more, 'let not my Lord be offended.' *Once more and again*, you see, are able to send away clouds of fire and brimstone. And so far was it off that God was angry with his instant request, that he gave him both a patient ear and a gracious answer, 'If ten be found there, I will not destroy it. It pleaseth the ears of his majesty right well to be long entreated, his nature is never so truly aimed at as when we persuade ourselves that our impatience in prayer can never offend his patience. He that hath twice and ten times together ingeminated the riches of his mercy, as Exod. xxxiv., 'The Lord, the Lord, is merciful, gracious, slow to anger, abundant in goodness and truth, reserving mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and sin, and transgression;' what did he mean thereby, but that twice and ten times together we should cry for his mercy?

We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee. A woman of Canaan, in the Gospel, Mat. xv., calleth upon our Saviour, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord, thou Son of David, my daughter is miserably vexed with a devil; he answered her not one word.' It appeareth that she called still, because his disciples said, 'Send her away, for she crieth after us.' Then he was 'not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;' yet she came and 'worshipped him, saying, Lord, help me.' He answereth, 'It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the whelps.' She replied upon him, 'Truth, Lord, but the whelps eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table.' Then Jesus answered, and said unto her, 'O woman, great is thy faith.' She fastened upon Christ with her prayers, as the woman of Shunam upon Elisha with her hands, 2 Kings iv. She caught him by the feet, and said unto him, 'As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee.' Consider what discouragements her poor soul digested: 1, she was 'not answered' by Christ; 2, she had back friends of his disciples; 3, she was none of the lost sheep; 4, she was a whelp. Yet in the end she obtained both a cure for her daughter's infirmity, and a commendation for her own faith. She wrought a miracle by the force of her prayers, she made both the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak, she cried to the ears and tongue of her Redeemer, *Ephatha*, 'Be ye opened,' hear and answer my petition, fulfil my request. *Non importunus nec impudens es,** &c.; it is not a sauey nor shameless part in thee to ask remission of thy sins at God's hands without ceasing; thou givest him occasion to do a memorable act, convenient to his nature, glorious to his holy name. That which man giveth, he loseth and dispossesseth himself of; it is not so with God; thou art not the better, God the worse, thou the richer, God the poorer, for his gifts,

* August. de verb. Apost.

non tu accipiendo proficis, et Deus in dando deficit. 'Open thy mouth wide, and he will fill it;' enlarge thy belly, and he will satisfy thee. *Fons vincit sitientem*, the fountain and source of his goodness is above the desire and thirst of thy necessities. If you observed it in the last history, the disciples of Christ thought it an impudent part that the Syrophœnician cried after them, 'Send her away.' Did Christ so account it, or would he dismiss her? Doubtless it joyed his heart to suspend her desires in expectation, and consequently to extend them, to hold her long in his company; he said to himself, I am well pleased that she crieth after me. It delighted his ears to hear her redoubled obsecrations, more than the instruments of David could have done; it gave him matter to work upon, it tried a faith, it won a soul, it occasioned a miracle. Bernard to this purpose noteth of the spouse in the Canticles,† beginning her suit, and wooing of Christ so rudely as she doeth, 'Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth,' though to entreat a great favour of a great Lord she useth no flattery unto him, she seeketh no means, she goeth not about by drifts and circumlocutions, she maketh no preamble, she worketh no benevolence, but from the abundance of her heart suddenly breaketh forth, *nudè frontesque satis*, barely and boldly enough, Let him kiss me with a kiss of his lips. The parables in St Luke, chaps. xi. and xviii., the one of a friend called up at midnight, the other of a wicked judge, instruct us thus much, that unless we hold a meaner opinion of God than of a common vulgar friend, which were too base to conceive, or a more unrighteous judgment of him than of the most unrighteous judge (thau which what can be thought more blasphemous?), we should not distrust the success of our prayers, but that improbity and importunity at the least would draw him to audience. It was midnight with these mariners when they called at the gates of God, the friend and lover of the souls of men, the unseasonablest and deadeat time in the judgment of human reason. They called for more than loaves, the relief and succour of their lives, more dear unto them than any sustenance. Their friend? Nay, their enemy was at hand, and the last enemy of mankind. The gates seemed to be shut, all hopes of deliverance well nigh past; the children were in bed asleep, vain was the help of man, their arm was weak, and their oars unprofitable, angels and saints could not help them; yet they knocked at the gates of their friend once, 'We beseech thee, O Lord,' and, because he denied them the first time, they knocked again, 'We beseech thee, O Lord;' and I doubt not but they continued knocking, till in the end he arose, and granted them their heart's requests.

7. The next condition of their prayer was, that it was properly and pertinently applied to their present fear, 'Let us not perish for this man's life,' &c. It was written in their hearts, which others might have

† Ser. vii. in Cantic.

read in the Psalms of David, 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.' They thought that prophets were jewels and pearls unto God, and that the marring of one such would severely be required. Hence come their tears, this is the thorn that pricketh them, fear to offend in hurting an harmless man, together with that sting and venom which sin leaveth behind it; they know it will call for vengeance, and though it pass the hand, and the eye, speeding itself in the seeming of him that doeth it, into the land of forgetfulness, as it should never be thought upon, yet the Lord will fetch it back again, and set it before the face of the sinner, and lay it as freshly to his charge as if he were then in the act and perpetration thereof. These be the sores wherewith they smart, danger of their own lives, if they assault the life of Jonah; and watchfulness of the justice of God in taking account of forepassed sins. To these they apply the medicines. We know the order of thy court and judgment-seat, to exact life for life, therefore *let us not perish for this man's life*; we know that no sin can escape thy dreadful hand, therefore if we happen to offend in spilling innocent blood, *lay not our iniquity upon us*, blot it out of thy book, let it pass as a morning dew before the sun, and not be imputed. In disposing our prayers to God, we must, as the scribe in the Gospel, 'bring forth of our treasures things old and new.' For the blessings of God in general, there may be general thanksgivings; for sins in general, general confessions; ancient and usual forms of prayer for ancient and usual occurrences. We may 'take unto us words,' as the prophet speaketh, Hosea xiv., 'and say unto the Lord' at all times, 'Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously, so will we render the calves of our lips.' But as the matter of God's judgments and our dangers is varied, so must we accordingly vary our prayers. In the time of a plague, we must make of our prayers a particular Mithridate* against the plague, acknowledging the hand of God that inflicted it, knowing that the cause and original thereof is not so much infection in the air, as rottenness and corruption within our own bones, beseeching his majesty, as Phinehas did, that the plague may cease, and that he will visit no longer with that kind of judgment. If the land be smitten with leanness and scarcity, so that the children thereof cry for bread, and swoon as they go in the streets for want of food, we must pray in another style, that the Lord will vouchsafe to 'hear the heavens again, the heavens may hear the earth, the earth the corn, the vine, and the oil, and these Israel,' Hosea ii., or other his distressed people, and that he will visit no longer with this kind of judgment. If the enemy shall say against us, 'Come, we will devour, we will devour, the name of Sion shall be no more had in remembrance,' we must turn unto the Lord with another form of supplication: Joel ii., 'Spare thy people, O Lord,

* A *Mithridate* was a celebrated antidote against poison, said to have been discovered by Mithridates, king of Pontus.—ED.

and give not thine heritage into reproach, that the heathen should rule over them; wherefore should they say among the people, Where is now their God? Oh cease to visit thy servants with this kind of judgment. If the heavens be brass above us, and drop no moisture upon our fruits, or if the spouts which God hath divided in the air pour down too much upon our heads—sometime he roareth so fearfully with his voice of thunders as who may abide it? His lightnings give shine to the earth, and our eyes are dazzled thereat; he raineth down tempests and storms upon us, hailstones and coals of fire, this is our portion sometimes to drink—still, as his plagues are new, so let us come before him with new songs, new intercessions, meekly kneeling before the Lord our maker, and falling low at his footstool, that his hand may be turned back in these kinds of judgments. Thus did Solomon dedicate and bless the temple, 2 Chron. vi., beseeching the Lord, that when the people should pray unto him, according to their sundry needs, whether they were troubled with the assault of their enemy, or with want of rain, with famine, or mildew, or with captivity, he would then hear them in heaven, and be merciful unto them. The sickness which these mariners suspect is an issue of blood, which being once opened, will ever run and keep a course, if it be not stanch'd with the mercy of God, and therefore they call upon him, as that present occasion enforceth them, 'O let us not perish for this man's life, and bring not upon us innocent blood.' Besides which purpose of theirs, in laying the finger upon the sore, that is, in suiting of their prayer with the present danger; for the fuller explication of the words themselves, it may please you to take knowledge of two things: (1.) The proceeding of God in the case of bloodshed, life for life, delivered in the former clause, 'Let us not perish for the soul of this man;' (2.) how the blood of Jonah in the latter may be called innocent blood.

(1.) The law is general touching the former: Exod. xxi., 'life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.' It is added, Leviticus xxiv., 'Breath for breath, blemish for blemish;' Gen. ix., 'I will require your blood wherein your lives are,' that is one reason; in the next words, 'whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God hath he made man,' that is another reason. Our Saviour reciteth the law in the Gospel: Mat. xxvi., 'Whoso taketh the sword shall perish with the sword.' And that we may know that this law was never repealed, we find it in the last book: Revelation xiii., 'If any lead into captivity, he shall go into captivity; if any man kill with a sword, he must be killed with a sword.' 'Here is the patience and the faith of saints;' that is, they believe, and this they verily expect to be performed upon their enemies. So the ordinary rule, without question, is this, He that taketh away the life of man, himself shall like-

wise perish. Notwithstanding, the maker of the law may, and doth sometimes, dispense with his own law. Many a one, I confess, hath killed his neighbour, himself not ending his days in the like manner. Be it so; yet first he is slain with a sword of his own, as Goliath was, he dieth daily with the stabbing and lancing of his own heart; and as in that first plague wherewith Pharaoh was smitten, all the waters of Egypt, in their rivers, their streams, their ponds, their pools, their vessels of wood, and their vessels of stone, were changed into blood, so in the mind and conscience of a murderer there shall always remain a plague of blood; his eyes shall behold no other colour but sanguine, as if the air were dyed into it, the visions of his heart in the night time shall cast a bowl of blood in his face;* all the cogitations and thoughts of his heart shall overflow with the remembrance of that blood which he hath effused. Again, if he that hath killed a man dieth in his bed, or otherwise by the hands of God, without the irrogation of this judgment upon him, to be killed or executed by the hands of men, yet let him know that he is dead by the law already; the sword of the Spirit of God hath fallen upon him, the sword and sentence of the law hath condemned him, and that he is 'reserved to the judgment of the great day,' where the sword of eternal damnation, the double and triple edge whereof can never be rebated, shall feed upon his flesh, and he drunken with his blood without ceasing. Or, lastly, if he escape the dint of all these swords, temporal in this life, internal in the conscience, eternal in the world to come, let him thank his crucified Redeemer, whose stripes have healed him, the wounding and bleeding of whose precious body hath made intercession with his Father in heaven, that the wounds and bloodshed which he was worker of, are not thought upon.

(2.) Secondly, We inquired how the blood of Jonah might be termed *innocent*. A man that fled from the face of God, whom the winds and the sea hated with a perfect hatred, even unto death; a man whom the mariners themselves rebuked, and now by the instant voice of God are ready to cast forth: how is he innocent? I answer, In part, not wholly; with respect, not absolutely; innocent towards these men, whom he never injured, not with relation to God, whom he had heinously offended. The Pelagians of our time, magnifying the arm of flesh and the nature of mankind more than reason admitteth, by a sophistical and deceitful conclusion, have sought to obscure the truth, and to over-reach the world in this point. For, because they find in the Scriptures often mention of the innocency, justice, perfection of the children of God, they dissembling, or not wisely weighing the drift of the place, simply infer thereupon that the law of God may be kept and fulfilled in this life. Their paralogism is easily discovered and disproved by the rule of

* Plutarch.

Augustine,* When the perfection of any man is named, we must consider wherein it is named. A man may be a perfect hearer of wisdom, not a perfect teacher.† Thus is he perfect and imperfect; a perfect knower of righteousness, not a perfect doer; perfect in this, that he loveth all men, and yet imperfect in the love itself. It were absurdly concluded Jonah was innocent towards the mariners, therefore innocent towards the Israelites; innocent towards man, therefore innocent towards God; innocent in this present behaviour, therefore innocent in the whole conversation of his life. As it hath no just consecution, David was innocent towards Saul, therefore innocent towards Uriah. A man may be righteous, both in comparison of others, for he is the best which hath the fewest faults;‡ and in comparison of himself, for we must judge of a man by that whereto the greater part of his life and disposition hath been inclined.§ And because there was no father in the church who had greater reason to ventilate this argument to the bottom than Augustine had, himself in that ambitious age being sifted and proved by so many adversaries to the grace and righteousness of God, I will give you a short taste of his answers and satisfactions to the question, as I find them in his writings.

Touching perfection, he writeth thus by occasion of the apostle's words, Philippians the third, 'Let us, as many as be perfect, be thus minded.' Yet in the twelfth verse before, it is contraried, 'Not as though I had already attained it, or that I were already perfect.' How may these stand together? Perfect and imperfect. If we take perfection in intention and purpose, not in pervention,|| and obtaining the purpose; in contention, endeavour, inchoation, that is, in imperfection, and not otherwise; thou canst not otherwise be perfect in this life unless thou know that in this life thou canst not be perfect.¶ There is a certain perfection according to the measure and proportion of this life,** and to that perfection this is also deputed, if a man know that yet he is not perfect. So as it is not the least part of our perfection to know and confess our imperfections. Bernard upon the former words to the Philippians,†† that I may insert his judgment also by the way, beateth down the arrogancy of all high-minded flesh: *Magnum electionis vas perfectum abnuat, profectum, fatetur.* The great vessel of election denieth perfection to himself, confesseth his profection and going forward: 'I endeavour myself to

that which is before.' I proceed with Augustine: 'We may be perfect travellers in righteousness before, hereafter we shall be perfect owners and possessors of righteousness.* We may be perfect by anticipation,† carrying the name of the thing before we have attained unto it, as we are said already to be glorified, though our glorification shall be consummate in time to come. 'We are the sons of God,' saith the apostle, 'and yet it appeareth not what we shall be.' What meaneth this, We are and we shall be, but that we are in hope, and shall be indeed?‡ Finally, he alloweth a certain perfection sufficient to converse and hold society with mankind,§ a perfection for the model and capacity of this life,|| for the state of passengers and wayfaring men,¶ and whatsoever he alloweth more in this kind, I am sure he concludeth, that the perfection of all righteous men, while they are in the flesh,** is imperfect.†† This of perfection.

Of righteousness and justice thus he affirmeth in other places. The evangelist Saint Luke reporteth of Zacharias and Elizabeth his wife, that 'they were both righteous before God,' that is, without hypocrisy, 'walking in the commandments of God.' Now, because they *walked*, it is an argument that they were not yet come to the mark, ἐν πᾶσι, in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord. The testimony is already very large, but yet he addeth more, They walked in them all without reproof, ἀμείμπτοι. How without reproof? Augustine interpreteth it to Innocentius,‡‡ *Sine querelâ, non sine peccato*, not without sin, but without grievance, quarrel, just complaint, or exception to be made against them. Nay, he proveth out of the same scripture that because Zacharias was a priest, therefore a sinner, so he was bound to 'offer for sins, as well for his own part as for the people's,' Heb. v. In another place,§§ speaking of their righteousness, he limiteth it thus,||| They were righteous after a probable and laudable conversation amongst men. He often distinguisheth between these two, *peccatum et querela, peccatum et crimen*; the one, sin in general, which no man is freed from, for it is an absolute sentence, and needeth no exposition:¶¶ 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves,' we are but blown bladders; the other, some great offences, as David calleth it, malicious wickedness, some heinous, notorious, scandalous sin, culpable in the eyes of men, and worthy of censure and crimination. We say (in

* Cùm dicitur cujusque perfectio, quâ in re dicatur videndum est.—2 de pe. mer. et rem. 15.

† Perfectus sapientiæ auditor, non perfectus doctor, &c.

‡ Optimus ille est, qui minimis urgetur.—Horat.

§ Qua major pars vitæ atque jugeni stetit.—Asin. Pollio.

|| Secundum intentionem non secundum perventionem.—

In Psalm xxxviii.

¶ Aliter hic non potes esse perfectus, nisi scias hic te non esse posse perfectum.

** Secundum istius vitæ modum.—Cont. Parm.

†† Serm. 49 in Cant.

* Perfecti viatores,—perfecti possessores.—2 de pec. mer. et remis, 13.

† Per prolepsin.

‡ Quid est hoc, sumus et non sumus? Nisi quia sumus in spe, et erimus in re.

§ Pro consortio societatis humanæ.

|| Pro hujus vitæ capacitate.

¶ Pro statu viatoris.

** Pro hujus vitæ modulo.—Ad Boni. l. 3.

†† Omnium in carne justorum imperfecta perfectio.

‡‡ Epist. 95. 22 De grat. chr. cont. Pelag. et Cœlest. i. 48.

||| Secundum quandam inter homines probabilem conversationem, atque laudabilem.

¶¶ Absoluta sententia, expositore non indiget.

his Enchiridion to Laurentius) that the life of holy men may be found, though not without fault, yet without an offensive fault.* Again, in his books of the City of God, it is not the speech of vulgar and common men, but of those that are rightly saints, if we say that we sin not,† &c.; then shall this liberty and immunity from passions, *Ἀπαθία*, be, when there shall be no sin in men. Now, we live well enough if without scandal; but he that thinketh he liveth without sin, he doth not thereby free himself from sinning, but from receiving remission of sins.‡ In the first epistle of John, the third chapter, the apostle seemeth to favour the opinion of absolute righteousness in man: 'He that is born of God sinneth not.' Peradventure, saith Augustine, he meaneth some certain sin, not all sin.§ Understand hereby a definite special sin,|| which he that is born of God cannot commit. It may be the want of love, *dilectionis carentia*. It may be the great sin of infidelity, which our Saviour noteth in the Jews, John the fifteenth, 'If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin;' the sin wherein all other sins are held, the sin unto death, the sin not to be repented of, and therefore not to be pardoned. Against Parmenian he answereth it thus,* Although we sin not so far forth as we are born of God, yet there remaineth in us some part of our birth from Adam. Bernard upon the Canticles giveth the reason why he sinneth not,** the heavenly generation preserveth him, that is, the everlasting predestination. Which reason the apostle himself seemeth to accord unto, 'for his seed remaineth in him.' Surely there is no man that sinneth not; Solomon precisely affirmeth it in the dedication of the temple. 'God hath concluded all under sin;' *Omnes odit qui malos odit*, he that hateth evil men hateth all men, because there is none that doeth good, no not one. Noah may be a righteous man in his time and generation compared with those amongst whom he lived; Tamar may be more righteous than Judah, yet Tamar sinful enough; the publican may go to his house more justified than the pharisee, yet not simply justified thereby; the spouse in the Canticles may be fair amongst women, yet her beauty not such, but that she justly complaineth of her blackness.†† Though she ex-

ceedeth the souls of men whilst they live in the body, yet she is short of angelical perfection. John Baptist had not a greater amongst the sons of women; but whosoever was least in the kingdom of God, and all the celestial spirits, are far beyond him.* The best that live upon the earth, have *brevia, levique peccata*, short and light sins, yet sins; *quamvis pauca, quamvis parva, non tamen nulla*, though few in number, small in measure, yet sins in nature.† Therefore we may conclude with the same father,‡ whose shield I have hitherto used against the enemies to the grace of God, 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness.' We must know our poverty, and become suitors and beggars for justice, *mendici justitie*, if we mean to speed. Our righteousness in this life is such, as rather consisteth in the remission of our sins, than in the perfection of our virtues.§ And to speak the truth in the whole question of justification betwixt the papists and us, our justice is not justice in proper and direct term, but mercy; for that righteousness that we have is merely of mercy, not active but passive, not that which we work ourselves, but God worketh it for us. *Abluti estis, justificati estis*, you have washed or justified yourselves? No, 'you are washed and justified;' and therefore it is called 'the righteousness of God,' because it cometh from abroad, not inherent in ourselves, but from God derived, and by him imputed. And 1 Cor. i., 'Christ is made unto us of God, wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption.' First, wisdom in preaching and instruction; secondly, righteousness in the forgiveness of our sins; thirdly, sanctification in the holiness of our lives; fourthly, redemption in his mighty deliverance from all our enemies; that as it is written, 'he that rejoiceth may rejoice in the Lord,' and know that neither of all these is of himself. God objected to the king of Tyrus in derision; Ezekiel the twenty-eighth, 'Thou art wiser than Daniel;' I ask of the children of Babylon what they think of themselves, whether they go beyond Daniel, in holiness and integrity of life. He in the ninth of his prophecy confesseth sin, and iniquity, and rebellion in all the men of Judah, and inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the whole people of Israel far or near, kings, princes, fathers, and that righteousness is with God alone, and with them confusion of face; he utterly disclaimeth their own justice, 'We come not to pray before thee for any righteousness in ourselves,' and appealeth unto the righteousness of the Lord, 'O Lord, according unto all thy righteousness, let thine anger be turned away,' ver. 16; 'For the Lord's sake,'

* *Sanctorum hominum vitam inveniri posse dicimus sine crimine. cap. xiii.*

† *Non qualiumcunque vox illa, sed verè sanctorum, xiv., cap. ix.*

‡ *Satis benè vivitur, si sine crimine. Non id agit ut peccatum non habeat, sed ut veniam non accipiat.*

§ *Fortasse secundum quoddam peccatum dixit, non secundum omne peccatum.*

|| *Certum quoddam peccatum. tract. 5.*

¶ *Quamvis in quantum ex Deo nati sumus non peccamus, in est tamen adhuc etiam quoad ex Adam nati sumus, lib. iii., cap. vii.*

** *Generatio cœlestis servat eum, id est, æterna prædestinatio.*

†† *Pulchrè quidem pulchram non omnimodè, sed inter mulieres dicit.—Bern. ser. 38. Inter mulieres, id est, animas carnales, non angelicas perfectiones.—Ibid.*

* *Inter natos mulierum, non autem inter choros cœlestium spirituum.—Ibid.*

† *Enchir. cap. lxxi.*

‡ *De sanct. virginit. cap. l.*

§ *Justitia in hac vitâ tanta est, ut potius constet remissione peccatorum, quam perfectione virtutum.—Lib. xix. de civ. Dei. cap. xxvi.*

that is, thy Christ, thine anointed, ver. 17; 'For thy great tender mercies,' ver. 18; finally, 'For thine own sake,' ver. 19. This was the spirit of Daniel; and they that come in the confidence of their own pure spirits, neither shall their own prayers avail, and the prayers of Daniel and Noah, and all the righteous saints in heaven, which they hang upon, shall not help them. You see our innocency, justice, and perfection; not that our sins are not, but that they are remitted, but that they are covered by the mercy of God, but that they are not imputed, which is the chief blessedness of man, as we read in the 32d Psalm. I could have noted so much unto you by a phrase, which my text affordeth; '*Lay not upon us innocent blood,*' for then are we clear in the sight of God, when the sins whereof we are guilty are not laid to our charges nor remembered. Blessed are all those who

are thus discharged of their unsupportable soul's burden, that though they have many sins, they are bound up in a bundle, and drawn into a narrow room; though insolent, climbing, aspiring sins, yet they are cast into the bottom of the sea; though they are as red as crimson and scarlet, yet their hue is changed, they are made as white as wool or snow, by the blood of Christ; though they fill all the corners of heaven, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, yet they are driven from the face of God, as far as the east and west are sundered; lastly, though they are libelled and entered into his court, by the accusation of the devil, and by his most righteous justice registered, yet the books are defaced, and all those writings against us nailed to the cross of Christ, by whom we are redeemed.

LECTURE XVIII.

Lay not unto our charge innocent blood: for thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.—JONAH I. 14.

THE prayer of the mariners, without longer repetition, was common, fervent, discreet, vocal, humble, importunate, pertinent to the time and occasion, well grounded. In the 7th of these, wherein I observed how rightly they applied themselves to the deprecation of their present dangers, I examined, besides their general intent in asking pardon for bloodshed, two particulars arising naturally from the words: 1, the proceeding of God in case of murder, life for life; 2, in what respect the blood of Jonah might be termed innocent blood; nor that the life of Jonah could no way be touched with sin, but that it was freed in his present and particular behaviour towards this company with whom he sailed. I would further have demanded, but that the time intercepted me, how Jonah could be held innocent towards the mariners, whom he had actually wronged in the loss of their temporal commodities (for he only was the cause of that general detriment), and the hazard was as great, that he might have eased them of their better treasure, I mean their lives, if God had not stayed it; these, though having sense of the one, fear of the other, yet call his blood innocent blood. The answer briefly is, They wrote that in the waters, which others write in marble, injuries; though their voyage were lost by this means, their business disappointed, the season of their mart diverted, their merchandise wrecked, their provision wasted (it may be) to some, their wives and children undone, their estate sunk by it, yet they forgive and forget the damages, and with a mantle of charity cover all his wrongs. The persuasion holdeth by comparison, that if nature so newly reformed, having tasted but the milk of the knowledge of God, have so quick a digestion of forepassed wrongs, much more is required

of us, who have been dieted with the strongest meat, and to whom the precepts of charity have in most ample manner been revealed. The commendation shall ever live which Ambrose giveth to Theodosius the emperor being dead: Theodosius of happy memory, thought he received a benefit, as often as he was entreated to forgive; that was wished in him, which in others was feared, that he would be angry.* Tully reporteth the like of a far unlike emperor, that Cæsar forgat nothing but injuries. There is a learned, skilful, and virtuous kind of forgetfulness; it is good to forget some things. All Manassch went not over Jordan, part stayed behind. Now Manassch had his name of forgetfulness, and Bernard alluding thereunto saith, It is good to forget Babylon, to remember Jerusalem; to forget the flesh-pots and onions of Egypt, to remember the milk and honey of Canaan; to forget our own people and our father's house, and to remember heaven and heavenly things.† So Paul forgat that which was behind, Philip. iii., his former defects and delinquishments, and it shall be happy for us all to do the like, not in the mercies either of God or man, but in the crosses and grievances which we have sustained. Peter asked his Master in the Gospel, Mat. xviii., how oft he should 'forgive his brother offending against him, whether to seven times?' it is added, Luke xvii., how often in a day? Our Saviour telleth him, unto seventy times seven; that is as, Jerome ‡ accounteth it, four hundred and ninety times; so often in a day as is not possible for

* Beneficium se putabat accepisse augustæ memoriæ Theodosius, quoties rogabatur ignoscere; optabatur in eo, quod timebatur in aliis, ut irasceretur.—*De obitu Theo.*

† Sermon. 6, in vigil. natal. Dom.

‡ De verb. Dom. ser. xv.

thy brother oftener to trespass against thee. Augustine in effect hath the same note, Why doth our Saviour say seventy times seven times, and not an hundred times eight times? He answereth, From Adam to Christ were seventy generations; therefore as Christ forgave all the transgressions of whole mankind, parted and diffused into so many generations, so also we should remit as many offences as, in the term and compass of our life, are committed against us.

Examine (shall I say, one day?) nay, all the days of our life, if all might go for one, have we forgiven, have we forborne,—that were one degree less,—have we not persecuted, Turks, infidels, vessels of dishonour, nay, our own brethren, seven, yea, and seventy times seven times, without number or measure, the sun rising and the sun going down upon our wrath, our ways being the ways of destruction, our beds the beds of mischief, as the psalm calleth them, days and nights, openly, privately, meditating, talking, practising how to avenge ourselves of the least discontentments? It were as rare a matter in our age, as to see the sun go back, to hear of any amongst us patient of injuries, as that patriarch sometimes of Jerusalem was, of whom the proverb of those times went, *Nihil utilius quàm Alexandro malefacere*, nothing can more profit a man than to hurt Alexander. Yet he kept but that rule, which they that keep not are no part of the Israel of God, not to resist evil, to give cheek after cheek, cloak after coat, to take all that was offered, whether upon or without the body, as that precept implieth; nay, rather to return good for evil, Rom. xii., love for enmity, blessing for cursing, good deeds for hatred, prayers for persecutions, Mat. v. We rather embrace the instigations of gentility, and such as the nature of man easily propendeth unto, bear one injury and bear more, *veterem ferendo injuriam invitas novam*; he that wrongeth one, threateneth all, *multis minatur qui uni facit injuriam*, and such like provocations. I will end with the exhortation of our Lord, Luke vi., 'Forgive, and you shall be forgiven;' or rather with that which, Mat. vi., is more peremptory, 'If you forgive him not, you shall not be forgiven.' He intendeth for that by mercy, which he might exact of duty and equity; and he that shall be our judge, almost against the nature and right of his office, sheweth us the way to escape his judgments. The conditions betwixt God and man in this exchange are very unequal: (1.) Thine enemy was created by God, as thyself wert; God hath an enemy of thee, whom he hath created. (2.) Thou pardonest thy fellow-servant; God merely his servant. (3.) Thou pardonest and standest in need of pardon again; God hath no need to be pardoned. (4.) Thou forgivest a definite sum; God an infinite debt, requiring the proscription of thyself, wife, and children, and all that thou hast, body and soul, if thou shouldst defray it. *Incredibili misericordia nos ad certam veniam vocat*,* by incredible

* Chrysost.

compassion he draweth us to a limited and bounded pity, the extension whereof maketh us 'the children of our Father which is in heaven;' but the straitening of our bowels of compassion, as it taketh from us the name and privilege of sons, so it marketh us for servants of the worst condition, naughty and ungracious servants, for whom is justly reserved the wages of Balaam, I mean the repayment and stipend of everlasting destruction.

8. The last commendation in the prayer of the mariners is, their grounding thereof upon the pleasure of God: 'for thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee;' which soundeth thus: We ask thy favour in this respect, that we have not departed from the rule of thy will, but followed as near as we could the verdict and answer of thy heavenly oracle. The lot hath informed us, the mouth of the prophet himself confirmed unto us, the constant indignation of the sea maketh it past question, that thou in thy counsel hast decreed that Jonah shall be cast forth. It was a sanctified judgment in them, both to acknowledge the finger of God in so casual an accident,—'Thou, Lord, hast done it,'—and withal to assent in secret, that the will and pleasure of God is the exactest rule of equity that can be imagined, 'as it pleased thee.' They gather thus in effect, We do but the will of the Lord, therefore more justly to be pardoned. The Wisdom of God itself, in whom the Deity dwelt bodily, was content to forsake his wisdom, and to be ordered and rectified by this square of his Father's will, 'Father, not my will, but thine be fulfilled.' I know the measure of thy will is straight, shall I be crooked and perverse in my ways? I will not. Bernard demandeth upon that submission of Christ, O Lord, the will whereof thou speakest—'Not my will be done'—if it were not a good will, how was it thine? if good, why relinquished and forsaken? He answereth, *Non oportebat propria prajudicare communibus*, private affairs must not hinder public. It was both the will of Christ, and it was a good will, whereby he said, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass;' but that whereby he spake otherwise, 'thy will be done,' was better, because it was common not only to the Father which gave his Son, but to the Son himself, who was offered because he would, and to us who heartily desired it.* The will of a righteous man may miss of the will of God sometimes, and yet be justified and approved before God. A child may wish the life of his father, whom God hath visited with sickness, and mindeth not to spare. Here have you the will of a man against the will of God in some sort. Doth he offend herein? Nay, rather should he not offend, if, nature and duty forgotten, he wished otherwise; for whatsoever the secret will of God hath decreed, yet, by his open and revealed will, parents must be honoured, and their life and well-doing by prayer commended to the goodness of God. It is the

* *Communis erat non solum patris, sed et Christi et nostra.*—Ser. iii. de res. Dom.

will of God permanent and unchangeable, that Jonah be cast forth; it is the will of the mariners to save Jonah, if it may be. Do they displease God hereby? Rather they should displease, if, laying apart humanity, they bear not compassion to the life of Jonah. For howsoever his secret will hath determined, yet by his open and revealed will, the life of man must be tendered. Who hath ascended into heaven to know the counsels of the Lord? Therefore it is ever safe to cast the anchors of all our purposes, and to stay our wills upon the will of God, before we see the event of things, to say as our Saviour willed us, 'Thy will be done;' and when it is clearly decided what his pleasure was, to join with these mariners, 'Thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee;' we acknowledge thy supreme authority; thou sittest upon the circles of heaven, thou holdest the sceptre and ball of the world in thy right hand, thou art the king and commander of the earth, be it never so unquiet, the hearts of kings and subjects are in thine hand. Thou woundest, healest, killest, quickenest, where thou thinkest good; and whatsoever man purposeth, thou disposest as thy pleasure is.

Others confess no less of the will of God than these mariners do, 'Thou, Lord, hast done as it hath pleased thee,' but with another construction. For as they confess the efficacy and power thereof, so they deny the equity; as if he held a tyranny, and governed the world not by law but by lust, drawing it to obedience not by reason and justice, but by the violent chain of his unchangeable purpose, so making his will in the moderating of the world as immoderate as the wills of inordinate princes, who having the reins of dominion given into their hands, if they proclaim not outright with Nero, My authority giveth me license to do all things, *fortuna nostra cuncta permittit mihi*; He is a fool that knoweth not what he may do, *inertis est nescire quid liceat sibi*; yet they say to themselves, I am a king; who dareth call me to account, and ask me, What doest thou? yea, what is that God that can deliver out of my hands? This kind of impetuous and masterless will, the servants of God (mistermed) have challenged to their chair at Rome, Dan. iii. For howsoever they behaved themselves, no man might say unto them, *Cur ita facis?* Why dost thou so? Whatsoever they enacted, *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, their will and commandment was warrant enough. Franciscus Zabarella complaineth of those that drew them into such arrogant error. They have persuaded the popes that they can do all things, even whatsoever pleased them, things unlawful too, and that they are *plus quam Deus*, more than God. Silvester the First, in the first council of Rome, proved it by Scripture, The highest bishop is not judged of any, *quia scriptum est, non est discipulus*, &c., because it is written, the disciple is not above his master. And shall the saw boast itself against him that moveth it? Isaiah the tenth; therefore let no man judge the pope.

So was the speech of the Donatists, as Augustine* remembereth it, when they had nothing to answer, *sic volumus*. Why? For who art thou that judgest another man's servant? The pope giveth another reason. Thou art a servant, a disciple; who art thou that judgest thy Lord? Saint Augustine's answer shall fit them both, both the Donatists of Africa and the great Donatist of Rome: What else do all flagitious and lewd men, riotous, drunkards, adulterers, shameless and dishonest persons, thieves, extortioners, murderers, robbers, sorcerers, idolaters, what else do they answer the word of truth and righteousness when it reproveth them but this, *Hoc volo, hoc me delectat*, Thus I will do, this delighteth me? Now, it is most true that the will of God is an absolute, predominant, sovereign will: 'Where he will he taketh mercy, and where he will he hardeneth.' The ground of their complaint is good, though they misapply it: 'Who hath resisted his will?' Rom. ix.; and if we go too far to inquire and examine, we are met in the way, and willed, as it were, to stand back, *O homo, tu quis es qui disputas?* O man, who art thou that disputest, and pressest so boldly into the secrets of God? But it is as true which the apostle demandeth on the behalf of the Lord, 'Is there any iniquity with God?' Far be it; therefore they sin a sin which the darkest darkness in hell is too easy to requite, who, when they have spilt the blood of the innocent like water upon the ground, defiled their neighbour's bed, troubled the earth, and provoked heaven with many pernicious, infamous mischiefs, rapes, robberies, proditions, burnings, spoilings, depopulations, &c., spue out a blasphemy against righteousness itself, countenancing their sins by authority of him who hateth sin, and pleading that they have done but the will of God in doing such outrages. I know that the will of God, though they had staves of iron in their hands and hearts to resist, shall be done. Ungracious, unwilling, and unbelieving instruments shall do that service to God which they dream not of. When God saith, Kill not, and we contradict, We will kill, even then, though they violate the law of God, yet is his will accomplished. He hath hooks for the nostrils, and bridles for the jaws of the wicked, which they suppose not. I will add more: 'Judge ye what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.' He hath spurs for their flanks and sides, which they never imagined. Sennacherib found a bridle to stay him, and an hook to turn him back; Pharaoh had a spur to drive him forward, 'I will harden the heart of Pharaoh,' Exod. iv., and in many other places. Let him alone, let him take his pleasure and pastime; but when he hath 'hardened his own heart by malice,' Exod. viii., then will I also harden it by justice.

Thus the will of God is one way renounced, and as sure as he liveth and reigneth in heaven, shall at the same time, and in the same action some other way, be

* Lib. ii. de bapt. cont. Donat., c. x.

performed. And yet are the men wicked, though they do that which God would, and God most holy and just, though he would that which the wicked do. They beguile themselves herein by a fallacy; they are taken in their own nets, which they lay for another purpose. For thus they presume. He that doth the will of God sinneth not. True; keep the commandments, honour God, obey the prince, love thy neighbour as thyself, this is *voluntas signi*, his will recorded in Holy Writ published abroad, signified to all flesh, and as it were proclaimed at a standard, by precept, threatenings, promises, terrors, reward, earnestly and openly required. Now, the murderer assumeth upon the former ground, I do the will of God; for had it not stood with his will, my power had failed, my heart had not been able to conceive a thought within me, and my hand had withered and shrunk together before I had given the stroke; true likewise. But this is another will, a secret will of God, his will at the second hand, if I may so call it, and by an accident, a will against a will; that because he did not that which God had publicly enjoined, he should do another thing which he had privately determined. Augustine* delivereth it in wise and pithy terms: *De his qui faciunt quæ non vult, facit ipse quæ vult*, Of those which do what God would not, he doeth what he would; and by a marvellous ineffable means, it cometh to pass that it is not done without (or besides) his will, which is even done against his will.† Euclid, to one that never rested to inquire of the gods, answered deservedly: Other things I know not; this I know, that they hate curious and busy inquisitors, *cetera quidem nescio; illud scio, quod odere curiosos.* Adam was driven out of paradise for affecting too much knowledge. Israel had died the death, Exod. xix., if they had passed their bounds to climb up unto the mount, and to gaze upon the Lord. The men of Bethshemesh were slain, to the number of fifty thousand, for prying into the ark, 1 Sam. vi. The question is as high as the highest heavens, and dwelleth in light as unsearchable as God himself, covered with a curtain of sacred secrecy, which shall never be drawn aside till that day come wherein 'we shall know as we are known,' and then but in measure and proportion. Who is able to decide, that dwelleth with mortal flesh, how far the counsel of the Lord goeth in ordering and disposing sinful actions? This I am bold to say, because I am loath to lead you farther into a bottomless sea than where the lamb may wade without danger of miscarrying; and if there be aught behind which is not opened unto you, let this be your comfort, *Deus revelabit*, God will one day reveal it. But in this present question there is an error, I suppose, in two extremities, either to think that God is the author of sin, which sensual and fantastic libertines, rubbing their filthiness upon his purity,

have imputed unto him; or that God doth only but suffer and permit sin, sitting in heaven to behold the stratagems of the wicked without intermeddling, as if his Godhead were bound like Samson's arms, half of his power and liberty restrained, a greater part of the world and the manners thereof running upon wheels, and the cursed children of Belial hasting like dromedaries to fulfil the lusts of their own godless hearts, without the government and moderation of the highest Lord. Either of these opinions, methinks, denieth the Godhead. For howsoever in words both may admit it, they deny it in opinion. They receive it at the gates, and exclude it at the postern. The one destroyeth the justice and goodness of the deity, in that they charge God to be the author of sin; the other his omnipotency and providence, in that they bereave him of a great part of his business.

The latter of these two positions, that God doth permit sin, is sound and catholic enough, if more be added unto it (for God doth more than permit); the former is filled to the brim with most monstrous impiety. If the devils in hell may be heard to speak for themselves and against God, what could they say to deprave him more than this, Indeed we have sinned and forsaken our faith, but God caused us? It is a most damnable and reprobate thought, that any vessel of clay should so conceive of his former, who, in the creation of all things, made all things good, and passed not a work from his fingers without the approbation of his most prudent judgment, Behold it was good, very good, and God saw it. Ask but the masters of human wisdom, they will inform you in this behalf, Θεὸς οὐδ' αὐμῇ οὐδ' αὐμῶς ἄδικος, ἀλλὰ ὡς δίκαιον διζαίεται,* God by no means is unjust, but as righteous as possible may be. Seneca asketh the cause why the gods do good? He answereth, their nature is the cause.† They can neither take nor do wrong; they neither give nor have mischief in them. You have the same doctrine, James i., 'Let no man, when he is tempted, say that he is tempted by God; for God is not tempted with evil, and he himself tempteth no man.'

Therefore I blame not Edmund Campian, if he hold it in his eighth reason of his pamphlet cast forth, a paradox, that is, an insolent, unwonted, incredible position, to make God the author of sin. But to charge our reformed churches with the conception and birth of so vile a monster, is as unrighteous a calumny against us, as God, whose justice we maintain, is most righteous. If I should answer slander by slander, we should prove two slanderers, *duo maledici essemus*, as Augustine sometimes answered Petilian.‡ These are *convicta convicia*, ancient reproaches, dead and rotten long since. We never said it. Our church

* De corrupt. et grat., cap. xiv.

† Miro et ineffabili modo non fit præter ejus voluntatem, quod etiam fit contra ejus voluntatem.—*Enchirid.* ca. cix.

* Plat. in Th.

† Quæ causa diis benefaciendi? Natura. Nec accipere injuriam queunt, nec facere. Dii nec habent nec dant malum.

‡ Lib. iii. cap. i.

hath been justified by her children a thousand times in this point. This we have said, that in a sinful action there are two things, the act, and the defect; essence and privation; the material and the formal part; the substance and the quality. The latter whereof is that deformity or irregularity, as they call it, unlawfulness, transgression, pravity, that in every such action is contained. Aquinas* observeth it in the definition of sin, which Augustine† gave against Faustus the Manichee, Sin is anything spoken, coveted, or done against the everlasting law. One thing, saith he, in this definition belongeth to the substance of the act, the other to the nature of the evil that is therein, *unum ad substantiam actus, alterum ad rationem mali*. God is the author of the act, because all motion cometh from him, but not of the act as it hath defect in it. He bringeth the example of a lame leg, wherein are two qualities, ability to go, but inability to go upright.‡ The going and stirring it hath, is from the virtue that moveth it (as when a rider driveth his horse), the lameness and debility belongeth to another cause, distortion, or crookedness, or some other impotency in the leg itself. The like is, in the striking of a jarring and untuned harp, the fingering is thine, the jarring and discord is in the instrument.§ The earth giveth fatness and juice to all kind of plants; some of those plants yield pestilent and noisome fruits: where is the fault? In the nourishment of the ground, or in the nature of the herbs, which by their native corruption decoct the goodness of the ground into venom and poison? The goodness and moisture is from the earth, the venom from the herb; the sounding from the hand, the jarring from the instrument; the motion from the rider, the lameness from the leg; so the action or motion is from God, the evil in the action from the impure fountain of thine own heart. How could the mind of Cain ever have thought of the death of Abel, his eyes have seen any offensive thing in his accepted sacrifice, his heart have prosecuted with desire, and his hand executed with power, so unnatural a fact, more than a stone in the wall, which if it be not stirred, forsaketh not his place, if God had not given him strength and activity to have used the service of all these faculties? To think, to see, to desire, to move the parts of the body, were the good creatures of God (therein consisteth the action); but to turn these gifts of God to so vile a purpose, was the sin of Cain, the fault of the action, proper and singular to his own person.

It is scarce credible to report how Campian goeth forward against us, that as the calling of Paul, so the adultery of David, and the treason of Judas, by our doctrine, were the proper works of God all alike; as if we mingled iron and clay together, and the Spirit of God had given us no wisdom to discern things in

nature and quality most repugnant. I again borrow St Augustine's* words, *Petilianus dicit, ego nego, eligite cui credatis*, Petilian† affirmeth it, I deny it, choose whether you will believe. The conversion of Paul was the regeneration and new birth of one that was a stranger to the covenants of God; the adultery of David, the fall and escape of a saint; the treason of Judas, the damned apostasy of a reprobate. The conversion of Paul was the proper work of God, whom Satan had held in darkness and in the shadow of death whilst the world had stood, if God had not cast him into a trance, blinding the eyes, and killing the senses of his body for a time, but illuminating his mind, changing his heart, creating a new spirit within him, and speaking both to his ears and conscience with an effectual calling. Finally, he found no will in him fit for his mercies, but wrought both the will and the work too. In the adultery of David, and the treason of Judas, he found the will eagerly prepared to iniquity; God doth but use that will, they run of themselves; God stayeth not behind, but runneth with them, though to another end—they to the satisfaction of their naughty lusts, God to the declaration of his righteous and wise judgments. And although he loveth not their sins, yet he loveth and is delighted with the execution of his admirable justice hanging thereupon. And albeit neither the adultery of David, nor the treason of Judas, be his proper works, yet God hath his proper working in both their works. For as from dishonest actions may come good creatures† (as when a child is born in adultery, the commixtion of adulterers is wicked, the creature good), so from the lewdest and corruptest wills God can produce effects: not unlike the wisdom of physicians in using the poison of serpents; for how harmful a nature soever the poison hath, the physician tempereth it by degree, and healeth his patient thereby, the poison itself notwithstanding hurtful, the skill of the physician commendable, the effect profitable.

Thus we have ever distinguished, not only the works which we know are indifferent, but in one and the same action the diversity of agents, and dealers, both in this manner of working, and in their ends. In the afflicting of Job (for example's sake), Satan hath leave to lay his hand upon Job: his servants are slain, his oxen, asses, and camels taken and driven away by Sabæans and Chaldeans; slaughter and spoil without mercy. For 'if a grape-gatherer should come to a vine, would he not leave some grapes?' Here neither camel nor beast is left, nor any servant, save one alone to bring news. Yet Job confesseth after all this, 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken.' Here are three sundry agents. A man might imagine, that either Satan and the Sabæans shall be excused for having society in this action with God, or God brought into question for having society with them. Neither of both; the difference of their intentions setteth

* 1. 2 æ. quæ. 71, art. 6, conclus. † Lib. ii. c. xxvii.

‡ Quest. 79, artic. ii. concl.

§ Just. Lips. de Con. l. i. c. xx.

* Lib. iii. cont. tit. Petil. ca. x.

† Anselm. de cau Diab. cap. xci.

them as far asunder, as heaven is from the earth at her lowest centre. God hath a purpose to try the patience and constancy of Job, to reform the opinion of his own innocency, to make him know that he was but man, and to find an occasion of pouring greater blessings upon him; Satan to shew his envy and malice to mankind, to drive him to desperation; the Sabæans to store up treasures of wickedness, and to shew that stolen bread is sweet unto them. The envy and malignity of Satan, whence is it? Of God? No. God borroweth and useth his service, I grant, but Satan first proffered it; so the malice is his own, 'who was a murderer from the beginning,' he only adding government and moderation thereunto. The furious and bloody rapines of the other, whence are they? From God? No. They lay in the cisterns of their own hearts; Satan then drew them forth by instigation, themselves let loose the stream, and when it was once on float, the Lord directed and disposed the course by his wisdom.

For this present I end. 'God is of pure eyes, and can behold no wickedness; he hath laid righteousness to the rule, and weighed his justice in a balance;' his soul hateth and abhorreth sin: 'I have served with

your iniquities.' It is a labour, service, and thralldom unto him, more than Israel endured under their grievous task-masters; his law to this day curseth and condemneth sin, his hands have smitten and scourged sin, he hath thrown down angels, plagued men, overturned cities, ruined nations, and not spared his own bowels whilst he appeared in the similitude of sinful flesh; he hath drowned the world with a flood of waters, and shall burn the world with a flood of fire, because of sin. The sentence shall stand unmoveable, as long as heaven and earth endureth, 'tribulation and anguish upon every soul that doth evil, Jew or Gentile.' All adulterers, murderers, idolaters, sacrilegious, blasphemous, covetous wretches, liars, swearers, forswearers, and whom the apostle calleth dogs, barking at the justice of God, and making a causeless complaint against him, as if he were cause of their sins, shall one day see the folly, and feel the price, of their unrighteous insectation. Let God therefore be true, and let all men be liars; let God be just, and all men sinners; let God be justified in all his judgments, and let all his accusers vanish and consume in the madness of their hearts, as the foam upon the waters.

LECTURE XIX.

For thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.—JONAH I. 14.

THE mariners, in this reason of their petition, acknowledge two things directly: 1, the work of God in the casting forth of Jonah, 'Thou, Lord, hast done it; 2, the ground of his works, his own will, 'as it pleased thee.' A third thing is acknowledged by implication, the equity and justice of that will, as the warrant for their deed ('for thou, Lord,' &c.). Their meaning is not therein, either to charge him with a tyrannous will, *quod libet licet*, as the manner of grievous princes is to think that lawful whatsoever pleaseth them, either to insinuate and accuse him of injustice, to make him actor or patron of any their sins, who dealeth in the actions of men, sometimes with open, sometimes with secret, but always with a righteous judgment. Therefore I noted their corruption, who think themselves excused in their most enormous and execrable sins, because they fulfil the will of God in one sense, not that open and revealed will which he hath given in tables, published by sound of a trumpet, specified by blessings, cursings, promises, threatenings, exhortations, dehortations, and such like, whereunto they stand strictly bound, but a secret and hidden will, written in another book, wrapped up in the counsels of his own breast, which neither they intended when they did their misdeeds, neither were they ever charged therewith from God's lips. *Secreta Domino, revelata nobis et filiis nostris*, 'Secret things belong to the Lord, revealed to us

and our children,' Deut. xxix. 1. *Quantum ad ipsos, fecerunt quod Deus noluit*,* touching their own purpose and intendment, they have done that which God would not; they have transgressed his law with contentation of heart, perhaps with gladness, it may be with greediness, taking a solace and pleasure therein, and not wishing to have done otherwise; they have pursued it to the third and fourth generation, from the first assault or motion of sin to consent, from consent to delight, from delight to custom, and yet not giving over till they come to a spirit of slumber, or rather a death in sin. 2. *Quantum ad omnipotentiam Dei, nullo modo id efficere valuerunt*, touching the omnipotency of God, they were never able to do it; he sitteth in heaven that laugheth them to scorn; he besiegeth them round about, and his hand is upon them. They are not able to depart from his will, more than if a ship were going from Joppa to Tarshish (as this ship was), from west to east, and one by walking upon the hatches a contrary course, as if he would go from east to west, from Tarshish towards Joppa again, might stay the motion or flight of the ship; he doth his endeavour to hinder it, by bending both his face and his pace backward, but the ship is too well winged, and of too huge a burden, to be resisted; so those others shew their will to frustrate and fail the will of God by committing sin prohibited, but yet

* August. Enchir. c. 100.

they shall do a will of his, or rather his will shall be done upon them, mangre their malicious and sworn contradictions. *De his qui faciunt quæ non vult, facit ipse quæ vult*, Of those that do what he would not, he doth what he would; and as he commanded light to shine out of darkness, so he can command good out of evil, treasure from out the midst of dross, and commodity from the very heart of deepest wickedness; at least he will execute his justice upon offenders, as he professeth, *Exod. xiv.*, 'I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and all his host:' 'for this cause he set him up, to shew his power in him, and that his name might be declared to the whole earth,' *Rom. ix.*

To reduce a diffused but a dangerous and intricate question (whercin, as I then protested the wariness of my proceeding, so now I again protest the subjection of my spirit to the spirit of prophets, *absit ut non sim paratior discere quam docere*: God forbid that I should not be readier to learn than to teach), I say to reduce it to heads, I proposed unto you the errors of some in two sorts of extremities: some going too far, in that they make God the author of sin; others coming as short, that God doth only permit sin: the former an error fitter for devils than men, the latter an error of humanity, offending of simplicity rather than malice, speaking a truth of God when they acknowledge his permission of sin, but not the whole truth, because they think God only permitteth it. Both deny the Godhead in effect, the one destroying the goodness and justice, the other impairing the omnipotency, providence, government thereof, in that they restrain it from some things.

The former of these two opinions, that God is the author of sin, most prodigious to conceive, though engendered in the brain, I know not whether of men or devils, yet is taken by Ed. Campian, our charitable countryman, and laid at the doors of our church, yea, brought into the streets of our universities, as if we were the fathers and patrons of it. We never said it (I say once again), and to redeem a thousand deaths, if more were due to our sins, we would not affirm it. This we say, whatsoever hath substance and being, and perfection in the action of sin, God is the author of it, because it is good; *ipsum quantumcunque esse, bonum est*,* the least essence in the world is good, but not of the fault and defection therein. I must once more repeat, sin hath a positive and privative part, a subject, and the quality of the subject, nature and corruption. *Prorsus ab illo est, quicquid pertinet ad naturam, et prorsus ab illo non est, quicquid est contra naturam*:† whatsoever belongeth to nature is wholly from him, and whatsoever is against nature is in no respect from him. Now death, and whatsoever belongeth to the train of death, sin and the like, are against nature. 'In him we live, and move, and have our being;' there is a pillar of our

truth. A poet of the Gentiles delivered it, but an apostle sanctified and ratified it, and every creature in heaven, in earth, in the deep, crieth *amen* to it. And as that gentility and heathenishness of that unbelieving poet could not mar God's truth, so the corruption and depravation in the quality either of man or action cannot hurt the substance. Life is his, whether we live to him as we ought to do, or the lusts of our own flesh, or after the pleasure of the God of this world, the prince of darkness. Motion is his, whether we lift up our hands to prayer, or whether to murder. Essence is his: the nature, being, and substance of men, of serpents, of reprobate angels, are from him, and his good creatures. He made not death; he gave charge to the waters and earth to bring forth creatures that had the soul of life in them; and when he made man, he breathed in his face the breath of life, and made him a living soul. He made not darkness, he created the light; neither was the author of sterility and barrenness; he made the bud of the earth which should seed seed, and the fruitful tree. And to speak a truth in proper terms, these privations, corruptions, and defects in nature, as death, darkness, sterility, blindness, silence, and the like, have rather deficient than efficient causes. For, by the removing of the things themselves which these destroy, they of their own accord succeed and take their places. Abandon the light of the sun, whereby our air is brightened and illuminated, you need not carefully inquire or painfully labour how to come by darkness; the deficiency and failing of the light, is a cause sufficient to bring in darkness. If the instrument of sight be decayed, the strings and spirits which serve for the eye inwardly wasted and corrupted, there is no more to be done to purchase blindness to the eye; the very orbity and want of seeing putteth blindness forthwith in possession. If there were no speech or noise in this church, what would there be but silence and stillness? Will you ask me the cause hereof? It hath rightly none. I can render the cause of speech; there are instruments in man to form it, and there is an air to receive it from his mouth, and bear it to their ears that should partake it, upon the ceasing whereof silence hath a course to supply, without the service and aid of any creature in the world to produce it. And these things we know and are acquainted with, not by the use of them, for who can use that which is nothing? We know what light is, by the use thereof, because we behold it; but who ever saw darkness? If the apples of his eye were as broad as the circle of the sun and the moon, waking and wide open, how could he see darkness? We know what speech is, by the use thereof, because we receive it by the ear; but who ever heard silence? Only we know them, not by fruition of themselves, but by want of their opposites, which erst we enjoyed and now are deprived of. I speak the more that I might speak plainly. We were to inquire the efficient cause of sin; it hath none

* Aug. de ver. rel. cap. xxxiv. In quantum sunt, in tantum bona sunt.—Id. in quæst. lxxxiii. 21.

† Id. ad artic. falso impos. ad. 5.

properly, it hath a deficient cause. Adam and Eve forsook as it were the guide of their youth, the word of God, and his grace forsook them. Nature is now corrupted, the soundness, integrity of all the faculties therein diseased, the image of God wholly defaced. Upon the decay and departure whereof, sin like a strong man entereth the house; the body and soul are taken up with a mass of injustice, the understanding is filled with darkness, the will with frowardness, the senses with vanities, and every part, both of outward and inward man, becometh a servant to unrighteousness. Basil, in a sermon upon this argument now in hand, willeth those that inquire of the author of sin likewise to answer, whence sickness and orbitics in the body occur; for they are not, saith he, the work of God. Living creatures were at the first well created, having a proportion convenient to them; but they fell into diseases and distemperatures, when they fell from healthiness, either by evil diet, or by some other cause; notwithstanding, God made the body, he made not sickness, and he likewise made the soul, but not the sinfulness thereof.* Jerome, upon the second of Habakkuk, giveth the like judgment: *Et si anima vitio suo efficitur hospitium Chaldeorum, natura tamen sui est tabernaculum Dei*: though the soul by her own fault is made an habitation or lodge for the Chaldeans, strangers to dwell in, yet by her nature she is the tabernacle of God. Therefore he should shew himself too ignorant, that could not discern between the corruption of nature and the author of nature. And because we further were charged, that we made the conversion of Paul, the adultery of David, and the treason of Judas, the one the uprising of a sinner, the other the falling down of a saint, the last final revolt of a reprobate, the works, and the proper works of God, all alike, I proved the contrary. The first I acknowledged his proper and entire work; he opened the understanding, changed the will, did all therein. In the other two, he took the will as he found it, and without alteration thereof, applied it to some ends which he had secretly purposed; and though neither the adultery of David, nor the improbity of Judas, were his proper works, yet God had his proper works in them both; for as he is a most holy creator of good natures, so he is a most righteous disposer of evil wills: that whereas those evil wills do ill use good natures, he on the other side may well use the evil wills themselves.†

To conclude; he is ἔργων σύνεργος, a worker in the works of all sorts of men. *Communiter author, fateor, sed non nisi boni fautor*: commonly and indifferently,

* Corpus nihilominus Deus fecit, morbum non fecit, et animam similiter fecit, non autem peccatum. Nimis indoctus est qui vitium naturæ non discernit ab authore naturæ. — *Artic. 3, ad artic. falsò imp.*

† Sicut naturarum bonarum optimus creator est, ita malarum voluntatum justissimus ordinator. Ut cum malè illæ utuntur naturis bonis, ipse bene utatur etiam voluntatibus malis. — *De corrup. et grat. cap. xiv.*

I grant, an author in a common and large signification, but a favourer only of good. Dost thou address thyself to virtue? It is done both by the privity and assistance of God. To vice? With his privity and permission, not with his help; some think, saith Lipsius, with his will too.* It is most true that God doth suffer sin; there is nothing visibly and sensibly done which is not either commanded or tolerated from that invisible, intelligible court of the highest emperor, *August. 58, senten.*, for it could not be done if God did not suffer it. In his *Enchirid. to Laurent.*, 100, it followeth, And truly he doth not suffer it against, but with, his will, *nee utique nolens sinit sed volens*; and being good, as he is, he would never suffer anything to be ill done, but that being also almighty, he can do well of that which is evil, *nee sineret bonus fieri malè, nisi omnipotens etiam de malo facere posset benè*, cap. xv. Undoubtedly he doth not suffer against his will, for that would be with grief, and must needs argue a power greater than himself; then, if he willingly suffer, *permissio est quodam genus voluntatis*, his sufferance is a certain kind of will. In his book of predestination and grace, he compareth Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh together, both which had the same plaster of chastisement laid unto them, though converted in the one to his soul's health, in the other to his destruction. Touching nature, they were both men; for honour, both kings; concerning the cause of correction, both held the people of God in captivity; and lastly, for their punishment, both were admonished by the scourges of God. Yet the ends of their punishment were diverse; for the one fought against God, the other by repentance obtained mercy. Now what objections soever a man may frame herehence against the equity of God, *intelligat ista tamen vel adjuvante Domino perijci, vel deserente permitti, ut noverit tamen nolente Domino nihil prorsus admitti*, let him understand that all these things are either brought to pass, God aiding them, or suffered, God forsaking them; so that he know withal, that nothing in the world can be done if God be unwilling.

If, then, I sin by the will of God, how can I help it; and 'why doth he yet complain?' as Paul objecteth, Romans the ninth. I will remove this stone of offence, and then return to my purpose. My will, I say, is borne by a stream of the will of God; or it is my destiny to sin; the stars have foresigned my going awry, Mars committed the murder, Venus the adultery; thus was I born and marked; the fault is not mine, I sin by compulsion. I put them altogether, because it is the fashion of some to set up a judgment-seat in their erroneous phantasies, and thereat to arraign God of injustice, *sive per transennam, sive per eannam longam, sive per proximum*, either by the easement, or through a long cane, obliquely, or farther off, and some hard at hand and directly, some by destiny,

* *Lips. lib. i. de Constant. cap. xx.*, Sciente et sinente: quadam etiam sententia, volente.

some by stars, others reaching immediately at God himself, *Deus hoc voluit, et si nollet Deus, non facerem*, God would have it thus; if God would not, I could not have done it. One in a monastery being reproved that he did some things not to be done, and omitted others which he should have done, answered those that rebuked him, What kind of man soever now I am, I shall be such as God hath foreseen I should be; who therein, saith Augustine, both spake a truth, and yet was no whit bettered to amendment of life by that truth.* Oh damned absurdity, rooting her wickedness in heaven, as if the prescience and will of God were the cause of our sinning, whereas his prescience is but the antecedent to our sins, going before them; for because we sin, therefore they are foreknown, not because they are foreknown, therefore we sin; and his will is but the consequent following upon them. I say again, God hath a will and purpose in the sins of unrighteous men; not that he liketh the sins, but he ordereth and governeth them in wise manner, and turneth them to some end that well pleaseth him. And though he willeth not the evil itself, yet the doing of the evil doth in some respects content him. And that will in God is consequent to our will. For albeit it were before ours in time, because his will is as ancient as himself, even from everlasting, yet in order and course of things it cometh behind it; and he that fulfilleth the will of God in this manner, or rather the will of God is fulfilled upon him, shall hang in hell for his service, so little thanks is he likely to reap at God's hands; for there is no question but God doth fulfil good purposes of his own by the ill purposes of ill men. Judas was not yet formed, nor any member of his body set together or fashioned, when they were all written in the book of God. He saw his treason in the glass of his foreknowledge, and understood his thoughts afar off; there was not a word in his tongue but God was long since acquainted with it; he knew that his will was bent to mischief from before the world was established. Now God hath a will upon and after the will of Judas, and thus he bethinketh himself: Judas hath a will to betray his master; I will not stop his will, but convert it to some good use; I will draw a preservative against poison from the very poison of the serpent; I will declare my power and skill thereby. The world shall know that of the unnaturallest treason that ever the sun beheld, I can work a good effect. I will

* Qualiscunque nunc sim, talis ero, qualem me Deus præscivit esse futurum, Qui profecto et verum dicebat et hoc vero non proficiebat in bonum.—*Aug. 2 de bono persever. 15.* Euodius objected the like, 3 de lib. arbit. iii. Non video quomodo sibi non adversentur hæc duo, præscientia, et libertas arbitrii. Augustine answered: Deus est præscius voluntatis nostræ, et cujus est præscius, ipsa erit. Prædestinatio vel est illigationis et potentia, vel conditionis et justitiæ. This latter is with God, even in evil actions. Non vult malum, vult hoc ipsum, fieri malum.—*Zanch.* Deus quasdam voluntates suas utique bonas, implet per malorum hominum voluntates malas.—*Aug. Enchir. c. ci.*

shew my judgments amongst all nations upon Judas and his accomplices; and by the fruits of that bitter root, the vilest treachery that ever hell cast up, I will save mankind. Judas himself never intended therein either to magnify the power of God, or to manifest his justice, or to deliver any of his brethren, who, I dare say, never conceived therein how his own singular soul might be saved. So, then, Judas committed a treason, and God foresaw a treason, whose knowledge is as great as himself, and the works of a thousand generations to come as present unto him as that which is done at the present time. What of that? *Præscivit, non prædestinavit vel fecit*; he only foreknew it, he neither predestinated it nor committed it. For this is the rule: *Mala tantum præscit, et non prædestinat; bona verò et præscit et prædestinat*.* evil things he only foreknoweth; good he both foreknoweth and predestineth; that is, appointeth and taketh order for them beforehand. He also foretold the infidelity, malice, mischievousness of the Jews in plotting the same villany against the Son of God.† What of that? *Prædixit, non fecit*; he only foretold, and not wrought it. *Ipsorum præscivit peccata, non sua*: he foresaw their sins, not his own. The Jews committed a sin which he compelled them not to do, who is displeased with sin, but only foretold that they would do it, because nothing is hid from him. Justus Lipsius as acutely as any man, *vidit ab æterno; sed vidit non coëgit; scivit non sanxit; prædixit non præscripsit*: he saw it from all eternity; but he saw it, enforced it not; knew it, decreed it not; foretold it, prescribed, ordained it not. For tell me, ye adulterers, murderers, usurers, drunkards, traitors, and the rest of this accursed seed, when you commit such things whereof you are now ashamed, and seek unlawful helps to be rid of them, whether you do them against your wills, whether you find any force offered unto you, whether you are drawn unto them with lines, or rather draw not them unto you with cart-ropes? When the devil prompteth and suggesteth iniquity unto you, whether you yield not your necks to his yoke with easiness; if the least object of pleasure allure not, pull not your senses after it; if ever your meat and drink were sweeter to your palate and throat than these sins to your souls; if there be any Christian resistance in you, *quod nolo malum, hoc facio*, that evil which I would not, that do I; if you set not windows and doors open, that the strong man who carrieth the minds of men captive, may enter in? Have you not will in all these; or is it a possible thing that will can be constrained? It is as proper to will to keep a liberty, I mean from coercion, as for fire to burn; else it were not *voluntas*, but *noluntas*, not will, but no will, if violence could be offered unto it.

* *Aug. lib. vi. hypognost. Προγινώσκει πάντα, ἀλλὰ οὐ πάντα προορίζει.—Dam.*

† *Aug. tract 53, in Joan. Fecerunt peccatum Judæi, quod eos non compulit facere, cui peccatum non placet; sed facturos esse prædixit, quem nihil latet.—Ibid. i. de Const. 20.*

I desire to open my meaning. The foreknowledge of God is unto him, if shallow and deep may be compared together, as memory is to us; as memory presenteth unto us things that are past, so prescience unto God things which are to come. Memory is our book wherein we read the one, and prescience his book wherein he readeth the other; and as memory in us is not the cause why things past were done, but only recounteth, so God's prescience is not the cause why future things shall be done, but only foreknoweth them; and as we remember some things which we do, but do not all things which we remember, so God foreseeth all things whereof he is author, but is not author of all things which he foreseeth. Lastly, we remember and God foreseeth the doing of everything in the nature and kind thereof; we remember a stone thrown wherewith a man was slain: by violence? No; by chance, so God foresaw it; we remember since a vineyard was planted, and the trees thereof brought forth grapes: by violence? No; by nature, so God foresaw it; we remember a thief which lay in wait for blood, and committed a murder by the highway side: by violence? No; by will, so God foresaw it. Thus all things are done according to the foreknowledge and will of almighty God, necessary things of necessity, contingent by contingency, and hap, as we call it, natural by kindly course, voluntary with election and choice, their natures neither changed nor any way enforced by the foresaid means. I conclude with Saint Augustine:* God created me with free will (he speaketh of freedom from coaction). If I have sinned, it was I that sinned; it was neither destiny, nor fortune, nor the devil. I will pronounce against myself, not against the Lord. I know I sin of necessity in one sense, because the corruption of nature has removed that original integrity wherein man was first created; but I sin not violently, because mine own will is reserved unto me. For as it was true of man in the state of innocency, *potest non peccare*, he may, if he will, not sin, because God left him in the hand of his own counsels, and gave him liberty both ways, so it is now as true in the state of corruption, *non potest non peccare*, he cannot choose but sin, the whole lump of his nature being soured with that ancient leaven; neither shall he ever be delivered from the corruption wherewith he is subject, till he attain to the state of glorification wherein it shall as certainly be verified, *non potest peccare*, he cannot sin though he would, corruption having put on incorruption both in body

* In Ps. xxxii. Si peccavi, ego peccavi, non fatum, non fortuna, non diabolus. Adversus me pronuntiabo, non adversus Dominum.—Bern. ser. lxxvi. in Cantic. in illud Ps. cxvii. Impulsus sum ut caderem. Queris, quis ille impulsor? Non est unus. Impulsor diabolus, impulsor mundus, impulsor homo. Quis iste homo sit, queris? Quisque sui. Usque adeo homo impulsor sibi est, et suimet precipitator, ut non sit quod ab altero impulsore formides, si ipse à te proprias contineas manus.

and spirit; which necessity of sinning the mean time is not in any external cause, either creator or creatures, but in the decayed nature of man, upon the fall whereof cometh vanity in the mind, and a frowardness in the will to depart from the living God.

Now I return to my former assertion, that nothing is done without the will of God, and yet the will of man thereby no way corrupted or compelled. And surely the very tenor and sound of the Scripture phrase bewrayeth a degree of some forwarder disposition from God in the actions of unrighteous men, than his bare toleration. For why was it said, not only in the 3d of Exodus, 'I know that the king of Egypt will not let you go but by strong hand,' which is referred to the prescience of God foreseeing what would come to pass; and in the 7th chapter, 'The heart of Pharaoh was heavy and dull,' which is referred to his own obstinate hardening of it, 'but I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, and he shall not let the people go,' Exod. iv.; and 'Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you,' Exod. vii.? For when Pharaoh hardened his own heart, both against the people of Israel,—'give them no straw: get you to your burdens,' Exod. v.,—and in the same chapter against the Lord himself,—'Who is the Lord that I should hear his voice?'—then did God permit all this to be done, and 'held his peace,' as the psalm speaketh, gave him the hearing and the looking on; but afterwards, when he putteth as it were iron to iron, adamant to adamant,—'I will harden his heart,'—it cannot reasonably be supposed, but that, besides his sufferance, there was an accession of some work of his. When the sons of Zeruiah would have taken Shimei his head from him, because he railed at the king, throwing stones at him, and calling him a murderer, the son of Belial, &c., 2 Sam. xvi., David stayed them with strange and unexpected speech, 'What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah? for he curseth me, because the Lord hath bidden him curse David;' and further, as if the railer were safe under the wings of God's authority, 'Who then dare say, Wherefore hast thou done so?' and once more, 'Suffer him to curse, for the Lord hath bidden him.' Nathan the prophet had told him before, chap. xii., that for his murder and adultery the Lord had thus decreed against him: 'I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thy face, and give them to thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the sun: for thou didst it secretly; but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.' Micaiah told Ahab: 1 Kings xxii., 'The Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all thy prophets, and the Lord hath appointed evil against thee.' Jeremiah to the face of God chargeth him, chap. iv., 'Surely thou hast deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, You shall have peace; and behold a sword.' And the Lord in plainer terms taketh it upon him: Ezek. xiv., 'If the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken

a thing; I the Lord have deceived him.' God gave the Gentiles up, Rom. i., 'to the desires of their hearts, to uncleanness, to defile their bodies between themselves, &c., unto vile affections' (affections of dishonour, dishonesty, contumely, shame), 'to do against nature itself, unto a reprobate mind.' Julian interpreted all these speeches by *permittere*, as if then God did it when he suffered it to be done (so did many ancient writers, by words of the like importance, *Passus est, ἵασεσθαι*). Augustine answered him that God doth not only permit them, but declare his wrath and power therein. Julian replied that they were phrases hyperbolical; that is, in some sort exceeding truth. Augustine answered they were proper. Julian replied, What needed God deliver them to these lusts wherein they were before? It was sufficient to let them stick fast therein. Augustine answered, It is one thing to have them, another to be given over unto them; the wicked are given over to their lusts, not only to have them, but to be had, that is, held and possessed of them.* We have the like specified, 2 Thes. ii., 'God shall send them operation of deceit, that they may believe lies;' I omit a hundred places of no less significance. Can there be mightier sins committed, nay, conceived and comprehended in the mind of man, than those I have named; than hardness of heart, the only rock to build all iniquity upon, when one neither is nor can be ashamed; than cursed and slanderous speech, railing at the gods of the earth; than adulteries, constuprations, open, shameless, even in the sight of the sun, lying, deceiving, sins of Sodom; unnatural lusts in men, women, not to be spoken of, reprobate sense, mighty illusions, and such like? All which, notwithstanding, the Spirit of the counsels of God, of whom it is most true that wisdom shall live and die with him, who neither deceived any man, neither can be deceived, hath not forborne largely to speak of, and to derive them in some sort from the throne of God, where justice itself is seated: God did thus and thus.

To turn this night into day, and to make it appear unto you how God shall be just still, and yet both [the] nature and the workers of such things abhorred, and abominated before him to the bottom of hell; consider, I beseech you, attentively these two things: first, that in all the Scriptures tofore alleged, there is mention made of some precedent iniquity, in those ungracious persons whom God so dealeth with, deserving and procuring the hand of God thus heavily upon them. *Recessurum non deserit antequam descat*; God never forsaketh a man that will depart from him before he forsaketh God; *et plerumque facit ne deserat*, and oftentimes he worketh so that he shall not forsake him. Hath God hardened Pharaoh? Pharaoh hardened himself before. God hardened Pharaoh by his just judgment; Pharaoh himself by his free will.†

* Aliud est habere, aliud tradi; traduntur impii non modò ut habeant, sed ut ab iis habeantur.

† *August. ad artic. falsò impos. ad 14.* Deus induravit per

Bade he Shimei curse David? Gave he his wives to be defiled by his own son? David had deserved both for touching both the wife and life of Uriah. Willed he a lying spirit to seduce Ahab? Ahab would not give credit to the right spirit, and he had 'sold himself to work all manner of wickedness in the sight of the Lord.' Did he seduce both people and prophets, the leaders of the people? They had before set up idols in their hearts, and put a stumblingblock of iniquity before their faces. Did he give over nations to lusts, uncleanness, dishonest affections, actions against nature, reprobate senses? Rom. i., the apostle answereth in God's behalf, it was ἀντιμισθία τῆς πλάνης; a recompense of their former errors, because 'they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped the creature more than the Creator; and turned the glory of an incorruptible God into the image of corruptible men, birds, four-footed beasts, creeping things.' And wherefore were they misled with strong illusions, 2 Thes. ii., but because they 'received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved'? Now where sin is plagued with sin, as in the policy of God wherewith he governeth the world, you shall find it a thousand times, then is not *peccatum peccatum*, but *judicium*; though sin in nature, yet in respect of God not sin, but judgment; it changeth the name, cometh in another nature, presenteth itself with another face and countenance; sin of itself, I must confess, but as it cometh from God justice, for it is the repayment and retaliation of some former sin. *Jussisti Domine, et verè sic est, ut omne peccatum sit pena peccantis*, O Lord, thou hast commanded, and indeed so it is, that all sin shall be a punishment to him that committeth it. Envy hath much justice in it, *justius invidia nihil est*, though a malicious, unjust quality in itself, for it eateth up the heart and marrow of her master, as he desireth to eat up another. When David gave charge for Shimei, 'Let him alone,' was it to justify Shimei in his wickedness? No; he acknowledged the scourge of God for his sins in the tongue of Shimei, bound together, not of whip-cord, but of the venomous reproaches which Shimei cast forth. He looked to the judge, from whom it was justice, not to the instrument and rod in the hand of the judge from whom it was malice, and therefore said, 'It may be the Lord will look upon my tears, and do me good for his cursing this day,' knowing that by the wisdom of God these bitter waters could easily be made sweet. Things that are evil in nature, God can handle not in evil manner, *potest Deus prava non pravè facere*. Hemlock of itself is a pestilent and noxious herb; yet the magistrates of Athens pronounce in judgment, that Socrates shall drink a bowl of hemlock. What! is judgment turned into wormwood, justice into hemlock? Is there poisoning and destroying of men at a judgment-seat? Yea, and good justum judicium Pharaonem, et ipse se Pharaonem per liberum arbitrium.—*Au. de grat. et I. arbit. 23.*

enough. An action evil simply in itself may be good by a circumstance; the poison is in the herb, not in the magistrate; he commandeth it to be drunken, though as a bane to the malefactor, to shorten his life, yet a preservative of the commonwealth, and for the terror of others, a punishment to him that hath poisoned and annoyed the welfare thereof; and as it proceedeth from the magistrate, so leaveth it as it were the name and nature of poison, and is called judgment.

The next thing which I wish to be hearkened unto is this, that whatsoever God doth in the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, or irrogating any the like judgment, that he doth *non impariando malitiam*, not by infusing any wickedness, as the magistrate putteth no venom into the herb, *sed non impariando misericordiam*, but by not imparting his mercy, or *auferendo Spiritum*, by withdrawing his Holy Spirit; as when ye withdraw the pillars or props of the house, which Samson did, the house falleth to ruin, with the very weight of the building that is laid thereupon; or if a country lie waste and unpeopled, it becometh a desert of itself, and for lack of better inhabitants, it is covered with nettles and briars; and satyrs, screech-owls, and hedgehogs take it up: so when the aid and assistance of God's grace forsaketh a man, whose body and soul were appointed to have been the temples of the Lord of hosts to dwell in, presently wildness and barbarousness succeedeth, and that which by the mercies of God might have been as his garden and pleasant paradise, through the absence thereof becometh an habitation for foul and unclean spirits. For as the removing of the sun from these upper parts of the earth where we live into the other hemisphere bringeth darkness upon us; not that the body of the sun is not altogether lightsome, and his natural office to lighten, but because he is gone and departed further off; so the departure of God, himself most righteous, from an unrighteous soul, by the only remove of his gracious presence, leaveth it to itself in an habit of injustice never to be recovered. Wherein notwithstanding the case is not so hard against God as some imagine it, that it is all one to thrust an old man down, and to take away his staff, the only stay to keep his feet from falling, for his help being gone he can no longer stand; as if in God the withdrawing of his grace (which is his rod or staff to sustain us) were effectually no less than to thrust us into wickedness, for thus they should rather propose it, that as when an old man wilfully casteth away his staff, and no man restoreth it to him again, he falleth through his own folly, not by another's instigation, so when the wicked despisers of the world not only neglect but condemn and defy that saving grace whereby they stand, through their own stubbornness and perversity they run a wearisome race of wretchedness, the Lord not lending them his helping hand to bring them back again. And, therefore, as they that purposedly abandon the light of the sun, to go into a darksome cave of the ground where the sun

never shone, have no reason to complain that the sun would not follow them, so they that wittingly and stiffly renounce the acceptable visitation of God, whereby he would have led them into the ways of peace, let them blame their own impenitency, that they are not afterwards attended upon by the like compassion. Or, to match these incomparable things, with Irenæus;* as the sun, which is the creature of God, blindeth the eyes of such as, for the infirmity of sight, cannot behold his beams, so God, the creator of the sun, hardeneth the hearts of such as, for the hardness of belief, will not receive his goodness. For whom he foresaw undisposed to believe, those he delivered to their infidelity, and turned away his face from them, leaving them in darkness which they chose to themselves.† What is it, then, to harden the heart of Pharaoh and others? *Nolle emollire*; this, that he will not soften it, *non vult emollire*. What is it to make blind? This, that he will not illuminate. What to reject, or to cast off? This, that he will not call (which is meant not of his general calling, but of that which is effectual, and belongeth to the chosen); and yet, methinks, there is more in it. For not only he is unwilling to soften, illuminate, call the impenitent, but he hath further a will not to do it. For there is great difference betwixt these two speeches, *he will not*, and *he hath a will not to do it*: the former arguing but an indifferent and milder alienation of the mind, and rather a careless neglect than a purposed and propounded hatred; the latter, a bent and resolved decree. As when a poor man asketh an alms, some are unwilling to relieve him, not weighing his necessity, and bidding him go in peace, &c., others have a will not to relieve him, it is determined in their hearts not to afford him comfort, either because they are unmerciful towards all the poor, or for that they are out of liking with the manners or person of this man.

Augustine in three words decideth this whole question against Faustus the Manichee,‡ touching the hardening of hearts, and the like judgments: *Diabolus suggerit, homo consentit, Deus deserit*, the devil worketh it by suggestion, man by consenting, God by forsaking, by suffering an hard heart to wax as fat as brawn, by giving success to ill purposes which he could have stopped, by not communicating the help of his blessed Spirit, *ut non ab illo irrogetur aliquid, quo sit homo deterior, sed tantum, quo sit melior, non erogetur*. God were able, I confess, to soften the hardest heart, open the blindest eyes, when, and in whom, and where he listed. But when he doth so, he doth it by mercy; and when he doth it not, he doth it not by judgment.§ Meanwhile let this be held

* Lib. iv. cont. hæres. c. xlix.

† Relinquens eos in tenebris, quas sibi elegerunt.—*August. de grat. et prædest.* 8.

‡ Lib. i. ad Simplician, quæst. 2.

§ Sed cum facit, per misericordiam facit; cum autem non facit, per iudicium non facit.—*Enchi.* cap. xevii.

for a constant and infallible rule, that although there be many whom God lifteth not up, yet there is none whom properly he throweth down.* *Ab illo est quod statuitur, non est ab illo quod ruitur*, from him it cometh that we all stand, but not from him that any falleth; and many have been held that they fell not, no man pushed at to cause him to fall. Only he casteth them down *by a consequence*, because he giveth not his grace, which might have sustained them; as if a nurse lend not her hand to support her child, the child will fall, I grant; but the cause of the falling is the weakness and debility of the child, the nurse no further the cause thereof than that she did not hinder it. Which though it be a fault amongst us, because we are members one of the other, and tied together by the bond of charity, yet it is no fault in God, who, having power over his clay, may work at his pleasure either in judgment, to make it a vessel of dishonour, or of honour in mercy.

For manifestation of this latter point, that God instilleth not malice into the offenders, in this execution of his judgments by punishing sin by sin, but finding these vessels of iniquity full-fraught of themselves, leaveth them with the season of their own liquor, and only applieth them by his wisdom to some good service of his; though I were able to open it unto you in all the examples before alleged, yet I will rest in the seducement and fall of Ahab. Wherein it may seem, that God doth not only permit the false spirit, 1 Kings xxii., 'Thou shalt seduce Ahab,' but giveth encouragement also, 'Thou shalt prevail,' and addeth a commandment, 'Go forth,' and alloweth of the form of dealing in the matter, 'Do so.' Now, that you may know how innocent the Lord is in an action of such prejudice, observe the circumstances of the place well. 1. The thing intended is, that Ahab might fall at Ramoth-Gilead. Which purpose of God once set, is so unchangeable, that if heaven and earth were confederate, they cannot save the life of Ahab. God shall send forth a spirit, the spirit deceive prophets, prophets entice Ahab, Ahab change his apparel, and though Jehoshaphat be the fairer mark, yet Jehoshaphat shall escape, and one shall draw an arrow by chance, and smite Ahab betwixt his brigandine, and he shall die at evening; he did so. Therefore, touching the end of this business, it is no injustice in God to execute judgment and wrath upon a famous adversary. 2. Concerning the means, inquiry was made who should entice Ahab, because in the nature of God himself it was not to entice him. 3. That which he doth, he doth by a spirit, not by himself. 4. By an evil spirit, of his band and retinue, who stood before God, Job i. 5. The spirit cometh furnished of his own, for when one said thus, another otherwise, he proffered his service to entice him. 6. When God demanded of the means, he invented the practice, by being a false spirit in the mouth of his prophets.

* Ad artic. fal. imp., art. xiv. Multi, ne laberentur detenti; nulli, ut laberentur, impulsu.

7. What were those prophets of Ahab? Men that were faithless of themselves, whose guise it was, either for rewards, or for favour of the king, to say they had dreamed, when they had not, and the Lord hath said, when he never said it. So there is both malice in the spirit, and falsehood in the prophets, before God setteth either hand or heart to the business. Therefore what doth the Lord therein? He sitteth upon the throne as the judge and moderator of the whole action, he commandeth the attendance of all the army of heaven on the right hand and on the left, clean and unclean spirits are in subjection to him; he giveth leave to them, who without his leave are unable to do anything, 'Thou shalt entice;' he giveth the success, which all the kingdom of darkness could not effect, if he would hinder it, 'Thou shalt prevail;' he biddeth go, and they go, run, and they run, to shew that all the creatures of the world serve him; he disposeth the course, Do so, that is, do so, and no more than so; as much as to say, Since thou hast malice to bestow, extend it upon Ahab rather than Jehoshaphat; and falsehood to infuse, pour it forth upon the four hundred prophets of Ahab rather than upon Micaiah or any prophet of mine; and let the fall of Ahab be at Ramoth-Gilead rather than in another place, and in this battle with the king of Aram rather than at another time. Thus, when the matter is their own, God giveth the fashioning and ordering thereof in some sort, touching the persons, time, place, and other the like particulars. But why is it further said, that God put a lying spirit into the mouth of these prophets of Ahab? 1. He did it by way of a punishment, to be avenged of that custom of lying, which they were inured unto aforetime. 2. He did it by his instrument, having both life and will to do hurt, not by himself. 3. He did it in this sense, that he stayed not the wicked purpose, by interposing the aid of his good Spirit.

By this time, I think, it appeareth, that in the actions and passions of unrighteous men, there is more to be deemed of God than his bare permission. For doubtless he hath his will therein, neither in alluring, neither in counselling, and much less in compelling thereunto, but in ordering and governing them, in applying them to better ends than the offenders are aware of, and in ordaining his just judgments consequently thereupon. Therefore, when I say he hath his will therein, mistake me not. He hath not a will in such sort as if he approved sin, chose or desired sin, as if he bare appetite and liking thereto. It is rather *voluntas* than *volitio*, if I may so speak, a will than a willingness; it is his will by obliquity, a side will, improper, undirect,* and in respect not to the sin itself, but some other good adjoined unto it; as when a man is put to have his arm or leg cut off for a further benefit, he beareth, and beareth it with his will; not that he liketh of the dismembering of his body, or

* Zanch.

losing of a joint, but that he desireth some other good, which he foreseeeth may ensue thereby. Thus he permitted, and, more, he decreed the treason of Judas, and iniquity of the Jews against his anointed Son, as you have it confessed by the apostles, Acts the fourth : that ' Herod, and Pilate, with the Gentiles, and people of Israel, gathered themselves together against the holy Son of God, Jesus, to do whatsoever his hand and his counsel had determined before to be done.' God had determined it before, not in the favour of their sin, but of our redemption.* Take away the wickedness of the prodiction of Judas, thou shalt also take away the cross and passion of Christ ; if the death of Christ had not been, then neither his resurrection, nor any first begotten from the dead, nor any hope of our resurrection. Take away the malice of the brethren of Joseph, thou shalt together kill the dispensation of God, *tolle malitiam fratrum Josephi, simul perimes dispensationem Dei* ; a fault never to be excused, the more unnatural because it came from brethren, the more unreasonable because of envy without just cause, the more unsufferable because they added lying, and bound two sins together, and it was, in likelihood, the hastening of their father's death. Yet Joseph told his brethren when they came into Egypt, Gen. xlv., ' Grieve not yourselves that ye sold me hither, for God sent me hither for your preservation ;' (this they never foresaw, neither was it the end of their spiteful dealing) ; ' you sent me not hither, but God, who hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of his house, and ruler throughout all Egypt,' when you repined that I was a brother amongst you, and left me no footing in mine own father's house. Afterwards, when his brethren fell down at his feet, and confessed their sin, he answered them, ' Fear not, am I instead of God, set to execute judgment ? When you thought evil against me, God disposed it to good, that he might work, as it is come to pass this day, and save much people alive.' All the wits in the world cannot better set down the state of the question. They thought evil, ' God disposed it to good ;' they, to ungorge themselves of that venomous malice which the prosperity of Joseph, conceived from his dreams, instilled into their hearts ; God, to preserve them in a famine to come, and to save much people alive ; they sent him away to remove their eyesore ; God, to be a steward both for Egypt and Israel. Nay, ' God sent him thither,' and they sent him not ; the incomprehensible reaches of God were so far above theirs, and his wisdom in the good handling of a bad cause doeth so much obscure and discountenance their malice, that it seemeth not to be at all, and the ministers in the action as it were cast aside, the highest dispenser and moderator thereof only is remembered, ' You sent me not hither, but God ;' the purposes of your hearts were nothing in comparison of that everlasting decree, which the immortal and only wise God made to himself.

* Origen. in Num. xxii.

See what a race and pedigree of blessings Origen bringeth down from the rotten stock of that ungracious practice. If Joseph be not sold, Pharaoh's dreams are not expounded ; none maketh provision of corn ; Egypt, and the country about Egypt, and Israel, starveth in the time of dearth ; the seed of Israel goeth not into Egypt to seek bread, neither returneth out of Egypt with miracles ; no wonders are wrought by Moses and Aaron, no passing through the Red Sea, no manna from heaven, no water from the rock, no law from Sinai, no going into the land of Canaan, &c. These are the blessings and commodities which the envy of the patriarchs bringeth forth, by God's most mighty and wise dispensation. So that we may truly say, *Privata mala, publica bona*, particular mischiefs are common commodities. The life of the lion is maintained by the death of the lamb, the cruelty of tyrants giveth martyrs their glory and crown, and the blood of martyrs becometh the seed and propagation of the church : *sanguis martyrum semen ecclesie*. If any demand whether this good might not better have been procured by good means, I answer with Augustine,* *Melius judicavit Deus de malis benefacere, quam mala nulla esse permittere* : it seemed better to the wisdom of God, to work good out of evil, than to suffer no evil at all.

I now conclude the point. As in the statutes and laws of our commonwealth, there are many things contained more than the laws either commit or allow, as treasons, felonies, heresies, and the like, which notwithstanding the laws order and dispose of, so in the will of God, within the compass and pale of his arbitrement, much more is contained, than either by action or authorisement from him could ever be defended, and yet is that will of his judge and disposer of all those particulars. And whether Joseph be sold into Egypt, or Jonah thrown into the sea, or the Son of God himself nailed upon a cross, we may safely and universally say with the mariners in this prophecy, ' Thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.' Surely there is not an evil in the city, nor upon the face of the earth, but God hath some use of it. Those sins within our land that take all from men, as covetousness, extortion, oppression, usury, they take not that from God which his wisdom maketh of them, I mean the profit and use of most unnatural vices. Haply they take the substance of their brethren, and by taking such snares away, save their souls, or, if they take their lives, they ease and unlade them of a great burden of their sins to come. The drunkard drinketh himself asleep, not God, and bringeth his own senses and wits into a trance, but provoketh and quickeneth the righteous Lord to do a work of justice. The adulterer wrappeth himself within the arms of his harlot, and thinketh he is safe, and not perceived, but never shall be able to unwrap himself from the arms of God's government. The murderer that spoileth the

* Ench. cap. xxvii.

life of his mortal brethren, if every wish of his heart were a two-edged sword, shall never kill the life of God's immortal providence. He shall say to the hardest heart, at which the preaching of prophets and denunciation of judgments hath often recoiled, Open thy doors, that I may enter into thee to declare my justice; and to the reprobate mind that ever hath been dulled and benumbed with sin, Though thou feelst not my grace, thou shalt feel my vengeance. Envy cannot hinder his benignity, nor the hottest malice under heaven dry up this spring of his goodness.

What shall we say then? Because God maketh use of thy sins, art thou excused? Is not thine evil evil, because he picketh good out of it? Deceive not thyself therein. When thou hast done such service to thy master and maker, though seven and seven years, as Jacob did to Laban, thou shalt lose thy wages, and thy thanks too. Oh, well were thou if thou didst but lose, for thou shalt also gain a sorrowful advantage. It is unprofitable, nay, miserable service which thou hast thus bestowed. Babylon shall be the hammer of the Lord a long time to bruise the nations, himself afterwards bruised; Asshur his rod to scourge his people, but Asshur shall be more scourged. These hammers, rods, axes, saws, other instruments, when they have done their offices, which they never meant, shall be thrown themselves into the fire, and burnt to ashes. Satan did service to God, it cannot be denied, in the afflicting of Job, winnowing of Peter, buffeting of Paul, executing of Judas, and God did a work in all these, either to prove patience, or to confirm faith, or to try strength, or to commend

justice; yet is Satan 'reserved in chains, under darkness, to the retribution of the great day.' Judas did service to God, in getting honour to his blessed name for the redemption of mankind, whilst the world endureth; yet was his wages an alder-tree to hang himself upon, and, which is worse, he hangeth in hell for eternal generations. He had his wages, and lost his wages. That which the priest gave him, he lost, and lost his apostleship, but gained the recompense of everlasting unhappiness, and lieth in the lowest lake, for the worm and death to gnaw upon without ceasing.

Will you hear the end of all? 'Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.' This is the will of God, wherewith we are highly charged, and he will strictly require it. The book that is clasped up, let us leave to the Lamb and to the blessed Trinity. Those of Moses, the prophets, the Psalms, of Christ and his blessed apostles, wherein we may run and read the ordinances of the Most High, belong to us, and our seed after us. These let us carefully search, and meditate in them day and night; let them wake and sleep, walk and rest, live and die with us; and whatsoever he hath secretly decreed, whether by our weakness or strength, sickness or health, falling or standing, which in his hidden counsels is locked up, and cannot be opened but by the key of David, let us beseech him for Christ's sake to turn it to our good, that his name may be glorified, his arm made known, his wisdom, justice, and mercy more and more magnified, and our sinful souls by the abundant riches of his grace finally saved. Amen.

LECTURE XX.

So they took up Jonah, and cast him into the sea; and the sea ceased from her raging. Then the men feared the Lord, &c.—JONAH I. 15, 16.

IN the former verse, was the dedication of the sacrifice, wherein they sanctified themselves by prayer, and commended their action to God's good favour; in this is the offering of the sacrifice; before the attempting whereof, being their final doom and animadversion upon the life of Jonah, a judgment without redemption, they observe the charitablest and wariest principle in exercising discipline that may be held; that is, not to try an extremity till they have tried all means, *cuncta prius tentanda*, and then, if the wound be incurable and past hope, to apply the fire or the sword to it. They dealt with Jonah in this course, as a skilful surgeon with his patient, a part of whose body being putrefied, and eating on by degrees, threateneth the loss of the whole, if it be not stayed, as the transgression of Jonah, being but a member in the ship, went forward like a canker, and was at hand to have invaded the whole company. The professor will first inquire the cause of the malady, How cometh it?

What hath thy diet, thine exercise been? as these ask Jonah, 'What hast thou done? What is thine occupation?' &c.; and when he is answered by his patient, I have eaten and drank intemperately, exceeded the strength of my body, incontinently lived (as Jonah reported how far he had disobeyed), perhaps he may chide him, as these chide Jonah, 'Why hast thou done this?' a man of thy years, education, discretion? as these imply to Jonah, a man of thy knowledge, calling, and commission; yet he will do more than expostulate (for that were to afflict the afflicted, and to heap grief upon grief), he will advise with the patient himself, as these with Jonah, who best knoweth the state of his body, as Jonah the counsels of God, 'What shall we do unto thee?' And though he be answered, there is no help but one, mine arm must be cut, or my leg sawed off, and then the rest of my body may be saved, as Jonah answered, 'Cast me into the sea, and the sea shall be calm unto you,' yet he will

prove his skill otherwise, as they their endeavours by rowing, to save the joint, if possibly it may be done. But when there is no other help, the sore retaining his anger, as the sea her impatience, both fretting on still, and crying for a desperate remedy, then will the one use his corrosives and sharpest instruments, commending the success of the cure unto God, as these, after prayer, 'took up Jonah and cast him forth.' In the two next verses ensuing, we may observe, 1, their proceeding (as it were by steps) to the action: 'They took up Jonah;' 2, the accomplishment thereof: 'They cast him into the sea;' 3, the event: 'The sea ceased from her raging;' 4, the demeanour of the mariners, after their release, both in their inward affection, 'Then they feared the Lord exceedingly,' and in the open testification thereof, (1.) by sacrifices, witnesses of their present thankfulness, and (2.) vows, pledges, and earnestness of their duty to come.

Elcazar, an ancient interpreter of the Bible, thinketh that the sentence is here perfected, 'They took up Jonah,' and by a period or full point, severed from that which followeth, 'They cast him into the sea.' Thereupon he collecteth that the mariners assayed five experiments to acquit themselves from danger: 1, the private invocation of every man upon his own God; 2, the throwing forth of their wares; 3, their casting of lots; 4, their common supplication; 5, their letting down of Jonah into the sea, up to the neck, and pulling him back again, that it might appear unto them that Jonah was the man whom the sea desired, because, whilst his body was in the waters, the sea stood; when taken back, it boiled again. There is no warrant in my text for this opinion, therefore I charge you not with it. For as there is no reason to lose one word of the writings of God (not the least fragment of the broken meat), so on the other side, to add unto them is an injury, and a plague will follow it. Only this I observe, as the complement of all their former humanity, specified in many particulars before, that though they could not cast him forth, but they must first take him up amongst them, yet seeing the history might have concluded both in one, the latter implying the former, and rather doth it by noting the order and distinction of two sundry actions, and by making a space between them, first they took him up, &c., then they cast him forth, it argueth a treatable, deliberate, gentle proceeding in them, that that which they did they did by leisure, and without violent or turbulent invasion. Jerome, with others, comment upon the words, *Tulerunt, non arripuerunt, non invaserunt*, they took him, they haled him not, they caught him not up in a rage, they set not hastily upon him, but bare him in their arms, as it were, with honour and due estimation. *Quasi cum obsequio portantes*, because it was the funerals and exsequies of a prophet of the Lord, their last service unto him, they did it with reverence. And in truth there needed no invasion or force to be used

against him. He was brought to his end, *tanquam oris*, which was the emblem of the Son of God, 'as a lamb that is dumb before the shearer, so opened he not his mouth.' *Tulerunt non repugnantem*, they took him without resistance. For what should resistance have done?

*Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.**

I will not say the destinies, as the poet doth, but the will and power of God, for these are the right destinies; and he that so understandeth them, with Saint Augustine,† *teneat sententiam, corrigat linguam*, let him keep the opinion, only amending his tongue. But the will and power of God lead him that is willing to go, and pull him that is unwilling. I never read that Moses opposed himself, by the least thought of his heart, to the ordinance of God, when he said unto him, 'Behold, the days are come that thou must die,' though Moses might have lived many years; for in the last of Deuteronomy, 'his eyes were not dim, nor his natural force abated. Rather he spake unto the people with cheerfulness and alacrity of heart, embracing the tidings of his death, 'I am an hundred and twenty years old this day. I can no more go out and in; also the Lord hath said unto me, Thou shalt not go over this Jordan.' Young men amongst us think they are privileged because they are in their full strength; old men, though they have a foot in the grave, think they may be long old. There is none so stricken in years but thinketh he may live a year more. *Nemo est tam senex qui non annum se putet posse vivere*. Be we young or old, if ever the message of God be sent unto us, as to Hezekiah, 'Put thy house in order, despatch thy worldly affairs, for thou must die and not live,' though we turn our faces to the wall, and pray, and weep, and mourn like a dove, and beg for life, as he did, yet if the purpose of God be fixed, let us patiently entertain it. *Cur quod necesse est, non voluntas occupat?* Prudentius, a Christian and prudent poet, spake it, That that must be shall be, blessed be the name of God, let us not refuse it. Let a beast be pulled from his den by force, but let a Christian be taken from his life with patience. For it is not inheritance but debt, and he that is the Lord of the spirits of all flesh, will as gloriously restore as he will certainly require it.

2. Jonah is now at length executed. If this had been done before, the sea had been quiet; but the Lord loveth to hold and suspend an action, for he hath many works in one, and this amongst the rest, that man may know that howsoever he be favoured by the intercession and respite of time, and by other helps, he cannot strive with a mightier, nor go to law with his Maker, but his reckonings and accounts must be made when all is done. Adam may run into thickets, and spend the time a while, and cover himself with leaves, and think to beguile God's eye, but Adam shall be called forth of his bushes, and stripped of

* Prudent.

† Lib. v. de civ. Dei, cap. i.

his garments as thin as spiders' webs, and cast out of paradise, and have a sentence of death pronounced, and performed too, upon him and his whole lineage. Doth Sisera think, by running away, to run from the judgments of the Lord? Though there be peace between Jabin his master, and the house of Heber the Kenite, yet that peace shall be turned into war, he shall come into the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber, and find the hand of the Lord as ready to encounter him there as if he had fallen upon the host of Barak; a draught of milk, which he beggeth for his comfort, shall be his last and deadliest draught; and instead of rest to the temples of his head, a nail shall be driven into his temples to despatch his life. The Jews may say in the prophet, 'They will ride upon horses, they will fly away upon the swiftest, but their persecutors shall be swifter than they.' Others may go to the mountains and rocks, and say they will lie in the closest, but mountains shall be made as valleys, and rocks shall yield at the pleasure of God, as wax before the sun, to open and disclose his enemies. Jonah shall have his leave to run away on foot with Sisera, to ride upon the swiftest with the Jews, to ship himself in a vessel, and lie as close in the shrouds thereof as the ribs will give him leave; he shall one while sleep, another draw lots, a third discourse, now be chid, and then examined, and afterwards consulted with, and fairly entreated; he shall see the loss of all their wares, and think his life may be saved by that loss, and behold millions of waves broken against the sides of the ship, and hope that millions more shall pass and not touch him; he shall have what friendship and help the whole company of mariners may afford him, either by their prayers or by their advice, or by the handling of their oars, yet the end shall be, Jonah must be cast forth. This is the wages of sin, and this is the way of all sinful flesh. When we have stood long, and fought with the dangers of the world, both by land and sea; when thousands have fallen at our right hand, and ten thousands at our left, and we have not fallen; when we are compassed with friends so far forth, that we may say with the woman of Shunam, 1 Kings iv., 'I need not speaking for me, either to the king or to the captain of the host, I dwell amongst mine own people,' where I may command; when we have walked in the light of the sun, our prosperity I mean, waxen so great that we have wanted nothing; when we think that we are in league with death, and in covenant with the grave, and promise ourselves that we shall multiply our days as the sands by the sea side, even when we have sails and oars at pleasure, that we may say with Antiochus, I will not sail in the sea (with Jonas), but I will sail upon the mountains, and walk upon the sea as upon dry land, yet there must be a time when all these helps shall be frustrated, and Jonah shall be cast forth. Though we 'escape the pit, we shall be taken in the snare,' Jer. xlviii; we shall 'flee from a lion, and a bear

shall meet us; or lean our hand upon a wall, and a serpent shall bite us,' Amos v.; we may be delivered in six troubles, and the seventh shall despatch us. him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu, shall Elisha slay, 1 Kings xix. As one that shooteth at a mark sometimes is gone, and sometimes is short, sometimes lighteth on the right hand, sometimes on the left, at length hitteth the mark, so death shooteth at noble men beyond us, at mean men short of us, on the right hand at our friends, at our enemies on the left, at length hitteth ourselves; and the longer her hand is practised, the more certain it is. She was aiming at Adam nine hundred and thirty years, at last smote him; at Methuselah nine hundred and sixty-nine years, in the end overthrew him; now she striketh within the compass of threescore years, or threescore and ten, or fourscore at the most, and sometimes at the first stroke, even in the day of our birth. 'Cast them out of my sight' (saith God to his prophets, Jer. xix.), 'and let them depart, some to captivity, some to the sword, some to pestilence, some to the water,' as Pharaoh and the princes of Egypt; some to the fire, as the king of Edom, whose bones were burned to lime; some to the bowels and jaws of the earth, as the congregation of Abiram; Haman to the gallows, Jezebel to the dogs, Herod to worms, the disobedient prophet to a lion, the sons and daughters of Job to the fall of an house, the mothers and infants of Jerusalem to a famine; some to a plague, some to the edge of the sword, some to a sickness by the hand of God; one crieth, 'My head, my head,' as the Shunamite's son; another, My bowels, my bowels, as Antiochus; another, My feet, my feet, as Asa; one complaineth of a palsy, another of a burning fever, a third of an issue of blood; but whatsoever the means be, the ordinance of God in the end is this: Jonah must be cast forth, the ship eased, the world emptied by degrees, and new generations successively take place. If this were remembered by us, that as Jonah slept in the sides of the ship, and we in security, so we must both sleep in the dust of the earth; and, as the lot fell upon Jonah in his time, so the lot must fall upon us in ours; and as neither counsel nor strength could deliver Jonah, so neither counsel nor strength can deliver us; and as it was the will of God to drown Jonah, so it is the will of God, some way or other, to dissolve us; and whether the time is limited, within ten, or a hundred, or a thousand years, there is no defence against the hand of the grave; the very remembrance hereof would be as comfortable, and as fortunate a staff unto us, to walk the pilgrimage of our few and evil days, as the staff that Jacob had to go over Jordan with. Oh look unto your end, as the wise men looked unto the star which stood over Bethlehem; it shall haply guide you to heaven, as that guided them to Bethlehem, where the King of the Jews now sitteth and reigneth at his Father's right hand; it shall lead you from the east

to the west, as that led them from the rising of the sun, I mean the state and time where your life began, to the going down of the same. But it is a death unto us to remember death. I will say with the son of Sirach, Ecclus. xli., whilst we are able but to receive meat, whilst there is any strength and livelihood in us, and but appetite to our food, it is a death to remember death; and though we dwell in ruinous and rotten houses, built upon sand and ashes, which the wind and rain of infinite daily casualties shake about our ears, yet we walk in this brittle and earthen house, as Nebuchadnezzar in his galleries, and ask, 'Is not this great Babel?' Is not this my house a strong house? Is not my body in good plight? Have I not blood in my veins, fatness in my bones, health in my joints? Am I not likely to live these many years, and see the succession of my sons and nephews? What will be the end of all this? *Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto descendunt in infernum*, 'They pass their days with pleasure, and in an instant of time go down into hell.' Therefore they are deceived which think it an easy matter speedily to return unto God, when they have long been straying from him; that are gone with the prodigal child *in longinquam regionem*, 'into a far country,' far from the thought of death, and consequently far from the fear of God, yet promise themselves a quick return again. Do they not know that it will ask as long a time (if not a longer) to find God, as to lose God? Joseph and Mary left their son at Jerusalem, and went but one day's journey from him, but they sought up and down three whole days before they could find him; these going from the ways of the Lord a journey of forty or fifty years, hope in a moment of time to recover his mercies. I would never wish so desperate an adventure to be made by any man, that the sins of his soul and the end of his life should come so near together as the trespass of Jonah and his casting forth. For think with yourselves how fearful his thoughts were, being at the best to be rocked and tossed to and fro in a dangerous ship, the bones whereof ached with the violence of every surge that assailed it, the anchors, cables, and rudders either thrown away, or torn in pieces; having more friendship proffered him, than he had hap to make use of; at length to be cast into the sea, a merciless and un placable sea, roaring for the life and carcass of Jonah, more than ever the lion roared for his prey, the bottom whereof seemed as low unto him as the bottomless destruction, and no hope left to escape either by ship, boat, or by a broken piece of board, or to be cast to land; and, besides all these, the anger of God burning against his sins like a whole river of brimstone. This is the case of us all in any extreme and peremptory sickness, or to speak more largely, in the whole course of our lives, for our lives are nothing but uncertainty, as Hezekiah sang in his song, 'From day to night thou wilt make an end of me,' Isa. xxxviii. We are tumbled and tossed in a vessel as frail as the ship was, which every stream of

calamity is ready to break in shivers, where neither anchor nor rudder is left, neither head, nor hand, nor stomach is in case to give us comfort; where, though we have the kindness of wife and friends, the duty of children, the advice and pains of the physicians to wish us well, we cannot use their service; where we have a grave before our eyes, greedy, inexorable, reaching to the gates of hell, opening her mouth to receive us, and shutting her mouth when she hath received us, never to return us back again, till the worms and creepers of the earth have devoured us. There is terror enough in these things to the strongest man; Aristippus feareth death as well as the common people. *Etiam in metu percelleris sicut vulgus?* But if the anger of God for our former iniquities accompany them, thrice woe unto us; our heavy and melancholic cogitations will exclude all thought of mercy, and our souls shall sleep in death, clogged with a burden of sins which were never repented of. Therefore, if we desire to die the death of the righteous, as Balaam wished, let us first live the life of the righteous; and as we gird our harness about us before the battle is joined, so let us think of repentance before death cometh, and the ordinance of God be fully accomplished, that we must be cast forth.

3. *And the sea ceased from her raging.* As the rising of the sea was miraculous, so it is not a less miracle, that her impatience was so suddenly pacified. Heat but a pot with thorns, and withdraw the fire from it, can you appease the boiling thereof at your pleasure? Here the huge body and heap of waters raised by a mighty wind in the air, or rather the wind and breath of God's anger (what shall I say?) remitteth it the force of her rage by degrees? Falleth it by number and measure? Giveth it but tokens and hope of deliverance unto them? Nay, at the first sinking of Jonah, it standeth as unmoveable as a stone, as dead as the Dead Sea, having fretted itself before with the greatest indignation and wrath that might be conceived, as if he that bounded the sea at the first creation, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further,' had spoken unto it at this time, Thus long shalt thou rage, and no longer. Let me observe unto you thus much from the phrase. If the commotion of the sea, even in the greatest and vehementest pangs thereof (as greater than these could not be), by a translation of speech, for likeness of natures, be termed her indignation and rage, then, by as good a reason on the contrary side, the anger of man thoroughly kindled may be matched with the commotion of the most unquiet sea. And how unseemly a thing it is, that the heart of man should reckon with any passion, as that vast and untamed element foameth with rage, yourselves be judges. I have found this perturbation diversely compared: by Chrysostom, though not to the sea, yet to that confused noise which seamen sometimes make, when their heads are most busied, with whom there is nothing but tumult, much running to and fro, large and liberal outcries, but no

place left for philosophy ; that is, wisdom and reason have no leave to speak, or to give their judgment. By Evagrius, to a ship sent into the sea, where the devil is pilot :* by the poets, to a troubled spring, wherein if you look, and think to behold the image of a man, you see no part of his right composition ; or to that clamorous and disordered behaviour which the priests of Cybele used in Crete, ringing their basons, and playing upon timbrels all the day long,† and by incomposed gestures in the open streets, shewing themselves to be nothing less than reasonable creatures.

When anger, saith Lactantius,‡ is fallen into the mind of man, like a sore tempest it raiseth such waves that it changeth the very state of the mind, the eyes wax fiery, the mouth trembleth, the tongue faltereth, the teeth gnash, and the whole countenance is by course stained, sometimes with redness, sometimes with paleness. But it was never more rightly fitted than by the Spirit of God in this place, where it is likened to the fury and rage of the sea. I may speak it to the shame of men, in the rage and fury of the sea there is more mercy. The sea is contented and pacified when Jonah is cast forth ; we, in the lightest displeasure done unto us, never satisfied with the punishment, the damage, the dishonour, no, nor the death of our adversaries, hate the quick, pursue the dead, as if we had made that unchristian and heathenish vow, *Nec mors mihi finiet iras*, &c.,

Mine anger with my body shall not die,
But with thy ghost my ghost shall battle try ;

whereas the rule of Lactantius rather should moderate us, *Ira mortalium debet esse mortalis*, the anger of mortal men should be mortal like themselves. Valerius Maximus reporteth Sylla to have been such a one, of whom it was doubted whether himself or his anger was first extinguished, *In dubio est Syllane prior, an iracundia Syllæ sit extincta*. These turbulent perturbations of anger, hatred, and malice, as they are never without the torment of him that useth them, they boil his heart to brine, and eat the moisture out of his flesh ; so there is great presumption that the Spirit of God resteth not in a soul possessed therewith. When God appeared to Elijah, 1 Kings xix., lying in the cave of mount Horeb, first there passed by him ‘a mighty strong wind, which rent the mountains, and tare the rocks, but the Lord was not in the wind ; after the wind came an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake ; after the earthquake came fire, but the Lord was not in the fire ; after the fire came a still and soft voice, therein the Lord was, and spake,’ and Elijah came forth and answered. Think with yourselves that these winds, earthquakes, and fire, are our boisterous affections,

which the presence and favour of God avoideth, better beseeching brute beasts, in whom there is no understanding, and the unsensible sea, which God hath restrained with bars and doors, than the children of men endued with reason.

4. *Then the men feared the Lord exceedingly.* I noted in this verse the behaviour of the mariners towards God, occasioned by the event that fell out. Surely the rightest use of God’s mighty wonders is when we take them for wonders, when we tremble at the sight of them, and fear that almighty God whose hands have wrought them. Such are the acclamations in the Psalms, ‘This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.’ ‘The gracious Lord hath made his wonderful works to be had in remembrance.’ ‘O Lord, how gracious are thy works, and thy thoughts are very deep ! an unwise man knoweth it not, and a fool doth not understand this.’ God doth not *miracula propter miracula*, miracles for their own sakes, but for ours ; not caring so much himself to do them as that we should consider and bear them away. Wherein I will shew our negligence by a familiar example of our latest days. Samuel biddeth the people ‘stand and see a great thing which the Lord would do before their eyes. Is it not now wheat harvest ? I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain, that ye may perceive and see how that your wickedness is great, which you have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking a king. The thunder and rain were sent, and all the people feared the Lord and Samuel exceedingly,’ 1 Sam. xii. Apply this scripture to yourselves. Is it not now wheat harvest ? Hath not the Lord sent thunder and rain amongst you ; so unseasonable a season, that the fruits of the earth, wherewith your fields were so fair before that they laughed and sang, mourning upon the ground that bare them, and the husbandman was ashamed, and sighed to himself to see his hopes so deceived. Was not every cloud in the air a cloud of wrath upon your fields, to destroy your labours ? Were ye not near the curse of the prophecy, ‘You have sown much, and bring in little’ ? Hag. i. What was the reason of so sudden an alteration, but that our wickedness was great, as theirs was ; and what other end of this work, but that we might say in our hearts, ‘Let us fear the Lord our God, which giveth us rain both early and late in due season, and reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest’ ? Jer. v. Thus the mariners applied this extraordinary work of God, and the inference of the text speaketh no less.

Then they feared. The dutiful behaviour of the mariners consisteth, 1, in their inward affection, ‘they feared ;’ and 2, in outward observances, they ‘sacrificed and made vows.’ Their inward affection is explicated by many circumstances. (1.) By the nature and kind of the passion, ‘they feared.’ Others have seen the signs and wonders of God rather to admire them than to be touched with them ; as it is often noted of the Jews

* Iratus similis navi decurrenti in mare, et dæmonem habenti gubernatorem.

† Non sic acuta
Ingeminant Corybantes æra.

‡ De ira Dei, cap. v.

in the Gospel, when they beheld the works of Christ, 'they were astonished, and said amongst themselves, We never saw it on this wise; the like was never done in Israel.' Thus Herod was desirous to have seen Christ, hoping that some miracle might have been done by him. But this was more than admiration and astonishment; for they are afraid when they see the waters stilled. (2.) By doubling their passion, which, in the use of the Hebrew tongue, doth increase the signification, *timuerunt timore*, 'they feared and feared.' (3.) By the attribute, *timore magno*, their fear was not ordinary, but a great and exceeding fear. (4.) By the object or matter of the fear, 'they feared Jehovah.'

If ye will learn the effects of fear, when it is great indeed, where can you better learn them than at the sacking of Nineveh, in the second of Nahum? For there 'the heart melteth,' that is, the leader and the captain faileth, 'the knees smite together, sorrow is in the loins, and the face gathereth blackness.' But I leave to discuss the nature of fear, because I have handled it twice before. This only I observe in the mariners, out of these words, that they 'go from strength to strength;' the longer the leaven lieth in the meal, the more it leaveneth; and the longer they retain in their hearts the knowledge of the true God, the more they increase in knowledge. If you compare the fifth and tenth and this sixteenth verses together, you shall find that in the first they only *feared*; in the second, they *feared exceedingly*; in the third, they *feared the Lord exceedingly*. The first declareth no more than the affection; the second addeth the measure; the third the object. The first was the fear of nature; the second of grace, in the prime and first sprouting thereof; the third, of grace in a further perfection. At the first they fear as men, next as novices, and lastly as converts. First, they see a tempest, and because it threateneth destruction unto them, they are afraid, which is incident to all men; secondly, they hear a confession of the true Lord, a relation of an offence done, a declaration of the justice of God, then they are afraid more than before; now, lastly, they see the event and proof of all things, the truth of a prophet's words, the importunity of judgment, the execution of vengeance; at this they fear as much as before, but their idols wholly relinquished, they fear whom they should fear, the dreadful Lord of hosts; and, to publish that fear to the whole world, they offer sacrifices and make vows. Thus is the kingdom of God described, Matt. xiii.: it is as a grain of mustard seed at the first, the least of all seeds; but when a man hath sown it in his field, it becometh first an herb; secondly, the greatest of herbs; thirdly, a tree; fourthly, the birds make arbours and shades in the boughs thereof: so do the mariners pass from one fear as the seed, to another fear as the herb, and to a great fear as a great herb, and yet to a greater fear, the fear of the Lord, as to a tree, and the boughs there-

of are so large, that birds may build nests in them, that is, their works and fruits so apparent, that others may be drawn by the sight and example of them. There is small hope and comfort to be had of that man who, though he hear the word of God, ἀκούων, and receiveth it, λαμβάνων, and forthwith, εὐθύς, receiveth it, and, furthermore, with joy, μετὰ χαρᾶς, yet serveth but the time, Πρόσκαιρὸς ἐστὶ, applying his religion and conscience to the present condition of things. Examine yourselves by these notes, whether you are sown in the field of the Lord, to take root, and to grow to perfection, Matt. xiii., yea or no; whether ye hear the law, to keep the law; whether you 'hold that which you have,' as Philadelphia is counselled, Rev. iii.; and not only hold at a stay, but 'strengthen and confirm the remnant' (that which is left), that your works may be fulfilled before the Lord, as Sardis wished to do; whether you run not only to pace the ground, to make up the number of runners, to weary your bodies, to spend your breaths, but to obtain also, for that is the apostle's exhortation, 1 Cor. ix., 'So run, that ye may obtain.' There is no time of standing in this life; we must still forwards, and think that every blessing of God bestowed upon us is a further calling and provocation of God, as were his callings upon Elias. When he found him a day's journey in the wilderness sitting and sleeping under a juniper tree, he calleth upon him, 'Up, and eat;' and when he found him a second time, 'Up, thou hast a great journey to go;' and when he had travelled forty days, and was lodged in a cave, 'What dost thou here, Elias?' and when he had brought him forth to the mount, 'What dost thou here, Elias? Go and return unto the wilderness by Damascus,' and do thus and thus. So whether we be entered into our way, or have proceeded in it, whether we be babes in Christ, or strong men, whether carnal or spiritual, we must up and eat, and strengthen ourselves, first with milk, and then with stronger meat; we have still a greater journey to go, we must walk from grace to grace, from virtue to virtue, from knowledge to knowledge, and always think that we hear a voice that calleth us forward, 'Thou hast yet a greater journey to go, what doest thou here, Elias?' Our Saviour telleth his disciples, John xiv., that in his Father's house are the mansions; they are not in the wilderness, nor in Horeb, not upon the mount where Peter would have had the tabernacles built, nor in any part of this life; therefore let no man sing a *requiem* to his soul, *Anima quiesce*, 'Soul, take thy ease,' or, Body, take thy rest, till he cometh to that place where his rest is. Christ observed this course himself: Luke xiii., 'Go, tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and do cures this day and tomorrow, and the third day I shall be perfected,' Σήμερον καὶ αὔριον, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι. The church of Thyatira in the Revelation is thus commended: 'I know thy works, and thy love and thy faith, &c., and that thy last works are more than the first,' Rev. ii.

And the conclusion or posie of the epistle written to that church, and of all the other epistles, is this, *ὁ νικῶν*. Not he that draweth his sword, nor he that fighteth the battles of the Lord, nor he that spendeth his blood, much less he that fainteth or flieth, but 'he that overcometh' shall eat of the tree of life, and receive those other blessings. To conclude; it is a grave and serious exhortation which the apostle maketh to the Hebrews, chap. vi., 'Leaving the doctrine of the beginning of Christ, let us be led forward to perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and faith towards God, &c. The earth, which drinketh in the rain which cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing of God: but that which beareth thorns and briars is reproved, and is near unto cursing; whose end is to be burned.' You see how the plagues arise: 1. reproof; 2. a curse; 3. burning; and therefore it is as requisite that we increase in our fruitfulness. He addeth a modest and kind qualification of his former speech, 'But we are persuaded better things of you, and such as are near to salvation, though we thus speak.' If we should thus speak of our corrupt and unprofitable times, we are persuaded better things; our persuasion must be stronger than our proof and experience. For our ground hath drunk this rain, whereof he wrote, and often drank it, not distilled from the clouds of the air, but from an higher region of God's most gracious favour. Where are the herbs fit for the use of the

husbandman that dressed it? I see but briars and thorns, or if there be any herbs, they are buried and choked with weeds, that no man can see them. There are a number within these walls, to whom if a man would say, I will walk in the spirit of falsehood and flattery another while, I will lie unto you; I will leave this sour and unplaussible vein of reprehension, and call you to the tabret and harp, and put you in mind of Sabbaths and new moons, and festival days, 'I will prophesy unto you of wine and strong drink, oh, this were a prophet fit for this people,' they are the words of Micah, chap. ii. But I rather say, for my part, as Samuel to the people of Israel, 1 Sam. i. 2, 'God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease praying for you, but I will shew you the good and the right way!' That is, 'He that heareth, let him hear, and he that leaveth off let him leave off,' Ezek. iii. He that is unrighteous, let him be more unrighteous, and he that is filthy, let him be more filthy; but he that is righteous, let him be righteous still, and he that is holy, let him be holy still, Rev. xii. For that was the purpose of my note, that as God hath continued a chain of his graces, 1, by predestinating, 2, by calling, 3, by justifying, 4, by glorifying us; so we should continue a chain of our graces towards him, that there may be grace for grace, by giving all diligence to join virtue with faith, and with virtue knowledge, and with knowledge temperance,' and not to leave joining the other links of the chain there added, till our own bodies and souls come to be disjoined.

LECTURE XXI.

Then the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice to the Lord, and made vows.—JONAH I. 16.

UPON the event of their fact in casting Jonah forth, I mean the stillness of the sea, I noted before the behaviour of the mariners, first, in their inward affection (the nature whereof was fear; the measure, great fear; the matter or object, the Lord of hosts), then in the outward declaration of their minds, partly by sacrifices, in agnition of their present service, partly by vows, as an obligation of duty for time to come. The beginning to the rest is fear. For, as Lactantius* wisely reasoneth, without it there can be no religion: *Quod non metuitur contemnitur; quod contemnitur, utique non colitur*. That that is not feared is contemned; if contemned, it cannot be worshipped. For which cause it cometh to pass, that religion, majesty, and honour must needs consist by fear. For even the kingdoms of the earth would be dissolved unless this prop held them up. Therefore the zealous Lord calleth for his tribute and due belonging to his excellency, 'If I be a master, where is my fear?' Mal. i. But of this heretofore.

The first Mercury or messenger to publish abroad

* De ira Dei. lib. viii. c. viii.

their fear, is their offering of a sacrifice. Which, whether they presently did at the sea, of the remainder of such things as were left unto them, or whether upon their landing, or whether their purpose and promise to offer a sacrifice were taken for a performance, according to the mind of the Chaldaic paraphrast and others,* who interpret the words thus: they offered a sacrifice, that is, they had an intent, and gave their word to do it, *dixerunt se sacrificium facturos*; or whether he meant an inward and spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and a contrite heart, as Jerome conjectureth, it is unnecessary to dispute, seeing the text defineth it not. Again, what were the profit of my labour to go about Sion, and to tell her turrets, to enter the large field of sacrifices, and to number all the kinds of them, which either the book of God or other authors have put down? It were to compel the Scripture, when it offereth her company a mile, to go twain with me, and to stretch it beyond the line which the Holy Ghost hath laid forth. If any desire to know the causes of sacrifices, and to call

* R. Ab. Ezra.

them by their names, let him resort to Carolus Sigonius, in his Hebrew Commonwealth,* who, from the authority of Philo the Jew, handleth this matter at large.

The material points, indeed, to be considered in this worship of theirs, are two: 1, the antiquity; 2, the life and soul of a sacrifice. It cannot be denied, but from the ancient age of the world, and in all the nations wherewith it hath been replenished before there was any precept of God expressly to require such form of devotion, there hath been offering of sacrifices as voluntary and religious acts, and a kind of sensible homage to testify the power of some nature superior, able to avenge itself of dishonour and contempt done, and not unable, on the other side, to regrantify them with kindness that sought unto it. Cleo the flattering Sicilian, in behalf of Alexander the Great, whom he laboured with vehement persuasions to make a god,† craved no more of his fellows but *exiguam thuris impensam*, the bestowing of a little frankincense, as an essential mark to notify his godhead. The angel bade Manoah, in the book of Judges, chap. xii., when he requested him to stay the dressing of a kid, if he purposed therewith to make a burnt-offering, to offer it to the Lord; where, it is added immediately, that ‘Manoah knew not that it was an angel of the Lord;’ a person (was meant) of meaner condition than to whom a sacrifice belonged. Aquinas resolveth us thus,‡ that howsoever the determination of the kinds of sacrifices, together with the circumstances of persons, time, and place, be by the positive law, yet the common received acknowledgment that sacrifice must be offered, is by the law of nature. For what reason can be given of so uniform a consent of sacrificing, in so many sundry languages and manners of men, but that every one groweth after the seed which nature hath sowed in him? *Naturæ sequitur semina quisque suæ*. And therefore in effect they say, with the headstrong kings in the psalm, ‘Let us break the cords of nature asunder, and cast her yoke from us,’ who, as if the service of God were *inventum humanum*, the device of man, when they could not avail by reason, to master them by religion, *Ut quos ratio non posset, eos ad officium religio duceret*,§ think it as cheap an offence to condemn the majesty of God as human authority, and to deny the rights of the Godhead (which they vainly imagine is but imagined) as their fealty and allegiance to earthly princes. Tell such of the judgments of God, and the torments of hell, you tell them a tale of Coeytus and Phlegethon, and other fabulous inventions of licentious poets. Urge them with the verdicts of the Scriptures; you may better urge the history of Herodotus, or Lucian’s true narrations. A degenerate generation of men, monstrously misshapen in the powers of the soul, and transformed from the use of reason, whose judgment is already

past, because they believe not, John iii., or rather because they root up those maxims and principles of reason which the hand of nature itself had planted in them. I take but a little piece of their garment at this time (as David caught from Saul) only for a token, and note them as I pass by the way, who, if they were kindly used, should be pronounced by the priest, and by the prince proclaimed, the uncleanest lepers that ever sore ran upon; not only to be excluded the host, and to have their habitation alone, but to be exiled the land, and exterminated nature itself, which they so unnaturally strive to annihilate. Their usage of parricides in Rome were over favourable for them, whom they sewed into a mail of leather and threw into the sea, that yet the water of the sea could not soak through, nor other elements of nature, earth, air, or fire, approach unto them. Νόσος μεγάλη ψυχῆς ἀθεότης.* Atheism is the main disease of the soul, not only of that private man in whom it is harboured, but of the whole land wherein permitted. For which opprobrious and contagious disease, till other remedy were found, I would they might be marked the mean time that are sick of it, as the leper was, that the people might be wise to eschew them. As the one had his clothes rent, his head bare, his lips covered, and was enjoined to cry, where he passed, ‘I am unclean, I am unclean,’ Lev. xiii., so I would the other had either a rent or a writing upon their clothes, and a brand in their foreheads, that all that beheld them might say, An atheist, an atheist.

2. The second collection in offering a sacrifice is, that the sensible and ceremonial handling thereof, without the inward oblation of the heart, which the other doth but signify, was never approved.† I might repeat the proofs hereof, from the elements and beginnings of the world, the sacrifices of Abel and Cain, the first that ever I find to have been made (although I make no question of Adam himself, who nurtured his sons in religious discipline); from thence I might come down through all the complaints, that even the soul of the Lord, grieved with abuse and mockery, hath plentifully sent forth against his people of the Jews, shewing therein that not only he refused, but heartily condemned, loathed, abhorred, their offerings, and denying with pertinacy that ever he required them, Isa. i., whereas in truth they were the ordinances of his own lips. But when he ordained them, he made male and female, and joined two in one, he created a body and a soul, an outward and an inward part, the aspectable sign and the invisible affection, for want of which latter, the better of the two, he renounceth the other as that which he never appointed. In the first of Isaiah, forgetting his people to be the children of Jacob, because they forgot his sacrifices to be the sacrifices of a God, whom they rather used like a

* Lib. iv. cap. ii.

† Curt. lib. viii.

‡ 2 æ. q. 85, 1 ad. i.

§ Tull.

* Hermes.

† Nunquam in odoribus sacrificiorum delectatus est dominus, nisi in fide et desiderio offerentis.—August.

scarcerow in the garden of cucumbers than the Lord of knowledge, he calleth them 'princes of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah,' asking them in jealousy as hot as fire, 'What have I to do with the multitude of your sacrifices? I am full of burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, I desire not the blood of bullocks, nor of rams, nor of goats. When you come to appear before me, who required it at your hands? Bring no more oblations in vain, incense is an abomination unto me. I cannot suffer your new moons and Sabbaths, my soul hateth your appointed feasts, they are a burthen unto me, and I am weary to bear them.' Of the outward countenance and lineaments of their sacrificing you hear more than enough, rams and fed beasts, bullocks, lambs, and goats, incense, Sabbaths, new moons, festival days, solemn assemblies, together with stretching out the hands, and making of many prayers. But I may say, that as the mind of a man is the man, *mens cuiusque is est quisque*, so the mind and intention of the sacrifice is the sacrifice, which the searcher of the heart and reins looking for, and finding a carcase of religion without a quickening spirit, protesteth that he hath nothing to do with them, that he is full and over full, and that they are an hatred, burden, and abomination unto him. If they will redeem his grace with a sweet-smelling sacrifice, they must 'cease to do evil, and learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed,' with such like. The beginning and ending of the prophecy is in one tune. For afterwards, chap. lxvi., it is denounced in the name of the Lord, 'He that killeth a bullock is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a sheep, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that remembereth incense, as if he blessed an idol.' The reason of this misconstrued devotion of theirs is, 'They have chosen their own ways, and their soul' (which should have been the principal agent) 'delighteth in their abominations.' The correction of that error, and the erection both of the temple and the sacrifices which the Lord chooseth, are in the next words before, 'To him will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my words.' If this wine be wanting to those bottles, this substance to those shadows, we shall go with 'our bullocks and sheep' (as it is in Hosea, chap. v.) 'to seek the Lord, but shall not find him,' because we go with these alone. Nay, these we may leave behind us, as unprofitable carriage in comparison of the others, so we want not those. 'I will not reprove thee,' saith God, Ps. l., 'for thy sacrifices, and because of thy burnt-offerings, that they are not commonly before me. I will take no bullock out of thine house, nor goats out of thy folds; for all the cattle of the forest are mine, and the beasts upon a thousand mountains. I know all the fowl upon the hills, and all the wild beasts of the field are mine. If I be hungry, I will not tell thee, for the world is mine, and all that therein is.

Thinkest thou that I will eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?' Thus the external part, and, as it were, the letter of the sacrifice, is not much less than cancelled and abrogated, that the spirit may take place: 'Offer unto God praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High, and call upon me in the day of trouble; so will I deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.' This was it that Samuel answered Saul, 1 Sam. xv., when he pretended the saving of oxen and sheep, and the best of the spoil, to offer to the Lord in Gilgal, 'Hath the Lord as great pleasure in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as when his voice is obeyed? To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken is better than the fat of rams.' This did our Saviour imply to the Scribes and Pharisees, who did so inwardly stick to the outward keeping of the Sabbath, Mat. xii., 'Go learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.' This did the learned scribe, Mark xii., (whose praise is in the Gospel, that 'he answered discreetly, and was not far from the kingdom of God,') rejoin to the Son of God, when he instructed him in the greatest and the next commandments, 'Well, Master, thou hast said the truth, that there is one God, and there is none but he; and to love him with all the heart, &c., and his neighbour as himself, is more than all burnt-offerings and sacrifices.' And so far is it off, that the slaying of unreasonable beasts, were they in number equal to those millions of bullocks and sheep, which Solomon offered at the dedication of the temple, 2 Chron. vii., and adding a million of rivers of oil, to glad the altars of God, shall be acceptable unto him; that the giving of our first-born for our transgression, and the fruit of our bodies for the sin of our souls, Micah vi., shall be an unfruitful present, without serious, hearty obedience to his counsels. 'He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what he requireth of thee; surely to do justly, and to love mercy, to humble thyself, and to walk with thy God.'

The ends of the Jewish sacrifices, if I mistake not, were these: first, to acknowledge therein that death is the stipend of sin, which, though it were due to him and those that sacrificed, yet was it translated and laid upon the beast that offended not; secondly, to figure beforehand the killing of the Lamb of God, which all the faithful expected; thirdly, to testify the submission of the heart, which in these visible samplers shone as a light before the whole world. So, spoiling the sacrifice of the last of these ends, they make it in manner a lying sign, and leave it as void of life and breath as the beasts which they immolate.* The poet complaineth in his satire† of the costliness used in their churches, and asketh the priests

* Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti, Ps. xl. Intelligendum est non quod noluit simpliciter, sed secundo. Non voluit ut res, sed ut signa. Item non voluit ipsa sacrificia, sed voluit devotionem offerentium.—Hieron.

† Pers. sat. ii.

what gold did there? willing them rather to bring that which Messala's ungracious son, from all his superfluities, could not bring, to wit, justice, piety, holy cogitations, an honest heart. Grant me but these, saith he, and I will sacrifice with salt and meal only.* It agreeth with the answer which Jupiter Hammon gave to the Athenians, inquiring the cause of their often unprosperous successes in battle against the Lacedæmonians, seeing they offered the choicest things they could get, which their enemies did not, *Dii magis curant tacitam horum obtestationem, non ambitiosam, quam vestram pompam*: the gods are better pleased with their inward supplication, lacking ambition, than with all your pomp. Lactantius, handling the true worship of God against the Gentiles,† giveth them their lesson in few and sententious words, that God desireth not the sacrifice either of a dumb beast, or of death and bloodshed, but the sacrifice of man and life, *Hominis ac vite*; wherein there is no need either of garlands of vervain, or of fillets of beasts, or of sods of the earth, but such things alone as proceed from the inward man. The altar for such offerings he maketh the heart, whereon righteousness, patience, faith, innocency, chastity, abstinence, must be laid and tendered to the Lord. For then is God truly worshipped by man, when he taketh the pledges of his heart, *pignora mentis*, and putteth them upon the altar of God. The sacrifices evangelical, which the giver of the new law requireth of us, are a broken spirit, obedience to his word, love towards God and man, judgment, justice, mercy, prayer and praise, which are the calves of the lips, alms-deeds to the poor (for with such sacrifices is the Lord pleased), Heb. xiii., our bodies and souls, not to be slain upon the altar, for it must be a quick sacrifice, Rom. xii.; not to be macerated and brought under even to death, for it must be 'our reasonable service,' Phil. ii., and finally our lives, if need be, for the testimony of the truth. All which sacrifices of Christianity, without a faithful heart, which is their Joshua and captain, to go in and out before them (to speak but lightly with Origen† in the like case), are *nutus tantum et opus nutum*, a bare ceremony and a dumb show; but I may call them sorceries of Simon Magus, Acts viii., whose 'heart was not right in the sight of God,' and not sacrifices but sacrileges, with Lactantius, robbing God of the better part; and as Jeremiah named those idle repetitions of the Jews, Jer. vii., 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord,' *verba mendacii*, lying words, so these *opera mendacii*, lying works, so fraudulently handled, that, if it were possible, God himself should be deceived. Oh 'how hath Satan filled their hearts, that they should lie

unto the Holy Ghost?' Acts v., in making a show that they bring the whole price of their possession, and lay it down at the feet of God, when they withheld the dearer part from him. 'They have not lied unto men' (though that were fault enough), 'but unto God,' who will truly require the least untruths between man and man; but falsehoods and fallacies committed between the porch and the altar, within the courts of his own house, and in the professions of his proper service, by casting up the eyes or hands, bowing the knee, knocking upon the breast or thigh, making sad the countenance, moving the lips, uncovering or hanging down the head like a bulrush, grovelling upon the earth, sighing, sobbing, praying, fasting, communicating, distributing, crying Lord, Lord, seeking to abuse the fleshly eyes of men, and the fiery eyes of Omniscience itself, he will right sorely revenge, as a dishonour immediately and directly done to his own sacred person. Galienus the emperor gave this judgment of one who sold his wife glass for pearls, *Imposturam fecit et passus est*, he cozened and was cozened; but this for the good of the cozened. For when he was brought upon the stage, and a lion expected by the people to have torn him piecemeal, a capon was sent up to assault him. The same sentence standeth firm in heaven against the deceitful merchandisers of true religion, who offer to the highest Emperor, clothed with essential majesty, as the other with purple, and to his spouse the church, glass for pearls, copper for gold, coals for treasure, shows for substances, seeming for being, fancy for conscience. *Imposturam faciunt et patientur*, they mock and they shall be mocked, but in another kind than the former was; for whereas they look for the thanks and recompense of their forepassed labours, lo, they are like the dreamer in the prophet, who cateth by imagination in the night time, and when he awaketh from sleep, his soul hath nothing.

And made vows. The matter of their vows is as uncertain as of their sacrifices. What it was they promised to the Lord, and by obligation bound themselves to perform, neither ancient nor recent, Jewish nor Christian, expositor is able to determine. By conjectural presumption they leave us to the choice of these four specialties:—

That either they vowed a voyage to Jerusalem, where the lately received Jehovah was best known, or to beautify the temple of the Lord with some rich donaries, or to give alms to the poor, or thenceforth to become proselytes in the religion of the Jews, and, as Jerome explaineth it, never to depart from the living God, whom they had begun to serve.

The conditions of a lawful vow are principally these two: first, that the matter thereof be consonant to the word and will of God, otherwise (as Jerome noteth upon the 11th of Judges) it is folly to plight, and impiety to perform it, *in vovendo stultus, in reddendo impius*; secondly, the end must be to witness our

* In sancto quid facit aurum?

Compositum jus, fasque animo, sanctosque recessus

Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto;

Hæc cedo, ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo.

† De vero cultu, cap. xxvi.

‡ In Luc.

thankfulness to our Maker and protector. For albeit we are bought with a price, and both our bodies and spirits are the Lord's, not our own to dispose of, and we ought to do that unwowed which our vow hath tied us unto, because we have no better gift than ourselves (as he sometimes said to Socrates his master), to give even ourselves to our bounteous God, and, as it were by bargain and sale, to mancipate our wills to his obedience; yet the making of a vow, and entering into bonds with God to pay him some special debt, is a more open mark, and professed badge of a thankful soul. Besides, it confirmeth the mind of a man in virtue, and setteth a tutor and overseer over his will, to keep it within the bounds of promised dutifulness. Whereupon Saint Augustine writeth in his Epistle to Armentarius and Paulina,* *Felix necessitas est quæ in meliora compellit*, it is an happy necessity that compelleth a man to do better than he would do. And surely, if we well regard it, the mother cause of a vow is an engrafted opinion, in the minds of most men, of returning kindness for kindness, which is the readiest way both to conciliate and preserve friendship,† according to that old proverb, *Δός τι καὶ λάβεις*. Friendship, and the life of man, and nature itself, consisteth in taking and giving. And although God hath no need of our gifts (for, Ps. xvi., 'Can our goodness extend to him,' who hath the riches of all goodness? or can he increase by less than a drop of rain, who is more than the main sea of all abundance?), yet it giveth him to understand that at least his glory is sought, though not his utility; and of that a man hath, not of that he hath not, there is a purpose and desire to do him worship. The sum is this: the honour is God's, the profit ours. He is our liberal creditor (saith Augustine in the same epistle), and hath not want of our payment. Neither groweth he greater by repaying, but the paymasters by him. And whatsoever is restored or recompensed in lieu of any his benefits, is added to him that returned it.‡ Thence it cometh that David and the princes give thanks unto the Lord, in the first of Chronicles, chap. xxix., when they had offered unto him silver, gold, brass, iron, precious stones, after this manner: 'Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer willingly in this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own hand we have given thee.' It is said before, that the people rejoiced when they offered willingly, and David the king also rejoiced with great joy.

To return to the head of my speech; the vows of these mariners, in any of the four kinds before aimed at, are justifiable by both the properties of a vow. For of their end I make no doubt, the snares of

destruction being so newly broken before their eyes, and they escaped; and what fault can we find in the matter, whether their purpose were to leave their own countries, and to go to the city of God, for better instructions in his law, as the queen of the south came from her native dominion to hear the wisdom of Solomon, such pilgrimage is not amiss; or to adorn the temple of Jerusalem, where the honour of God dwelt, with voluntary gifts and presents, as David and his nobles before, and as the wise men of the east carried the gold, frankincense, and myrrh to the Son of God; or to distribute their goods to the needy, as Zaccheus did, and to 'cast their bread upon the waters' for the Lord's sake, where they look to receive again neither thanks nor recompense; or, lastly, to devote themselves to the Redeemer of their lives, and with an indissoluble covenant to become his faithful servants: the last of which is indeed the substance and centre of all vows. There are two things, saith Lactantius,* that must be offered unto God, *donum et sacrificium*, a gift and a sacrifice, the one perpetual, the other temporal; the one, as silver, and gold, and purple, and silk; the other, a beast slain, or whatsoever is burnt upon the altar. But God hath use of neither of these, because himself is incorrupt, and they subject to corruption. Therefore we must offer both in a spiritual and unbodily manner,† that God may have use of them. Our gift must be the uprightness of mind; our sacrifice, praise and thanksgiving. Some vow one thing, and some another, saith the author of those sermons of the time;‡ some oil, some abstinence from wine, some fasting: this is not the best, nor the perfectest kind of vowing. I shew you a more excellent way; God careth not for thine oil, nor thy fasts, but *hoc quod redemit ipsum offer*, that that the Lord hath redeemed, that offer, I mean thy soul. And if thou demandest, How my soul? I answer, By holy means, chaste cogitations, fruitful works.

I will not strictly examine, upon this occasion, the vows prescribed and practised in the Church of Rome, somewhat to the imitation of these that are presumed of the mariners. These vowed, perhaps, a voyage to Jerusalem, they to Compostella or Walsingham; these to beautify the temple of the Lord, they the monuments and shrines of saints; these to bestow their goods upon the poor, they to profess wilful beggary; these to be proselytes, and to cleave to the service of God, they to renounce the world, to abandon the society of men, to abjure the company of women, and to bury themselves in monasteries and cloisters, for their better opportunity thereunto. Shall I say, in a word, the matter of all their vows unneedful, in some unlawful, in some impossible, in others idolatrous, impious, diabolical; and the end, for the most part,

* Epist. 45.

† Epicharmus.

‡ Benignus exactor est et non egenus, et qui non crescat ex redditis, sed in se crescere faciat redditores. Quod ei redditur, reddenti additur.

* De cultu Dei, cap. xxv.

† Quia et ipse incorruptus, et illud totum corruptibile, utrumque incorporale offerendum est.

‡ Sermon. 7 de Tempore.

not to be thankful to God, but to arrogate a kind of perfection, and to build merit thereupon.

But tell me, ye sons of Balaam, you that exalt your synagogue so much by reason of your vows, if in any part of the world there be more slothful and sinful desidiousness than in the resty cloisters and dormitories of that church, wherein such wearisome peregrinations, and tiring of the legs is enjoined; if in any part of the world such royal, pontifical, Persian magnificence as in your priests and Nazarites, the votaries of that church, where poverty is pretended; if in any part of the world such adulterous, incestuous, Sodomitical defiling of women, men, children, not only by stealth, but in the sight of the sun, in brothel-houses and stews, erected, maintained, rented, justified, as in the streets of that mother city, where chastity is imposed? So the harlot allegeth for herself in the Proverbs, 'I have paid my vows,' yet she calleth a young man to dalliance and filthiness. In an epistle they wrote to the Lords of the Council, from their Cacus den, prefixed before the libel of persecution in England, they plead for the vows of their church, as a custom standing with good policy, and making for the establishment of commonweals. They fetch it in by consequence, that because a vow made unto God must be fulfilled, therefore our promise to our neighbour, which is also a kind of vow, must not be violated. We, they say, on the other side, by affirming that vows may be broken to God, make no doubt of our breach with man; whereupon it ensueth, that there is no trust nor faithfulness in our dealing. Philo,* methinketh, rightly expressed the qualities of these Saturnine, sullen, discontented men; they are always complaining of the police of their country, and framing an indictment against the laws of it,† with as much right as the vagabonds in the Acts, chap. xvii., complained of Jason and the brethren in his house, 'These are they which have subverted the state of the whole world, and here they are.' Surely, I confess, there is a decay and declination, as of the state and strength of the world, so of all goodness. The refuse and dross of mankind we are, chap. xviii., on whom not the end, but the ends, nor of the world, but of the worlds and ages forepast, are not only come, but met together by conjunction, 1 Cor. x., *Εἰς ὧς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήγγησεν*. The alacrity and vigour of the whole creature is worn away; justice draweth her breath faintly; the charity of many is waxen cold, and when the Son of man cometh, though he burn cresset light, shall he find faith? There is a daily defection of the husbandman in the fields,‡ the mariner at the sea, innocency in the court, justice in judgment, concord in friendship, workmanship in arts, discipline in manners. How should the Scriptures

* De confusione lingu.

† *Δυσχερανοῦντες τῇ πατρίῳ πολιτείᾳ κατηγορίαν αἰ τῶν νόμων μελετῶντες.*

‡ Indies deficit in agris agricola, &c.—*Cypr. contra Demetr.*

else be true, that 'in the latter days there should be perilous times,' 2 Tim. iii., such as the golden age never knew; that men should be 'lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, unnatural, truce-breakers,' &c., which they might find, if they would clear their eyes with the eye-salve of plain dealing, *quocumque sub axe*, amongst papists as much as protestants, without whetting their tongue or pen against our innocent religion. But when I hear them hunting for the praise of God and man by such means, I call to mind an ancient history of vows vied and revied between the citizens of Croto and Locrus, or great Greece in Italy. They were at hot strife, and ready to discern their variance by dint of sword; and the former vowed unto their gods to give them the tenth part of the spoil, if they won the field; the others, to go a foot before them, promised the ninth, so they might obtain the conquest. Let these admirers of Italy follow the steps of their Italian predecessors. Notwithstanding, I doubt not, for all their ambitious ostentation, but though they go before us in making vows, we shall not come behind them in keeping promises—

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

What need they gape so wide in telling of their vows and performances, when it is not unknown as far as the world is christened, that they have verified the old proverb, in 'straining at gnats, and swallowing down camels'? Admit their keeping of promise for 'mint and aniseed, and the smaller things of the law,' yet they will break a promise in a matter more capital, touching the life of a man, though in a general council, and in the face of Christendom plighted unto him.* And whereas 'an oath for confirmation is the end of strife,' Heb. vi., and it is not only a shameful thing to be justly charged, as one of the king's seed in Ezekiel, chap. xvii.: 'He hath despised the oath, and broken the covenant, yet lo he had given his hand;' but it evermore pulleth down the judgment of God, for, 'as I live,' saith the Lord, 'I will surely bring mine oath which he hath despised, and my covenant which he hath broken, upon his own head;' yet will these men take an oath, not to the king of Babel, a stranger, as he did, but to their sovereign lady the queen of England,† to be true to her crown and dominions, even with ceremony and solemnity; and as Abraham's servant put his hand under his master's thigh, taking an oath by him who should come from the thighs of Abraham, so these lay their hand upon their master's book, wishing a curse to their own souls, in the sight of God and angels above, and a whole university beneath, if they perform not fidelity; yet they will break that sacrament with as easy a dispensation, or rather, as Bernard termeth it, a dissipation granted by themselves, as if they had but tied a knot in a rush, to be undone again at their pleasures. I

* Read the story of John Huss.

† At the taking of their degrees, &c.

may truly say with the apostle St John, 'That which I have heard and seen, and mine eyes have looked upon, and I have handled with mine hands, that declare I unto you.' These be their holy sanctions, their politic and religious undevout vows, this the event, these the fruits of them, in the number whereof I might insert another accursed vow, not unlike to that of the Jews against Paul, Acts xxiii., 'That they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him.' Surely they have taken an oath, these runagates of Ephraim, which run from the chosen of the Lord to Saul's son, and flee to a foreign nest after the patriarch hath bred them, to do a mischief with Herod, and to accomplish as much as the Herodias of Rome shall require of them; whereto they have bound themselves, not to the half of a kingdom, which they have not, but to the loss of their heads, which they daily come in question of. If nothing will please Herodias but the head of John Baptist, the greatest amongst the sons of women, it shall be given her; if nothing this other strumpet but the head of a queen, the greatest amongst the daughters of men, they will do their best endeavour to make it good.

When I first began to handle this prophecy, I told you that the argument of it was nothing more than mercy; and that from the whole contents thereof, knit up in four chapters, as the sheet of Peter at the four corners, proceeded a most lively demonstration of the gracious favour of God, 1, towards the mariners, 2, towards Jonah; 3, towards the Ninevites; lastly, in generality, not so much by personal and practical experience, as by strife and contention of argument, to justify his goodness, which Jonah murmured against. The first corner of the sheet hath been untied unto you (for some make an end of the first chapter where I now left); that is, the mercy of God, embracing the mariners in their extremity of danger, hath been opened, after that little portion of grace which the Spirit of God hath divided unto me. This mercy is evident in two singular, and almost despaired, deliverances: first, of their bodies from a raging and roaring sea, a benefit not to be contemned, for even the apostles of Christ cried in the like kind of distress upon the waters, 'Help, Lord, we perish;' secondly, of their souls, from that idolatrous blindness wherein they were drowned and stifled, a destruction equal to the former, and indeed far exceeding. The horror of this destruction was never more faithfully laid out in colours than in the eighth of Amos, where, after repetition of sorrows enow (if they were not burnt with hot irons past sense), as that the songs of the temple should be turned into howlings, feasts into mourning, laughter into lamentation, that there should be many dead bodies in every place, even the number so great that they should cast them forth in silence (without obsequies), the sun going down at noon, and the earth darkened in the clear day; that is, their greatest woe in the greatest prosperity; yet he threateneth a

scourge beyond all these. Behold, saith the Lord, (I have not yet made your eyes dazzle, nor your ears tingle, with my judgments, though your eyes have beheld sufficient misery to make them fail, yet behold more), the days come (I give you warning of unhappier times; the plagues you have endured already are but the beginnings of sorrow), 'the days come that I will send a famine in the land;' if the mouth of the Lord had here stayed, *famem immittam*, I will send a famine, had it not sufficed? Can a greater cross, think you, be imagined than when a woeful mother of her woeful children shall be driven to say, 1 Kings xvii., 'As the Lord liveth, I have but a little meal left in the barrel, and a little oil in a cruse, and behold, I am gathering two sticks to go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat and die?' and much rather, if it come to that extremity which another mother felt, 2 Kings vi., when she cried unto the king, 'Help, my lord, O king; this woman said unto me, Give thy son that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow; so we sod my son, and did eat him,' &c.; yet he added to the former by a correction, 'not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God; and they shall wander,' (not as the sons of Jacob, who went but out of Israel into Egypt), but 'from sea to sea, and from the north to the east shall they run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it.' This was the case of these men, before a prophet spake unto them, and the wonders of the law were shewed amongst them. And this was the case of our country when either it fared with us as with the church of Jerusalem, *signa non videmus, non est amplius propheta*, we see no tokens, there is no prophet left, Ps. lxxiv.; or if we had prophets, they were such as Ezekiel nameth, chap. xxii., 'They saw vanities, and divined lies;' and the book of the law of the Lord, though it were not hid in a corner, as in the reign of Josiah, 2 Kings xxii., nor cut with a penknife, and cast into the fire, as in the days of Jehoiakim, Jer. xxxvi., yet the comfortable use of it was interdicted the people of God, when either they could not read, because it was sealed up in an unknown tongue, or under the pain of a curse they might not; and such as hungered and thirsted after the righteousness of Jesus Christ were driven into Germany, and other countries of Europe, to inquire after it. But 'blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath long since visited and redeemed us his people.' If our many deliverances besides, either by sea, from the invasion of the grand pirate of Christendom, or from other rebellions and conspiracies by land, had been in number as the dust of our ground, this one deliverance of our souls from the kingdom and power of darkness, the very shadow and borders of death, wherein we sat before the sending of prophets amongst us, to prophesy right things, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, and the tidings of salvation, had far surpassed them. Let us therefore,

with these mariners, sing a song of thanksgiving, not only with our spirits (My soul, bless thou the Lord, and all that is within me praise his holy name, Ps. ciii.), but with sacrifices and vows also, as audible

sermons and proclamations to the world; let us make it known that great is the mercy of Jehovah to our little nation.

LECTURE XXII.

Now the Lord hath prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah, and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.—JONAH I. 17, or II. 1.

WE are now to come to the second section of the prophecy, wherein the mercy of God towards Jonah is illustrated. It beginneth at my text, and parteth itself into three members: 1, the absorption or burial; 2, the song; 3, the delivery of the prophet. Isidore* in three words summeth the contents of it: *Cetus objectum, voratum, orantem revomit*, the whale cast up Jonah, first cast forth, then devoured, afterwards making his moan to God. Jonah is swallowed in this present sentence.

The justice and mercy of God run together in this history, as those that run for the mastery in a race; and it is hard a long time for Jonah to discern whether his justice will overcome his mercy, or his mercy triumph over justice. They labour in contention as the twins in Rebekah's womb, Gen. xxv.; and although Esau be first born, red, and hairy all over like a rough garment, yet Jacob holdeth him by the heel, and is not far behind him. I mean, though the judgment of God against Jonah, bearing a rigorous and bloody countenance, and satiate with nothing, in likelihood, but his death, and that most strange and unaccustomed, seemeth to have the first place, yet mercy speedeth herself to the rescue; and in the end is fulfilled that which God prophesied of the other pair, 'The elder shall serve the younger.' For when justice had her course, and borne the pre-eminence a great space, mercy at length putteth in, and getteth the upper hand. To us that have seen and perused the history, who have as it were the table of it before our eyes, and know both the first and the last of it, it is apparent that I say, that although he were tossed in the ship, and cast forth into the sea, and devoured, yet God had a purpose prevised herein, to work the glory of his name, and the others' miraculous preservation. But Jonah himself, who all the while was the patient, and set as a mark for the arrows of heavenly displeasure to be spent at, and knew no more what the end would be than a child his right hand from the left, what could he think, but that heaven and earth, land and sea, life and death, and all creatures in the world, had sworn and conspired his immortal misery? First he was driven to forego his native country, the land of his fathers' sepulchres, and take the sea; when he had shipped himself, the vessel that bare him staggered like a drunken man to and fro, and never was at rest

* De patrib. vet. testam.

till she had cast forth her burden; being cast forth, the sea, that did a kind of favour to Pharaoh and his host, in giving them a speedy death, is but in manner of a jailer to Jonah, to deliver him up to a further torture. Thus, from his mother's house, and lap, wherein he dwelt in safety, to a ship, to seek a foreign country; from the ship into the sea; and from the sea into a monster's belly (*incompositum navigium*, an incomposed misshapen ship*); therein, shall I say, to his death? that had been his happiness; he would have wished for death, as others wished for treasure: 'There are the prisoners at rest, and hear not the voice of the oppressor; there are the small and great, and the servant is free from his master,' Job iii. So, then, there is a comfort in death to a comfortless soul, if he could achieve it. But Jonah cannot die; the sea, that swallowed down volumes of slime and sands, is not grave enough to bury him; he may rather persuade himself that he is reserved for a thousand deaths, whom the waters of the ocean refuse to drown, giving over their prey to another creature. 'My thoughts are not your thoughts,' (saith the Lord by his prophet Isaiah, chap. lv.), 'neither are your ways my ways. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts.' It is most true. When we think one thing, God thinketh another; he safety and deliverance, when, in the reason of man, there is inevitable destruction. We must not therefore judge the actions of the Lord, till we see the last act of them. We must not 'say in our haste, all men are liars,' Ps. cxvi.; the pen of the scribes is vain; the books false, the promises uncertain; Moses and Samuel, prophets and apostles, are like rivers dried up, and have deceived us, Hab. ii. We must tarry the end, and know that 'the vision is for an appointed time, but at the last it shall speak' (according to the wishes of our own heart), 'and shall not lie. Though our souls faint for his salvation, yet must we wait for his word,' Ps. cxix. 81. Though 'our eyes fail for his promise, saying, Oh, when wilt thou comfort us?' and we are as bottles in the smoke (the sap of our hope dried up), yet we must not forget his statutes. When we see the fortunate succeeding of things, we shall sing with the righteous prophet, 'We know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right,' (though deep and secret) 'and

* Chrysost.

that thou of very faithfulness hast caused us to be tried ;' that howsoever our troubles seemed to be without either number or end, yet thy faithfulness, higher than the highest heavens, failed us not.

To set some order in the sentence propounded, I commend these circumstances unto you: first, the disposer and ruler of the action, *the Lord* ; secondly, the manner of doing it, *he provided or prepared* ; thirdly, the instrument, *a fish*, together with the praise and exomation of the instrument, *a great fish* ; fourthly, the end, *to swallow up Jonah* ; lastly, the state of Jonah, and how it fared with him after he was swallowed up.

1. And first, that you may see the difference betwixt inspired spirits, and the conceits of profane men, who, as if the nature of things bare them to their end without further disposition, as when the cloud is full (they say) it giveth her rain, and going no higher than to second and subordinate causes, never consider that high hand that wrought them, it may please you to observe, that through the whole body of this prophecy, whatsoever befell Jonah, rare and infrequent, is lifted above the spheres of inferior things, and ascribed to the Lord himself. A great wind was sent into the sea to raise a tempest ; it is not disputed there what the wind is by nature (a dry exhalation drawn up from the earth, and carried between it and the middle region of the air aslant, fit to engender a tempest), but the Lord sent it. Jonah was afterwards cast into the sea ; it is not then considered so much, who took him in their arms, and were the ministers of that execution, but 'Thou, Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.' Jonah is here devoured by a fish ; it is not related that the greediness and appetite of the fish brought him to his prey, but 'the Lord prepared him.' Jonah again is delivered from the belly of the fish ; it might be alleged in reason perhaps, that the fish was not able to concoct him, but it is said, 'the Lord spake to the fish and it cast him up.' Towards the end of the prophecy, Jonah maketh him a booth abroad, and sitteth under the shadow of a gourd, 'the Lord provided it ;' a worm came and consumed the gourd that it perished, 'the Lord provided it.' The sun arose, and a fervent east wind beat upon the head of Jonah ; 'the Lord also provided it.' Who is he, then, that saith, and it cometh to pass, if the Lord command it not ? 'Out of the mouth of the Most High cometh there not evil and good ?' Lament. iii. Thus, whensoever we find in any of the creatures of God, either man or beast, from the greatest whale to the smallest worm, or in the unsensible things, the sun, the winds, the waters, the plants of the earth, either pleasure or hurt to us, the Lord is the worker and disposer of both these conditions.

2. The Lord prepared, that ye may know it came not by chance, brought thither by the tide of the sea, but by especial providence ; for it is not said that God created, but that he 'ordained and provided' the fish for such a purpose. There is nothing in the

works of God, but admirable art and skilfulness. 'O Lord' (saith David, Ps. civ.), 'how manifold are thy works ! in wisdom hast thou made them all.' Solomon giveth a rule well beseeeming the rashness and unadvisedness of man, who without deliberate forecast entereth upon actions, 'first to prepare the work without, and to make all things ready in the field, and after to build the house,' Prov. xxiv. God keepeth the order himself, having his spirit of counsel and provision always at hand to prepare, as it were, the way before his face, to make his paths straight, and to remove all impediments, to level mountains, to exalt valleys, to turn waters into dry ground, and dry ground into water-pools, and to change the whole nature of things, rather than any work of his shall be interrupted. He had a purpose in his heart not to destroy Jonah ; yet Jonah was thrown into the mouth of destruction. A man would have thought that the counsel of God (if ever) should now have been frustrated, and that salvation itself could not have saved Jonah ; put from the succour of the ship, from the friendship of his associates, having no rock to cleave unto, far from the shore, and neither able perhaps nor desirous to escape by swimming, yielding himself to death, and to a living grave, with as mortified an affection as if lumps of lead had been cast down ; yet God had prepared a means to preserve the life of Jonah. Even the bowels of a cruel fish are as a chariot unto him, to bear him in safety through those unsearchable depths. Oh how many wonders in how few words ! how many riddles and dark speeches to the reason of man. He will scarcely believe, when they shall be told unto him : 1, that so huge a fish should be so ready to answer at the call of the Lord, and to save his prophet ; 2, so able to devour a man at a morsel, without comminution or bruise offered to any one bone of his ; 3, that a man could live the space of three days and nights in a fish's belly ; but so it was. The Lord doth but use a preamble to finish his work intended. He suffereth not the ship to carry him forth right to the city, but so ordereth the matter, that the mariners deliver him to the sea, the sea to the whale, the whale to the Lord, and the Lord to Nineveh.* That we may learn thereby, when our sins hang fast upon us, the harbour of a warm ship cannot be beneficial ; but when we have shaken them off, the sea shall make a truce, and the ungentlest beasts be in league with us. The demand of the earthly man in these unprobable works hath ever been, *πῶς*, how can this be ? Though an angel from heaven shall tell Sarah of a son, after it had ceased to be with her after the manner of women, she will laugh within herself, and say, 'What, after I am waxen old, and my Lord also ?' Gen. xviii. ; but what saith the angel unto her ? 'Shall anything be hard to the Lord ?' When the children of Israel wanted flesh to eat, and cried in the ears of the Lord, *Quis dabit ?* 'Who shall give us flesh to eat ?' Num.

* Chrys. Hom. 5. ad pop. Antioch.

xi., God promised it for a month together, until it should come out of their nostrils; and 'Moses said, Six hundred thousand footmen are there among the people, of whom I am, and thou sayest, I will give them flesh to eat a month long. Shall the sheep and the beeves be slain for them to find them? either shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?' But the Lord answered him, 'Is the Lord's hand shortened? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or no.' Elisha prophesied in that woeful famine of Samaria, when they bought an ass's head and dove's dung at an unreasonable rate: 2 Kings vii., 'To morrow by this time a measure of fine flour shall be sold for a shekel,' &c. Then a prince, on whose hand the king leaned, answered the man of God, 'Though the Lord would make windows in heaven, can this thing come to pass?' The prophet answered him, 'Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.' Saint Augustine in his third epistle to Volusian and elsewhere, giveth the rules to satisfy these distrustful reasonings. We must grant that God is able to do some things, which we are not able to find out; in such works the whole reason of the doing is the power of the doer; it is God that hath done them; consider the author, and all doubts will cease.* Therefore if Mary, receiving a message of unexpected and unwonted conception, shall say at the first, 'How shall this thing be?' yet when the angel shall say unto her, that it is the work of the 'Holy Ghost,' and the 'might of the Most High,' and that her 'cousin Elizabeth hath also conceived in her old age, though she had purchased the name of barren' by her barrenness, 'because with God,' saith the angel, 'nothing is impossible,' Luke i., then let Mary lay her hand upon her heart, and say, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord;' that is, without further disceptation I submit myself to the power of God. But if that former reason of his all-sufficient might be not of strength enough to resolve either pagans abroad, or atheists at home, touching the likelihood and probability of such unlikely acts, but the innocency of the sacred Scriptures, wherein they are written, must be arraigned and condemned by their carnal reason, and our whole religion derided, because we justify them; I will say no more unto them, but as Augustine doth in his books of the City of God,† *Quicquid mirabile fit, in hoc mundo, profectò minus est quàm totus hic mundus.* The very creation of the world (which being the book of nature they run and read, and can deny no part of it, though they deny and deprave the book of Scripture) sheweth them a greater miracle in the world itself, than whatsoever in these or the like singularities seemeth most incredible.

3. A great fish. Some of the rabbins think that the fish was created at that moment when Jonah was to be swallowed; others, that he had lasted from the

sixth day of the world; a third sort, that it was a whale that first devoured Jonah, and that afterwards the Lord beckoned unto him, and then he cast him into the mouth of a female which was full of young, where, being straitened of his wonted room, he fell to prayer. Fabulous inventions, and fruit according to the trees that bare it. Whether the fish were created at that instant or before, sooner or later, I list not inquire; neither will I further engage myself herein, than the Spirit of God giveth me direction, only that which the prophet setteth down in two words, by a circumlocution, 'a great fish,' it shall not be amiss to note that the evangelists abridge, and name more distinctly in one, shewing the kind of the fish; therefore Matthew calleth it the belly of 'a whale,' chap. xii., ἐν κοιλίᾳ κηρύου. So do the Seventy interpreters, from whom it is not unlikely the expositor of Matthew took his warrant.

I never found any mention of this goodly creature, but the wisdom of God the creator was willing to commend it in some sort. In the first of Genesis, God said, 'Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing that hath the soul of life;' howbeit in all that abundance there is nothing specified but the whale, as being the prince of the rest, and to use the speech of Job, chap. xli., 'the king of all the children of pride,' wherein the workmanship of the maker is most admired; for so it is said, 'Then God created the whales,' Gen. i.; and not singly *whales*, but with the same additament that this prophet useth, the great whales. So doth the poet term them also *immania cete*, the huge whales, as being the stateliest creature that moveth in the waters. Likewise in the Psalm: 'The earth is full of thy riches, so is the great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. There go the ships,' (the artificialest wonder that ever was framed), 'and there goeth that leviathan' (the wonder of that nature) 'whom thou hast made to play therein,' Ps. civ. In the book of Job, chap. xl., xli., two arguments are produced to amplify the incomparable power of God; behemoth by land, leviathan by sea; and for the power and persuasion of words, I do not think that ever more was used, than where the power of those two creatures is expressed. Of the latter of these it is professed in open terms, 'I will not keep silence concerning his parts, nor his power, nor his comely proportion,' Job xli. Indeed, they are all worthily described, by the tongue of the learned, even the learnedest tongue that the Holy Ghost had. Never were there rivers and floods of eloquence, neither in the orators of Athens and Rome, nor in the seraphims of heaven, equal to those that are poured forth in that narration. Augustine somewhere noteth, that all men marvelled at Tully's tongue, but not his invention; at Aristotle's invention all men, but not his tongue; at Plato's invention and tongue both;* but for a tongue and wisdom

* Tulli linguam omnes mirantur, pectus non æquè. Aris-

* Tota ratio facti, potentia facientis. Considera authorem, tolle dubitationem.

† Lib. x. c. xi.

too, not to be uttered by the tongue, nor to be comprehended by the wisdom of mortal man, I remit you to those chapters. Jerome writeth of the whole book, *Singula in eo verba plena sunt sensibus*, every word of it is very sententious. But nowhere through the whole, more sense, more substance, grace, and majesty spent, than where the meaning and intent was, that the majesty of the most high God should fully be illustrated. To cast my eyes back again from whence I am digressed, it is written of the whale, that when he swimmeth and sheweth himself upon the floods, you would think that islands swam towards you, *annare insulas putes, &c.*, and that very high hills did aspire to heaven itself with their tops. Pliny giveth the reason why many beasts in the sea are bigger than those upon land, *causa evidens, humoris luxuria*. * the evident cause, saith he, is superfluity of moisture. Howbeit, it holdeth not in birds (whose offspring is from the waters too), *quibus vita pendentibus*, because they live hanging, as it were, and hovering or wafting in the air. But in the open champaign sea, *in mari tam late supine*, being of a soft and fruitful increase, *semperque pariente naturâ*, and of a nature that is ever breeding and bringing forth, monsters are often engendered. He writeth of balæna, the whirlpool, or we may English it also a whale (so doth Tremelius interpret the name of leviathan in Job and the Psalm), that in the Indian sea there are some found to the largeness of four acres of ground, *quaternum jugerum*, and that they are laden and surcharged with their own weight. Likewise he reporteth of other beasts in the sea, that the doors of houses were made of their jaws, and the rafters of their bones, some of which bones were forty cubits in length, and that the skins of some were broad enough to cover habitable houses. So true is the opinion of the people commonly received, that whatsoever is bred in any part of nature, is in the sea, and many creatures besides, which are nowhere else.† And therefore the less marvel may it seem, even to a natural man, by the course of nature itself, his lady and mistress, that God should prepare a fish great enough to swallow up Jonah. For the attribute is not adjoined for nought, *a great fish*. Seneca the philosopher writeth of one Senectio, surnamed Grandio (others have been called *Magni* for the greatness of their virtues, Alexander in Greece, Pompey in Rome, Arsaces in Parthia, Charles amongst the emperors the great, and Gregory the great amongst the popes; but Senectio had to name the grand, or the great, for his great vanity) he liked of nothing that was not great;‡ he would not speak but what was great; he kept no

totelis pectus omnes, linguam non æquè. Platonis pectus et linguam æquè.—Ep. ad Paulin.

* Plin. lib. ix. cap. ii.

† Quicquid nascitur in parte naturæ ulla, et in mari esse, præterque multa quæ nusquam alibi — *Plin. Suasor. 2.*

‡ Quod grandia omnia probaret nihil volebat nisi grande dicere. Servos habere volebat nisi grandes, argentea vasa non nisi grandia, calceos majores sumpsit, &c.

servants but great; used no plate but great; the shoes he wore were over great; the figs he ate were great outlandish figs; and he had a wife besides of a great stature. But whosoever is greatest upon the face of the earth, though his style be as great as that emperor's, of whom Eusebius writeth, whose titles were summed together in a long catalogue,* The greatest bishop, greatest in Thebes, greatest in Sarmatia, in Persia five times the greatest, greatest in Germany, greatest in Egypt, yet I will say unto him, as the Psalm to the princes of that time, 'Give unto the Lord, ye sons of the mighty, give unto the Lord glory and strength. Give unto the Lord the honour due unto his name,' Ps. xxix. That greatness belongeth unto the Lord alone, we are taught by an excellent phrase of speech proper to the Hebrews. The striving of Rachel with her sister Leah, about the bearing of children, because it was very great, is called 'the wrestling of God,' Gen. xxx. The mountains of the earth, wherewith the righteousness of God is compared, because they were very great, are called 'the mountains of God,' Ps. xxxvi. The city of Nineveh, because very great, and of three days' journey, is called 'the city of God,' Jonah iii. In all which singular idiotisms the letter itself directeth us rightly where to bestow all greatness. Undoubtedly it was the great God of heaven and earth that prepared great lights in the firmament, great fishes in the sea, great men, great beasts upon the dry land, *et magnitudinis ejus non est finis*, 'and there is no end, no limits of his greatness,' Ps. cv.

4. *To swallow up Jonah.* They have a history in profane reading, that Arion, the Lesbian, a famous musician, being embarked with some, who, for the gain of his money, would have cast him into the sea, he craved a little respite of them before his casting forth, and taking his harp in hand, and playing a while thereon, at length himself leaped into the waters, and was carried upon the back of a dolphin to the landing-place intended, before the mariners could possibly arrive there. In Herodotus, the father of history, saith Tully, there are innumerable fables,† and haply this amongst the rest; but I allege it to this end, that if God had prepared a whale to have borne Jonah upon his back, and to have held him above the waters, where he might have beheld the light of heaven, and drawn the comfort of the air, as other living souls, there had been no fear of miscarriage. It is quite contrary, for the Lord 'prepared a fish to swallow up Jonah:' whereof one spake, a thing not heard of before, the belly of a fish is the habitation of a man. *Res inaudita. Venter cetes domicilium hominis.* If of a man dismembered and dissolved piecemeal, I would never have doubted. The crocodiles of Nilus in Egypt, Ganges in India, and

* Galerius Pontifex Max; Thebaicus Max; Sarmaticus Max; Quinques Persarum Max, &c.

† Apud Herodotum patrem historiæ innumerabiles fabulæ.

other rivers of Mexico and Peru, will devour not only men, but whole herds of cattle; and a physician* of our latter times hath written (Calvin not sparing to testify the same), that in the bowels of a lamia† hath been found a whole armed man. But Jonah is taken in alive, through ranges and armies of teeth on both sides, without the collision or crushing of any limb in his body; and entereth the straits of his throat, where he had greater reason to cry, than the children in the prophet, 'The place is too narrow for me;' and liveth in the entrails of a fish, a prison or cave of extreme darkness, where he found nothing but horror and stench, and loathsome excrements. What shall we say hereunto, but as Jerome did upon the place, *Ubi putabatur interitus, ibi custodia*, where there was nothing looked for but death, there was a custody, in a double sense, first to imprison, and yet withal to preserve Jonah.

5. Thus far you have heard, first that *a fish*, and for his exomation *a great fish*, secondly *was prepared*, thirdly *by the Lord*, fourthly *to swallow up* his prophet. Now, lastly, if you will learn what tidings of Jonah, after his entering into the monster's maw, it is published in the next words, 'And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.'

Therein I distinguish these particularities: (1.) first, the person, Jonah; not the body of Jonah, forsaken of the soul, as the body of Christ lay in the grave, but the whole and entire person of Jonah, compounded of body and soul, living, moving, feeling, meditating, not ground with the teeth, nor digested in the stomach, not converted into the substance of the fish, and neither vital nor integral part diminished in Jonah. (2.) Secondly, the place where he was, in the remotest and lowest parts, the bowels of the fish, as Jeremiah was in the bottom of the dungeon, where there was no water, where what nutriment he had amidst those purgaments and superfluities, the Lord knoweth; but 'man liveth not by bread alone:' or what respiration and breathing, being out of his element, amongst those stifling evaporations which the belly of the whale reeked forth; but we may as truly say, man liveth not by breath alone. (3.) Thirdly, the time how long he continued there, 'three days and three nights;' when, if the course of nature were examined, it is not possible to be conceived that a man could live so one moment of time, and his spirit not be strangled within him. Physicians‡ give advice, that such as are troubled with apoplexies and falling sicknesses, or the like diseases, should not be buried till the expiration of seventy-two hours, that is, three days and three nights: in which space of time, they say, the humours begin to stop and give over their motion, by reason the moon has gone through a sign the more in the zodiac. For this cause it was that our Saviour

undertook not the raising of Lazarus from the dead, till he had lain four days in the grave, lest the Jews might have slandered the miracle, if he had done it in haste, and said that Lazarus had but swooned. The like he experienced in himself (besides the opening of his heart), that if falsehood would open her mouth into slander, it might be her greater sin, because he was fully dead. Who would ever have supposed that Jonah, fulfilling this time in so deadly and pestilent a grave, should have revived again? But 'the foundation of the Lord standeth sure,' and this sentence he hath written for the generations to come, 'My strength is perfected in infirmity;' when the danger is most felt, then is my helping arm most welcome. We, on the one side, when our case seemeth distressful, are very importunate with God, crying upon him for help: 'It is time that the Lord have mercy upon Sion; yea, the time is come,' Ps. cii.; and if in the instant he answer not our cry, we are ready to reply against him, The time is past, and our hope clean withered, *perit spes nostra*. But he sitteth above, in his provident watch-tower, who is far wiser than men, and thinketh with himself, you are deceived, the time is not yet come. They meet the ruler of the synagogue in the 5th of Mark, and tell him, 'Thy daughter is dead, why diseasest thou thy Master any further?' As soon as Jesus 'heard that word' (a word that he lingered and waited for), he said unto the ruler of the synagogue, 'Be not afraid, only believe.' And as Alexander the Great solaced and cheered himself with the greatness of his peril in India, when he was to fight both with men and beasts, their huge elephants, *Tandem par animo meo periculum video*, at length I see a danger answerable to my mind, so fareth it with our absolute and true monarch of the world, who hath a bridle for the lips of every disease, and an hook for the nostrils of death, to turn them back the same way they came. It is the joy of his heart to protract the time a while, till he see the height and maturity of the danger, that so he may get him the more honour. Martha telleth him in the 11th of John, when her brother had been long dead, and lain in the grave till he stank, past hope of recovery, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not been dead. And what if absent? Was he not the same God? Yet he told his disciples not long before, 'Lazarus is dead; and I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, that you might believe.' You see the difference; Martha is sorry, and Christ is glad that he was not there. Martha thinketh the cure cometh too late, and Christ thinketh the sore was never ripe till now. In the book of Exodus, chap. xiv., when Israel had pitched their tents by the Red Sea, Pharaoh and host marching apace, and ready to surprise them, they were very sore afraid, and cried unto the Lord, and murmured against Moses: 'Hast thou brought us to die in the wilderness, because there were no graves in Egypt? wherefore hast thou served us thus, to carry us out of Egypt,' &c. Moses, the

* P. Plancius.

† A beast with a woman's face, and horse's feet.

‡ Levin. Lem., lib. ii. cap. iii.

meekest man upon earth, quieted them thus: 'Fear ye not, stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you this day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you, therefore hold you your peace.' Neither did Moses feed them with wind, and prophesy the surmises of his own brain; for the Lord made it good, as followeth in the next verse: 'Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.' Thus, when the wound was most desperate, and they might have pledged even their souls upon it, we cannot escape; when their legs trembled under them that they could not stand still, and their hearts fainted that they could not hope, the waters roaring before their face, and the wheels of the enemy rattling behind their backs, they are willed to stand still, not on their legs alone, but in their disturbed passions, to settle their shivering spirits, to pacify their unquiet tongues, and to go forward, though every step they trod seemed to bear them into the mouth of death.

The state of the danger you see. Jonah is in the belly of the fish three days and three nights; long enough to have altered his nature, to have boiled him into nourishment, and to have incorporated his flesh into another substance. Yet Jonah liveth; but if the Lord had not been on my side (might *Jonah* now say), if the Lord had not been on my side, when the *beast* rose up against me, he had swallowed me up quick, when his wrath was so sore inflamed; but praised be the Lord, which hath not given me over a prey to his teeth. My soul is escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and I am delivered, Ps. cxxiv. Let all those whom the Lord hath redeemed from the hand of the oppressor, from fire, or water, or from the peril of death, take that tongue of thanksgiving into their lips, and sing it to

his blessed name in remembrance of his holiness: 'O thou, the hope of all the ends of the earth' (saith that other psalm, Ps. lxxv.), 'and of them that are far off in the sea, shew us but the light of thy countenance, and we shall be safe:' give us but the comfort of thy mercies, and we will not fear, 'though the earth be moved, and the mountains fall down in the midst of the sea; and the sea, and the waters thereof, rage fearfully;' though leviathan open his mouth, we will not quake at it; yea, though the leviathan of the bottomless pit open the throat of hell never so wide to devour us, we will not be disquieted. We know that there is mercy with the Lord, and that with him there is plentiful redemption; I mean redemption a thousand ways, by nature and against nature, by hope and against hope, by things that are and things that are not. He that hath saved his people, by gathering the waters in heaps like walls, and making a path in the Red Sea; he that hath kept his children in the midst of a fiery oven, when, if art could add any thing to the nature of fire, they should have been burnt seven times for one, because it was seven times hot; and delivered his prophet in a den of lions, though dieted and prepared for their prey beforehand, yet shutting their mouths so close, and restraining their appetite, that they forebore their appointed food; and committed this servant of his to the belly of a fish, as if he had committed him to his mother's womb, to be kept from harm: he is the same God both in might and mercy to preserve us, no time unseasonable, no place unmeet, no danger uncouth and unaccustomed to his strong designments. 'Our only help, therefore, standeth in the name of the Lord, that hath made heaven and earth; blessed, and thrice blessed, be that name of the Lord, from this time forth for evermore. Amen,' Ps. cxxiv.

LECTURE XXIII.

Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the fish's belly, and said.—JONAH II. 1.

THIS second section or division of the prophecy, wherein the mercy of God towards Jonah is expressed, I parted before into three branches: 1, that he was devoured; 2, prayed; 3, was delivered. The terms that *Lyra* giveth are these: the place, the manner, the success of his prayer; *orantis locus, modus, exitus*. The marvels that I have already noted unto you were, 1, that so huge a creature was suddenly provided by the providence of God; 2, that a whole man passed through his throat; 3, that he lived in his bowels three days and three nights. Now, whether he fulfilled that time exactly, yea or no, three natural days complete, consisting of twenty-four hours, neither can I affirm, neither is it material overbusily to examine. Our Saviour, you know, in the

Gospel applieth this figure of Jonah to his burial—Mat. xii., 'As Jonas was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth'—but if you confer the shadow and the body together, you shall find in all the evangelists, Mat. xxvii., Mark xvi., that the Lord of life was crucified the sixth hour of the preparation of the Sabbath, and the ninth gave up the ghost; that late in the evening his body was taken down from the cross and buried; that he rested in the grave the night that belongeth to the Sabbath, together with the day and night next ensuing after it; and that in the morning of the first day of the week he rose again. So as indeed the body of Christ was not in the heart of the earth more than thirty-six hours; to wit, two nights

and a day, which is but the half space of seventy-two hours. Some,* to supply this defect of time, account the light before the passion of Christ, and the darkness till the ninth hour, one day and a night; because, they say, there was both light and darkness. And then the light that followed from the ninth hour, and the succeeding night, a second day and night, likewise the third, till the time he rose again. Others expound it by a mystery, thus: thirty-six hours, they say, to seventy-two, which is the absolute measure of three days and three nights, is but *simpulum ad duplum*, one to two, or the half of the whole. Now, ours was a double death, both in soul by sin, and in body by pain; Christ's was but single, only in the body, because concerning his soul he was free from sin; therefore they infer that the moiety of time might suffice him. Hugo Cardin. hath another conceit, that from the creation of the world till the resurrection of Christ, the day was evermore numbered before the night, both in the literal and in the mystical understanding. First there was light, then darkness; but from the resurrection of Christ forwards, the night is first reckoned (for which cause he thought the vigils were appointed for Sabbaths and other festival days, that we might be prepared with more devotion to solemnise them); herehence he concludeth, that the night which followed the Sabbath of the Jews was the angular night, *angularis est*, and must twice be repeated, as the corner of a square serveth indifferently for either side which it lieth betwixt; for both it belonged (saith he) to the Sabbath preceding, and must be ascribed again unto the Christian Sabbath or Lord's day, whereon the Son of God rose from death. And he thinketh there is great reason of his invention, because Christ by one night of his took away two of ours: *et merito: quia Christus simplâ nocte suâ duplam nostram abstulit*. So they are not content to be sober interpreters of the mind of God, but they will guess and divine at that which he never meant: *divinatores et rates, non interpretes*. They think their cunning abased if they go not beyond the moon to fetch an exposition. What needeth such curious learning, to appoint every egg to the right hen that laid it, as some did in Delos;† so these to think their labour unprofitable in the church of God, unless they can make the devices of their own heads reach home to the letter of the book in all respects. Our soundest divines agree, that the triduan rest of Christ in the grave must be understood by the figure *synecdoche*, a part put for the whole. And thus they make their account: the first day of his passion and interment (which was the preparation of the Jewish Sabbath) must have the former night set to it; the second was fully and exactly run out; the third had the night complete, and only a piece of the first day of the week, which by the figure before named is to be holpen and supplied.

Now I go forwards to explicate the behaviour of

* Lyra.

† Senec. Tull. in Aca.

Jonah in the belly of the fish. Therein we are to consider, 1, what the history speaketh of Jonah; 2, what he speaketh himself. The words of the history testifying his demeanour are those in the head of the chapter, which you have already heard.

Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the belly of the fish, and said. Wherein, besides the person of Jonah, needless to be recited any more, we are stored with a cluster of many singular meditations: 1, the connection or consecution after his former misery, or if you will, you may note it under the circumstance of time; then, 2, what he did, how he exercised and bestowed himself, *he prayed*; 3, to whom he prayed and tendered his moan, *to the Lord*; 4, upon what right, interest, or acquaintance with that Lord, because he was *his God*; 5, from whence he directed his supplications, *out of the belly of the fish*; 6, the tenor or manner of the song, and request he offered unto him, *and said*. Thus far the history useth her own tongue, the words that follow Jonah himself indited.

1. Many things have been mentioned before, whereof we may use the speech of Moses, 'Inquire of the ancient days which are before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from one end of heaven to the other, if ever there were the like thing done,' as that a man should breathe and live so long a time, not only in the bowels of the waters (for there Jonah also was), but in the bowels of a fish within those waters; a prison with a double ward, deeper than the prison of Jeremiah, wherein, by his own pitiful relation, Jer. xxxviii., he 'stuck fast in mire, and was ready to perish through hunger;' and when he was plucked from thence, it was the labour of thirty men to draw him up with ropes, putting rags under his arms between the ropes and his flesh, for fear of hurting him. Closer than the prison of Peter, Acts xii., who was committed to four quaternions of soldiers to be kept; and the night before his death intended, 'slept betwixt two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door.' Yea, stricter than the prison of Daniel, the mouth whereof was 'closed with a stone,' Dan. vi., and sealed with the signet of the king and the signet of his princes; and the keepers of the ward, by nature harder to be entreated than ten times four quaternions of soldiers. Name me a prison under heaven, except that lake of fire and brimstone, which is the second death, comparable unto that wherein Jonah was concluded; yet Jonah there liveth not for a moment of time, but for that continuance of days which the great Shepherd of Israel afterwards took, and thought a term sufficient whereby the certain and undoubted eviction of his death might be published to the whole world. But this is the wonder of wonders, that not only the body of Jonah is preserved in life and livelihood (where if he received any food, it was more loathsome to nature than the gall of asps; or if he drew any air for breath,

it was more unpleasant than the vapours of sulphur); but his soul also and inward man was not destroyed, and stilled under the pressure of so unspeakable a tribulation. For so it is, he lieth in the belly of the fish, as if he had entered into his bed-chamber and east himself upon his couch, recounting his former sins, present miseries, praying, believing, hoping, preaching unto himself the deliverances of God, with as free a spirit as ever he preached to the children of Israel upon dry land. He is awake in the whale, that snorted in the ship. What a strange thing was this! * Oh the exceeding riches of the goodness of God, the height and depth whereof can never be measured, that in the distresses of this kind (to use the apostle's phrases, 2 Cor. i.), above measure, and beyond the strength of man, *καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει*, wherein we doubt whether we live or no, and receive the sentence of death within ourselves, that if you should ask our own opinion, we cannot say but that in nature and reason we are dead men; yet God leaveth not only a soul to the body, whereby it moveth, but a soul to the soul, whereby it pondereth and meditateth within itself God's everlasting compassions. Doubtless there are some afflictions that are a very death, else the apostle in the place aforesaid would never have spoken as he did: 'We trust in God, who raiseth up the dead, and hath delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver us, and in him we hope that yet he will deliver us.' Harken to this, ye faint spirits, and lend a patient ear to a thrice most happy deliverance; be strengthened, ye weak hands, and feeble knees receive comfort; he hath, he doth, and yet he will deliver us, *ἐξ ὕψους, ἐξ ἑταί, καὶ ἐκ ἐχθρῶν*, not only from the death of our bodies, when worms and rottenness have made their long and last prey upon them, but from the death of our minds too, when the spirit is buried under sorrows, and there is no creature found in heaven or earth to give it comfort.

2. The next thing we are to inquire is, what Jonah did. *He prayed.* All things pass, sayeth Seneca, to return again. I see no new thing; I do no new.† A wise man of our own to the same effect, Eccles. iii., 'That that hath been is, and that that shall be hath been.' I have before handled the nature and use of prayer, with as many requisite conditions to commend it as there were chosen souls in the ark of Noah. You will now ask me, *Quousque eadem.* How often shall we hear the same matter? I would there were no need of repetition. But it is true which Elihu speaketh in Job, chap. xxxiii., God speaketh once and twice, and man seeth it not. There is much seed sown that miscarrieth, some by the highway-side, some amongst thorns, some otherwise; many exhortations spent as upon men that are asleep, and when the tale is told,

they ask, What is the matter? Therefore I answer your demand, as Augustine sometimes the Donatists, when he was enforced to some iteration, Let those that know it already pardon me, lest I offend those that are ignorant: for it is better to give him that hath, than to turn him away that hath not.* And if it were truth of Homer, or may be truth of any man that is formed of clay, *unus Homerus satietatem omnium effugit*, one Homer never cloyed any man that read him, much more it is truth that one, and only Jesus Christ, the precepts and ordinances of his law, his mysteries of faith, have been often preached, often heard, and yet never wearied, never satisfied those that hungered and thirsted after his saving health. I go back to my purpose. Jonah, you hear, prayed. This is the life of the soul which before I spake of. When being perplexed with such grief of heart as neither wine, according to the advice of Solomon, nor strong drink could bring ease unto; her tongue cleaving to the roof of her mouth, and her spirit melting like wax in the midst of her bowels; when it is day, calling for the night again, and when it is night, saying to herself, When shall it be morning? finding no comfort at all either in light or darkness, kinsfolks or friends, pleasures or riches; and wishing as often as she openeth her lips, and draweth in her breath unto her, if God were so hasty to hear those wishes, 'Oh that thou wouldst hide me in the grave, and keep me secret until thy wrath were past.' Job xiv.; yet then she taketh unto her the wings of a dove, the motion and agility, I mean, of the Spirit of God, she flieth by the strength of her prayers into the bosom of God's mercies, and there is at rest: 'Is any afflicted amongst you? Let him pray.' Afflicted or not afflicted, under correction of apostolic judgment, let him pray. For what shall he else do? Shall he follow the ways of the wicked, which the prophet describeth? Ps. x., 'The wicked is so proud that he seeketh not after God; he saith evermore in his heart, there is no God; he boasteth of his own heart's desires; he blesseth himself, and contemneth the Lord; the judgments of God are high above his sight, therefore he snuffeth at his enemies, and saith to himself, I shall never be moved, nor come in danger.' I can name you a man that in his prosperity said even as they did, Ps. xxx., 'I shall never be moved: thou, Lord, of thy goodness hast made my hill so strong.' But see the change: 'Thou didst but hide thy face, and I was troubled. Then cried I unto the Lord, and prayed unto my God, saying, What profit is there in my blood?' &c. Or shall he, with those unrighteous priests in Malachi, use big words against the Lord, Mal. iii., 'It is in vain that I have served him; and what profit is it that I have kept his commandments, and walked in humility before him?' 'Oh the counsel of the wicked

* *Vigilat in ceto, qui stertebat in navi.* Mira res.—*Zeno, ep. Veronens.*, lib. ii. scr. 38.

† *Nihil novi video, nihil novi facio.*—Lib. iii. ep. 2, 4.

* *Ignoscant scientes, ne offendantur nescientes. Satiust est enim offerre habenti, quam differre non habentem.*—2 *de bapt. cont. Dcnat.* i.

be far from me,' saith Job, chap. xxi.; 'their candle shall often be put out; and the sorrow of the fathers shall be laid up for their children, and they shall even drink the wrath of the Almighty.' And all such as 'fear the Lord' speak otherwise, 'every one to his neighbour, and the Lord hearkeneth and heareth it; and a book of remembrance is written for them that fear him and think upon his name,' Mal. iii. Or shall he, on the other side, when his sorrows are multiplied upon him, say, as it is in the psalm, 'Who will shew me any good thing?' Ps. iv. Let him answer the distrust of his mind in the next words, 'Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me. Thou shalt put more joy thereby into mine heart, than the plentifullest increase of corn, wine, and oil can bring to others.' Or lastly, what shall he do? Shall he add grief unto grief, and welcome his woes unto him? Shall he drink down pensiveness, as behemoth drinketh down Jordan into his mouth? Shall he bury himself alive, and drown his soul in a gulf of desperation? Shall he live the life of Cain, or die the death of Judas? Shall he spend his wretched time in bannings and execrations, cursing the night that kept counsel to his conception, cursing the day that brought tidings of his bringing forth, cursing the earth that beareth him, the air that inspireth him, the light that shineth upon him? Shall he 'curse God and die,' or, perhaps, curse God and not die? Or shall he keep his anguish to himself, and let his heart burst like new bottles that are full of wine, for want of venting? Or shall he howl and yell into the air like the wolves in the wilderness, and as the manner of the heathen is, not knowing where or how to make their moan, feeling a wound, but not knowing how to cure it? Or what shall he do when he findeth himself in misery, his ways hedged up with thorns, that he cannot stir to deliver himself therefrom, what should he do but pray? Bernard, under a fiction, proposeth a table well worthy our beholding: therein the kings of Babylon and Jerusalem, signifying the state of the world and the church, always warring together; in which encounter, at length it fell out, that one of the soldiers of Jerusalem was fled to the castle of Justice. Siege laid to the castle, and a multitude of enemies entrenched round about it, Fear gave over all hope; but Prudence ministered her comfort. Dost thou not know, saith she, that our king is the king of glory; the Lord strong and mighty, even the Lord mighty in battle? Let us therefore despatch a messenger that may inform him of our necessities. Fear replieth, But who is able to break through? Darkness is upon the face of the earth, and our walls are begirt with a watchful troop of armed men, and we utterly inexpert of the way into so far a country. Whereupon Justice is consulted. Be of good cheer, saith Justice; I have a messenger of especial trust, well known to the king and his court, Prayer by name, who knoweth to address herself by ways unknown in the stillest silence of the night, till

she cometh to the secrets and chamber of the king himself. Forthwith she goeth, and findeth the gates shut, knocketh amain, 'Open, ye gates of righteousness, and be ye opened, ye everlasting doors,' that I may come in and tell the King of Jerusalem how our case standeth. Doubtless the trustiest and effectuallest messenger we have to send is Prayer. If we send up merits, the stars in heaven will disdain it, that we which dwell at the footstool of God dare to presume so far, when the purest creatures in heaven are impure in his sight. If we send up fear and distrustfulness, the length of the way will tire them out. They are as heavy and lumpish as gads of iron; they will sink to the ground before they come half-way to the throne of salvation. If we send up blasphemies and curses, all the creatures betwixt heaven and earth will band themselves against us. The sun and the moon will rain down blood; the fire, hot burning coals; the air, thunderbolts upon our heads. Prayer, I say again, is the surest ambassador; which neither the tediousness of the way, nor difficulties of the passage, can hinder from her purpose; quick of speed, faithful for trustiness, happy for success, able to mount above the eagles of the sky, into the heaven of heavens, and as a chariot of fire bearing us aloft into the presence of God to seek his assistance.

3. And Jonah prayed *unto the Lord*. I handled also this point before more largely than at this present I intend. I noted therein their wisdom and choice, who take their mark aright, and direct their petitions to their true and proper period. I will briefly say, *Non minus est Deum fingere quam negare.** It is as great an offence to make a new, as to deny the true God. 'In the Lord put I my trust; how then say ye unto my soul' (ye seducers of souls), 'that she should fly unto the mountains as a bird,' Ps. xi.; to seek unnecessary and foreign helps, as if the Lord alone were not sufficient? Ps. xviii.: 'The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and he that delivereth me, my God, and my strength; in him will I trust: my shield, the horn also of my salvation, and my refuge. I will call upon the Lord which is worthy to be praised, so shall I be safe from mine enemies.' Whom have I in heaven but thee,' amongst those thousands of angels and saints, what Michael or Gabriel, what Moses or Samuel, what Peter, what Paul? 'and there is none in earth that I desire in comparison of thee.' 'Put not your trust in princes' (which are the ablest upon the earth), 'nor in the son of man, for there is no help in him. His breath departeth, and he returneth to his earth, and then all his thoughts perish. But blessed is the man that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God,' Ps. cxlvi. In that lamentable siege and famine of Samaria, 2 Kings vi., a woman cried to the king as he passed by, 'Help my Lord, O king!' The king answered, 'Seeing the Lord doth not succour thee

* Hil. in Ps. i.

how should I help thee, with the barn or the winepress?' The king concluded soundly, that if the Lord withdrew his helping hand, it lieth not in any prince of the earth to afford it. 'God hath spoken once, and I have heard it twice, that power belongeth unto God, and thine, O Lord, is salvation, even thine alone!' Ps. lxii. As much as to say, God is very constant in the asseveration of this doctrine. To drive it into our conceits he hath spoken it once and twice, that is, not once, but many times, he hath spoken it eternally, unmoveably, effectually, without retraction: *semel et bis*, i. e. *non semel, sapius, æternaliter, penitus, inconcusse*. Once in the law, and a second time in the gospel. Both the breasts of the church give this milk; Moses and Christ, prophets and evangelists, run upon this point. Surely they forsake their first and better husbands, and go after lovers, Hosea ii., whose company they will dearly repent (for they will see an alteration, and be driven to confess, It was better with me at that time than now), which think that their bread and water, wool, and flax, and oil, and drink, are not the blessings of God, much more the gifts and virtues of the soul, inward and spiritual graces; that cry for deliverance where there is none; that lay out their 'silver, and not for bread; bestow their labour, and are not satisfied,' Isa. lv.; spend and consume their prayers and are not heard. Or (as Irene* maketh the comparison) they are not unlike Æsop's dog, who having meat in his mouth, caught at the shadow which he saw in the waters, and lost the substance. 'Is not the gleanings of Ephraim of more worth than all the vintage of Abiathar?' Is not the staff of the Lord of more strength,—whereof David spake, 'Thy staff and thy rod comforted me,'—than all the staves of Asshur and Egypt, staves of reeds, staves of flesh and blood? Is not the least finger of his right hand of more puissance than the whole arm, either of flesh or any spirit besides, yea, than the whole loins, whole bodies, whole substances of angels, men, silver, gold, purple, all other creatures? Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, wrote to her son, when he called himself the son of Jupiter, not to do it, for fear of procuring unto her the envy and displeasure of Juno. The angels and saints in heaven are much displeased, I dare affirm, to have such dangerous honour thrust upon them, that bringeth them into emulation with their fearful Lord, whose presence they tremble at; and if it were possible for them to hear such unlawful prayers of men, they would, I doubt not, with a contrary sound of words, labour to purge themselves before the Lord of hosts. 'Not unto us, Lord, not unto us;' it belongeth not to thy servants to receive such sacrifice. They that refused a far smaller offer upon the earth, the only bowing of the knee unto them, 'see thou do it not,' when the knees of the heart shall stoop, and prayers be poured unto them, they will much more be dis-

* Lib. ii. cap. xii.

contented. I conclude out of Saint Bernard, *sperant in aliis alii*: Let others put their trust in other things: some in the knowledge of letters, some in the willingness of this world, some in nobility, some in preferment, or in any the like vanity; and let him that listeth trust in uncertain riches; but it is good for me to hold me fast by the Lord, and to put my hope in God. Who ever hoped in the Lord and was confounded? 'The lions lack and suffer hunger, but they that fear the Lord shall want no manner of thing that good is.'

4. The specialty followeth, whereupon he took encouragement to pray unto the Lord. He had a particular feeling of the love of God towards him, and knew him to be *his God*. He had not only heard and seen in others, but tasted in himself how sweet the Lord was: some little experience of deliverance he had already made, because the waters choked him not, and albeit he were swallowed into the belly of the fish, yet his life remained in him, and there is no other likelihood but he lived in hope of a far greater salvation. The former circumstance is as the alabaster box of spikenard, that contained precious ointment in it, but kept it close and uncommunicated; this latter breaketh the box, and poureth out the ointment, that the savour of the perfume may fill the whole house, and comfort both the body and soul of him that will use it. The former at large delivereth the arguments of the might and mercy of God, telleth us there is a Lord above, whom all the ends of the world have a portion in, whose name is Jehovah, and his aid most requisite to be sought unto.

This latter bringeth him home, as it were, under the roof of our private houses, and giveth him entertainment in our particular consciences. The former giveth counsel, and sheweth the way the latter putteth in execution; the one teacheth knowledge, the other application; the one what to believe, the other what to hope; the one to pray unto the Lord, the other to pray unto the Lord our God. *Dicit fides, parata sunt bona*, &c.; faith saith, there are good things, which cannot be told, prepared for believers. Hope saith, They are kept for me. Charity, which is the third sister, saith, I run and endeavour to attain unto them.* Before he had said, that there was a near affinity between faith and hope; for that which the one believeth shall be, the other beginneth to hope shall be for her.† The prophet breaketh not the order of these two virtues: first he believeth, then hopeth; for 'faith is the substance of things hoped for;' and no more can a man hope after that which he believeth not, than a painter paint in the air, or upon emptiness, *super inane*. Augustine, in his Enchiridion to Laurentius,‡ allegeth many differences betwixt faith and hope;

* Bern. Serm. x.

† Nempe germana fidei speique cognatio est. Utque illa futurum credit, hæc sibi incipiat sperare futurum.

‡ Cap. viii.

namely, these, that more is believed than is hoped for, as the pains of hell; but nothing is hoped which is not believed. Again, faith apprehendeth both good and evil; reward and punishment; things past, things present, and things to come; as the death of Christ for the first, for the second his sitting at the right hand of God, for the last his coming to judgment. Moreover faith hath to do in matters both concerning ourselves and others; for we also believe that that appertaineth to angels; but hope is the expectation only of good things, and such as are to come, and are proper to ourselves.* So faith is evermore ampler than hope, and hope is in a manner a contracted and abridged faith. Clemens Alexandrinus† saith, that hope is the blood of faith; and when hope hath given up the ghost, it is as if the blood of faith had flowed out, and all her vital power were exhausted. The devils both know and obey God, Job i., and they acknowledge his Son Jesus Christ, not only in the substance of his deity to be the Son of God, but in his office of mediation: 'Thou art that Christ,' Mark i.; and they profess and publish that knowledge of theirs, for Christ rebuketh them for it, Luke iv.; neither are they ignorant of his commission, that 'all power is granted unto him, both in heaven and earth;' and that he is ordained 'the Judge of the quick and the dead.' Therefore they ask, 'Why art thou come to vex us before the time?' Mat. viii.; yea, 'they fall down and worship him,' Mark v.; they 'fear, and tremble, and believe,' James ii.; and they pray unto him; for the legion instantly besought him, Mark iv., not to send them away out of the coasts of the Gadarenes. So there is in the devils, you see, 1, knowledge, and that very deep and profound; 2, confession; 3, worship; 4, fear; 5, belief; 6, prayer and supplication. What want they? That which, if Christians want, they have a name that they live, but indeed are dead. They want a particular confident faith, the application of mercy, which is the life of Christians, and the defect whereof maketh devils; for not to believe assuredly that God is rich in mercy to all that call upon him in faithfulness and truth, to have his loving-kindness in jealousy, to distrust his promises, which are yea and amen; to falsify his word, more stable than the pillars of the earth; to make him a liar what in us lieth, and to evacuate the testimony of his Spirit speaking to our spirits that we are the sons of God, and, as it were, to pull off the seal whereby we are sealed against the redemption of the just, is that damnable and desperate infidelity which turneth men into devils, and of the household of faith maketh them a family for the prince of darkness. And not to

speak more of this beautiful damsel, as highly favoured of the King of kings, as ever was Esther of the king of the Medes and Persians, Esther iv., not contenting herself to stay without at the gate, but with an humble presumption approaching into the inner court, and finding the golden sceptre of favour ever ready to be held out unto her; be ye assured in your souls, and write it in the tables of your hearts with the point of a diamond, with the persuasion of God's Holy Spirit, that the writings of adversaries may never raze it out again; that if you err not in the nature of a true faith, if you take not shadows of mountains for men, a fancy and shadow of faith for the body itself, if it be sound and substantial, rightly informed, properly qualified, you may say unto it, Go in peace; it shall walk through life and death without controlment. If it find angels, principalities, powers, things present, things to come, any other creature in the world, stopping her passage, and rebuking her forwardness, she shall clear her way notwithstanding, with the strength of her hope, and climb into the presence of her God; where, if she crave to sit at his right or left hand, in his everlasting kingdom, her suit shall be granted.

5. He prayed unto the Lord his God *out of the belly of the fish*, where he had as little comfort of life as blind Tobias had: What joy can I have, said he, Tob. 5, that sit in darkness, and behold not the light of heaven? Jonah might truly say in a double sense, *De profundis clamavi, et abyssus abyssum invocat*, 'Out of the deep have I cried, and one depth calleth upon another,' who lay both in the bottom of a monster, and in the lowest gulf of affliction that ever soul was plunged in. Might he have had the liberty of the sons of God to have entered into the house of the Lord, the house of prayer, as the prophet calleth it, the place where his honour dwelt, there to have humbled himself, and poured out his soul to him that made it, I would less have marvelled to hear this duty performed. Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, hath spent her days in the temple of God, 'serving the Lord with fastings and prayers night and day, and she departed not thence,' Luke ii. David 'desired but one thing of the Lord, and that he would require, that he might dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of his life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to visit his temple,' Ps. xxvii. But in the belly of the fish there was no beauty to invite unto devotion: in this darksome and desert house, no company or fellowship to draw him on, *ibimus in domum domini*, 'Come, we will go into the house of the Lord: our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem,' Ps. cxxii. No, not so much as swallows and sparrows, which David envied, because they had leave to build their nests by the altars of God; yea, if vultures and screech-owls had but dwelt thereby, it had been some comfort. Yet in this desolate and solitary house, voider of haunt than the ransacked sanctuary of Jerusalem, the paths whereof foxes, for want of passengers, ran up and down upon,

* See Martin Luther upon the 5th of the Galatians.—*Aliquid creditur quod non speratur, nihil speratur quod non creditur, fides est malarum rerum et bonarum, et præteritarum, et præsentium et futurarum, et suarum rerum et alienarum. Spes est bonarum rerum tantum et futurarum et nostrarum.*

† 1. Pædag. vi.

wherein he lay as forlorn, in a manner, as he that made his abode amongst the tombs of the dead, and frequented the company neither of men nor beasts, Mark v., even in this hateful cage of filth and uncleanness, he setteth himself on work, humbling his soul in prayer lower than his body was humbled in the water, talking with God on high, mourning and lamenting his wretchedness, not in a cave of Horeb, as Elias did, nor in a cave of Adullam, as David, but in the ugliest uncomfortablest vault (setting hell apart) that ever was entered. O Lord, where shall thy spirit forsake thy chosen ones? If we climb into heaven, there it is as apparent to the world as the sun in his brightness; if we be driven into the wilderness, there it will attend on us; if we lie down in the bottom of the sea, if in the bowels of a whale within that bottom of the sea, there will it also embrace us.

To conclude all in one for this time; there was never contemplation or study in the world so holy and heavenly in the sight of God, so faithful and sociable to him that useth it, as prayer is. It travelleth by day, it awaketh by night with us; *peregrinatur, pernoctat*. It forsaketh us not by land, by water, in weal, in woe, living nor dying. It is our last friend and indissolublest companion; therefore we must pray. There was never name so worthy to be called upon, in heaven or earth, so mighty for deliverance, so sure for protection, so gainful for success, so compendious to cut off unnecessary labours, as the name of Jehovah, our merciful Father, and the image of his countenance, Jesus Christ. Therefore *to the Lord*. There was never city of refuge so free for transgressors, never holes in the rocks so open for doves, never lap of the mother so open to her babes, as the bowels of

God's compassion are open to believers. Therefore we must pray in that style of propriety which Thomas used, when he looked upon Christ, 'my Lord and my God.' Lastly, there was never affliction so great, but the hand of the Lord hath been able to master it; therefore, if we walk in the shadow of death (as where was the shadow of death if these bowels of the whale were not?) we must not take discomfort at it. 'The Lord sitteth above the water floods;' the Lord commandeth the sea, and all that therein is. He that hath hidden Jonah in the belly of a fish, as a chosen shaft in the quiver of his merciful providence, and made destruction itself a tabernacle and hiding-place to preserve him from destruction, blessed be his holy name, and let the might of his majesty receive honour for evermore; he will never forsake his sons and daughters, neither in health nor sickness, light nor darkness, in the land of the living, nor in the land of forgetfulness. And, therefore, as David cursed the mountains of Gilboa, 2. Sam. i., 'that neither dew nor rain might fall upon them, because the shield of the mighty was there cast down,' so cursed be all faithless and faint-hearted passions, that throw away the shield of faith, and open the way for the fiery darts of the devil to work their purpose. But blessed be the mountains of Armenia, for there the ark found rest. Blessed be the power and mercy of our God, for these are the mountains whereupon the ark resteth; these are the holy hills whereon the Sion and church of the Lord hath her everlasting foundations. The Lord liveth, and blessed be our strength, even the God of our salvation for ever and ever be exalted. Amen.

LECTURE XXIV.

And said, I cried in mine affliction to the Lord, and he heard me; out of the belly of hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice.—JONAH II. 2.

IN the words of the history, before we come to Jonah speaking from his own person, I noted, 1, his action during the time of his imprisonment, *prayer*; 2, the object of his prayer, *the Lord*; 3, the application, *his God*; 4, his house of prayer, *the belly of the fish*; and, 5, the specification of it, *he said*; which particle only remaineth to be adjoined to the former, before we proceed to the prayer itself.

And said. It beareth one sense thus: I will not only acquaint you that Jonah prayed, but I will also express unto you what that prayer was. This was the sum and substance of it; the matter he framed and compiled to his God was to this effect. 'He prayed, and said;' that is, these were the very words, this was the tenor and text of his song indited. But if the word be better looked into, it may yield a further construction; for in the three principal tongues,

Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,* there hath ever been held a difference between speaking and saying; the former being the more general and imperfect, belonging to as many as use the instruments of speech. Thersites spake, though he spake like a jay; and they speak of whom the proverb is verified, Little wisdom, much prating.† Eupolis noted them in the Greek verse,

Ἀριστοι λαλῶν, ἀδυνατώτατοι λέγειν,

they are excellent to talk, but very unable to say. The latter is more special, and noteth a wise and deliberated speech, grave and sententious, weighed in the balance, as it is in the words of Sirach,‡ and uttered to good purpose. Tully in his rhetorics gives the difference, in that he ascribeth saying to orators alone, speaking to the common people,—*solius est ora-*

* Aul. Gel. i. noct. At. 15. Satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum.
† Salust.
‡ Ecclus. xxi.

toris dicere, loqui autem communis vulgi,—and that the one cometh from nature, the other from art. Such was the handling of that argument in the 45th Psalm, whereof the author witnesseth beforehand, ‘My heart is inditing a good matter; and his tongue was but the pen of a ready writer.’ It was *sermo natus in pectore*, a matter bred in the breast, not at the tongue’s end. And such was the song of Jonah in this place. It was drawn as deep as the water from the well of Jacob; the sentences whereof were advisedly penned, and the words themselves set upon feet, and placed in equal proportions. A skilful and artificial song, as if it should have fitted an instrument, composed in number and measure, to the honour of his name who ‘giveth the argument of a song in the night season,’ Job xxxv., who in the heaviest and solitariest times, when nature calleth for rest, quickeneth up the spirit of a man, and giveth him wisdom and grace to meditate within himself his unspeakable mercies. I do not think that the prayer of Jonah was thus metrically digested within the belly of the fish as now it standeth. But such were the thoughts and cogitations wherein his soul was occupied, which after his landing again perhaps he repolished, and brought into order and fashion, as a memorial and monument of the goodness of God that had enlarged him. It ministereth this instruction unto us all, that when we sing or say anything unto the Lord, we keep the rule of the psalm, ‘Sing ye praises with understanding,’ Ps. xlvii.; that as John Baptist went before Christ to prepare his ways, so our hearts may ever go before our tongues to prepare their speeches; that first we speak within ourselves, as the woman with the bloody issue did, Mat. ix. (ἐν ἑαυτῇ γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῇ, for ‘she said within herself, If I may but touch the hem of his garment’), afterwards to others; first in our hearts, with David in the psalm, *Dixi, custodiam*, &c., ‘I said, I will keep my ways,’ Ps. xxxix., then with our lips; that first we hew the stones and make them fit for the building of the temple before we place them in the walls, lest by our hammering and confusion at the present time we disorder all things; finally, that whether we pray or preach, we come not wildly and unadvisedly to those sacred works, beating the air with empty words, and seeking our matter up and down, as Saul his father’s asses, but furnished and prepared to our business with sufficient meditation. I never shall persuade myself that the exactest industry which either tongue or pen can take in the handling of his works can displease God. And they that think the contrary, seek but a cloak for themselves (the greater part) to cover their ignorance withal, as was noted of Honorius the Third, when he forbade the clergy the study of both laws, the fox dispraiseth the grapes which himself cannot reach. When the tabernacle should be made with the ark of testimony, Exod. xxxi., and the mercy-seat, and all other instruments belonging thereunto, ‘God called

Bezaleel by name, and filled him with his Spirit, in wisdom and in understanding, in knowledge and in all workmanship, and joined Aholiah with him; and as many as were wise of heart besides, God put cunning into them.’ As Bezaleel and his fellows were fitter for these works than others unfurnished, so had they been very unworthy of these graces of God, if being bestowed to such an end, they had not used them to the uttermost. I ask in the like manner, Who made the mouth and the heart of man? Whose are learning and arts, invention and eloquence? What womb hath engendered them? Are they not God’s blessings? Shall we dissemble the author; shall we obscure the gifts; shall we wrap them up in a napkin, and hide them in the ground, and not express them to the honour of his name by whom they were given? Erasmus in his preface upon the works of Cyprian, giveth this testimony and applause to that glorious martyr of Christ, *Talem ecclesie doctorem*, &c.: Such a doctor of the church, such a champion of Christian religion, did the school of rhetoricians bring forth unto us, lest any man foolishly should flatter himself that he never meddled with rhetoric.* It is not unknown to all that peruse the Holy Writ, that Moses was ‘learned in all the wisdom of Egypt,’ Daniel of Chaldee, Job not unexpert in astronomy, Jeremiah in the common laws of his time, David in music, Paul in poetry and in all the knowledge both of Jews and Gentiles; and those that delight in the histories of the church shall find Cyprian, Optatus, Hilary, Lactantius, and others, laden out of Egypt with the treasures and spoils of the Egyptians, instructed for the better service of God with the helps of profane writers. They require but their own, for these other were but thieves (saith Clemens Alexandrinus†), and robbed Moses and the prophets. And likewise in the judgment of Tertullian,‡ harping upon the same string, what poet or sophister hath there ever been that drank not at the well of the prophets? Or if there be anything in them besides, let them be enforced to confess with Julian, *Propriis pennis configimur*. We are stricken through with our own quills; that is, wounded and disadvantaged by our own learning. And therefore I end with the saying of Picus Mirandula, *Si turpe est bonas literas colere, mallem agnoscere culpam quam deprecari*: If it be an opprobrious thing to embrace good letters, I had rather acknowledge my fault than ask pardon for it.

Hitherto went the words of the history, now let us see what Jonah himself saith: ‘I cried in mine affliction unto the Lord,’ &c. I remember what Æschines spake of Demosthenes at Rhodes, when he read the defence that Demosthenes had framed to his accusation, the people wondering at the strength and validity of it, *Quid si ipsum audissetis?* What would ye have thought if you had heard him pronouncing with his

* Ne quis sibi stolidè placeat, quod nihil rhetorices attigerit.

† Stro. i. et v.

‡ Apolog. c. xlv.

own mouth? I think no less between Jonah and Jonah, when I find what odds there is betwixt him and himself, as he speaketh in the name of the history which he writeth, and as in his own person. His pen wrote nothing so effectually as his heart felt; and being the scribe and orator only, he is not so fluent and copious as when he is the patient. Job demandeth in the sixth of his book, 'Will ye give the words of him that is afflicted to the wind?' as if he had said, When affliction itself, and the inmost sorrows of my heart, tell my tale, will you not regard it? 'Oh that your souls were in my soul's stead!' Job xvi.: that you felt as much as I am grieved with; I could then keep your company, and could shake mine head at you. *Loquor in angustia mea, queror in amaritudine anime mee*: 'I speak that that I speak from a world of trouble; I make my complaint in the bitterness of my soul,' Job vii. So Jerusalem crieth in the Lamentations of the prophet: chap. i., 'O all ye that pass by, stay and consider if ever there were sorrow like unto that wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me;' for they that passed by considered it not, but Jerusalem felt it at the heart. The style of the history before, if you observed it, was simple and plain, in as usual, naked and vulgar terms as might be: 'Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the belly of the fish.' What one word therein lofty and magnificent, and lifted above the common course of speech! But the style of Jonah himself, speaking from a sense and impression of his woes, is full of ornament and majesty; full of translated and varied phrases, as if a sentence of ordinary terms were not sufficient to express his miseries. It is not now said that he prayed, but that 'he cried;' praying is turned into crying, not from the belly of the fish, but 'from the belly of hell,'—a marvellous transformation. And the trouble he speaketh of is not properly trouble, but 'narrows and straits;' and the hearing of the Lord is not naturally hearing, but 'answering,'—a degree beyond. Again, the style of the history was single and brief, and not a word bestowed therein more than was needful to explain the matter intended, but the style of Jonah himself in every part is doubled and iterated; for where it was said before at once, Jonah prayed, now, he cried and cried; and the Lord heard and heard. And the belly of the fish there mentioned is now both pressure and tribulation, and the belly of hell too.* Euripides charged Eschylus in the comedy† for unnecessary repetition of words:

Δὶς τ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ὁ σοφὺς Ἀἰσχυλὸς

Ἦκω γὰρ φησὶ καὶ κατέρχομαι,

Ἦκω δὲ τ' αὐτὸν ἐστὶ τῷ κατέρχομαι:

Wise Eschylus hath one thing twice repeated,
In that I come, and come, again is used,
When coming there, and coming, is not changed.‡

* Clamavi, vociferatus sum, exaudivisti, angustia, venter inferni.

† Aul. Gel. 13, 23.

‡ Ibid., μάκτρα et κἀρδιος.

But in the two members of this present verse, though there be near affinity, and they seem to import but the same meaning, yet we may not take them for an idle repetition; the latter of the two rising in degree in some sort, and giving elucidation to that which went before it. And as nature in the body of man hath doubled his eyes, his ears, and other parts, that if the one should fail in his office and charge, the other might supply the defect, so in the body of this sentence the wisdom of the prophet hath doubled every word, that if those of the former rank fail in their office and message whereunto they are sent, the other in the latter might help them out; for thus methinketh they sound. Is any man desirous to understand my case? I was in affliction, and that affliction so great, as if I had been pinched and thronged in some narrow room, *ex angustia*; as if the Lord had hedged about me that I should not get forth, and mured me up within hewn stone. They are the words of Jeremiah, Lam. iii., to shew the nature of extreme tribulation. If you will know my refuge, I went unto the Lord, not with a cold and careless devotion, nor with a dumb spirit, but with as earnest and impatient a voice as the affections of my heart could send forth, *clamavi*. If you will also learn the success, what comfort and speed my crying had, the Lord gave ear and answer unto it, *exaudivit*. Now, in the second clause of my text, though neither the order of the parts nor the substance of the words disagree, yet their virtue and power is much more significant. For that which he called before tribulation and anguish, is now the belly of hell, *e ventre inferni*; and the cry that he used before is now vociferation, another kind of cry, *vociferatus sum*. And whereas he said before, the Lord hath heard me, as one that were farther removed from him, now by changing the person he cometh nearer to his throne of grace, and delivereth his tale as it were in the ears and under the eyes of the author of his deliverance: 'Thou, Lord, hast answered me,' *tu, Domine*.

From this difference of styles, that when he speaketh from himself, he useth greater force of words than when the history speaketh of him, I make this brief collection, that Jonah interpreted aright the afflictions sent of God, and mistook not the end why he was chastened. For what was the cause of them, but to put a sensible and lively feeling into the soul of Jonah, that he might see and say in himself, I am sick indeed; and that his soul refusing all other comfort, he might run to the succours of God, there to be refreshed. God did justly complain against Israel in the second of Jeremiah, 'I have smitten their children in vain; they received no correction.' The prophet in the fifth chapter findeth the same fault: 'Thou hast stricken them, but they have not sorrowed: thou hast consumed them, but they refuse to be corrected: they have made their faces harder than a stone, and refuse to return.' But what will be the end of this stupidity

and blockishness in apprehending the chastisements of God? The same which is spoken of Ezekiel xvi., *recessit zelus meus à te*: 'My wrath is departed from thee, and I will cease, and be no more angry.' Whereupon sweet St Bernard:* I tremble at the very hearing of it; now thou perceivest that God is then more angry when he is not angry. God keep me from such mercy; this pity is beyond all wrath. Let them consider this well that take the afflictions of God brought upon them as an horse or mule taketh the branding of an hot iron, which they presently forget; who, when they are smitten with sorrows, sickness, infamy, losses, or such like temptations, are no more moved therewith than when they see the weather or wind in the air changed: 'O Lord, they will not behold thine high hand; but they shall see it.' If they will not apply it to amendment of life, they shall receive it to their further judgment.

The parts severally to be handled in the present words are these: 1, the gravity of his afflictions, declared by two metaphors, straitness and the belly of hell, and what effect those afflictions drew from him, prayer; 2, the vehemency of that prayer expressed both by the ingemination and increment of two words, crying and vociferation or outerying; 3, the success of his prayer, in two other words laid down and amplified by changing the person, he heard and thou heardest.

1. The first metaphor or translation bewraying his misery unto us, is *angustia*, 'narrowness, strictness of room,' and as it were a little-case, whence, I suppose, we derive our English name *anguish*. The reason of this metaphor in afflictions, is because the heart and countenance at such times endure a kind of compression and coartation, a shrinking together, and are drawn, as it were, into a lesser room, the spirits not diffusing themselves so freely as when there is occasion of mirth and cheerfulness. For it is not unknown in common experience, that laughter dilateth and spreadeth the face abroad, which sorrow contracteth; therefore God promiseth, in the 60th of Isaiah, that 'the heart of the church shall be enlarged, *dilatabitur cor ecclesie*, that is, filled with joy. Or this may be another cause, that in a narrow and close room (say, for example, the prison of John Baptist, or the gate wherein Tamerlane kept the great Turk), there is not that scope and freedom of passage, there is not that plenty and variety of necessary helps, as in a larger place. Therefore David giveth thanks in the psalm at his first coming to the kingdom, that after he had been chased like a fly from country to country, first to Samuel in Ramah, then to Abimelech in Nob, afterwards to Achish in Gath, sometimes into a cave, sometimes into a wilderness, at length the Lord had delivered him and 'set his feet in a large room,' Ps. xviii. The afflictions of Job, you all know how relie-

ment they were, and he never more kindly expressed them than by this translation, in the 7th of his book, 'Am I a sea, or a whale fish, that thou keepest me in ward?' Afterwards he expoundeth his meaning, that 'God did try him every moment, that he would never depart from him, nor let him alone till he might swallow his spittle down,' such were the straits he was hemmed in. The like manner of speech he used in the 11th, 'He hath put my feet in the stocks, and looketh narrowly to all my ways.'

There were enough in this former borrowed term to shew the affliction of Jonah, which, by the grace that is used in the words, seemeth to have sitten as close to his soul as a garment to his skin, or as the entrails of the fish lay to his body, wherein as the spaces of ground which he used to walk were stinted and abridged him, so the pleasure and freedom of his mind, solace of his friends, and comfort of the light of heaven, were taken from him; but the other, without comparison, let the world be sought through from the utmost circle to the centre of it, is the absolutest pattern of misery that ever sank into human invention. For as nothing is more direful and unsufferable than hell, so nothing more fit in the nature of things, whereunto the hugest tribulation may be compared. The word in the Hebrew carrieth itself indifferently either for hell or the grave, for they are both always craving, *Bring in*; and thence they have their name, the grave is never satisfied with the corpses of the dead, nor hell with the souls of the damned that descend into it. I rather take it to signify hell in this place, one saith because of the horror, another for the darkness, some for the depth, some for the hugeness of the belly of the fish. *Venter inferni alvus cæti, tantæ magnitudinis ut instar obtineat inferni*.* The belly of hell is the belly of the fish, so large and capable that it may go instead of hell. The belly of the fish, saith another,† *alter mihi infernus erat*, was another hell unto me. David useth the same phrase with Jonah, 'The pains of hell compassed me about, and the snares of death overtook me;' but in another psalm more distinctly, 'Thou hast delivered my soul from the nethermost hell.' What! Did Jonah or David ever descend into that fiery lake, to know the torments thereof? Or as Pythagoras guessed at the stature and pitch of Hercules by the length of his foot, which was but one part of his body, so by a taste of bitterness incident to this present life, have these conceived what sorrow and vexation is reserved to the wicked for times to come? Undoubtedly the grief of heart hath been infinite, and as much as mortality could ever admit; the mournings of Hannah, Job, David, Jeremiah, Jerusalem, such as his heart must needs be harder than the stithy which the smith beateth upon, that readeth the catalogues of their woes and is not moved at them. But if all those foresaid agonies, and as many besides as ever wrung and wrested the spirit of man, since the

* Solo auditu contremisco. Vides quia tunc magis irascitur Deus cum non irascitur. Misericordiam hanc ego nolo. Super omnem iram miseratio ista.—Ser. xlii. *super Cant.*

* Hieron.

† Mercer.

breath of life was breathed into him, were put together to part the torments of hell among them, part after part, as if they would empty the store-houses, and break the stream of it; yet hath the hand of hell an unmeasurable portion behind to distribute to her children, an endless patrimony of howling, wringing, and gnashing which all the fore-passed mischiefs and maims in this life have scarce been shadows and counterfeits of. The belly of hell, you hear, but in a type or figure, where the word is mistaken and abused, and brought from his proper sense, though it be fearful enough, and the extremity of pain hath so beguiled and besotted some (I speak it with sobriety) in the judgments of their minds, that they have thought it very hell indeed; yet woe be to them ten thousand times more, and more than can be imagined, by any heart as deep as a flood, whom the belly of very hell hath swallowed and closed up. It is not possible to be spoken, it is more impossible to be endured (yet it must be endured) what the terrors and tortures of hell are. 'Take him,' saith the Gospel, Mat. xxii., &c., 'bind him hand and foot,' is it no more but so? *I lictor liga manus*: go, serjeant, bind his hands? Yes, 'cast him into utter darkness!' Outward to those inward wherein they delighted before, blindness of mind and understanding; outward, because the whole man, body and soul, shall be folded and comprehended therein; outward, because in extremity, without the limits and borders of any favour of God to be extended, where neither the light of the sun, moon, and stars, and much less the sight of God's glorious face shall ever shine. 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth;' there is, there shall be, no time set. It standeth for all eternity, no myriad of years shall ever determine it. There the eyes shall distil like fountains, and the teeth clatter like armed men, and all the parts of the body relinquish their natural uses, and spend their cursed time in wretchedness and confusion. These are the straits indeed, not like to those which before I mentioned, when hands and feet are so bound, body and soul so hampered and snared, not with cords and withes as Samson's were, but with the unexplicable bands of long night, that not a part of either of the two shall have any power or activity left to gratify their owner with; neither the mind to contemplate more than endless infelicity, nor the memory to recount more than ancient, and thrice most hateful sins, nor the fantasy to present more than fearful visions, nor the eyes to behold more than legions of unclean spirits, nor the ears to hear more than the roarings of fiends, nor the nostrils to smell more than the smoke of brimstone, nor the hands to catch hold of more than flames of fire, nor the feet to walk further than their gyves and chains will give them leave. Torments invented and inflicted by tyrants have been most hideous: the teeth of wild beasts, hot glowing ovens and furnaces, cauldrons of boiling oil, fiery brazen bulls, pounding to death in mortars, rolling in barrels of nails, roasting

upon spits, boring with augurs, parting the nails and fingers' ends with needles, nipping the flesh with pincers, racking and rending asunder the joints with wild horses; no pity, no remorse taken, whilst there was either flesh, or blood, or sinew, or bone, or I say not member, but wound in the body to work upon.* But the torments of hell are in greater variety:

Had I an hundred tongues† and mouths to hold them,
A voice of iron, yet could I not unfold them.

And in another kind, or rather indeed without kind, *ibi ordo nullus, horror sempiternus*, where there is no order but everlasting horror. For who can define, either by speech or understanding, a thing so infinite, so monstrously compact of natures most desperate and repugnant; an end not ending, a death not dying, unquenchable fire; yet a darkness withal to accompany it more palpable than the fogs of Egypt, and blacker than blackness itself; everlastingly burning, yet not consuming; so much more unsufferable than any torments of tortures upon earth, as the inventions of devils can better devise than man, and the malice of devils better put in execution? This is the cup of the deadliest wine, Ps. lx., that ever was tasted of; these are those 'deep graves,' in the psalm, from whence there is no rising again, Ps. xl. This is 'the fire that goeth not out, the worm that never leaveth gnawing, in the last of Isaiah. These are those 'waters of gall' in Jeremiah, chap. viii., 'those fearful things wherewith the Lord shall plead' against the unrighteous of the earth, as he pleadeth sometimes against Gog and Magog in Ezekiel, chap. xxxviii., 'pestilence and blood, and sore rain, and huge hailstones, and fire and brimstone;' not such as fell upon the sisters Sodom and Gomorrah, the witnesses whereof for many succeeding ages were heaps of ashes and clouds of pitch, but fire and brimstone from a bottomless mine, which burneth in the lake of death, and shall never cease from burning. Lastly, this is that 'great wine-press of the wrath of God, where the smoke of torment ascendeth for evermore, and there is no rest day nor night,' Rev. xiv.; those endless and unmerciful plagues which the angels pour out of their vials, when men 'have given them blood to drink, and boil in heat, and gnaw their tongues for sorrow, Rev. xvi. And yet are these but shadows and semblances which the Scripture hath used, therein to exemplify, in some sort, the calamities to come; fearful enough, if there were no more, to make the heart of the strongest melt and fall asunder within him, as the ice against the summer's sun; but that as the joys of heaven are unmeasurable for their part, so concerning the pains of hell, the eye hath never seen, the ear not heard, the tongue not uttered, the heart not conceived them sufficiently in their nature and perfection. That accursed glutton in the Gospel, who could speak by experience of his un-

* *Cyprian*. Sæviturum est in vulnera.

† *Nou mihi si centum, &c.—Bern*.

estimable discruciations, as Æneas did of the troubles of Troy, *et quorum pars una fui*, what I have felt and borne a part of, he giveth a warning to all his brethren in the flesh, not to account so lightly as they do of the torments of that place, the flames and fervour whereof were so importunate to exact their due of him, that he craved with more streams of tears than ever Esau sought his blessing, but one drop of water to cool his tongue with, and could not obtain it. And what if all the rivers in the south, if all the waters in the ocean sea had been granted him; his tongue, notwithstanding, would have smarted and withered with heat still, and he would have cried, in the language of hell, 'It is not enough.' Or what if his tongue had been eased; his heart, his liver, his lungs, his bowels, his arms, his legs would have fried still. O bitter day, when not the least finger, I say not of God, whose hand is wholly medicinal, but not of the poorest saint in heaven, nor the scantest drop, I say not from the waters of life, but not of the waters of the brook, shall be spared to a soul to give it comfort; which, if the latest day of all the running generations of men, if the great year which Plato dreamed of, might ever end, the case were somewhat for hope's sake! But it is appointed for a time and times, and no time, even when 'time shall be no more,' then shall it continue, Rev. x. The gates are kept from egress, as the gates of paradise were warded from entrance, not by the cherubim with the blade of a sword, but by the angels of Satan with all the instruments of death; and the seal of God's eternal decree set thereunto, as the seal of the high priests and rulers were set upon the tombstone of Christ. The covenant of day and night shall one day be changed. The stars shall finish their race, the elements melt with heat, heaven and earth be renewed, summer and winter have an end; but the plagues of the prisoners in hell shall never be released.

If you ask the cause why I enter so large and ungrateful a discourse of hell upon so small an offer in my text, as some may conceive, I will not dissemble it. Some may be deceived by the translation, impropriety, and abuse of words. For because they hear the name of hell alleged and applied to the present tribulations of this life, they are induced thereby to think that there is no other hell, nor sorer vexations elsewhere to be sustained; as some on the other side, hearing the rest of God to be called by name of 'Jerusalem that is above,' the walls and foundations whereof are sapphires and carbuncles, &c., take it to be no more than Jerusalem in Palestine, or Venice in Italy, or any the like glorious and sumptuous city upon the face of the earth, and therefore dispose themselves with so much the colder affection to the attainment of it. Some have taught and commanded their tongues to speak a lie, and to say that there is no hell (for I cannot think that ever they shall command their hearts to deny it); and as Tully spake of Metrodorus, an

atheist of his time,* I never saw any man that more feared those things which he said were not to be feared, I mean death and the gods; so I will never persuade myself but the atheists of our times heartily fear that which they are content to say† they fear not. Now, lest these sleepy adders should pass their time in a dream, or rather in a lethargy, no man awaking them up from their careless and supine opinions wherewith they enchant their souls, and infect others, let not the watchman hold his peace, lest they die in their sins for want of warning; let the trumpet of judgment often be blown unto them; let it be published in their ears seven times, as the ram's horns seven times sounded about the walls of Jericho, that their ruin and downfall is at hand, that hell gapeth for them, and that God hath ordained long since their impious and blasphemous spirits to immortal malediction. Of others that is true which God complaineth in Isaiah, chap. xxvi., 'Let mercy be shewed to the wicked, yet he will not learn righteousness. Preach honour, and glory, and peace, a garland of righteousness, an uncorruptible crown, fruit of the tree of life, sight of the face of God, following the Lamb, fellowship with angels and saints, and the congregation of first-born, new names, and white garments, pleasures at the right hand of God, and fulness of joy in his presence for evermore; they are as obstinately bent and unmoveably settled against these blessings of God as Daniel against the hire of Belshazzar, Dan. v., 'Keep thy rewards to thyself, and give thy gifts to another.' They are not won nor enamoured with the expectation of good things; and the revelation of the sons of God, which the whole creature longeth and groaneth for, savoureth no more unto them than a box of putrefied ointment. What, is there no way to quicken and put life into them? Yes. If the blessings of six Levites upon mount Gerizim will not move them, Deut. xxvii., let them hear the cursing of six others upon mount Ebal; if they take no pleasure in the beauty of Sion, let the thundering and lightning of Sinai, and fire to the midst of heaven, and mists, and clouds, and smoke ascending like the smoke of a furnace, and the exceeding loud sound of a trumpet, put them in fear, and make them believe that there is a God of judgment; if the spirit of gentleness take no place, shake the rod over them, as the apostle speaketh. Give them mourning for joy, ashes for beauty, the spirit of heaviness for the oil of gladness, a rent instead of a girdle; and tear, I say, not their garments, but their hearts, asunder, pull their bodies, souls, and spirits one from the other; lastly, if the offer of peace be refused, sound wars and rumours of wars at their gates, and such tribulations besides, as the like hath never been since the beginning of the creation which God created unto that time, neither shall be again. Who knoweth

* Nec quenquam vidi qui magis ea timeret quæ timenda esse negaret, mortem dico et Deos.

† Affirmant tibi non sibi. Interdium non noctu.

if they will be softened, if not for the love of virtue, nor for the recompense that springeth therehence, yet for the other cause, for fear of the wrath of God, *formidine pœnæ*, which they hear denounced? It may be, feeding a while upon the food of judgment, as Ezekiel calleth it, will breed good blood in them, and the consideration of such misery will work the same effect in them, that the sense of adversity wrought in Jonah, I mean to shake off their burden of sin, and to turn unto the Lord their God with unfeigned conversion, which was the second thing that I propounded unto you in the afflictions of the prophet, what effect they produced from him.

2. *I cried in mine affliction.* Bind Manasseh with chains, load him with irons, bow down his neck and his back with bonds, and he will know himself. Pull the king of Babylon from his throne, lay his honour and insolency in the dust, hunt him from the company of men, banish him from his palace, wherein he jetted like a monarch indeed, turn him into the field to eat grass like an ox, to be wet with the dew of heaven, and you shall find a miracle quickly done, an ox to have more understanding than a man; he will then learn to 'praise the King of heaven, whose power is an everlasting power, and his kingdom from generation to generation.' The idolatrous Jews in Jer. ii., that being called to the true God, spake desperately and stiffly, 'No, but we have loved strangers, and those will we follow; in their trouble, notwithstanding, they will cry to the right God, 'Arise thou, and help us,' Hosea v. 'In their affliction they will seek him diligently,' and will take sound words into their lips: 'Come, and let us return to the Lord, for he hath spoiled, and he will heal us; he hath wounded, and he will bind us up,' chap. vi. Let Moab 'settle itself upon her lees, and not be emptied from vessel to vessel, and her scent will remain in her,' Jer. xlviii. 'Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or the ox low when he hath fodder?' Job vi. But take away the grass from the wild ass, and he will be tamer, and fodder from the ox, and you shall hear him roar. There must be a whirlwind raised, and a fiery chariot prepared to carry Elijah into heaven; there must be heresies to try the approved; there must be a furnace to purge the silver and gold; there must be a fire to fine the sons of Levi; there must be an angel of Satan to keep Paul from pride.* A pilot must be tried by a tempest, saith Basil,† a runner by a race, a captain by a battle, a Christian by a calamity, temptation, provocation, and misery. Wherein, if poisons become preservatives, and from the venom of serpents the wisdom of God can extract an antidote against the venom of serpents; if all things shall work together to the best for those that are Christ's; if evil by nature shall be made good by his powerful art; if the waters of a flood overspreading the whole globe of the earth be so far from drowning the ark, that they shall lift it

* Petr. Chrysolog.

† Ser. iii. in divit. avaros.

higher, and bring it nearer to the presence of God; if afflictions, I mean by the good handling of our gracious God, be not afflictions but medicines, and the more they increase upon us, the nearer they land us to the haven of his blessings: how truly may we say and acknowledge with Bernard,* *Totus mundus fideli divitiarum est*, the whole world is riches to a faithful man (even when it seemeth to be poverty); and with Augustine,† that nothing happeneth to man from the Lord our God but cometh in the nature of mercy, when tribulation itself is such a benefit; for both prosperity is his gift comforting, and adversity his gift admonishing, us. A very unlikely seed to yield such fruit, as bitter as mustard seed, but give it leave to grow, and the fruit shall be very pleasant. *Insuper amarum granum sinapis, sed ingens fructus*, the wicked understand not this, and the unwise have not knowledge of his ways. She crieth in the comedy, and she presenteth the person of them all that are her companions:

Hæccine ego partem capio ob pietatem præcipuam?
Tum hoc mihi indecorè, iniquè, immodestè datis dii;
Nam quid habebunt sibi igitur impii posthac? &c.

Is this my portion and guerdon for my especial piety? Then do the gods reward me very unseemly, unjustly, and unreasonably; for how shall the wicked hereafter be dealt with, if the godly be thus honoured amongst you? Augustine, in his preface upon the 25th Psalm, layeth down the like complaints of some, *O Deus, Deus, Hæccine est justitia tua?* O God, God, is this thy justice? and the Lord answereth them again, *Hæccine est fides tua?* Is this thy faith? Hast thou so learned Christ? Is this the best instruction thou hast found in my law, to murmur against my discipline? Possess thy soul, therefore, in patience, whosoever thou art; leave the ordering of these things to the wisdom of God, with whom it is alike to sweeten the pot of the prophets with meal, and the waters of Jericho with salt, to cure the eyes of Tobias with a gall, and to strengthen the sight of Jonathan with an honeycomb. Some he healeth by honey, some by gall, some by salt, some by meal, some by sour, some by sweet, some by piping, some by dancing, some by prosperity, some by affliction, but all by some means or other that have a longing and desire to the ways of happiness. Now then, again I say, if it be a good thing sometimes to be humbled of the Lord, for till we are humbled, commonly we go astray, if it be an happy pricking of the body that maketh a pricking in the heart,‡ if expedient for all sorts of men that the hand of the Lord should now and then take hold on them, because a sinner is amended, the righteous is instructed thereby,§ because gold is proved, iron is scoured by

* Ser. xv. super *Qui habitat.* † Epist. 87.

‡ Bene pungeris, si compungeris.—Bern.

§ Si peccator, ut corrigatur, si vero justus, ut erudiatur.—Hugo Card.

this means ;* if, when the outward man is corrupted, the inward is renewed daily, 2 Cor. iv., and there is honour in dishonour, riches in poverty, life in death, possessing all things in having nothing, 2 Cor. vi. ; if when the fathers of our flesh chasten us for their pleasures, the Father of our spirits correcteth us for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness, and though no chastisement seem joyous for the time, yet it bringeth the quiet fruit of righteousness to those that are exercised thereby, Heb. xii. ; if when the body of Jonah was in thrall beneath, the soul of Jonah triumphed aloft, and when the tongue of his flesh

* Si aurum, ut probetur. Si ferrum, ut rubiginem amittat, —Gram.

could not speak perhaps a word, scarce mutter to itself, the tongue of his spirit cried, and cried aloud ; if when he lay in the belly of hell, even then he climbed above the stars of the firmament, and though he saw nothing with his bodily eyes, he saw heaven opened unto him with the eyes of his understanding : then let us not be dismayed, my brethren ; if tribulation come, let us not think it any strange thing ; yea rather, if tribulation come, let us not think it an unprofitable and unwelcome thing, let us receive it with thanks, keep it with patience, digest it in hope, apply it with wisdom, bury it in meditation, and it shall end unto us, no doubt, in glory and peace more than can be spoken.

LECTURE XXV.

I cried in mine affliction unto the Lord, and he heard me ; out of the belly of hell cried I, &c.—JONAH II. 2.

IN the two members of this second verse, signifying almost the same thing, I observed first, the measure of his afflictions, explicated by two metaphors, together with the effect they brought forth ; secondly, the force and zealousness of his prayers, declared likewise by two words ; and thirdly, the audience which ensued upon his praying.

The force of his prayer, wherein I am to proceed, is interpreted by two phrases, though not distinguished in our English translations, yet in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin of Tremellius, somewhat varied, *Clamavi, vociferatus sum* ; as if he had said, I called and cried, or I cried and outcried. Which Jerome expoundeth, *vel aquis cedentibus*, either the waters yielding him a way, and making passage, *vel toto cordis affectu*, or with the whole intention of his heart. The former is not likely ; I rather take it to have been the vehemency of spirit such as is usually meant in the Scriptures under these or the like words, as in the 119th Psalm expressly, ‘ I have cried with my whole heart ;’ Gal. iv. : ‘ God hath sent the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, that is, Father ;’ though it be in the heart alone, yet it is called crying. It ever noteth, whether in propriety or by translation, an earnest, loud, importunate desire, loath to lose audience for want of speaking out, and impatient of repulse when it hath spoken. Therefore Elijah bade the priests of Baal ‘ cry with a loud voice,’ 1 Kings xviii. ; and he in the comedy marvelling at over much patience, sheweth what should be done : *Eho, non clamas ? non irasceris ?* What ! dost thou not cry ? art thou not angry ? Hannah, in a part of her song, 1 Sam. ii., telleth us what the manner of the wicked sometimes is, *impii in tenebris tacent* : when they are afflicted, they lay their hands upon their mouths, and hearts too, they fret with indignation, and repine to themselves, letting neither voice nor groan come forth, nor any other token of submission to him that hath cast them

down. Of whom I may say with Gregory,* To suffer so despitefully and maliciously is not the true virtue of patience, but a covered or concealed madness. Now Jonah is many degrees beyond these. 1. He is not silent, which, as you heard, is sometimes a mark of impiety. 2. He doth not mutter to himself, as the philosophers in the poet, humming within themselves, and uttering a kind of insensible and inarticulate silence.† 3. He doth more than speak, for that might argue the heart of a man but indifferently disposed to obtain. 4. He speaketh with most endeavoured contention ; he crieth unto the Lord, and when he hath once cried, crieth again, and with another kind of crying. For as if the former word were not enough, a latter is added, to signify either a different kind, or if the same, in a more intensive and forcible affection. This ingemination, either of one and the same word again repeated, or of sundry bearing the same sense, giveth, as it were, a double strength to the declaration of that which is delivered. As Phavorinus gave his judgment of the verse in Homer,‡ wherein Ideus laboureth by persuasion to pacify the contention betwixt Ajax and Hector :

Μηκέτι παῖδες φίλῳ πολέμῳ ζετε, μηδὲ μάχεσθον,

War not any longer, beloved young men, neither fight together ; that the addition of the second word (though adding nothing in signification to the former) is not to make up the verse ; but as they continued in their strife, so *duplex eadem compellatio admonitionem facit intentiorem*, his twice speaking unto them in the same manner of speech, maketh his advice the more earnest. And if they were the same words, yet one might very well think them to be others, *quia aures et animum sapius feriunt*,§ because they beat the ears and

* Tolerare et odisse, non est virtus mansuetudinis, sed velamentum furoris.—*Homil. ii. in Ezech.*

† Murmura dum secum et rabiosa silentia rodunt.—*Persius.*

‡ Au. Ge. noct. At. xiii. 23.

§ Ibid.

the mind of a man often. These often and fierce inclinations within the spirit of Jonah, speaking to the Lord, as it were, with a doubled and cloven tongue, and sending up his prayers into heaven, as incense casteth up smoke without intermission, condemn the dissolute and perfunctory prayings of our days both in churches and chambers, who utter a form of words, as the manner of hypocrites or the Gentiles was, or as the parrot of Aescanius recited the creed, rather of custom than zeal. 'flattering God with our mouths, and dissembling with him with our tongues,' Ps. lxxviii., leaving our spirits as it were in a slumber the mean time, or if we call them up to prayer, leaving them again, as Christ his disciples, before we have thoroughly awaked them; as if the offering of the halt and the lame, body without soul, or soul without devotion, voice without spirit, or spirit without clamour and vociferation, could please. The prayers of David (I am sure) had another edge upon them. In the 55th psalm, 'I mourn in my prayer and make a noise.' *Plango, perstrepo, tumultuor*. 'Evening, and morning, and at noon will I pray, and make a noise, and he will hear my voice.' In the 38th before, 'I roar for the very grief of mine heart, *rugio præ fremitu*. Lord, mine whole desire is before thee, and my sighing is not hid from thee.' *Cor meum palpitât*, my heart panteth, or runneth to and fro, I have no rest, no quietness within me.' Such was the pang and palpitation of Job's heart, chap. iii., 'My groaning cometh before I eat, *et effunduntur velut aquæ rugitus mei*,' and my roarings are poured forth and wave like waters; not groanings, nor cryings, but plain roarings, with a continual inundation, *velut unda impellitur undâ*, as one water driveth on another. These are wonderful passions. The lion in the forest never roared so much for his prey, nor the hart after the water-brooks, as the souls of the faithful after God's goodness. Yea, 'the lion indeed hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?' Amos iii. The mighty lion of the tribe of Judah hath roared in his supplications, and his righteous spirit been vexed and disquieted within him; and shall not we be moved? Of him it is witnessed in the 11th of John, that at the raising of Lazarus, he not only wept, but groaned or yearned in his spirit, and 'troubled himself, *Εταράξεν ἑαυτὸν*, about it. It was trouble indeed; Tartarus hath his name from such troubles. He roared then for Lazarus whom he loved, and for Martha's sake, and for other of the Jews that were thereabouts. But afterwards in his own cause, when not only his 'soul was vexed unto death,' and vexation held it in 'on every side,' *Περίλυπος*, but when he 'cried with a great voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and 'crying again with a great voice, gave up the ghost,' Mat. xxviii. Therefore the apostle, speaking of the days of his flesh, Heb. v., and that fruit of his lips and spirit which we are now in hand with, thought it not sufficient to make mention

of his 'prayers and supplications,' nor of his tears, *Δακρυῶν*, which watered his blessed plants, nor of a cry alone weakly sent forth, but of a strong cry, *κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς*, which if heaven were brass, were able to break through it. So it is said of the Spirit of God, who helpeth our infirmities, Rom viii., that because 'we know not ourselves what to ask as we ought to do, he maketh request in our names, with groans not to be expressed.' *Ipse inducitur gemens qui gementes facit*,* he that putteth groaning into us, is brought in groaning himself. 'The voice of the turtle is heard in our land,' Cant. ii., the groaning of this turtle dove is heard within our bosom. *Vox quidem gementi, non canenti similis*, a voice in truth, as of one that mourneth and that singeth not. Thus the example of the glorious Lord of life, who mourned unspeakably, not for the sins of his own person, but of the sons and daughters of Jerusalem, who led the way before us in water and blood, not in water alone, but in water and blood both, who with his bleeding tears shewed us the right form of faithful supplications, this very example biddeth us cry in our prayers. The help and assistance of the blessed Spirit of God groaning as unmeasurably on the other side, not for his own necessities, but for ours, his wretched creatures and clients, not of infirmity in himself, but of compassion towards us, whom we continually grieve, and no way so much as for want of our grief and repentance, biddeth us cry. The dreadful majesty of the sacred Lord of hosts whom we stand before, the royalty of his nature, sublimity of his place, dominion over men and angels, who with the spirit of his mouth is able to consume our bodies and spirits, biddeth us cry. The view of our wretched mortality (as Adam and Eve when they saw their nakedness fled, Miriam when her leprosy, she was ashamed) after mortality exceedingly mortal, the view of our sin exceedingly sinful, that we are not worthy to cast up our eyes towards the seat of God, and after our sin, our misery exceedingly miserable, that the prophet was amazed in himself to see either man or the son of man so kindly visited, biddeth us cry. Lastly, the hope and expectation of success (unless we will sow and not reap, plant vines and not drink the wine thereof, pour out many prayers and not be heard); the delicacy and tenderness of the ears of God, which must be wisely entreated, and the precious favour of his countenance, which must be carefully sought, bid us cry. Let us not think, that the sound and noise of our lips, as the ringing of basons, or vocal modulation, without cordial and inward meditation, can procure us audience. *Valentiores voces apud secretissimas Dei aures non faciunt verba, sed desideria*;* the most effectual speech in the secret ears of God, cometh not from words, but from desires. He that heareth without ears, can interpret our prayers without our tongues. He that saw and fancied Nathanael under the fig-tree before he was called, saw

* Bern ser. lix. in Cant.

† Greg.

and sanctified John Baptist in his mother's womb, before he came forth. He seeth and blesseth our prayers fervently conceived in the bosom of our conscience, before they be uttered; but if they want devotion, they shall be answered by God, as the prayers of those idolaters in Ezekiel, chap. viii., 'Though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.'

3. *And he heard me.* The Hebrew saith, he answered me; which doth better express the mercy of God towards Jonah, than if it had been barely pronounced that he heard Jonah. For a man may hear when he doth not answer, as Christ heard the false witnesses, and when the priests asked him, 'Answerest thou nothing?' *tacuit*, 'he held his peace,' Mark xiv. And likewise he heard Pilate, when upon the accusation of the priests he asked him, 'Answerest thou nothing?' yet 'he answered not, so as Pilate marvelled at his silence,' Mark xv. David in the 18th Psalm confesseth of his enemies, that 'they cried, but there was none to save them, even unto the Lord, but he answered them not.' Now this answer of God whereof he speaketh, is not a verbal answer shaped of words, but a real substantial satisfaction and grant, directly and fitly applied, as answers should be to questions, so this to fulfil the mind and desire of Jonah. For as he 'heard the heavens,' Hosea ii. (not that the heavens spake, or he listened), 'and the heavens the earth; the earth the corn, oil, and wine; and the corn, oil, and wine, Israel;' not by speech, but by actual performance of something which they wanted; he the heavens by giving virtuous disposition unto them, they the earth by their happy influence, the earth her fruits by yielding the juice, and these Israel by ministering their abundance: so doth he answer Jonah here by granting his petition. For as to answer a question is not to render speech for speech alone, but if there be scruple or uncertainty in the matter proposed, to resolve it, so to answer a suit is to ease the heart, and satisfy the expectation of him that tendered it. In this case, Pub. Piso, a rhetorician in Rome, was abused by his servant, who, to avoid molestation, had given his servants a charge to answer his demands briefly and directly, without any further additions.* It fell out that he provided a supper for Clodius the general, whom he long looked and often sent for at the hour, and yet Clodius came not. At length he asked his man, Didst thou bid Clodius? I bade him. Why cometh he not? He refused. How chanceth thou toldest me not so much? Because you demanded it not. Plutarch, in the same book where he reporteth that tale, maketh three sorts of answers. For some give an answer of necessity, some of humanity, others of superfluity. The first, if you ask whether Socrates be within, telleth you faintly and unwillingly, He is not within; perhaps he answereth by a laconism, *oû*, Not. The second with more courtesy, and to the suf-

* Plutarc de garrul.

ficient measure of the demand, willing to instruct the ignorant, He is not within, but in such a place, at the exchange. The third, running over with loquacity, knoweth no end of speaking, He is not within, but at the exchange, waiting for strangers out of Iona, in whose behalf Alcibiades hath written from Miletum, &c.

The answers of God are neither so sparing and restrict as the first, leaving the soul in manner as doubtful and perplexed as he found it, by granting too little; nor so idle and superfluous as the last, to bring a loathing to men by surcharge of his benefits, but they are in the middle sort, tempered with good moderation, full of humanity, kindness, and grace, giving enough, and haply more than was asked, and sending away the heart joyful for that which it hath obtained; according to the phrase of the psalm, *dilata os tuum et implebo illud*, Ps. lxxxi., ask largely, boldly, bountifully, I will not deny thee. Our Saviour promiseth as frankly in the Gospel: 'Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.' Perhaps he meaneth of disciples alone. No; but 'whosoever asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.' Give but thy prayer a voice to ask with, for it must not be tongue-tied; give it an eye to seek, for it must not be careless; give it an hand to knock with, for it must not fear to molest and disquiet; and not only the doors, but all the treasures and jewels of the kingdom of heaven shall be opened unto it. You know what labour is made to the princes and states of the earth by travel of body, expense of purse, mediation of friends, suppliancy of gesture and speech, intervention of time, to obtain but temporary and frivolous suits. A widow of Macedon had a long suit to Philip the king, wherein she was persuaded the equity of her cause called for judgment. At length he answered her, *Non est mihi otium* (which is the manner of most magistrates), I am not at leisure; she boldly replieth unto him, *Ergo ne sis rex*, then be not king any longer. No marvel if such an answer be given by a king or a judge, when a private and familiar friend in a small request for three loaves shall answer his friend, 'Trouble me not, my doors are shut, my children in bed,' &c. Bathsheba cometh to Solomon her son in behalf of Adonijah, 1 Kings ii., about a matter of no great moment, as she interpreted it. The king encourageth her, 'Ask on, my mother, for I will not say thee nay.' A son to his own mother, and one whom he bowed unto, and set her at his right hand. (1.) She requested it; (2.) a small thing; (3.) desired him not to say her nay. Yet when she opened it, 'Then, go, ask the kingdom too,' said he, and he sware in her presence that Adonijah had asked it against his life, and forthwith gave order that he might be executed. How fearful was Nehemiah, though he held the cup to the king, to make a request unto him? chap. ii. At last, with some invitation from his lord, 'Why is thy countenance sad? this is

but sorrow of heart; not without lowly salutation, 'God save the king for ever,' and prayers to the God of heaven, he disclosed it; the gladdest man alive that his suit was heard. It was the danger of Esther's life to come before the king unless she were called for, Esther iv. For it was their law, that 'whosoever, man or woman, came into the inner court, which was not called, should die, unless the king held forth his golden rod.' But the sceptre of the Lord our God,—I mean not that iron sceptre of his justice, but the golden of his grace,—is ever held forth to man, woman, child, bond and free, stranger or citizen; whether they be called or not called, they may safely approach, I name neither outward nor inward court, but even to the throne where the king himself sitteth, and if they shall crave of him, I say not to the half of his kingdom, as the Persian monarch said, but to the whole, to divide the inheritance with the principal heir Christ Jesus, to eat and drink at his table, to sit upon a throne and judge the angels of heaven, it shall not be denied them. Zedekiah spake it in folly, and in a servile, popular affection that he bare to the princes of his land, when they required the life of Jeremiah, but God speaketh it of the abundance of his heart and riches of mercies, 'The king can deny you nothing,' Jer. xxxviii.

Surely they do injury to his grace, who talk of warders, and porters, and masters of request, angels and saints, to admit us into presence, and to bring us to speech with God: services not unmeet for the governors of the earth, whose life is the life of the country and their people with whom they live, as Jeremiah in Lam. iv. calleth their king 'the breath of their nostrils;' and therefore it is very necessary that their persons should be carefully guarded and attended upon. Cæsar thought that to be an emperor was safeguard enough against danger, when a little boat, and a great tempest being committed together (a very unequal match), and the master himself doubting the worst, Fear not, saith he, thou carriest Cæsar, *Cæsarem vehis*. He might have been deceived, and afterwards was, in a safer place. Maximilian had some like conceit, when he told his soldiers dropping away at his heels with the shot of their enemies, You must not adventure as far as I do, *habent enim principes peculiarem quandam fortunam suam*, for princes have a luck of their own. I am sure they must have a peculiar regard and guard to their bodies, or they must fall into dangers. Again, it is true of the princes of this world, which Jethro told Moses, when he sat from morning to evening to hear the causes of the people: Exod. xviii., 'Thou both weariest thyself and the people that is with thee, the thing is too heavy for thee, thou art not able to do it thyself alone;' and therefore infinite suits, besides the distraction of many other businesses, requiring larger audience than the ears of any one mortal man can afford, drive them of necessity to the deputation of subordinate

officers, both to receive and commence the requests of their inferiors. But is there either danger in the person of God, who 'rideth upon the cherubims, and maketh his enemies his footstool;' or defect in his hearing, whose 'ears are open to the prayers of the poor destitute, and his eyelids soundly try and examine the children of men'? He that 'boweth the heavens, and himself cometh down' with his omniscient knowledge, hath he need of intelligencers and informers to give him knowledge of earthly things? 'He that planteth the ear, doth he not hear?' He that standeth and knocketh at our doors, and calleth for entrance, when we stand and knock at his, will he not grant an entrance? Is he not near and next of all to all such as call upon him with faithfulness? We dream of outward and inward courts, doors and gates, porters and mediators, impediments and stops, I grant, in earthly courts. But the Lord is porter himself at these heavenly gates. For when the friend knocked in the parable of Luke, chap. xi., at midnight, the dearest hour of the night, who was nearest the gate, first awoke, if yet he slept at all, and first answered? *O quam dare vult,* &c.* Oh how willing is he to grant, that is so willing to be disquieted! How glad to hear thy knock, that hath placed his bed so near the gate! *O quam non ad januam tantum, sed ipsa janua dominus fuit! &c.* And how truly may we say, that he was not only near the gate, but the Lord himself the very gate, who, when his children were asleep, the ears of angels and saints shut up, first, and and at the first call, nay, only amongst the rest, *primus et solus*, made answer unto it! The Lord is always nearer to us than we to him; he heareth the desires of the poor in the 10th Psalm; he first prepareth the heart, and setteth it on work to pray, and when he hath so done, bendeth his ear unto them. If now they can otherwise demonstrate that as Pallas the emperor's libertine would never speak to any servant about him (forgetting his own late servile estate), but either by pointing and signifying with the fingers, as the wise man calleth it, or becking, or if the business were long, by writing; because forsooth he was loath to bestow the honour of speaking upon them;† and as the rulers of the earth, in a kind of majesty not unfitting to their place, answer by mediation of others, so the Lord above heareth not suitors but by the preferment and procurement of angels and other glorified spirits, then it cannot be hindered, but other advocates and spokesmen must be allowed of. But this is likewise clear in the 102d Psalm, where it is said, that he 'hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary, out of the heaven did the Lord behold the earth;' to what other end, but 'that he might hear the mourning of the prisoner, and deliver the children appointed unto death'? And this, moreover, I am

* Petr. Raven.

† Claudii Cæsarisli bertus. Aut manu aut nutu, aut si res longior, scripto; scilicet ne vocis dignitatem iis impertiret.

sure of, that the Lord hath often and expressly enjoined us, 'Call upon me;' and if the book were searched throughout with cresset light, never would it be proved, that he gave any charge to call upon others. Neither was ever the shadow of anything so faithful to the body, to follow and wait upon it, as the success of good speed hath been consequent to a prayer faithfully made. For as if their souls were knit together, like the souls of David and Jonathan, you shall ever see them joined. So in the fourth Psalm, 'I called upon the Lord, and he heard me at large;' and an hundred the like might be alleged for confirmation. And therefore if we err in this point of doctrine, we may say truly with Jeremiah, 'Thou hast deceived us, Lord, when we were deceived;' that is, when we were willing to call upon thee alone, thine was the blame if we do amiss, and we may comfort ourselves that we err by warrant and authority from him that must pardon errors. Therefore I conclude from the two and twentieth Psalm: 'Praise the Lord, ye that fear him; magnify him, all the seed of Jacob, and fear him, all ye the seed of Israel. For he hath not despised the low estate of the poor, nor hid himself from him, but when he called, he hearkened unto him.' Let the house of Esau use the liberty of the wide world, and the seed of Babylon call upon other helps as they have done, and those that fear not the Lord use their discretion. Our example leadeth us otherwise. Jonah was this poor man, and his low estate the belly of the fish; he called upon his God, and he hearkened unto him.

The varying of the person, in that before he spake of God, now to God, giveth us variety of instruction, and helpeth to confirm the doctrine before delivered. For since we have immediate access to the Lord, to speak to his majesty, as it were, face to face, and mouth to mouth, it were too shamefaced and senseless a part in us to make other means. And it is besides a singular testification of his thankful mind, who receiveth not the favour of God as the nine lepers in the Gospel received their cleansing, not returning again to give thanks to him that cured them, but first reporteth to himself, and as many as shall read or hear this song, what God hath done for him: 'I called upon the Lord, and he heard me,' which is somewhat further off, and then with a nearer approach, joining his soul as closely to the ears of God as Philip joined himself to the chariot of the eunuch, relateth the blessing of his prayer to the Author himself of all blessings, 'And thou, Lord, heardest my voice,' thus rendering unto him grace for grace, a kind and dutiful remembrance for the mercies bestowed upon him. Some take the comforts of God as the beasts in the field take their meat, not looking up to heaven, from whence they come. Nay, 'the ox will know his owner,' and cast an eye to his hand, 'and the ass his master's crib, but my people know not me, saith the Lord.' Some acknowledge the Author, and forget him presently,

'even whilst the meat is between their teeth,' as Israel did. Some remember sufficiently, but accept them as due debt, as if they had God in bands to perform them. They 'serve not God for nought,' which was the objection of Satan. Some are ready to 'kiss their own hands' for every blessing that cometh upon them, and to ascribe them to their strength or wit, whereof Bernard spake, *Uti datus tanquam innatis, maxima superbia*: it is the greatest pride to use God's gifts as if they were bred in us. Others there are that give thanks *ex usu magis quam sensu*, rather of custom than devotion, as cymbals sound from their emptiness; for even Saul will be a prophet as amongst prophets, and an hypocrite take good words into his mouth amongst hearty professors. Jonah, I nothing doubt, from the ground of his heart telleth forth the deliverance of the Lord, which in the spirit of a prophet he foreseeth and presumeth before it cometh, not only to himself and us, but as the rivers of the land send back their waters to the sea, in a thankful remembrance and remuneration that they took them thence, so Jonah returneth this mercy to the Lord himself, that was the giver of the mercy: 'And thou, Lord, heardest my voice,' as if he had concluded and agreed to himself that neither God, nor man, nor his own conscience, should ever be able to accuse him of unthankfulness. I will both preach it to myself privately, and publicly to the world, that the Lord hath heard me. And thou, Lord, shalt also understand from mine own lips that I make acknowledgment and profession to have received my safety from thine only goodness: 'Thou, Lord, hast heard my voice.' I will so meditate upon thy benignities within mine own heart, and leave a chronicle of them to all posterity to come, that I will not meanwhile forget to 'look up to the mountains, from whence my help was.' It is the part of an honest and ingenious mind to confess who they are by whom thou hast profited; but on the other side, the mark of a most ungracious and unhappy nature, rather to be taken in the theft, than to return like for like; *Deprehendi in furto malle quam mutuum reddere*. And what do they else but steal and embezzle the graces of God, which either dissembling their author, assume them to themselves, or confessing the author, extenuate their worth, as if they were not meet to be accounted for? These are the thieves and robbers indeed, capital malefactors, sure to be cut off on the right hand and on the left, Zech. v., and not to inherit the kingdom of God, as the apostle threateneth, 1 Cor. vi. The stealing of temporal things may be acquitted again either with single or double, fourfold or sevenfold resolution, Prov. vi. But the filching and purloining of the glory of God can never be answered. Others 'steal of necessity, to satisfy their souls, because they are hungry,' and but equal from equal, man from man. But these of pleasure and pride break through heaven, which, though it be free from violent thieves, yet these by a wile and insidiation

enter into it and steal away the honour of God, which is most precious unto him. When John Baptist was born, Luke i., the neighbours and cousins, upon the eighth day, at the circumcising of the child, called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. Elizabeth answered them, 'Not so; but he shall be called John,' though it were a marvel to them all, and none of his kindred were so named; and Zacharias wrote in his tables that John should be his name. They knew that he was the gift of God, which his mother in her old age, and in the state of her barrenness, had conceived, and therefore called him John, that is, the gift of God, in remembrance of nature's unfruitfulness, and their undeserved son, whom neither father, nor mother, nor kindred—I mean not ordinary and carnal generation—could have given unto them; such are the children of our wombs, 'a gift that cometh from the Lord.' And such are our children and fruit; otherwise, whatsoever we possess, outward or inward, we hold it *in capite*, even in the Lord of hosts, who is 'the giver of every good perfect gift,' as James writeth. Scipio Africanus the elder had made the city of Rome,* being in a consumption, and ready to give up the ghost, *exanquem et morituram*, Lady of Africa. At length, being banished into a base country town, his will was that his tomb should have this inscription, upon it, *Ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes*: unthankful country, thou hast not so much as my bones. Many and mighty deliverances have risen from the Lord to this land of ours to make provocation of our thankfulness. For not to go by a calendar, but to speak in two words, we have lain in ignorance, as in the belly of the whale, or rather the belly of hell (for blindness of heart is the very brim and introduction into the hell of the damned), the Lord hath pulled us thence. We have also lain in the heart of our enemies, as in the belly of the fish; Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, and the Philistines, with those of Tyre, have combined themselves, and cried, A confederacy, a confederacy against us; the Lord hath also delivered us to make some proof of our grateful spirits. For this is a rule in beneficence,† *Ingratus est adversus unum beneficium?* is a man thankful for one benefit? for a second he will not. Hath he forgotten two? the third will reduce to his memory those that are slipped thence. God hath liberally tried us with one, and another, and a third, and yet ceaseth not. But what becometh of our gratitude? It hath been our manner for the time to have pamphlets and forms of thanksgiving in our churches, our hearts have burned within us for the present, as of the two disciples that went to Emmaus, to assemble ourselves at prayers, preachings, breaking of bread, and to give an hour or two more than usual from our worldly affairs as a recompense of God's goodness. 'Our mouths have been filled with laughter, and our tongues with joy;' and we have been content to say, 'The Lord

* Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 3.

† Senec.

hath done great things for us, whereof we rejoice.' But how quickly forget we all again? *Ingrata Anglia, ne ossa quidam habes*: ungrateful England, thou hast not so much as the bones of thy patron and deliverer; thou hast exiled him from thy thoughts, buried him in oblivion; there is not one remnant or footprint left to witness to the world that thou hast been protected. What others have testified in former times by building of altars, pitching of huge stones, raising of pillars, dedication of feasts, writing of books, that their children's children might ask a reason, and be instructed in God's ancient mercies, thou hast not left to thy race to come by one stone, one turf, one post, one paper or scroll of continuance in remembrance unto them of thy ampler benefits. It deserveth the protestation of God: Isa. i., Hear, O men; and hearken, O angels? No. A greater authority is required. 'Hear, O heavens, and hearken, O earth: I have brought up, preferred, and exalted sons, and they have despised me.' If servants and bondmen, the sons of Agar, of whom it was said, 'Cast out the bondman,' it might less have been marvelled at; but sons of mine own education, adopted by special grace, these have despised me. They had an action in Athens against unthankful persons.* The more their blame, *qui cum æquissima jura, sed iniquissima haberent ingenia, moribus suis quàm legibus uti maluerunt*: who having good laws, ill natures, had rather use their manners than their laws. For if some of those excellent men which Athens spitefully and basely requited,—Theseus, who was buried in a rock; Miltiades, who died in prison; and the son of Miltiades, who inherited nothing amongst them but his father's bands; Solon, Aristides, Phocion, who lived in banishment,—should bring their action against Athens in the court of some other city, were it able to answer their just exprobatations? O Athens! thy walls, thy people, thy trophies, and triumphs far and near, by land and sea, are thus and thus multiplied. *Horum authores ubi vixerint, ubi jaceant, responde*: but put in thine answer, and shew where the authors of those things lived, and where they are buried. God hath an action of ingratitude against his sons, and bringeth them into law, not before city or nation, but (to note the horror of the vice) before heaven and earth, that all the corners and creatures of the world may both know and detest it. And surely it was well marked by a learned man, No man wondereth at dogs, or wolves, because they are common; but centaurs, and satyrs, and such monsters of nature, all gaze upon. It may be drunkenness, and adultery, and other faults, having either nature or custom on their side, are less odious to men, though not less heinous in their kinds. But name an ungrateful person, *ingratum si dixeris*, and without naming any more, we all detest him as a prodigious unnatural novelty, violating the communion and nature of mankind. I conclude: 'It is a good

* Val. Max.

thing to praise the Lord, and to sing unto the name of the Most High : to declare his loving-kindness in the morning, and his truth in the night season,' Ps. xcii. (1.) It is good touching the action itself; for it is better to bless than to curse, and to give thanks than to give out a voice of grudgings. (2.) It is good in respect of the matter and object, that so glorious and renowned a God vouchsafeth to be magnified by our polluted lips, the honour returneth upon ourselves. (3.) It is good because of the retribution; for *cessat decursus gratiarum, ubi non fuerit recursus*; the course and descent of the graces of God ceaseth, and the spring is dried up, where there is not a recourse and tide of our thankfulness. Wherefore let not so good an exercise be a burden and grief to good souls. Let the unrighteous vanish away in their graceless ingratitude, and become as the dung of the earth. Let them forget the God of heaven, that the God of heaven may also forget them. But let the righteous always rejoice in the Lord, for 'it becometh well the just to be thankful.' Early and late let us bless his holy name, though not with lutes, and harps, and instruments of ten strings, yet with the best members and instruments we have, bodies and spirits, which the fingers of God have harmonically composed

and joined together, and the joy of the Holy Ghost hath melodiously tuned for this purpose. Let us never turn our backs to the temple of the Lord, nor our faces from the mercy-seat, Ezek. viii. Let us not take without giving, as unprofitable ground drinketh and devonreth seed without restoring. Let us neither eat nor drink, nay, I will more say, let us neither hunger nor thirst without this condiment to it, 'The Lord be praised.' Let the frontlets between our eyes, the bracelets upon our arms, the guards upon our garments, be thanks. Whatsoever we receive to use or enjoy, let us write that posic and epiphonema of Zechariah upon it, 'Grace, grace unto it,' for all is grace, Zech. iv. Let us learn the song of the blessed beforehand, that hereafter we may be able to sing it with more perfection: 'Praise, honour, and glory be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb.' Paul is ours, Apollos is ours, Cephas is ours, the world ours; children, friends, fields, vineyards, health, wealth, all things ours, but we are Christ's, and Christ God's; there is the fountain, thence they come all, thither they all return. He is *Alpha* and *Omega*, first and last, author and finisher, giver and receiver, his holy name be blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

LECTURE XXVI.

For thou hadst cast me into the bottom in the midst of the sea; and the floods compassed me about: all thy surges and all thy waves passed over me. Then I said, I am cast away out of thy sight, &c.—JONAH II. 3, 4.

IMAGINE the song of Jonah to consist of three parts, a proposition, a narration, and a conclusion; and the proposition already to be passed in the second verse, summarily abridging the beginning, proceeding and ending of the matter in hand, that is the peril, prayer, and deliverance of Jonah. The narration now followeth to the eighth and ninth, wherein he concludeth; so that all that lieth between the second and those, maketh but for exornation; for both his danger is more amply described, and his prayers often mentioned, and a frequent hope of his deliverance ingested. And it is well worthy your considering, that as music consisteth of *acutum* and *grave*, high and low, sharp and flat, so this song of Sion, which Jonah singeth in a strange land, with a far heavier heart than ever Israel sang by the rivers of Babylon, is mixed and compounded of two kinds of sounds. For on the one side are dangers, terrors, desperations and dejections of mind often heard; but on the other the sweetest comforts and joys of the Holy Ghost that could be conceived. First, in the third verse: 'Thou hadst cast me into the bottom of the sea,' with many exaggerations to declare his fear. But in the fourth: 'Yet will I look again to thy holy temple.' Again, in the fifth: 'The waters compassed me about, unto the soul,' &c. But in the sixth: 'Yet

hast thou brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God.' Lastly, in the seventh: 'My soul fainted within me, yet I remembered the Lord, and my prayer came unto thee into thine holy temple.' *Invicem cedunt dolor et voluptas*: sour and sweet, mourning and joy, trouble and peace, come by courses and successions. There is no weeding up of these tares, no removing of these griefs and annoyances from the life of man. This is the state and condition of our present pilgrimage, as of a field wherein there is wheat and darnel, they must of necessity grow together till the harvest, when it shall be said, *priora transierunt*, the former things are passed, sorrow and sickness, dread and death, have now their end; the evening and the morning are but one day. Bernard's allusion to that place of Genesis is the interpretation of the psalm, 'heaviness may be in the evening, but joy cometh in the morning.' We 'bear forth our seed with tears, we shall bring home the sheaves in our bosom with joy.' The Son of God hath been entertained in this life, at one time with *Benedictus*, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;' at another, with *Crucifige*, 'Crucify him.' John Baptist at one time is 'reverenced and heard gladly,' at another beheaded. Not to speak of the head or members apart, the whole body crieth in the Can-

ticles, chap. i., 'I am black, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, but comely.' *Nigra vestro, formosa divino angelicòque judicio*, black in the judgment of men, fair in the sight of God and angels; * *nigra foris, sed intus formosa*, black without, by reason of the miseries and deformities of this life, but inwardly beautiful, with a godly presumption and hope of my bliss to come. 'One generation passeth and another succeedeth,' saith Ecclesiastes chap. i., 'the sun goeth down, and the sun draweth to the place of his rising again; the wind goeth to the south, and compasseth towards the north, and returneth by the same circuit:' and though all times differ, yet they differ not in this, that they are all subject to variations.† And as a discord in music giveth a grace and commendation to the song, so these discords and jars in our life keeping their alternation, make our pleasures more welcome when they come. That Christians should well digest them, there is some better cause, by reason of their faith: for they think not how bitter the potion is in taste, but what health cometh after it. Nor are they ignorant that these crosses and disturbances, are as it were the first fruits of the Spirit, the earnest-penny of our Father's inheritance, a prelibation of glory to come; ‡ that if we bestow all that we have, as the poor widow did, our two mites, body and soul, as one compareth them, § upon the service and at the pleasure of our God, we leave but *simpla pro centuplis*, one for an hundredfold, which shall afterwards be restored. But you shall find that the Gentiles themselves, who were without the covenant of God, and consequently the hope of better things, were loath to surfeit of pleasure, and took it as an introduction to worse to come, if ever they received too much even of good fortune. When tidings was brought to Philip of Macedon that Parmenio got the victory over his enemies, Alexander his son was born, and his chariots won the prize at Olympus, all in one day, he called upon fortune, reputed a goddess in those days, to do him some little hurt, || and to spice, as it were, his joys with bitterness, that they made him not forget himself. It was the reason that the king of Egypt blessed himself from having anything to do with Poly-crates king of Samos, because he was over fortunate. For having thrown a massy and rich ring into the sea to try an experiment, in despite of fortune he found it again at his table in the belly of a fish, which was brought for a present unto him. They many times wished good luck and pleasurable days to the veriest enemies they had; *hostium filius contingat in deliciis vivere*. In the books of Job and the Psalms, the

* Bern. Ser. 25 in Cantic.

† Hoc unum æquale habet omnium temporum inæqualitas quod vicissitudo in omnibus reperitur.—*Nazian.*

‡ Primitiæ Spiritus, arrha paternæ hæreditatis, prælibatio gloriæ.

§ Corpus et anima minuta duo.

|| Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum,
Levi me affice infortunio.

thriving of the wicked wanteth not a learned orator to set it forth at large. 'Their bullock gendereth and faileth not; their cow calveth and casteth not her calf. They send forth their children like sheep, and their sons dance. They take the tabret and harp, and rejoice in the sound of the organs,' Job xxi. Thus far it were good, you would think, to be no good man, for 'they come unto no misfortune like other men,' Ps. lxxiii. What, no misfortune? Even the greatest in this, that they have so large an indulgence. Surely it were good for us not to be acquainted with such engrossers of prosperity, and much less to have to do with their unhappy happiness; for as, in the burning of a candle when it hath long given light, *extremum occupat fumus et caligo*, the end is in smoke and caliginousness, so fareth it when the candle of the wicked is put out, for so Job compareth their felicity. 'Their end is worse than their beginning,' as the beginning of saints worse than their end. *In puncto descendunt in infernum*; in the stirring of an eye they go down into hell, where, if there be not *fumus et caligo*, and much worse, there is no hell. He that 'saw the wicked flourishing like a green bay tree,' which winter defaceth not, and it never withereth till it be plucked from the earth, 'looked at another time for their place' (I say not the trees but their place), 'and they were no more found,' Ps. xxxvii. 'Oh how suddenly are they destroyed, perish, and come to a fearful end, as a dream when one awaketh! Lord, when thou raisest us up, thou shalt make their image despised,' Ps. lxxiii.; suddenly, and fearfully, and contemptibly, measure enough, themselves vanishing, perishing, consumed, while others arise whom they thought not of. He that at one time said of himself, 'I have cleansed my heart in vain,' Ps. lxxiii., because he could not judge aright of the prosperity of the wicked, at another time said to the foolish, Ps. lxxv., 'Be not so foolish: and to the wicked, Lift not up the horn: lift not up your horn on high: neither speak with a stiff neck. For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is of the colour of blood; it is fully tempered, and he poureth out the same: and all the wicked of the earth shall surely wring out and drink the dregs thereof.' What pleasure is there now in the cups of Belshazzar and his concubines, the cups of the whore of Babylon, golden and sugared cups, and wine in bowls, as the prophet speaketh, when at the end of the banquet, to close up the stomach, they must take this cup from the hand of the Lord and drink their fatal draught. Thus, of the one side, you shall ever find the happiness of the wicked *in primis*, it cometh at the first, and falleth like a dry thistle flower. 'Son, thou hadst thy pleasure,' it is now passed; but if you will learn what becometh of the righteous, *in novissimis intelligetis*, you shall understand it in the last days, Jer. xxx. 'Mark the upright man, and behold the just, for the end of that man is peace,' Ps. xxxvii. Seneca writeth, that as the same chain

coupleth the keeper and prisoner together, so hope and fear are ever conjoined, and fear followeth hope.* For where our wishes and desires are bent, we cannot choose but doubt of our good speed. These two are coupled together in the song of Jonah, but their order inverted: for fear goeth before, like the keeper and jailer of Jonah, and hope cometh ever behind to give him comfort of enlargement. Fear seemeth to have the greater scope and to triumph over hope, as may appear in that so many words, even four whole members of the two next verses are spent in the amplification of it, whenas but a short clause and a snatching look of the eye is added in the end to express his hope. But how little leaven of hope seasoneth the whole lump of the danger before mentioned!

The parts are according to the number of verses, two: first, his danger; secondly, the hope of recovery. The danger enlarged, first by the author, *Thou hadst cast me*, which noteth not only a violence, but a neglect, as if the Lord had thrown him aside never to be remembered more. Secondly, by the place, *unto the bottom in the midst of the sea*; thirdly, by the accessaries to the place, *the floods compassed me; all thy surges and all thy waves passed over me*. Fourthly, by the infirmity and distrust of his own heart, the effect of the rest, and his conclusion upon the precedent proofs, *Then I said, I am cast away out of thy sight*. But in the second place, one cast and motion of his eye towards the temple of the Lord maketh satisfaction and amends for all those former discomforts.

1. *Thou hadst cast me*. The author is not his equal; a briar contending with a thorn, an earthen vessel with an earthen vessel, wherein there is some proportionate comparison. The children of Israel and sons of Anak, David and Goliath, were not equally matched, yet man to man, wherein if either part be the weaker, it may be redressed in time, either by themselves or by their abettors. Or if never redressed, the body alone beareth the smart, the soul no whit endangered. But the worker of this woe is the most mighty Lord, whose face is burning and his lips full of indignation, whose wrath he liveth not upon the earth that can abide, 'when the foundations of the mountains move and shake because he is angry,' Ps. xviii., whose anger hath a further extent, not upon the body alone, but upon the soul too, not only to kill, but to cast them both away for ever into hell fire. Behold, 'he breaketh down and it cannot be built, he shutteth up a man and he cannot be loosed,' Job xii. 'Woe, woe be unto us,' cried the uncircumcised Philistines, 1 Sam. iv., though they stood in battle array, 'who shall deliver us out of the hands of these mighty Gods?' erring in the number, but not in the power of the glorious Deity. The men of Bethshemesh, being afterwards smitten because they had pried into the ark of [the] covenant, accounted

themselves but dead men before him: 'Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God?' 1 Sam. vi. 'The very pillars of heaven,' saith Job, chap. xxvi., 'tremble and quake at his reproof. At his rebuke he drieth up the sea, and maketh the floods desert; their fish rot for want of water, and die for thirst.' 'He clotheth the heavens with darkness, and maketh a sack their covering,' in the prophecy of Isaiah, chap. l. How fearful a thing shall it then be to a sinful man, 'whose foundation is but dust,' and not like those of the mountains, and the pillars of his body but flesh and blood, far inferior to the pillars of heaven, all the moisture of whose substance shall sooner be exacted than that of the floods and rivers, to 'fall into the hands of the living God,' who liveth for all eternity beyond the days of heaven, and therefore is more able to avenge any injury done unto him? The anger of a prince, though it seemeth as dreadful as the messengers of death unto us, may be pacified; if not, his anger is mortal like himself, his breath is in his nostrils, and promiseth, to those that fear, an end of his life and wrath together. The hostility of a deadly foe may be resisted by hostility again, though 'his quiver be an open sepulchre, and they all very strong,' Jer. v.; if not, he can but 'eat up our harvest and bread, eat up our sons and daughters, our sheep and our bullocks, our vines and fig-trees, and destroy our cities.' But if the anger of the Lord of hosts be kindled, who can put it out? If he be an enemy, let heaven and earth join hand in hand to work our safety, it should not help. 'If he begin he will make an end,' in the First of Samuel, chap. iii., or rather 'not an end,' in the fourth of Jeremiah. Consider the vision. 'I have looked upon the earth,' saith the prophet, 'and lo, it was without form and void; and to the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills shook. I beheld, and lo, there was no man, and all the birds of the air were departed. I beheld, and lo, the fruitful place was a wilderness, and all the cities thereof were broken down at the presence of the Lord, and by his fierce wrath. For thus hath the Lord said, the whole land shall be desolate, yet will I not make a full end.' Behold, now, an end and no end. Now, if the Lord had so cast Jonah as he cast the angels out of heaven, without repentance and revocation of his fact, Jonah must have lain below, as the gravel and slime of the sea, never to have risen up. But he cast him in mercy, not in fury; as he cast Adam out of paradise to till the ground, Nebuchadnezzar from his kingdom to eat with the beasts of the field, Job from his house and home to lie upon the dunghill, to do them greater honour and favour in time to come.

(2.) The place hath three amplifications.

[1.] He was cast into the bottom of the sea, wherefore, in likelihood, there was no recovery. Else, what meant Micah by the phrase in the seventh of his book, that God will 'cast our sins into the bottom of the sea,'

* Ut eadem catena custodem et militem copulat, sic spes et metus conjuncta.—1. ep. 6.

but that he will lay them so low, and heap such a burden and weight upon them, that they shall never rise up again? And our Saviour by the same in the Gospel, Mat. xviii., that 'he who should offend one of his little ones, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he thrown into the bottom of the sea,' implying therein so desperate a danger to the body as would never be restored. So they sing of Pharaoh and his host in the fifteenth of Exodus, *Abyssus operuerunt eos, et descenderunt in profundum relut lapis*, and afterwards, *profunda petierunt ut plumbum*. 'The bottomless depths covered them, and they sunk to the bottom as a stone; and as lead they were swallowed in the waters.' Some write that the sea at the deepest is forty furlongs. I cannot censure their estimation. But this I am sure of, it is very deep; and our Saviour meant to signify no less when he called it, not *mare*, the sea, by itself, but *pelagus maris*, the bottom of the sea. So Job speaketh of leviathan, chap. xli., 'He maketh the deep to boil like a pot of ointment; yea, thou wouldst think that the bottomless depth had an hoary head,' where it is compared for depth with that which the legion of devils, in the eighth of Luke, desired they might not be thrown into, *abyssus*. Now, one furlong or fathom of waters had been deep enough to have taken away the life of Jonah, much more was he in jeopardy when he was cast into the bottom of the sea.

[2.] He was not only in the sea, but in the *midst*, *the heart*, *in corde*, the inwardest secrets and cells of it, as the heart of a living thing is mid-most and inwardest unto it. Whereupon Christ is said to have lain *in corde terræ*, 'in the heart of the earth,' Mat. xii., and 'the depths to have stood up together *in corde maris*, in the heart of the sea,' Exodus the fifteenth. This was the next augmentation of the danger, that the whale bare him furthest from the shore, and kept his way in the deepest channel or trade, so that all hope of ever coming to land again seemed to have forsaken him.

[3.] He was not only in the heart of the sea, but of the *seas*, *marium*. There is but one universal and main sea, which is the girdle to the dry land, but many particulars which take their several names from the places they lie next unto. Now, the voyage of Jonah was not limited and bounded within the compass of the Syriac sea, whereinto he was first received. But if it be true which Josephus hath, that he was cast up to land upon the shore of the Euxine Sea, then must he needs be carried through diverse seas, before his arrival to that place. He had a purpose at first perhaps to go no further than to Tarsus in Silicia, which was hard at hand, and the Silician sea the first he passed by. But Jonah is borne from the Silician to the Ægean, from thence to Propontis, and so to the road where his landing was. A just judgment of God upon him, that because he would fly from the presence of the Lord, he should be made to

fly indeed. God threateneth Sebna the treasurer, Isaiah xxii., that he would 'carry him into captivity, and toss him as a ball in a large country, that he would drive him from his station, and destroy him from out his dwelling-place.' So is Jonah carried into captivity, a prisoner to a whale, and tossed as a ball in a large country, from sea to sea, driven from his station where he meant to have settled himself, and destroyed from out his dwelling place, and from the land of the living; and as Cain was a runagate upon the land, so is Jonah upon the waters, and till the Lord give a charge for his discharge and manumission, no land dareth receive him.

(3.) *The floods compass me about, &c.* His third peril is from the accidents of the sea. For being in *the bottom*, and in the *midst* of the bottom, not of the sea, but of *the seas*, is he at rest there? No. There is no agony nor passion of the sea but Jonah feelth it. The disquietments of that element are either the meeting of the fresh and salt waters together, or the ebbing and flowing of it, or the waves and surges that arise, either by winds in the air, or by flows and expirations from the caverns of the earth; with all these is Jonah acquainted. There is no question but 'all rivers run into the sea,' Eccles. i., according to the proverb, *Qui nescit viam ad mare, quærat sibi amnem comitem*, he that knoweth not the way to the sea, let him get some river to be his guide. Now it must needs breed a vexation and tumult when these contrary waters meet, there is a fight and contention held betwixt them for the time. It is another disturbance which the continual agitation, the flux and reflux, of the waters maketh. For when the course of that mighty body of waters is turned back again, whether by the moon, as they hold in philosophy, or by other disposition, which all the instruments and engines in the world cannot bring to pass, we cannot imagine that so reciprocal a motion is done in peace, but that the whole heap of the sea is molested thereby. There be the 'floods which encircle him and compass him about,' *Ποταμοὶ ἐκκύβλησάν με*, which either the confluence of the waters diversely qualified, or the ebbing and flowing of the sea procured unto him. As who should say, I lay not in a calm, but look where the waters were most unpeaceable and unquiet, even there was I compassed about and had no way to pass forth. The sea is otherwise disquieted when either the winds in the air, or flows from the vaults and breaches of the ground, raise up the waves thereof. For the earth hath air oftentimes imprisoned in the hollowness of it, which being inwardly choked and labouring to get out, sometimes shaketh the joints of the land with earthquakes, sometimes setteth the people of the sea in a rage, and bringeth a furious commotion upon the face of the waters. Wherefore Jonah, being carried through the midland sea, having the land on both sides of it, must needs be troubled the more, by reason the waters have not so free a

passage as in the patent ocean, and therefore make a way with sorer impatience. Give them stream at will, and there is less danger of travail; but straiten their course, and they break a passage by force, and shew what indignation they can against the bars that hinder them. By common experience at home in locks and mill-dams, we see what cataracts and downfalls there are by the rage of the water, what haste it maketh to pass, how unpatiently it roareth because her liberty is denied her. But those that ever passed the Magellan Straits, or entered the mouth of the Gaditan Sea, betwixt Europe and Africa, where Spain and Barbary is divided, to make a voyage into Barbary, or any other coast within the midland sea, know it to be most true, not by easy experience alone, but by the adventure both of their vessels and their lives also. So as, you see, the very nature of these seas, where the propinquity and enclosure of the continent did so much annoy them on every side, partly by breathing upon them out of many holes and ruptures thereof, partly by lessening their channel, besides the ordinary winds which raised up their billows, and the extraordinary providence of God, which dealt more strongly than all these, did the more afflict Jonah.

The words are very significant, *Omnes fluctus et gurgitus tui*, 'All thy surges and all thy waves passed over me.' 1. They are not simply waves (as all confess), but waves with eruption and violent assault. Our English well interpreteth them *surges*, which is the meeting and breaking of waters in such sort that the one encountereth the other as if they were at war. The poet * notably expresseth them in the shipwreck of Cæix, that they played upon the ship, as engines and brakes of war play upon castles, and as a lion runneth with all his might upon the weapons of man, or as in the siege and scaling of a wall, though many have assailed it before, yet one of a thousand at length surpriseth it; so when many volumes of waves had before beaten and tried themselves upon the sides of the ship, yet the tenth wave cometh further and fiercer than all the rest. † They were not inferior to those that shook and battered the ship of Jonah, when the sides thereof groaned, and it thought to be rent in pieces. 2. They are not the surges of the dead and senseless sea, such as the wind and weather only might excite, but they are the waves of God, chosen and appointed by him to be his ministers to execute wrath against disobedient Jonah: *thy waves*. 3. Their number is so infinite and past comprehension that he speaketh in the largest number, *all thy waves*, as if they had been levied from the ends of the sea, and had assembled their forces in one place. 4. They lay not about him as the floods before mentioned, but they *pass quite over him*, and are a burden to his head to keep him under still; they are on his

right hand and on his left, upwards and downwards, forwards and backwards, and leave him no hope of evasion. The severing of the particulars weakeneth the force of the words; but take a summary view of all in one, and make a single sentence of the whole together, and you shall find them beyond exception.

1. He is in the *bottom*, the lowest and basest part, far from the top of the waters. 2. In the *heart* and entrails, far from the shore. 3. Not of one singular sea which had some limits, but of a continual tract and course of *seas*. 4. Not where the waters were placid and still, but where the *floods* were ever fighting together. 5. Those floods lie as a *circle* about him, and keep him in like armed men. 6. Not only the floods annoy him, the tides of the sea, and the course of land rivers, but he is also troubled with *waves*. 7. They are not simply waves, but *surges*, waves of the vehementest collision and insultation. 8. And not simply surges, but such as are strengthened by the arm and animation of God, *his waves*. 9. As if there were no more in the world, but they had all forsaken their proper places (as they came to the siege of Troy) to turmoil this one sea, he termeth them in generality *all thy waves*. Lastly, they were not about him as before, but lie like a pressure upon his body to keep it down. There is yet a sting in the tail of the scorpion, a danger behind worse than the former, which, as it is reserved to the last place, so hath it more venom in it than all the rest.

(4.) *Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight*, which containeth the weakness and distrust of his fearful conscience. See what a dangerous conclusion he maketh against his soul, not rashly apprehended, but with leisure and deliberation conceived. *I said*; that because the Lord had cast him unto the bottom of the sea from the sight of men, and the floods and surges were over and about him, therefore he should think he is cast from the sight of God, that is, that the light of his face, brightness of his countenance, aspect of his mercy and compassion, had everlastingly forsaken him. Jonah, thou art deceived. Thou speakest more to thyself than ever the Lord said. He that cast thee into the sea, or caused the mariners to do it, never said that he cast thee out of his sight; and if thou hadst asked the seas and the floods wherein thou wert overwhelmed, they would never have said it. They know that the Lord can 'say unto the earth, Give, and to the sea, Restore,' keep not those my sons and daughters back whom I call for. It is the voice of the serpent that speaketh this damnable sentence within thee. Beware of his sophistry, admit it not; his reasoning is not good, that because thou art persecuted and driven to the bottom of the sea, therefore thou art wholly cast out. It is the pestilentest bait that ever Satan laid to infect souls with, who being himself the 'son of perdition,' compasseth sea and land to make others his proselytes, the children of hell, as deeply as himself is; and the cords wherewith

* Ovid, Metam. xi

† Inter mille viros murum tamen occupat unus.

Vastius insurgens decimæ ruit impetus undæ.

he draweth them into his own inheritance of destruction, are to make the grievousness of their sins, and the sense of their present and but momentary afflictions, marks of their sinful dereliction, and that the favour of God is utterly departed from them. This was the snare that he set for the soul of Job in the mouths of his three friends, pronouncing him a reprobate and hypocrite because he was afflicted by God. The like for the soul of David, in the lips of his insolent enemies, when they upbraided him, 'Where is now thy God? he trusted in God, let God deliver him, if he will have him.' Behold, I shew you a sea indeed of a bottomless depth, the ground whereof can no more be sounded than the lowest hell. He that is thrown into this sea is always falling and descending, and never findeth an end. It hath no midst in it as the sea hath, because it is unmeasurable and infinite, I mean a desperate conscience, distrusting the mercies of God, relinquished of itself, the floods and surges whereof, restless, turbulent, unplaceable cogitations, can never be quieted, and the fightings therein, as betwixt waters and waters in the sea, between affirmations and negations (it is and it is not), cannot be reconciled. Let all the rivers and streams of fresh water which glad the city of God and comfort the souls of the faithful run into it, they are resisted and driven back. There is no entrance, I mean, for any persuasion of the graciousness and kindness of the Lord, though it be preached a thousand times. The salt, unsavoury, bitter quality in the soul, wherewith it is baned before, hath no communion with so sweet a nature. Which sin of desperation, as the nature of man hath just cause to detest, because it breaketh that league of kindness which we owe to our own flesh, and many a bloody instrument hath it put into the hands of man to destroy himself (which execution being done against the laws of nature, a worse ever ensueth from the judgment-seat of God), so for that injury and indignity which it offereth to the Lord of heaven, sooner shall he forgive the apostasy of his reprobate angels than this damned sin. Jerome observeth upon the Psalms,* that Judas offended more in despairing of pardon and hanging himself, than in betraying his innocent master to death. Isidore giveth a kind of reason for it. Because to commit an offence is the death of the soul, but to cast off hope of forgiveness is to descend into hell.† What can ever be done more derogatory and injurious to that righteous nature of his than to change his truth into a lie, and the lies of Satan into truth, and to justify Satan more than God? that whenas the Lord shall speak on the one side, and bind by promise, confirm by oath, and seal with the blood of his only begotten Son, touching his goodness towards all true penitent sinners, that although he have made a wound, he will

heal it; though broken, he will bind up; though killed, he will give life, yet he is not believed? But when the devil contrariwise shall suggest for his part that the justice of God will never be satisfied, the heinousness of our sins never pardoned, as if he had left his name of being the father of lies any longer, he is hearkened unto. What else is this, but to turn falsehood into truth, darkness into light, and God for ever to be magnified into the devil himself? Jonah went not so far as I now speak of. For though it were a dangerous pang which he was fallen into, and there wanted but age and strength to make it up, yet he persisted not therein; 'his feet had well nigh slipped,' but he recovered them, and he 'spake unadvisedly with his lips,' but he recalled it again.

2. *Yet will I look towards thine holy temple.* I will not so much explicate the words at large as urge their consequence. This was the difference between Judas and Jonah. 'Judas went out, and never looked back more. The Lord cast him forth, and the devil bare him away to a tree, whence he returned not till he had hung himself. Jonah is cast out, with a hope and mind to return. He forgetteth not the temple of the Lord, and the place where his honour dwelt, though he were far removed from it. Judas hath nothing but millstones about his neck (the neck of his guilty conscience) to weigh him down; Jonah had wings and cork to bear him up. Judas, like a carcass wherein there is no life, falleth down; as the Lacedæmonian said of a dead man whom he could not set upright upon his feet, *Oportet aliquid intus esse*, there must be somewhat within; Jonah hath that within, a spirit of comfort to quicken and support him. He hath an eye in his head, discovering those hidden ways which the eye of the eagle and kite never found out, to look to the temple of the Lord. Whether he meant the temple at Jerusalem, or whether his temple in heaven, whereof the Psalm speaketh, 'the Lord is in his holy palace, the Lord's throne is in the heavens,' Ps. xi., I inquire not, but thrice blessed were those eyes that did him this service. If his sentence and resolution had ended in those former words, *I am cast out*, and there had been the period and full point, all his joys had ended. When the Jews said in the prophet, *perit spes nostra*, our hope is gone, they might as well have added, *perit salus nostra*, our salvation is gone; a man without hope is without his best advocate. Good success may often forsake the innocent, but never good hope.* And therefore he changed his style in good time, *veruntamen*, yet notwithstanding, I have anointed mine eyes with the eye-salve of hope, and through all those obstacles of sea and seas, floods and surges, I am able to look to the place of thy rest. It standeth as the rudder in the sentence, and turneth it quite another way. It was running apace upon dangerous shelves, and had set up the full sails of

* In Ps. cviii.

† Perpetrare flagitium est mors animæ. Sed veniam deprecari est ad infernum descendere.—2 de sum. bo.

* Fortuna innocentem deserit sæpe, at spes bona nunquam.—Senec.

deadliest discomforts, but a breath of faith cometh in and stoppeth that wretched course.

Notwithstanding. Now doth Jonah begin to sneeze with the child that the prophet called to life; now is his first uprising from the dead; he had utterly fainted when he was in the belly, whether of the whale or of hell, but that he believed verily to see the goodness of the Lord in his holy temple. Epaminondas being stricken through with a spear, and his blood failing him, asked if his target were safe, and whether the enemy were put to flight; and understanding all to be answerable to his heart's desire, said, My fellows in arms, it is not an end of my life that is now come, but a better beginning.* The loss of the body is not great. We sow it in dishonour, we shall reap it in honour. And conscience may be wounded and daunted sometimes in the best that liveth. But if Jonah had lost his shield of faith and his helmet of hope, the principal armour of defence, the one for the head wherein the brain, the other for the breast wherein the heart, lieth, and if the enemies of his soul, these desperate agonies, had gotten the upper hand, and not been vanquished by him, where had his glory, where had his safety, been? But his shield, you hear, is whole, 'Notwithstanding I will look towards thine holy temple.' With a little difference, you have the same speeches in the Psalms which Jonah here useth. As in Ps. xxxi., 'I said in mine haste, I am cast out of thy sight.' Likewise in Ps. xlii., 'All thy waves and thy floods are gone over me.' I repeat no more. But they make it an argument that Jonah had diligently read the Psalms, and kept them by heart, and applied them as need served to his particular occasions. *Est certe non magnus, verum aureolus, et ad verbum ediscendus libellus;* as he† spake of Crantor's book, Surely the book of the Psalms is not great, but golden, and thoroughly to be learned. Jerome advised Rusticus that the book of the Psalms should never depart from his handling and reading. Let every word of the psalter be conned without book. *Nunquam de manibus recedat. Discatur psalterium ad verbum.* I will say shortly, saith he, it is a common treasure of all good learning. It appeareth in the gospel that Christ and his disciples were very conversant in that book; because in their sayings and writings not fewer than threescore authorities are procured from above forty of those several psalms. But my meaning is not so much to commend the book at this time as your use of it. For it is never so well read or heard, as when the harp of David and the ditty of our heart, the scripture of the psalm and the sense of our present occasion, go together. *Quid prosunt lecta et intellecta, nisi teipsum legas et intelligas?*‡ reading and understanding without application is nothing. Neither is it to purpose to sing psalms, unless we make them accord to our present miseries, when we are in misery;

when we are delivered, to our deliverances; and other the like variations. Thus did Jonah.

But to come back to David himself; though he spake so dangerously as you have heard, 'I am cast off,' yet he confesseth he spake it 'in his haste;' and he correcteth that hasty speech with a *veruntamen* (a particle of better grace, as Jonah did), 'yet thou heardst the voice of my prayer, when I cried unto thee.' And he exhorteth 'all those that trust in the Lord to be strong, and he will establish their hearts.' Likewise in former words, these amongst the rest jarring very unpleasantly, and striking out of tune, 'I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind, I am like a broken vessel. But I trusted in thee, O Lord; I said, thou art my God.' But for *nisi* and *veruntamen*, but and notwithstanding, notes as it were of a better sound, our hearts might quake to see such passions in the saints of God. The beloved Son of God was not without this convulsion of spirit: 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' not feared and suspected, but felt and presently endured; why hast thou done it? yet he commendeth his spirit into the hands of that Lord who seemed to have forsaken him. Thus ever 'the Lord sendeth a gracious rain upon his inheritance, to refresh it when it is weary,' Ps. lxxviii.; and it is true which Hosea saith, though we look for a day or two as if we were dead and forlorn, yet 'after those two days he will revive us: and the third he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight,' Hosea vi. I will now proclaim from another psalm. 'Hear this, all ye people; give ear, all that dwell in the world: low and high, rich and poor, one with another. My mouth shall speak of wisdom; and the meditation of my heart is of knowledge. I will incline mine ear to a parable; and utter a grave matter upon mine harp,' Ps. xlix. Surely it is wisdom, and knowledge, and a grave matter indeed, and blessed are they that conceive it. If it be hid, it is hid to those that perish; it is a parable to Cain, and Saul, and Judas, and such like castaways. If I had the doubled spirit of Elias, and wisdom like the angels of God, I would spend it wholly in the commendation of this grave and serious sentence: 'Wherefore should I fear in the evil days, when iniquity shall compass me about as at mine heels?' when it shall press and urge me so closely with the judgments of God, that I am always in danger to be supplanted? Now what are the pillars of this heavenly security? Can riches, or wisdom, or houses and lands after our names, or honour, sustain us? These are but rotten foundations to build eternity upon. But 'God shall deliver my soul from the power of the grave; for he will receive me.'

I draw to an end. 'God is faithful that hath promised;' 'heaven and earth shall pass away, but not a jot of his blessed word.' 'As the hills were about Jerusalem,' and as these floods were about Jonah, 'so is the Lord about all those that fear him.' He

* Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. ii. † Tul. ‡ Bern.

hath made a decree in heaven ; it belongeth to the New Testament, confirmed by the death of the testator, witnessed by three in heaven and as many in earth, and never shall it be altered, that at what time soever a sinner whatsoever shall repent him of his wickedness whatsoever, from the bottom of his heart the Lord will forgive and forget it. O heaven before heaven ! And the contrary persuasions, hell before hell, damnation before the time ! I say again, if he repent of his wickedness, it is not the misery of this wretched life, nor terror of conscience, nor malice of foes, let them be men or devils ; let them be seven in one, a legion in another, all the principalities and powers of darkness in the third, that shall hinder forgiveness. Behold the Lamb of God, you that are lions in your house, as the proverb speaketh, worst towards yourselves ; you that are ready to tear and devour your own souls with grief and fear of heart, ‘ behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.’ Hath his death put sense into rocks and stones, and can it not persuade you ? Shall that blood of the Lamb cleanse you from your guiltiness, and will you in a mad and impatient mood throw your blood into the air with Julian, or spill it upon the ground with Saul, or sacrifice it upon an alder with Judas, and not use the medicine that should ease their maladies ? Shall he open heaven, and will you shut

it ? he nail the writings to his cross, and you renew them ? he pull you from the fire, and you run into it again ? Is this his thanks ; this the recompense of his labours ; this the wages ye give him for bearing the heat and burden of the day in your persons ; this the harvest for the seed he sowed in tears ; this the wine he shall drink for treading the wine-press, instead of ‘ a cup of salvation,’ which you ought to ‘ take ’ in your hands, and ‘ call upon the name of the Lord,’—that is, as he hath drunk unto you in a bitter cup of passion, so you should pledge him in a pleasant draught of thanksgiving,—will you take a cup of death and desperation, blaspheme his name, evacuate his cross, tread the blood of his testament under your feet, and die past hope ? God forbid, and the earnest prayers and sobs of your own souls heartily forbid it ! *Januas æternæ felicitatis desperatio claudit, spes aperit ;* desperation shutteth up, hope openeth, the doors of eternal felicity. And therefore, he that hath least and nothing at all to hope, yet let him despair of nothing. *Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil ;* it was the advice of an heathen, let it be the practice of a Christian. Let him ‘ hope against hope,’ though the baseness of his condition, horror of sin, weight of tribulation, envy of Satan, rigour of the law, justice of the upright judge, seem to overthwart him.

LECTURE XXVII.

The waters compassed me about unto the soul, &c. Yet hast thou brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God.—JONAH II. 5, 6.

IN the third and fourth verses before, I handled first the danger or fear of Jonah, illustrated, 1, from the person that cast him into it ; 2, from the place, with the accessories thereunto, the depth, the heart, the multitude of seas ; 3, from the passions of the sea, which were either floods compassing him about, or waves overwhelming him ; and those waves, in nature *surges*, touching the author, *God’s* surges, touching the number, *all* his surges ; 4, from the infirmity of his own conscience, wherein, 1, advisedly he pronounceth and saith, 2, that as an unprofitable thing he is cast out, 3, from the sight, that is, the favour and grace of his merciful Lord. Secondly, I added thereunto his hope and confidence, as a piece of sweet wood cast into the waters of Marah to take away their bitterness ; so this to relish and sweeten his soul again, and to make some amends for all his former discouragements. In these two contrary affections, fear and hope, I told you the whole song was consumed to the end of the seventh verse. First you shall hear his danger displayed in sundry and forcible members (for his words swam not in his lips, but were drawn from the deep well of a troubled conscience), and then at the end some sentence of comfort added, as a

counter-verse to allay the rigour of the other parts, and to uphold his fainting soul. This was the order that David took with his soul in the 42d and 43d Psalms, ‘ Why art thou cast down, O my soul ? Hope in the Lord, for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his presence.’ Likewise in the 80th psalm, ‘ Turn us again, O God of hosts, cause thy face to shine, and we shall be safe.’ They come, me seemeth, as so many breathings to a man wearied with a tedious race, or rather as so many lines and recollections of spirits after swoonings.

Now, unless I will leave my text, as Jonah left the way to Nineveh which God had appointed him to walk in, I must again entertain your ears with the same discourse which before I held, I hope without offence to any man. For the hearing of these admirable words and works of God is not, or should not be, as the drinking of wine, wherein they say the first draught is of necessity, the second for pleasure, the third for sleep, and so evermore worse ;* but here it is true which the son of Sirach wrote of wisdom (for this is the pure and holy wisdom), They that eat her

* Primum poculum necessitatis, secundum voluptatis, tertium ebrietatis, &c.

shall have the more hunger, and they that drink her shall thirst the more, chap. xxiv. ; 'The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing,' such things, Eccles. i. And albeit it be a fault in music evermore to strike upon the same string, yet Jonah (I doubt not) shall easily be excused and find favour in your ears, in handling this song of his, though he bring nothing for a time but the repetition of the same matters. For, first, he gave you the ground and plain song, which I called the proposition, in the second verse; the rest to the end of the 7th, though it be spent upon the same argument, yet is it with such descant and variety to grace the plain song, the phrase so delectably altered, and the sense of the words so mightily augmented, as I cannot feign to myself how the description of his troubles could have been furnished with better lights of speech. I have heard the descriptions, both of ancient poets and of those in our latter days, Tassus, Ariostus, and the like, so highly extolled, as if wisdom had lived and died with them alone. And it may be the sin of Samaria, the sin of this land and age of ours (perhaps the mother of our atheism), to commit idolatry with such books, that instead of the writings of Moses and the prophets, and evangelists, which were wont to lie in our windows as the principal ornaments, and to sit in the uppermost rooms as the best guests in our houses, now we have Arcadia, and the Fairy Queen, and Orlando Furioso, with such like frivolous stories, * when if the wanton students of our time (for all are students, both men and women, in this idle learning) would as carefully read and as studiously observe the eloquent narrations and discourses contained in the Psalms of David and other sacred books, they would find them to be such as best deserved the name and commendation of the best poets. So rightly did Jerome pronounce of David to Paulinus, that he is our Simonides, Pindarus, Alceus, Flaccus, Catullus, Sereus, and instead of all others. For the warrant of my sayings, consider but this scripture now in hand. The danger of Jonah (one might have thought) was so handled before, as if he had poured forth his whole spirit at once. He told you of the deepest, and of the midst, and of the number of the seas, with as many perturbations (for aught I know) as the sea is subject unto, the conflux of repugnant waters, ebbing and flowing, and breaking of the surges. Yet is he still as full as the moon, and as if he were freshly to begin, entereth again, with another style and much more abundance, into the same narration.

Now he acquainteth you how far the waters came. He was in the waters and waves before, but within the bowels of the fish as it were in a crystal cage; here it is otherwise, for the waters compass him *ad animam usque*, 'even unto the soul'; he was now in the presentest danger of his life, there was not an

* Angelus Politian preferred Pindarus his odes before the Psalms of David.

hair's breadth betwixt him and death, his soul lay even at the gates of his body ready to pass forth. He told you of a bottom before, but now of a depth without a bottom; there *profundum*, here *abyssus*; and he addeth to his former incumbrances weeds about his head, mountains, and promontories, and rocks, and the bars of the earth wherewith he was imprisoned. The son of Sirach, Eccles. xxiv., speaketh of wisdom that she is set up like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress-tree upon the mountains of Hermon, exalted like a palm-tree in Cades, and as a rose-plant in Jericho, and as a fair olive-tree in a pleasant field, and as a plane-tree by the waters; as a terebinth so she stretcheth out her branches, and her boughs are the boughs of honour and grace. Her root is so rich and so full of sap, that an heart endued therewith never lacketh matter or words whereby to persuade. It is written of Solomon, one of the offspring of wisdom, that 'God gave him prudence and understanding exceeding much, and a large heart, even as the sand upon the sea-shore, and that his wisdom exceeded the wisdom of all the children of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt;' that he was able to 'speak of trees, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall; he also spake of beasts, and fowls, and creeping things, and of fishes,' 1 Kings iv. Compare the heart of Jonah a little with the heart of Solomon. You see how large it is; larger, I am sure, if it be wisely weighed, than of all the people of the east, and children of Egypt before mentioned. He speaketh of all his troubles by sea, from the greatest to the least, even to the weed and bulrush that lieth in the basest part of it. We say, where the grief is, there commonly the finger. It is not an easy matter for those that are pinched with grief indeed hastily to depart, either from the sense or report of it. A man must speak sometimes to take breath. Jeremiah wrote a whole book of Lamentations, and in the person of the people of the Jews, as if all the afflictions under heaven had been stored up for that one generation, proclaimed, *Ego vir ille sum*, 'I am that man that have had experience of infirmities,' that one and only singular man. This is the manner of all that are afflicted, *etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*; as Jonah before, 'all thy surges and all thy waves passed over me'; they think their miseries to be alone, and that no other in the world hath any part with them. Contrary to the judgment of Solon, the wise Athenian, who thought that if men were to lay their griefs upon one common heap, and thence to take out an equal portion with their fellows, they would rather carry their own home again, and bear their burden apart, than divide at the stock, * where they should find their wretchedness much more increased. David in many psalms declaimeth at large of his miseries. In the 69th, by the same words which Jonah here useth, and haply borrowed

* Valer. Max. lib. vii. cap. ii.

from that ancients prophet, 'The waters are entered in unto my soul, and I stick fast in the deep mire where no stay is. I am come to deep waters, and the streams run over me. I am weary of crying, my throat is dry, and mine eyes fail whilst I wait for my God.' It is thought that the 102d Psalm was a prayer written by Daniel, or some other prophet, for the children of Israel whilst they were at Babylon in captivity. 'My days are consumed like smoke, my bones are burned up like an hearth. Mine heart is smitten and withered like grass, I forget to eat my bread, for the voice of my groaning my bones do cleave to my skin; I have eaten ashes like bread, and mingled my drink with weeping.' These were persuaded that the sun was nowhere overcast so much as where they were, and that it would be happy for them to exchange their woes with any other living creatures. How often did our Saviour, the head cornerstone of the building, tell his disciples before of his perils to come at Jerusalem! The emperor Otho thought it a piece of dastardy to speak too much of death;* the emperor over Otho thought otherwise. If you search the evangelists, you shall find his arraignment and death often repeated from his own mouth, Mat. xvii., as they abode in Galilee. The 20th of that evangelist, he took them apart in the way as they were going to Jerusalem. Luke ix., he biddeth them mark his words diligently, and put them into their ears, for he would not they should be committed to the waste air, which lay so deep in his own heart, 'The Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men.' In the 18th, he reckoneth up all the particulars, the delivering of him to Gentiles, mocking, reviling, spitting, scourging, putting him to death. That elect vessel of his, 2 Cor. xi., as if he glorified in his infirmities, and made them his triumphs, recapitulateth with a breath as many dangers as ever he had endured, either at home or abroad, his labours, his stripes, his stonings, his deaths, his scourgings, his shipwrecks, by land, by sea, by thieves, by false brethren, by his countrymen, by strangers, his hunger, thirst, fasting, cold, nakedness, besides outward things. It was truly spoken by a learned man, *Sapiens miser, plus miser est quam rusticus miser. Scit enim exaggerare causas dolendi, quas rusticus miser ignorat*: a wise man in misery is more miserable than one that is simple, because he knoweth how to amplify the causes of his sorrow, which the other doth not. I take it to have been no small token of wisdom in Jonah, Jeremiah, David, Paul, and in Wisdom himself, not only that they felt the bitterness of the cup when they drank it, but were able to discern what ingredients it had, and particularly to recount whereof it was tempered. The Stoic philosophers, of whom we read, Acts xvii., that they disputed with Paul, and called him a sower of words, *Σπέρμιολογόν*, and a setter out of strange gods

* Plura de extremis loqui pars ignavia est.—*Tacit.*

(and it shall not be impertinent a while to dispute with them, and to confute their strange learning), they held many opinions incredible to the world, amongst the rest, that grief was a matter of nothing. Tully reciteth some of their paradoxes,* that their wise man, whom they rather supposed than ever could find in nature (as Xenophon imagined a king, Tully an orator, Aristotle felicity more perfect than ever that world was so happy to attain unto), though he were most deformed, was most and only beautiful, rich though beggarly, a king though the servant of servants, like cursed Canaan; that all sins were alike, and he offended as much that killed a cock when there was no need, as if he had cut the throat of his father; that their wise man was never moved with pity, never entreated, never went by guess or opinion, never was deceived, never repented anything, never changed his mind. Thence it was that Chrysippus, who was said to prop up the gallery of the Stoics, *porticum Stoicorum suffulcire dicebatur*, offered that strict and tetrical division to the world, *aut mentem aut restim comparandam*, either to get them minds (constant and unmoveable) or to hang themselves.† Now all other men that were not in the compass of this their fantastical and Platonical notion of wisdom, they condemned for fools, frantics, exiles, fugitives, and the like. Amongst the rest of their admirable positions, one was, that their wise man could not be enforced, and that sorrow, painfulness, and grief, were neither good nor evil, but indifferent at least. And surely I must needs say, they were very prodigal of their lives; and little would they seem to regard extremity of tortures. One told Theodorus that he would hang him. Threaten that, saith he, to your carpet-knights. *Minitare purpuratis tuis*. It is all one to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground; and when you have all done, cantharides, a little kind of worms, can do as much as you. When they were upon the rack, they would cry, *O quam suave*, Oh what pleasure is there in racking! Aulus Gellius ‡ writeth of a fencer at the games of Cesar, that when his wounds were lanced by the surgeons, he used to laugh at it. The Donatists and Circumcellions were not much behind them in this madness. But the reason of their insensibility is that (saith Bernard) that the psalm giveth: 'Their heart is as fat as grease,' Ps. cxix. And that which piety worketh in others, hardness of heart worketh in them. Some marvelled (he saith) that heretics did not only suffer death, but they underwent it with joy. But they little considered what power the devil hath, not only upon the bodies, but upon the hearts also which he possesseth. Is it not more for a man to lay violent hands upon himself, than to endure it at the hands of another? Yet that the devil hath thus far prevailed

* Orat. pro L. Muræna. et in Paradox.

† Mentis quam mortis meta tenenda prior.—*Tyrtæus.*

‡ Noct. Attic. lib. xii. cap. v.

with many, we know by frequent experience. He addeth, it is true that the true martyrs are very well content to suffer death, which proceedeth not from stupidity, but from love; neither is there an omission or leasing, but a submission of sense in them; not that pain is away, but for the love of Christ they vanquish and condemn it.* The apostle doth rightly express the cause of their wonderful patience. 'In all these' (he doth not say, we are more than men), but ὑπερνικῶμεν, 'we are more than conquerors.' I return to the Stoics. It fell out that one of that sect was sick at Lebadia. His disease was a fever, wherewith he was so afflicted that he groaned deeply and inwardly to himself, yet would scarcely seem to do it. Taurus, willing to excuse him (a philosopher of a diverse profession), You have seen a sight, saith he, not pleasant, yet profitable to be known, a philosopher and pain wrestling and combating together. The force and nature of the sickness did her office, in causing a distraction and vexation of the bodily parts. On the other side, reason, and the nature of the mind, did that to them appertained, in repressing the violence of grief, and suffering no howlings or unseemly outcries to be heard. One that was present replied, why groaneth he against his will, if pain have no compulsion in it? Taurus answered, that the Stoic was best able to defend himself; but withal, that it was one of the principles in nature to rejoice in that which is good, *inter ea quæ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ φύσιν*, and to shun the contrary; and that some of the Stoics themselves did never allow their indolency, or lack of passion, *Αναλγησίαν*; and lastly, that fortitude was not a monster to strive against nature, and to delight in stupidity and immanity, *Απάθειαν*, but a knowledge and skill to discern what was meet to be suffered, what not. And therefore because this opinion of the Stoics is not only against nature, but the practice of the Son, and all the sons, of God, I thought it labour well bestowed to overthrow these sowers of words (as they called Paul) by their own practice, and by the judgment of other natural philosophers: of whom we may truly say, as Plutarch's servant sometimes said of his master, *Non est ita ut Plutarchus dicit*; it is not as my master saith; his opinion is, that it is a shame for a philosopher to be angry, and he hath often reasoned of the mischiefs that come thereby, and he hath written a book of not being angry, *Περὶ ἀοργίας*; *et ipse mihi irascitur*, and yet is he angry with me. So these affirm in speech that sorrow is nothing, useth no violence against a wise man, yet when it cometh upon them, they are no more able to endure the gripings of it than other fools.

As Taurus spake of the Stoic's ague, so may I of

* Bern. ser. 66. in Cant. Nonné plus est sibimet hominem injicere manus, quàm id libenter ab alio sustinere? Verum est veros martyres æquo animo subiisse dolores. Neque hoc facit stupor sed amor. Submittitur enim sensus, non amittitur, nec de est dolor sed superatur, sed contemnitur.

the misery of Jonah. The force and nature of his misery did her part; reason and the nature of faith, on the other side, were not idle in their offices. Jonah behaved not himself as the deaf rocks of the sea, which the waves beating and breaking upon, yet they feel nothing, *dolere inter dolores nesciens*, not knowing how to be grieved amidst his griefs; but according to the measure and quality of his sorrows so was his sense, and so was the purpose of God, by whom they were inflicted. To descend now to particulars. The matter of his fear, or the danger intended against him, arose from two mighty adversaries, the sea and the land. His danger from the sea is tripled in the fifth verse, according to the number of the clauses therein. First, 'the waters compassed him about unto the soul.' To have been in the waters had not been so much; nor much to be compassed and entrenched, as those that are held in siege. But that they 'come unto his soul,' the meaning is, that his spirit, whereof the quickening and life of his body consisted, was at hand to depart from him, and to yield itself prisoner to the waters that assaulted it, there was the danger. Secondly, *the depth (abyssus) closed him round about.* The depth, or rather no depth. Some measure of water, where the bottom might have been reached, would also have kept his fear within a measure. But to be closed about with a bottomless water maketh a bottomless grief, whereof there is no end. 3. 'The weeds were wrapt about his head,' the sedge, the flags, the bulrushes, and other the like trash, the very scorn and contempt of the sea, dangerous impediments to those that by swimming put themselves upon the mercy of the merciless waters; they were not now fluent and loose, but tied and entangled, not about the arms or legs alone, but about the head of Jonah, the principal spire of his body, the highest tower and, as it were, capitol, *Ἀκρόπολις*, to the city, the leader and captain to all his other parts. Now whether his head were bound about with weeds, when he was first swallowed up, and so they remained about it still, or whether the head of the whale be here the head of Jonah, because he is now incorporate into the whale, and liveth within him as a part of the whale, I examine not; but this was the mind of Jonah, to omit no word, not so much as of the excrements and superfluities of the sea, whereby his inextricable peril might be described.

His danger by land is likewise expressed in two members of the 6th verse. First, he was descended to the bottoms, or ends, or roots, or cuttings off, of the mountains, for where a thing is cut off there it endeth. Man by nature and stature was made to ascend, God gave him his head upwards. But Jonah was descended, which is the state of the dead, according to the phrase of the Scripture, *descendam lugens*, &c., I shall go down sorrowing to my grave. Neither was he descended into the sides, or some shallow cave and vault of the mountains, but as if he were numbered with those forlorn souls, who call upon whole moun-

tains, Fall on us, and upon whole hills, Cover us, Hosea x., so was he descended *ad radices et præcisâ montium*, to the roots and crags of them, lodged in so low a cabin, that all those heaps and swellings of the earth lay upon him. 2. 'The earth with her bars was about him for ever.' What is the strength of a city or house but the bars of it? as we read in the psalm: 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion: for he hath made the bars of thy gates strong; and blessed thy children within thee.' Ps. cxlvii. So then the bars of the earth, that is, the strongest muniments and fences it hath, are the promontories and rocks which God hath placed in the frontiers to withstand the force of the waters. These are the bars and gates in Job, which God hath appointed to the sea, saying unto it, Job xxxviii., 'Hitherto shalt thou pass; here will I stay thy proud waves;' and if you will, these also are the pillars of the earth, which God hath fixed in such sort that it cannot be moved. The meaning of the prophet was, that he was locked and warded within the strength of the earth, never looking to be set at liberty again. I told you before, that the nature of the sea, wherein Jonah travailed, besides the over-natural workings of God, did add much more trouble unto him than if he had passed through the ocean, where he had gained more sea room, and the continent being farther off, would have yielded a liberal current, and less have endangered him. Now he hath land round about him, by reason whereof the sea is more narrow, rocky, and hilly, apter to storms, scanted of roads for safety, and subject to a number of other incommodities. The course of the seas, through which he passed, was this. First he took shipping at Joppa, and was carried through the Syriac sea; thence through Archipelago, or the Ægean; thence through Hellespont, betwixt Sestos and Abydos, where Asia and Europe are divided not by more than seven furlongs, others say by five; afterwards through Propontis, where the sea is patent again, and hath his forth; from thence through Bosphorus Thracius, betwixt Constantinople and Natolia, where the passage is so narrow that an ox may swim over; and lastly, to the Euxine Sea, where, they hold, he was set to land. Thus was he often encumbered with straits, and never had cause to complain of over much liberty, where he was most favoured, till he came to dry ground.

Thus far of the dangers both by sea and land. The first extended his rage, not to the chin or lips of the prophet, but to his soul; and threatened him with a depth bottomless and unmeasurable, and came not against his life with limpid and pure waters alone, but with other impediments, the unprofitable pelf and corruption of the waters. The latter gave him not rest upon a plain floor of the earth, but clasped him under the crags or rocks, and held him close prisoner under the strongest bars and bounders it had. But as in the former staff of the song, so also in this, there is a touch of a distrustful conscience; but there it was

openly expressed, and here it is closely conveyed in. 'The earth with her bars was about me *for ever*.' For what meaneth *in seculum, for ever*, but that he was cast away from the saving health and help of the Lord, without all hope of redemption? Did he not know that although his life were taken from him for a time, it should be restored unto him at the resurrection of just men? What then, if the waters were come up even unto his soul? Or could he persuade himself that any depth of waters could overreach the judgments and counsels of the Lord in preserving his saints? Are not they also *abyssus magna*, as great and a greater deep than ever sea had? What then, if the depth closed him about, did he not know that weeds should rot and fall away from his head, and instead of weeds the head should be crowned with mercy and compassion, and clothed with glory as with the sunbeams? What then, though the weeds were bound about his head, was he to learn that the Lord should one day, say to all the 'prisoners of hope' (though Ossa and Pindus, the graves of those giants had buried their bodies), 'Stand up and shew yourselves;' and that the 'gates of hell,' much less the bars of the earth, are not of force to resist his ordinances? What then, though he were descended to the bottoms of the mountains? &c. What if his head and heart also, body and soul, the whole composition and frame of Jonah, had sustained a dissolution temporal, which the law of mortality, and the common condition of all flesh, had made him subject unto, is there not a time of refreshing, when both the substance and beauty of all these shall be renewed again? Then again, I say, what needeth *in seculum*? so deep a suspicion of the goodness of the Lord, as if it had *for ever* relinquished him? It is an effect which for the most part a vehement grief worketh in all sorts of men, except some of a stoical disposition, and others of a worse, that have scared their hearts with hot irons, and can feel nothing. So we read in the Lamentations, chap. iii., 'My strength and my hope is perished from the Lord.' And for a space of time there is little difference either in speech or thought betwixt precious and reprobate spirits. But whereas the nature of desperation is this, *obligatur consuetudine, obseratur ingratitude, impenitudine obfirmatur*: custom bindeth, ingratitude locketh, impenitency barreth it up; there is not that custom, ingratitude, impenitency in God's chosen ones, but though they lay down their hope, they take it up again; and though they give over the field to the enemy, and seem to fly away, yet they fly to return, and to fight with more courage and upon better advantage.

The hope of a Christian man is very nicely and fearfully placed betwixt two extremities, as Susanna in the midst of two adulterers. *Ista duo occidunt animas, aut desperatio aut perversa spes*, desperation and presumption are two infamous gulfs, and hear as ill as ever Scylla and Charybdis did, for the wreck and

overthrow of many poor souls. For as it is not good on the one side to have too bold and headstrong an hope, that howsoever we live, whether swearing or fearing an oath, we shall be saved (*cá spe freti, sperando pereunt*, they that so hope perish by so hoping; it is the hope of the hypocrite,* and shall come to nought; it is as the house of a spider, Job viii. and xi., that shall soon be overturned), so on the other it is not safe to have our jealous God always in jealousy, and still to diffide whether he be our merciful Father, yea or not. For hope is ever accompanied with two sisters, which never depart from her sides and society, faith and love: faith, the guide to keep us from desperation; love, the rule to keep us from presumption. For he that hath faith can never distrust of the mercies of God, because he believeth the promises in Jesus Christ; and he that hath charity will never presume of a sinful and licentious life, because he is taught by love to keep the commandments of the Most High. Jonah made some trial of both these extremities; for when he went first from the face of the Lord, and refused a plain injunction, what was it else but presumption in him? Now to distrust of the mercies of God, and stiffly to affirm that his miseries shall never be released, is a spice of desperation. But his wisdom was, that at their first invasion he treadeth upon the heads of both these serpents; as soon as he feeleth them sting, he presently armeth himself with the grace of God to escape from them. Otherwise, if as the speech of Jonah was *in seculum*, so the thoughts of his heart had continued *in seculum*, without revocation, then had he also taken up his place amongst those whom God had set on his left hand, and made the mirrors to the world of his irrevocable damnation. For this were *insanabilis plaga*, as Jeremiah speaketh, 'a wound that never can be cured,' to despair of the aid of God; as if a surgeon should promise help to a sore, and the patient should thrust his nails into it, and answer him, Nay, but it shall not be healed. It is the just state of the damned; for when all the people upon the earth besides live by hope (for he that soweth, soweth in hope, and he that reapeth, reapeth in hope, he that liveth, liveth in hope, and he that dieth, dieth in hope, yea, the whole creature groaneth under hope, and 'waiteth for that time with a fervent desire when the sons of God shall be revealed, and itself restored'), these only are past hope. One compareth desperation to the beast in Daniel that hath no name given to it; the first of the four was a lion, the second a bear, the third a leopard, Dan. vii., but this, without distinguishing the kind, was 'very fearful and terrible and strong, and had great iron teeth, destroyed and brake in pieces, and stamped under his feet, and had horns,' enough to push at God with blasphemy, at his brethren with injury, and at the soul within his own bosom with distrust of mercy. Other our sins are

* Infidelis fiducia.—Bern.

fearful enough, and have as it were the rage of lions and leopards and bears, to spoil and make desolate the soul of man; but the final decay indeed, which can never be recovered, whilst there standeth a seat of justice in heaven, is desperation. The greatest sins (they say), are these, which are opposed to the theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity: infidelity to faith, desperation to hope, hatred to charity;† amongst the which, infidelity and hatred, the one not believing, the other hating God, are in themselves worse; but in regard of him that sinneth, desperation far exceedeth them both in the danger annexed to it. For what can be more miserable than a wretch not pitying himself?‡ But to acquit the prophet of the Lord from so damned a sin, as in the former verses, after his deadly downfall (one would have thought) when his judgment came from his own mouth, 'I said I am cast out,' &c., he arose again and set up a standard of comfort to all the distressed of the world, 'Yet will I look again towards thy holy temple;' so in this second fight and fit of his soul, when he is well-nigh spent, and it is a question whether his faith be quick or dead, there cometh another *revivum*, like a shower of the later rain in the drought of summer, to water his fainting spirit, 'Yet hast thou brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God.' The readings are diverse. The Hebrews say, 'Thou hast brought up my life,' or 'caused it to ascend;' the Septuagint, 'My life hath ascended;' Jerome, 'Thou shalt lift up.' Some say from the pit, from the grave, some from death, some from corruption, *fovea, interitus, sepulchrum, φόβος*. There is no odds, for whether of the two times be put, the matter is not great, Thou hast or Thou shalt. For the nature of hope is this, *futura facta dicit*,§ things that are to come, it pronounceth of as already accomplished. In the eighth to the Romans we are 'saved by hope,' though we are not yet saved. And 'whom God hath justified, those he hath also glorified,' though not yet glorified. Ephesians the second, we are 'raised from the dead,' though our resurrection hereafter to be fulfilled. But I stay not upon this. It is a rule in Seneca, that by the benefit of nature, it is not possible for any man to be grieved much and long together;§ for in her love she beareth unto us, she hath so ordered our pains, as that she hath made them either sufferable or short; *aut tolerabilem aut brevem*; that which Seneca imputed to nature, I to hope, grounded on the promises of God, immutable things, the safe and sure anchor of the soul of man, Heb. vi.

The sorrow of Jonah was wonderfully vehement, but soon allayed. Whence had he that speedy mitigation? From nature; nothing less. Hear what the

* Th. Aquin. ii. 2, qu. 20, art. iii.

† Quid miserius misero non miserante seipsum?—August.

‡ August. ad Dardan. In æternis idem est posse et esse.

§ Nemò potest valde dolere et diu.—Epist. xcvi.

voice of nature is. When the people of Israel crieth upon Moses for flesh, Num. xi., what is his cry to God? 'I am not able to bear this people; if I have found favour in thine eyes, kill me that I behold not this misery.' When Jezebel threateneth to make Elijah like one of the dead prophets, 1 Kings xix., he hasteth into the wilderness, and breaketh out into impatience and irksomeness of life, 'O Lord, it is sufficient' (either he had lived, or he had been plagued long enough), 'take away my soul from me.' The woman in the 2d of Esdras having lost her son (be it a figure or otherwise, it is true in both), ariseth in the night season, goeth into the field, decreeth with herself neither to eat nor drink, but there to remain fasting and weeping till she were dead. Esdras counselleth her, Foolish woman, do not so, return into the city, go to thine husband, &c. She answereth, I will not, I will not go into the city, but here will I die. You hear how nature speaketh. Was Jonah thus relieved? No; the sense of his own strength, or rather his weakness, would have sent him headlong, as the devils the herd of swine, into the lake of desperation. It is 'the Lord his God,' whose name is tempered according to the riddle of Samson, both of 'strong and sweet,' who is *fortiter suavis et suaviter fortis*, strong in sweetness, and sweet in strength; *fortis pro me, suavis mihi*, strong for me, and sweet to me, that hath done this deed. Behold, my brethren, there is honey in the lion; there is mercy in the fearful God of heaven; he is not only a Lord over Jonah, to note his majesty and fear, but the Lord his God, to shew the kindness of a Father. It is the Lord his God to whom he repairerth by particular application, and with the disciple of Christ leaneth as it were in his master's bosom, that delivered his life from the pit, and his soul from fainting; before he lay in the depths, and was descended to the ends of the mountains, &c. All that is answered in one word, *eduxisti*, Thou hast brought me up from the pit wherein I was buried, before the waters were come even unto his soul, ready to drink it in, and to turn him to corruption; but now God hath delivered that soul from the corruption it was falling into. What shall we then say? The sea hath no mercy, the weeds no mercy, the earth with her promontories and bars no mercy, the whale no mercy; the Lord alone hath mercy. It fared with Jonah as with a forerunner of his, Ps. cxlii., when 'his spirit was confused and folden up within him, when he looked upon his right hand, and behold there was none that would know him (much less at his left), when all refuge failed, and none cared for his soul; then cried he unto the Lord his God, and said, Thou art my hope and my portion in the land of the living; O hearken unto my cry, for I am brought very low' (even as low as the earth is founded), 'and bring my soul out of prison' (this pit wherein I lie), 'that I may praise thy name.' Oh let not life nor death (I name no more, for death is the last and worst enemy that

shall be subdued), be able to take your hope from you. When your heart in thinking, or tongue in speaking, hath gone too far, correct yourselves with this wholesome and timely *veruntamen, yet notwithstanding*, I will go to the Lord my God, and trust in his name. The nails that were driven into the hands and feet of our Saviour, were neither so grievous nor so contumelious unto him, as that reproach that was offered in speech, 'He trusted in the Lord, let him deliver him.' This was the root that preserved Job, and Job preserved it; Job xiii., when his friends became foes, and added affliction unto him, he willeth them to hold their tongues, that he might speak, not caring what came of it. 'Wherefore do I take my flesh in my teeth,' saith he, 'and put my soul in my hand?' that is, why should I fret and consume myself with impatience? 'If he should kill me, would I not trust in him?' so far is it off, that I despair of the mercies of God, that my life shall sooner leave me, than my assurance of his graces. This was the deep and inward matter he meant in the 19th of his book, from the abundance whereof he made that prophetic and heavenly protestation: 'Oh that my words were written, written in a book, and graven with an iron pen in lead or stone for ever: I know that my Redeemer liveth;' worms and rottenness shall consume me to nothing, but my Redecmer 'is alive, and behold he liveth for evermore, and hath the keys of hell and of death,' Rev. ii. The grave shall be my house, and I shall make my bed in darkness, but I shall rise again to behold the brightness of his countenance. These eyes of nature shall sink into the holes of my head, but I shall receive them again to behold that glorious object. And though many ages of the world shall run on betwixt the day of my falling, and his long expected visitation, yet he shall stand the last day upon the earth, himself *Alpha* and *Omega*, the first and the last of all the creatures of God, to recapitulate former times, and to make full restitution of my ancient losses. What needed writings in a book and graving in lead or stone, but that he was careful of posterity, that the scripture and sculpture of his own conscience might be a monument in time to come for other afflicted souls? The counsel which David giveth his troubled soul, again and again repeated, Ps. xlii. and xliii., because his sorrows were again and often multiplied, shall be my last for this time: 'O my soul, why art thou cast down, and why art thou disquieted within me?' I will not forget to note unto you that one of the greatest temptations he then felt, and that which fed him with his tears day and night instead of meat, was the daily upbraiding of his persecutors, 'Where is now thy God?' If they could have battered the fortress of his hope, they had utterly spoiled him; yet he encourageth that persecuted and down-trodden soul with hearty incitations: 'Why art thou cast down? &c.; trust in the Lord, for I will yet and yet (*adhuc*), give him thanks for the help of his

presence.' Hope is never put to silence, never abasheth or shameth the man that joineth her unto him, Rom. v. ; the sweetest and pleasantest companion that ever travelled with the sojourners upon earth. She carrieth them along through all the difficulties and crosses of the way that lie to interrupt them ; though they have passed through fire and water, she saith, Be not discomfited, ' we shall yet give him thanks for the help of his presence ; ' though through a life so replenished with misery, that they bless the dead more than the living, and count them happier than both that have never been, she saith, Be of good cheer, we shall yet give him thanks, and there is time and matter enough wherein to shew his goodness ; yea though they walk into the chamber of death, and shut the doors after them, and see not the light of heaven, still she biddeth them be bold, for they that sleep in the dust shall arise and sing, the dew of their dry bones shall be as fresh as the dew of the herbs,

and we shall yet give him thanks for the help of his presence. I remember that valiant and thrice-renowned Athenian* (when I speak of the tenure and pertinacy of hope), who, when other means failed, grasped the ships of the enemy with his hands, to hold them to fight, and when his hands were stricken off, stayed them with his teeth, till he lost his life. Hope can never be put from her hold-fast ; her voice is according to her nature, *adhuc confitebor*, I will yet give thanks ; in the winter and dearest time of calamities she springeth, and cannot die ; nay, she crieth within herself, Whether I live or die, I will not lose my patience, for I shall see the day when the Lord shall know me by my name again, righten my wrongs, finish my sorrows, wipe the tears from my cheeks, tread down my enemies, fulfil me with the oil of joy, and I shall yet and for ever give thanks for the help of his presence.

* Cynægerus.

LECTURE XXVIII.

When my soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord ; and my prayer came unto thee, into thine holy temple.
—JONAH II. 7.

THE two last verses, if you remember, were but a varied repetition of that which two others had handled before ; the general parts of all which were the fear and the hope, danger and comfort, of the prophet ; which two affections or conditions (you have often heard) the whole song spendeth itself upon. His fear and danger in the last place was, that neither water nor earth spared him. The waters, touching their pride and exaltation, ' came unto his soul ; ' touching their measure, promised him ' no bottom ; ' touching their train and confederates, ' bound their weeds about his head.' The earth neither lodged him in a smooth and easy floor, but under ' the roots and rags of mountains ; ' nor in an haven, or any the like accessible place, but ' within her bars.' Notwithstanding, the head of the serpent, with all his subtil devices against the life of the prophet, is bruised at the heel of the speech, where one little particle of hope wipeth out all the former discomfiteds : ' Yet hast thou brought up,' &c. Once again, as heretofore I dissembled not with you, I must enter into the self-same matter of discourse and explication. The soul of Jonah may faint within him (as my text telleth us), the sun and moon may fail in their motions, day and night may fail in their courses, the earth may fail and totter upon her props, the sea and rivers may fail and be emptied of their waters, but the word of the Lord shall never fail, neither in truth, nor in the riches and plenty thereof, to minister an everlasting argument to him that dispenseth it. Time, and speech, and audience shall fail, but matter can never want, when that abundant treasure cometh to be opened. It

was well said by Chrysostom, that in a thousand talents of worldly words, a man shall hardly find an hundred pence of spiritual and heavenly wisdom, scarcely ten halfpence. But infinite are the talents of wisdom, that are hid in the words of God, even when they seem in the judgment of man to be most exhausted. The apostle's exhortation to the Colossians, chap. iii., is, that ' the word of the Lord should dwell plentifully among them.' Surely the word of God, in one of the deepest and weightiest points of knowledge, touching our hope, how to be used and where to be founded, hath once and a second time already offered itself unto you. Whether as yet it hath gotten house-room and dwelling among you, I cannot tell : perhaps it did but sojourn in your hearts, and was in nature of a passenger to tarry for a night or an hour ; or haply, as the Levite that came to Gibeah, in the nineteenth of Judges, it hath sitten in the streets, and no man hath received it into house ; or if it hath gotten entrance and admission, it was per force, as those that let down the sick man by the tiles of the house, the doors being pestered and thronged with multitudes, that they could not have entrance otherwise ; it may be the gates of your hearts, being stopped with multitudes of popular and worldly affairs, it took some little fastening against your wills. But that it may *dwell* in your consciences, never to depart from them, and not in a narrow corner thereof, sparingly, and with discontentment, but in such *plentiful* manner as the apostle spake of, to enjoy her full liberty, all other inmates and associates put apart, all distrustful cogitations, either from the wiles of Satan, or weakness of our flesh, removed, the

providence of God hath so ordered it, that after twice navigation, as the proverb is, there should be a third iteration of the same doctrine, that your hearts for ever might be established. When the vision of the sheet was sent unto Peter, in the tenth of the Acts, the voice was uttered unto him three times, 'Arise, Peter, kill and eat;' and the first time he denied it plainly, 'Not so, Lord.' Afterwards he was better advised, and hearkened to the voice of the Lord. When the angel of Satan was sent to buffet Paul, lest his visions should lift him up too high, he 'besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart,' 2 Cor. xii., and then the Lord answered him, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.' It may be according to the sign which God gave Hezekiah, Isa. xxxvii., that 'the first year he should eat of such things as came up of themselves; the second, such as sprung again without sowing; the third, they should sow and reap, and plant vineyards,' &c. So for the first and second time that we hear the doctrine of salvation, we hear without profit, we breed no cogitations within us but such as grow of themselves, natural, worldly, corrupt, and such as accompany flesh and blood, fitter to cast us down than to help us up; but at the third time, when the words of God, with often calling, shall have pierced our hearts, as rain the marble stones, we then apply our minds to a more industrious and profitable meditation of such heavenly comforts. Let it not grieve you, then, if I speak unto you again the same things; and as Paul disputed at Thessalonica, three Sabbath days, of the passion and resurrection of Christ, Acts xvii., so I, three Sabbath days amongst you, of our hope in Christ. Let it be true of vanities and pleasures, that the less they are used, the more commendable, *voluptates commendat rarior usus*; but in the most accepted and blessed things that belong to our happiest peace, be it far otherwise. Our daily bread, though it be daily received, we are as ready to crave still; neither can the perpetual use of it ever offend us. The light of the sun would displease nobody but some lover of darkness, if it never went down in our coasts. The nature of such things, for their necessary use, must needs be welcome unto us, though they never should forsake us; and can the doctrine of faith and affiance in the mercies of God, the light of our dim eyes, the staff of our infirmities, our souls' restorative when it lieth sick to death, and as Chrysostom well compared it, a chain let down from heaven, which he that taketh hold on, is presently pulled up from the hand* of destruction, and set in a large place to enjoy the peace of conscience, can it ever displease us? We were content to hear it once, and I do not doubt but it will be as welcome being repeated ten times. *Et placuit semel*, &c. I make no question, but as when Paul had preached at Antioch in the synagogue of the Jews one day, the Gentiles besought him that he would preach 'the same

words,' τὰ αὐτὰ ῥήματα, 'to them again the next Sabbath,' Acts xiii., so though it were the last work that I did amongst you, to cut the throat of desperation, which hath cut the throat of many a wretched man and woman, to set the pillar of hope under all fainting and declining consciences, yet because it is our last refuge in adversity, and standeth unmoveable like the northern pole, when our souls are most distracted with doubts, and fullest of scruples, to give us aim and direction whither to bend our course, if I shall once again repeat unto you, τὰ αὐτὰ ῥήματα, the self-same words that before, in substance and sense, though not in syllables, I trust I shall find your acceptance as good as when I first began it.

The words propounded are the last of the whole narration, and draw into a narrower compass of speech all that hath been said before; for whatsoever you have heard of the bottom of the sea, floods, and surges, with all those other disturbances already reckoned up, they are now concluded in a little room, 'My soul fainted.' The parts the same which I have observed before; for I need not to acquaint you again, that he hangeth and divideth the whole song between fear and hope, *spemque metumque inter*. And as the feet to that image in Daniel were 'part of iron, part of clay,' which the prophet expoundeth, 'partly strong, partly broken,' so are the feet, if I may so call them, which Jonah, through all this travel, goeth upon: the one of clay, weak, impotent, always shivering, and sinking downward, I mean his fear and distrust; the other of iron, strong, stable, and firm, keeping him upright, his hope and confidence in the mercies of God. His fear is in the former member of the sentence, 'when my soul fainted within me;' his hope in the next, 'I remembered the Lord,' &c. Wherein, to shew that it was not in vain for him to remember the Lord, and withal how he remembered him, he telleth us, that his 'prayer came unto him, into his holy temple.' Concerning his fear, we have to consider, *first*, what person or part he notifieth to have been assaulted, his *soul*; *secondly*, the plight or perturbation of his soul, it *fainted*; *thirdly*, the application of the place, *within himself*.

1. (1.) The danger is much augmented, from that which before it was. Then 'the waters but came to his soul:' here, they had fought against him so long, that 'his soul plainly fainted.' Then the peril but imminent and hard at hand, here it had taken handfast; then was he threatened or beaten by the waters, here he seemeth to be vanquished. All that went before might concern the body alone, and the loss of his temporal life, whereof he was yet in possession. As when he pronounced against himself, 'I am cast away out of thy sight,' it might be no more in effect than what Ezekiel spake, Ezek. xxxviii., 'I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the laud of the living: I shall see man no more amongst the inhabitants of the world: mine habitation is departed and removed from

* Qu. 'land'?—ED.

me like a shepherd's tent, and as a weaver cutteth off his thread, so is my life ended.' But here he confesseth in open terms, that his very soul, that inward, immortal, heavenly substance, which, when the body fainteth, is sometimes most in health, and liveth when the body dieth, that this part faileth him, and leaveth no hope of better things. St Augustine very well defineth the soul to be the whole inward man, where-with this mass of clay is quickened, governed, and held together, changing her names according to the sundry offices which she beareth in the body; for when she quickeneth the body, she is called the soul; when she hath appetite or desire to anything, the will; for knowledge, the mind; for recordation, memory; for judging and discerning, reason; for giving breath, spirit; lastly, for apprehending or perceiving outwardly, sense;* so as the fainting of the soul is the decay of all these faculties. Now, if the light that is in us be dark, how great is the darkness; if the life be death, how great is the death; if the soul faint, how great the defection! The infirmities and disablements of his body, I know, were very great in the whole service and ministry thereof. For what use had he either of his hands, to help himself withal, more than Jeroboam had when his hand was withered? or of his eyes, to behold the light of heaven, more than if the eagles of the valley had picked them out? or of his ears, to hear any sentence of comfort, more than if they had never been planted? The grinders within his head, what did they for him, unless they ground and whetted themselves? His tongue, what tasted it, except his own spittle? He might truly say with the prophet Isaiah, chap. i., that 'from the crown of the head to the sole of his foot,' there was no part that did the duties of it. But all those former defects and impotencies are nothing to that he now speaketh of: 'When my soul fainted within me.' For as the soul is of more worth and excellence than the body, so the languishments of the soul more grievous, and the death of the soul more remediless, than those of the body; and therefore, as the hazard exceedeth, so the health of the soul is more dearly to be tendered. In the greatest distemperatures and disorders of the body, when the bones are smitten asunder, and the loins filled with a sore disease, when the wounds are putrefied and stink, the marrow and moisture quite dried up, yea, though it be brought and dissolved into the dust of death, yet the soul may be safe and sound notwithstanding, and in far better case than when she lived in her house of clay. But if the soul be sick, can the body have any comfort? May we not then infer with him in the comedy, My heart is sick, my reins sick, my spleen sick, my liver sick,† and all my

* Dum vivificat, anima; dum vult, animus; dum scit, mens est; dum recolit, memoria; dum judicat, ratio; dum spirat, spiritus; dum sentit, sensus.—*Aug. de Ecclesiæ Dogmatib.* cap. xxxvi.

† Cor dolet, renes dolent, &c.—*Plaut.*

other parts are out of frame? Out of this comparison between the body and soul, let me make my persuasion unto you. The men of the world were wont to say, saith Bernard, that he that keepeth his body keepeth a good castle.* A castle! how long to continue? This is the error of worldly men, to call their tabernacle, which was made to be removed and pulled down upon every light occasion, a castle. We say not so; but he that keepeth his body keepeth a base dunghill. He that had seen the body of righteous Job ulcerated, blotched, and blained, sitting upon the dunghill, would he not have thought that a dunghill had sitten upon a dunghill? But he that keepeth his soul keepeth a good castle indeed;† born to eternity, he keepeth a heaven in comparison, the sun, and moon, and stars whereof are understanding, faith, and hope, with other Christian graces, and the Lord of hosts himself hath his dwelling therein.‡ There is no man so simple, no man so vile, but taketh this to be a castle of honour and strength, because they believe it to be immortal.§ Our Saviour manifested this difference both by the end of his coming in the flesh, which was principally for our souls, after for our bodies; first to take away the sins of the world, which are spiritual diseases, then to remove corporal infirmities; and by the behaviour of his own person amongst us, who, though he suffered his body to be tried with all kinds of ignominious and accursed vexations, with spittings, whippings, buffetings, and the bitterest death of the cross, yet was it ever his care to preserve his soul free from stains and corruptions. It is not thus with the sons of men nowadays.|| They neglect the care and culture of their souls; but the lusts of the flesh they make provision for with all possible diligence. They have learned from the school of Hippocrates the physician, and Epicurus the swine, to physic and diet their bodies; but the sickness and death of the soul, which are their sins, they never account of till they see they must be punished. O ye sons of men, foolish and slow of heart to conceive the rightest things, how long will ye love such vanities, and seek after leasing? These times are allotted to the soul, not to the body. Now is the time of salvation, not of pleasure and pastime. Let the flesh alone a while, more than nature and necessity require; let it not be favoured, either in food or raiment, or any the like transitory and fading benefit. And when it is weary walking upon the face of the earth, let it go down in peace, and rest in hope till he that came for your souls before shall also come to raise and reform it. In the fainting of our souls, there is a gross difference betwixt Jonah and us. His soul

* Serm. parv. Bonum castellum custodit qui custodit corpus suum. Nos autem non sic, sed sterquilinum vile, &c.

† Qui autem animam custodit, &c.

‡ Quid aliud voces animum quam Deum in corpore humano hospitantem?—*Sen.*

§ Nullus extremus idiota, nulla abjecta muliercula, non credit animæ immortalitatem.

|| Non sic hodie filii hominum, non sic.—*Bern. in declamat*

fainted within him through pain; ours through pleasure, and that pleasure the mother and nurse of a worsen pain. Our flesh is too indolent against the spirit, and keepeth it under with a strong hand. Hagar despiseth Sarah; the servant setteth her foot in the neck of her mistress. The flesh is clothed like the rainbow, with colours of all sorts; we go into the bowels of the earth, we go into the bowels of the sea, as far and as low as ever Jonah went, to seek pearls and the riches of the sea to adorn it. We forget ourselves shamefully in such unnecessary travel. It is the queen that should be clothed in a vesture of needlework, wrought with divers colours; but the queen is stripped of her jewels, the soul robbed of her ornaments and rich attire, and the body is the thief that deceiveth it. The flesh is daintily fed with the finest flour of the wheat, and the reddest blood of the grape, we care not what it costeth, *nunquam animo praeiis obstantibus*; the unworthiest member we have is deified and made our god (a sin beyond the sin of the pagans, shameful and beastly idolatry); they made them gods of silver, and gold, and marble, we of our bellies. What is done with the soul the mean time? Behold, she is pined and famished; the bread of life is not bought nor sought for to strengthen her withal; she is kept from the gospel of peace, and from the body and blood (that inconsumptible meat*) of her holy Redeemer. She that was born from above, to eat the hidden manna, the food of angels, and to be nourished with the tree of life, whose beginnings call her home again,† is less regarded than a lump of earth. Oh consider, that he who loseth the life of a body may find it again. The time shall come when 'they that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God.' But the loss of a soul is unrecoverable. If it die in sin, it shall also die in perdition. Rather it shall not die, for it is not as the soul of the beast, that endeth with the body. Oh living and ever-living death! Let them take heed that have ears to hear with. Their price hath been once paid, which, if the riches of Solomon, treasures of Hezekiah, all the silver and gold within the globe of the earth, could have satisfied, God would willingly have spared 'his own blood,' Acts xx. Let them not look for more Christs, or more passions; if they will go into captivity again, let them go, but they shall not return; if they sell themselves to the will of their enemy, let them never hope for a second ransom.

(2.) *When my soul fainted.* In the second circumstance of the first branch, wherein is noted the affection of his soul, I will rather mark the efficacy of the word here brought than make discourse upon it. The very noting of the word is discourse enough. The words that the Holy Ghost useth are not *Κένοι λόγοι*, vain words, Eph. v., such as are used by men to deceive with, the examination and search whereof yieldeth no

profit; but he that will weigh them aright, must not only view the outward face of the whole sentence at large, but suck out the juice and blood of every several word therein contained. The extremity of the soul of Jonah seemeth to be very great, because there is no little trouble and care how to express it. The Septuagint renders it an eclipse, or, if you will, a dereliction and death of the soul; Calvin, a convolution or folding up together; Tremellius, an overwhelming; Jerome, a straitening or compacting into a close room; Pomeran, a despairing. Whatsoever it is, Rabbi Kimchi affirmeth that the word is never used but of great misery, haply such as shall accompany the last times, when men shall be at their wits' ends for fear, and their hearts shall fail them because of trouble. Ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, Luke xxi. Now whether you say that his soul forsook him, as it were, and there was *deliquium animæ*, *Δειποθυμία*, *Δειποψυχία*, a disparition of it for a time, as if it were not, like the state of Eutychus in the Acts, who was taken up for dead, though his life remained in him; or whether it were wrapt and wound within itself, that her own house was a prison unto her, and she had no power to go forth, no list to think of heaven, no mind to ask the counsel of God or man, as when a bird is snared, the more it laboureth the harder it tieth itself, and though it use the legs or the wings, it useth them to a further hindrance, so all the thoughts that the soul of Jonah thought, were not to ease the heart, but more to perplex it, and all fell back again upon himself; or whether the soul were overwhelmed within him with her own weight, as one that should gather stones for his own grave; or that it was pinched and pressed within a narrow place, that all those former impediments, promontories, and bars of the earth did not imprison him so close as his own fear; or whatsoever it were besides, what was it else but either the messenger and forerunner, or a near companion, to that unnatural and ungracious sin, which we have often already smitten at with the sword of God's Spirit, accursed desperation? How is the gold become dross? How is the soul of man turned into a carcase? The change is marvellous. That that was given to quicken the body, and to put life into it, is most dull and lifeless itself; that that was given to give liberty, explication, motion, agility, and art to every part of the body, is now the greatest burden that the body hath. If I shall give the reason hereof, it is that which Bernard allegeth in a sermon.* The reasonable soul of man hath two places: an inferior, which it governeth,† the body; a superior, wherein it resteth, God; which is the same in substance that Augustine had before delivered in his nineteenth treatise upon Saint John,† it quickeneth, and itself is quickened.

* Serm. xlviii. in parvis.—Animæ rationalis duo loca; inferior quem regit, corpus, superior in quo requiescit, Deus.

† Vivificat, vivificatur. Melius ipsa quàm corpus, melius quàm ipsa est Deus.

* Cibus animæ inconsumptibilis.—Cyprian.

† Sursum animum vocant initia sua.—Seneca.

Wherefore if that better life which is from above relinquish the soul, with the comforts and aids of God's blessed Spirit, how is it possible but that the soul should also relinquish her body, with the offices of her life? This is the reason, then, that the soul fainteth: she first dieth upwards, then downwards, and inwardly to herself. She forgetteth her Maker and Preserver, and he likewise striketh her with amazement and confusion in all her powers, that she lieth as it were in a trance, and knoweth not how to apply them to their several and proper functions.

Now, therefore, if the floods and waves of the sea, wherewith he was embraced on every side, had been as kind unto him as ever were his mother's arms, and those ragged ends of the mountains like pillows of down under his bones; if the promontories and bars of the earth had unbarred themselves unto him of their own accord, like those doors of the prison in the Acts, to let him out; yet, if the soul within him did remain thus fettered and gyved with the chains of her own confusion, and all the devices and counsels of her heart were rather hindrances than helps unto her, and her greatest enmity, or at least her least friendship, came from her own house, that either she thought nothing, or all that she thought was but the imagination of a vain thing, I would not wish her greater harm. He wanteth no other misery that is plagued with a fainting soul. Ask not the malice of the sea, the malice of the land, the malice of hell, against him whom the untowardness and distrust of his own soul hath beaten down.

(3.) The third circumstance maketh mention of the subject or place wherein his soul fainted, that you may know there is no power in man to undo such implicate cords, and to loose the bands of sorrow and death, unless some virtue from without set to an helping hand. The sense is very plain, that in himself his soul fainted, that is, there was no domestical, earthly, natural help that could release him; but when his father, mother, friends, land, sea, his soul, all had forsaken him, the Lord took him up, and gave him better hope. For who should restore to liberty a soul confounded as this was, and re-deliver it to her former abilities, teach her to understand aright, prudently to deliberate, assuredly to hope? who reconcile a man fallen out with himself, and make peace within his borders, or rather revive and recover a man fallen from himself, but he who is said to order a good man's going, and to be a God of order, not of confusion? When the earth was without form, and void, and darkness upon the deep, and neither heaven nor earth, land nor water, day nor night distinguished, who fashioned the parts of that unshapen chaos, separated light from darkness, and brought the creature into a comely proportion, but even the same Lord who, finding this wasteness and informity in the soul of Jonah, made it perfect again? It is evident in the next words; for mark the connection;—'When my

soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord.' How is it possible? for did his soul faint, and was it in a manner no soul unto him (as it fareth with some who seem for a space to be dead, and their spirits to have forsaken them*), was all the strength thereof consumed, stifled, choked, given over within him, and had he a memory left, the cofferer and treasurer of the soul, to remember the Lord with? How came this gift of memory to a soul so taken and possessed, that as Orbilius, a grammarian in Rome, forgot not only the letters of the book, but his own name, so this is even dead and buried under itself, and hath forgotten to think a thought, and laid aside all her accustomed heavenly meditations. Jonah, without question, had never remembered the Lord, unless the Lord had first remembered him. Bernard, upon the words of the Canticles, 'I sought him in the night season,' every soul amongst you, saith he, that seeketh the Lord, that it turn not a great blessing into a great mischief, let her know that she is prevented by the Lord, and that she is first sought before she can seek.† For then are our greatest felicities changed into our greatest woes, when, being made glorious by the graces of God, we use his gifts as if they were not given, *utimur donis tanquam non datis*, and ascribe not the glory of them to his holy name. Who hath first loved him? Give me a man that ever loved God, and was not first beloved, and enabled thereunto, it shall be highly recompensed unto him. But it is most certain that he loved us when we were his enemies, and when we had not existence or being; I say more, when we made resistance to his kindness. *Dilexit non diligentes ipsum. Et non existentes, addo etiam resistentes.* We can promise no more, in this heavenless race and exercise of Christianity, than the prophet doeth in the psalm: 'I will run the ways of thy commandments, when thou hast set my heart at liberty,' Ps. cxix. Wilt thou run with thy feet before thy heart be prepared? Or canst thou run with thy heart before God hath enlarged it? Or canst thou run the way without the way, which is Jesus Christ—a way that thou canst not see till thine eyes be opened and enlightened? Or wilt thou run the way of God's commandments, when thou canst not discern the commandments of God from the motions and fancies of thine own mind? Not so. But when the Lord shall have set thine heart at liberty, then run; when the Lord hath quickened and rubbed up thy memory, then remember him. Otherwise, without that help, we lie lame and impotent, as the cripple at the pool of Bethesda; all the days and years of our life are spent, like his, without ease of our infirmities; and the virtue of the waters of life, as of those in the pool, are by others caught from us. Jerome translateth the words with

* Sabellicus reporteth so of Joannes Scotus.—*Thesaurus, Custos.*

† Noverit se præventam et ante quæsitam quàm quærentem.—*Ser. 84 in Cantic.*

some little difference from others: 'I remembered the Lord, that my prayer might come into his holy temple,' *recordatus sum, ut perveniat*. So his prayer came unto the Lord, by means of his prayer; for that remembering of the Lord was his prayer. But whence came that former prayer, that made way for the latter? Fulgentius, in an epistle* to Theodorus, a senator, laying a sure foundation and axiom to the rest of his speech, would have all that we do, or enjoy, ascribed to the grace of God; next, that the help and assistance of that grace must be craved of God; thirdly, that the craving of his grace is also itself the work of grace; for first it beginneth to be poured into us, that it may afterwards begin to be begged by us;† as unless the light of the air first go into our eyes, our eyes, though made to see, yet see nothing. Fourthly, we cannot ask, he saith, unless we have a will to ask, and what will is there if God work it not? Lastly, he counselleth all men diligently to converse in the Scriptures, wherein they shall find the grace of God, both preventing them in such sort that when they are down they may rise up, and accompanying them, to hold them in their right course, and following them till they come to these heavenly beatitudes. And as he accounteth it a detestable pride of the heart of man to do that which God in man condemneth (he meaneth sinning), so much more detestable that, when a man doth attribute to himself the gifts of God.

Thus much by the just occasion of my text, because he said, when his soul fainted within him, yet he remembered the Lord, which I say again he could never have done, his reason, knowledge, will, memory, all being past, except the Lord had first remembered him.

2. After his fear, again his hope. 'I remembered the Lord, and my prayer came unto thee into thine holy temple.' The particulars are quickly had; after that fainting and fit of his soul, 1, what he did, he *remembered*; 2, whom he remembered, *the Lord*. All the rest serveth for explication. As, namely, 3, how he remembered him, by *prayer*. For it seemeth that not only his memory, but all the faculties and affections of his soul were set on work by him. 4. How his prayer sped; it was not stopped by the way, but *came* unto the Lord, and did the part of a trusty ambassador. 5. It is not amiss to know, that every soul is the Lord's; the soul of the father and the soul of the child are his, and the promises are made not only to Abraham, but to his seed after him, and to all that seed in particular, for he is neither multiplied with multitudes, nor scantied with paucities; so caring for one, that he omitteth not the care of many; so for many, that he ceaseth not to care for one;‡ and there-

fore the prayer here sent was peculiarly his own, as of a person accepted and chosen unto the Lord: *my prayer*. 6. The faithful conjunction of his soul with God, which the apostrophe, and sudden change of the speech, causeth me to note. For now he speaketh not to us, or to his own spirit as before, *I remembered the Lord*, but unto the Lord himself, laying his mouth to those pure and undefiled ears: *my prayer came unto thee*. 7. The place wherein it was presented unto him, *into thine holy temple*, which either he meaneth of heaven, the palace and basilic of the great king, or of the temple of Jerusalem, which all the children of God in those days had respect unto. So Daniel, though he prayed in Babylon, yet 'opened he the windows of his chamber towards Jerusalem,' Dan. vi. And Solomon made request at the dedication of the temple, that if ever his people in the time of famine, battle, captivity, or any the like tribulation, should pray towards that city, and towards that house of prayer, the Lord that sat in heaven would vouchsafe to hear them. Though not sure of the place, yet this I am sure of, that whethersoever of the two be spoken of, the holy Lord hath dedicated it to holiness, and called it by the name of 'an holy temple,' setting thereby a bar about it, as he did about the mount, to keep out beasts and brutish men. For as his temple upon the earth none should, so that other, more sacred and secret, that is in heaven, none shall ever enter into, that is unholy and unclean. To draw those scattered branches home to their root again, the general substance of them altogether is this, that Jonah received hope by remembering the Lord for his part, and that the Lord on the other side accepted his prayer and gave success to it. As Jeremiah spake in the Lamentations, chap. ii., so might Jonah say, 'It is the mercy of the Lord that I am not consumed.' The reason is, 'For his compassions fail not.' The danger seemed uncurable, because it lighted upon the soul, not to the crazing and distempering alone, but the utter overwhelming of it, and no hope left in himself to heal the hurt. What doth he, then? He betaketh himself to the glass of memory, to see what succour he can find there; and as it is placed in the hinder part of the head, so he reserveth it for the hinder part of his miseries, and maketh it his latest refuge to ease his heart.

I have read of memories in some men almost incredible. Seneca writeth of himself,* that he had a very flourishing memory, not only for use, but to deserve admiration. He was able to recite by heart two thousand names in the same order wherein they were first digested. Portius Latro, in the same author, wrote that in his mind which other in note-books, *codices superracuos fecerat*, a man most cunning in histories. If you had named a captain unto him, he would have run through his acts presently. Cyncas being sent from Pyrrhus in an embassy to Rome, the

* Procem. Cursor.

* Epist. vi.

† Ut desideremus adjutorium gratiæ, hoc ipsum quoque opus est gratiæ. Ipsa incipit infundi, ut incipiat posci, &c.

‡ Nec ad multos multus, nec ad paucitatem carus. Sic uni intentus, ut non detentus; sic pluribus, ut non distentus. —Bern. Ser. 69 in Cant.

next day after he came thither saluted all the senators by their names, and the people round about them : a singular gift from God in those that have attained thereto, howsoever it be used. But yet as the object which memory apprehendeth is more principal, so the gift more commendable ; as Tully, comparing Lucullus and Hortensius together, both being of a wonderful memory, yet preferreth Lucullus before Hortensius, because he remembered matter, this but words. Now the excellentest object of all others, either for the memory to account, or for any other part of the soul to conceive, is the Lord. For he that remembereth the Lord, as the Lord hath remembered him, that nameth his blessings by their names, as God the stars, and calleth them to mind in that number and order that God hath bestowed them upon him, if not to remember them in particular, which are more than the hairs of his head, yet to take their view in gross, and to fold them up in a general sum, as David did, 'What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?' though he forget his own people and his father's house, though the wife of his bosom and the fruit of his own loins, yea, though he forget to eat his bread, it skilleth not, he remembereth all in all, and his memory hath done him service enough in reaching that object. And for your better encouragement to make this use of memory, understand that it is a principal means to avoid desperation, only to call to mind the goodness of the Lord forepassed either to ourselves or others. Think with yourselves, that as 'it was he that took you from your mother's womb, and hath been your hope ever since you hung at the breasts, and hath opened his hands from time to time to fill you with his goodness,' so he is as able to bless you still. Compare and lay together the times as David did, that because he had slain a lion and a bear at the fold, therefore God would also enable him to prevail against Goliath. So if the mercies of the Lord have been so bountiful towards you in former times, to create you of the slime of the ground, and to put a living and reasonable soul into you, to nurse you up in a civil and well-mannered country, to redeem you with the blood of his begotten Son, to visit you with the light of his gospel, to justify you with the power of his free gratuitous grace, to fill your garners with store and your baskets with increase, and to give your sons and daughters to the defying of your enemies in the gates ; say to yourselves, 'His arm is not shortened,' he is the same to-day that yesterday, he will never forsake us with his loving-kindness. This is the course that David taketh in the Psalms, a captain never more skilful to lead in the wars, though the Lord had taught his fingers to fight, than to conduct the desolate in the battles of conscience : Ps. xxv., 'Call to remembrance thy tender mercies, O Lord, which have been ever of old.' This was the song that he sang to himself in the night season, in the closet and choir of his own breast, when he communed with his private heart, and 'searched

out his spirits diligently.' 'Hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious?' Ps. lxxvii. He hath then left his old wont. No ; David forgot that the Lord was gracious, and afterwards confessed his fault of forgetfulness, stirred up his decayed memory, and said, 'But I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High.' Not the moments, not the hours, nor days, of a few momentary afflictions, which he hath dealt forth unto me with his left hand, but the years of his right hand, his wonders and acts that have been ever of old. So likewise in another psalm : 'Our fathers have trusted in thee, O Lord ; our fathers have trusted in thee, and were not confounded,' Ps. xxii. What is that to us ? Yes ; we are the children of those fathers, sons of the same hope, and heirs of the same promises. When the disciples of Christ mistook the meaning of their Master touching the leaven of the pharisees, supposing he had said so, because they had brought no bread, he reproveth them for lack of memory : 'O ye of little faith, why think you thus in yourselves ? Do ye not remember the five loaves, when there were five thousand men, and how many baskets full ye took up ? neither the seven loaves when there were four thousand men, and how many baskets ye took up,' Mat. xvi. Thus we should remember indeed how few loaves, and how many thousands of men have been fed with them, and what reversions and remnants of mercy the Lord hath in store for other times. O good Jesus (saith Bernard upon the Canticles*), we run after the smell of thine ointments, the perfume and sweet savour of thy fat mercies. We have heard that thou never despisest the poor afflicted. Thou didst not abhor the thief upon the cross confessing unto thee, nor Matthew sitting at receipt of custom, nor the woman that washed thy feet with her tears, nor the woman of Canaan that begged for her daughter, nor the woman taken in adultery, nor the publican standing afar off, nor the disciple that denied thee, nor the disciple that persecuted thee and thine, nor the wicked that crucified thee ; therefore we run after the smell of thine ointments, and hope to be refreshed with the like scent of grace.

Many have written precepts of memory, and made a memorative art, appointing places and their furniture for the help of such as are unexperienced. I will also give you some helps. When your soul beginneth to faint, as this prophet's did, remember what the Lord is by name. *Jehovah*, a God not in show, but in substance and performance. 'For they that know thy name will trust in thee,' Ps. ix. Remember what by nature, *rich in mercy*, as others are rich in treasure, Eph. ii. His justice, wisdom, and power, and whatsoever he hath, or rather is, besides, are also infinite riches. God hath scarcity of nothing. But as his mercy is above all his works, so the riches of his grace above all other riches. Remember what he is by promise. The Lord is faithful. 'I know whom I

* Ser. xxii. in Cantic.

have believed, and I am sure he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him,' 2 Tim. i. ; 'His truth shall be thy shield and thy buckler,' Ps. xci. ; 'O Lord, be mindful of thy word, wherein thou hast caused thy servant to put his trust,' Ps. cxix. If God be God, follow him, believe him, build upon his word ; his fidelity is a thousand times alleged, that it may be past doubt. Remember what he is by covenant, made unto Abraham and his whole seed, not in the blood of bulls and goats, but in the blood of the seed of Abraham : 'O my people,' saith God by his prophet Micah, chap. vi., 'Remember what Balak king of Moab had devised, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord.' He crieth unto us all at this day, O my people, remember what the prince of darkness had devised against you, and how Jesus Christ the Son of the living God hath answered him, and stopped his mouth with a voice of blood, and nailed his accusations to a cross, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord, how assured it is to those that believe it. This, this is the 'sure foundation,' Isa. xxviii., which he that buildeth upon shall never fall. This is 'the stone that was laid in Zion ;' as for the bow of steel, the wedge of gold, the strength of an horse, the promise of a man, lighter upon the balance than vanity itself, the righteousness of the law, merits of saints, they are the stones of Babylon. This hath been tried to the proof, precious above all the merchandise of Tyre ; and standeth in the head of the corner. He

that believeth in this stone, let him not haste, saith the prophet. Let him not yield too soon to the frailty of his flesh, nor be over-credulous to the suggestions of Satan, nor suffer his hope to be quelled at the first or second assault ; let him stay the leisure of the Lord, for he will certainly visit him. I have shewed you some helps and directions for memory. I know no better hiding-place from the wind, nor surer refuge from the tempest, as Isaiah speaketh, no safer harbours and receptacles wherein to repose your wearied souls, than those I have spoken of. What better secret or shadow hath the Most High ? What closer wings, warmer feathers to keep you from the snare of the hunter—I mean not Nimrod or Esau, mighty, hairy, and wild, making but temporal preys either of men or beasts ; but the hunter of your souls, then when you are distressed, and compassed with troubles round about, and sins, which are the sorest troubles of all other, have taken such hold upon you that you dare not look up, when the soul fainteth, as this prophet's did, wisdom hath hid itself, and understanding is gone aside into a secret chamber, that you know not what to advise, nor where to fetch a thought that may minister comfort, than to remember the Lord of hosts his name, how strong a tower of defence it is ; his nature, how sweet and amiable ; his promises, how faithful ; his covenant, how precious in his eyes ; that the Lord may remember you again in his holy kingdom ?

LECTURE XXIX.

They that wait upon lying vanities forsake their own mercy. But I will sacrifice unto thee, &c.—JONAH II. 8, 9.

THE narration is ended. We are now to annex the conclusion of the song, wherein the prophet betaketh himself to a thankful acknowledgment, and as his tenuity will give him leave, a remuneration and requital of the goodness of the Lord, which his heart had presumed before. The parts are three : 1. A confutation and reproof of all kinds of idolaters, who, as they call upon false gods, so they are likely to be sped but with false deliverances : 'They that wait upon lying vanities forsake their own mercy.' 2. An affirmative or positive determination, and as it were bond that he taketh of himself, to render kindness to his merciful and faithful Lord : 'But I will sacrifice, &c., and will pay that that I have vowed.' 3. A sentence of acclamation, the aphorism and juice of the whole song, the conclusion of the conclusion, the comprehension of sacrifices, vows, prayers, thanksgivings, all things : 'Salvation is the Lord's, or the Lord.'

1. *They that wait upon lying vanities forsake their own mercy.* What communion is there between darkness and light, falsehood and truth, the table of devils and the table of the Lord, idolatry and the right ser-

vice of the righteous God ? This is the cause that Jonah beginneth with confutation. Before he will plant the vineyard, he will remove stones, and briars, and all other obstacles that may hurt the growth of the vines. Before he buildeth his house, he will first pull down a ruinous and rotten foundation. So is the duty of a prophet in the first of Jeremiah, 'This day have I set thee over nations and kingdoms,' *first*, 'to pluck up, to root out, destroy, throw down ;' *secondly*, 'to plant, and build, and set up again.' And so is the duty of an evangelist also, who hath received the administration of the gospel of Christ, first to prepare the way, as it were, and to make straight paths before the face of Christ ; that is, first to reprove and then to teach concerning doctrine, first to correct and afterwards to inform touching conversation, 2 Tim. ii. John Baptist, you know, a middle man between the law and the gospel, a prophet and more than a prophet because he both foresaw, and visibly saw the Lord of life, both prophesied and pointed with his finger, turning his face, like their Janus in Rome, both ways ; he first made ready the houses and hearts of the people

before the King of Zion came, 'east down hills, lifted up valleys,' &c., that the gospel of the kingdom might have the freer admission. He began his preachings with reprehension of their vicious lives, 'O ye generation of vipers;' and convulsion of their false grounds, 'Say not within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father,' &c. 'No man setteth a new piece to an old garment;' he maketh the rent but worse. 'No man putteth new wine into old bottles;' for he then marreth both. It is to little purpose to offer truth, and the tidings of peace, the news of the New Testament, to the old man whose ancient corruptions hang upon him, and his wedded conscience is thoroughly seized and possessed with inveterate errors. There is but one truth, oppugned by falsehoods without number, like the arms of the sea; but the nature and courage of that one truth is, wheresoever she findeth falsehood, not to dissemble her quarrel and emulation to her enemy, but to play the part of truth, that is, simply, ingenuously, apparently, to defy her adversary, and to withstand her to the teeth. Fulgentius, in his first book to Thrasymund, king of Vandals, giveth the reason of this orderly proceeding: *Pene id esse fidei nolle asserere, quod negare*, it is almost all one to deny the faith, and not to maintain it. He bringeth the reason of that also: *Uno eodemque silentio firmat errorem, qui terrore seu tepore possessus silendo non astruit veritatem*, because, by one and the same silence he strengtheneth error, who, through fear or negligence holding his peace, affirmeth not the truth; as a sleepy sentinel betrayeth the tents of the king, not that he hath a will perhaps to betray them, but because he keepeth not the watch as he ought, nor descrieth the enemy which cometh to assault them. One heaven holdeth not Michael and the dragon in peace, nor one house the ark and dagon, nor one womb Jacob and Esau, nor one temple prayer and merchandising, nor one camp the clean and the leprous, nor one bath John and Cerinthus, nor one heart God and mammon, nor one tongue God and Molech, nor one conscience truth and falsehood, religion and superstition. This, I suppose, was the reason why Jonah beginneth his speech with a triumph against idolaters, and being to magnify the strong arm of the Lord, doth it with disdain and contempt of all those that seek unprofitable means. Thus much generally touching his order of proceeding.

The refutation divideth itself into two parts, an antecedent and consequent, a position and privation, what they do, whom he taxeth by his speech, and what they lose by so doing. If they 'observe lying vanities,' which is the former, they are sure to 'forsake their own mercy,' which is the latter. In both these joined together, the parts are so disposed, that there is a matching of three with three. On the one side, (1.) they are said to *love*, to be intentive and fond upon; (2.) that which they love is *vanity*, emptiness, nothing; (3.) that vanity is *lying*, fraudulent, deceitful unto them. On the other, whereas they loved

before, now (1.) they *leave*, abandon, give over; (2.) that which they leave, instead of vanity, is *mercy*, which might do them good; (3.) that mercy is *their own*, as proper and peculiar unto them, if they would use it, as ever anything in their rightful possession. Do ye not see the change that worldlings make: corn for acorns; a state of innocency, immortality, incorruption, for an apple; the prerogative of birthright, with the blessing that belongeth unto it, for a mess of pottage, belly cheer, as Esau did; a kingdom upon earth, and the kingdom of heaven also, for oxen, and asses, and sheep, as Saul did; Christ, his gospel, his miracles, his salvation, for an herd of swine with the Gadarenes; God for idols, mercy for vanity, the comfortablest nature that ever was created, for that which profiteth not?

It is thought by some, that the speech here used is, by a concession or insultation, against idolaters, and as it were a farewell and defiance unto them. *Derelinquant*, 'let them forsake their own mercy,' if they like the change so well, and will not receive warning; as he in the comedy, *Pereat, perdat, profundat*, let him sink, and waste, and consume all that he hath, I will never speak word unto him more. Against sinners past grace, you shall often find renuncements unto them: Ps. lxi., 'Lay iniquity to their iniquity, and never let them come into thy righteousness.' When they have sold themselves to sin, and hate to be reformed, this is the mercy that befiteth them. 'Reprove not a scorner,' saith Solomon, Prov. ix., 'lest he hate thee.' If there be any amongst us with whom the mercy of God is so vile and contemptible, that it is not of force to over-sway lying vanity, but vanity is the stronger man, and keepeth the house against mercy, let them go on in vanity still, and as Christ gave over the Scribes, Mat. xxiii., let them fulfil the measure of their wretched choice. But let them know withal, that as the prodigal son forsook his father's house for a strange country; his father's favour and inheritance for a bag of money; father, and kindred, and friends, for dishonest and uncourteous harlots; and the bread in his father's house for the husks of beans which the swine abroad fed upon, and his soul desired: so they forsake God for this present world, heaven for earth, the pleasure of sin for a season, for everlasting pleasures at God's right hand, and finally their own mercy, as faithful and true unto them as ever was their soul to their body, for whorish and foreign vanities, which live and die in an instant of time, and leave no substance behind them. Oh how happy were our lives, think we, if these two might stand together, vanity for a while, till we had satisfied ourselves therewith, and afterwards mercy with a wish! 'Let me first go kiss my father,' and take my leave of friendly delights; let me not suffer the flower of mine age to pass without garlands of rose-buds and sweet ointments, then I will come and follow thee. It must not be. The lion and the bullock, leopard and kid, may feed and lie together,

but vanity waited upon, as my text speaketh (serviceably pursued, officiously and diligently embraced, and drawn with cords, as another prophet hath), and the mercy of God, have no agreement.

1. In the former and positive member of the refutation, we are directed to three particulars: first, their habit and affection of whom he speaketh, who are not content to think of, or sometimes to commit, a vanity, but they *love*, observe, attend upon it. They keep it, and maketh much thereof, saith Jerome, as if they had found a treasure, *quasi invenerint thesaurum*. Lyra noteth perseverance, Mercer pertinacy, as of a thing, that in no case they can be persuaded to forego, *mordicus retinent*. Secondly, the nature of that which their affections are set upon; *vanity*, that which is not, as Narcissus loved the shadow that the water cast up, nay, *vanities*. The singular is not enough to express their folly. They run through all the classes and ranks of vanity, the kennel and sink of as much as their hearts can devise. Thirdly, the quality of these vanities, that which must needs accompany them, unless they could cease to be vanities, that they are *lying* and unprofitable, having no solidity in them. The first noteth their superstition, in that they are so diligent and observant. The second their folly and indiscretion, in making so bad a choice. The third their confusion, that they trust and are tied to that wherein no substance, no succour is.

(1.) *They that love lying vanities.* I know not so well the reason, but I find that conclusion everywhere proved, which our Saviour layeth down in the Gospel, 'The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' First there is nothing that winneth the common people (mark it when you will) more than superstition.* Add the judgment of the Roman orator in the second place,† a man that is won to superstition can never be quiet in mind. Which, whether it be our pride that we are all in love, as Pygmalion with his picture, so we with the works of our hands, and devices of our heads, and therefore the true service of God we are not so soon allured with, because it cometh by precept, as with the inventions of our own brain, because we are the authors of them ourselves (Philo implieth so much, writing of religions, that every man's part seemeth best unto him, *sua cuique optima*, because they judge not by reason, but by affection), or whether it be the care and vigilancy of the devil, whom he hath gotten prisoners, those to load with the more irons, and to keep them in safe custody, and if it be possible, to make them love their captivity; or whatsoever the cause else be, this I know (to begin at the head), that Satan will spare no pains in compassing the whole earth to gain a soul, a Scribe or Pharisee will travel sea and land to

win a proselyte, an idolatrous Jew will freely bestow his jewels and earrings to make a golden calf, an Ammonite will not spare his son or daughter from the fire to sacrifice to Moloch, a priest of Baal will cut and lance his own flesh to demerit his idol, a false prophet will wear a garment of hair next his skin to deceive with, a friar will whip himself till the blood run down his shoulders, the fathers and children of Babylon will rise early and late to keep canonical hours, observe fasts, walk pilgrimages, run over their beads, and rather lose a limb of their bodies than a ceremony of their church, and in every act of their councils, and third line of their writings, *anathema* to men and angels that hold otherwise.

Let it be their commendation that they take such pains to do wickedly, Jer. ix. A thief is more watchful to break through the house than the goodman to guard it. The traitors that Cæsar feared in Rome were not those that were fat and well in proof, but *macilenti et pallidi*, Cassius and Brutus, that were lean and pale, spending the sap of their flesh with travelling, watching, plotting devices.

(2). What is it they love and labour upon so much? *Vanities*. 'Is it not of the Lord of hosts that men shall labour in the fire,' to burn and consume themselves, 'and the people shall even weary themselves for very vanity'? Hab. ii. They that plough wickedness (a toilsome occupation), do they not reap iniquity and eat the fruit of lies, because they trust in their own ways? Hos. x. A man may ask them with the prophet, Isa. lv., 'Wherefore bestow you your labour and are not satisfied?' Or with the apostle, Rom. vi., when he seeth their labour lost, 'What profit had ye in those things whereof ye are now ashamed?'

The vanities he nameth are not only the idols of the heathen, which have neither sight in their eyes nor hearing in their ears, nor breath in their nostrils, nor help in their hands to wipe away the dust from their own faces; but whatsoever the world hath, visible or invisible, outward or inward, besides displacing God of his right, and bearing our heart and hope after it, it is our idol in some sort, and one of those lying vanities that is here mentioned. Jonah committed idolatry in leaving the mandate of God, and bending his journey after the lusts of his own heart. That improbable cogitation which he fancied to himself, of escaping the presence of God by taking a contrary way, was the idol he served and waited upon, and the lying vanity wherewith he was beguiled. The God of heaven called unto him, 'Arise, go to Nineveh;' the god of his own making, the device of his brain, commanded otherwise, Arise, flee to Tarsus. The covetous man is called an idolater in plain terms, Eph. v. Job expresseth the right form of their canonization, whereby they make gold a god: 'They say to their wedge, Thou art my confidence.' As treason and rebellion putteth up a new king (Absalom for David), so covetousness a new god, mammon

* Nulla res efficacius multitudinem movet quàm superstitio.—Curt.

† Superstitione qui est imbutus, quietus esse nunquam potest.

for Jehovah. You 'cannot serve God and mammon.' Dispute not superfluously and idly* that you can do it, for God hath pronounced the contrary, Οὐ δύνασθε. God crieth, Lend, give, scatter, cast upon the waters, feed, clothe, visit, harbour, and is not obeyed. Mammon crieth on the other side, Take, gather, extort, strip, starve, spoil, and is hearkened unto. Whether of these two is now the God?

Another idolatry is mentioned by Habakkuk, in the first of his prophecy, of those that 'sacrifice to their nets, and burn incense to their flews;' who, because their portion is increased and their meat plenteous by these instruments and helps which they use in their trades of fishing or the like, they forget the right author of their thrift, and arrogate all to themselves and their serviceable means. Some make an idol of their own brain, as the king of Tyre did, who thought that 'by his wisdom and understanding he had gotten riches into his treasury,' Ezek. xxviii., and his heart was so highly exalted with that conceit, that he could not forbear that most blasphemous and Luciferian presumption, I am a god! Such are the statesmen (as they love to be held), the politicians and Machiavellists of our sinful age, plotters of kingdoms and commonweals, who think themselves wiser than Daniel, as the king of Tyre did, and that Moses and the prophets are not so able to instruct them as they themselves. Some make an idol of the strength of their arms, as Sennacherib did: 'By the multitude of my chariots have I done thus and thus,' Isa. xxxvii.; but touching the true Lord of hosts, as if he were less than nothing, and had lost the strength of his mighty arm, he vaunteth to the king of Judah, 'Let not thy God deceive thee.' The end of all is this, *idolum nihil est*, an idol is so far from being more than vanity, that it is mere nothing. I know, in an idol of silver, or gold, or brass, there is both matter and fashion. Gold is gold, and the thoughts of our hearts, thoughts; our wisdom, beauty, and strength are qualities that have their being. And if we make either belly or back our god, they are both creatures that God hath made, but they are nothing of that which we suppose them to be. We make them our honour, our hope, our confidence; such they are not. For yet a little while, and the moth, the worm, rottenness, rust, and consumption shall inherit them all. The righteous shall behold it and fear, and laugh them to scorn that have been so mad after vanities. *Ecce homo*, 'Behold the man which hath not made God his helper, but trusted in riches,' Ps. lii., or other like transitory things. Wherefore I exhort you all, as Paul his auditors at Lystra, Acts xiv., that ye turn from these vain hopes, 'from these foolish and paltry idols,' Απὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων (whether you are fallen in liking with yourselves or other creatures), 'to serve the living God, which made the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all that therein is.'

* Ex superfluo.—*Chrysost.*

The prophet might have called them by other names, to note that iniquity, filthiness, abomination, that is found in them; but (setting the Lord and his kingdom aside) he taxeth the whole world and whatsoever is therein contained, with the general censure of Solomon, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' He that filled the earth with his wisdom as with a flood, filled it also with vanity as with a flood; he smiteth on both cheeks, vanity and vanity again; and to shew that he did not repent him of his speech, pronounceth a third time, 'All is vanity,' that you may know whatsoever you may cleave unto besides the true subsisting Lord, it hath not that substance and certainty which you first imagined.

Therefore is the attribute set unto it, in the next place, *lying vanity*, because there is nothing but deceit in them. In the 4th of Genesis, when Eve had brought forth her first-begotten son, she called him Cain, a man purchased or obtained of the Lord. Some say more, 'I have obtained the man that is the Lord,' *virum acquisivi Jehoram*; thinking, undoubtedly, that she had been the mother of that blessed seed which should bruise the head of the serpent. But finding herself deceived, and overweening, in a corrupt, cruel man, she named her second son Abel, that is, *vanity*, to note that her former hope was altogether frustrated. The epithet is very fitly adjoined to vanity, and in effect signifieth the same that vanity doth, for what is vanity but lying and deceiving? Aulus Gellius* writeth of a vain grammarian that made himself most skilful in Sallust's words. Apollinaris, to try his skill, met him on a day, and asked him what Sallust meant (if he were so cunning in the blood and marrow of his history as he professed), by saying of C. Lentulus that it was a question whether he were more foolish or vain, *stolidiornè esset an vanior*. The interpreter answered him, The knowledge I take upon me is in ancient words, *priscorum ego verborum*, &c., not these that are common and worn by daily use. For he is more foolish and vain than was that Lentulus, who knoweth not that both these words note but the same weakness. Apollinaris, not satisfied with this answer, and to satisfy others that desired to be better instructed by him, at length resolved that they were properly termed vain men, not as the common people held, who were dullards, witless, and fools, but in the opinion of the most ancient learned, such as were given to lying and faithlessness, *mendaces et infidi*, &c., who gave lightness for weight, and emptiness for that that hath true substance. Now, as in an idol in propriety, there are sundry reasons that make it to be a lying vanity, for, *first*, the author and suggester was the father of lies; *secondly*, the former of it lied to himself in thinking that it was the pleasure of God that idols should be fashioned; *thirdly*, he that trusteth therein lieth, for he sayeth to wood or stone, Thou art my helper;

* Lib. xviii., Noct. Attic. cap. iv.

fourthly, the whole substance of the idol lieth, *substantia tota mentitur*, in promising help where none is, and seeming to be that which it is not; so, on the other side, those other idols which I named are lying vanities, and shall as little profit us when we crave their truth, as grass the mower that groweth upon the house tops. If we trust unto them, let us look for no better aid and comfort therein than those others in the prophet, who confessed too late, 'We have made falsehood our refuge, and under vanity are we hid,' Isa. xxviii. I conclude the first member. 'Trust not in oppression or robbery. If riches increase, set not your heart upon them.' 'Man disquieteth himself in vain,' saith the psalm, 'heapeth up riches, not knowing who shall gather them.' 'An horse is but a vain thing to save a man, neither is it his bow that can deliver him.' A man is a vain thing to save a man; if you weigh him upon the balance, you shall find him lighter than vanity. Wisdom is as vain, and shall become as foolish as of the beasts that perish. Strength is as vain, and shall become as weak as water spilt. Beauty is as vain, and shall be changed into loathsomeness more than the sores of Lazarus. All these are vanities, and vain vanities, lying vanities, as empty as the wind, as fleeting as the mist in the air. God only is true, and his promise just. 'His faithfulness is above the clouds, and his righteousness exceedeth as the greatest mountains.'

2. The consequent or private* part of the refutation is in the words following, 'They forsake their own mercy.'

(1.) Mercy forsaketh not them, but they mercy: *derelinquunt non derelinquuntur*. God is ever foremost in love, never hateth till he is first hated: *Deus prior in amore, posterior in odio*. It is not only to hazard, and put in adventure, nor to extenuate and diminish the mercy of God, but wholly to renounce it, and so send a farewell to God, to embrace vanities. It is a wall of partition betwixt us and grace; I had almost said it is as the great gulf that was betwixt Abraham and the rich man. Surely it shall stand as the faithful witness in heaven, that 'neither idolater, nor adulterer, nor covetous persons' (both which, with many other offenders, are idolaters in another kind), 'shall ever inherit the kingdom of God,' Luke xvi. You see how the consequence holdeth. Love they the one? They certainly leave the other. There is no halting betwixt two opinions; if God be God, they must follow him alone; there is no mingling of Baal with him. Our God is a jealous God, and suffereth no copartner or competitor in any part of that honour that belongeth unto him.

(2.) But in leaving *mercy*, so sweet and amiable a nature in him that is love itself, unwise and unhappy wretches, what do they leave? More than all the worldly solaces shall be able to supply unto them; they leave even the 'bowels of mercy,' *Σπλάγχνα ἐλέους*, as Zacharias sang in the Gospel of Luke,

* Qu. 'privative'?—Ed.

chap. i.; for 'as a father pitieth his children' (and more by a thousand degrees), 'so hath the Lord compassion toward all them that fear him,' Ps. ciii. And 'a mother may forget the fruit of her womb,' but the Lord shall never forget his children of election. These bowels and inwards of mercy they leave (mercy so deep and affectionate, that the seat of affections in man sufficeth not to express it) that relinquish God's mercy. It had been more ease and happiness unto them if their own bowels had fallen from their bodies, as the bowels of Judas. They leave not handfuls of barley and pieces of bread, temporal and trifling commodities, parcels of that bounty and goodness which God hath bestowed upon them, but the universal mercy of God, as great in quantity as the space of the whole world; for 'look how high the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that fear him;' nay, the world may be measured and spanned, but 'of his goodness there is no end.' They leave that mercy that is better than their life, Ps. lxxiii.; for what is life without mercy? Mercy gave it unto them at the first, mercy preserveth it, mercy shall exchange it hereafter, and mercy restore it at the last day. Without this life of mercy to their mortal lives, they live, or rather die, in everlasting misery. Peter told his Master in the Gospel, to shew how willing they were to make Christ their only advantage, 'Behold, we have left all.' He might as truly have said, Behold, we have found all. They left their fathers, mothers, kinsfolks, houses, nets, vanities; they found the mercy of God, which made a full amends. These other were the things that were made to be left.

*Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor.**

We must leave lands and houses, wives and children, with their temporal commodities. But the change of the apostles of Christ was no unprofitable change, to have left all for him that is above all.† But woe unto them who, after their term of vanity expired, and vanities left, have not *miserere* in store, a groan and sob in their souls to call for mercy, and a favourable propension in the ears of their Lord to hearken to their cry.

(3.) Lastly, It is their *own mercy* which they forsake that embrace vanity. I mean not active mercy in themselves, inhabiting their own hearts, but the mercy of almighty God, tendered and exhibited to each man in particular, whether he be bond or free, Jew or Gentile; for his mercy is not only 'from generation to generation,' but from man to man. And in this sense it is true which God spake by Ezekiel, 'Every soul is mine; the soul of the father is mine, and the soul of the son is mine also.' Therefore it is not said in my text that they leave the mercy of God, but 'their own mercy,' the patrimony of their Father

* Horat.

† Non inutilis commutatio est, pro eo qui est super omnia, omnia reliquisse.—Bern.

in heaven, a portion whereof was allotted to every child. For the inheritance of the Lord is not diminished by the multitude of possessors; it is as large to every heir apart as to the whole number put together.* 'This poor man cried' (saith the psalm, naming a singular person, but leaving an universal precedent to the whole church), 'and the Lord heard him.' And that poor man crieth, and the Lord will also hear him, *iste pauper et ille pauper*. You may make up a perfect induction and enumeration; for if all the poor and destitute in the world cry unto him, he will hear them all.

The refutation is now ended, and giveth place to the assertion or affirmation what himself will do; not as before he did, walking after the lusts of his own eye and heart; nor as the manner of the heathen is, embracing lying vanities, but acknowledging his life and liberty to come alone from the Lord of mercy: 'But I will sacrifice unto thee,' &c. To him only will he pay the tribute that is due unto him, not deriving his safety from any other imaginary helps. He will offer sacrifice which the law required, and he will first make and afterwards pay the vows which the law required not; the one an offering (in manner) of necessity, the other of a free heart. He will not offer with cakes or wafers and oil (and yet perhaps not without these), but with thanksgiving, an inward and spiritual sacrifice; and that thanksgiving shall have a voice to publish it to the whole world, that others may witness it. Sacrifices and vows I handled once before. Let it now suffice, by way of short repetition, to let you understand, that he offereth the best sacrifice who offereth himself, body and soul, all the members of the one, affections of the other, to serve the Lord. It shall please him much better, and cast a sweeter smell into his nostrils, 'than a bullock that hath horns and hoofs.' And he maketh the best vow who voweth himself. I say not in the world a virgin, but a virgin to Christ; that whether he marry or marry not, he hath not defiled himself with women (for he that shall say, hath not coupled or matched himself with women in an holy covenant, misseeth the whole scope of that scripture), that voweth himself, I say not in the world a pilgrim, to gad from place to place, but a pilgrim to Christ, that though he lie beneath 'in a barren and thirsty ground where no water is,' yet he walketh into heaven with his desires, and in affection of spirit liveth above, where his Master and Head is; that voweth himself, I say not in the world a beggar, but a beggar to Christ, that though he possess riches, yet he is not by riches possessed, and albeit he leaveth not his riches, yet he leaveth his will and desire to be rich. For it was well observed by a learned father, *Facilius saccus contemnitur quam voluntas*, the bag is more easily contemned than the will; and if you will, you may relinquish all though you

keep all: *Si vultis, etiam retinendo relinquitis*. This, I say, is the richest sacrifice and rightest vow, to give thyself, and vow thy service and adherence, to almighty God, as we read that Peter did (but to perform it with more fidelity), 'Though all forsake thee, I will not.' And what, I beseech you, are these sacrifices and vows but pensions of our duty, arguments and seals of thankful minds, which is as marrow and fatness to the bones of a righteous man, Ps. lxxiii., to praise the Lord with joyful lips, to remember him on his bed, and to think on him in the night watches; that is, both early and late, season and not season, to be telling of all his merciful works, and recounting to himself his manifold loving-kindnesses?

The last thing I proposed is the sentence or epiphonema concluding the conclusion, or it may be the reason of his former promises, 'I will offer sacrifices,' &c. Why? Because 'salvation is the Lord's.' I am sure it is the sum of the whole discourse; one word for all, the very moral of the history. Shall I say more? It is the argument of the whole prophecy, and might have concluded every argument therein. The mariners might have written upon their ship, instead of Castor and Pollux, or the like device, *Salvation is the Lord's*; the Ninevites in the next chapter might have written upon their gates, *Salvation is the Lord's*; and whole mankind, whose cause is pitted and pleaded by God against the hardness of Jonah his heart, in the last, might have written in the palms of their hands, *Salvation is the Lord's*. It is the argument of both the testaments, the staff and supportation of heaven and earth. They would both sink, and all their joints be severed, if the salvation of the Lord were not. The birds in the air sing no other note, the beasts in the field give no other voice, than *Salus Jehova*, Salvation is the Lord's. The walls and fortresses to our country, gates to our cities and towns, bars to our houses, a surer cover to our heads than an helmet of steel, a better receipt to our bodies than the confection of apothecaries, a better receipt to our souls than the pardons of Rome, is *Salus Jehova*, the salvation of the Lord. *The salvation of the Lord* blesseth, preserveth, upholdeth all that we have: our basket and our store, the oil in our cruses, our presses, the sheep in our folds, our stalls, the children in the womb, at our tables, the corn in our fields, our stores, our garners; it is not the virtue of the stars, nor nature of the things themselves, that giveth being and continuance to any of these blessings. And 'what shall I more say?' as the apostle asked, Heb. xi., when he had spoken much, and there was much more behind, but that time failed him. Rather, what should I not say? for the world is my theatre at this time, and I neither think nor can feign to myself anything that hath not dependence upon this acclamation, *Salvation is the Lord's*. Plutarch writeth, that the Amphictions in Greece, a famous council assembled of twelve sundry people, wrote upon the temple of

* *Hæreditas Domini non minuitur multitudine possessorum; tanta singulis, quanta universis.*—August.

Apollo Pythius, instead of the Iliads of Homer, or songs of Pindarus (large and tiring discourses), short sentences and memoratives, as, *Know thyself, Use moderation, Beware of suretyship*, and the like. And doubtless though every creature in the world, whereof we have use, be a treatise and narration unto us of the goodness of God, and we might weary our flesh, and spend our days in writing books of that unexplicable subject, yet this short apophthegm of Jonah comprehendeth all the rest, and standeth at the end of the song, as the altars and stones that the patriarchs set up at the parting of the ways, to give knowledge to the after-world, by what means he was delivered. I would it were daily preached in our temples, sung in our streets, written upon our door-posts, painted upon our walls, or rather cut with an adamant claw upon the tables of our hearts, that we might never forget salvation to be the Lord's. We have need of such remembrances to keep us in practice of revolving the mercies of God. For nothing decayeth sooner than love: *nihil facilius quam amor putrescit*.* And of all the powers of the soul, memory is most delicate, tender, and brittle, and first waxeth old, *memoria delicata, tenera, fragilis, in quam primum senectus ineurrit*; and of all the apprehensions of memory, first a benefit, *primum senescit beneficium*.†

To seek no further for the proof and manifestation of this sentence within our coasts, I may say, as our Saviour in the nineteenth of Luke to Zaccheus, This day is salvation come unto this house. Even this day, my brethren, came the salvation of the Lord to this house of David, to the house of this kingdom, to the houses of Israel and Aaron, people and priesthood, church and commonwealth. I held it an especial part of my duty, amongst the rest, the day inviting,‡ and your expectation calling me thereunto, and no text of mercy and salvation impertinent to that purpose, to correct and stir up myself with those four lepers that came to the spoil of the Syrian tents, 2 Kings vii., I do not well: 'this is a day of good tidings, and should I hold my peace?' Let the leprosy of those men cleave unto my skin, if it be not as joyful a thing unto me to speak of the honour of this day, as ever it was to them to carry the happy news of the flight of Aram. It is the birthday of our country. It was dead before, and the very soul of it quite departed. Sound religion, which is the life of a kingdom, was abandoned, faith exiled, the gospel of Christ driven into corners, and hunted beyond the seas. All these fell, with the fall of an honourable and renowned plant, which, as the first flower of the fig-tree, in the prime and blooming of his age, was translated into heaven;§ they arose again with the rising and advancement of our gracious lady and sovereign. Were I as able as willing to procure solemnity to the day, I would take the course that David did, Ps. cxlviii., I would begin at heaven, and

call 'the angels and armies thereof, the sun, moon, and stars;' I would descend by the air, and call the 'fire, hail, and snow, vapours, and stormy winds;' I would enter into the sea, and call for 'dragons and all deeps;' I would end in the earth, and call for the 'mountains and hills, fruitful trees and cedars, beasts and all cattle, creeping things and feathered fowls, kings of the earth and all people, princes and judges, young men and maidens, old men and children,' to lend their harmony and accord unto us, to praise the name of the Lord, to accompany and adorn the triumph of our land, and to shout into heaven with no other cry than this, *Salus Jehova*, Salvation is only from the Lord, by whom the horn of this people hath so mightily been exalted. O happy English, if we knew our good, *bona si sua norint Angli*; if that royal vessel of gold, wherein the salvation of the Lord hath been sent unto us, were as precious and dear in our account as it rightly deserveth! Her particular commendations, common to her sacred person not with many princes, I examine not. Let it be one amongst a thousand, which Bernard gave to a widow queen of Jerusalem, and serveth more justly to the maiden queen of England, that it was no less glory unto her to live a widow (having the world at will, and being to sway a kingdom, which required the help of a husband) than a queen. The one, saith he, came to thee by succession, the other by virtue; the one by descent of blood, the other by the gift of God; the one it was thy happiness to be born, the other thy manliness to have attained unto; a double honour, the one towards the world, the other towards God, both from God.* Her wisdom as the wisdom of an angel of the Lord (so spake the widow sometimes to David), fitter for an angel than myself to speak of; her knowledge in the tongues and liberal learning in all the liberal sciences, that in a famous university amongst the learnedest men, she hath been able, not only to hear and understand, which were something, but to speak, persuade, decide, like a graduate, orator, professor; and in the highest court of parliament, hath not only sitten amongst the peers of her realm, and delivered her mind, *majestate manus*, by some bodily gesture in sign of assent, but given her counsel and judgment not inferior to any, and herself by herself hath answered the ambassadors of several nations in their several languages; with other excellent graces beseeeming the state of a prince;† though they best know on whose hand she leaneth, and that are nearest in attendance and observance about her majesty; yet if any man be ignorant of, let him ask of strangers abroad, into whose ears fame hath bruited and blown her virtues, and done no more but right in giving such gifts unto her as never were more

* Illud successionis est, hoc virtutis; illud tibi ex genere, istud ex munere Dei, illud foeliciter nata es, istud viriliter nacta es. Duplex, honor, alter secundum seculum, alter secundum Deum; uterque à Deo.—*Bern in epist.*

† Postestas omnis debet esse ornata.—*Pers.*

* Senec. † Diog. ‡ Init. regn. Elizabet.

§ Hunc tantum teris fata ostendere.

rare in the rarest queen, and in the sex of womanhood carry admiration. Why do I say womanhood? Virtue is tied neither to revenue nor kind.* Julita, a woman, and one that witnessed a good confession for the name of Christ, as she was going to the stake to be burnt, exhorted women,† that they should not complain of the weakness of nature, because, first, they were made of the same matter whereof man was finished; secondly, to the image of the same God; thirdly, as fit and as capable to receive any goodness; fourthly, invested into the like honour. Why not? saith she, seeing we are kin unto men in all respects. For not their flesh alone was taken for the creation of women, but we are bone of their bones; for which cause we are indebted to God for courage, patience, virility, as well as men. And Basil addeth his own advice, that, setting excuse of their sex aside, they should set upon piety, and see whether nature hath debarred them of anything that was common to men.‡ I note it the rather because I know it grieveth Abimelech at the heart, that a woman should cast down a millstone upon his head, to kill him, Judges ix.; and therefore he calleth his page to thrust him through, that men might not say, 'A woman slew him'. It grieveth Abimelech of Rome, and his whole faction, that the church of England, and the whole estate of our land under the government of a woman, should be better able to defend itself against his tyranny than any country in Christendom. Their hearts break with envy hereat, their tongues and pens dissemble not their grudge at the *feminine primacy*, that a woman should be the head (under Christ) of the church of England. But as Chrysostom sometimes speaks of Herodias and John Baptist,§ so (by a contrary application of their manners) may I of two as unlike as ever fire and water, the one to Herodias, the other to John Baptist, *mulier totius mundi caput truncavit*, a woman hath beheaded (within her realms and dominions) the falsely usurping and surmised head of the whole world. Her father and brother of most famous memory had broken his legs before, as they break the legs of the thieves upon the cross; the one his right leg of rents and revenues, the milk and honey of our land; the other his left leg of idolatrous worships, the doctrine of men, false and erroneous opinions, wherewith the children of this realm had been poisoned a long time. Queen Elizabeth hath bruised his head (for though his legs were broken, he began to gather strength again). He now commandeth not, liveth not within our land (saving in a few disordered and luxate members, which, as the parts of an adder cut asunder, retain some life for a time, but never, I trust, shall grow into a body again), neither ever is he likely to revive amongst us, unless the Lord shall raise him up

for a plague to our unthankfulness. And therefore, as they said of Tarquinius Priscus in Rome, a Corinthian born, and a stranger to their city, he hath well deserved by his virtues that our city shall never repent it of choosing a stranger to be king; * so by her gracious and religious government amongst us hath her most excellent majesty worthily purchased, that England shall never be sorry that a woman was the queen thereof. When she came to her crown, she found the country (as Augustus the city of Rome) of brick, she turned it into marble: *inveni lateritiam, reliqui marmoream*. She found it in the sands, she set it upon a rock, the foundation of prophets and apostles; she found it a land of images, ignorances, corruptions, vanities, lies; she hath hitherto preserved it, and I hope shall leave it to posterity, a land possessed of the truth, and seasoned with the gospel of Christ crucified. This is the savingest salvation that the Lord hath, this the blessing and happiness that we enjoy under her gracious government (besides our peace, such as our fathers never presumed to hope for, plenty, prosperity, corporal benefits, in that we lend and borrow not, not only our milk, but our blood, money, and men too, to those that want; and when we ring our bells for joy, and give ear to the noise of timbrels and tabrets, others are frighted with other kinds of sounds, the neighing of horses, roaring of great ordnance, howling of women and children to see their orbities and miseries before their eyes); I say this is the blessing we reap, that the gospel is free by her procurement, our consciences not enthralled to the ordinances of men, our zeal rectified by knowledge, and our religion reformed by the statutes of the highest God. Now as we have great reason to sing merrily unto the Lord, and with a good courage, Salvation is the Lord's, for these graces, so what was the cause of her own so many miraculous deliverances, both before and since she sat upon the seat of her fathers, but the same salvation that, by saving her, saved us? I am sure she was in danger, either of wolves or of butchers, when her righteous soul cried, *Tanquam ovis*; and as a sheep was she led to the slaughter, or not far from it. When her innocency could not be her shield, but though she were free from crime, *suspecta multa, probata nulla*, and God and man might justly have cleared her, yet she was not free from suspicion, when she feared that the scaffold of the Lady Jane stood for another tragedy, wherein herself should have played the woofullest part. Since which almost despaired escapes (but that her time, as David spake, and her soul was in the hands of that Lord who deposeth and setteth up princes), how it hath fared with her, both at home and abroad, we all know; partly from traitorous and false-hearted Abithophels, which have served her with an heart and an heart; partly from the bloody bishops of Rome, and their pernicious seminaries, as full of

* Nec census nec sexum exigit virtus.—*Senec.*

† Basil. ser. de Julita mart.

‡ Sine excusatione sexus ite obviam pictati.

§ Ser. de decoll. Joan. Bapt.

* Fecit virtutibus suis, ne hæc civitas pœnitentiam ageret, &c.

mischief to Christendom as ever the Trojan horse to the inhabitants of Troy; partly from the king of Spain, whose study long hath been to be the monarch of Europe, of whom it is true that they speak of another, Philip of Macedon, that he bought the more part of Greece before he conquered it; * so he buyeth countries before he winneth them, and would do that by his Indian gold, which will be little easy for him to do by men. They have long maliced her, and I trust long shall; and malice shall do the nature of malice, that is, drink out the marrow and moisture of those that foster it, and bring their devices upon their own heads, as Nadab and Abihu were consumed with the fire of their own censers. So long as *Salus Jehovæ*

* Antè Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quàm victor.—*Val. Max.*

endureth, which is as long as Jehovah himself, our hope shall not perish. He hath even sworn by his holiness, as he did to David his servant, not to fail queen Elizabeth. He that 'prevented her with liberal blessings,' Ps. xxi., before she took the sceptre into her hands, and set a crown of pure gold upon her head, will maintain his own doings, perfect his good work begun and continued a long time, glorify his blessed name by advancing her to glory, increase his kingdom by hers, subdue her people unto her, confound her enemies, and when the kingdom of England is no longer capable of her (as Philip spake to Alexander his son *), he will establish her in a kingdom of a far more happy condition. Amen.

* Idoneum et compar tibi regnum, fili, invenias, quoniam Macedonia tui capax non est.

LECTURE XXX.

And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it cast out Jonah upon the dry land.—JONAH II. 10.

JONAH hath ended his song of Sion in a strange land, which was the second part of the chapter now insisted upon. He hath brooked the seas with patience, and digested his perils with hope, and is now arrived at the haven of happy deliverance. The inhabitants of the earth would never have believed that the enemy could have entered within the gates of Jerusalem, Lam. iv., nor that the prophet of the Lord could have had egress from the gates and bars of this monstrous fish. But so was it done by the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And as 'the chains fell from the hands of Peter,' Acts xii., the very night before Herod intended to bring him forth to his trial, and 'he passed through the first and second watches' without interruption, 'and the iron gate opened by its own accord unto him,' though he were 'delivered to four quarternions of soldiers to be kept, and that night slept between two, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the doors of the jail'; so after seventy-two hours, which is the judicial hour of many dangerous diseases, haply the timeliest time wherein Jonah, if ever, was to look for liberty again, and the whale might begin to plead to himself everlasting possession of his prey so long retained, though his head were wrapped about with weeds, as Peter's hands bound with chains, and he were delivered both to floods and depths, promontories and rocks, as he to four quarternions, and at this instant of his delivery lay between the bars of earth and sea, as Peter slept between two soldiers, besides the throat and jaws of the fish (his loathsome prison), which sat as keepers before the doors, yet all these incumbrances and lets fell from the body of Jonah, and he passed through the first and second watches, I mean, the entrails of the whale, and that iron gate of his strong armed

teeth, and was cast up upon dry ground, as Peter was restored to his friend's house.

In miracles and mysteries must I spend my discourse at this time. The miracles are not news unto you, throughout the whole discourse of these histories, *miraculis et mysteriis omnia plena*, wherein the Lord hath the principal part, *qui facit mirabilia solus*, 'who only worketh wonders,' and only wonders. What have you seen else? Jonah was swallowed by a miracle, by a miracle was preserved, lived, and sang, and by a miracle is cast up. Who was the author of the miracle? *The Lord*. What were his means? His *word* or commandment. Who the minister? *The fish*. The manner what? *By vomiting*, or disgorging himself. Lastly, the *terminus ad quem* or place that received him? *The dry land*. In these particulars doth the sentence of my text empty itself.

1. The Lord spake. One and the same hand both wounded and recured him.

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit.

Who else was of might to have encountered this fearful beast? For canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook, or pierce his jaws with an angle? Will he make many prayers unto thee, or speak thee fair? Lay but thine hand upon him, and thou shalt have cause to remember the battle, and to do no more so. Behold, thine hope is in vain, if thou thinkest to match him, for shall not one perish even at the sight of him? Job xl. Much less canst thou draw him to the shore, and cast a line into his bowels, to draw out a prophet or any spoil therehence. They said of David in the psalm, 'Now he is down, he shall rise no more,' Ps. xli. If thou hadst asked both land and sea, when Jonah was fallen into the depths of them, they would

have answered thee, Now he is down, he shall rise no more. Even his own most 'familiar friend, whom he best trusted, with whom he had taken his sweetest counsel,' the heart within his breast, told him many a time, Thou shalt rise no more, thou art cast out of the sight of the Lord and company of men for ever. But he 'knew whom he trusted,' and who was best able to restore the pawn committed unto him, though he walked in the belly of the fish, as in the valley of death. Yet the Lord was on his side, what then could hurt him? The Lord liveth, the Lord hath spoken, the Lord is his name, *vivit Dominus, dicit Dominus, Dominus nomen ejus*, and such like preambles to many sentences of Scripture, are most effectual motives of persuasion, and give us unquestionable assurance of whatsoever therein set down. The angel appeared unto Gideon, Judges vi., and 'said unto him, 'The Lord is with thee, thou valiant man.' What cause had Gideon, when he heard but that preface, *Dominus tecum*, 'the Lord is with thee,' to speak of their miseries, and to call for wonted* miracles, and to think that God had forsaken them! The weakest and feeblest soul in the world, assisted with the valiancy of the most valiant Lord, cannot be endangered. And therefore he bade Gideon, 'Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save Israel out of the hands of Midian.' Not in the might of thine own arm, for who hath enabled thee? But 'in *this* thy might,' *this* that I speak of, the presence of my majesty, mine by right, thine by use and receipt; mine by possession, thine by communication; mine originally, thine instrumentally; for 'have not I sent thee? and I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite Midian as one man.' The like was the greeting of the angel to the mother of the Lord, *Dominus tecum*, 'The Lord is with thee.' I have said enough; I need not give reasons of my message. Ask no questions, make no doubt of thine overnatural and unkindly conception, when thou shalt but hear 'The Lord is with thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee.'

2. The Lord spake to the fish. The instrument that the Lord used in the delivery of his prophet, is that Delphian sword, or universal instrument which he used in forming the world and all the creatures thereof. 'He said, Let there be light,' 'Let there be a firmament,' 'Let the waters be gathered into one place,' 'Let the dry land appear,' &c., and it was fulfilled, Gen. i. And at this hour the ever living Word of God 'beareth up and supporteth all things by his word,' Heb. i. What is his word, then, but his mere and effectual commandment, and the giving of effect to that which his heart hath intended?† Who as he goeth without feet, seeth without eyes, and reacheth without hands; so there is no question but he speaketh without a tongue, and such instruments of speech as

are ordinary with the sons of men. For what ears had the light, the firmament, and other less works, to hear and observe his words if he had pronounced them, or what capacity and intelligence had the fish in this place? But as the office of speech in man is to be the messenger and interpreter of his heart, and to signify his conceits inwardly and secretly purposed;* so somewhat the Lord doeth, whereby he imparteth a knowledge, even unto insensible creatures, what his mind and pleasure is.

3. Therefore it is said, that the Lord spake to *the fish*, when he commanded that service of him, and compelled him to execute his will,† when he moved him to more mercy than nature had shaped him unto,‡ and brought him to the shore, whom the hugeness of his body naturally enforced to keep the depths of the sea.§ It sheweth what divinity there is (if I may so term it) in the word of God, how imperious to command, how easy to obtain when it hath commanded. One *fiat* is of power to make that which was never made before, and had lain in everlasting infirmity, if God had spared to speak, to establish nature when it is not, and to change nature when it is; to create angels, men, birds, beasts, fishes; to store heaven, earth, and the deep with innumerable armies of creatures, and to make them bow their knees to their Maker, and render unlimited obedience to all his decrees. When God was manifested in the flesh, and went about doing good, as the evangelist writeth, a believing centurion, in a suit that dearly affected him, Mat. viii., desired not the travel of his feet, nor any receipt of physic to heal his servant, no, not so much as the laying on his hand, which some had requested, nor coming within the roof of his house, but only a word from his lips: 'Speak but the word, Lord, and my servant shall be healed.' 'Man liveth not by bread,' neither recovereth by physic 'only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' A leper had told him in the next words before, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' *Voluntas tua, opus est,*|| Thy will is thy work. 'And he said, I will; be thou made clean.' As if with the breath of his mouth he had spoken to his leprosy, Begone, as he afterwards spake to the devils, *ἐπάγετε*, be packing into the herd of swine, and they went the next way over the rocks and cliffs, as if a whirlwind had borne them. He rebuketh the winds and the sea in the same place, with more authority than ever Peter rebuked Ananias and Sapphira, and with the like success, for he smote the breath from the winds, and motion from the sea, and a great concussion of waters became a great calm, *Σεισμὸς μέγας, γαλήνη μεγάλη*. Who is this, that the

* Dicere est præcipere.—*Æcolampad.*

† Quia coactus est facere voluntatem Dei.—*R. Kimchi.*

‡ Ad bonitatem piscem adigit.

§ Naturâ solent pisces grandes salo se defendere.—*Plin.*

|| Origen.

* Qu. 'wanted'? or 'unwanted'?—*Ed.*

† Dixit, id est. perfecit.—*Alchym.* Posuit, ut celeritatem et facilitatem operis Dei ostenderet.

winds and the sea obey him? For they not only hear him, 'Ἀκούουσιν, but hear him with effect, 'ὑπακούουσιν, they go, and run, and stand still, like servants of their master, and, as it were, live and die at his commandment. The prophet, in the 29th Psalm, speaketh of one voice that the Lord hath, 'a mighty and glorious voice' (a voice that hath a sensible sound indeed, and smiteth the ears both of man and beast sometimes with tingling and astonishment), that it 'breaketh the cedars, even the cedars of Libanus, and shaketh the wilderness, even the wilderness of Kadesh, that it divideth the flames of fire, maketh the hinds to cast their calves, and discovereth the forests. But this voice, whereof I speak, maketh the cedars, even the cedars of Libanus, and createth the wilderness, even the wilderness of Kadesh, formeth the flames of fire, fashioneth the hinds and their young ones, and planteth the forests; and this was the word that spake to the fish to cast up Jonah. Behold, at the voice of the Lord, leviathan casteth his young, and aborteth a prophet before he is willing. So true it is by absolute experience, which the Spirit of God testifieth, Heb. iv., that 'the word of God is lively and mighty in operation, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and entereth through even unto the dividing of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and the intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature which is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and open unto his eyes, with whom we have to do.' You hear how far it entered, in the words of my text. It went into the bowels of a whale lying in the bowels of the seas, and as narrowly searched all his entrails, as Laban Jacob's stuff; it divided between his teeth and their strength that they could not chew, and went between his stomach and the appetite thereof that it durst not concoct; it drew him as an angle and hook to the land, ransacked his maw, and opened the straits of his throat, that the prophet of the Lord might come forth.

4. *He cast up Jonah.* The manner of his coming forth seemeth to have been without ease and pleasure to the whale. For as a stomach over-charged or offended with meat that it hath received is not at rest till it hath unloaden itself, so the whale, feeling a morsel within him which he cannot turn into nutriment, what should he do, for his own quiet, but by the riftings and retchings of his stomach send it forth? Thus it is said of the hypocrite, Job xx., 'Who hath undone many, and spoiled houses which he never builded, whose wickedness was sweet in his mouth,' as perhaps Jonah in the mouth of the fish, and he hid it under his tongue, &c. That 'his meat in his bowels was turned, and that the gall of asps was in the midst of him; that he had devoured substance, and should vomit it up, for God would draw it out of his belly; that he should restore the labour, and devour no more; that he should feel no quietness

in his body, neither reserve anything of that which he desired:' there you hear at large what the nature of a surfeit is. And doubtless ill-gotten goods, when a man snatcheth at the right hand, and catcheth at the left, without being satisfied, and eateth up the people of the land as bread, is a spiritual surfeit, and not a kindly or wholesome maintenance to him that hath coveted it. So is pleasure, and sweetness in sinning. When one favoureth it (as Zophar there speaketh), and will not forsake it, but keepeth it close in his mouth, though it dwell in darkness as dark as night, and say to the soul and reins, Hide me safe, yet it is a surfeit too; and when the belly hath been filled with abundance thereof, it shall be in pain (to continue the phrase of that book), and God shall send upon it his fierce wrath. The angel of the Laodicean church, Revelation the third, was unto God as raw and undigested meat which his heart could not brook. His lukeness and neutrality of dealing in his service did so much offend him, that although he had been received into some inward favour, as sustenance is taken into the stomach, yet he is threatened to be spued up again, *Μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι*. The phrase is somewhat unfrequent and rare in the Scripture, yet is it nowhere used, but it deserveth wisely and weightily to be considered. In this place, to conclude, the meaning is, that Jonah was not descended into the belly of the fish to become a prey unto him, but to dwell in a desert and solitary house for a time, as Jeremiah wished him a cottage in the wilderness, and as it were to go aside, and hide himself from the anger of the Lord, till the storm might be overpassed.

The words of Micah do rightly express my mind herein: chap. vii., 'I will bear the wrath of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me. Then will he bring me forth to the light, and I shall see his righteousness: when thou that art mine enemy shalt look upon it, and shame shall cover thee, which sayest unto me, Where is the Lord thy God?'

5. Lastly, the place which received Jonah was the *dry land*. Which noteth a quality of the earth commodious and fit for habitation. He felt the *ground* before, when he went down to the bottom of the mountains, and the earth was about him with her bars, but he felt not the *dry ground*. He walked not then upon the face of the earth, which is the manner of living souls, but was under the roots of the mountains, where he had not liberty nor power to breathe, but by special providence. In the beginning of the creation, the waters were above the earth, till the Lord said, 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so,' Gen. i. According to the words of the Psalms: 'He hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods,' Ps. xxiv. And again, Ps. cxxxvi., 'He hath stretched out the earth upon the waters, for his mercy endureth for ever.' A strange kind of

building, when others lay the foundations upon the rocks, the Lord upon the waters. And yet 'he hath so set the earth upon those pillars that it shall never move,' Ps. civ. When thou callest to mind that thou treadest upon the earth hanging (like a ball) in the air, and floating in the waters, is it not evident enough unto thee, even by this one argument, that there is a God.

Cum te pendenti reputas insistere terræ :
Nonné vel hinc clarè conspicis esse Deum ?

By the confessions of all, the natural place of the waters is above the earth.* This at the first they enjoyed, and after repeated and recovered again, in the overwhelming of the world, when the Lord for a time delivered them as it were from their bands, and gave them their voluntary and natural passage. And at this day there is no doubt but the sea, which is the collection of waters, lieth higher than the land, as seafaring men gather by sensible experiments, and therefore the psalm saith, 'Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment.' For as a vesture, in the proper use of it, is above the body that is clothed therewith, so is the sea above the land ; and such a garment would it have been unto the earth, but for the providence of God towards us, as the shirt that was made for the murdering of Agamemnon, where the head had no issue out. Therefore the psalm addeth immediately, 'The waters would stand above the mountains, but at thy rebuke they flee, at the voice of thy thunder they haste away. And the mountains ascend, and the valleys descend to the place which thou hast established for them. But thou hast set them a bound, which they shall not pass ; neither shall they return to cover the earth.' The like in the book of Job, chap. xxxviii., where the phrases are, that 'the Lord hath established his commandment upon the sea' (though a wild and untamed creature), 'and set bars and doors about it, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further ; here will I stay thy proud waves.' What, from the chambers, *e canaculis*, that are above, and from the fountains and sluices that lie beneath, how easy a matter were it for the former of all things to set open his windows and dams, Gen. vii., and every hour of our life to overrun us with a new deluge ? Nay, he hath water enough to drown us within our own bodies. He can there command a full sea of distempered and redundant humours to take our breath from us.† We little bethink ourselves how daily and continually we stand beholding to the goodness of God for sparing our lives, who, though he withhold the forces of those outward elements, water, and fire, and the rest, that they do us no harm, yet we have elements within, whereof we are framed and composed, we have heat and cold, moisture and drought, which he can use at his pleasure to our own destruction. Let these brethren of

one house, but withal the fathers and founders as it were of our nature, fall at variance within us, and they will rend our lives asunder like wild boars. How many have been buried alive in the graves of their earthly and melancholy imaginations ! How many burned in the flames of pestilent and hot diseases : their bowls set on fire like an oven, their blood dried up, their inwards withered and wasted with the violence thereof ! The vapours and fumes of their own vicious stomach, as a contagious air, how many have they poisoned and choked up ! Finally, how many have been glutted and overcharged with waters between their own skin and bones ! And therefore we must conclude and cry with the prophet, Lam. iii., 'It is the mercy of the Lord that we are not consumed,' both from without and from within, 'because his compassions fail not.'

Hitherto of the miracles, the former part of my promise, and the second experiment of the overflowing mercy of God continued towards Jonah his servant. Oh living and large fountain of grace, always drawn, yet never dried up, because it runneth from the breast, and is fed with the good pleasure of an infinite and immortal God ! For what better reason can be given of his loving affection towards us, than that which Micah hath in the end of his prophecy : 'Because his mercy pleased him,' Micah vii. What other cause hath induced him (not to remove in haste from the sweet song of the prophet) to 'take away iniquity, and pass by the transgressions of his heritage, not to retain his anger for ever,' though for ever deserved, but 'to return and have compassion upon us, to subdue our unrighteousness, and cast all our sins into the bottom of a sea, deeper and farther from his sight than were these seas of Jonah, to perform his truth to Jacob, and kindness to Abraham, according to his oath in ancient time, but because mercy pleaseth him ? For who hath first loved, or first given, or any way deserved, and it shall be restored unto him a thousandfold ? Blessings and thanksgivings for evermore be heaped upon his holy name, in whom the treasures of mercy and loving-kindness dwell bodily, who of his own benevolent disposition hath both pleased himself and pleased his poor people with so gracious a quality. Even so, Lord, for that good pleasure and purpose sake, deal with the rest of thy people as thou hast dealt with Jonah and the mariners, 'take away those iniquities' of ours, that take away thy favour and blessings from us, and as a stranger that knoweth them not, 'pass by our transgressions, retain not thine anger for ever,' though we retain our sins, the cause of thine anger, 'but return to us' by grace, who return not to thee by repentance, and 'have compassion upon us,' who have not compassion upon our own souls, subdue our reigning and raging unrighteousness, and 'drown our offences in the bottom of the sea,' which else will drown us in the bottom of perdition.

The mysteries buried under this type of the cast-

* Locus alius naturalis, alius fatalis et miraculosus.

† Heraclius the emperor died of a dropsy.—*Volaterr.*

ing up of Jonah, the second principal consideration wherein I bounded myself, are collected by some, 1, the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, not before the passion and resurrection of Christ, because Jonah went not to Nineveh till after his sinking and rising again; 2, a lantern of comfort to all that sit in the darkness of affliction and in the shadow of death, held out in the enlargement of Jonah, who, though he were swallowed down into the bowels of an unmerciful beast, yet by the hand of the Lord he was again cast out. These are somewhat enforced. But the only counterpane indeed to match this original is the resurrection of the blessed Son of God from death to life, figured in the restitution of the prophet to his former estate of livelihood, and by him applied in the Gospel to this body of truth, who is very and substantial truth. For so he telleth the scribes and pharisees twice in one evangelist, Mat. xii. and xvi., 'An evil and adulterous generation' (degenerated from the faith and works of their father Abraham, wherein standeth the right descent of his children) 'asketh a sign; but no sign shall be given unto it, save the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' His meaning was, that if this so unlikely, and in nature so incredible, a sign could not move them, all the tokens in heaven and earth would not take effect. That Christ is risen again, there is no question. The books are open, and he that runneth may read enough to persuade him. He that told them of the sign before mentioned signified the same work under the name and shadow of the temple of Jerusalem, a little to obscure his meaning, and that he termed a sign also, *σημεῖον*; 'Destroy this temple, and I will build it again in three days.' He meant not the temple of Solomon, as they mistook, John ii., but the temple of his body, more costly and glorious than ever; that admired temple of theirs, the building whereof in the counsel of his Father was more than forty and six years, even from the first age of the world, and every stone therein, angular, precious, and tried, cut out of a mountain without hands, Dan. ii., ordained from the highest heavens without human furtherance; and such whereof he affirmed long before in the mouth of his prophet, Ps. xvi. who could justify his saying: 'Thou shalt not suffer thine holy one to see corruption;' though of the other temple he prophesied, Mat. xxiv., and it was performed, 'there shall not a stone be left standing upon a stone that shall not be cast down;' *prædixit, et revixit*,* he gave warning before that it should be so, and he fulfilled it. The earthquake at the very time of his resurrection, Mat. xxviii., the testimony and rebuke of angels,—Luke xxiv., 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is risen, he is not here,'—his manifestation to one, to two, to twelve, to more than five hundred at once,

* Bern. Ser. 1. in pasch.

once and again, his breaking of bread amongst them, the prints of his hands and side, their very fingers and nails for evidence sake thrust into them,* together with so many predictions that thus it must be, and so many sermons and exhortations that so it was, are able to resolve any spirit that setteth not itself of purpose to 'resist the Holy Ghost. Or if there be any of so audacious impiety as to deny the Scriptures (the warrant whereof is so strong, that Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xxvi., not tarrying the answer of king Agrippa, by his own mouth speaketh in his name by a reasonable and undoubted concession, 'I know thou believest them;' and he thought it afterwards firm enough to prove any article of the faith without other force, *according to the Scriptures*, 1 Cor. xv.), let them listen a while to that learned disputation that great Athanasius† held concerning this point. He proveth that the Son of God could not choose but die, having taken unto him a body of death; and that he could not but live again, because that body of his was *vita sacrarium*, the vestry or chapel wherein life was conserved. And he holdeth it a senseless thing, that a dead man should have the power so to extimulate and prick the minds of the living; that the Grecian and pagan was brought to forsake his ancient national idolatries, and worship the Saviour of the world; that a man forsaken of life, and able to do nothing, should so hinder the action of active and lives-men, that by the preaching of Jesus of Nazareth, an adulterer leaveth his adulteries, a murderer his bloodsheds, and at the naming of his dreadful name, the very devils depart from their oracles and oratories. He urgeth yet further, How can the carcase of a dead man prevail so much with the living, that upon the confidence of life therein contained, they have endured the loss of liberty, country, wife, children, goods, good name, and life itself, with such Christian magnanimity, that the Arians espying it, began to receive it as a ruled and resolved case not to be doubted of, *Ἀξιωματικῶς*, there is no Christian living that feareth death? As for the slander of his sworn enemies, the Jews, whose malice cannot end but in the end of the world, who, contrary to common humanity, belied him in his grave, and gave not leave to his bones to rest in peace; saying, and hiring men to say, and with a great sum purchasing that untruth, as the chief captain did his burgess-ship, Acts the two and twentieth, 'His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept,' Mat. xxviii.; let it sleep in the dust with them till the time come, when 'every eye shall see him, even those that pierced him' upon the cross, and those that watched him in his grave also, and then they shall say, too late, We and our moneys are both perished. Why have we taken or given the accursed

* Qui altè dubitat, altiùs credit.—*Petr. Chrysolog. de Thoma.*

† Quo vivente res Christiana mirificè, 46 annis sustentata est.—*Platina in Siricio.*

wages of unrighteousness to speak falsehood? But how could it be the mean time, that you may know they shewed themselves starkest fools, where they professed greatest wisdom? Was there not caution and provision enough beforehand? 'Sir, we remember this deceiver said thus.' Was not 'a great stone (*ἡ γὰρ μέγας σφίδρα*) rolled to the mouth of the grave? and their seal set upon the stone? and a watch appointed to attend the sepulchre? Standeth it with reason, that a few disciples, their eyes yet streaming, and their hearts aching with their late loss, bruised reeds, the staff of their comforts being taken from them, the children of the bride-chamber mourning for the absence of the bridegroom, lambs amongst ravenous and blood-sucking wolves, should dare to attempt an act so dangerous to be undertaken, and so impossible to be compassed? But they did attempt it by stealth, when there was need of engines to remove the stone, and it could not be done without most tumultuous heaving and shouldering. And the soldiers slept, they say; as if sleepers could truly report that which they knew not. But why do I fight against a disarmed and unworthy falsehood? If angels, men, women, disciples, strangers, friends, foes, a cloud of sufficient witnesses; if the emptying of the sepulchre, and leaving of the linen clothes, which those that had eyes to see with might behold; if the amazement of the watch, news of the soldiers, subornation of high priests and elders, the letter of Pilate to the emperor to signify no less; if his own walking, talking, eating, drinking, conversing, visible ascending; if preaching, believing, and both living and dying in that belief, be enough to move credit: 'Christ is risen from the dead, and now he dieth not again, neither hath death any more dominion over him,' Rom. vi.; rather hath he dominion over death: for 'he is alive but was dead; and, behold, he is alive for evermore, Amen; and he hath the keys of hell and of death,' Rev. i. For who was worthy, nay, who was able, of all the host in heaven and earth, to open this last seal of death and destruction, but the Lamb that was killed, or rather the lion that was raised by the power of his own might? And, therefore, it is right well observed by Bernard,* that all those resurrections which we read of in former times, of the Shunamite's son and others, were *istius praeambula*, not only forerunners and leaders to this, but surely they were wrought in the finger and virtue thereof. And these were the differences betwixt those and this later, that then they came forth of their graves, or were recovered to life, *mortui, sed iterum morituri*, dead, I confess, but withal they were to die again; Christ dieth no more. That Elijah restored a child, *sed alterum non seipsum*, another, not himself; Christ himself. And they were rather raised than did rise themselves, *ceteros dicimus quidem resuscitados; Christum resurrexisse*: for they were but patients whilst the act was done upon them; Christ arose by his own strength.

* In die pasch., ser. 1.

But to return to the head of the race where we first began; we have found the sign and the thing signified thus far fitted together, that as Jonah the third day was cast up out of the belly of the fish, so our holy Redeemer arose from the heart of the earth. Shall we here rest? or shall it suffice us to know what the body to that shadow is, and not to suck therehence the sweetness and juice which that body yieldeth us? The Jews asked a sign, and this sign was given them. And when they saw it fulfilled, either they spake against or they did but wonder at it. To us it shall be more than a sign, even dearer to our souls than our souls are to us. It shall have wonder and wonder enough, but withal we will not lose our fruit and our part therein for a world's ransom. Our hope would vanish like smoke, and our hearts within us wither away as grass upon the house-tops, death would sting us to death indeed, and the grave shut the mouth upon us, and hell make her full triumph, but for this grain of faith, that 'Christ is risen from the dead, and is become the first fruits of those that sleep,' 1 Cor. xv. And he is 'the head of the body of the church' (not an head to himself without respect to his member), 'the beginning and first-begotten of the dead' (not without brethren and sisters in the same kind of generation), 'that he in all things might have the pre-eminence,' Col. i. What other restorative had the fainting and dying soul of Job to comfort itself with; what other blessing and sap in the vine, in that deadest winter of affliction; what other couch to lodge his distressed and diseased bones upon; what helper, when his wife molested him; what friend, when his friends forsook him; but this only meditation, which was instead of friends, wife, bed, board, all things unto him, 'I know my Redeemer liveth'? that is, The life of my life can never be destroyed; and for the enrolment of this happy argument, he called for books of the longest continuance, and pens of the hardest points, that the latest liver of all after worlds might learn by it. Hence came it, that the blessed vessel of election made that free challenge to all the actors and pleaders that condemnation had, fearing neither the district* justice of God, nor the malice of his own heart, nor the uncessant accusation of Satan day and night: 'Who shall condemn? It is Christ which is dead, yea, or rather, *Μετάνοι*, which is risen again, who is also at the right hand of God, and maketh request likewise for us,' Rom. viii. So that the sinews and strength of his confidence is not so much in the death, as in the resurrection of the Son of God, not to a weak and contemptible life, as before-time, but to a full possession of glory, nor for himself alone, but for his orphan members upon the earth, for whom he maketh continual intercession. And upon this stock he seemeth to plant the whole body of Christianity in his former epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xv. For 'if

* That is, drawn, like a sword.—ED.

Christ be not risen, then is preaching vain, and faith vain,' and the living are 'yet in their sins,' and 'those that are fallen asleep are perished,' and 'we were of all men most wretched.' As much as to say, Pull down temples and synagogues, burn the writings of prophets and apostles, stop your ears at the voice of charmers, praise the dead more than the living, and rather than them both, those that have never been; commend the wisdom of the epicure, who taketh his portion in this life, and suffereth not the flower of his youth to pass without pleasure, if Christ be not risen again. But I bring you other tidings; our phoenix is revived,* the seed that was mortified in the ground is come up again with abundance of fruit; and the beautiful flower of the root of Jesse, though withered and defaced for a while in his passion, hath so reflowered by raising himself, that in him is the blooming and springing of all that love his name. This is that which Paul in his answer before Agrippa called the 'hope of the fathers,' Acts xxvi.; and this I may as properly term, 'the faith and patience of the saints,' Rev. xiii. For as in every action the virtue that moveth the agent to undertake it is the hope of good to come, *virtus agendi, spes futuri* (for he that soweth, soweth to reap, and he that fighteth, fighteth to get the victory), so, take away the hope of resurrection, and all the conscience or care of godliness will fall to the ground.† Gregory upon these words of the last of St Matthew, 'But some doubted' (whereupon he elsewhere noteth, that it was the especial providence of God that Thomas should be away, and afterwards come and hear, hear and doubt, doubt and handle, handle and believe, that so he might become a witness of the true resurrection, and that it was not so much a touch of infirmity in them, as a confirmation to us,‡ who by that means have the resurrection proved by so many the more arguments), there are many, saith he, who, considering the departure of the spirit from the flesh, the going of that flesh into rottenness, that rottenness into dust, that dust into the elements thereof, so small that the eye of man cannot perceive them, deny and despair of the resurrection, and think it impossible that ever the withered bones should be clothed with flesh, and wax green again. Tertullian frameth their objections more at large. Can that body ever be sound again that hath been corrupted,§ whole that hath been maimed, full that hath been emptied, or have any being at all that hath been altogether turned into nothing? Or shall the fire and water, the bowels of wild beasts, gorges of birds, entrails of fishes, yea, the very throat that belongeth to the times themselves, *ipsorum temporum propria gula*, ever be able to restore

and redeliver it to the former services thereof? Hereupon they inferred, who had no longing after life nor desire to see good days, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die;' that is, they will not die before to-morrow, but in drunkenness and excess they will bury themselves to-day, *cras sperando moriuntur, et hodie bibendo sepeliuntur*; and live whilst thou mayest live, *vive dum vivis*; and it is better to be a living dog than a dead lion; and there is nothing after death, no, not death itself, *nihil esse post mortem, Epicuri schola est*, &c. Who if they held not, saith Gregory, the faith of the resurrection by submitting themselves to the word of God, surely they should have held it upon the verdict of reason. For what doth the world daily, in the elements and creatures thereof, but imitate our resurrection? *Quid enim mundus quotidie nisi resurrectionem nostram in elementis suis imitetur?* We see by degrees of time the withering and falling of the leaves from the trees, the intermission of their fruits, &c. And behold, upon the sudden, as it were from a dry and dead tree, by a kind of resurrection, the leaves break forth again, the fruits wax big and ripe, and the whole tree is apparelled with a fresh beauty. Consider we the little seed whereout the tree ariseth, and let us comprehend if we can in that smallness of seed how so mighty a tree, and where it was couched. Where was the wood, the bark, the glory of the leaves, the plenty of the fruit, when we first sowed it? When we threw it into the ground, was any of these apparent? What marvel is it, then, if of the thinnest dust, resolved into the first elements, and removed from the apprehension of our eyes, God at his pleasure re-form a man, when from the smallest seeds he is able to produce so huge trees? The apostle useth this similitude of the seed and the body that springeth from it, 1 Cor. xv.: 'Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but the naked and simple seed,' whereof the blade and the ear, with the rest of the burden and increase ariseth. And Tertullian much wondereth that the earth is so kind unto us, to return our corn with such abundance; of a deceiver she becometh a preserver. And before she preserveth, she first destroyeth: first by injury, then by usury; first by loss, then by gain. *De fraudatrice fit serratrix ut custodiat, perdit; injuriâ, usurâ; damno, lucro*, &c. This is the manner of her dealing. He addeth, to give more light even from the star of nature, the revolutions of winters, summers, autumns, springs, as it were so many deaths and so many resurrections; the dying of the day daily into night, and uprising to the world again, as freshly bedecked with honour and bravery as if it had never died. So true it is which Arnobius wrote against the Gentiles: Behold, how the whole creature doth write a commentary to give us comfort in this point.* If we shall

* Bernard.

† Tolle spem resurrectionis, et resoluta est observantia omnis pietatis.—*Chrysost.*

‡ Non tam infirmitas illorum, quàm nostra firmitas fuit.

§ In integrum de corrupto, &c.—*De Resur. Carnis.*

* Vide ad eò quàm in solatium nostrum omnis creatura

shew this book to the atheists and epicures of these days, and bid them read therein the resurrection of the flesh lively discoursed, and they answer us again, either that they cannot read it because the book is sealed and not plain unto them, or will not because their hearts are seared. I say no more but this, as Paul of the hiding of the gospel to the like night-birds, I am sure they are seared and sealed to them that perish. So let them rest, their bodies rotting in the ground, 'as the seed under the clods,' Joel i., which God blesseth not, the grave shutting her mouth, and destruction closing her jaws upon them; and when others awake to sing, Isa. xxvi., themselves awaking to howling and everlasting lamentation. For our own parts we rest assured in the author and finisher of our faith, that 'if the Spirit of him who raised up Jonah and Jesus from the dead dwell in us, he that raised up them shall also quicken our mortal bodies,' Rom. viii. And as he spake to the fish and it cast up Jonah, spake to the earth and it cast up Jesus (for upon the truth of his Father's word 'did his flesh rest in hope,' Acts ii.), so 'the time shall come when all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God,' John v., when he shall speak to the earth, Give; and to the sea, Restore my sons and daughters; to all the creatures in the world, Keep not back mine inheritance; and finally, to the prisoners of hope lodging a while in the chambers of the ground, 'Stand forth and shew yourselves.' And as Jonah was cast up against the will of the fish, his bowels not able to hold him longer than the pleasure of God was,* and Christ returned to life with a song of triumph in his mouth, 'O grave, where is thy conquest?' because 'it was impossible that he should be holden of it,' so when that hour cometh, 'the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no longer hide her slain,' Isa. xxvi.; and the sea shall find no rest till the drowned be brought forth; nor any creature of the world be able to

meditetur.—*Lib.* viii. *Observa orbem rerum in se remeantium.*—*Senec.*

* Evomuit: emphaticum, quod ex imis mortis vitalibus victrix vita processerit.—*Hieron.*

steal one bone that hath been committed unto it; but all kinds of death shall be swallowed up into a general victory, and in his name that hath won the field for us, we shall joyfully sing, 'Thanks be unto God that hath given us victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Cor. xv.

And as Jonah was cast up upon the dry ground, the land of the living, where he might walk and breathe and repose himself without danger of miscarrying, and Christ restored to life and immortality, and exalted to a glorious estate at his Father's right hand, so the Lord 'shall also shew us the paths of life,' Acts ii., and fill us with the joy of his countenance for evermore. 'Our corruptible shall put on incorruption, our mortal immortality,' 1 Cor. xv., and we shall live with the Lamb that was slain in eternal glory. Others 'shall rise to shame and perpetual contempt,' Dan. xii., and to 'the resurrection of condemnation,' John v., Sadducees, Saturnians, Basilidians, epicures, atheists, which have trodden this precious pearl of doctrine under their swinish feet, and have not believed that they might be saved; but we to the length of days in the hands of God, and to the sight of his holy face, which is most blessed blessedness. Other particulars of stature, age, and the like, we cease to inquire of, because God hath forborne to deliver them.* We will not lose that by our curiosity which Christ hath bought with his blood, and is gone to possess in the body of his flesh, that we may also possess it. I am sure there shall be all well, for else it should not be.† There shall be a dry ground, for this valley of tears and sea of miseries; a land of the living, for this desert of the dead; a commodious and settled habitation, for this tossing to and fro. There shall be no monsters of land or sea to make us afraid any more, no sorrow to disquiet, no sickness to distemper, no death to dissolve us, no sin to object us to the wrath of God, and to bring us in danger of losing his grace.

* Non addamus inquirere quod ille non addidit dicere et de compendio finita sit omnis quæstio.—*August.*

† Quicquid futurum est decebit, quia non futurum est si non decebit.

LECTURE XXXI.

And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the second time, saying, Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, &c.—
JONAH III. 1, 2.

THE sum of the whole prophecy, and of every part therein, I have often told you, is, in variety of examples, the mercy of God towards his poor creatures. The bounds whereof, if any desire to learn how large they are, let him consider that in this present history it is exhibited both to Jews and Gentiles: an example of the former was Jonah, of the latter the mariners and the Ninevites; both to prophets and others of meaner and mechanical callings, both to prince and

people, aged and infants, men and beasts; that no man may think either himself, or his seed, or any the silliest worm that moveth upon the earth, excluded therence. Paul in his first to Timothy, chap. i., glorieth in the 'mercy of Jesus Christ which he had shewed upon him, to the ensample of such as should believe in time to come.' But here are four examples at once, and as it were four Gospels, preaching to every country and language, age, and condition, and

sex, the hope of better things. Blessed be the Lord God, which hath written a whole 'book of remembrances,' Mal. iii., and filled it with arguments to so good a purpose.

This third chapter, which by the will of God we are entered upon, treateth in general of the mercy of God towards Nineveh, and sheddeth itself orderly into four parts. 1. The calling or commission of Jonah renewed. 2. The performance of his message. 3. The repentance of Nineveh. 4. Their delivery.

Jonah is called and put in charge again in the two former verses. Wherein (besides the author and other particulars heretofore extracted from the same words) we will rest ourselves especially upon these three points: 1, the repetition of his warrant: *The word of the Lord came the second time*; 2, whither he is willed to go: *to Nineveh*; 3, what he is to do there: (1.) touching the matter, he must *preach the preaching that God shall bid him*; (2.) touching the manner, he must do it by proclamation.

1. *And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the second time, saying, Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city.* Jonah being become a new man, after his baptism and regeneration in the water of the sea, receiveth a new commission, his former being forfeited by disobedience. First, it is not lawful, we know, for any man to take that honour unto him without calling, Heb. v.; nor to set himself upon a candlestick who hath no power to burn unless God kindle him.* 'I have not thrust in myself for a pastor after thee, neither have I desired the day of misery,' Jer. xvii. Then, because Jonah had disannulled his first commission, it stood as void unto him and of none effect till it was repeated *the second time*. Peter denying his Master three times, and not less than losing thereby his legatine and apostolic authority, repaireth his broken credit by three confessions, and is newly invested into his former office. If I fall now and then into the same points which I have already handled in the first chapter, you may easily pardon me. For, first, the words are the same, or not much altered; and haply, as the first commission of Jonah took shipwreck in the Syriac Sea, so the first notes I gave are perished in your memories, and therefore there may be need of repetition of such doctrines, no less than of his charge.

There is no material difference between the two verses, wherein the mandate is given unto him, but in the addition of one particle: *the second time*. Which carrieth a double force: *first*, of propension in the nature of a man to fall away from God, unless it be daily and continually renewed. The apostle was fain to 'travail in birth, and to do it again' (*quos iterum parturio*), with his little children the Galatians, till Christ were formed in them, Gal. iv.; for as the ripening and perfecting of a child in his mother's womb

* Quid teipsum super candelabrum ponis, qui teipsum non accendis?—Bern. ser. 17 in Cantic.

asketh the time of nine months at least, so the breeding of Christ in the consciences of men, and begetting or preserving of children to God, cannot be done without often and careful endeavour bestowed therein. *Secondly*, of the merciful clemency of God towards Jonah, in restoring him to his former dignity; for he not only gave him his life, which was despaired, but the honour and place of a prophet. He might have lived still, and seen long life and many days, a stranger to his own home, an alien to his mother's sons, an exile from the Israelites, a byword of reproach, for leasing his wonted pre-eminence; and as they wondered when they heard that Saul prophesied, 'What! is Saul become one of the prophets?' so it might have given as just a cause of admiration that Jonah was become none of the prophets. But Jonah abideth a prophet still, and is as highly credited as if he had not broken his former faith. I know the patience of God is very abundant: 'He is merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and of great goodness.' He crieth unto the fools (and such we are all), Proverbs i., 'O ye foolish, how long will ye love foolishness?' he dealeth with sinners as David dealt with Saul, who took away his spear, and his waterpot, and sometimes a piece of his cloak, as it were snatches and remembrances, to let us understand that we are in his hands, and if we take not warning he will further punish us. He dresseth his vineyard, Isaiah the fifth, with the best and kindest husbandry that his heart could invent; afterwards he 'looked' (required not the first hour, but tarrying the full time), 'he looked that it should bring forth grapes' in the autumn and vintage season. He waiteth for the fruit of his fig-tree three years, Luke the thirteenth, and is content to be entreated that 'digging and dunging,' and expectation a fourth year may be bestowed upon it. They say, that moralize the parable, that he stayed for the synagogue of the Jews; the first year of the patriarchs, the second of the judges, the third of the kings, and that the fourth of the prophets it was cut down. Likewise that he hath waited for the church of Christianity three years; that is, three revolutions and periods of ages, thrice five hundred years from the passion of Christ; or, if we further repeat it, that he hath tarried the leisure of the whole world, one year under nature, another under the law, a third under grace. The fourth is now in passing, wherein it is not unlikely that both these fig-trees shall be cut down. Whatsoever judgments are pronounced (Amos the first and second) against Damascus, and Judah, and the rest, are 'for three transgressions and for four;' so long he endured their iniquities. He was able to charge them, in the fourteenth of Numbers, that they had seen his glory, and yet provoked him ten times. Jerusalem's provocation in the gospel, Mat. xxiii., and such care in her loving Saviour to have 'gathered her children under his wings' of salvation, 'as the hen her chickens,' seemeth to be without number, as appeareth by this interrogation, 'O

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *how often?* Notwithstanding these precedents and presumptions of his mercy, the safest way shall be to rise at his first call, and not to defer our obedience till the second, for fear of prevention, lest the Lord have just cause given by us to excuse himself: 'I called, and you have not answered,' Isa. lxxv. And albeit at some times, and to some sinners, the Lord be pleased to iterate his sufferance, yet far be it off that we take incitement thereat to iterate our misdeeds. He punished his angels in heaven for one breach, Achan for one sacrilege, Miriam for one slander, Moses for one unbelief, Ananias and Sapphira for one lie; he may be as speedy and quick in avenging himself upon our offences. But if we neglect the first and second time also, then let us know that danger is not far off. Jude had some reason and meaning in noting the corrupt trees, that were twice dead; for if they twice die, it is likely enough that custom will prevail against them, and that they will die the third time, and not give over death till they be finally rooted up.

There are two reasons that may justly deter us from this carelessness and security in offending, which I labour to dissuade.

(1.) The strength that sin gathereth by growing and going forwards. It creepeth like a canker, or some other contagious disease in the body of man; and, because it is not timely espied and medicined, threatneth no small hazard unto it. It fareth therewith as with a tempest upon the seas, in which there are, first, *leves undæ*, little waves, afterwards *majora volumina*, greater volumes of water, and then, perhaps, *ignei globi*, balls of fire, *et fluctus ad cælum*, and surges mounting up as high as heaven. Isaiah describeth in some such manner the breeds of serpents: 'First an egg, next a cockatrice, then a serpent, and afterwards a fiery flying serpent.' Custom, they hold, is another nature, *altera natura*, and a nature fashioned and wrought by art, *affabricata natura*; and as men that are well inured are ashamed to give over,* so others of an ill habit are as loath to depart from it, *cum in profundum veniunt negligunt*. The curse that the men of Crete used against their enemies was not a sword at their hearts, nor fire upon their houses, but that which would bring on these in time, and much worse, that they might take pleasure in an evil custom, *ut malâ consuetudine delectentur*.† Hugo the cardinal noteth the proceeding of sin upon the words of the seventh Psalm: 'If I have done this thing, if there be any wickedness in my hands, &c., then let mine enemy persecute my soul' by suggestion, 'and take it' by consent; 'let him tread my life upon the earth,' by action, 'and lay mine honour in the dust,' by custom and pleasure therein; for custom in sinning is not only a grave to bury the soul in, but a great stone rolled to the mouth of it to keep it down.

* Benè consuetos pudebit dissuadere.—*Senec.*

† Valer. Max., lib. vii. cap. ii.

And as there is one kind of drunkenness in excess of wine, *ebrietas vini*, another of forgetfulness, *oblivionis*, so there is a third that cometh by lust and desire of sinning, *libidinis peccandi*.

(2.) Now if the custom of sin be seconded with the judgment of God, adding an overweight unto it, blinding our eyes and hardening our hearts, that we may neither see nor understand, lest we should be saved, and because we do not those good things which we know, therefore we shall not know those evil things which we do,* but as men bereft of heart, run on a senseless and endless race of iniquity, till the days of gracious visitation be out of date, it will not be hard to determine what the end will be. Peter saith, 2 Peter ii., 'Worse than the first beginning.' Matthew sheweth by how many degrees worse, chap. xii. For whereas at the first we were possessed but by one devil, now he cometh associated with 'seven others, all worse than himself,' and there they intend for ever to inhabit. Therefore it shall not be amiss for us to break off wickedness betimes, and to follow the counsel that Chrysostom giveth, alluding to the policy of the wise men in returning to their country another way, Mat. ii. Hast thou come, saith he, by the way of adultery? *venisti per viam fornicationis?* &c. Go back by the way of chastity. Camest thou by the way of covetousness? Go back by the way of mercy. But if thou return the same way thou camest, thou art still under the kingdom of Herod. For as the sicknesses of the body, so of the soul there are critical days, secret to ourselves, but well known to God, whereby he doth guess whether we be in likelihood to recover health, and to hearken to the wholesome counsels of his law or not. If, then, he take his time to give us over to ourselves and the malignity of our diseases, we may say too late, as sometime Christ of Jerusalem, 'Oh that we had known the things that belong to our peace, but now they are hid from our eyes.'

2. *Arise, go unto Ninereh.* 'Arise' is but a word of preface or preparation, and noteth, as I said before, that forwardness that ought to be in the prophets of the Lord. Lying down for the most part is a sign that both the body and mind are at rest. *Cubatio signum quieti et corporis et animi, &c.* Sitting betokeneth the body at ease, but the mind may be occupied. Rising most commonly is an argument that both are disposed to undertake some work. Now, as it is both shame and sin for any sorts of men to trifle in their calling (for we shall all rise in our order, but those inordinate walkers, saith Bernard, in what order shall they rise, who keep not that order and rank which God hath assigned them unto?), so especially for those that are sent about the message. Christ told his disciples in the nineteenth of Matthew, that when the Son of man sat they should also sit. But I beseech you (saith Bernard), when sat he in this world? where rested he?

* Quia non faciunt bona quæ cognoscunt, non cognoscent mala quæ faciunt.—*August.*

or what place had he to lay his head upon? Rather he rejoiced, as a giant refreshed with wine, to run his race, and he went about doing good, as it is witnessed in the Acts of the Apostles: 'Birds had their nests, and foxes their holes,' but Christ had no resting place till, his work being finished, he had dearly earned and deserved to have his leave warranted unto him, when 'the Lord said to our Lord, Sit at my right hand.' Thomas Becket, an evil man, and in an evil cause, but with words not impertinent to his place if he had well applied them, answered one who advised him to deal more moderately towards the king, Sit I at the stern, and would you wish me to sleep? *Clarum teneo, et ad somnum me vocas.* Our Saviour, to the like effect, when he found his disciples asleep, 'Why sleep you?' and to Peter by name, 'Sleepest thou, Peter?' Is Judas waking? are the high priests consulting? the soldiers banding? the Son of man near his betraying? the envious man sowing his tares, marring the field, hindering the good seed, and the gospel of the kingdom, and will not you awake? Rise, let us walk, and consider the regions far and wide, that they are not only 'white to the harvest,' but dry to the fire, *alba ad messem; sicca ad ignem*,* if they be neglected. They must be labourers that are sent into that harvest; and to shew what a blessing it is that such be sent, the Lord of the harvest must be earnestly prayed unto. Such a labourer was he, who, though he were 'born out of due time,' yet he omitted no due time of working, and though the least of all the apostles, in some honours of that calling, 1 Cor. xv., yet in the burdens and tasks that belonged unto it, he attributed it to the special grace of God, that he 'laboured more abundantly than all they.' Seneca was so far at odds with idleness, that he professed he had rather be sick than out of business. *Malo mihi malè esse quàm molliter.* I sleep very little; saith he, it is enough for me that I have but left watching. Sometimes I know I have slept, sometimes I do but suspect it.† The examples of heathen men‡ so studiously addicted to their work, that they forgot to take their ordinary food, and tied the hair of their heads to the beams of their chambers, lest sleep should beguile them in their intended labours, are almost incredible, but to the open disgrace of us, who, having a mark set before our eyes, and running to the prize which they knew not, are so slack in our duties.

But as before, so again I demand, why to Nineveh? We have already conjectured four reasons, let us add a fifth. The force of example we all know, and very great to induce likeness of manners, and to verify the proverb in the prophet, Isa. xxiv., 'Like people, like priests; like servant, like master; like maid, like mistress; like buyer, like seller; like lender, like bor-

rower; like giver, like taker of usury.' And the greater the example is, the greater authority it hath to draw to similitude. *Facile transitur ad plures*,* we are easily moved to go after a multitude. I may add, *facile transitur ad majores*, it is no hard labour to make us imitate great authorities, be our patterns good or bad. Evil behaviour in princes, prophets, and higher degrees whatsoever, corrupteth as it were the air round about, and maketh the people with whom they live as like unto them in naughtiness as, they say, bees to bees. God telleth Jerusalem in the 16th of Ezekiel, that all that used proverbs should use this amongst the rest against her, 'As is the mother, so is the daughter: thou art the daughter of thy mother, that hath cast off her husband and her children; and thou art the sister of thy sisters, which forsook their husbands and their children.' You see how evenly they tread in the same steps of the same sins: 'Your mother is an Hittite, and your father an Amorite.' Did the daughter degenerate from her kind? 'Her elder sister at her left hand was Samaria, and her daughters: and the younger at her right hand, Sodom and her daughters;' father and mother, daughter and sisters, and the whole brood was alike infected. Jeroboam the son of Nebat is never mentioned in the writings of Israel, but he draweth a tail after him like a blazing star: 'Who sinned, and made Israel to sin.' A sick head disordered all the other parts, and a dark eye made a dark body; a fearful instruction to those that fear God, to make them beware of binding two sins together, that is, of sinning themselves, and sinning before others, to put a stumbling-block before their feet, of falling into the like offence, especially when the credit, and countenance, and priority of their places maketh others the bolder to sin, because they sin with such authors, *tutum est peccare auctoribus illis.* Such bitter roots shall answer for themselves and their corrupted branches; such poisoned fountains shall not escape with single judgment, because they have polluted the whole course of waters: such leprous and contagious souls, as they heap sin upon sin, so by numbers and heaps they shall receive their plagues, and account to the justice of God, not only for the pollution of their own person, but of many thousands more, whom, by the warrant of their precedency, they have pulled into wickedness.

And for this cause I take it, amongst others, Nineveh is crowned in the next words with the honourable title of her greatness, to let her know that the more eminent in dignity, the nearer she lay to danger; and as she gave to the inferior cities of the land an example of sinning, so she should also be an example of desolation unto them.

Go to Nineveh, that great city; that is, preach repentance to the mother, and the daughters will draw their instructions from her breasts. Win the lady and princess, and her handmaids will soon be brought

* Bern.

† Satis est mihi vigilare desiisse. Aliquando me dormisse scio, aliquando suspicor.—*Epist.* 33.

‡ Carneades, Praxagoras.

* Senec.

to obedience; speak to the haughty monarch of the world, knock at the gates of his proud palace; beat the ears of those insolent and wealthy merchants, shake them from the settled lees of their long continued abominations: and thou shalt end many labours in one, thou shalt do a cure upon the heart of the principal city, the benefit whereof shall spread itself into the parts of the whole country. But if Nineveh be so great in wealth, and so deeply rooted in pride, that she will not be reformed, tell her she hath climbed so high to have the lower downfall, and though her children should die in their sins, yet their blood, for example given, shall especially be required at her hands. Many goodly cities were there in Asia (Babylon, so big that Aristotle called it a country, *Χώρα*, not a city; and Nineveh greater than Babylon; and Troy less than them both, but in her flourishing days, the pillar of that part of the world*), of which, and many their companions, we may now truly say, *O jam periere ruinae*, the very ruins of them are gone to ruin. The king of the Goths, when he saw Constantinople, pronounced that the emperor there was an earthly god. They write of Quinsey at this day, that it is a hundred miles about, and furnished with twelve thousand bridges of marble.† Let not Jerusalem lose her honour among the rest, though her honour and happiness were laid in the dust long since. They that were alive when Jerusalem lived, to have 'numbered her towers, considered her walls, and marked her bulwarks, and to have told their posterity of it,' might have made a report scarcely to have been believed. I am sure, when 'the kings of the earth were gathered together, and saw it, they marvelled; they were astonished, and suddenly driven back,' Ps. xlviii. Let me add the renowned cities of Italy, by some never sufficiently magnified, rich Venice, *dites Venetia*, great Milan, *ingens Mediolanum*, ancient Ravenna, fruitful Bononia, noble Naples, with all their glorious sisters and confederates, and her that hath stolen the birthright from the rest, and saith she is ancientest, and the mother to them all, which only is a city in the judgment of Quintilian, and others are but towns; were they all cities, great and walled up to heaven, as those of the Anakims, Deut. iii., were they regions, as he spake of Babylon, and every one a world in itself; yet time shall wear them away, sin shall dissolve and undo their composition; and he that is great over all the kingdoms of the earth, can cover them with brambles, sow them with salt, and turn them upside down as if they had never been. When the emperor Constantius came in triumph to Rome, and beheld the companies that entertained him, he repeated a saying of Cyneas the Epirote, that he had seen so many kings as citizens, *tot se vidisse reges quot cives*. But viewing the building of the city, the stately arches of the gates, the turrets, tombs, temples, theatres, baths, and some of the works like Babel, so high that

the eye of man could scarcely reach unto them, *ut eo vir aspicere oculus humanus posset*, he was amazed and said, that nature had emptied all her strength upon that one city, *naturam vires omnes in unam urbem effudisse*. He spake to Hormisda, master of his works, to erect him a brazen horse in Constantinople, like unto that of Trajan the emperor which he there saw. Hormisda answered him, that if he desired the like horse, he must also provide him the like stable, *stabulum quoque tale condas oportet, si roles equum talem succedere*, all this and much more in the honour of Rome. At length he asked Hormisda what he thought of the city, who told him that he took not pleasure in anything but in learning one lesson, which was, that men also died in Rome: *id tantum sibi placere respondit, quod didicisset ibi quoque homines mori*.* This was the end of those kingly men, which Constantius so termed, and the end of that lady city, the mirror and mistress of the world, will be the same that hath befallen her predecessors; and as nature emptied herself upon it, so she must empty herself into nature again, if she be so happy to fulfil the number of her days, and come to a perfect age; but such may be the judgment of God upon her notorious and incurable witchcrafts, that as an untimely fruit she may perish, and reap the meed of the blood-sucker in the psalm, not to live out half her days.

3. *Preach unto it the preaching which I bid thee*, or proclaim against it the proclamation which I enjoined thee. So that, *first*, the matter must be received from the Lord; *secondly*, the manner must be by proclamation and out-crying, which requireth not only the loudness of voice, but the vehemency and fervency of courage to execute his Maker's will. In Isaiah they are both joined together, for, first, the prophet is willed to cry, Isa. xl., and secondly, because he was loath to trust the invention of his own spirit, he taketh his text from the mouth of the Lord, 'What shall I cry? that all flesh is grass,' &c. John Baptist in the Gospel is but a voice (himself not the author nor speaker), but only 'the voice of one that cried in the wilderness, Prepare the ways of the Lord;' and whether he spake as loud as the will of that crier was, I report me to the scribes and Pharisees, publicans, soldiers, Herod and Herodias, whose ears he clave in two, with denouncing his Master's judgment.

(1.) *The preaching which I bid thee*. How dangerous it is for any messenger of the Lord to exceed the bounds of his commission, by adding his own devices thereunto, and taking words into his mouth which were never ministered unto him, or to come short of it, by keeping back the counsels of his Master which he hath disclosed to be made known, let that fearful protestation in the end of the book, summing and sealing up all the curses and woes that went before, testify to the world: Rev. xxii., 'I protest unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this

* Columen pollentis Asiæ.—*Lucan*.

† P. Venet.

* Platin. in vita fælic. ii.

book,' (and of all those other books that the finger of God hath written,) 'if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall diminish of the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things which are written in this book.' The protestation hath weight enough without help, to make it sink into the dullest ears of those who dare adventure at such a price to set their sacrilegious hands to those nice and religious points. Let them beware that preach themselves, and in their own name, and say, 'The Lord hath said, when he never said, that abuse the world with 'old wives' tales,' and old men's dreams, 'traditions of elders,' constitutions of popes, precepts of men, unwritten truths, untrue writings, or that sell the word of the Lord for gain, 2 Cor. ii., and merchandise, that pearl which the wise merchant will buy with all the treasure he hath; that 'hold the truth of God in unrighteousness,' and dare not free their souls for fear of men, and deal in the work of the Lord as adulterers in their filthiness; for as these esteem not issue but lust, so the others not the glory of God, nor profit of their hearts, but their own wantonness. Some have too many fingers upon their hands, like the giants in the Second of Samuel, chap. xxi., and some too few, like those whom Adoni-bezek maimed, Judges i.; some offend in excess, some in defect, some add, some diminish. But he that hath power to add plagues, whilst the world standeth, that is, to multiply and continue them in such sort, that they shall ever increase to an hundred hundredfold, and never see an end, and to diminish blessings so low, that not the least dram of them shall remain, he shall retail their doings into their bosoms, and give them their reward in the same manner and kind wherein they have deserved it. The apostle walked wisely in this calling, and stinted himself with that measure which God had divided unto him. *Quod accepi á domino tradidi*: 'what I have received of the Lord, that I have delivered unto you,' 1 Cor. xi., neither more nor less, but just weight. And being jealous over Timothy with a godly jealousy, for fear he might 'err concerning the faith,' as others had done before him, he 'adjureth him in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Jesus Christ, who under Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, to keep the commandment given unto him without spot, and unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Tim. vi. And in that prescience he had of times to come, and love he bare to his scholar, he calleth unto him with intensive inelamation,* 'O Timotheus, keep that pledge or gage that is committed unto thee? Who is that Timotheus in our times? The church, the priests, the doctors, the pastors, the treaters of the word of God

* Exclamatio ista et prescientiæ est et charitatis.—*Vincent. Lirin. adv. prophan. novat.*

whatsoever.* Keep it because of thieves, because of enemies which watch to sow their tares, that that is committed unto thee, not that thou hast invented; † that thou hast received, not devised; a matter not of thine own wit, but of thy learning; not privately caught up, but publicly taught; wherein thou must not be an author, but a keeper; nor a master, but a scholar; nor a guide, but a follower. ‡ The talent of the universal faith, wherewith thou art credited, keep unviolated; thou hast received gold, return gold, give not lead, or brass, or copper instead of gold. The precious jewels of heavenly doctrine, cut and adorn, give beauty, grace, and comeliness unto them, but suborn them not; illustrate that which was obscure, and let posterity gratulate itself for understanding that which before they reverently esteemed, being not understood. But ever be sure that thou teach the same things which thou hast learned; and though thou bring unto them a new fashion, let the matter and substance be all one. § Much more, and in fitter terms, doth Vincentius utter to the same purpose.

(2.) *Preach or proclaim unto it.* The office of a faithful prophet, when he hath received his message from the Lord, is as faithfully to deliver it. Jeremiah saw what ensued upon his simple and plain dealing, in not dissembling the faults of the world, but setting them in order before the faces of men. 'Since I spake, I cried out of wrong, and proclaimed desolation; therefore the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and had in derision daily.' And 'he heard the railing of many, and fear on every side,' and thought to give over speaking in the name of the Lord; but his word was 'as fire within his bones, and he was weary of forbearing, and could not do it. He afterwards 'cursed the day of his birth, and the man that brought news to his father, saying, A man child is born, and wished the messenger in case of one of those cities which God overturned without repenting him, because he had not slain him from the womb, that his mother might have been his grave, and his belly his everlasting conception; that he might not have come forth to see labour and sorrow,' and to have consumed his days with shame; he went not into corners to smother the will of him that sent him, but in terms of defiance, and personal application to the stoutest that bare an head, roundly disclosed it: 'And thou Palshur,' &c. He had shewed the preciseness of his calling, that he must not spare either small or great, though it pulled the whole world upon him, not long before, and with words of no less heaviness: chap. xv., 'Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast born me a contentious man, and a man that striveth with the whole earth! I have neither lent in

* Ecclesia, præpositi, sacerdos, tractator, doctor.

† Quod tibi creditum, non quod à te inventum, &c.

‡ Non author debes esse sed custos, non institutor sed sectator, non ducens sed sequens.

§ Ut cum dicas novè non dicas nova.

usury, nor men have lent unto me;’ that is, I deal not in these affairs which for the most part breed quarrels and heart-burnings, ‘yet every one doth curse me.’

We are the children of those prophets that have lived in former days. We were born to contend and strive with the whole earth; we are despised, despited, hated, cursed of every man, because we preach the preachings that the Lord hath bidden us, and proclaim his vengeance against sinners; our hand against every man, and every man’s hand against us; our tongue against every vice, and every tongue walketh and rangeth at liberty through our actions. We are thought too clamorous against the disorders of common life, too busy and severe in making philippics and declamations against every offence. Forgive us this fault. A necessity is laid upon us. And as it is our woe that our mothers have bred us to so quarrelsome a vocation, so it is another and our greater woe if we preach not the gospel; if not also the law; if not the tidings of joy to those that rejoice in our message; if not also the terrors of judgment to those that contemn it; if not liberty to captives; if not also captivity to libertines; if we pipe not to those that will dance after us, and sound not a trumpet of war to those that resist; if we build not an ark to those that will be saved, and pour not out a flood of curses against those that will perish; lastly, if we open not the doors to those that knock and are penitent, and stand not at the gates with a flaming sword in our mouths against those that are obstinate. What! Shall the invincible tents of Christ, saith Cyprian,* defended with the strength of the Lord, give place to the terrors and threatenings of men? *Ecclesia cedet capitolio?* Shall the church yield to the capitol? *Majora furentium scelera, quam sacerdotum judicia?* Shall the outrages of mad men be greater than the judgments and censures of ministers? It must not be. If we be the light of the world, we must espy faults; and if voices of John Baptist, we must cry against them. If we be the seers of the Lord, we must not be blind; and if his criers, we

* Lib. i. epist. 3 ad Cornel.

must not be dumb or tongue-tied, *videns, non videns, præco mutus*. I know the preaching of mercy is more acceptable unto you. ‘Oh how beautiful are the feet,’ and how sweet the tongues ‘of those that declare peace, and publish good things!’ and how unwelcome of those that proclaim wars, and publish woes. If every congregation we came into, we would cry Peace to this place and to this auditory, and would sing upon earth as the angels sang from heaven, ‘Glory be to God, and peace to men,’ then no men better pleasing. But you will not suffer us to think the thoughts of peace. When we say we will meditate of mercy, we are presently interrupted, and called to a song of judgment. These latter and last days, full of the ripest and last sins, which no posterity shall be able to add unto,

Non habet ulterius quod nostris moribus addat,
Posteritas,

so drunken and drowned in viciousness, that, as in a plague, we marvel not so much at those that die, as at those that escape; so in this general infection of sin, not at the vileness of the most, but that any almost is innocent, give us no rest from bitter speakings. And to give you one reason for many, we are fearfully afraid if we take not that wise advertisement that the apostle gave in the epistle to the Colossians, chap. iv., ‘Say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry that thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.’ Paul wrote it to the Colossians, and the Colossians must do it by word of mouth to Archippus, and they all to us all (as many as are in the office of Archippus), write, speak, proclaim, and, lest it might be forgotten, set it in the end of many precepts, and advise it by way of postscript, Take heed, look unto it, give good and careful regard, have your eyes in your heads, and your hearts in your eyelids; it is a work, not a play, a burden, nor an honour; a service, not a vacancy; and you have received it in him that will require it, talent and use, principal and interest, and give you the fulness of wrath if ye do it to halves, and not perfectly fulfil it.

LECTURE XXXII.

So Jonah arose, and went to Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord. Now Nineveh was a great and excellent city of three days’ journey.—JONAH III. 3.

THE first part of the chapter, wherein the commission of Jonah is renewed unto him, we have already absolved; and are now to proceed to the execution thereof, which was the second general branch. Wherein he so warily behaveth himself, having bought his experience with cost, that he departeth not an hair’s breadth from his directions perfined. Being bidden to arise, he ariseth; to go, he goeth (not now to Tarshish, as before, but to Nineveh); to proclaim,

he proclaimeth, not the fancies or supposals of his own head, but the preaching, no doubt, which the Lord bade him, because it is said, ‘according to the word of the Lord.’ As for that which is added, or rather interposed, and by a parenthesis conveyed into the rest, of the greatness of Nineveh, it maketh the rather for the commendation of his duty, that failed not in so large a province, and the faith of that people who were so presently reformed. I will follow the

card that Jonah doth. As he went to Nineveh, and preached according to the word of the Lord, so because the same word of the Lord again repeated in my text tieth me to a remembrance of the same particulars which erst I have delivered, let it not offend your ears that I pass not by them without some further explication. The present occurrents are, 1, his readiness and speed to obey the calling of the Lord: so *Jonah arose*: 2, his running to the mark proposed, not out of the way: *and went to Nineveh*; 3, his walking by line and level: *according to the word of the Lord*; 4, a caution, or watchword, thrown out by the Holy Ghost concerning the greatness of the city; as if it were plainly said, Be careful not to forget the compass of Nineveh. If you think on that in the course of this story, you will easily grant that the service of my prophet was the more laudable in persisting, and the conversion of the inhabitants in taking so short a time.

1. They spake of the Lacedæmonians in former times, a people in defence of their right most prodigal of their lives, and quick to encounter any danger, that it was a shame for any man to fly from battle; but for a Lacedæmon, even to pause and deliberate upon it, *turpe est cuilibet viro fugere*; *Laconi etiam deliberasse*. Jonah being willed to arise and go to Nineveh, is now so far from flying the face of the Lord, that as if his ear were pulled, and his soul goaded with that word, he taketh the first handsel of time to begin his work. So truly was it said by Isaiah, in the fortieth of his prophecy, 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall lift up their wings as the eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.' Jonah was quick enough before, when he hied himself to Tarshish with more haste than good speed (as the wicked and disobedient have wings upon their heels to bear them to destruction; their feet are swift to shed blood, and they run with more alacrity to death than others to life*); but he wanted that encouragement which Isaiah speaketh of, he waited not upon the will of the Lord, neither had he the testimony of a good conscience, and therefore was soon weary of that unhappy race. Now he ariseth with a better will, and feelth agility put into his bones, which before he was not acquainted with. The word implieth many times such haste as admitteth no dalliance. The Jews in the second of Nehemiah having heard of the goodness of their God upon them, and the words of the king for the repairing of Jerusalem, presently made answer to the speech of Nehemiah, 'Let us rise and build.' Let us not lose so good an opportunity, nor give advantage to our enemies by protraction of time. And it followeth immediately upon that accord of theirs: 'So they strengthened their hand to good.' The latter expoundeth the former. Let us rise and build; that is, let us strengthen our hands, and heartily address our-

selves to despatch this business. Afterwards, when their adversaries reproached them, and charged them with rebelling against the king, Nehemiah answered, 'The God of heaven will prosper us,' and under the warrant of his protection, we his servants 'will rise and build,' that is, we will not be removed from our work with all your threatenings and discountenancements. 'Then arose Eliashib the high priest, with his brethren the priests, and they built the sheep-gate,' &c., chap. iii. And surely if you consider the order and manner of their building, how they flanked one the other in the work, some setting themselves to the sheep-gate, some to the fish-port, some to the gate of the old fish-pool, others to the valley gate, these next unto those, and all in their appointed wards and stations; and I doubt not but every man (except the great ones of the Tekoites, who 'put not their necks to the work') as earnest as Baruch was, of whom it is said that he killed and fired himself, *accendit se*, in the doing of his task, for they watched in the night time, and put not off their clothes, save only for the washing,' chap. iv.; you will easily confess that their meaning was, when they first said, 'Let us rise and build,' to do their work at once, and to busy themselves about nothing else, *hoc age*, not to give rest to their bodies more than nature did necessarily and importunately call for, nor vacation to their minds till their work were at an end. Thus Jonah arose (for I am as willing, in these our lazy and loitering days, to build upon the word, as those upon the fragments and ruins of Jerusalem), that is, he strengthened, and armed, and inflamed himself to run with his errand to Nineveh; his legs are as pillars of marble, and his feet as the feet of an unicorn, to undertake the travel. He knew that, 'as vinegar is to the teeth, and as smoke to the eyes of a man, so is a slothful messenger to him that sendeth them,' Prov. x.; but much more a slothful prophet would grievously offend so high a Lord as he was now to deal with. So *Jonah arose*. The example ariseth with full strength against idleness, a sin as idly and carelessly neglected in this place, as carelessly committed. I will speak with your good leave. Your collections for the poor (by hearsay) are not over-sparing. (The Lord increase not only your oil and meal in your vessels, but your mercy within your bowels. The lower you draw forth these wells of charity, the clearer will your waters flow unto you). But where are corrections for the slothful the mean time? an alms as necessary as the former, and a work of mercy not to be slipped in a well-ordered commonwealth. The faithless steward in the Gospel being warned to make his account, and give over the stewardship, Luke xvi., amidst his perplexed thoughts what he should do for times to come, said within himself, 'I cannot dig, and to beg I am ashamed.' These more faithless in their callings than that unrighteous steward, are not ashamed to beg, though they are able enough to dig, and sus-

* Alacrius currunt ad mortem quam nos ad vitam.—Bern.

tain the burden of other labours, but will not; as unprofitable to the earth as Margites in the poet, of whom it was said, that he neither ploughed nor delved, nor did any thing in his life throughout, that might tend to good. *Neque arasse neque fodisse, &c.* Will you know the cause that Ægythus became an adulterer? We need not call for Ædipus, or any cunning interpreter, to render a reason of his lewd living; *in promptu causa est.* Slothfulness was the bane that poisoned him; and if you will know the cause of so many robberies in the fields, riots in your streets, disorders in common life, we may shortly, and in a word, derive them from idleness: it is so rank a sink (saith Bernard) of all lustful and lawless temptations. It is not less than a wonder in nature, that Pliny, in his Natural History,* reporteth of the bees, their industry and painfulness to be such, and so hardly to be matched in the world, that almost of the shadow, saith he (rather than substance), of a very small living creature *propè ex umbrâ minimi animalis*, nature hath made an incomparable thing, *incomparabile quiddam.* They never lose a day from labour, if the air will give them leave to work, *nulus, cum per cælum licuit, otio perit dies.* And when the weather is lowering and troublesome, they cleanse their hives, and carry out the filth of those that laboured within doors. The manner of their working is this: in the day time they keep watch and ward at the gates, as they do in camps, *more castrorum*; in the night they take their rest, and when the day is sprung, they have an officer to call them up with humming twice or thrice, as with the sound of a trumpet, *gemino aut triplici bombo ut buccino aliquo.* The younger go abroad to fetch in work†, the elder stay at home; some bring burdens, other unload them; some build, other polish; some supply them with stuff for the work, others take care for their victuals, for they take not their diet apart, *neque enim separatim rescuntur*, that they may be equal in all things. Moreover, they are very observant and strict in exacting the labours of every one, *mira observatio operis*, and such as are idle they note, and chasten with death. *Cessantium inertiam notant et puniunt morte.* Finally, the drones, which are the servants of the right bees, *verarum apum servitia*, they are content to give house-room unto, in fruitful years, but they rule them as their slaves, and put them foremost to the labours, and if they be slack, punish them without pity; and when the honey is ripe, they drive them from their dwellings, and many falling upon one spoil them of their lives. Go to the bees, O sluggard, consider their ways and be wise; they are but small amongst fowls, yet doth their fruit exceed in sweetness, saith the son of Sirach, and their labour in greatness. And go to the bees, ye magistrates of the earth, and learn from that little kingdom of theirs to use the vigour and

sharpness of discipline against our unserviceable drones, who, like the paralytic members in the body of man, loose and unbound in the joints of obedience, say to the head, Command us not, for we will not stir at thine appointment. I will add to the former example what the same history speaketh of the pismires, 'a people not strong, yet prepare they their meat in summer,' Prov. vi. and xxx. They labour likewise as the bees; but these make, the other hoard up meat. *Sed ille faciunt cibos, hæc condunt.** Their bodies, and the burdens they bear, have no comparison; but such as are over great for their strength, they set their shoulders unto, *humeris obnixæ*, and with their hinder legs draw them backwards; and because they fetch their provision from sundry places, the one not knowing which way the other goeth, therefore they ordain certain days of mart, wherein they meet and confer, and take a general account each of other's labour. *Certi dies ad recognitionem mutuam mundinis dantur.* We see, saith he, that the very flints are worn, and paths trodden out, with their journeying, lest any might doubt, in every creature of the world, how available it is to use never so little diligence. *Ne quis dubitet qualibet in re quid possit quantulacunque assiduitas.* I say again, Go to the pismires, O sluggard, consider their ways and be wise; 'for they having no guide, governor, nor ruler, provide their meat in summer, and gather their food in harvest,' Prov. vi. We having our rulers and guides of many sorts, soul to govern our bodies, reason our souls, God our reason, nature to shew us the way, as it did these creatures, law to hold us therein, and grace to further us; and not labouring for the food of this transitory life alone, but for that meat that perisheth not, and for the rest from our labours, yet are content, as it were, to languish alive, and to linger out our little time in a continual weariness of well-doing, as if the law had never been given to the sons of Adam to labour, nor to the daughters of Eve to pass through affliction; and when (I say not pismires and bees, and the little worms of the ground) but the angels of heaven are evermore attending upon their businesses, for 'thousand thousands stand before him, and ten thousand thousands minister unto him,' yet we will sit down and hold ourselves bound to no ministration; nay, when the Lord himself sanctified not his rest, before he had first laboured and finished the work of six days, we are ever in our Sabbaths and rests, and suffer our days of work to slide without remembrance. But as verily as the God of heaven hath sanctified both labour and rest in his own person, so truly shall it be fulfilled, that if we rest in the time of labour, we shall labour in the time of rest. Jonah arose,

2. *And went to Nineveh.* The first-born of idleness is to do nothing; the next issue she hath, is to do that that appertaineth not unto us; for to follow unnecessary business, to keep ourselves in exercise, is

* Lib. xi. cap. v. &c.

† Mane ruunt portis, nusquam mora.—*Virgil.*

* Plin. lib. xi. cap. xxx.

little praise, *pro vitando otio, otiosa sectari, ridiculum est*, and most commonly it falleth out that there is a fellowship and affinity between these two, as Paul writeth of the wanton young widows, 1 Tim. v., that they learned nothing in their idleness, but to go about from house to house; and that they were not only idle, and did nothing, but were also prattlers and busybodies, *ἡσισηγοί*, and given to utter uncomely speech, a curious kind of people to know the lives and affairs of other men, desiduous and negligent to amend their own.* The corruption is natural to us all, and anciently descended. Adam, in that richest and royallest liberty of his, over all the works of God's hands, had more desire to know and to do that that was forbidden him than all the rest, and the very commandment of God which should have restrained him, gave occasion to his will to become more wilful. From thence it cometh that we, his unwise and ungracious children, are physicians to other men rather than ourselves, and statesmen in foreign commonwealths rather than our own, and meddlers in any calling of life rather than that which God hath enjoined us. Harpers will deal with the sceptres of princes, and tell them how to rule, *aliud plectrum, aliud sceptrum*. The people will put on Aaron's robes, and teach him how to teach, *stolam Aaronis omnes assumimus*. The cobbler will find fault with the thigh of the picture, though his art go no higher than the foot, *sutor ultra crepidam*. The emperor's stewards will pervert Scriptures to strengthen the Arian heresy, though fitter to be a market-man, or to command broth for the emperor in the kitchen.† Uzzah will bear up the ark, though he overthrow himself by it, and Nadab and Abihu offer strange fire, though they burn in the flames of it. God will surely require of us all for doing more than we should, or that which we ought not, as he did of the Jews for doing less. Isa. i., *Quis ista à vobis requisivit?* 'Who hath required these things at your hands?' 2 Cor. xii., 'There are diversities of gifts and diversities of administrations, and diversities of operations, though the Spirit be but one, and God the same that worketh all in all. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all doers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?' Or hath not God divided these graces to sundry men, that every one might know and do what belongeth to his calling? The members in the body of man are not the same, nor ordained to the same function. Rom. xii., 'If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? or if the whole were an ear, where were the smelling? Seeing then that we have gifts that are diverse, according to the grace that is given unto us, whether we have prophecy, let us prophesy according

* Curiosum genus ad cognoscendam vitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam.—*Auf. x. Conf.*

† Tuum est pulmenta Cæsari præparare, non evangelium exponere.—*Basil.*

to the proportion of faith; or whether an office, let us wait on the office; he that teacheth, on teaching; he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness.' 'Let every man, as he hath received the gift, minister the same (and not his brother's or companion's), as good disposers of the manifold grace of God,' 1 Peter iv. One and the same Spirit, which is the author of order, not of confusion, see how constant he is, and like himself in the mouths of sundry apostles, to teach this ambitious and idly-busy age (bringing into nature the like deformed informity of things, by mingling all together, wherein the world sometimes was, and whilst it doeth all things, doeth nothing worthy of thanks), neither to be wise in matters appertaining to God or man, more than may stand with sobriety, and having a charge of their own properly distinguished, not to trouble their heads with alien and unnecessary affairs.* It was a worthy epigram that Aldus Manutius wrote upon the door of his chamber, to avoid such wearisome guests. Their cause of troubling him (a man carefully bent to enlarge the bounds of good learning) was, *negotii inopia*, want of business, for then their agreement was, *eamus ad Aldum*, come let us go to Aldus. At length, to prevent them, he set an unmannerly watchman at his door, which could not blush, and whose entertainment was on this manner, Whosoever thou art, Aldus doth heartily beseech thee, if thou have any business with him, briefly to despatch it, and presently be gone, unless thou comest as Hercules did, when Atlas was weary, to put his shoulders under the burthen. For neither thyself canst want work of thine own at any time, nor any of those that repair to this place.† To conclude the note, Jonah arose and hasted before at his first call; there wanted not speed to his travel; he went like the lightning, as Ezekiel speaketh of the four beasts, and spared neither the pains of his body nor the benefit of wind and sails to bear him forwards. But he lost the approbation and reward of his labour, because he mistook Tarshish for Nineveh, and bended his course to a wrong place. Now he hath learned the song of David, I will not only run, but 'I will run the way of thy commandments,' Ps. cxix. And as the feet of the beasts before mentioned (which, in the tenth of Ezekiel, are interpreted to be cherubims) were straight feet, *pedes eorum pedes recti*, Ezek. i., so are the feet of Jonah straightened towards Nineveh, and, like an arrow that flieth to the mark, so setteth he his face and heart upon the place commanded.

* Spartam nactus es, hanc orna. — *Præfat in l. de arte rhetor. ad Andreæ Naugerium.*

† Quisquis es, rogat te Aldus etiam atque etiam, ut si quid est quod à se velis, perpaucis agas, deinde actutum abeas; nisi tanquam Hercules defesso Atlanti veneris suppositurus humeros. Semper enim erit quod et tu agas, et quotquot huc attulerint pedes.

3. *According to the word of the Lord.* The most absolute, constant, infallible rule that ever was devised; and as many as walk according to this rule, they shall not fail to be blessed. It was deservedly wished and longed for in the psalm, 'Oh that my ways were made so direct that I might keep thy statutes, so should I not be confounded, whilst I had respect unto thy commandments,' Ps. cxix. It is said of the children of Israel, Numbers the ninth, that 'at the mouth of the Lord,' *secundum os Jehovæ*, 'they journeyed, and at the mouth of the Lord they pitched or lay still.' They knew his mind by the cloud that was over the tabernacle. For 'if it abode upon the tabernacle two days, or a month, or a year, they also abode, but if it were taken up, then they went forward.' Again, it is added in the same place, and, as it were, with a breath, to praise their obedience, At the commandment of the Lord, *ex præstituto Jehovæ*, they pitched, and at the commandment of the Lord they journeyed, and at the commandment of the Lord they kept the Lord's watch, by the hands of Moses! O happy and heavenly sound of words, where the lusts of their own eyes, and counsels of their own hearts, were displaced, and the commandment of the Lord in all things, for going and tarrying, from a day to a month, and so to a year, was only observed. That which David demanded in behalf of a young man, we may ask of young and old, and all sorts of men, Ps. cxix.: *In quo corriget, &c.*? 'Wherewithal shall a young man amend his ways?' or an old man his? or theirs, the prince, subject, noble, unnoble, priest, prophet, for we are all crooked, and have need to be rectified. But wherewithal? Even 'by ruling ourselves after thy word.' Whither shall we else go? as Peter asked his Master in the Gospel, John vi., 'Thou hast the words of eternal life;' not only the words of authority to command and bind the conscience, nor the words of wisdom to direct, nor the words of power to convert, nor the words of grace to comfort and uphold, but the words of eternal life to make us perfectly blessed. And therefore 'woe to the foolish prophets that follow their own spirits, and prophesy out of their own hearts,' Ezek. xiii.; so, likewise, woe to the foolish people that follow their own spirits, and walk by the dim and deceitful light of their own devices. I may say unto such, as Jeremiah to their like, in the eighth of his prophecy, 'How do you say we are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us?' for he answereth them, with wonder and demonstration to the world, that they were too senseless to build upon so false a ground. 'Lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them?' The messenger that went to Micajah to fetch him before Ahab and Jehoshaphat, might sooner have craved his head and obtained it, than one word from his mouth contravening the word of the Lord. He spake him very fair in a foul matter, 1 Kings xxii., 'Behold now the words of the prophets declare good unto the king with

one accord. Let thy word, therefore, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and speak thou good.' But the prophet wisely answered him, knowing that the best speech is that, not which pleaseth the humours of men, but the mind of God, 'As the Lord liveth, (though I die for it myself), whatsoever the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak.' So likewise, whatsoever the Lord saith unto us, that let us do, and let us learn how dangerous it is to swerve from his will. I say not by open rebellion, as Jonah did, but in the least commandment, by the smart of Moses and Aaron, who being willed, in the twentieth of Numbers, only to 'speak unto the rock,' and to use no other means save the word of their mouths, and it should 'give water unto them;' because they 'smote it with the rod,' and 'smote it twice,' both to shew their distrust of the promise of God, and to utter their impatience, they were also smitten with the rod of his lips, and had a judgment denounced against them, that they should not bring the people into the land which he had promised unto them.

4. *Now Nineveh was a great and an excellent city of three days' journey.* We have heard of the greatness of Nineveh twice before: once, verse 2, so late that a man would think it were needless so presently to repeat it. Howbeit, we shall hear it again, and this third time in another manner than before, forcibly brought in as it were, and breaking the hedge of the sentence, and with greater pomp of words, and every place of her ground exactly measured unto us. Jonah was going apace to Nineveh. The history was running onwards as fast, and keeping her course. And, it may be, the minds of those that hear or read the history, pass too quickly and lightly over the sequel thereof. They hear of the greatness of Nineveh, as that queen did of the greatness of Solomon; but they will not believe how great it is, unless they may see it with their eyes, and have a table or map thereof laid before them at large. This is the reason that, first, the wisdom of God interrupteth the sentence, and maketh a hole, as it were, in the midst thereof, as God in the side of Adam, and closeth not up the flesh again till the greatness of Nineveh be thoroughly known. 'Now Nineveh,' &c. That is, I must tell you, by the way, once again, for fear of forgetting; I will rather hinder the history a while, than not put you in mind of a matter worthy your gravest attention, that Nineveh was a great city, yea very great; a city, though lent to men, yet better becoming the majesty of God, *magna Deo*, so stately and excellent that we find not in earth wherewith to match it; and somewhat to say in particular, not filling your ears alone with general terms, the very walk of their borders will ask the 'travel of three days,' *itinere tridui*.

A great and excellent city, or exceedingly great: perquam maxima. The mother tongue wherein the history was written hath it thus, 'a city great to God.' The like manner of speech is used by Rachel, Gen.

xxx., when Billah her maid had the second time borne a son to Jacob, and Leah ceased to be fruitful: 'With the wrestlings of God have I wrestled with my sister, and gotten the upper hand;' that is, with wrestlings above the nature and reach of man. I take the meaning of the phrase to be this (if life finite and infinite have any proportion), either that Nineveh was as great for a city as God is great for a God, or that it surpassed so far the nature of created and inferior things, that nothing but the most excellent himself must be named with it; or haply, as Troy was feigned to be the building of the gods, *Carlitum egregius labor*, so no workman in heaven or earth was worthy to be credited with the building of Nineveh, but the chief of all. Others do otherwise interpret it, I know, that therefore it is called a city to God, *urbs Deo*, because there was no idol in it; but it was truly and properly dedicated to the service of one only God;—whereas the contrary is manifest, both by the 'multitude of her fornications,' mentioned in the third of Nahum, and by Nisroch their false god, which Sennacherib was worshipping in the temple of Nineveh, 2 Kings xix. 2, when his two sons slew him;—or because it was in especial regard with God, in that he sent a prophet to reclaim it, and to pluck it forth of the fire of his intended judgment;—whereas Bethlehem, 'the least amongst the thousands of Judah,' and but an handful to Nineveh, and 'Bethany, the town of Mary and Martha,' John xi., though more tender in the eyes of God, for the birth, doctrine, and miracles of more than a prophet, were never so called. Undoubtedly the reason is, whatsoever in nature or art is most perfect and exquisite, and hath, as it were, a kind of divinity in it, that to ascribe to God for these footprints, and that imitation's sake which it hath of his perfection. Ordinary mountains, cedars, or cities, have their fellows and equals upon earth wherewith to be sorted; but such as excel in greatness, and refuse the copartnership of all in that kind, because it were an injury and disparagement unto them to match them with their inferiors, they are claimed by God himself as his especial rights. Not to exempt the smaller from his care and providence (who is as great a God in the least as in the greatest,* and hath given more wisdom to the little ants and bees than to asses and camels), but to teach the unwise world to esteem his majesty as it is; not to serve him with lame or lean, base and unperfect offerings, and to think there is nothing in the whole Godhead but is most rarely and incomparably excellent.

Of three days' journey. Some say, if you walk the streets a soft and leisurely pace, with all the lanes and alleys that are therein *per diverticula et flexiones, lente et pedetentim*. Some, if you join the villages round about, *cum pagis*, the dition, liberties, and marches, that appertained to Nineveh. Others, if you

take it with the suburbs alone, *cum suburbiis*. For though the name of the city be limited within the walls, yet the name of Rome, or Nineveh, includeth also the continent buildings, *urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur*. Lastly, others expound it, of the very ambit of their walls and turrets. And by the judgment of the civil law, which defineth a day's journey by twenty miles, Nineveh might justly spend the labour of three days. I apply these testimonies of her largeness to that which followeth.

Nineveh was a great city (whether you take the people or their dwellings), Jonah not more than an ordinary man; Nineveh was very great, Jonah very little, and in comparison but as a locust among them; Nineveh 'a city of three days' journey,' Jonah had newly 'begun to enter his voyage of the first day,' ver. 4; and yet this great and spacious city is presently reformed by the preaching of an ordinary, common, and contemptible prophet. I will not reap the harvest of the next words, but only view them in haste, to make my connection. They are all, if you mark them, stinted and diminished by the Holy Ghost: Jonah *began*, had not finished; *to enter* into the city, had not gone over it; *the journey of one day*, the second and third were behind; yet Nineveh, in these beginnings, did not only begin, but almost end and consummate her repentance. And as Jonah cried, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed,' so Nineveh cried unto him again, 'Yet not forty hours, and thou shalt see Nineveh wholly changed.' Our Saviour, in the eighth of Matthew, telleth his disciples that 'the people had endured him now three days, having nothing to eat (for he held their stomachs and appetites that they might not hunger, as he held the disciples' eyes that were walking towards Emmaus that they might not see; and when he had fed them sufficiently with the bread of life, then he restored them to nature again, and gave them leave to hunger and thirst after corporal relief). The people of Nineveh, as commendable in another kind, never weary of the preaching of Jonah; and willing to endure him more than three days without eating or drinking, they weary not him so much as to put him to the toil of the second and third day, neither suffer they the next morning's sun to arise upon their former day's iniquity. But, as if every soul in the city had been summoned as Lot was, Gen. xix., 'Escape for thy life, make haste and save thyself,' so these address themselves with all possible speed to escape the wrath of God; and the morning and the evening were the first day of their repentance. At the beginnings of the preaching of John Baptist, they went out by flocks unto him, 'Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the regions about Jordan (as if the cities and towns had emptied themselves to fill the wilderness, and to lead new colonies into desert and uninhabitable places), and they were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins; and many of the

* Non est parvus in parvis.—*Aug. ad Volus, ep. 3.*

Pharisees and Sadducees also went to his baptism,' Mat. iii. At one sermon of Peter, Acts the second, the principal and final application whereof was, 'Save yourselves from this froward generation,' there were 'added unto the church about three thousand souls,' which was as great a number as a man may imagine at one time to have been capable of the speaker's voice. The Lord hath not dealt so sparingly with our nation. 'The vision hath spoken a long time,' Hab. ii., and we not waited for it, but it for us, and he that hath begun a good work in us, hath endeavoured to make it perfect. Our King hath followed the parable, Matthew the two and twentieth: 'He hath sent forth his servants to call us away,' not to the house of mourning, as he did Nineveh, but to the marriage feast of his only Son (which what honour it is to sit and eat at the king's table, let Haman report to his wife and friends, Esther v.). Again, 'he hath sent forth other servants,' to tell us what provision he hath made, and to invite us with the hope of most bountiful entertainment. But we, as these unworthy guests, rather esteeming the dinners of this world than the supper of the Lamb, which is the last meal of the day, and whereof whoso tasteth shall never hunger again; and thinking the garlic and onions of Egypt to have a better relish than the milk and honey in the land of promise, make light of his often biddings, and not much less than enforce him to pronounce against our unthankfulness, and to commune with his servants of furnishing his house with worthier guests. All the day long hath he stretched out his hands unto us, and made as long a day as ever he did to Joshua, chap. x., and as long hours of the day as ever were shadowed upon the dial of Ahaz, Isa. xxxviii., to provoke our repentance; for the twelve hours of the day, he hath given us thrice twelve years, under the happy and peaceable government of our godly Josiah. Yet as Paul asked them of Ephesus, Acts xix., 'Whether they had received the Holy Ghost,' and they answered him, 'We have not so much as heard whether there be an Holy Ghost,' so such strangers are we to the work and fruits of repentance, that scarcely we understand what repentance meaneth. And so far is it off that we are become true Israelites, with Nathanael, John i., or but almost Christians with Agrippa, Acts xxvi., that we are rather proved fully atheists. And that which Tully reporteth amongst his wonders in nature, that in one country drought causeth dirt, and rain stirreth up dust,* may be truly applied unto us, that abundance of grace hath brought forth in us abundance of sin; and as 'sin took occasion by the law to wax more sinful,' so iniquity had never been so rife amongst us but through the riseness of the gospel. Surely the men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment against us, for they repented at the preaching of Jonah newly begun amongst them; the men of Jerusalem,

* In agro Narniensi siccitate lutum fieri (ex Plinio), imbre pulverem.

and Judca, and the regions about Jordan, and some of that serpentine brood of the Pharisees and Sadducees shall rise in judgment against us, for they confessed their sins, and were baptized at the first preaching of John Baptist; the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and of every nation under the heaven, some shall rise in judgment against us, for they were 'pricked to their hearts,' and bethought them 'what to do' at one sermon of Peter, and were added to the church; and lo! we are still in our sins, and as men 'without feeling, have given ourselves to wantonness, to work all uncleanness even with greediness,' Eph. iv., though we have learned Christ a longer time than Christ lived amongst us, and prophets have early risen, and late continued, to win us to repentance. The sins of Nineveh are not specified by Jonah. They are said, in the first chapter, to ascend into the presence of God, and to stand like Satan amongst his children before his face, Job i.; surely ours are as impudent and saucy as ever were theirs. And if theirs cried into heaven, ours are not tongue-tied. In the prophecy of Nahum, chap. iii., she is described 'a bloody city, and full of lies, and robbery, and one from whom the prey departeth not;' she is famous for 'the lion's dens, and the pasture of the lion's whelps.' We reach home to them with our wickedness; I would to God our repentance were as theirs. Our houses, hands, and hearts are full of blood; our words and works full of lying; the lion teareth in pieces for his young ones, and worrieth for his lioness, and his hole is full of spoils. We all climb up to honour and might (as Jonathan and his armour-bearer to the garrison of the Philistines by the raggedness of the rocks, 1 Sam. xiv.), so we by the ruins and desolations of the country about us. Blessed is the man, in this vain and ambitious age of building, wherein the Lord doth even scorn them from heaven (what do these weak builders? will they fortify themselves? Neh. iv.; will they establish their seed for ever? will they dwell in houses of brick and hewn stone for all eternity?); I say, blessed is the man, the timber of whose beams, and stones from whose walls and foundations, crieth not a woe against him. Behold the days come, when you shall be bruised yourselves, O ye bruisers of the people; and the prey shall be pulled from your teeth, ye lions and lions' whelps, and your holes emptied of your hidden treasure. How long have we cried against such oppressions, and smitten the oppressors with the rod of God's vengeance, as Moses smote the rock! and yet, what one drop of remorse have we ever wrung from their stony hearts? How long have we clapped our hands at the shameless usury of this place! If usury be too stiff to be moved, yet we must free our souls; and, if it were possible, we would also free them that are wrapt in her snares. If they little esteem the warning of the fifteenth Psalm, that give their money upon usury, let them at least take heed that receive it. Let them not try to bear an ox upon their

shoulders, when they are unable to bear a goat;* that is, if poverty be burden enough unto them, let them not add the burden of usury. They ask what they shall do. Doest thou ask? saith Plutarch. Thou hast a tongue, beg; thou hast hands, work; thou hast feet, walk; thou hast an heart, think. *Naviga, renaviga*, sail forward and backward, take any pains rather than to fall into the mercy of an usurer. There is nothing so bitter as to restore. *Nihil tam molestum quàm reddere*. Our adulteries are like Absalom's, even upon the house tops, open to the world; we know their faults as we know their faces that commit them; and such in some 'as are not named amongst the Gentiles,' 1 Cor. v. I scarcely persuade myself that Sodom lieth in ashes for a greater offence than hath been found amongst us within these few days.† Pride, it seemeth, is proud that she is so much talked of; she loveth to be noted, though it be with a coal. Woe be unto her. We have spit in her face seven times, and yet she blusheth not. I have seen drunkenness drunk till it thirsted, and gluttony vomit till it hungered again.‡ Go to, drunkards, and hear what your doom is, from his mouth who hath threatened to pull the cup from your mouths: 'Drink, and be drunken, and spue, and fall, and rise no more.' These are the links which held the chain of your plagues together, and where-with you shall as certainly be bound as ever your flesh was tied together with sinews. Of the contempt of the word of God, his Sabbaths, and sacraments, and

* Plutarch, de usura.

† Pater filiam.

‡ Vidi ebriosorum sitim et vomentium famem.—*Sen.*

whole service, I speak not. I know there are 'a few names in Sardis' which have not given themselves to the company of those wicked. God grant I be not deceived in them. For though I see them come to the wells of salvation, as Christ came to the well of Jacob, perhaps they have not pitchers to draw with; that is, they have left their minds and meditations behind them, wherewith these waters should be received. But as the disciples of Christ spake of the few loaves amongst so many thousands, so may I of so few souls amongst such a multitude of inhabitants, 'What are these amongst such a number?' I would humbly beseech the magistrate, because he serveth God in a double place, to have care not only of his own soul, but of the souls of others. And as Paul, Rom. ix., had so fervent a love towards his brethren that he wished to be 'made an anathema,' that is to be separated from the love of God, for their sakes, so let him also become an anathema for the time, and separate himself—I say not from the favour of God, but from the assemblies of the brethren—for their brethren's sake. Let him go forth into the highways with those servants of the king, and walk the streets, and ransack the idle and irreligious corners of the city, and compel them to come into the house of the Lord, that the rooms may be filled. It shall be a crown unto his own head, a recompense of our labour, a sweet smelling sacrifice to the Lord, the joy of angels, a blessing to the city, the saving of souls, and revocation of such from destruction who are speedily falling thereinto, by their obstinate contempt.

LECTURE XXXIII.

And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, &c.—JONAH III. 4.

WHAT we have heard already in the former verse was but a preparative and an introduction to this that follows: as that, 1, *he arose*, who before-time had been slack and undisposed; 2, *went to Nineveh*, who elsewhen had diverted to Tarshish; 3, *according to the word of the Lord*, which erst he had disobeyed. Thus far we understood whither he went; now we are to learn what he did in Nineveh, namely: 1, for the time, *he beginneth* his message presently at the gates; 2, for the place, *he had entered but a third part of the city*, so much as might be measured by the travel of one day; 3, for the manner of his preaching, *he cried*; 4, for the matter or contents, *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed*. I have tasted nothing of this present verse, but what might make a connection with the former; for the greatness of Nineveh, repeated in the latter end thereof, served to this purpose, partly to commend the faith of the Ninevites, who at the first sound of the trumpet changed their lives; partly, to give testimony to the diligence and

constancy of the prophet, who was not dismayed by so mighty a charge.

1. *And Jonah began to enter into the city*. All the words are spoken by diminution. *Jonah began*, had not made an end, to *enter* the city; had not gone through a *day's journey*, which was but the third part of his way. Not that Jonah began to enter the city a day's journey and then gave over his walk, for he spent a day and days amongst them in redressing of their crooked ways. But Nineveh did not tarry the time, nor defer their conversion till his embassy was accomplished amongst them, which is so much the more marvellous, for that he came unto them a messenger of evil and unwelcome tidings. It is rather a wonder unto me that they scorned him not, that they threw not dust into the air, ran upon him with violence, stopped his mouth, threw stones at him with cursing and with bitter speaking, as Shimei did at David; and as Ahab burdened Elias with troubling Israel, 1 Kings xviii., so that they had not challenged Jonah

for troubling Nineveh, because he brought such tidings as might set an uproar and tumult amongst all the inhabitants. That wicked king of Israel, whom I named before, hated Micaiah unto the death for no other cause, but that he 'never prophesied good unto him,' 1 Kings xxii. A man that ever did evil and no good, could not endure to hear of evil. And for the same cause did Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, banish Amos from the land, for preaching the death of Jeroboam and the captivity of Israel, therefore the Lord was not able to bear his words, Amos vii., and he had his passport sealed: 'O thou, the seer, go, flee thou away into the land of Judah, and there eat thy bread, and prophesy there, but prophesy no more at Bethel, for this is the king's chapel, and this is the king's court;' so I would rather have thought that they should have entertained Jonah in the like manner, because he came with fire and sword in his mouth against them; the city is not able to bear thy words; we cannot endure to hear of the death of our king, and the universal overthrow of our people and buildings. O thou, the seer, get thee into the land of Judah, and return to thy city of Jerusalem, and there eat thy bread and prophesy there, but prophesy no more at Nineveh, for this is the king's chapel, nay, this is the court of the mighty monarch of Assyria. But Nineveh hath a milder spirit, and a softer speech and behaviour in receiving the Lord's prophet.

2. Now, on the other side, if you set together the greatness of Nineveh, and the present onset which the prophet gave upon it, that immediately upon his charge, without drawing breath, he betook him to his hard province, it maketh no less to the commendation of his faithfulness, than their obedience. For when he came to Nineveh, did he deliberate what to do; examine the nature of the people whether they were tractable or no; inquire out the convenientest place wherein to do his message, and where it might best stand with the safeguard of his person? Did he stay till he came to the marketplace, or bourse, or the king's palace, where there was greatest frequency and audience? No; but where the buildings of the city began, there he began to build his prophecy. And even at the entrance of the gates, he opened his lips and smote them with a terror of most ungrateful news. Again, he entered their city, not to gaze upon their walls, not to number their turrets, nor to feed his eyes with their high aspiring buildings, much less to take up his inn, and there to ease himself; but to travel up and down, to weary out his strong men, not for an hour or two, but from morning till night, even as long as the light of the day will give him leave to work. I depart not from my text, for, as you hear, 1, Jonah began, protracted not; 2, to enter, not staying till he had proceeded; 3, to travel, not to be idle; 4, the whole day, not giving any rest or recreation to his body.

If we will further extend and stretch the meaning of this sentence, we may apply it thus. It is good for

a man to begin betimes, and to 'bear the yoke of the Lord from his childhood' (as Goliath is reported to have been a warrior from his youth); to enter in the vineyard the first hour of the day, and to hold out till the twelfth; to begin at the gates of his life to serve God, and even from the womb of his mother, to give his body and soul, as Hannah gave her Samuel, Nazarites unto the Lord, that his age, and wisdom, and grace may grow up together, as Christ did; and that as John Baptist was sanctified in his mother's womb, Solomon was a witty child, Daniel and his young companions were well nurtured in the fear of the Lord, and David wiser than his ancients, so all the parts and degrees of his life, from the first fashioning of his tender limbs, may savour of some mercy of God which it hath received. That whether he be soon dead, they may say of him, He fulfilled much time, Wisd.; or whether he carry his gray hairs with him down into the grave, he may say in his conscience, as David did, Ps. cxix., 'Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage.' As for the devil's dispensation, youth must be borne with, *detur atati aliquid*, and, as that unwise tutor sometime spake, *Non est, mihi crede, vitium adolescenti*, &c.: it is not, trust me, a fault in a young man to follow harlots, to drink wine in bowls, to dance to the tabret, to wear fleeces of vanity about his ears, and to leave some token of his pleasure in every place: so giving him license to build the frame of his life upon a lascivious and riotous foundation of long practised wantonness. It was never written in the book of God, prophets and apostles never dreamt of it, the lawgiver never delivered it, hell only invented it of policy, to the overthrow of that age which God hath most enabled to do him best service. And as it was the wisdom of the king of Babylon to take the young children of Israel whom they might teach the learning and tongue of Chaldea, Dan. i., rather than their old men, so it is the wisdom of the devil to season these green vessels with the liquor of his corruption, that they may keep the taste thereof while life remaineth. But 'their bones are filled with the sin of their youth, and it lieth down with them in the dust,' Job xx.; and when their bodies shall arise, then shall also their sin, to receive judgment. So sayeth the wise preacher, giving them the reins in some sort, but knowing that the end of their race will be bitterness: Eccles. xi., 'Rejoice, O young man, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know, that for all these things, God will bring thee to judgment.' Let the examples of Eli his sons, whom he tenderly brought up, to bring down his house and whole stock to the ground, and the boys that mocked Elisha, be a warning to this unguided age, that the Lord will not pardon iniquity neither in young nor old, and that not only the bulls and kine of Bashan, but the wanton and untamed heifers, and the calves

that play in the grass, shall bear their transgressions. It is the song of the young men, Wisdom the second, Let not the flower of our life pass from us, &c. ; and it is the cry of the young men in the fifth of the same book, What hath pride profited us ? For whilst they take their pleasures upon earth, the Lord ' writeth bitter things against them ' in heaven, Job xiii., and shall ' make them possess the iniquities of their youth.'

3. *And he cried.* His manner of preaching was by proclamation, loud and audible, that it might reach to the ears of the people ; he hid not the judgments of God in his heart, as Mary the words of her Saviour, to make them his proper and private meditations, but as ever the manner of God was, that his prophets should denounce his mind, lest they might say, We never heard of it ; so did Jonah accordingly fulfil it. Thus Isaiah, chap. lviii., was willed to ' cry, and to lift up his voice like a trumpet ;' Jeremiah, chap. ii. and l., to ' cry in the ears of Jerusalem, to declare amongst the nations,' and even to ' set up a standard' and proclaim the fall of Babylon. And Ezekiel had a like commandment, chap. xxi. : *Clama et ulula fili hominis*, ' Cry and howl, son of man,' for this ' shall come unto my people, and it shall light upon all the princes of Israel.' Our Saviour likewise bade the apostles ' what they heard in the ear, that to preach upon the housetops,' Mat. x. They did so ; for being rebuked for their message, and forbidden to ' speak any more in the name of Jesus,' they answered boldly in the face of that wicked consistory, ' Whether it be fit to obey God or man, judge ye,' Acts iv. Wisdom herself, Proverbs the first, crieth not in her closet, and the secret chambers of her house, but ' without in the streets ;' neither in the wilderness and infrequent places, but in the ' height of the streets, and among the press, and in the enterings of the gates,' that the sound of her voice may be blown into all parts. If John Baptist were ' the voice of a crier in the wilderness,' Mat. iii., then was Christ the crier, and John Baptist but the voice. Surely it wanted not much that the very ' stones in the streets should have cried' the honour and power of God, Luke xix., for even stones would have found their tongues, if man had held theirs. The commandment, then, and practice of God himself, is to cry, to leave the world without excuse ; the nature of the word biddeth us cry ; for it is a fire, and if it flame not forth, it will burn his bowels and heart that smothereth it. I thought ' I would have kept my mouth bridled,' saith the prophet, Ps. xxxix., ' whilst the wicked was in my sight, I was dumb and spake nothing, I kept silence even from good, but my sorrow was the more increased. My heart was hot within me, and while I was musing, the fire kindled, and I spake with my tongue.' Lastly, the nature of the people with whom we have to deal requireth crying. Deaf adders will not be charmed with whispering, nor ' deaf and dumb spirits,' which neither hear nor an-

swer God, cast forth ' without much prayer and fasting,' nor sleepy and careless sinners, possessed with a spirit of slumber, and cast into a heavy sleep, as Adam was when he lost his rib ; so these not feeling the maims that are in their souls by Satan, awaked without crying. Sleepers and sinners must be cried unto again and again (for sin is a sleep) ' What, can you not watch one hour ?' And dead men and sinners must be cried unto, for sin is a death, and asketh as many groanings and out-cries as ever Christ bestowed upon Lazarus, John xi., *Exi foras Lazare*, ' Lazarus come forth,' and leave thy rotten and stinking sins, wherein thou hast lain too many days. Happy were this age of ours, if all the cryings in the daytime could awake us. For I am sure that the cry at midnight shall fetch us up ; but if the meantime we shall ' refuse to hearken, and pull away the shoulder, and stop our ears that they should not hear, and make our hearts as an adamant stone,' Zech. vii., that the words of the Lord cannot sink into them, it shall come to pass, that as he hath cried unto us and we would not hear, so we shall cry unto him again, and he will not answer.

4. *And said, Yet forty days, and Ninveh shall be overthrown.* The matter of the prophet's sermon is altogether of judgment. For the execution whereof (1.) the time prefixed is but *forty days* ; (2.) the measure or quantity of the judgment, an *overthrow* ; (3.) the subject of the overthrow, *Ninveh*, together with an implication of the long-sufferance of almighty God, specified in a particle of remainder and longer adjournment ; in the *fourth* place, *yet forty days*, as much as to say, I have spared you long enough before, but I will spare you thus much longer.

The only matter of question herein, is how it may stand with the constancy and truth of the eternal God to pronounce a judgment against a place which taketh not effect within an hundred years. For either he was ignorant of his own time, which we cannot imagine of an omniscient God, or his mind was altered, which is unprobable to suspect. For ' is the strength of Israel as man that he should lie ? or as the Son of man that he should repent ?' Numb. xxiii. Is he not ' yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever ?' Heb. xiii., ' that was, that is, and that is to come,' Rev. i. I mean not only in substance, but in will and intention. ' Doth he use lightness ?' Are the words that he speaketh ' yea and nay ?' 2 Cor. i. Doth he both affirm and deny too ? Are not all his promises, are not all his threatenings, are not all his mercies, are not all his judgments, are not all his words, are not all the tittles and iotas of his words, *yea and amen*, so firmly ratified that they cannot be broken ? Doubtless it shall stand immutable when the heaven and earth ' shall be changed, and wax old like a garment,' *Ego Deus et non mutor*, ' I am a God that am not changed,' Mal. iii.

(1.) The schoolmen in this respect have a wise dis-

tion.* It is one thing to change the will, another to will a change, or to be willing that a change should be. God will have the law and the ceremonies at one time, gospel without ceremonies at another. This was his will from everlasting, constant and unmovable, that in their several courses both should be. Though there be a change in the matter and subject, there is not a change in him that disposeth it. Our will is, in winter to use the fire, in summer, a cold and an open air; the thing is changed according to the season, but our will whereby we have decreed and determined in ourselves so to do, remaineth the same.

(2.) Sometimes the decrees and purposes of God consist of two parts, the one whereof God revealeth at the first, and the other he concealeth awhile and keepeth in his own knowledge. As in the action enjoined to Abraham, the purpose of God was twofold: *first*, to try his obedience; *secondly*, to save the child. A man may impute it to inconstancy to bid and unbid, but that the will of the Lord was not plenary understood in the first part. That is it which Gregory expresseth in apt terms: God changeth his sentence pronounced sometimes, but never his counsel intended.†

(3.) Sometimes things are decreed and spoken of according to the inferior cause, which by the highest and overruling cause are otherwise disposed of. One might have said, and said truly both ways, Lazarus shall rise again, and Lazarus shall not rise. If we esteem it by the power and finger of God, it shall be; but if we leave it to nature and to the arm of flesh, it shall never be. The prophet Isaiah told Hezekiah the king, chap. xxxviii., 'Put thy house in order, for thou shalt die.' Considering the weakness of his body, and the extremity of his disease, he had reason to warrant the same; but if he had told him contrariwise, according to that which came to pass, thou shalt not die, looking to the might and mercy of God, who received the prayers of the king, he had said as truly.

(4.) But the best definition is, that in most of these threatenings there is a condition annexed unto them, either expressed or understood, which is as the hinges to the door, and turneth forwards or backwards the whole matter. In Jeremiah it is expressed, chap. xviii., 'I will speak suddenly against a nation, or against a kingdom, to pluck it up, to root it out, and to destroy it; but if this nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their wickedness, I will repent of the plague which I thought to bring upon them.' So likewise for his mercy: 'I will speak suddenly concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build it, and to plant it; but if it do evil in my sight, and hear not my voice, I will repent of the good I

thought to do for them.' Gen. xx. it is suppressed, where God telleth Abimelech withholding Abraham's wife, 'Thou art a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast taken.' The event fell out otherwise, and Abimelech purged himself with God; 'with an upright mind and innocent hands have I done this.' There is no question but God inclosed a condition within his speech, thou art but a dead man if thou restore not the woman, without touching her body and dishonouring her husband. Thus we may answer the scruple by all these ways: (1.) Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown; and yet forty and forty years, and Nineveh shall not be overthrown. Why? Because Nineveh is changed, and the unchangeable will of God ever was, that if Nineveh shewed a change it should be spared. (2.) There were two parts of God's purpose—the one disclosed touching the subversion of Nineveh, the other of her conversion—kept within the heart of God; whereupon he changed the sentence pronounced, but not the counsel whereto the sentence was referred. (3.) If you consider Nineveh in the inferior cause, that is, in the deservings of Nineveh, it shall fall to the ground; but if you take it in the superior cause, in the goodness and clemency of Almighty God, Nineveh shall escape. (4.) Lastly, the judgment was pronounced with a condition, reserved in the mind of the Judge: Nineveh shall be overthrown, if it repent not. Now, he that speaketh with condition, may change his mind without suspicion of lightness, as Paul promised the Corinthians to come by them in his way towards Macedonia, and did it not, 2 Cor. i.; for he evermore added in his soul that condition which no man must exclude: 'If it stand with the pleasure of God, and he hinder me not,' James iv. Philip threatened the Lacedemonians that if he invaded their country he would utterly extinguish them. They wrote him none other answer but this, *ἢ*; meaning, that it was a condition well put in, because he was never likely to come amongst them. The old verse is,

Si nisi non esset, perfectum quidlibet esset.

If it were not for conditions and exceptions, everything would be perfect. But nothing more imperfect than Nineveh, if this secret condition of the goodness of God at the second hand had not been. Arius Montanus hath an exposition by himself, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be turned,' not overturned, *et Nineveh versa, non eversa*; that is, Nineveh shall be changed either to the better or to the worse; Nineveh shall either amend her ways or see an end of her happiness. Nineveh in such extremity cannot stand at a stay, no more than the sicknesses of the body when they are come to the highest degree. But to leave his singular opinion, we have specially to mark in this fearful sentence and doom of Nineveh, that the thoughts of God were rather for peace and reconciliation than to overthrow it. Here are Esau's hands,

* Aliud mutare volatatem. Aliud velle mutationem.—*Aquin. i. qu. xix. art. vii.*

† Mutat sententiam, non mutat consilium.—*Mor., lib. xx. cap. xxiii.*

but Jacob's voice; hard speech, rough countenance, a strong tempest of words, but an hidden spirit of tenderness and loving-kindness; who knew right well that unless they were touched to the quick, till their blood were drawn out, they would not be moved. Else what did he mean (if he meant not mercy) to send a prophet unto them, who might have sent his angel from heaven as against the host of Sennacherib, presently to have destroyed them? Or why prefixed he a time, and gave them a respite of forty days, who in the motion of an eye could have laid them in the dust, and slain them with the least breath of his angry lips? But come we to the particulars.

1. The time that was lent them before their overthrow is forty days: neither too long, lest they might presume, and put off from day to day; neither too short, lest they might despair of mercy, by thinking themselves over much straitened. But as Solomon bounded his estate in a middle and convenient sort, between 'poverty and riches,' Prov. xxx., little and much; 'lest if he were too full, he might deny his Maker, and ask, Who is the Lord?' or if he were too empty, 'he might steal, and take the name of God in vain;' so is the time of this people temperately measured unto them between long and short, that neither abundance of days may make them forget God, nor scarcity drive them from the hope of their wished salvation. Ancient wounds (saith Jerome) are not cured in haste, the plaster must long lie upon them; and the old festered sins of Nineveh could not be done away with a day's repentance.*

2. The measure and quantity of their judgment is an overthrow. 'Nineveh shall be destroyed.' She might have been plagued many ways, and yet have stood upon her pillars and foundations; plagued with the want of rain, as Samaria in the days of Ahab; with scarcity of bread, with pestilence, with siege of enemies, with the tyranny and exaction of her own kings and governors; but these are all too light in the eyes of God, and nothing will satisfy his justice but her final subversion. 'If the grape-gatherers come to a vine,' saith Jeremiah, chap. xlix., 'will they not leave some grapes? If thieves come by night, they will but steal till they have enough.' But Nineveh must be gathered and preyed upon by the insatiable judgment of God, till it hath left her nothing. Some of the Hebrews think that Nineveh should have been destroyed by fire from heaven, as Sodom and Gomorrah were; others suppose by the sword of a foreign enemy. If by the former of these two, what a fearful thing was it, that instead of the fatness of the clouds, the greater and the smaller rain, the sweet dews of heaven, comfortable showers, which God hath engendered in the air, and divided by pipes to fall upon the earth in their seasons, their ground should be—watered? nay,—withered, and the fruits of the

earth—cherished? nay,—consumed; their temples and buildings resolved into cinders; yea, their very skins and bones molten from their backs with the heat of God's vengeance! The other in effect is not much behind, though in manner and kind different, when so forcible and fierce an enemy cometh, that 'destructions shall not need to arise up the second time,' Nahum i.; where neither the aged hath reverence for his grey hair, nor the suckling release for the innocency of his age; where neither matron nor virgin, priest nor senator, shall be privileged from slaughter; when 'mourning shall be in their streets, and they shall say in all their highways, Alas, alas,' Amos v.; or as it is in the fourth of Jeremiah, 'Woe is me, for my soul fainteth because of the murderers;' when there shall be no man left to carry news to the next city; none to say to his friend, 'Leave thy fatherless children to me, and I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me.' Finally, when 'the blood of men shall be poured out as dust, and their flesh as dung,' Jer. xlix., and all the beasts of the field, together with the fowls of the air, shall be called to a sacrifice of dead corpses, Zeph. i.

3. The subject of that overthrow is *Nineveh*. Nineveh, in state and magnificence as the stars of God; Nineveh, that excellent city, which had her name from God himself, *civitas Deo*; Nineveh, of such antiquity, that from the flood of Noah she had stood upright; Nineveh, that over-awed Babylon, destroyed Samaria, brought Jerusalem under tribute, and was the rod of God's anger to smite the nations with; Nineveh, that glorious city which 'dwelt in confidence, and said in her heart, I am, and there is none besides me;' Nineveh must be subverted; Nineveh, built with so much labour and ambition by infinite numbers of men, exquisite artificers, unmeasurable charges; Nineveh, with her walls four hundred miles about, their height and their breadth wondered at, with her thousand and five hundred turrets, so glorious to the eye; Nineveh must be subverted. Her wealthy, insolent, imperious inhabitants, not only those of Assyria, but the choice of all the countries round about, father, son, nephew, old and young, all must be destroyed. It is not the loss of their king alone that is here threatened, nor decay of merchants and men of war, nor the rooting out of the noblest families in Nineveh, nor the funerals of private houses; it is the fall and overthrow without restraint of the whole city. Thus pride, when it cometh to the highest, I say not in the sons of men and women, but in the very son of the morning, and the angels of heaven, and not only in common and singular persons, but in societies, cities, kingdoms, monarchies, shall be brought down.

4. Notwithstanding, write it in tables, and let it be a monument for the last day, how gracious the Lord is towards ungracious sinners. Nineveh is threatened to be overthrown, and hath yet forty days stunted to repent her in. But who can number the

* Tam antiquæ vulnera diu appposito emplastro curanda erant.—*In hunc loc.*

years which Nineveh hath enjoyed aforetime? Yet God is content to sustain the loss and profusion of all those; and as he added in mercy fifteen years to the life of Hezekiah, so to the life and being of Nineveh forty days. The particle of remainder, *yet* forty days, doth wonderfully set forth the bounty of God, that albeit ten generations had passed before, and ten more succeeded without fruit, yet he would spare them thus much longer to try their amendment.

The people of the Jews endured sufficiently in the wilderness, when he protested in the psalm, 'Forty years long was I grieved with this generation,' Ps. xcv.; not only provoked, offended, discontented, but *grieved* at his very soul, who could have grieved all the veins of their hearts, and taught them the price of angering so dreadful a majesty as his is. In the prophecy of Jeremiah, chap. xxxii., he repeateth their disobedience from further antiquity: 'The children of Israel and the children of Judah have surely done evil before me from their youth; and this city hath been unto me a provocation of anger from the day that they first built it.' But I need not labour to prove the patience of God, when the worst servant in his house confesseth it: Mat. xxiv., My master is 'gone into a far country,' and will not return in haste; yea, when the atheist and scorner himself acknowledgeth no less. For if they were not acquainted with his patience and long-sufferance, they would never have called it 'slackness,' 2 Pet. iii., nor asked in derision for 'the promise of his coming,' nor taken advantage of impiety, because all things had stood in their state from the days of their fathers, nor put the evil day far from them, and slandered the footsteps of God's anointed Son.

The time of this life is as the forty days of Nineveh, a time of repentance, *tempus vite tempus penitentiae*. To some, it is forty years, as it was to Israel in the desert; to some not hours; to others not minutes; but their spirit departeth from them, as Jacob went from Laban, and the Israelites from the land of Egypt, without leave-taking, carrying away their jewels and treasures, and whatsoever in this life is most dear unto them. Oh, happy are they to whom this favour is lent which was shewed to Nineveh: yet forty days for thy repentance. But thrice most wretched on the other side whom the angel of God hath answered, 'Time shall be no more' unto thee; the night is come wherein thou canst not work, the vision is ended, the prophecy fulfilled, the doors shut up, thy gracious visitation past; who in the closing of an eye are pulled from the land of the living, and their place is no more known. Let me tell you for conclusion, that which was spoken to

Nineveh in this place under condition, was afterwards simply pronounced by Nahum, and Nineveh was destroyed indeed. Tobias before his death heard of the fall of Nineveh, Tob. xiv.; and the monarchy that said within itself, Here will I dwell, was translated into Babylon. He that endured Jerusalem so long, was afterward so obstinate against it, that if Moses and Samuel had stood before him to ask her pardon, he would not have been entreated; he that forbore that froward and stubborn generation forty years long, afterwards sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. And as he hath spared, and spared, and spared, so he will 'overturn, and overturn, and overturn,' Ezek. xxxi.; and as he hath added yet more hours, and yet more years, and yet forty days, so he will add yet more plagues, and yet more punishments, and yet more vengeance. According to his fearful commination, Lev. xxvi., 'I will yet plague you seven times more, and yet seven times more,' and still with further repetition; as there is no end of our sins, so there is no end of his anger. This were the preaching fit for these times. Blessings must sleep awhile, mercy go aside, peace return to the God of peace, and not be spoken of. That reverent, religious, honest estimation which was of God in former times, 'there is mercy with thee, O Lord, and therefore shalt thou be feared,' is now abandoned, and put to flight. This rather must be our doctrine: There is judgment with thee, O Lord; with thee, O Lord, there is ruin and subversion; with thee are plagues, O Lord; with thee there is battle, and famine, and snares, and captivity, and storm, and tempest; there is fire and brimstone with thee, O Lord, therefore thou shalt be feared. Happy are we if either love or fear will draw us to repentance; if our marble and flinty hearts will be softened with any rain that falleth; if our stiff and iron-sinewed necks will bow with any yoke, either the sweet yoke of the gospel of Christ, or the heavy and unsupportable yoke of the law and judgment. But if Nineveh continue as it hath begun, Nineveh shall be overthrown. I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, to set the time, either of forty or fifty days or years, more or less. He sitteth above to whom it is best known, and is coming in the clouds to determine that question. But mercy and justice, I know, are two sisters; and as the one hath had her day, so the other shall not miss hers; and the Lord hath two arms, two cups, two recompenses; and 'doubtless there is a reward for the righteous;' and doubtless there is also a plague for obstinate and impenitent sinners.

LECTURE XXXIV.

So the people of Nineveh believed the Lord, and proclaimed a fast, &c.—JONAH III. 5.

THE third part of the four whereinto the chapter divideth itself, containeth the repentance of

Nineveh, continued without interruption from the beginning of the fifth verse to the end of the ninth,

where it is joyfully embraced by the mercy and pardon of God towards her, which was the last part. The first of these five, which we are presently to deal with, is the general table and contents of that which the other four deduce into special branches; as Ezekiel first portrayed the siege of Jerusalem upon a brick, chap. iv., to give the people of the Jews an image of that misery which afterwards they should find distinctly and at large accomplished; for whatsoever we hear in the lineal succession of all the rest, touching their faith, fasts, sackcloth, proclamations, without respect of person or age, we have broached unto us in this preëminence. Their ordering and disposing of this weighty business of repentance, with every office and service belonging unto it, is so comely, convenient, and with such art, as if David were to appoint the Levites and priests of the temple their courses again, and to settle the singers and porters in their several ministrations, he could not have shewed more wisdom and skilfulness. For such are the duties tendered to God by this people of Nineveh, as were these officers of the temple: some principal, others accessory; some moral, others ceremonial; some for substance, others rather for show, and to set out the work; some to the soul belonging, others to the body and outward man; and in all these, the first have the first places, the second and inferior such as are fit for them. Faith goeth before works, and in work fasting goeth before sackcloth, and in the persons the greatest goeth before the less, and in the doing of all this, the proclamation of the king and council goeth before the execution of the people. The army that Solomon spake of, Cant. vi., was never better set, nor almost the stars of heaven better ordered, than this conversion of Nineveh. First, they 'believed God;' for the apostle's rule admitteth no exception, 'Without faith it is impossible to please God; for he that cometh to God must believe that God is;' and not only his being, but in his nature and property, 'that he is also a rewarder of them that seek him,' Heb. xi. This is the first stone of their building, the first round of the ladder of Jacob, whereby they climb to the presence of God. From faith, which is an action of the mind, they go to the works of the body, 'fasting and sackcloth;' for faith cried within them, as Rachel cried to Jacob, 'Give me children, or I die.' Faith is hardly received and credited to be faith unless it be testified; for that is the touchstone that the apostle trieth us by, 'Shew me thy faith by thy works.' So first they quicken the soul (for faith is the life of it), and then they kill the body by taking away the food thereof, wherein the life of the body consisteth, and burying it in a shroud of sackcloth. In their works they begin with fasting, as it were the greater things of the law, and end with sackcloth as the less. For as Jerome noteth, fasting is rather to be chosen without sackcloth, than sackcloth without fasting;*

* Jejunium magis eligendum absque sacco, quam saccus sine jejunio; ideo jejunium ante saccum.

therefore is fasting put before sackcloth. But if we shall adjoin from the eighth verse, their 'turning from their evil ways, and from the wickedness of their hands' (which some expound of restitution), we shall see that they went from fasting and sackcloth to that which was more than both. The persons are as rightly placed; for they humble themselves 'from the greatest of them to the least of them,' which declareth not only an universal consent, that there was but one heart, one soul, one faith, one fast, one attire amongst them all, but that the king began, the people were led by him, and that old men gave example to the young, parents to their children, *major atas incipit, ad minorem pervenit*.* Lastly, according to the words of the psalm, 'I believed, therefore have I spoken,' no sooner had they hold of faith in their hearts, but their tongues are presently exercised, nay, their pens set on work, not only to speak, but to speak publicly; to speak upon the housetops, by open proclamation, that all might understand; and it is probable enough from the seventh verse, that till the proclamation was heard, for order and obedience sake, they did nothing. More particularly, (1.) the radical and fundamental action wherewith they begin is *faith*; (2.) the object of that faith, *God*; (3.) the effects and fruits of their faith: abstinence from two vices, the slander and reproach whereof Asia was famously subject unto; (4.) their generality in that abstinence; (5.) their warrant and commission for so doing by the edict of the king, I reserve to another place.

(1.) So the people of Nineveh believed God. When Ahijah the prophet told Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiv., that God should raise up a king in Israel to destroy his house, not to leave him in hope that the time was far off removed, he correcteth himself with sudden and quick demand, and maketh the answer unto it: 'What? yea, even now.' Did I say he should? nay, it is already done. So soon as the word was gone from the mouth of Jonah, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed,' without pausing and resting upon the matter, 'they believed God.' What! yea, even now. It was so speedily done that almost it was less than imagination. It is very strange that a Gentile nation, which were ever 'aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise,' should so soon be caught within these nets. For when prophets preach the mercies or judgments of God, so fat are the ears, and incapable the hearts of the incredulous world (much more when God is a stranger amongst them), that they may preach among the rest as Isaiah did: chap. liii., 'Who hath believed our report? or to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?' either the gospel, which is his power to salvation to them that believe; or the law, which is his rod of iron to crush them in pieces that transgress it. Rather, as it is in Habakkuk, chap. i., they will 'Be-

* Jer.

hold among the heathen, and regard, and wonder, and marvel; they will lend their eyes to gaze, and their tongues to talk, but withal they will despise and lightly esteem all that is said unto them. 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder' at your unbelief, you that wonder so much and yet despise, 'for I will work a work in your days, saith the Lord, ye will not believe it, though it be told you.' The Lord will work it, prophets declare it, and yet the people believe not. Nay, their manner of deriding and insulting at the judgments of God is, 'Let him make speed, let him hasten his work, that we may see it; and let the counsel of the holy one draw near and come, that we may know it,' Isa. v. And sometimes they plainly deny the Lord and all his judgments, saying, Jer. v., 'It is not he; neither shall the plague come upon us; neither shall we see sword or famine: and as for his prophets, they are but wind, and the word is not in them.' Moses and Aaron preached unto Pharaoh, Exod. v., not only in the name of the Lord, and with kind exhortations, 'Let my people go,' nor only by threats and sentences of judgment, but by apparent plagues, the effectuallest preachers that might be, by the tongues of frogs, lice, flies, grasshoppers, of murrain, botches, darkness, hailstones, blood, and death itself. Could not all these move him? No; but the first time 'he returned into his house, and hardened his heart,' Exod. vii.; and the second, 'When he saw he had rest, he hardened his heart again,' Exod. viii.; and the third time 'his heart remained obstinate;' and likewise the fourth, though Moses gave him warning, 'let not Pharaoh from henceforth deceive me any more;' and so he continued to his dying day, building up hardness of heart as high as ever Babel was intended, even up into heaven, by denying and defying the God thereof, till he quite overthrew him in the Red Sea. What shall we say to this, but as the apostle doth? 1 Thes. iii., 'All men have not faith.' God sent his patriarchs in the ancienter ages of the world and found not faith; sent his prophets in a later generation and found not faith; last of all, sent his Son, a 'man approved' to the world, and approving his doctrine 'with great works, and wonders, and signs,' Acts ii., and found not faith; 'and when the Son of man cometh again, shall he find faith on the earth?' Luke xviii. So contrary it is to the nature of man to believe anything that custom and experience hath not inured him with, or may be comprehended by discourse of reason. Yet this people of Nineveh having received, you hear, but one prophet, and from that one prophet one sentence, and but in one part of the city scattered and sown amongst them, presently believed, as if the Lord from heaven had thrust his finger into their ears and hearts, and by a miracle set them open.

It rather seemeth to have been faith of credulity which is here mentioned, yielding assent to the truth of the prophecy, than faith of affianee and confidence,

fides fiducie, taking hold of mercy. That is, they first apprehend God in the faithfulness of his word; they know him to be 'a God that cannot lie,' Titus i.; they suspect not the prophet, distrust not the message, assuring themselves as certainly as that they live, that the judgment shall fall upon them without the judge's dispensation. Notwithstanding, there to have stayed, without tasting some sweetness of the mercy of God, had been little to their heart's ease. 'The devils believe and tremble,' James ii. They are 'reserved to the judgment of the great day,' Epist. of Jude; and they keep a calendar that they are reserved, for they neither see nor hear of Jesus of Nazareth, the judge of the quick and dead, angels and men, death and hell, but they are inwardly afflicted, and ask 'why he is come to vex them before the time.' And surely to believe the truth of God in his justice, without aspect and application of mercy to temper it, and to consider nothing in that infinite supreme majesty, but that he is *fortis ultor dominus*, 'the Lord a strong revenger,' *et reddens retribuet*, 'he that recompenseth, will surely recompense,' Jer. li.; and to take hold of no word from his mouth, but *Nineveh shall be destroyed*, this were enough to make them desperate, *una salus nullam sperare salutem*, to cause them to stone his prophet, to set their city on fire, as Zimri did the palace, and to die cursing and blaspheming the name of the Lord of hosts. But there is no question, but either by the preaching of Jonah, who might mingle a little sweet with their sour; or by the goodness of God in delivering Jonah, which many of the Rabbins think they had heard of; or by the light of nature, some particles and sparkles whereof might yet remain in them, because they came from Asshur, Asshur from Shem, and Shem had the knowledge of God; or by some other means (the Spirit of God especially having a work to work, and ready to help their infirmities), they conceived some hope of the bounty and graciousness of the Lord, and thereupon humbled themselves in fasting and prayer upon trust to receive it.

2. They *believed God*, not Jonah, although in meaning it is all one; they believed God as the author, Jonah as the minister; God in Jonah, or Jonah from God, and for God's sake; therefore, Rabbi Esdras saith, they believed God, that is the word of God, which God sent, Jonah pronounced. As it is said of the Israelites, Exodus the fourteenth, joining both together, that 'they believed God and his servant Moses.' And 2 Cor. v. there is a like saying: 'Now therefore, are we ambassadors for Christ, as if God did beseech you through us,' &c.; we *for* Christ, and God *through* us. Therefore, to shew that the contempt of the servant redoundeth to the Lord, God telleth Samuel, 1 Sam. viii., 'They have not cast thee away, but they have cast me away;' and Christ his disciples, Luke x., 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, and him

that sent me ;' and Mat. x., 'He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, and a disciple in the name of a disciple' (not in the name of an Israelite or Samaritan, brother or stranger, but under that relation), 'shall not lose his reward.' An admirable and gracious dispensation from God, to speak unto man, not in his own person and by the voice of his thunders and lightnings, or with the sound of a trumpet exceeding loud, as he did upon the mount, Exod. xx., for then we should run away, and cry unto Moses or any other servant of God, 'Talk thou with us, and we will hear thee, but let not God talk with us, lest we die,' but by prophets and disciples of our own nature ; flesh of our flesh, and bones of our bones ; and as the Scripture witnesseth of Elias, James v., men 'subject to the same passions' whereto we are, according to the word of Moses, Deut. xviii. : 'A prophet will the Lord thy God raise up unto thee, like unto me, from amongst you, even of thy brethren,' bringing neither shape nor language other than I have done. And that prophet shall raise up others of the like condition, for the perfecting of the saints till the world's end. In which borrowing and using of the tongues of men, he doth not beg but command, *imperans non mendicans hoc facit* ; nor wanteth himself, but benefiteth us, *indulgentia est non indigentia*, nor yet seeketh strength to his own word, but congruence and proportion to our infirmities, *non efficaciam querit sed congruentiam*,* for we were not able to bear the glory of that majesty, if it did not hide, in some sort, and temper itself under these earthly instruments. But now we may say (renouncing their idolatry), as they did in Lystra of Paul and Barnabas, when we take the counsels of God from the lips of our brethren, 'God is come down amongst us in the likeness of men,' Acts xiv. It is he that speaketh from above, and blesseth and curseth, bindeth and looseth, exhorteth and dehorteth by the mouth of man. And surely for this respect and relation's sake between God and his ministers, whom it hath pleased [him] of his mercy to dignify in some sort with the representation of his own person upon earth, the world hath ever held them in very reverent estimation, insomuch that Paul told the Galatians, although he preached the gospel unto them 'through infirmity of the flesh,' Gal iv., without the honour, ostentation, and pomp of the world, rather as one that studied to bring his person into contempt, yet so far was it off that they despised or abhorred his infirmities, that they rather 'received him as an angel of God, yea, as Christ Jesus.' And he 'bare them record, that if it had been possible' (nature and the law of God not forbidding), 'they would have plucked out their eyes to have bestowed upon him.' Chrysostom, upon the second to Timothy, thinketh no recompense equal to their dangers ; and that it is not more than deserved if they should lay down their lives for their

* Bern. ser. 5 in Cant.

pastors' sake,* because they do it daily for them, although not in this life, for lack of persecution to try it, yet by exposing their souls to the peril of eternal death. I bear you record, to use the apostle's words, that in former times, when you had *ligneos sacerdotes*, wooden priests, priests of Babylon to be your leaders and guides, and not only Balaam the prophet of Moab, but Balaam's asses, who never opened their mouths but it was a miracle to hear them ; you gave them the honour of angels and of Christ Jesus himself. You then bestowed your earrings and frontlets, as Israel did upon a golden calf, upon those leaden calves, I mean your lands and revenues, to maintain the convents of monks, cages of ignorant and unlearned buzzards. Then you committed idolatry with stocks and stones, and to every friar that drew you aside were ready to submit yourself, *pater meus es tu*, you are my father. Then religion ate up policy, the church devoured the commonwealth, cloisters were fuller of treasures than king's courts, all the wealth and fatness of the land was swallowed down into the bellies of friars and nunneries ; and as the king of Persia continued his feast to his princes and servants 'an hundred and fourscore days,' Esther i., so if these had continued their eating and drinking the substance of the world to this day, their appetite would have lasted. Then had you priests without learning, zeal without knowledge, devotion without discretion, and liberality without moderation. But there is 'a time to win and a time to lose, a time to gather and a time to scatter,' a time to eat and a time to cast up ; for now policy hath eaten up religion, the commonwealth the church, and men spoil their gods, as God expostulateth, Mal. iii., against all equity and conscience. His tithes and offerings are translated to strangers, they eat the material bread of the prophets, who never give them spiritual food, and they that serve not at the altar live by it, when they that serve indeed cannot live. Antigonus asked Cleanthes, a learned philosopher and painful student at his book, 'Cleanthes, dost thou yet grind ?' 'I grind,' saith he, 'and that for sustenance sake.'† Wherein they noted a great indignity, that those hands should be used at the mill wherewith he wrote of the sun and stars, *quibus ille manibus*, &c.‡ It grieveth me to speak what shifts they are driven unto, who are able to labour in the word and to do the work of right good evangelists, *idque vitæ sustentandæ causa*, not to grow rich thereby, but to put meat into their mouths and the mouths of their families.

I conclude with the exhortation of the apostle, 1 Thes. v., 'Now we beseech you, brethren, that you know them which labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you ; that ye have them in singular, or abundant, or more than abundant love,

* *Homil. 2. Quantumlibet obsequii deferat, &c.*

† *Molis adhuc Cleanthe ? molo ; idque vitæ sustentandæ causa.*

‡ *Plutarch.*

ὁπότε ἐκπεποισμένοι, for their works' sake.' From an abundant spirit he craveth abundant abundance of love, emptying his soul of words, that if it were possible, he might stir their hearts. In this sparingly sparing generation of ours, what words might serve to warm their frozen devotion, whom neither painfulness in labouring, nor pre-eminence in overseeing, nor vigilancy in admonishing, can cause to know and discern; no, nor keep from contemning; or so exceedingly to love; no, nor withdraw from exceedingly hating these labourers, rulers, watchmen of theirs, but even for their work's sake, because they are ministers, most debase and despite them? They knew Christ among the Jews to be the carpenter's son, and such to be his brethren and sisters; so these they are content to know, not in the worthiness of their calling, giving countenance to their place and maintenance to their service, but in the baseness of their birth and kindred, poorness of their livings and pensions, and whatsoever may make to add unto them further disgrace.

3. And proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth. Fasting and sackcloth, saith Jerome, are the armour of repentance: *Arma penitentie saccus et jejunium*. She cometh not to God with a full belly and meat between the teeth, nor in gorgeous attire of silver and gold, or of needlework; but with the thinnest face and coarsest apparel that she can provide, she is so much the apter to apply her suit, and to entreat God: *Inanis venter et luctuosus habitus ambitiosius Deum deprecantur*.* Not that the emptiness of the stomach or roughness of the garment do so much content him, which are but outward signs of an inward cause from whence they proceed; for when the soul is touched indeed, and feeleth the smart of her sins, because it hungereth and thirsteth after the righteousness of God, therefore it cannot think on feeding the outward man, but commandeth it abstinence for a time even from necessary eating; and because it longeth to be clothed with the salvation of God, therefore it chargeth her flesh and blood, not to take care for wonted attiring, but to change their accustomed ornaments into sackcloth and ashes.† Meantime the pleasure that God hath is in the sorrow of the heart and in the humility of the mind, which the humiliation of the body giveth him assurance of. The practice of David, Ps. xxxv., is, methinketh, a very good pattern, both to shew the order of repentance, and to assign the place that fasting and sackcloth have therein: 'When they were sick I clothed myself with sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting, and my prayer was turned upon my bosom. I behaved myself as to my friend or brother, and made lamentation as one that bewaileth his mother.' 1. There must be some misery, as the sickness of friends, maladies of our own souls, or the public sores of the whole land. 2. Upon that misery ensueth an inward and hearty

* Hieron.

† Mæroris insignia.—*Tull.*

compassion, as in a case that dearly affecteth us. 3. Upon that compassion, grief, which mercy is never sundered from. 4. Upon that grief, a neglect of bodily duties, and neither leisure to fill it with meats and drinks, nor care to trim it with ornaments. 5. Upon the neglect of the body do the exercises of the soul, prayer and the like, offer themselves. And, 6. Prayer with her other companions at length come laden home with the sheaves of comfort and bliss, from the plentifullest fields. So that sackcloth and fasting, as they are the witnesses of sorrow or some like passion, so they are helps also and occasions to more acceptable works than they are themselves; neither lie they next to the favour of God, but they thrust prayer and faith between them, and home to beg remission. I mean not to prevent my text by shewing the nature, original, kinds, and use of fasting amongst both heathens and Christians, which some later verses of this chapter do challenge to themselves. Only I observe for this present, that both those sins wherewith the people of Asia did most especially abound, and these in Nineveh perhaps more especially than the rest, they laboured forthwith to reform, that is, the delicacy of meats and drinks, and intemperancy in clothing. The rich man in the Gospel, Luke xvi., is noted for both these, as handmaids that waited upon his riches. And Nineveh, the richest lady under heaven, was not clear from them. To rid themselves of these baits and allurements, 1, they fast from meat, drink, sleep, ointments, delights, and recreations of all sorts; for that is truly to fast, not only to forsake and forget ordinary food, but to imprison and shut up the body from all the pleasures of life,* to pull down the strength and pride thereof, and for neighbourhood's sake to afflict the soul with it, and in effect to give it strait commandment, Touch not, taste not, handle not anything wherein thy wonted joys consisted. 2. They proclaim a fast; they leave it not indifferent and arbitrary to the will of every private citizen to do what he best fancied; they bind them by a law and decree to do as the rest did, lest there might have been some in the city carrying their epicurism and looseness of life to their grave: 'Let us eat and drink, for' within forty days 'we shall die.' 3. They put on sackcloth. Perhaps not sackcloth in kind, which all the shops in Nineveh could not supply them with, but the vilest and simplest weeds that they might devise. Their purple and prince-like furniture, wherein they esteemed not warmth, but the colour and dye,† and ware them for their price more than necessity; ‡ their wanton, disdainful, superfluous sails of pride and vain-glory they lay aside, and but for open uncivility, they would strip themselves to the bare skin, and repent naked. 4. From the greatest to the least. They spare no calling, prince nor peer,

* Non solum ab escis sed à cunctis illecebris abstinere.—*Hieron.*

† Non calor sed color.—*Ber.*

‡ Pretium affectatur in vestibus, non necessitas.—*Id.*

noble nor vulgar person. They spare no age, old nor young. The aged that went with his staff, and the suckling that drew the breast, are all charged alike, even those who for bodily infirmities were unable enough to bear it.

The two daughters of the horse-leech which suck the blood of our land, wasting the substance and commodity thereof in vain,—in some the effects of their wealth, in others the efficients of their beggary,—are the vices of these Assyrians, which directly and purposely they cross in this work of repentance. For what hath undone both gentlemen and mean men in our country so much, and brought some to shame, as their back and belly, pride and profusion? What means shall we use to crush these vipers amongst you? Declining will not serve; denouncing of the judgments of God we have found unprofitable, by over-long experience. Have we not beaten your ears (I mistake, the air and the wind) a thousand times with faithful and earnest detection of these monsters, pride and prodigality, strangeness of apparel, excess of meats and drinks, and have we not gained thereby as if we had preached but fables? Nineveh is fallen long since, because she returned to that wallowing which here she repented her of. But Nineveh shall rise again, and stand upright against us, and condemn us face to face, for she repented in hunger and thirst, we in satiety, gluttony, surfeiting, drunkenness; for either we never repent at all, or these are the stomachs which we bring in repentance. And Nineveh repented in sackcloth and ashes, stuff of the coarsest woof and workmanship, and of the simplest fashion that their wits could invent; we in our silks and velvets, of French, Italian, Jewish, Turkish, Barbarian, hellish devices; for either we never repent at all, or these are the guises and shows we bring in repentance. These, these are the stomachs we go with, I say not to our beds, to stretch ourselves and to take our ease till we have gotten our appetites again; and these are the weeds we carry, I say not to the theatres, to be stared upon, nor to the king's court where soft raiment is more tolerable to be worn; but with these stomachs and these weeds we go to the temple of the Lord, his house of praying and preaching, and as boldly present ourselves therewith, as if the favour of God were soonest won by such intemperancies. Whether we be a people defiled and corrupted as these in Nineveh were, we are not so shameless to dissemble;* and whether prophets have been amongst us, as Jonah was in Nineveh, let their wearied tongues and sorrowful souls for their lost labour witness another day; and whether the judgments of God, some we have already felt, and some we have cause to fear, though not so grievous as they did, we need none other messengers to report than our eyes standing in our heads and beholding some part of them accomplished; and lastly, we would think it a great wrong unto us to be

* Qu. 'we are so shameless not to dissemble'?—ED.

charged with unbelief. We say we believe God as frankly and confidently as ever the men of Nineveh did. Thus far we will be equal with Nineveh. But shew me your faith by your works, as they did in Nineveh. If your sins have deserved a judgment, and judgment hath been sounded by prophets, besides the preaching of experience, and prophets, you say, are believed, because you receive them as those that speak in the name of the Lord, I say again, shew me your faith by your works, as that city did. When did you fast, I name not bread and water, but from superfluous sustenance? When did you pull one dish from your tables, or one morsel from your bowels? Nay, do you not daily add, and invent for pleasure, even till the creatures of God which die for your lives cry out upon you: We desire not to be spared, but not to be abused; we refuse not to serve your necessity, but your riot; kill to eat, but to eat deliciously and intemperately, kill us not? Or when did you change one suit or thread of your raiment in sign of suppliant and contrite spirits; shall I say by proclamation, no, nor by the secret and single decree of any private heart, or from the greatest to the least? No; for greatness will not stoop but at greater judgments. The Lord doth bruise but the heel of the body when the poor are smitten; unless he reach the head, the rich and mighty amongst us feel it not. Brethren, there must be some end of these things; our eating and drinking, not to live, but as if we would die with fulness, and wearing of pride like a chain to our necks and a mantle to our whole bodies; or if Moses and Samuel were amongst us, they would be weary of their preaching. Yea, there must be some end; or if Moses and Samuel, with all the angels in heaven, were amongst us, to bestow both their preachings and prayers that we might be saved, they should save but their own souls, and neither us nor our sons and daughters. This is an year of temptation, whereof I may say, as Moses did in Deuteronomy, chap. xiii., of a strange prophet: *Tentat vos Dominus vester*, 'The Lord your God proveth you whether you love him or no;' whether you can be content for his sake to leave superfluities a while, and to lay aside vanity, and convert your hearts and hands to the works of mercy. In the timeliest time of your harvest he covered the heavens with a sack, to teach you the way to sackcloth; and sent leanness upon the earth, to teach you frugality and thriftiness in the use of his blessings. Many the poorer of our land would be glad, with the disciples of Christ, to rub an ear of corn between their hands for relief of their hunger, if they could come by it. Their bowels sound like shawms for want of food, and their teeth are clean, when your barns and garners are filled to the top, your presses run over, and your bellies are satisfied with more than the flour of wheat. Oh, take

* *Necessitatem haud deprecor sed injuriam. Necessitati subservire haud recuso, sed luxui, ut vescaris jugula, ut lautius et jucundius vescaris haud jugula.*—*Plut. de esu carn.*

somewhat from your bellies and backs, if you have any love to that hidden manna, the meat that perisheth not, the fruits of the tree of life in the midst of the paradise of God; if any desire to those white garments washed in the blood of Christ, and rather to shine hereafter as the stars in the firmament than as glowworms upon the earth in this present life, take from your bellies and backs, both in regard of your own souls, to witness humility and sobriety before

God and man, and for your poor brethren's sake, that they may be fed and clothed. It is Christ that hungereth, and Christ that must satisfy you; Christ that craveth, and Christ that must give unto you; Christ that lieth at your gates, and Christ that must advance you to glory. He is the advocate to the poor, and the judge of the rich; he hath the sentence of blessing and cursing in his mouth; and to those that are plentiful givers, he shall render a plentiful recompense.

LECTURE XXXV.

For word came unto the king of Nineveh; and he rose from his throne, &c.—JONAH III. 6.

THE first of those five verses, wherein the repentance of Nineveh is laid down, is nothing else, I told you, but a general comprehension of that which is afterward repeated and repolished with more particular declaration. Therein they lay their foundation low and sure; for the first stone of their building, that beareth up all the rest, is faith, plainly and expressly mentioned; which, if it had been suppressed by silence, as one that seeth the branches and fruits of a tree, knoweth there is a root that carrieth them, though it be buried in the mould of the ground; or the members of the body of man, stirring and moving themselves to their several functions, knoweth there is a heart that ruleth them, though it dwell secretly within the bosom; so, though the name of faith had not here been heard of, he that had seen such branches and members of religious devotion and humiliation in the people of Nineveh, might easily have guessed that there was a root and heart of faith from whence they proceeded. To this they adjoin fasting and sackcloth, not only as arguments and outward professions of their inward contrition or grief; but as adminicles, helps, and commendations besides, to that effectual prayer of theirs which afterwards they poured forth. The belly, they say, hath no ears, *venter non habet aures*; and we may as truly say, It hath no tongue or spirit to call upon God; and sumptuous garments are either the banner of pride and nest of riotousness,* as the emperor of Rome termed them, or tokens at least of a mind at rest and no way disquieted; therefore they cry in the second of Wisdom, Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let us crown ourselves with rose-buds. And Amos complaineth of them in the sixth of his prophecy, that 'put the evil day far from them, and approach to the feet of iniquity, that they eat the lambs of the flock, and the calves out of the stall; drink their wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointment: but no man is sorry for the affliction of Joseph;' for it is not likely that the affliction of others should move their hearts, who are so occupied and possessed before with fulness of pleasures.

For the better explication hereof, it shall not be

* *Vexillum superbæ nidusque luxuriæ.*—*August.*

impertinent to consider and apply the behaviour of Benhadad, 1 Kings xx. He had received an overthrow of the children of Israel, one year in the mountains, the next at Aphék. An hundred thousand footmen were slain in the field in one day; seven and twenty thousand perished with the fall of a wall in the city, besides the danger of the king, who is afraid of his own life, and 'runneth from chamber to chamber to hide himself.' Upon this misery wherewith they were touched, one danger being past, another imminent, his servants come unto him with these words, 'Behold now, we have heard say, that the kings of Israel are merciful kings: we pray thee, therefore, let us put sackcloth about our loins, and ropes about our heads, and go out to the king of Israel: it may be that he will save thy life.' They did so, and came to the king, and said, 'Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray thee, let me live.' Benhadad, of late a puissant king, having two and thirty kings in his army, is now content with the name of a servant.

First, then, you see there is a persuasion of mercy in the kings of Israel; so there must be a persuasion of mercy in the God of heaven, which the Ninevites were not void of. Secondly, that persuasion was imperfect, mingled with fear, standing upon terms of doubt: 'it may be he will save thy life;' so likewise said the king of Nineveh, 'Who knoweth if the Lord will repent?' Thirdly, upon this persuasion, such as it is, the Syrians go and entreat the king of Israel; upon the like do the inhabitants of Nineveh cry unto God. Lastly, to testify their humility, and to move him to pity, they 'put sackcloth about their loins, and ropes about their heads;' so do the people of Nineveh sit in sackcloth and ashes, to bewray their contrite spirits. Now as Aram put ropes about their heads, to shew that for their own parts they had deserved nothing—but their lives and deaths were in the king's hands, either to save or hang them—so to fast, or wear sackcloth, with any intention to merit, or satisfy the anger of God, is to abuse the ends of both these services. Aquinas* reciteth three ends of

* 22 *Quest.* 147. *art.* i. *conclus.*—*Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus; appliced by Jerome. Cibus rerum desiderabilium non comederam.*

a fast: first, to repress and subdue the insolency of the flesh; he proveth it from the second to the Corinthians chap. sixth, where the apostle joineth fasting and chastity together; the one the cause, the other the effect that followeth it. Secondly, To elevate the mind and make it more capable of heavenly revelation; as Daniel in the tenth of his prophecy, after his fasting three weeks from pleasant bread, flesh and wine, beheld a vision. Thirdly, to satisfy and appease the anger of God for sins, which we can in no case admit. The proof he bringeth is from the second of Joel, where we are willed to 'turn unto the Lord with all our heart, with fasting, and mourning, and weeping; to rend our hearts, and not our garments,' &c. What then? It is the manner and usage, we grant, of suppliant petitioners to abstain from meats, and to tear their garments from their backs, not with purpose to satisfy the wrath of God, but rather to execute wrath and vengeance upon themselves, and by macerating their bodies, and stripping them of their best ornaments, to shew how unworthy they are of the blessings of God, whom by their heinous iniquities they have so offended. For it is not fasting and sackcloth that pleaseth him so much, nor rending the garments, nor looking under the brow, nor hanging down the head like a bulrush, nor shaving the head and the beard, nor casting dust upon the face, nor sitting in ashes, nor filling the air with howlings and outcries; but inward and hearty conversion to God, acknowledgment of our grievous provocations, confession of our own unworthiness by these outward castigations, unfeigned repentance, vacation to prayer, and a fearful apprehension of his ancient and accustomed mercies. Therefore it followeth in Joel: 'For the Lord is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil;' as much as to say, when you have sorrowed sufficiently for your sins, and signified that sorrow with abstinence and tears, take comfort at the length again, not in your own satisfactions, but in the remembrance and views of God's everlasting mercies.

For word came unto the king of Nineveh. Some think that the matter herein contained is distinguished from that which went before in the fifth verse, and that the rulers and warders of the several parts of the city which Jonah had passed through, had proclaimed a fast to the people, before the preaching of the prophet came to the king's ears. Hereupon they infer, that in matters appertaining to God, we must not tarry the leisure of princes, their license be obtained, for princes (they say) are slowest to believe, and furthest from humbling themselves before the majesty of God, when his anger is kindled. I take it to be otherwise, and I am not left alone in that opinion; for most agree that the former verse is but an index or table to that that followeth, wherein the repentance of Nineveh is first rough hewn, and afterwards revised and gone

over again with more special explication. For thus it hangeth together: if you will know what the people of Nineveh did upon this strange and unexpected news. They doubted nothing either of the word, or of his calling that brought it; but from the greatest to the least, old and young, princes and inferiors, all orders and states of men, they both believed the report, and became spectacles to God, and men, and angels, of admirable contrition, condemning themselves in those two things especially whereof the whole world might justly have condemned them, luxuriousness of meats and drinks, and costliness of garments; but if you will know their order of proceeding more particularly, thus it was: 1, 'Word came unto the king,' as to the excellent power and authority amongst them; 2, the king 'callet a council' of the princes and peers, as being the pillars of his government; for 'where there are many counsellors there is strength,' Prov. xv.; 3, the king and his council 'make an act,' touching fasting and prayer, and renouncement of sin; 4, they 'cause it to be proclaimed' in manner and form as afterward followeth; 5, for encouragement and example to the rest, the king is the first man that humbleth himself; so that in truth their sovereign and liege lord is first made privy to their service intended. Wherein, for mine own part (simply to speak my mind, as one that must give account what I have built upon my Master's foundation, whether gold, silver, hay, stubble, or the like, for both my works and my words must be tried by fire), though I make no question, if the prince should be backward and careless in the worship of God, but God must be served; and so I would wish it; yet in a common case, concerning the weal and welfare of the whole commonwealth, where it lieth upon all sorts of men alike, to do some extraordinary worship to God (as the cause of Nineveh here required), I hold it a point of disorder and confusion, that the foot should run without the head, the people and inferiors do anything in public, whereunto the knowledge and authorisation of the prince is not first had: 'Give unto Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar,' and give him this, for one amongst the rest, if Cæsar be willing and ready to join with thee in the honour of God; leave him not out. I would not open this gate of liberty to any subject or people in the world, with whom Christ and his kingdom are harboured, that in a common danger of a country, when God is to be pacified, and the land purged in general, the private members thereof may enter into the action, without the warrant of the prince both to command and direct the same. If such were the king as Darius was, Daniel vi., and such his rulers and officers as would make a decree to defraud God of his worship, 'that whosoever should make a petition to any, either God or man, in thirty days, save only to the king, should be cast into the den of the lions,' then be thou also as Daniel was, 'enter into thine house, and open

thy windows towards Jerusalem, and pray;’ or enter into the house of God, and set open the doors, and pray; or go into the corners of the streets, or into the market-place, or climb up to the house tops, and pray; stay not till the king or his council release thee there-to; and if every hair of thy head were a life, redeem thy duty to God, with adventure and loss thereof, rather than neglect it; and if thou hap to be alone in that action, as Elias was, yet forego it not. But if such be the king as Josias was, or the like, and such his princes and officers as make decrees for the worship of God, and are more wise than thyself, to know the danger of the state, and as zealous to prevent it, whatsoever thou doest in private betwixt thyself and thine own spirit, thyself and thine own household, yet gather no open assembly, sanctify no public fast, call not to sackcloth and mourning before the magistrate have decreed it. It may be a presumption of thine own zeal, an affectation of singularity, a commending and preaching of thyself unto the people; but sure I am, it is a censure by consequence, and a judgment underhand against the rest of the brethren, that they are over-cold in religion, a prejudice against the magistrate that he is too slack, a breach of obedience to the powers that God hath ordained, and the mother of anarchy and confusion, which, within a Christian commonwealth, must carefully be shunned. In many the dangers of our land, both at home and abroad, many the members and subjects thereof—as if our country had no more orators, and there were none to stand in the gap but themselves—have assembled together, either in towns or in hamlets, and sometimes in a private house, to fast and pray before the Lord. Their humbling of themselves in such sort, confessing of sins, offering of their hearts in devout supplication, singing of psalms, prophesying in course from morning till evening, as they are plausible exercises in the sight of men, so I will not say the contrary, but full of godliness and Christianity. But (under correction of better knowledge and judgment), I think, that obedience and love had been better than all this sacrifice, and that thus to minish the authority of the magistrate, by preventing his decree, and controlling as it were his government, and to give sentence against all the children of the land besides, of negligence and unmindfulness in God’s affairs, may more offend, than their service or devotion can do good otherwise. Much more seemly it were, that, as the apostle exhorteth the Corinthians, ‘Not the one to prevent the other when they come to the supper of the Lord,’ 1 Cor. xi., which is a sacrament of communion and fellowship, so in a calamity of the realm, when all the joints thereof are disquieted, and have need to be salved and holpen by the saving health of God, that all might concur, and agree for seeking that remedy; that the people might stay for the magistrates, magistrates lead the people, the prophets preach and denounce, the king and his council enact,

and all put in practice; that a whole burnt-offering might be made unto the Lord, from the highest to the lowest, a solemn dedication of every person and state that the land hath. And as Jerusalem was commended for her building, so we for our praying and fasting: a people at unity within ourselves, where neither the greatest nor the least are excluded.

But of the nature of a public fast hereafter. Meanwhile the dangerous conclusions that have, and might have ensued out of this maxim, to wit, that in matters belonging to God, we are not bound to expect or respect the magistrate, make me the more wary and scrupulous in handling this point. For I like not in any case, that the least advantage and scope in the earth be given to the people, against his lawful and Christian governor. It is as fire to flax, an easy and welcome persuasion to busy and catching natures. The least exception once taken against their want of religion, piety, justice, or the like, is so far followed, that not only the prince, in the end, but the whole people rue it. The Anabaptist in Germany no sooner entertained this fancy in his brain, that a godless magistrate may be made away, but forthwith he granted to himself that all the magistrates of Germany are of that kind, and casteth in his head how he may lay his hands upon the Lord’s anointed. He beareth the world in hand, that God hath had speech with him, and given him a charge to destroy the wicked, and to constitute a new world, consisting of righteous and innocent. The ordinary preachings of Munster were these: * God hath warranted me face to face; he that cannot lie hath commanded me to attempt the change by these means, even by killing the magistrates! Phifer, his lewd companion, did but dream in the night time, of the killing of many nice, and presently expounded his dream of murdering the nobles! So, likewise, let a papist from Rome or Rheims give forth that a prince, which is an apostate, or excommunicate by the church for heresy or schism, and openly denounced to be such, may be deposed from his seat, seignories, title to the crown, claim of subjects’ allegiance, how many traitorous hearts, slanderous and mutinous books, libels, speeches, declamations, defamations, rebellious, violent, hostile conspiracies hath it brought forth? how ready hath the lion been to take ears for horns? that is, a prejudicate opinion of men maliciously bent to interpret the service of God heresy, and departing out of Babylon, schism; and falling away from antichrist, flat apostasy. The Brownist in England of late, imagining to himself that, in the disorders of the church, reformation may be made without the leisure and leave of the prince, if God had not slackened that heat, would have followed his conceit *per saxa, per ignes*, through all the dangers and difficulties that are; would have trodden order, obedience, conscience, religion, duty to God and man under his feet, rather than have missed

* Joan Sleid. Com. 5. Ipsemet mihi coram promisit, &c.

his purpose. But the mercy of God assisting us, we have found it true which Cyprian sometimes observed, that schismatics are ever hottest in their first beginnings, but cannot take increase.*

To conclude : this fact of the people of Nineveh in this their religions intendment of public repentance and conversion to God, even for that order and obedience' sake, which they hold towards their king, is the rather to be commended ; and may be an image to all other kingdoms and churches on the earth, how to demean themselves in the like businesses ; not to neglect their rulers and governors, not to suspect them of carelessness in their charges, not to impair their credit and dignity in the opinions of men, with uncharitable and hasty surmises, not to usurp their authority in the practice or publication of unusual acts ; but to give them this prerogative, not only for policy, but even for conscience' sake, that as they are the heads of the body, and set over the rest, so in all such weighty affairs as this whereof I speak, they think their knowledge, advice, and association, most fit to be required.

And word came to the king of Nineveh. If we consider the words in particular, we shall find them to have marvellous force : 1. *Word came* ; not only the bruit, fame, report, tidings, or hearsay of it, but a word of a far different kind, a burden, a judgment, a powerful, terrifying, threatening word, a dreadful alarm of the wrath of God, a word that hath a deed in it, and is not only pronounced, but done, or not far from doing ; such a word as we read of in the second of Luke, when the shepherds said one to another, ' Let us go into Bethlehem, and see this word that is done,' *verbum hoc quod factum est* ; this singular, miraculous, extraordinary word, the like whereof we never heard uttered. 2. *To the king of Nineveh* ; not to a viceroy, a petit and tributary king, a king of a molehill, or of a little isle, a king under awe and subjection to some higher kingdom ; but to the king of Nineveh, the successor of Nimrod, the monarch of the earth, the terror and scourge of the world far and near, the mightiest, majestickest, proudest king that the sun at that day looked upon ; for what is the reason that the history, having mentioned Nineveh so often before (' go to Nineveh,' and he ' went to Nineveh,' and ' Nineveh shall be overthrown,' and ' the men of Nineveh believe God'), doth yet add the name of the city, as if without this addition it could not be understood what king were meant, but that the mind of the Holy Ghost therein was, to note the unlikeliest king to strike sails, and to yield his sceptre to the King of kings of all the countries and kingdoms that the world had. Yet this potent and insolent king of Nineveh, though he had built his nest as the eagles of the sky, for earthly provision and pre-eminence, as soon as he heard the tidings of the word, what did he ?

* Schismatici semper inter initia sua fervent, incrementa vero habere non possunt.—iv. *Epist.* 2.

3. *He arose*, as if he had felt his seat shaken under him, and tossed with an earthquake, so he raiseth himself, starteth from his ease and tranquillity, thinketh it no time to sit and deliberate, and ask questions, to examine circumstances, to convent the disturber of Nineveh before him, and to take an account of his preaching ; but if ever he hasted and bestirred his joints, and called his senses and wits, his princes and people together to work a work, now to do it. 4. *He rose from his throne*, not from his bed, whereon he took his ease, nor from his board, whereat he ate and drank, but from his seat of honour and principality, his royal, magnificent, monarchical throne, where he sat as king, and commanded, and took state upon him. From thence he arose, to do his obeisance to the Lord of all lords, whose throne is the heaven of heavens, and all the thrones of the earth but his footstools. 5. More than this, as if the *robe* of majesty, his vesture of purple and gold, his kingly attire, had been a burden to his back, and as unseemly to be worn as ever the botch or scab was to the Egyptians, he doth not only despise or refuse, and not reckon of it, but he putteth it off, nay, he *casteth it off*, and throweth it down, and biddeth it farewell for ever, as not becoming him ; as if he had rated and proved it in this manner : Have I worn thee for pomp and pride, and given countenance unto my beggarly and base weeds, in comparison of him who is clothed with zeal as with a cloak, and with righteousness as with an habergeon ? Lie aside, I mistook thy nature ; thou art but the painting of a grave, or whitening of a rotten wall, the cover and ease to a lump of mortal flesh ; vain and unprofitable ornament, I am weary of thy service, thou hast made me honourable in the sight of men, thou canst work me no reverence or estimation before the Lord of hosts. 6. It had been enough to have proceeded thus far, to have stripped him into his weekly and ordinary attire ; to have gone like a common man, as Ahab in the first of Kings, changed his apparel, that his enemies might not know him. First, the king of Nineveh doeth not so ; but he that had silver and gold as the dust in the street, and precious stones as the gravel in the river Tigris, to have wrapped his body in, and to have glistened against the rays of the sun, as Herod in his shining gown, forgetteth the wardrobe of the empire, and goeth to the beggar's press, humbleth himself like a bondman. One that had ground at the mill could not have taken a garment of a baser condition ; he putteth on sackcloth, nay, he *covereth himself with sackcloth*. Sackcloth is all the apparel he weareth, sackcloth is the diadem to his head, sackcloth the mantle to his back ; from the crown of the head to the plant of his foot there is nothing but sackcloth. The king hath wound his body in sackcloth, as a corpse made ready for the burial, and fitter to lie in the ground than to live and breathe upon the face of the earth. 7. Lastly, when he hath all done, he lieth not on an heap of violets and roses, as the Sibarites were wont

to do, nor upon a couch beautified and decked with the tapestry of Egypt; neither goeth he into the temple of Nineveh to cleave to the dust of the pavement, nor shutteth himself into his closet, to grovel upon the floor thereof, but he *sitteth*, dwelleth, abideth in an *heap of ashes*. Sackcloth was the ground, ashes is the garnish, lace, and welt to all his garments. A wonderful alteration: from a king of the earth to a worm of the earth, from a robe to sackcloth, from a throne to a dunghill, from sitting in state to lying in ashes, from the pomp of a monarch to the image of a caitiff. He whom all the reverence of the world attended upon, to whom the knee was bowed, the head uncovered, the body prostrated, who had as many salutations as the firmament stars,—‘God save the king,’ ‘Long live the emperor,’—throweth away his crown, his sceptre, his majesty, with all the signs and solemnities thereto belonging, and in effect rebuketh himself, ‘Why art thou proud, O earth and ashes? Humble thy spirit, see thy mortality, tremble before the presence of that God who sendeth terror into the hearts, and confusion into the faces of all earthly potentates.

To make an end (for I have ever for the most part, against my meaning and purpose, offended you with prolixity of speech), I have briefly two instructions to commend unto you: the one to the magistrates in particular, that they serve God as becometh magistrates. It is not the sword, sceptre, and robe, nor the highest room, and other pre-eminence, that maketh a magistrate; but as he doth make laws, so he must take laws (contrary to the mind of lawless Caracalla, *imperatores leges dare, non accipere*), and be a rule both to others and himself, as the king of Nineveh, in this present example, is first and foremost in the service of God. The other, in general to all sorts of men; the king of Nineveh, you hear, from whom the silver and gold and riches of the earth are provided—for who should enjoy these rather than princes?—goeth from his throne and putteth on sackcloth about him, as one that must give account to the highest God, like those of the meanest condition—‘I have said, Ye are gods: but ye shall die like vulgar men,’ Ps. lxxxii.,—and sitteth in ashes, as one not forgetting his first foundation, that as he was bred of the ashes, so to ashes he must return. My brethren, let not the pomp of the world deceive you; whether it stand in authority, or opulency, or voluptuousness of life, I say, let it not deceive you. As the fresh rivers run into the salt sea, so shall all the the honours of the world end in baseness, all the pleasures of the world end in bitterness, all the treasures of the world in emptiness, all the garments of the world in nakedness, and finally, all the viands and delicacies of the world in loathsomeness and rottenness. Throw away your robes and costly caparisons, you kings and queens of the earth

(you that are such, not by the ordinance of God, but by your own usurpation, that take such honour upon you not being called thereto, but bear the bravery of princes, the royalty of Solomon, upon your backs), throw away your robes, lest he give you a rent that gave you a garment, and clothe you with worse than leprosy, that hath hitherto clothed you with honour and beauty. But why do I spend my time in so impertinent and unprofitable exhortation? Fashion brought them in (these disguisements, I mean), and fashion must bear them out, or nothing will do it. Fashion is the best preacher and orator of our age. I would to God our preaching were in fashion too, for then, I am sure, it would win both men and women. We use all the fashions therein that our commission can extend unto; we preach season and not season, we bring forth old and new, we give milk and strong meat, we come in a spirit of gentleness, and with a rod; we entreat, we threaten, we preach mercy, we preach judgment: all these fashions we use, and yet without success. But the fashion of the world preacheth and persuadeth with more effect. Fashion brought in silks and velvets at one time, and fashion brought in russets and greys at another; fashion brought in deep ruffs and shallow ruffs, thick ruffs and thin ruffs, double ruffs and no ruffs; fashion brought in the farthingale, and carried out the farthingale, and hath again revived the farthingale from death, and placed it behind, like a rudder and stern to the body, in some so big that the vessel is scarce able to bear it. Thus, whilst we fashion ourselves after this world, and every garish device therein, or rather after the devil himself (for these are *Satanæ ingenia*,* the inventions of Satan, not of man), it is to be feared that when God shall come to judge the quick and the dead, he will not know those who have so defaced and multiplied that simple fashion which he created, *opus hoc meum non est, nec hæc imago mea*:† This is not my workmanship, nor this the similitude I first made. The Lord is king, let all the kings of the earth ascribe glory unto him; he rideth upon the cherubims, let all their chariots and chairs of estate stoop before him; he hath put on glorious apparel, let all their glistering and counterfeit ornaments be ashamed at his presence. Oh let us all, from the highest to the lowest, fall down and kneel before the Lord our maker; let us lie low before the footstool of his excellency, and with all submission, both of body and spirit, acknowledge his hand and power over us. He is our God, and will thus be served; our Lord, and will thus be honoured; our Father, and will thus be followed; our judge and dreadful revenger, and will thus be feared.

* Tertull.

† Cyprian.

And he proclaimed and said through Nineveh, by the counsel of his king and nobles, saying, Let neither man, &c.—

JONAH III. 7.

IN the particular explication of the repentance of Nineveh, begun in the sixth verse, I observed principally both the order of their dealing, that without the knowledge and warrant of their king they attempt nothing in private, and the example, or precedency of the king therein for his own part, which was as if he had thus pronounced against himself: A judgment is come forth against all the sinners of Nineveh, and I am first; and the only way to mitigate the anger of God is repentance, and I will be first therein also.* The repentance of the king was in effect the repentance of the whole city, as it is noted of the ruler, John iv., when he heard the words of comfort, 'Go thy ways, thy son liveth,' he first believed himself; afterwards, when he better knew the time, and other circumstances, then 'he believed, and his whole household.' You have heard already in what life the repentance of the king is described, for whatsoever he had, making for honour and princelyhood, that he forsook; and whatsoever there was on the other side, to degrade and discountenance himself in the eyes of his subjects, that he admitted and endured. He 'rose from his throne, and threw off his robe;' as much as to say, He laid down all his authority, state, excellency, and forgot himself to be a king, and the monarch of the country; and more than that, 'covered himself with sackcloth, and sat in ashes.' So far from being a king, that he seemed in his own sight to be less than nothing. The throne and the robe with other royal pre-eminences, as the sceptre, the crown, and gorgeous attire in difference from other men, have ever preferred unto the eyes of the world an image of that glory and honour wherewith the kings of the earth are invested. It appeareth in the book of Genesis, what majesty the Egyptian kings had, by that second degree of honour which Pharaoh awarded unto Joseph: Gen. xli., 'He put a ring upon his finger, and arrayed him in garments of fine linen, and hung a golden chain about his neck, &c.: placed him upon the best chariot save one, &c.; and they cried *Abrech* before him. He only reserved unto himself the king's throne.' Likewise we may read what honour belonged unto the kings of Chaldaea, and of the Medes and Persians, in the books of Esther and Daniel; and of the throne of Solomon, with all his other port and prosperity, wondered at so much by the queen of Sheba, in the first of Kings, chap. x., and other places. And there is no question but the kings of Nineveh, being grown and swollen in pride, were not far behind these. The stranger it is unto me that this golden cup of

honour and authority made him not drunk, and drave him from all sense of his earthliness and mortality; it is so usual an intoxication to the rulers beneath, making them forget that God which sitteth above them.

We have seen what the king of Nineveh hath done in his own person; now we must also attend what he did with the multitude, and in common; for he is not content to mourn, or pray, or fast, or repent alone, or alone to be freed and delivered from the curse of God hanging over them; but he is careful of his people too, by giving the best example he can; he is both *carbo* and *lampas*,* a coal burning unto himself, and a lamp shining unto other men. The ointment runneth down from the head by the beard to the border of the garment. Repentance, I mean, descendeth from the king, by the council and nobility, to the meanest soul of the city. *First*, he calleth his *council* together; *secondly*, they make an *act*; *thirdly*, they cause it to be *published*; *fourthly*, that act was only for *repentance*, and the service of God. Who ever heard the like, I say not in Israel, where prophets, and apostles, and Christ himself preached; but even in paradise, the garden of the Lord, who ever heard the like to this that was done in Nineveh? The Lord hath but one pair of men in paradise, and preached but one word unto them, himself by his own mouth, and they obeyed him not; but in the city of Nineveh, barbarous, wild, and barren Nineveh, where all the plants were unnatural, and it could not be hoped that the fruit should be other than sour and unsavoury to him that gathered it, they all turned saints at the preaching of one Jonah. As one reported at Rome, after his long voyage, that he had seen in England, a goodly king, *pulchrum regem*; in France, a goodly kingdom, *pulchrum regnum*; in Spain, a goodly council, *pulchrum senatum*; so behold all these together in Nineveh: a good king, a good council, a good nobility, a good people; the whole city good. The king commandeth, the princes consent, the people obey, all jointly execute, as if all Nineveh were but a single man, and had but one head and one heart amongst them. It was undoubtedly the unction of God's Spirit, and not their natural gift, that caused such tractable and tender hearts. Prophets may preach long enough, as the drops of rain fall upon marble stones, but if the God of peace and unity join not two in one, and tie the tongue of the preacher to the ears and conscience of his hearer, not by a chain of iron or brass, but by the bond of his Holy Spirit, and wrap a blessing and power in his words, to subdue the soul of man, and bring it in subjection to the will of God; it can never be effected.

* Ego primus;

Scilicet in vulgus manant exempla regentum.

* Gregor. in Ezech. hom. i.

1. By the order and course of the things themselves, though not of the words, the first thing that the king did was the assembling of his princes and counsellors, as appeareth manifestly by the parenthesis that followeth ('by the counsel of the king and his nobles'). Thus the king doth nothing without his council, nor the council without the king, but both together. No man is ignorant that the greatest offices have need of the greatest supportation, and that a king must have many eyes, ears, and hands, as Xenophon wrote in his institution of Cyrus; that is, many subordinate counsellors, ministers, and assistants, by whom to discharge the burden of his place. When Jethro saw Moses, his son-in-law, Exodus xviii., sitting himself alone and judging the people, from morning unto even, he did not less than reprove him for it: 'What is this that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone? The thing which thou doest is not well: thou both weariest thyself greatly, and thy people that is with thee;' and he caused him to appoint 'rulers over thousands, rulers over hundreds, rulers over fifties, and rulers over tens, to judge the people at all seasons in their smaller causes.' Moses confessed as much, Deuteronomy the first, as Jethro complained of, 'I am not able to bear you myself alone.' It was a saying of Seleucus, one of the kings of Syria, that if men did considerably know how troublesome it were only to read and write so many letters of so weighty affairs, if the crown were thrown at their foot they would not pick it up.* Anacharsis, one of the sages of Greece, thought it the only felicity of a king to be only wise, *si solus sit sapiens*, and not to need the help of other men; but who was ever so wise to attain to that happiness? I will not deny, but he that can counsel himself in all things is very absolutely wise, *Αυτὸς μὲν πανάριστος*; but it is a second degree of wisdom not to reject such counsels and directions as are given unto him, *Ὅς εἴ ἐπιποντοί πείθηται*.† And therefore worthily was it spoken by Antoninus the emperor: With much more reason it standeth that I should be ruled by the advice of so many and such my friends, than that such and so many should yield to my will alone, *æquius est ut ego tot taliumque amicorum consilium sequar, quam tot talesque amici meam unius voluntatem*. We read that Ahasuerus, the king of the Persians, Esther the first, did nothing in the remove of Vashti the queen, without the advice of the seven princes which saw the king's face, and sat first in the kingdom. Solomon, 1 Kings x., had his ancient council; it was *senatus*, indeed, because it consisted of grave and old men, according to the proverb, Spears are fit to be handled by young men, councils by the aged.‡ But Rehoboam, his young son, provideth counsellors like himself,

* Si satis norint homines quàm molestum sit tantarum rerum tam numerosas epistolas tantum legere aut scribere, diadema abjectum nemo acciperet.

† Hesiod.

‡ Consilia senum, hastæ juvenum sunt.

young in years, and young in discretion; which, howsoever they were friends to Rehoboam, they were not friends to the king; though haply they loved his person well, they were enemies to his kingdom.

2. As it is meet that the king should have peers to consult with, so it is a blessed combination and knot, when all their consultations and acts are referred (1) to the glory of God (for that is the first and great commandment), then to the peace and safety of the weal public. For as the law of God (saith Cyprian) is the stern that must guide all counsels, *consiliorum gubernaculum*, *lex divina*, and be of counsel unto them, so if it be not also the haven where all their counsels arrive, and both the beginning and ending of their decrees, their success will be according. The qualities of those whom the superior magistrate should associate to himself, in administering his government, are numbered, in the 18th of Exodus and 1st of Deuteronomy, to be these seven: 1, they must be 'men of courage;' 2, 'fearing God;' 3, 'men of truth;' 4, 'hating filthy lucre;' 5, 'the chief of the tribes;' 6, 'wise;' lastly, 'known men,' such as had experience of the people, and the people of them. Without these conditions and respects, they were very unfit helpers. For what were a magistrate without courage, but a lion without his heart? or courage without the fear of God, but armed injustice? or what fear of the true God where his truth is neglected? or how can truth consist with occupation of filthy gain? or if their persons and parentage be in contempt, how shall the people regard them? or if they have not wisdom to rule, what are they else but an eye without seeing, or as if the day and the night should be governed without sun and moon? Lastly, as arts are made by experiments, so they must be tried and approved beforehand by the sight of their virtues. Otherwise, to meet at any time, and to lay their heads together for the dishonouring of God and defacing of his religion, and so to intend policy that his worship is not cared for, and his fear lieth at the threshold of their counsel-house, not admitted amongst them, is to make themselves such counsellors as Alecto called in Claudian,

Concilium deformæ vocat, glomerantur in unum
In numeræ pestes Erebi.

Untoward and unfashioned counsellors, so far from being the pillars and props of the commonwealth, that they are rather mischiefs and plagues which hell hath cast up.

3. Now, as it is meet that the king and his nobles should come together to decree wholesome constitutions, so it is as meet to publish them abroad, that the subjects may know what their duty is. The statutes of a kingdom must not be locked up in coffers, as the books of the Sybils in Rome, nor as the sentences of Pythagoras, which no man might write, be kept from the knowledge of the vulgar sort. In 1 Sam. xiv., Saul had charged his people by oath not to taste anything till night, upon an eager

intention he had to pursue the Philistines. Jonathan his son heard not of it, and 'as he went through a wood, being faint with hunger, reached forth the end of his rod, and dipped it in an honeycomb, and put it to his mouth.' You know what danger it brought him unto—'I tasted a little honey with the end of my rod, and lo, I must die.' Therefore it is not amiss to publish such decrees, if for no other cause, yet to safeguard the people from the danger which by their ignorance they might incur. Besides, the glory of God is proclaimed by such proclamations, as Nebuchadnezzar, Dan iii., 'made a decree that every people, nation, and language, that spake any blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, should be drawn in pieces,' and that it might be known abroad, he caused it to be published: 'Nebuchadnezzar, king, unto all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the world,' &c. The like did Darius in the sixth of that book: first, he made an act 'that all should tremble before the God of Daniel in the dominions of his kingdoms'; and afterwards, for the promulgation of it, 'wrote to all people, nations, and languages in the world what the act was.'

4. *Let neither man nor beast, &c.* The matter enacted and proclaimed is, in one word, repentance, wherein they were blessed from heaven with as great a measure of wisdom as the sons of men were capable of, when they were to bethink themselves, and to beat their brains wherewith to wrestle with the judgment of God, that they made their choice of repentance. Repentance, an act of all acts; if they had spent their days in consulting, this one instead of infinite thousands, to save their lives. An enemy did approach unto them, a spiritual enemy from the higher places—justice, I mean, from the throne of God—whose forces were invisible, and could not be repelled with sword and target. What gate or fortress should they then use to shut out justice, but only repentance? Their city had been laid in the dust, their candle put out, their monarchy translated, their carcasses had rotted in dung, their souls been drowned in perdition without repentance.

The ground and provocation of this their repentance is in the ninth verse: 'Who knoweth if God will turn and repent?' &c. Faith in the mercies of God, this is the star that goeth before the face of repentance, the pillar of fire that guideth it in the night of her sorrows, and giveth her light, and telleth her how to walk, that she stumble not. For who would ever repent, if he had not hope that his sins might be pardoned? and therefore Ambrose* noteth, alluding unto Peter's denials, that men do never truly repent, but when Christ looketh back upon them. For Peter denied the first time, and wept not, because Christ looked not back; denied a second time, and wept not, because Christ looked not back; but denied a third time, and wept bitterly, because his Master

* In Luc. i. x. cap. xxii.

looked back upon him. And he looked not back so much with his outward and bodily eye, as with the eye of his clemency, *non oculo exteriore, sed oculo clementie*. The substantial parts of repentance are in the latter part of the eighth verse, turning from their evil ways, and from the wickedness that was in their hands: their diet and preparation to repentance, fasting; the habit and livery wherein they come, sackcloth; the libel or petition which they offer, prayer and strong cry. You see the members of their decree: first, the ground of repentance, faith; secondly, the substance of repentance, newness of life; thirdly, the body or countenance of repentance, spare and thin; fourthly, the garments of repentance, penitential and base; fifthly, the voice of repentance, suppliant and lamentable. More generally it hath two parts, the one by negation, denying something to the people of Nineveh, in this 7th verse; the other by affirmation, prescribing and enjoining what they should do, in the eighth. The negative and former part containeth only a fast, 'let neither man nor beast, bullock nor sheep, taste anything;' the antiquity wherof maketh it venerable,† and the perpetuity unto this day, and to the end of the world, highly graceth it. It is no new invention; some have derived it from paradise, and made it as ancient as the first man, *homini primo coævum*, for the forbidding of the tree of knowledge, they say, was a law of abstinence. The exercise of nature, the law, the gospel of Christ, the practice of gentility itself, if I name but Nineveh alone, it were sufficient to prove it; but the stories of gentility make it more plain. Ceres had her fast, Jupiter his, and Priamus in Homer bewaileth the death of Hector with fasting and in dust. Patriarchs used it, prophets forsook it not. Christ and his disciples departed not from it, and the true children of the bridechamber continue it at this day: they mourn because the bridegroom is taken from them, and till his return in the clouds of the air, they shall ever mourn. But there are fasts of diverse kinds: (1) there is a spiritual fast from sin, unproper as translated, but that which especially pleaseth God. It is mentioned, Isa. lviii., and Zech. vii. This is 'the great general fast,' *magnum et generale jejunium*, and a Lent of abstinence which we must all keep, consisting in the holiness of our lives.† Nineveh fasted this fast, but it fasted also otherwise. (2.) There is a corporal fast from eating and drinking, and such other refections as nature taketh pleasure in; and this is either natural, prescribed by physic for health's sake, or above nature and miraculous, such as the fast of Moses and Elias and the Son of God, for forty days; or civil and politic, as the prohibition of Saul, mentioned before, which Jonathan was angry with, because the people waxed faint; and Saul had no religious respects therein, but an earnest purpose of heart of

* Jejunii canitiem diligenter perscrutare.

† In hoc seculo quasi quadragesimam abstinentiæ celebramus dum bené vivimus.—August.

sparing no time from chasing the Philistines, 1 Sam. xiv. (3) It is sometimes a fast of necessity, which we cannot avoid, as in the time of dearth. Aquinas calleth it *jejunium jejuni*, a fast of a fast, because the earth forbearth her fruits, we forbear our food, and would eat if we had it; and in this sense Basil calleth fasting the companion to poor men, *pauperum convivium et contubernalis jejunium*; the other is, *jejunium jejunantis*, the fast of him that fasteth; that is, a voluntary and free fast. Lastly, there is a Christian and religious fast, either common and ordinary, using frugality in meats and drinks at all times, according to the warning of our Saviour: 'See that your hearts be not overcome at any time with surfeiting and drunkenness,' Luke xxi.; or special and extraordinary, above the custom, but not beyond the nature of man, for then the law of fasts is broken; let the flesh be tamed (saith Jerome) and not killed.* For he offereth an offering of robbery, and bereaveth both God and man of his due, who afflicteth his body overmuch, with immoderate subtraction either of food or rest. Now the latter of these two is either private to one or few, as to David and the friends of Job; or public, as this of the people of Nineveh, for it is said, first, to have been proclaimed; secondly, throughout Nineveh.

In this fast of the Ninevites, there are many things to be considered; *first*, it was timely; *secondly*, orderly; *thirdly*, universal; *fourthly*, exact; *fifthly*, not hypocritical.

(1.) The time which they took for fasting (I mean not time in the common acceptation and sense thereof, consisting of space and motion, as when they began to fast, and how long they endured, what days of the month or week they made choice of; this my text expresseth not), I mean the season of the time, the fitness and opportunity for such an action, was in a sudden terror of utter destruction. Austin, in an epistle to Hesychius,† distinguisheth these two, χρόνος και καιρός, times and seasons; so doth the apostle in the first to the Thessalonians, and fifth, which the Latins have rendered *tempora* and *momenta*, times and moments of times; wherein there is weight and worth not to be omitted. The former signifieth but space or leisure alone, which passeth to fools and wise men alike; the latter, convenience or inconvenience for the doing of any thing. So long as there shall be a sun in the firmament which hath his course, there shall be a time for the handling of our actions, but perhaps not a season. As a man that gathereth his grapes at the first knotting thereof, gathereth them in time; but if he tarry the vintage, then he gathereth them in season. Now the fittest and convenientest for a fast, if you consider the fact of the Ninevites, and peruse all the examples that are written in the book of God, is ever some extremity, when the anger of God is thoroughly kindled, and threateneth a wound to the

whole body. Methinketh that it should be in these public fasts, as the schoolmen write of their solemn penance,* which is seldom granted by Origen, and by the canonists but once. The reason is given by the master of the sentences: *Ne medicina vilesceret*, lest the medicine should grow in contempt by the common use of it. I have heard of a nation of men (I will not say that their neighbourhood hath a little infected England), who, when their king hath intended a feast for the honour of his country, and entertainment of foreign ambassadors, they on the other side have proclaimed a fast, as if God had sent them an embassy of the last judgment. I cannot deny them *time*; but surely they took not a *season* for so doing.

(2.) I will prove the matter in hand in the next circumstance, and join them both together; wherein I observed, secondly, that it was an orderly fast, because the king and his council had first decreed it. I touched it a little by occasion of the former sentence, the words directly leading me thercunto. If any remain as yet unsatisfied, first, for mine own purgation, know ye that I speak not as the lord of your faith; but as one that hath obtained mercy to be faithful in my calling, I shewed you mine opinion and judgment; secondly, for the thing itself, search the Scriptures, for they bare witness of the truth, whether these public, religious, extraordinary fasts had not always their authority and emanation from public persons. In the twentieth of the book of Judges, the chosen soldiers of Israel, which were taken by lot out of all their tribes, to fight against Benjamin in the quarrel of the Levite, whose wife was shamefully abused and murdered, they held a public fast from morning until evening, ver. 26; the cause was a slaughter which they had received of forty thousand men, and a conscience they made of fighting against Benjamin their brethren, ver. 2. The authors of the fast are 'the rulers of the people,' who in the original are called the corners and heads of the people, *anguli vel extremitates populi*. In 1 Samuel vii., they fast publicly; 'They drew water,' saith the text, even rivers of tears, 'and poured them out before the Lord.' The appointment is from Samuel, who judged Israel in Mispheh, and the cause their idolatry committed to strange gods, and the absence of the ark from them full twenty years. In 2 Chron. xx., there is a fast proclaimed throughout all Judah; Jehoshaphat the king proclaimed it. The cause was the sudden coming of a great multitude from Ammon, and Moab, and Aram, to invade his kingdom. Ezra viii. there is likewise a public fast summoned in their return towards Jerusalem; Ezra the high priest ordaineth it. The reason is, that God would direct them in their way, and preserve themselves, their children, and goods in safety. Another, Esther iv., which Esther gave Mordecai in charge for. Now Mordecai was the man on whom the hearts of all the Jews in Shushan depended

* Dometur caro sed non interimatur, holocaustum de rapina offers.

† Epist. lxxviii.

* Differt à publica et fit cum pompa.—Lib. iv. *Distin.* 14.

at that time. The cause, that God would assist Esther, who, with the hazard of her head, when her people were near their utter extirpation, adventured herself to speak to the king in his inner court, being not called before him. Another, Jer. xxxvi., in the days of wicked Jehoiakim, who cut the book of the Lord with a penknife, and caused it to be burnt. It was certainly proclaimed by order from some that might command; for who else could assemble together all the people in Jerusalem, and all the rest that came from the cities of Judah, without special authority? Yea, Jezebel herself, 1 Kings xxi. 8, though the daughter of Belial, was not ignorant what the manner of those times was. She proclaimed a fast in Jezreel, where Naboth dwelt, to rob him of his vineyard, and to betray his life; but first, she sent letters in the king's name; and secondly, sealed them with the king's seal; and lastly, directed them to the elders and nobles of Jezreel, that they might put them into execution. But the phrases used in Joel do sufficiently determine the nature of this action: 'Blow a trumpet in Sion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly; gather the people, sanctify the congregation, gather the elders, and all the inhabitants of the land, assemble the children, and those that suck the breasts; let the bridegroom and the bride go forth of their chamber.' Now what is a sanctified fast but that which is publicly called and established, either by God himself, Lev. xxiii., or by the magistrate, bishop, or prophet? Or who hath authority to draw the people from their work, to gather the aged and sucklings, and all the inhabitants of the country together, to appoint an holy day unto the Lord, to be spent in prayers and sacrifices, but only these governors? As in a receipt of physie, the ingredients may all be good; yet it is not so warrantable unto us, neither are we willing to meddle therewith, unless a professor of physie, by his art and authority, prescribe it; so in a public fast privately convened. I said before that all the exercises were Christian and religious, their prayer, preaching, singing, and distributing to the poor; but as our Saviour told the rich young man in the Gospel, 'There is one thing wanting unto thee; if thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast,' &c., so there is one thing wanting unto these; and to give them their full perfection, we must suffer the rulers of the commonwealth to appoint them. Chrysostom calleth fasting a kind of physie; but physie may be profitable a thousand times, and yet be hurtful at a time, for want of skill to use it; † therefore he would never have it done, but *congrua cum lege*, with all the laws that agree unto it; and every circumstance of time, quantity, state of the

body, with the like, precisely observed.* He applieth the apostle's similitude: 'No man striving for a mastery is crowned, unless he strive lawfully,' and so it may fall out, that amidst the pains and afflictions of fasting, we may leese the crown of it. † Zonaras hath a rule to the same purpose, treating likewise of fasts; Good is never good, except it be done in good sort; ‡ and Cyprian, in like manner, It proveth not well, which is done of headiness and without order.

(3.) The third thing in the fast of Nineveh is the universality of it; for it was not only public and open, but included almost whatsoever breathed amongst them. It concerned, first, men (which is here indefinitely put), signifying the whole kind, from the man of greyest hairs, to the tenderest infant; and as you heard before, from the greatest to the smallest; secondly, beasts, yea, all sorts of beasts, great and small, oxen, horses, sheep, goats, and whatsoever cattle they had of any service.

(4.) Fourthly, it was very strict, for they are forbidden to feed, I say not to glut themselves, but they might not so much as taste; perhaps not delicate meats? No, nor anything. It had been enough to have kept them from eating, but neither might they drink, I say not wines and curious electuaries, but not so much as water, which their rivers and wells afforded them.

(5.) Fifthly, it was serious and unfeigned, not false and sophistical, as the manner of hypocrites is. It appeareth by that that followeth, 'in returning from their evil ways, and forsaking that wickedness which was in their hands,' so that, by this their behaviour, they seem to intend thus much: We acknowledge before thy majesty (Lord of hosts), we thy unworthiest creatures that ever thy hands have formed, viler than the sackcloth we wear (for if there had been baser stuff in the world, we would not have refused it), and fouler in thy sight, than the ashes we are besprent with; we acknowledge before thy majesty, our king, princes, and senators, our sons and daughters, old and young, even from the ground of our heart, that thou art a righteous Lord, and we an unrighteous nation, not worthy our meat, drink, clothing, or any other thy benefits, yea, worthy to fall upon the sharpest edge of thy severest judgments; we have endangered ourselves, wives and children, infants and dumb beasts, life and goods, city and people, to thy heaviest ire; and in acknowledgment thereof, and sign of our humble subjection, as guilty within ourselves, and condemned in our own consciences, whatsoever thou hast given us to enjoy, outward or inward, nearer or further off, for comfort, for pleasure, for service, or any other use, either in our families at home, or in our folds and stalls abroad, we resign into thy

* Nosse oportet et tempus, &c.

† Inter jejunii laborem à jejunii coronâ excidemus.—*Ibid.*

‡ Ου καλὸν τὸ καλόν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται.—*Can. lxvi. Ap.*

* Sanctificatum jejunium, quod publicè indicitur per Deum, vel per magistratum, episcopum, prophetam.—*P. Mart. Jonathan sanctificare vertit per decernere.*

† Medecina est jejunium, sed medicina, licet millies utilis sit, per utentis imperitiam fit inutilis.—*Homil. iii. ad Pop. Ant.*

hands, as having no right unto it; we lay it down at the feet of thy justice, and beseech thee for thine own name's sake to take mercy upon us.

Let neither man nor beast, &c. But what mean the king and council of Nineveh by so mad a decree? Have they a purpose to regain favour of God; and think they to do it by trifles and vanities? Are they so simple and unsensible to put unsensible beasts to repentance? Hath God care of bullocks and sheep; or have bullocks and sheep care of God? Do they not live and die (without repentance, shall I say?), yea, without religion, and without reason also? Did they fear; nay, did they ever know God, that they should be threatened? Have they ever sinned, or shall they ever come to judgment, that they are taught here to humble themselves, and to be godly, as it were, and to join with the people of Nineveh in their public repentance? Oh pardon repentance a greater absurdity than this: her unspeakable griefs and compunctions within, known unto God, and to no mortal creatures besides that feelth them not, send forth unreasonable actions sometimes, to common judgment. Her spirit is so dull and lumpish with sorrow, that she cannot abide the recreation of any creature when she is in heaviness; she wisheth and endeavoureth by her uttermost provocations, that not only men, but beasts, nay, trees, and stones, might mourn with her, and that the light of heaven would accompany her in her doleful passions. She thinketh that no sun should shine, because she taketh no pleasure in the brightness thereof; that the lilies of the field should be clothed in black, because she is so apparelled; that the infant should not draw the breast, nor the beast take his food, because she hath no appetite. Neither doth she do this of an envious affection (that be far from the meaning of humble and meek repentance); but feeling the weight of sin, and always chewing the cud, that God is offended with it, she runneth from all pleasure of the world as from a serpent, she panteth and sobbeth day and night, she weareth her hands with wringing and her breast with smiting upon it. The pavement is the cabin that pleaseth her best, anguish her bread, her drink salt tears, till she get some comfort from the God of peace. And fearing withal a decay and declination within herself, that she shall be wearied too soon of well doing, that her sorrows will end, and her tears be dried up before they have washed her sufficiently, except they be nourished, she saith within herself, Oh that the world would mourn with me, to keep me in practice of mourning; if I but saw others weep, mine eyes would ever run; if I but heard the suckling cry for milk, and beasts roar for food, because they want it, how would it cause me to send up my cries for the favour of God, because I have it not? This is one reason of their decree: let neither man nor beast taste anything. For these outward, but grievous, objects, sights, and sounds of misery in others, carry word to our souls how general

the misery is, and move our inward affections to continue in repentance. Chrysostom addeth some other reasons:* that they make their beasts to fast, as at the funerals of rich men, not only the friends and servants of the deceased, but their very horses are clad in black, and led in the train with them, both to note the greatness of their loss, and to move the lookers on to take compassion. He hath yet a further conceit, that they did therein as the prophets were wont to do, who seeing a scourge come from the Lord, and finding no confidence in themselves, nor way to excuse their iniquities; not knowing whither to flee for patronage, nor daring for very shame in their own names to crave pardon for their sins, betake them to the brute beasts, and tell God of their woeful plight, as if by the commemoration of their miseries he would sooner be persuaded.† Thus did Jeremiah in his prophecy, chap. xiv., the 'hind calved in the field, and forsook it because there was no grass;' and thus did Joel in his chap. i., 'How did the beasts mourn! the herds of cattle pined away because they had no pasture, and the flocks of sheep were destroyed;' and for this cause also they put their infants to fast, that the innocent age might speak unto God in behalf of the riper sinners.

I now conclude. The repentance of Nineveh made them hard-hearted, unmerciful, and uncompassionate to themselves, and to their beasts, harmless and innocent creatures, to debar them of their meat and drink, and because they understood not the anger of God by preaching, to make them understand it by famine.‡ Where is the repentance of our times? Whither is it fled? or where hath it hid herself? Our land and our sea may say, repentance is not in me. Repentance, the gift of God, the joy of angels, the salve of sins, the haven of sinners, I say again, what is become of it? It is not for the angels of heaven to repent, because they sin not; nor for the devils of hell, for their judgment is sealed; it is only for the sons of men, and we only know it not. The people of Nineveh sinned, and would not eat; sinned, and would not drink; sinned, and would not be clothed; nay, sinned, and would not give leave to their beasts to feed. We sin, and yet we eat; nay, we sin in eating; we do not only taste, and feed, which are here forbidden, but we taste and feed deliciously; we are wanton with the gifts of God, and abuse them to surfeit. We sin, and yet we drink; nay, we drink, and sin in drinking; for we drink intemperately; I say not water, which is here forbidden, but wine, and wine in excess, and wine with all the helps that may be to make us more exceed. And we sin and clothe ourselves; rather we clothe ourselves and sin, by clothing

* Homil. iii. ad pop. Antioch.

† Et calamitatis magnitudinem ostentantes, et omnes ad misericordiam allicientes.

‡ Non licet brutis sermone iram Dei discere, discant fame. —Chrysost. ut supra.

us, for we clothe ourselves superfluously ; I say not with sackcloth, but with that which might beseech Solomon if he were now king in Jerusalem. And we feed not only ourselves, but our oxen in our meadows and stalls, to feed our unprofitable carcasses, and our horses in our stables, to bear our unprofitable carcasses, when the poor in our streets, and at our gates, feed upon empty air for lack of sustenance. I ask again, in the height of our sins, what is become of repentance ? Repentance, which God preached in paradise ; for he shewed our forefathers their sin, and gave them the promise ; which Noah proclaimed to the old world, Lot to Sodom, Moses to Egypt, prophets in their sundry generations to Israel and Judah, John Baptist, the day star and morning of the gospel, Christ, the Sun of righteousness, and all his apostles, the shining lamps of the new world ; what else did they preach to the people that then was ? Of faith and repentance were their sermons. ‘ Repent and believe the gospel ; ’ ‘ Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand ; ’ these and such like were their texts, and these shall be our preachings and themes till we see some number and measure of our unruly transgressions. If we believe not, we are already judged ; and if we repent not, the kingdom of God is coming upon us. But the sceptre will be changed and the government wholly altered. Then was the kingdom of grace, now of glory and justice ; then was the saving, now the judging of souls ; then came it in the tongues of men, now in the trumpet of an archangel ; then with tidings of great joy to the whole world, now with terror and amazement to all the kindreds thereof ; then with ‘ glory to God on high, and peace upon the earth,’

now with *ve, ve, ve, habitatoribus terræ*, ‘ thrice woe to them that dwell upon the earth ; ’ then to gather the lost sheep of Israel into the sheepfold, now to sever the goats from the sheep ; then to embrace both Jew and Gentile, now to divide between servant and servant at the same mill, between man and wife in the same bed, between Jacob and Esau in the same womb, and to pronounce the one of them blessed, the other accursed. Repent, therefore, for this kingdom of God is at hand, to deface all kingdoms, to root up the nations, to consume the earth with her works, and her people with their sins, and to feed them with the food of judgment and water of gall, who eat and drink up iniquity like their daily repast. It belongeth to us all to repent. We were all conceived in sin, and in iniquity have our mothers brought us forth. Concupiscence hath been the nurse whose milk we have drawn from time to time ; and as we have grown in years ourselves, so hath corruption grown with us. What remaineth, but to repent ? to change our Morian’s skin, to put off our stained coats, and to wash our feet from their filthiness, as Job spake ; and not only our feet, but our heads also, as Peter spake in the Gospel, to renew both bodies and souls, and to serve him in holiness and righteousness, who long time hath served himself under the burden of our sins. So God shall answer repentance with repentance. He shall be sorry in his heart that ever he passed that sentence against us : ‘ It repenteth me to have made man.’ And if he have thought upon any plagues to smite us withal, it shall also repent him that ever he devised them.

LECTURE XXXVII.

But let man and beast put on sackcloth, &c.—JONAH III. 8.

OF the two general parts wherein the repentance of Nineveh stood, the negative being ended in the former verse, containing the diet of repentance, we are now to proceed to the affirmative, delivered the most part in this eighth, wherein, 1, the habit and attire of repentance, *sackcloth* ; 2, the tenor of her speech, *mighty crying* ; 3, her very substance and soul, *the change of life*, are expressed. We moved a question why beasts should be called to communion of fasting, and those other afflictions exercised by the Ninevites. Some think they are put by translation of speech, so that the distribution of man and beast signifieth not two disparate kinds of creatures, but in the same kind, men of sundry conditions ; wise and unwise, prudent and simple, reasonable and unreasonable, *prudentes et simplices, rationabiles et irrationabiles*, so doth Jerome expound them. Howbeit there is no question but the most foolish are also men, and therefore included in the former member of the division. Of with-

holding food from the beasts there is less doubt ; but that they should clothe them in sackcloth, and place them in the number of those that cry mightily unto the Lord, seemeth more unsensible ; for they have neither understanding, nor speech, and their bodies are wet with the dew of heaven, as Nebuchadnezzar’s was, Dan. iv., and their hides are those natural endowments which God hath provided for them.

1. *Sackcloth*. Touching the sackcloth, it is not necessary to inquire whether they were all covered with it, yea or no ; haply but their horses and mules, which were in greatest price, and wherein they most gloried, whose manner aforetime was to be clothed in sumptuous trappings ; of such it is likely enough that their ornaments were changed, and it may be their whole herds and flocks, to make the greater spectacle and solemnity of dolefulness. For it is no more unprofitable in these funerals of their city, when she was going as it were to her grave, that these beasts should also accompany

her in mourning steeds,* with the rest of her people and children, than, that at the funerals of noblemen, not only their kinsmen and friends, nor their houses and hearses alone, but their horses which they used for service, should also be drawn into the fellowship of their sorrowing. And we read, Judith iv., when the approach of Holofernes was feared, that the children of Israel cried every man to God with great fervency, and their souls with great affection; and that both they, and their wives, and their children, and their cattle, and every stranger and hireling, and their bought servants put sackcloth upon their loins. And to make the greater show of sorrow, they sprinkled ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord, and they put sackcloth also about their altar.

2. Their *crying*, Lyra expoundeth to have been after their kind; † they roared and brayed for want of food, which natural moan of theirs was their crying. It is said, Psalm cxlvii., that ‘God giveth food to the beasts, and to the young ravens which cry upon him;’ likewise, Job xxxviii.: ‘Who prepareth meat for the crows, when their young cry unto the Lord for it?’ By these, and by the like Scriptures, you may know what the cry of the beasts was. That which David speaketh of the heavens and firmament day and night, Psalm xix., that they ‘declare the glory of God, and shew forth his handiworks,’ lest any should mistake, he explaineth in the third verse, ‘They have neither speech nor language, yet without these is their voice heard:’ so we may say of these beasts, that though they cried not unto the Lord, as the men did, yet they cried after their usage. R. Jarchi hath a conceit that they tied their dams and foals asunder, and said before the Lord of the world, Unless thou take pity on us we will not pity these. ‡ I will not think them so unwise to have conditioned with God, but I will easily admit that they might part the old and the young, and do all that was to be done, to fill the air with lamentable outcrying. To acquit the king and his council, from folly or distraction of their wits, in this so unusual and unreasonable an act, I shewed you the manner and nature of sorrow before: how gladly it seeketh companions: *est aliquid, socios habuisse doloris*. It is no little comfort in discomforts not to be left alone in lamenting, and to see all things turned into mourning, that are near about us. For as we desire nothing more than heaviness of spirit in such a case, and the cheerfulness of anything is as welcome unto us as prickles to our eyes; so we bless that creature, whatsoever it is, that will help to feed us in our melancholy humours. We wish fountains of water in the heads both of men and beasts, to be a pattern for our

imitation, and to draw us forward in our well-pleasing pensiveness. And as in the contrary affection, when the name of God was highly to be magnified, and there was just cause to exult and triumph; David contented not himself with the secret of his own spirit, or with awaking his lute and harp to praise the Lord, but he desired the harmony of heaven and earth to be added unto it. So did the children of Babylon in their song, ‘O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, praise him and magnify him for ever,’ Ps. cxlviii. So did the prophets in their writings: Isa. xlv., ‘Rejoice O heavens; shout, ye lower parts of the earth; burst forth into praise, ye mountains, ye forests, and every tree therein’. Even so is the nature of grief, never so well pleased as when all the pleasures of the world are exiled. She calleth heaven above to weep, the earth beneath to lament, beasts to pine away, rocks to cleave in twain, the mountains to give none other echo but lamentations, the rivers to run with tears, and all the fruits of the earth to be changed into wormwood and bitterness.

And as it moveth the affection, so it instructeth our understanding also. It putteth us in mind of the hugeness and horrors of sins, how dangerous the contagion thereof is, to touch not ourselves, but all the creatures of God that belong unto us. It is for our sins’ sake that the ‘whole creature,’ Rom. viii., ‘is subject under vanity,’ that is, a flitting and unstable condition; and not only under vanity, but ‘under corruption;’ yea, under ‘a bondage and thralldom of corruption, not of itself, but from him that hath subjected it’ (which is either God offended with sin, or man that provoked him); and it ‘groaneth with us, and travaileth together in birth, and putteth out the head to look and watch for the revelation of the Son of God,’ because that is the time when her service shall be ended: Genesis iii., besides the curse of the serpent, the curse of Eve, the curse of Adam in his own person, ‘In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread;’ that is, all callings of life shall be laborious and painful unto thee, ‘and thou shalt eat the herb of the field,’ common and waste, not the fruits of the garden as thou didst before: ‘and thistles and briers shall the earth bring forth unto thee,’ though thou spend thy labour to the contrary. It is added in the same place, *maledicta esto terra propter te*, the earth which thou treadest upon, and which is free from deserving the curse, the earth which was made before thee, and thou made of the earth, ‘cursed be that earth for thy sake.’ Likewise Genesis the sixth, when the Lord saw the wickedness of man, how greatly it was increased, ‘then it repented the Lord that ever he had made man, and he was sorry in his heart;’ therefore he said, ‘I will destroy from off the earth the man whom I have created’ (he stayeth not there), but ‘from man to beast, from creeping things to the fowl of the heaven: for I repent that I have made them,’ not only the man, but these that were created

* Qu. ‘weeds’?—ED.

† Clamabant suo more. Deficiente pastu mugiebant. Qui mugitus dicebatur ad Deum clamare.

‡ Dixērunt coram Domino mundi, nisi tu nostri misereare, nos horum non miserebimur.

for man's use. Behold the ungraciousness of sinful man. We were made the lords and rulers of the earth, both of the fruits, and of the people and living creatures thereof; we have 'dominion over all the works of God's hands; all things are put in subjection under our feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; the birds of the air, and fishes of the sea, and whatsoever walketh through the paths of the sea,' Ps. viii.; but we have changed our government into tyranny, and are not content with the rule, unless we seek the spoil, nor with the use and commodity, unless we work the ruin and wreck of our poor bond-servants. *Quid meruist isores?* (saith Pythagoras in the poet), what have our harmless sheep and oxen deserved at our hands, thus to be misused? But we, the nocent wretches of the world, workers of all iniquity, deserving not rods but scorpions, cause innocency itself to be scourged for our transgressions. But that the providence of God restraineth them, it is a marvel that they break not their league, and shake off their yoke of obedience towards us, and with their horns and hoofs, and other natural artillery, make war upon us as their unrighteous lords, whom it sufficeth not to have used their service alone, unless we plunge them besides into such undeserved vengeance.

Again, the punishing of their beasts was to add something to their own punishment; for when these are not fed and nourished, and kept in heart, not only the beast, but the owner himself smarteth for it.* Undoubtedly it is a blessing to men, that 'their oxen are strong to labour,' their horses swift to the race, their asses and camels meet for their burthens; that 'their bullock engendereth without failing, their cow calveth without casting, their sheep bring forth thousands and ten thousands in their streets;' and it is a curse on the other side to be bereft of these commodities, as in the fifth plague of Egypt. Now, then, a part of the wealth and substance of Nineveh, consisting in these beasts, by reason of the service they enjoyed, and profit they reaped thereby, doth not the afflicting of them redound to their masters; and do they not lose themselves, by weakening the bodies of their cattle through lack of food, whereby not only their labour, but also their fruit and increase, is hindered?

Lastly, Some took a pride in some kind of beasts, namely their horses which I mentioned before, and not only fed them with the best, to keep them fat and shining, but clothed them with the richest. We read of Nero the emperor of Rome, that he shod his mules with silver; and of Poppæa Sabina, that she shod her horses with gold. Bernard telleth Eugenius the Pope, that Peter rode not upon a white warlike horse, clad in trappings of gold.† And it is not unlikely but the kings of Nineveh did offend in the sumptuousness

of their horses, as much as the emperors or popes of Rome. In these it was not amiss that their glory and pomp should be abated, howsoever it fared with the rest, and that their bellies should be pinched with hunger, which were pampered before, and their backs clothed with sackcloth, which were wont to be magnified with such costly furniture. These, and such other reasons of their act as might be alleged, I let pass, and come to the handling of the words themselves.

But let man and beast put on sackcloth. The first member commandeth the habit that their repentance must be clothed with. It was the manner of those times, especially in the east parts, if either they lost a friend or child by death (as Jacob his son, Gen. xxxvii.); but rather for the loss of the favour of God, and commonly when they repented their sins, and sometimes when they prayed, not only to refuse their best garments, as the children of Israel, Exod. xxxiii., when the Lord told them that he would not go himself, but send an angel with them, 'they sorrowed exceedingly, and no man put on his best raiment;' and sometimes to cut their clothes, as Joshua vii.; sometimes to rend them from their backs, as Joel ii.; but instead thereof, to take unto themselves the uncomfortablest weeds and fashions that might be devised. For besides their wearing of sackcloth, they would 'sit upon the ground, and in ashes,' as the friends of Job, chap. ii., and not only sit, but 'wallow in dust and ashes,' as the daughter of Jerusalem is willed to do, Jer. vi.; and 'clasp the hands upon the head, and sprinkle ashes upon it,' as Tamar did, 2 Sam. xii., and shave their hair, as their manner is described, Amos viii.; and finally, 'Take up an howling, and make an exquisite lamentation; as one that should mourn for her only son,' ver. 6. In all which and such like outward observances, I like the judgment of a learned divine, that they are neither commanded by God, nor by God forbidden, and are not so properly works as passions, *non tam opera quam passionēs*;* not sought, or affected, or studied for; but such as in sorrow, or fear, or the like perturbations, offer themselves, and are consequent of their own accord as helps to express unto the world our inward dispositions. So, when we pray unto God, we bow the knees of our bodies, lie upon our faces, cast up our eyes to heaven, smite upon our breasts, with the like ceremonies; in all which, prayer is the substance and work intended, and these, though we think not of them, come as a kind of furniture and formality (if I may so speak), to set it forth. The sadness of the spirit draweth the whole body into participation of the grief, making it careless of the food, and negligent in the attire that belongeth unto it. And if ever they be alone (these shadows and dumb shows, I mean, of sackcloth and mourning), without their body of inward contrition (as they fasted in Isaiah from meat, and were proud of their fast, Isa. lviii., 'Why have we fasted and thou

* Cum hæc jumenta sint homini data in adjutorium, eorum afflictio in homines redundat.

† Non sic Petrus, &c.—*De Consil.*

* Pomeran.

regardest it not ;' but 'not from strife and oppression ;' and the prophets in Zechariah 'ware a rough garment,' Zech. xiii., but it to was deceive with), then is our thanks with God the same that he gave to Israel in the place before mentioned : 'Is this the fast that I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and bow down his head like a bulrush, and lie in sackcloth and ashes ; wilt thou call this a fasting, or an acceptable day unto the Lord ?' Or is not this rather the fasting that I have chosen, instead of forsaking thy meat, 'to deal thy bread to the hungry,' and for sackcloth about thy loins to 'cover thy naked brethren, and not to hide thine eyes from thine own flesh ?' And as of sackcloth and fasting, so we may likewise say of crying, which was the voice of repentance. For was it the neighing of horses, lowing of oxen and bullocks, lamentations of men, ejulation of women and children, mingling heaven and earth together with a confusion of outeries, that could enforce the Lord above to give them audience ? Doubtless no ; for the prayer of this people (a shield against the judgment of God, which nature itself thrust into the hands of the mariners before ; and here of the Ninevites, yea, that obstinate king of Egypt, which set his face against heaven, and confronted the God thereof, was glad to fly unto it : Exod. viii., 'Pray unto the Lord for me and my people, that this plague may depart ;' and Simon the sorcerer, who deceived the world with his enchantments, thought it the only charm whereby the grace of God might be procured, Acts viii.), though it be reported of by as special notice as prayer may be honoured with ; 1. For the manner of it, it was vehement and forcible : *they cried* ; 2, for the ground, inward and intentional : *they cried mightily*, and from the bottom of their heart ; 3, for the object, right and substantial : *they cried upon God* ; yet if their words and works, purpose and performance, had not kissed each other ; if with their lips alone they had honoured God without their hearts, or with their hearts alone without their hands, as we have to consider in the next words, they had soon been answered, as a people better favoured than themselves were ; Isaiah the first, 'Though you stretch out your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you : and though you make many prayers, I will not hear you. The Gentiles, Matthew the sixth, 'used long speech and much babbling,' and thought to be heard for that cause ; but they lived as Gentiles. The Scribes and the Pharisees in the same place prayed also, not as the Gentiles, to unknown gods, but to the God of the Hebrews, they cried 'Lord, Lord,' with often inclamation ; yea, they 'stood and prayed,' not only in their houses, but 'in the synagogues and corners of the streets, to appear to men,' and no doubt to be heard of men, and they used likewise 'long prayers,' Luke the twentieth, as the Gentiles did, yet they were but hypocrites, and the portion of hypocrites was reserved for them. And this is your

meed ; look for it, hypocrites, as you look for summer when you see the blooming of the fig-tree, when you pray as if you dreamed without your senses, your lips walking, and your eyes aspiring into heaven without devotion ; you, whose heart lieth within your bosom as a secret thief, calling to your tongue, and hands, and bodily members, and saying, Give me credit in the eyes of men, make some show of piety at the least, recite the prayers of the church though you pray not, and use the gestures of the saints of Christ though you mean them not ; your part is with those hypocrites, and with Simon Magus ; your lying tongues the Lord shall root out of their tabernacles ; your deceitful eyes shall sink into the holes of your heads, the sacrifices of your forged and faithless consciences stink in his nostrils ; your prayers are an abomination unto him, and that ever you have taken his fearful name within your lips shall turn to your sorer condemnation. The complement and perfection of all that went before, the soul of their corporeal fasting, sackcloth, crying, which is their spiritual fast from sin, and instead of putting on sackcloth, putting on the new man, followeth to be examined in the next part of the mandate, wherein the substantial parts of repentance are contained.

Yea, let every man turn from his evil way, &c. For what is repentance in effect, but a returning to that integrity and uprightness of life from whence thou art departed ? Therefore, saith the edict, *Revertitor quisque*, 'let every man return.' There is *terminus à quo*, and *terminus ad quem*, in this sanctified motion, somewhat which we must forsake and relinquish, somewhat which we must recover and procure again. There must be a death to sin, and a resurrection to justice : for as Eusebius calleth repentance a type of the resurrection, so may we the resurrection a type of repentance. There must be an aversion from sin, and a conversion to God ; a mortification of old Adam, with all his concupiscences, and a vivification of the new man. Joel expresseth both these parts, chap. ii. First, 'rend your hearts,' What ! shall we smooth them ? anoint them ? flatter them ? bind them up ? No ; we must pull them in pieces, rack them upon tenter-hooks, tear them with gripes and convulsions ; we must not suffer sin to hide itself in any corner thereof, which is not produced to light and thoroughly examined, and then 'turn unto the Lord your God,' &c. God, by his prophet Isaiah, giveth likewise his people a charge concerning both these, chap. i. : 'Wash you, make you clean ; take away the evil of your works from before mine eyes ; cease to do evil.' Afterward followeth the second : 'Learn to do well ; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed,' with other effects of a new life. And who was ever a better expounder of repentance than he who went before the face of the Lord, and both preached the doctrine with his lips, and with his hands administered the baptism of repentance ? Albeit the text that he used unto

them were *μετανοήσαντες*, which signifieth a change of the mind and the inward powers thereof, yet he added by way of explication, Mat. iii., 'Bring forth fruits worthy of amendment of life.' And when the people asked him, Luke the third, 'What shall we do then?' he answered them, 'He that hath two coats, let him part with him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise.' This much in effect. The repentance that I preach unto you, doth not only forbid cruelty in pulling clothes from the back and meat from the teeth of others, but it also enjoineth the works of mercy. Chrysostom, in his third homily to the people of Antioch, demanding what it was that preserved the Ninevites from the inevitable wrath of God, thus reasoneth with himself: Was it their fasting and sackcloth alone? We cannot say it, but the change of their whole life. How know we? By the very words of the prophet: ver. 10, 'And God saw their works.' What kind of works? that they fasted and wore sackcloth? Neither of both. For the prophet, suppressing all this, inferreth that they returned from their evil ways. I speak not this, saith he, to bring fasting into contempt, but rather to honour it: for the honour of a fast is not abstinence from meats, but avoidance of sin.* And he that defineth a fast by the only forbearing of food, is the man that most disgraceth it. Dost thou fast? Shew me thy fasting by thy works. Thou wilt ask, what kind of works? If thou seest a poor man, take mercy on him; if thine enemy, reconcile thyself; if thy friend deserving praise, envy him not; if a beautiful woman, make a covenant with thine eyes not to be taken in her beauty; and let not only thy mouth and thy bowels fast, but thine eyes, thine ears, thy feet, thy hands, and all thy bodily members. Let thy hands fast from robbery, thy feet from bearing thee to unlawful spectacles, thine ears from sucking in slanderous tales, thine eyes from receiving in wantonness. For what availeth it to abstain from eating and drinking, if meantime we eat and devour up our brethren?

The matter of this edict is very notable, and in so few words, as much as wisdom and religion might contain. *First*, it requireth of every man a change of life, for the word is a particle of distribution, and excepteth neither the age, sex, nor estate of any person. Maximilian the emperor, comparing himself and the kings of Spain and France together, had a witty and pleasant saying, that there were but three kings in the time wherein he lived, *rex hominum, rex asinorum, rex regum*: the Spanish, a king of men, because he used them ingenuously and liberally as men; the French, of asses, for the immoderate exactions which he took of them; himself, a king of kings, for they would do no more than their own pleasure was. But the king of Nineveh was a king of subjects. Behold

a general decree enacted for repentance, and there is not one soul in Nineveh that starteth back.

Secondly, It requireth of every man not only to go from his wickedness, but to return to that justice from whence he has fallen, and to renew the image of holiness decayed in him. It is a good degree of repentance to bewail those sins which we have committed, and not to commit those sins which we have bewailed.* But it is not enough in repentance; for he that is not a gatherer with Christ is a scatterer, and as great displeasure we reap in the omission of duty as in commission of iniquity. John Baptist did not tell them in his sermon of repentance, that every tree which brought forth evil fruit should be hewn down, though that were implied, but 'if it brought not forth good fruit,' it was in danger of the same judgment. Neither did our Saviour tell his disciples, that except their injustice were less than the injustice of the Scribes and Pharisees, they should not enter into the kingdom of heaven; but except their justice were more. He that buried his talent in the ground had a purpose not to offend, but he had no purpose of doing good. This, then, is the meaning and sentence of the decree: we are fallen from labour to idleness, from meekness to pride, from temperance to riot, from mercy to oppression, from justice to violence; let us not only leave and forego these vices, but let us return to their contrary virtues.

Thirdly, It requireth of every man to return from his evil ways, his ancient and accustomed sins wherein he had travelled and traded himself, and made it his walk a long time; therein they implied this secret confession. We are not fallen by ignorance and mischance, as those that labour to rise again, neither hath our foot slipped along by the frailty and infirmity of our flesh, but we have wilfully and wittingly brought ourselves into an habit of viciousness. We are not sinners of yesterday, and novices in the school of Satan; but we have long trodden the paths of injustice, and wearied ourselves in the ways of wickedness.

Fourthly, It requireth of every man to return from *the wickedness that is in his hands*, not in his heart alone; that is, not only from his proper sins, which harmed no more than his own conscience, but from his violence, rapine, extortion, which were his open transgressions, noisome and hurtful unto other men. For there are some sins, private and domestical, the sting and smarting whereof for the most part dieth within the soul, and plagueth but the person of him that committeth it. We commonly say of a prodigal man, That he is no man's foe but his own, and envy eateth but the marrow of his bones that envieth, not his that is envied. And pride is but thine own vanity, and sloth an ignominy belonging to thyself. But some, their nature is such, that wheresoever they have their dwelling, they are the hammers and mallets to the whole country that lieth about them. These are

† Plangere commissa. Plangenda non committere.

* Honor jejunii, non ciborum abstinentia, sed peccatorum fuga.

the unrighteousnesses which before I specified in part, and are therefore called the wickedness of the hands, though other parts of the soul and body are not innocent, because the hand is the chief instrument and weapon whereby they are wrought. Curtius * writeth of the elephant, that he taketh an armed man with his *hand*, and delivereth him to his master that sitteth upon him. He meaneth the boss of the elephant, which he useth, as men their hands, to do that service. And Achilles asked Palamedes, going to the battle of Troy, why he went without a servant. Palamedes shewed him his hands, and asked him again whether he thought not those instead of servants.† It is the strength, agility, serviceableness of the hands, by reason of the aptness they have to so many and sundry offices, which chargeth them with unrighteousness common to other parts.‡ But the chief thing to be considered, and wherewith I will conclude, is the especial hold that the king and the council taketh, omitting other sins, namely, of this forcible and handstrong violence. Other things we leave to your own consciences; commune with your hearts about them, and purge yourselves. We are not the searchers of the heart and reins, we know not the faults that lie in darkness, but that which is open to the world, for which we are hateful to God and man, the worm that hath bred of our greatness and wealthiness, the daughter of the monarchy, a familiar to kings' courts, and not a stranger to the bourse of merchants, fraudulency and forgery in contracts, bribery in justice, cruelty in common life, overbearing of right by might, grinding the poor like corn between the millstones of oppression, and eating them up like bread, pushing at the weak sheep with side and shoulder, and leaving neither flesh nor arm, vineyard nor house, free from invasion: this we namely forbid, and precisely give in charge that it be amended. I would our usurers would mark this, that of all those grievous offences whereof Nineveh had laboured a long time, the rest are held asleep, and their names spared, as not worthy in comparison to come in speech with their far superior iniquity; only 'the wickedness of their hands,' which is not least in biting the poor, is remembered and reported in special words. Speak I of usurers? There are none; neither is there a sun in the sky. For mine own part, I know them not, for they have taken neither horse nor bullock of me:

Namque meos nec equos mihi nec rapuere juvencos.§

But for my brethren's sake, both in the city and country, I wish that their bellies|| and bonds were all heaped together in the market-place and set on fire, as they were sometimes at Athens, that we might all joy and say, as Alcibiades then did, We never saw a

clearer fire, *nunquam vidi ignem puriorem*. But because we cannot ease our hearts so soon of them, nor by such means, I will tell them for their own comfort what they shall trust to amongst other things: that although they labour in the fire to get riches, *etsi vor-sura sua ignem assidue nutriant*, yet the time shall come when there shall nothing remain unto them but this, that they shall be able to know and recount with themselves how many debtors they have quite undone, *quot debitores pessum dedere*. As for their treasures of iniquity, let them plainly understand that they put them into a bottomless bag which could hold nothing. Ill-gotten goods never descend to the third heir, perhaps, nor to the second, nor first, nor to benefit himself who thinketh he hath most handfast. 'She gathered it of the hire of an harlot, and it shall return to the wages of an harlot,' Micah i. They gathered their wealth by usury, and usury or somewhat else shall consume it. Gniphio the usurer, as Lucian reporteth, lieth in hell, bemoaning his hard estate, that Rhodochares, an incestuous unthrift, should waste his goods; so may these. But I leave their judgment to God to whom it belongeth, for vengeance is his, and he will surely repay. Yet dare I give sentence against them as far as the laws of the ancient Romans did: wherein, because a thief was bound to make restitution of double, the usurer of fourfold. Their meaning is plain enough, that they esteemed usury a double theft, and that at the least is my judgment. And, therefore, as Alexander Severus made an act, that none should salute the emperor who knew himself to be a thief, so let our usurers take themselves warned and discharged, so long as their hearts accuse them of their double and treble theft, from saluting Christians, and much more from eating, drinking, conversing, most of all from praying, fasting, communicating with Christians.

This city, of all other parts of the province, is not otherwise unfit to receive exhortation from this wickedness of the hands. Here are the thrones of David, the seats of judgment in both kind of laws. Ecclesiastes said of the one, chap. iii., 'I have seen under the sun the place of judgment, where was wickedness; and the place of justice, where was iniquity.' And Bernard to Eugenius of the other, A great abuse; no man looketh to the mouth of the judge, all to his hands. These are they that do all the pope's business.* You see how active and stirring the hands are. Surely, as Anaxagoras thought man to be the wisest of all creatures, because he only had hands, whereby he is able to speak, if need be, and to express all signs, *manus sermo gentium*, so I do think him the wickedest of all creatures, because he only hath hands; and no tiger or vulture under heaven more hurtful with his claws or talons, than man with his excellent member when he is disposed to use it to bad purposes. But to return from those wicked hands, the Pope's factors;

* Omne papale negotium illæ agunt.—4. *De consid.*

* Lib. iv. Manu arma virosque corripit.

† Nonnè hæ illorum vice sunt?

‡ Manus organum organorum.

§ Plutar. de vitando ære alieno. || Qu. 'bills'?—Ed.

as Paul, albeit he knew nothing by himself, yet was he not justified thereby, so, though I know nothing by either of these two places which I speak of, yet have I not freed my soul nor discharged my duty, unless I admonish them both of that which may be. I trust they will pardon my charitable jealousy over them, the same reasons of mightiness and authority agreeing to them which were found in Nineveh, Micah ii. For what is the reason that men first imagine iniquity, and afterwards contrive wickedness in their beds; and when the morning is light, put it in practice, but because their hand hath power. First, they covet fields, and then take them by violence; and houses, and take them away: so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage. When a malicious will and a mighty hand, concupiscence and violence, meet, you see how a family and posterity is overthrown by it.

Whatsoever either violence or fraud be meant by the wickedness of the hands, the Hebrews agree that the meaning of the king and his council was to call for restitution. In the observation whereof, as R. Kimchi affirmeth, their forefathers of godly memory were so carefully careful not to offend, that they made this decree, If any had wrongfully taken a beam or rafter, and used it in the building of a great tower, he was to pluck down the whole tower again, and restore that piece to his owner.* Habakkuk doth not much dissent from them: chap. ii., 'For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it, Woe unto him that buildeth a town in blood, and erecteth a city with iniquity.' It shall be better for them to pull down towers, and towns, and cities, and countries to the ground, rather than to suffer such screech-owls of woe to sing in the chambers thereof. St Augustine to Macedonius is as peremptory in terms as ever the oppressor was in his violence, that if the goods of another man, the taking away whereof was unjust, may be restored, and is not, repentance is never truly done, but counterfeited; but where it is truly done, the sin shall never be pardoned till the spoil be restored; but, as I said before, when it may be restored.† Wherein thou mayest deceive thyself; for though thou canst not restore in identity the same for the same, yet thou mayest restore in equality so much for so much, which was the meaning of Augustine. Fulgentius noteth upon the words of Matthew, 'Every tree which bringeth not good fruit,' &c. If barrenness shall be cast into the fire, what doth rapine and robbery deserve? If judgment shall be without mercy to him that sheweth not

mercy, what judgment shall be to him that doth also shew cruelty?* And Rabanus noteth no less upon that complaint of Christ, Mat. xxv., 'I was hungry, and thou gavest me no bread.' What shall he receive for taking away other men's, who shall ever burn in hell fire for not giving his own?† 'I was hungry, and thou gavest me no bread.' Nay, I was hungry, and that little bread that I had thou tookest from me. 'I was naked, and thou gavest me no clothing,' Nay, that simple coat and cloak that I had, thou spoiledst me of. I had but one vineyard, and thou deceivedst me of it. These in their judgments and conclusions went not so far touching the necessity of restitution, but Nehemiah avowed it as deeply by actual demonstration; for he shook the lap of his garment, and wished that the Lord would even so shake out all those that restored not. But if so excellent a governor, in so different a case, the houses and lands of the people being laid to gage themselves, and money received upon them, were so angry in his mind for the cry of the poor, that he rebuked the princes and rulers for their sakes, and set a great assembly against them, and put them to silence, telling them, that, for the reproach of the heathen, they ought to have walked in the fear of the Lord (which now they did not), and praying them to give back the pledges again, and to remit some part also of the debt; and not content with their word, binding them by oath before the priests to perform it, nor with their oath, but sealing it for more assurance with that fearful sacrament of emptying his garments, himself cursing them to their faces, if they brake promise, and all the congregation crying Amen. What shall we then say of them, or with what reasons shall we urge them, or what bonds shall we take for their restitution, who have taken the houses and fields, and of their brethren, not as pledges but preys; not voluntarily yielded, but violently wrung out, without either money or recompense to those whom they have displaced? If they lose the accepted time, they will come and restore hereafter, as Judas did. He brought the thirty pieces of silver again, but it was too late. Let them rather learn of famous Zaccheus, whose praise is in the Gospel, Luke xix., and the singularity of whose fact maketh it almost a miracle. He was the chief receiver of the tribute, and he was rich withal, and if the country belied him not, a man of a sinful life. I will not say that his office made him rich, and his riches an evil man (but officers that grow rich in haste hardly escape that degradation); howsoever it were, little Zaccheus, but as great in example as ever we read of, a chief receiver and a chief restorer, rich in substance, and rich in good works, and in the midst of his sinful life a renouncer of his sinfulness, no sooner he

* Is qui tignum rapuit et construendæ magnæ arcis adhibuit, totam arcem subvertere debet, et tignum domino suo restituere.

† Si res aliena propter quam peccatum est, reddi potest et non redditur, pœnitentia non agitur sed simulatur. Si autem veraciter agitur, non dimittetur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum. Sed ut dixi, cum restitui potest.—*Epist.* liv.

* Si sterilitas in ignem mittitur, rapacitas quid mereatur? &c.

† Quid recipiet qui aliena tulit, si semper ardebit qui sua non dedit?

received Christ into his house, and much more into his conscience, but as if he had lain in his dregs of extortion before, he now stood up, and not caring to be heard of men, nor hunting after earthly commendation, spake unto the Lord: Behold, Lord, with a ready and cheerful heart (offering his service and sacrifice before the face of his Saviour), not the crumbs of my table, nor morsels of my meat, but half of my goods, a frank and bountiful present, and I take them to be mine own, honestly and lawfully gotten; I give with as free a mind as ever thou gavest to me; not to my friends and kindred, or to the rich of the world, who are able to make me recompense, but to the poor; and if ever I defrauded, much more if ever I defeated by might, any man, stranger or home-born, I say not of his main estate, but of any his smallest portion, nor by open detected wrong, but by secret concealed cavillation, I restore it, principal and damage; for I restore it fourfold. What followed, but that he emptied his house of the transitory treasures of this world, and instead thereof let in salvation into it: 'This day is salvation come to this house;' not only to the private soul, but to the house of Zaccheus through his means. I scarcely think that these ravenous and greedy times can yield a man so innocent as to say with Samuel, 'Whose ox or ass have I taken? or whom have I wronged?' At the least, let him say with Zaccheus, I say not in the former part of his speech, 'Half of my goods I give to the poor' (for that were heresy to be held, and false doctrine to be preached in this illi-

beral age), but in the latter clause, 'If I have injured any man,' though 'I restore not fourfold,' yet I restore him his own. Otherwise our houses and consciences will be so full of houses, fields, vineyards, olives, silver, gold, unrighteous pledges, that there will be no room for the peace and consolation of God to dwell with them. Therefore, wash your hands and hearts from this leprosy, my brethren, that you may be received into the host of the Lord, and dwell with his first-born; and either forsake your violence, or convert it another way. Let the kingdoms and commodities of the earth alone, and learn that 'the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence,' Mat. xi., and must be won by force. See if you can extort this spoil from him that keepeth it. Spare no invention of wit, intention of will, contention of sinews, strength of hands, to get this kingdom. Beg it, buy it, steal it, assault it, use any means. This, this is the only oppression and violence that we can allow you, and in this only thing. Be not modest and courteous towards any man in this heavenly price. Hither if you bring not tooth and nail, and resisting unto blood, and hating your lives unto the death, you are not worthy of it. It suffereth violence, *Βιάζεται*, itself (it is so proposed and conditioned), and they are men of violence, *Βίαιοι*, that by violence must attain unto it, *Ἀγροῦσι*. Therefore wrestle for this blessing, though you lame your bodies; and strive for this kingdom, though you lose your souls.

LECTURE XXXVIII.

Who can tell if God will turn and repent? &c.—JONAH III. 9.

THE last thing in the repentance of the Ninevites, by the order of the words, though in purpose and intention first, and that which presently giveth place to the repentance of God, their expected deliverance in the next sentence, is the foundation whereupon they ground a knowledge and apprehension, such as it is, of the goodness of God, and some likely hope to escape his vengeance intended. There may be some part of repentance without faith, contrition, anguish, vexation for sin, till not only the heart acheth, but the conscience also is quite swallowed and drowned in the gulf of it; as there is no question, after that horrible act of Judas, but his spirit was as full of grief, as before of treachery and covetousness. Let the world witness with him how deeply he rued his malice, when he pledged body and soul for it, and gave over the one to the tree, the other to hell fire. For if there had been a penalty to have taken of himself worse than death and damnation, he would not, I think, have shunned it. Cain was also as sorry for his bloody fact, as ever greedy before to commit it. He felt even a talent of lead upon his soul, never to be

removed, and therefore uttered a blasphemy against the grace of God never to be pardoned: 'My sin is greater than can be forgiven.' This is the reason that he had 'a mark set upon him, that no man should kill Cain,' Gen. iv., who, with a thousand daily wounds, killed himself; and that he 'ran from place to place,' not so much in his body as in his mind, tossed like a wave of the sea, and finding no place for rest, because the mercy of God shone not unto him: 'Behold, thou hast cast me this day from the face of the earth;' is that all? 'And I shall be hid from thy face,' driven from thy presence, banished from the light and favour of thy gracious countenance. This is the dart that woundeth him to death. For, this received into the mind, that we are hid from the face of God, that we are so far in contempt and hatred with his majesty that he will not vouchsafe to give us the looking on, if all the clouds in the air rained love and compassion, we could not be persuaded that any of the least drops thereof should fall upon our ground. Wherefore there must be a belief to conceive, and an hope to expect, our reconciliation and

atonement with God, and God's with us; or it will be an unprofitable and impossible attempt to endeavour a true repentance. For either it will follow that we become desperate, and give over care of ourselves, 'it is in vain to serve God, and what profit shall we reap to humble ourselves before him,' seeing his mercy is clean gone from us for ever, and he hath bent his soul to do us mischief? And, as it is written of Julius the pope, that having received an overthrow by the French at Ravenna which he looked not for, he set his face and mouth against the God of heaven, and thus spake unto him: So, henceforth become French; in the name of all the devils of hell, holy Switzer, pray for us;* do we betake us to new saints, or rather to new devils, flying to hardness of heart, carelessness of salvation, contempt of God; or else we repent but after the manner of hypocrites, we make some proffer and likelihood of returning to God, but cannot do it. Such, I think, was the repentance of the Philistines, the first of Samuel, the fifth and sixth, when they had taken the ark of the Lord and placed it first in Ashdod, and there were punished with emerods and with death; afterwards in Gath and Ekron, and there they could not endure it. It is said of them, not only that they were troubled, and conferred of carrying home the ark again, but that 'they cried, and their cry went up to heaven,' and they sent it back with a present unto the Lord, and with sin-offerings; nay, their priests and soothsayers said unto them, 'Wherefore should you harden your hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened theirs?' Such the repentance of Saul, 1 Sam. xv., who, having received a message by the prophet, that, as he had cast off the word of the Lord, so the Lord had cast him off from being a king, and that his kingdom was given to his neighbour better than himself; though at the first he denied his crime, 'Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the Lord,' yet afterwards he confessed, 'I have sinned in transgressing his commandment,' and he desired Samuel to 'take away his sin, and to return with him that he might worship the Lord,' which, when Samuel refused, he then altered his speech: 'Yet turn with me, I pray thee, and honour me before the elders of my people, and before Israel.' So that his principal care was not the service of God, but honour and estimation in the sight of men. Such the repentance of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi., who, having heard the words of Elias thundering the judgments of God against him and his house, 'he rent his clothes and put sackcloth upon him, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly;' but how temporary and feigned his repentance was may appear in the next chapter by his spiteful dealing with Micaiah. Such is the repentance of those who are not rightly persuaded of the pardon of their sins, fitter for Philistines and reprobates than Christians, and to be used in

Ashdod or Askelon, than at Jerusalem. The conjunction of faith and repentance is so close, that some have thought it to be a part of repentance. I rather take it to be the beginner and leader thereof. As the body and soul, though they are joined together in the same man, yet is not the body a part of the soul, nor the soul of the body, but both distinct; so faith, hope, and charity, if they be true, they are narrowly linked one to the other, yet naturally and essentially severed. For final resolution whereof you may best satisfy yourselves by proof from this place. For although this sentence which I have in hand be the last of the mandate in order and disposition of words, yet it is first in proposal. For if they had asked in Nineveh a reason of the king and his council why they should bid them fast and wear sackcloth about their flesh, sparing neither beast nor sucklings, why they should add affliction and misery to misery, as if it were not sufficient to be plagued by the hands of God at the time prefixed, but they must plague themselves and their cattle forty days beforehand, having but a handful of days (in comparison) to enjoy their lives, and to take their pleasure in earthly commodities; or why they should cry unto the Lord and not be heard, and forsake their wickedness and not be pardoned; the reason of all this is alleged in this epilogue, 'Who can tell if the Lord will turn and repent?' It cannot lightly be worse, it may be better with us; the doing of these duties to God will not put us nearer to our judgment, it may send us farther off; we are sure to be overthrown if we repent not; we may repent, and haply escape it. It is but the leaving of our meat and drink for a time, who must leave both belly and meat too; the missing of our better garments, who must miss our skins and our flesh from our backs. If we use our tongues in crying, we lose nothing by it; and if we wash our hands and cleanse our consciences from iniquity, we shall go the lighter to our judgment. 'Who can tell?' It is the nature and property of God to shew pity unto the whole world, and although Nineveh be the sink of the earth, why not to Nineveh?

Some change the reading,* and instead of *quis novit*, 'who knoweth?' they put *qui novit*, 'he that knoweth,' connecting the sense with that which went before in this manner: Let every man turn from his evil way, and from the wickedness that is in their hands, *qui novit*, who knoweth so to do,† and is not ignorant what belongeth to such a change; or thus, He that is privy in his heart of any wickedness committed against God or man, public or private, let him amend it. The instruction from so translating it is good, though the translation itself be mistaken, that knowledge must ever go before the face of repentance: knowledge, I mean, not only in kind, to distinguish sin from sin, and to call them by all their proper names, but by

* Chald. paraph. Ar. Mont. Rabbinii nonnulli.

† Qui scit; convertatur qui sibi conscius est admissi facinoris, &c, quisquis penès se existere peccata agnovit.

* Sic, esto nunc Gallicus; in nomine omnium diabolorum S. Swicere ora pro nobis.—*In colloq. M. Lutheri*, tom. ii.

number and weight,—how many, how grievous they are, how far they extend, to the annoyance of the earth, provocation of heaven, breach of Christian charity, and striking at the majesty of God himself.* Thus he acknowledged his sin in the Gospel, Luke xv., who spake in his heart before he did it, and therefore was not ignorant what he went about: ‘I will go to my Father, and say, I have sinned;’ yea, but not a simple sin, I have sinned a mighty and manifold transgression: ‘I have sinned against heaven; I have also sinned against thee,’ against the Father of my spirit, against the father of my flesh, against him that gave me his law, against thee that gavest me my nature; both the tables have I broken by my misdeeds; and whatsoever duties I had to perform, those have I violated by mine unnatural disobedience. If you observe the order of all the repentances in the book of God, whether in Moabite, Edomite, Egyptian, or in the people of God, they ever began with the knowledge of their sins; that as the first argument of life which the widow’s son of Nain gave was this, ‘he began to speak,’ so in this spiritual resuscitation from the death of the soul, the first token of their recovery was the acknowledgment and confession of their misdoing. The voice of Pharaoh, Exod. x., was, ‘I have sinned against the Lord your God.’ The voice of Balaam, Num. xxii., when he saw the angel in his way, ‘I have sinned.’ The voice of Saul to Samuel, 1 Sam. xv., ‘I have sinned;’ and, 1 Sam. xxvi., when he saw the kindness of David towards him, ‘I have sinned.’ The voice of David to Nathan, 2 Sam. xii., ‘I have sinned;’ and, 2 Sam. xxiv., to God after the numbering of the people, ‘I have sinned;’ nay, *valde peccavi*, ‘I have exceedingly sinned in that I have done; and, it is further added, that ‘his heart smote him when he had done it.’ And when afterwards he felt the smiting of the Lord with plainer demonstration, and with clearing the whole land besides, *Ego sum qui peccavi, et ego sum qui iniquè egi*, ‘It is I, and only I, which have done wickedly.’ The voice of Job, in the seventh of his book, ‘I have sinned.’ The voice of Daniel, in behalf of ‘himself, their kings, princes, fathers, of every man of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of all Israel, both near and far off,’ was, ‘We have sinned and committed iniquity, and done wickedly, and rebelled, and departed from thy precepts, and not obeyed thy servants the prophets; and nothing, save open shame, appertaineth unto us.’ We hear no end of accusation, iniquity upon sin, wickedness upon iniquity, rebellion upon wickedness, and still a further proceeding in the testification of their unrighteousness. When Ezra heard that the people of the captivity were mingled with the heathen, chap. ii. 9, ‘he rent his clothes, and plucked off the hair of his head and beard, and sat astonished until the evening sacrifice;

* Ira est Dei non intelligere peccata, ne sequatur poenitentia.—*Cypr.*

at what time he arose again, and fell upon his knees, and spread out his hands to the Lord his God, and said, O my God, I am confounded, and ashamed to lift mine eyes unto thee, my God, for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our trespass is grown up into the heaven.’ As the manner of ancient times was, when heaviness and trouble was upon them, to call for women and others that were most skilful in mourning, so they that will learn to repent, and are not cunning in the art thereof, let them repair to Ezra, and such like, who were most skilful in repenting. Oh how available, saith Ambrose, are three syllables! * *PEC—CA—I* is but three syllables; but the flame of an hearty sacrifice ascendeth therein into heaven, and fetcheth down three thousand blessings. ‘Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance.’ Sinners? Then all, even the greatest princes and rulers of the Jews, for they the greatest sinners. No; but sinners in sense and conscience, sinners in action and plea against themselves, sinners in judgment from their own mouths, and against their own heads; these are they to whom Christ hath designed the medicine and restorative of his saving health, according to his courteous invitation, Mat. xi., ‘Come unto me, all ye that travail and labour;’ not you that loiter with your sins, and trifle with my judgments, you that bear your iniquities like straws or cork, seek you other pardoners; come, you that are weary, and are laden with the burden thereof, and ‘I will refresh you.’ The poor publican, Luke xviii., was one of those patients that tasted of such mercies: ‘he stood afar off,’ not daring to approach unto God, that God might approach unto him,† nor to ‘lift up his eyes unto heaven,’ which he had moved to anger against him; but, ‘smiting upon his sinful breast,’ as the ark of all iniquity, and punishing himself with stripes, that the Lord might forbear to punish him,‡ with a fearful heart and trembling tongue called upon his Saviour, ‘O Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner.’ I say not thy creature, or servant, or child, but only a sinner; my whole composition is sin, whatsoever I am in body or soul, so far as my manhood and humanity goeth, a sinner; and not only by mine own office and calling, because I am a publican, but even by nature and kind itself, a sinner. So did Mary Magdalene in the seventh of the same evangelist, of whom there is no more reported, but that she was a sinner, as if the Spirit of God had forgotten her other names. When she heard that Jesus was come into a Pharisee’s house, § 1, she stood at his feet; 2, behind him; 3, weeping; 4, she began to wash, as if she durst not go on, but did often

* Lib. ii. de poenitent.—Quantum valent tres syllabæ!

† Non audet appropinquare, ut Deus ad ipsum appropinquet.—*Bed.*

‡ Pœnas de se exigit, ut Deus pareat.—*Gloss.*

§ There is no good reason to believe that this woman was Mary Magdalene.—*Ed.*

retract and pull back her hands ; 5, the lowest part of his body, *his feet* ; 6, *with her tears*, though the water of the brook had been humanity enough ; 7, *did wipe them*, not with the lap of her coat, but with *the hairs of her head* ; 8, *kissed them*; and lastly, *anointed them with a box of ointment*. Oh how precious an ointment flowed from her heart and eyes ! How odoriferous and well-pleasing unto Christ, who made her apology, not only against the Pharisee, in preferring her kindness before the entertainment of his house, but against Satan, and the power of hell, in forgiving her many sins ! The like submissive behaviour we read of the woman which had the issue of blood, Mat. ix., for she also ‘came behind Christ,’ as Mary Magdalene did, avoiding the sharpness and piercing of his eagle’s eye, and ‘touched the hem of his garment ;’ for she said in herself, I dare not be so rude and unmannerly to press him, as the multitudes did ; if I may ‘but touch’ (not embrace) him, nay, his ‘garments,’ the very ‘hem of his garment,’ no upper or honourable part thereof, ‘I shall be whole.’ In all these humble and skilful repentances, as of those who knew their sins by heart, and were able to set down their full catalogue, what success do we find ? That ‘virtue went out from Christ’ to this woman, and ‘many sins were remitted ;’ to the other, the publican ‘went home to his house justified ;’ the children of the captivity were delivered ; ‘the last days of Job were blessed more than the first ;’ David at one time had his sin translated, at another the punishment mitigated, the Lord himself crying unto his angel, ‘It now sufficeth, hold thy hand ;’ yea, Balaam and Pharaoh themselves fared the better for the false fire, and but blazing of repentance. Happy therefore is that conscience, to conclude with the saying of Bernard,* wherein truth and mercy meet together, the truth of him that confesseth his sins, and the mercy of God that pardoneth them ; for mercy can never be wanting unto that soul which truly knoweth itself.

Others, in a far greater number, and with far better reason, express it by an interrogation, Who knoweth ? and make it a sentence absolute and complete in itself, without referring it to the former words. Then they make this construction of it : It may be the Lord will turn, or peradventure have mercy upon us, *fieri potest, forsitan*. They put it with ambiguity, that when men doubt of salvation, they may be the more earnest in repentance, and seek the better means to provoke God to mercy.† And surely, as doubting is the mother (they say) of inquiring, *Ἀπορία μήτης Ζητήσεως* (for a man that doubteth not will never ask), so some kind of doubtfulness is the mother, or at leastwise the nurse, of repentance. Jerome, whose note the former was, writing upon the second of Joel, ‘Who

knoweth if the Lord will return and leave a blessing behind him ?’ expoundeth the prophet, lest haply the greatness of the clemency of God should make us negligent, therefore the prophet subjoineth, Who knoweth ?* So that it seemeth those terms of uncertainty are not in any sort to admit or allow of doubting of salvation, but rather to keep us from presumption. We all know the mischief of that heady sin. Many are hindered (saith Augustine), from their strength, by presuming on their strength. † The collection that Pomeran maketh upon these words, is rather to justify than to condemn the Ninevites ; so far was it off, that they had any confidence in their works, *tantum abest ut confiderent*, &c., that they rather doubted of the mercy of God ; and they were saved by faith, who, if they had rested upon their own merits, must needs have despaired. And he removeth all diffidence from the king and his nobles, as if they included not themselves in the speech, ‘Who knoweth if the Lord will return ?’ but only spake it unto the people in this sense, In these dreadful frights and perplexities, being encountered with three sore mischiefs at once,—atrociousness of your sins, shortness of time, greatness of destruction,—none of you knoweth of the mercy of God as we do, and therefore we preach it unto you that you may take knowledge ; and for this cause do the Septuagint add, in the end of the former verse, *λέγοντες*, that is, *saying*, as if it were the voice of the people that is now in question, and not of the king and his princes.

But how can it any way stand with the nature of repentance, either in prince or people, to doubt, seeing that faith is the principal prop wherewith repentance is borne up ; and we cannot acknowledge this to be a true faith which hangeth and wavereth between such uncertainties ; rather, it savoureth of infidelity and desperation to cast forth such demands. It might be answered, that albeit they doubted of the event of this sentence, yet not of the favour of God towards them ; for what if their city had been overthrown, as the tower of Siloam, and their bodies had perished ? Had that been an argument that his mercies had forsaken them ? No more than it was to Moses, who died for angering the Lord before he went into the land of promise ; or than it was to Paul, who said that ‘the Lord had delivered him out of the mouth of the lion, and would also deliver him from every evil work, and preserve him unto his heavenly kingdom,’ 2 Tim. iv., though afterward he was slain by Nero, who was the lion he there meant. But I rather answer, that infidelity would have spoken by a flat negation, God will not return ; and desperation would not have cried upon God at all, nor have pretended so much earnest. ‡ This speech of the

* Ne forsitan magnitudo clementiæ nos faceret negligentes.

† Multos impedit à firmitate præsumptio firmitatis

‡ Certè infidelitas dixisset negativè. Desperatio ad Deum non clamaret, nec tale serium prætenderet —*Luther*.

* Fœlix conscientia in quâ misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi. —*In Meditat.*

† Ambiguum ponitur, ut dum de salute dubitant homines, fortius agant pœnitentiam —*Hiero.*

Ninevites, at the most, hath but doubting; and doubting containeth in it a kind of affirmation.* As Mordecai spake to Esther in the fourth of that book: 'If thou holdest thy peace at this time, breathing and deliverance shall arise to the Jews out of another place; but thou and thy father's house shall perish: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time?' That is, I little doubt but the providence of God hath advanced thee thus high, to do this service. I find noted upon the same phrase, Joel the second, that is the fittest speech the penitent may use; for it includeth both these, a sense of sin and hope of deliverance.† The leper cometh to Christ, Mark i., and telleth him, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' I cannot say that either thou wilt, or thou wilt not, I leave it to thine own wisdom. For mine own part, I have deserved no grace at thy hands; I see nothing in myself, either in body or soul, but leprosy and uncleanness; but in thee there is power and mercy, if it shall please thee to extend them towards me. In the ninth of the same evangelist, our Saviour answered the father of the child that had the dumb spirit, requesting him, 'if he could do anything,' to help them, and to have compassion upon them; 'this if thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth. The father cried with tears, Lord, I believe, help mine unbelief;' that is, I believe, and scarce believe; I would fain, but I feel a fainting in myself; and therefore he that craved but lately a cure for his son's infirmity, now craveth help for his own unbelief. So then I make no doubt, but these are the words of faith: 'Who knoweth if the Lord will return?' albeit and unfirm and unsettled faith. For as between knowledge and mere or negative ignorance, *ignoratio negationis*, opinion lieth, so between a perfect and ripe faith, and plain infidelity or distrustfulness, a weak and middling faith. For there are degrees in faith; it hath a beginning, increase, and consummation. The disciples are rebuked, Mark ix., by the name of a faithless generation: 'O faithless generation, how long shall I now be with you,' &c.; Peter, Mat. xiv., for a 'little and doubting faith;' Paul, 2 Cor. x. speaketh of 'an increasing faith;' but Colossians the first and second, of a faith wherein they are 'rooted, built, and established;' yea, the strongest faith that ever was, is it not mixed with doubtfulness, overcast with clouds, shaken with storms, beaten with winds and rains, winnowed by Satan, that, if it were possible, it might be turned into chaff and bran? What else meant that wary advertisement, given to Peter by his Master, Luke xxii., and his vigilant care over him, 'Simon, Simon,' listen to my speech; 'behold,' look well to thy footsteps, have an eye to thy soul,

'Satan hath desired you;' it is the care of his heart, it is the mark that he shooteth at; he watcheth, walketh, roareth, transformeth him into all shapes, yea, into an angel of light, to have his purpose; 'to sift you,' examine you, 'as wheat,' grain after grain, person after person, that, if it be possible, you may be reprov'd. And surely we need the prayers of our own spirits, and of the Spirit of God, that 'groaneth with groanings which cannot be expressed;' and of the Son of God himself, who 'sitteth at his Father's right hand, and maketh request for us,' that our faith fail not. For what think we of ourselves? Are we pillars of brass, or as the deaf rocks of the sea, or as mount Sion, that can never be removed? Our 'shield and breast-plate of faith' (for so it is called, Eph. vi.), is it not beaten and driven at 'with darts' 'fiery darts'? yea, 'all the fiery darts'?—I say not 'of the wicked' that are in our flesh, Atheists, Arians, Jews, Paynims, deriders, blasphemers of our faith—but of him that is principally wicked, and leader of the dance, Satan himself? This made him triumph so much when he saw the field ended, and his tabernacle at hand to be pulled up, 2 Tim. iv., that he had 'fought a good fight,' though his enemies were increased against him as the hairs of his head, that he had 'run his race,' though he had many stumbling-blocks and snares laid in his way, openly to detain, secretly to undermine, him; and, finally, which was the chief glory of a Christian soldier, that he had 'kept the faith,' and not lost his target, though he had borne in his body the marks of Christ Jesus, and felt in his soul many a buffet and wound given by Satan and his confederates. The issue is this: the faith of a Christian is sometimes in fight and conflict, in agony, passion, sweating, bleeding, as Christ was in the garden, resisting unto blood, shall I say? nay, even unto hell itself. They knew it by experience who said, 'Thou bringest down to hell.' It is as the last and least sparkle of fire, almost extinguished; as a little grain of seed, 'which the birds,' nay, the devils, 'of the air seek to pick from us;' and as the last gasp and pant of the soul, ready to fly out; at length it getteth the victory again, according to that 1 John v., 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith.' Such as I speak of was the faith of these Ninevites, doubting, I confess, but not despairing. And as Aquinas, to acquit the blessed virgin from sin, maketh a double kind of dubitation—one of infidelity, *dubitatio infidelitatis*, another of admiration and discussion, *dubitatio admirationis seu discussionis*,* 'How can this thing be?' (for it is not doubted by any man but the virgin there doubted, and Augustine† so expoundeth 'the sword that should pierce through her soul,' Luke the second)—so may I with better reason make a double kind of infidelity: one of abnegation, denial, renouncement; the other of

* *Dubitatio affirmationem quandam in se continet.—Mercer.*

† *Vox aptissima pœnitentis; utrumque in se continet, sensum peccati, et spem liberationis.*

* 3 quæ. 27, 4, ad. 2.

† In quæst. vet. et Nov. Testam. 73.

wrestling, combat, contention, which hath not yet subdued the adversary force, nor gotten the upper hand. I never knew the soul of any man, no, not of the son of man, or rather of the son of woman, though anointed with the oil of gladness and spiritual comfort above all his fellows; I never knew the soul so happily guarded with the strength and munition of God, that it could escape these sights and terrors of conscience whereof I speak. Look upon Abraham, the father of the faithful, distrusting the providence of God, as unable to defend him and his wife from Pharaoh and Abimelech unless he committed an untruth; upon Moses, when he was called from Egypt; Gideon, when the angel appeared unto him at the threshing-floor; Samuel, when he was willed to anoint David, and he feared the malice of Saul; Elias, when he hid himself, and needs would have died in haste, because of the threatenings of Jezebel; upon Mary and Zacharias, who asked as doubtful a question as the Ninevites here did, $\pi\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\varsigma}$; upon all the apostles of Christ, whom he often upbraideth with 'little faith,' and 'no faith;' and Christ, the head of his apostles, when he died upon the cross with such passionate outerying, as if all the mercies of God had died with him. And this is the lot of all the members of Christ; thus they totter and reel in their souls, though 'the foundation of the Lord standeth sure, and hath this seal upon it, The Lord knoweth who are his,' 2 Tim. ii. 19. I will more say, they are the happiest souls, and dearest unto God, that are so tried; they are as the best gold, which hath been purified in the fire seven times, and the Lord will heap comforts and joys sevenfold into their bosoms. The certainty of election and grace, and our special assurance of the mercy of God, is mightily oppugned by the adversaries.* I will say for this time no more than what note Catharinus gave of the decree made against it by the last Council of Trent.† He was archbishop of Minoria, inward with the popes of Rome, and himself in person present at that council. Besides his own private opinion, declared at large against Dominicus of Soto, confessor to Charles the Fifth, that a man may be certain of his salvation by that assurance, which although it be not equal to the catholic faith, yet it is true faith; and that by the common law, namely, by that testimony which the Spirit giveth unto our spirits that we are the sons of God; he further telleth us that both the presidents of that Synod (one of them afterwards Julius the Third) did protest that the question did not seem unto them sufficiently discussed to decide anything, and that the Synod itself twice declared that the definition thereof

was to be omitted and put off to another time; lastly, that the title thereof did abundantly manifest as much, the tenor whereof was against the vain confidence of heretics,* not against the certainty of salvation in sound and sober believers. Vain confidence of heretics! Vain, without probability! and in heretics, not holding the truth of doctrine! Who ever allowed it? But is it vain confidence which is grounded upon the promises of God, watered by the blood of Christ, sealed by sacraments, testified by the Spirit, and ascertained by the fruits of charity and obedience? That vain confidence, where and in whomsoever we find, we call by no milder names than the Rhemist commenters do:‡ damnable, false illusion, unhappy security, presumption, faithless persuasion, and not the faith of apostles, but the faith of devils. Against such we shut up the bowels of charity, the bosom of the church, the communion of her treasure and dowry, which are the merits of Christ, and, as far forth as the keys are committed unto us, the gates of everlasting life. Against such we say not with the psalm, 'Rejoice and tremble,' Ps. ii., but tremble without rejoicing; nor with the apostle, Philip. ii., 'Work out your salvation with fear and trembling,' but tremble and fear without any hope of salvation. We use nothing but fetters and corrosives against such, to make them smart: 'Be not high-minded, but fear,' Rom. xi; and 'he that seemeth to stand' in his own conceit, 'let him take heed that he fall not,' 1 Cor. x. We will sooner cast pearls to swine, and bread to whelps, than salvation to such men, who, howsoever they live, have no testimony of a good conscience, vaunting of hope without the love of God, despiting the good Spirit of grace, treading the blood of the new testament under their feet, turning grace into wantonness, and using the liberty of the gospel for a cloak of maliciousness, yet say they are sure to be saved by the mercy of God. Thus far we both agree; but from the assurance of salvation wisely and substantially held, neither the learning of our adversaries, nor the cunning of devils, shall ever be able to draw us. We will say with Antonius Marinarius in the council before alleged, If heaven fall, if the earth vanish away,‡ if the whole world run headlong, I will look to the goodness of God, and stand upright; and if an angel from heaven shall labour to persuade me otherwise, I will say Anathema unto him. Oh happy confidence of a Christian heart!§ If an honest and virtuous man, saith Cyprian, should promise thee anything, thou wouldst give credit unto him; now, when God speaketh with thee, and promiseth thee immortality, dost thou waver in thy mind? or art thou so faithless to distrust him? This is not to know God at all;

* Flac. Illyr. de. Controvers. Relig.

† Certum posse fieri hominem certitudine, quæ licet non sit æqualis fidei catholicæ, est tamen vera fides. Idque lege communi, nempe testimonio illo, &c. Non videri questionem hanc satis discussam ad decisionem. Et ipsam synodum bis declarasse, &c.

* Contra inanem hæreticorum fiduciam.—Sess. vi. cap. ix.

† In Rom. viii. and 1 Cor. ix.

‡ Si cælum ruat, &c.—*Domi. 4. quadrag.*

§ O fœlicem Christiani pectoris fiduciam, &c.—*De Mortal. ser. ii.*

this is to offend Christ, the master of believers, with the sin of unbelief. This is to be planted in the church, that is, in the house of faith, without faith.* Stephen 'saw the heavens open unto him,' and commended his spirit unto God, though as his body was overwhelmed with stones, so were his ears with contumelies; and as many stones of temptation were cast by the devil against his conscience. For where should the weak have safety and security, but in the wounds of their Saviour? The mightier he is to save me, the more careless I dwell there. The world rageth, the body overbeareth, the devil lieth in wait, yet I fall not, because I am founded upon a sure rock. I have sinned a huge sin, my conscience is troubled, but it shall not be dismayed, for I will remember the wounds of the Lord.† What is so deadly that may not be cured by the death of Christ? Therefore, if I call but to mind how sovereign and effectual a medicine his death is, I cannot be daunted by the malignity of any disease.‡ Wherefore, as Christ admonished the church of Thyatira, Rev. ii., so I in the name of Christ exhort you, 'that which you have already, hold fast till he come.' Let not your hope and consolations in the mercies of God be taken from you; let others for their pleasure, and for want of better grounds, because they lean upon a staff of reed, masses, merits, indulgences, and the like, make shipwreck of this sweet article, and be carried away, as the winds and seas of their own opinions shall drive them, till they find some other haven to rest in. But [this] shall ever reign and bear the sceptre in our consciences as an article of that price, without the which our lives are not dear unto us. The sun may be under a cloud at times, but fear not, it will shine again; the fire may be buried under ashes, but it will break forth; the ark may be taken by the Philistines, but it shall be restored to Israel; and these heavenly persuasions may sometimes be assaulted, and battered, but they shall soonest return unto us. I dare affirm that there never was elect soul upon the earth, redeemed by the blood, and sanctified by the Spirit of God, but hath drunk largely of these comforts whereof I speak; and

* Hoc est in ecclesiâ constitutum, in domo fidei, fidem non habere.

† Ubi tuta firmaque infirmis securitas nisi in vulneribus servatoris, &c.—*Per. Ser. lxi. in Cant.*

‡ Quid tam ad mortem quod non morte Christi sanetur?—*Ibid.*

then their largest draught, when they have most thirsted after it, that howsoever their life hath been tempered of good and bad days and good again, as those that are held with agues, of honour and dishonour, health and sickness, war and peace, joy and heaviness, yet the better of these two conditions hath ever had the latter and the upper hand; and to have ended their lives, I say not in their beds, but under a shower of stones, as Stephen did, or by the sword of a tyrant, or amongst the teeth of wild beasts, hath been no more unto them, than if a ripe fig had been plucked from the tree which it grew upon. For they have gone away with a sentence of peace in their lips, as the dove came back to the ark with an olive branch, 'Christ is my life, death mine advantage.'

Thus much of the phrase, 'Who knoweth if God will return?' The matter which they hope for (in a word, and to conclude) is the mercy of God. In the explication whereof they use an order of words: 1, that God must *return*, as if he were now absent, and had withdrawn himself from them; 2, that God must *repent*, not by changing his mind, but by calling in the decree which was gone forth; 3, that *the fury of his wrath might be pacified*; lastly, to this end, that destruction may be averted from them; as much as to say, If God vouchsafe not his presence unto us, or if he hold his former intendment, or if the heat of his fierce wrath be not quenched, we are sure to perish. And so it fareth with us all, that except the Lord do enlighten us with his favourable and gracious countenance, except he apply himself with his whole heart and with all his soul (as it is in Jeremiah, chap. xxxii.), to do us good; and unless the fire of his anger be drowned in the bowels of compassion, and his rage burning down to hell, be swallowed up into pity above the clouds, what else can follow but the wreck of our bodies and souls, the eversion of our houses and families, and utter desolation to towns, cities, and entire countries? Therefore, let us beseech God that he ever vouchsafe to dwell with us, as he sometimes 'dwelt in the bush,' to change his cursings into blessings; and to quench his deserved wrath, kindled like a whole river of brimstone, with his streams of grace, that it may be well with us and our children, and our whole land, and our last end may be that which is the end and conclusion of the king's edict, 'that we perish not.'

LECTURE XXXIX.

And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil ways.—JONAH III. 10.

THE ground which the people of Nineveh took for repentance, was faith; which, although it appeareth by their manner of speech, having scruple and

uncertainty in it, to have been an unperfect faith, not thoroughly strengthened, and fighting as yet against the horror of their own sins and terror of God's judg-

ments, yet an imperfect faith is faith, more or less ; and the best that ever were, have not escaped such distractions and disquietings of their souls, and when they have wrestled a time against the adversary powers, they have returned with the victory, and have set up their banners of triumph in the name and virtue of the Lord of hosts. ' Their foundations are in the holy hills,' not in the valleys of their own infirmities, for then they must despair, but in the might and mercy of almighty God, which stand for ever. The matter of their faith, consisting of four members (three of them appertaining to God, his return, repentance, and leaving of his fierce wrath, the fourth and last to themselves), I went over in haste, and will briefly repeat unto you. 1. They believed that God might return, and vouchsafe them his presence and company again, taken from the manner of men, who in their anger and displeasure forsake the very place where their eye-sore lieth ; and, being reconciled, use it for an argument of their revived friendship to return to those houses which they had forsaken. So saith God, Hosea v., ' I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their faults and seek me. In their affliction they will seek me diligently, and say, Come, let us return unto the Lord.' So they depart from God, and God from them. They withdraw their obedience, he his blessings ; and although he be in the midst of them, nearer than their flesh to their spirits, yet by any demonstration of love, they cannot perceive his presence. God was ever in Nineveh ; no doubt by his essence, his power, his overlooking providence, for ' in him they lived, moved, and always had their being ;' but he was not in Nineveh by grace, by the guiding and government of his Holy Spirit, neither by special favour and assistance ; he had forsaken their city and consciences, as thorny, unprofitable ground, fitter for idols and abominations, than for himself to dwell in. 2. They believed that God might repent ; which is also borrowed from the affections of men, whose manner is, to be sorry in their hearts, for their former displeasure conceived, and to wish it had never been, and as much as possible they may, to revoke whatsoever in the heat thereof they had determined. 3. The third is consequent to the former ; for if he return and repent, his anger must needs be removed. All these motions, either of the body, in going from place to place, or of the soul, in altering her passions, are attributed unto us truly, ἀληθῶς, but unto God, in no other manner than may stand with the nature and honour of his unmoveable majesty, θεοπρεπῶς. 4. Now, lastly, where God is departed, and the light of his countenance, the life of his compassions taken away, his wrath kindled, nay, his fierce and furious wrath, the length and breadth whereof, no more than of his mercies, can be measured, there ensueth an abundance of misery, with a diligent train of all kinds of plagues, having an open field to range in, because there is no will in

God to resist them. Therefore they believed, in the fourth place, that if his presence were recovered, his decree changed, and his wrath stopped, they should be freed from the danger threatened unto them, assuring themselves otherwise, that the buildings of their city should sink down, stone after stone, and that the children thereof should all be buried and entombed together in one common destruction. Therefore miserable is their estate, who live within the vapour and heat of God's displeasure. We are all ' by nature the children of wrath,' born to inherit it, as we inherit our fathers' lands ; but Christ hath purchased us favour by his blood, and we confirm it to ourselves in some sort by making conscience to offend, and walking warily in the fear of the Lord. But such as run on their wicked race without turning, and draw their unhappy breath without repenting, heaping anger upon anger, and not caring to pacify the force thereof, their end is the end of the sentence, that they are sure to perish, not in themselves alone, but in all that appertaineth unto them—their tabernacles, children, posterity, memorials ; not only in the life of their bodies, but in the life and eternity of their souls ; nor for an age and generation of time, but whilst God reigneth in heaven able to do justice. To avoid this danger, it shall be safe for us all to quench the anger of God in time, to take the blood of the Lamb, and cast upon the flames thereof, and through the riches of his merits, to seek the acceptance, and to hold acquaintance and friendship with our God, that we perish not.

And God saw their works, &c. We are now come to the fourth part of the chapter, the mercy of God towards Nineveh, greater than both the former, because it is not exhibited to one, as unto Jonah, nor unto a few, as unto the mariners, but unto a whole city, plentifully peopled and stored with inhabitants. Even so it is ; whether one or more, many or few, man, woman, child, cities, kingdoms, empires, worlds, all generations, past, present, and those that are to come, we draw out waters of joy and comfort out of this well of salvation. There is a degree also in the words of this sentence. For, *first*, God ' approveth their works,' and conceiveth a liking of their service done ; if you will know what works, you have it by explication made plain, their conversion from their evil ways ; that is, their whole course of repentance. *Secondly*, upon that approbation, ' he repented him of the evil which he said he would bring upon them.' *Thirdly*, upon that repentance and change of mind, ' he doth it not.' The words are not greatly obscure, a little explanation may serve to unfold them.

God saw. Why ? Was he a stranger till that time in Nineveh ? or did he but then begin to open his eyes, and to take the knowledge of their works ? Or is there anything in heaven, or earth, or in the deep, that he seeth not with his eyes ten thousand times brighter than the sun ; yea, though it were

hid, I say, not within the reins and hearts of our bodies, but in the reins and heart of the lowest destruction? Some interpret it thus: 'he saw,' that is, he made themselves to see,* or the world to see, that he was well pleased with their works; others more simply and truly, he saw their works, that is, himself approved them,† as Gen. i., 'he saw that the light was good,' that is, he allowed it by his judgment; so here he shewed by his fact and event that followed, that the repentance of Nineveh highly contented him. Likewise, Gen. iv., 'God looked unto the gift of Abel, but not unto the gift of Cain;' he saw them both with his eye of knowledge, but not of liking and good affection. Or to say further, God saw that in the work of the Ninevites, which if Jonah or the whole world had presumed to have seen, they had deceived themselves; he saw their heart from whence those works proceeded, how truly and sincerely they were done without dissimulation. In this sense we say that the church is invisible, and as we are taught in our creed, we rather believe that it is, than with our eyes can behold it; not that we turn men into spirits, not having flesh and bones, or into transparent substances, such as the air is, which we cannot see; but because, although we behold the body and the outward appearance, we cannot search into their spirits, neither are able to discern them in that whereby they are Christians, and of the household of faith. We think they are myrtles, when they are but nettles; lambs when they are but wolves, and citizens of Jerusalem, when they are but Jebusites.

Their works. Not only their works of ceremony, order, and discipline, as fasting, sackcloth, crying, which are not godliness itself, but gestures and behaviours setting it forth, *conditura pietatis*; nor only their moral works, of charity towards God and man, in forsaking their wicked ways, and making restitution of ill-gotten goods (for these are most of them outward works); but he saw the works also of the inward man, and, as it is expounded in the next words, he saw their perfect and full conversion, which consisted not in fasting and sackcloth alone, or in formal professions, but in the change and alteration of all their powers. Thus, to acknowledge the true and immortal God is a work, but a work of the Spirit, both because the Spirit of God is the author, and because the spirit of man is the actor and administrator thereof. To believe is also a work of the Spirit; for when they asked, John vi., 'What shall we do that we might work the works of God?' Jesus answered them, 'This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent.' God saw all these works in them; what they thought, how they believed, which way the purposes of their hearts were bent; he saw their faith, as well as their ceremonies; their justice evangelical, as well as their legal; he saw their whole body of repentance, wherein there was knowledge, desire,

* Vidit, i.e. videre fecit.

† Vidit, i.e. approbavit.

judgment, affection, faith, hope, and whatsoever else was requisite to be used in that work.

And God repented. We had the word before, 'Who knoweth if God will repent?' But can this be? Repentance hath ever some grief annexed unto it, and an accusation of ourselves, of something done amiss which we would gladly retract. Both these are far from God, who sitteth in heaven, having all sufficiency of pleasure and contentment in himself; and for his works abroad, they are so exactly done by rule, that we cannot suspect any error therein committed. The answer is this: He that dwelleth in such brightness of light as never eye of mortality could approach unto, the sight of whose face to an earthly man is unsufferable, and the knowledge of those invisible things in the Godhead impossible; yet to give some aim and conjecture unto us what he is, he appeareth as it were transfigured into the likeness of our nature, and in our own familiar terms, not departing from our accustomed manners, speaketh to our carnal senses; and that man may know him in some measure, he will be known as man, by eyes, ears, hands, feet, other bodily members, by anger, sorrow, repentance, jealousy, with the like spiritual affections. By which he would signify unto us, not that which is so indeed, but that which is needful on our behalf so to be uttered and expressed.* For, because we are not ignorant of the use, office, effect, of these daily and natural things in ourselves, therefore when we hear them ascribed to God by translation, we are able partly to guess what is meant by them. The rule which Bernard giveth in his fourth sermon upon the Canticles, is catholic, and universally serveth to the opening of these figures: *Hæc habet omnia Deus per effectum, non per naturam*—All these hath God, not by nature, but by effect. Now what is the effect of anger? Revenge. For a man that is angered is desirous to be satisfied, and to wreak himself upon him that hath provoked him. The passion of anger is not in the nature of God, but the effect is: 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' What is the effect of repentance? The change or abrogation of something formerly done, or at least determined. Repentance is not in God, the effect of repentance is: the recalling or undoing of a work which in the judgment of the world was like to have continued.† Thus he 'repented the making of man,' Gen. vi., and the advancing of Saul to the kingdom, 1 Sam. xv.; not that his heart was grieved, but his hands, that is, his justice and power, undid it; and thus he repented his judgment against Nineveh, by staying the sequel and fall thereof. So that the easiest exposition, indeed, of the repentance of God, is in the third member of the verse: for therefore he repented him, 'because he did it not.'

The evil which is here mentioned is different from

* Quibus significare illud quod ita non est, sed quod ita dici opus esset.—*August. lib. i. de Tim. cap. i.*

† Non implevit quod fuerat comminatus.

that which went before, where 'their evil ways' are spoken of. For that was culpable, *malum culpæ*, this but penal, *malum pœnæ*; that defileth a man, this but chasteneth and afflicteth him; that was evil in doing, this but in suffering, *quoque malè fecit, quoque malè perpassus est*;* that in nature, this in feeling, *malum naturæ, malum secundum sensum*;† the latter proceedeth from the justice of God, the other he is most free from.

And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil ways. When I first took in hand to declare the repentance of Nineveh, I desired you to bear in mind that the first and principal gate whereby they entered into that service towards God was faith. The prophet who compiled the history noted no less, as appeareth by his placing of it in the head of the book, that is, in the beginning of the whole narration. *They believed God, crediderunt Deo*; they took him to be a God of truth, and made no question but his word in the mouth of his servant should be established. And I as little doubt but they also *believed in God, crediderunt in Deum*; not only assenting to the truth of the message, but entertaining in their hearts a persuasion of deliverance. In the ninth verse it is very plain, where the hope of his mercy is that which induceth them to all these works of piety. Here it is said that 'God saw their works,' and consequently 'repented him of the judgment, and did it not.' The place hath been abused, and a weapon drawn therehence to fight against God's grace: that these afflictions of the Ninevites, macerating themselves with fasting and sackcloth, prepared them aforehand to the easier attainment of their pardon. Such are the pillars which they build their works of preparation upon, that before a man is justified his works may deserve that favour of God; not of condignity (they say), worth for worth, but of congruity, as if it stood not with reason and conscience that their works should be forgotten. If the prophet had trusted our simplicity herein, and concealed the name of faith, which here he placeth with her open face, as the leader and forerunner to all their other actions, could we ever have imagined that they would have humbled themselves by repentance, and prayed unto God, on whom they had not first believed? And whosoever he be that spendeth his wretched days in the wilderness of this world, a wilderness of sin, as the children of Israel in that waste and roaring wilderness of Sin, Exod. xvi., without this cloud by day and pillar by night to guide him the way to his rest, he walketh he knoweth not how, he strayeth, stumbleth, falleth, because he hath not light; he liveth and dieth in darkness; his soul is as a field untilled, or as a vineyard grown wild, which though it have store of grapes, they are but sour grapes; his worship of God and works of common civility, what gloss soever they bear of honesty and

commodity in the eyes of men, they are both unfruitful to himself, and before the face of God full of sin and reprobation. There are two things in the whole course of this history whereunto I will limit my speech: the one, what the Ninevites did, they 'believed, proclaimed a fast, repented;' the other, what God, he 'saw their works,' and was satisfied.

In the person of the Ninevites, faith goeth foremost, works follow it. This is the nature of a true and living faith, it ever 'worketh by love,' Gal. v., and 'by works it is made perfect,' James ii.; and faith without these is as an alms of the rich man to the poor, 'Depart in peace, warm thyself, fill thy belly,' but he giveth him nothing; or as the body without the spirit, wherein the life and motion thereof consisteth. For even the thief upon the cross, that little time which he had he bestowed in good works, in reproof of his fellow, condemnation of themselves, justification of Christ, invocation of his name, and a true confession that he was the King of Israel. And this although we speak, and write, and imprint, and preach in all our assemblies, and even the pillars of our churches can bear witness unto us, that faith is an idle, unperfect, verbal, and dead faith, where is not sanctity of life to attend it; and we both receive it ourselves as 'a faithful saying,' and confirm it to others, 'that such as have believed God, must also be careful to excel in good works,' Titus iii.; yet if the pens and presses of the Roman faction might pass without controlment, we should be traduced as far as the world is Christian (for preaching only faith in the justification of a sinful man), that our gospel is a gospel of liberty, epicurism, sensuality; that we pluck up good works as weeds by the roots, and east them forth of the doors, as the children of the bondwoman, not worthy to inherit with the free-born. We never said that faith without works (barren and empty of her fruits) justified an unrighteous soul; but that faith, so qualified, doth notwithstanding justify without those works. This we maintain against men and angels. So we remove not works from faith, but works from justifying. Still they follow their mistress; but in remission of sins, and clothing the sinner with the justice of God, therein they give her the place, and put the burden of that work upon her shoulders. Let Bilhah the handmaid supply the defects of Rachel, and bear children unto Jacob; but let her ever remember that Rachel is above her, and singular in some respect. And let not Joseph forget, though he ride in the second chariot of Egypt, and be the next man to the king, yet that the king hath reserved the throne to himself. Shall I yet teach you by a more sensible and familiar demonstration? Judith xiii., Bethulia is in danger of Holofernes, the terror of the east, as we of the justice of God; and as the strength of Bethulia was thought too weak to encounter him, so all our obedience to the law of God is weak and

* August de lib. arb.

† Basil serm. *An Deus sit author mali*.

unsufficient to defend us; Judith undertaketh for the people of her city, faith for us; Judith goeth accompanied with her handmaid, faith with her works; and though the eyes of her handmaid were ever towards her lady, to carry the scrip, &c., yet in performing that act of deliverance Judith is alone, her maid standing and waiting at the door, and not so much as setting her foot within the chamber. So, although our love and obedience be as attendant to faith as ever that servant was to Judith, yet in performing this mighty act of deliverance, acquitting the conscience from the curse of the law, pacifying the anger of God, and presenting us blameless before his holy eyes, all which standeth in the apprehension of the merits of Christ, and a stedfast persuasion that he hath assumed for us, faith is wholly and solely alone, our works not claiming any part in that sacred action.

'Therefore we conclude,' saith the apostle, Rom. iii., 'that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law.' 'Therefore you see,' saith James in the second of his epistle, 'that of works a man is justified, and not of faith only.' He is, and he is not. Doth the one conclude the former, and doth the other infer also by way of conclusion that he hath proved the latter? What shall we say? Is God divided, or is there dissension in the spirit of unity, or is there more than one truth? Apostle against apostle, James against Paul, in one and the same question deriving a contrary conclusion? Not so. But as the striking of two flints together beateth out fire, so the comparing of these their two opinions will make the truth more manifest. Surely by faith we are justified, and without the works of the law. Mean it of ceremonies as some do, mean it of moral commandments, the position is both ways true. This rock we must cleave unto; this rock must be published abroad; rocks and stones will publish this rock if we conceal it. 'To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is accounted for righteousness,' Rom. iv. *To him that worketh not.* I will not say that he worketh not at all, but he worketh not in this action, nor with any intent, either to prepare or further his justification before the face of God; his works are not reckoned at that time, nay, they withdraw their presence, and hang down their heads, and are abashed to offer themselves in that service. But here is the point. As I am justified by faith without the works of the law, so by the works of the law must my faith be justified, that is, avouched, made good, and testified both to God and man, with effectual proof and demonstration that it is not a naked, fruitless, hypocritical faith, but soundly and substantially conditioned. So James meant it. And Thomas Aquinas, writing upon that epistle, confirmeth that meaning, that the justification whereof he spake is the exercising or accomplishing of justice; for a thing is then said to be done, either when it is per-

fectured, or when it is made known.* So, then, there is one righteousness imputed, favoured, and cast upon us, though it be not ours; there is another righteousness exercised or declared; there is one justice of justification, there is another justice of testification; there is one that acquitteth before God, another that approveth especially before man; the one without us, and lent, the other within us, inhabitant and inherent; the one in Christ, and from him communicated to us, the other in ourselves, and to him in some sort recompensed. For such is the nature of faith and love, as the ancients described their graces; the one is in taking and apprehension, the other is in giving and remuneration. First, we receive by our faith, and then by our charity we return something. Paul speaketh of the former of these justifications, James of the latter; Paul delivered simply the doctrine, James answered an objection against those that gloried in the name and shadow of faith; Paul instructed the understanding, James informed the life; Paul as a doctor in the schools lecturing, James as a pastor, and in the pulpit applying; the one handling justification properly, the other (to speak as properly) sanctification; the one establishing a real, Christian, justifying faith, the other confuting a verbal, devilish, falsifying faith. There is now then but one Lord, one spirit, one truth, one gospel, one tongue, one soul in both these apostles.

Consider the state of the question in this present example of the Ninevites. You know what they were, not only aliens and strangers from the covenant and hope of God, but of aliens and strangers, such whose iniquity streamed into the highest heaven, and called down vengeance upon them. What should they now do to redeem their peace? For if they had fasted till their knees had bowed under them, if they had put sackcloth about their loins till the hair and wale thereof had entered even into their souls, if they had spent the day in crying and the night in wailing, and if they had lived besides as justly to the world, as Aristides did in Athens, who was banished the city for over much justice, and had not withal believed, I will not say but God might have spared to have made them notorious examples of his justice to the world, but surely they had remained as aforetime, children of darkness still, and sons of perdition, and the ways of peace they had never known. Therefore, to conclude, on their part, they are justified by their faith. This is it that investeth them into the friendship and love of God; their very believing of him is imputed unto them for righteousness, as it was to Abraham; and to testify their faith to man, to make it perfect before God, to seal it up to their own conscience, they are abundant also in good works, which is that other justification whereof James disputeth. For as in the temple of Jerusalem there were three distinctions of

* *Exercitatio vel consummatio justitiæ: res enim tum dicitur fieri, quando perficitur vel innotescit,*

rooms, the entry or porch where the beasts were killed, the altar where they were sacrificed, and the holiest place of all, whither the high priest entered once every year; so in this repentance of Nineveh there are three sorts of righteousness: the first of ceremony, in wearing sackcloth, and fasting; the second of morality, in restitution; the third, the justice of faith, and as it were 'the door of hope,' Hosea ii., whereby they first enter into the kingdom.

2. We have heard what the Ninevites did for their parts, let us now consider what God for his. It is said that 'he saw their works, and repented him of the plague' intended, and brought it not. Nay, it is said, that *God* saw their works, and *God* repented him of the plague, with repetition of that blessed name, to let the world understand that the mischief was not turned away for the value and virtue of their works, but for the acceptance of his own good pleasure; nor for the repentance of the city, but for the repentance of his own heart, a gracious inclination and propension that he took to deliver them. No marvel it was, if when God saw their works, he be-thought him of their deliverance. For when the person is once approved, and received to grace (which their faith procured them), his blemishes are not then looked upon, his infirmities covered, his unperfect obedience taken in good part, nay, commended, honoured, rewarded, and daily provoked with promises and invitations of greater blessings to come. So a father allureth his son; the servant doth ten times more, yet is the recompense of the son ten times greater; for the father respecteth not so much the works of his child, but because he is a father, tendeth and followeth him with fatherly affection, whereas the hired servant on the other side is but a stranger unto him. Why, then, were the works of Nineveh acceptable unto God? Not of themselves, but for their sakes that wrought them, and they for their faith; for this is the root that beareth them all. In that great cloud of witnesses, Heb. xi., what was the reason that they pleased God (besides the honour of the world, that they were well reported of), and obtained the promises, which was the garland they ran for (besides their suffering of adversities, subduing of kingdoms, working of righteousness, with many other famous exploits there ascribed unto them), what was the reason, I say, but their faith, which is the whole burden of the song in that memorable bead-roll? By faith did Abel thus, Enoch thus, and others otherwise. But why not their works of themselves? For is not charity more than faith? 'These three remain, faith, hope, and love; but the greater of these three is love,' 1 Cor. xiii.; and 'the first and the great commandment is this, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' &c., Matthew the two and twentieth; and 'the end of the commandment is love,' 1 Tim. i.; and 'love is the fulfilling of the law,' Romans the thirteenth. I grant all this, if thou be able to perform it. 'Love

the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c., and thy neighbour as thyself;' and there is nothing wanting unto thee; thou hast kept the commandment, thou hast fulfilled the law, thou needest not the passion of thy Redeemer, thou mayest catch the crown of life by rightful desert. But this thou art not able to perform, wert thou as righteous as Noah, as obedient as Abraham, as holy as Job, as faithful as David, as clear as the sun and moon, as pure as the stars in heaven, yet thou must sing and sigh with a better soul than thine own, who saw and sighed for the impurity of all living flesh: 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for no flesh living can be justified in thy sight.' God hath concluded thee, and thy fathers before thee, and the fruit of thy body to the last generation of the world, under sin, and because under sin, therefore under wrath, and malediction, and death, if thou fly not into the sanctuary to hide and safeguard thyself. But blessed be the name of Christ, the days are come wherein 'this song is sung in the land of Judah,' Isa. xxvi., and through all the Israel of God far and near: 'We have a strong city, salvation hath God set for walls and bulwarks about it. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth faith may enter in.' Which is that righteous nation that shall enter into the city of God, thus walled and fortified, but that which keepeth faith, or rather *faiths* (*fides*), as the Hebrew hath, that is, all faith, not ceasing to believe till their lives' end? They that believe thus, adding faith unto faith, the Lord will return them as great a measure of his blessing, even 'peace upon peace,' in the next words, 'because they trust in him.' We need no better expositor. The righteous man is he that believeth, and the believing man is he that worketh righteousness, for these two shall never be sundered; and the only key that openeth unto us the gates of the city is our faith. So then, when we see good works, we must know that they are but fruits, and seek out the root of them; and when we have the root, we must also have regard to the moisture and juice whereby it is nourished. For as the fruits of the earth grow from their root, and that root liveth not by itself, but is fed and preserved by the fatness of the soil, warmth of the sun, and benefit of the air under which it standeth, so good works grow from faith, and that faith liveth in the object, the merits and obedience of Jesus Christ, feeding and strengthening itself by the sweet influence and sap of these heavenly conceits, that he 'came into the world to save sinners,' and that 'he died for her sin, and rose to life for her justification.' For as we esteem the worth of a ring of gold not so much in itself as in the gem that it carrieth, so are we justified and magnified also in the sight of God by faith in Christ; not for this quality of believing, which is as unperfect as our works, but for the object of this quality, Christ our mediator, which is the diamond and jewel borne therein. The hand of the leper,

though never so bloody and unclean, yet it may do the office of a hand, in taking and holding fast the alms that is given. The giver may be liberal enough, and the gift sufficient to relieve, though the hand that received it full of impurity. So it is not the weakness of our faith, in apprehending and applying the passion of Christ, that can prejudice the bounty of our God, and those rich benefits of his grace which his beloved Son hath purchased for us.

I now conclude. God saw the works of the Ninevites, and in those works not only their outward countenance, but their inward and unfeigned affection, and faith the root from whence they sprang; and as the fruits of their faith, so he accepted them, not for the worth and account of the works, which they dare not themselves rely upon, but through the riches and abundance of his own loving-kindness. This is the plea that Daniel held in the ninth of his prophecy, a man of as righteous a spirit as ever the Lateran palace of Rome held, 'according to all thy righteousness,' *secundum omnem justitiam tuam*, ver. 16; 'for the Lord's sake,' *propter Dominum*, 17; 'for thy great tender mercies,' *propter miserationes tuas amplissimas*, 18; 'for thine own sake,' *propter te*, 19; and with direct exception to their inherent justice, 'for we do not present our supplications before thee for our own righteousness,' *non enim propter ulla justitias nostras*. This plea we must all stick unto, God's mercy in his own gracious disposition, God's righteousness in his promises, God's goodness in the Lord, his Anointed, his Christ, his Messias. And this shall be a blessed testimony unto us at the last day, that we have stood and fought for the seed of the woman and for the preciousness of his blood and passion, against the seed of the serpent; that we never gave place, no, not for an instant, to Pharisee, Jew, Pelagian, papist, libertine, to diminish or discredit the power thereof. Give me that soul that breatheth upon the earth in plight as the souls of those Ninevites were, now called to a reckoning of their fore-passed lives, their consciences accusing them of hideous and monstrous iniquities, the law pleading, the anger of God flaming against them, the throat of hell gaping wide and ready to swallow them down, when they were to take their leave of one world and to enter another of endless punishment, unless they could find the means to appease the fury of their Maker and Judge. Give me the soul, that dareth for the price of a soul stand in contention with the justice of God upon the trial of good works, either to be justified the mean time, or hereafter to be glorified and live by them. Oh sweet and comfortable name, nature, operation of grace,

grace and only grace, blessed be the womb that bare thee and the bowels that engendered thee. When it cometh to this question, *justificemur simul*, 'let us be judged together; if thou hast aught to say for thyself, bring it forth,' Isa. xliii. Oh happy, heavenly, and only grace, that bearest thy children safe in thy bosom, and settest them with confidence and joy before the seat of God; when the clients and followers of their own righteousness, be it what it may be, with the least flash of lightning that fleeth from the face of God, shall tremble and quake as the poplar in the forest. Oh the ocean and main sea of overflowing grace, and we drink at puddles! We sit in our cells and comment, we come into the schools and dispute about the merit of good works without trouble; but lie we upon our beds of sickness, feel we a troubled and perplexed conscience, we shall be glad to cry, Grace, and grace alone; Christ, and Christ alone. The blood of Abel, and Peter, and Thomas, and Paul shall be forgotten, and the blood of the Lamb shall be had in price; and as for the merits of our unprofitable service, we shall be best at ease when we talk least of them. The only one and fiftieth psalm, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord,' &c. (his memory be blessed that gave the note), hath saved many distressed souls, and opened the kingdom of heaven unto them, who, if they had stood upon riches and sufficiency in themselves, as the church of Laodicea did, Rev. iii., they had lost the kingdom. It is usually given to our felons for their neck-verse when the law is disposed to favour them. We are all felons and transgressors against the law of God; let it be our soul's verse, and God will seclude the rigour of his law and take mercy upon us. Some of the words of that psalm were the last that Bernard uttered in the pangs of death; let them also be the last of ours: 'A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' Finally, the choice is briefly proposed, and as quickly made: 'if grace, not works; if works, not grace.' If this be the choice, let us humbly beseech God to enlighten our eyes, to open our understandings, to direct our affections, and to reach forth our hands to the better part which shall never be taken from us: that leaving our works to his favourable interpretation, either to follow us, or to stay behind, and either to be something or nothing in his sight, his mercy may only triumph, and his covenant in the blood of Christ Jesus may ever be advanced, that we may sing in our Jerusalem, as they sing in the courts of heaven, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was killed, to receive the glory, and honour, and praise,' and to bear the name of our whole salvation.

LECTURE XL.

Therefore it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was angry—JONAH IV. 1.

THE whole prophecy of Jonah, again to repeat that which ought not to be forgotten, is the preaching of mercy. An history written to the world, and as a public evidence and instrument from God delivered unto us, in every page and line whereof his goodness towards mankind is marvellously expressed. And as the four beasts in Ezekiel were joined one to the other by their wings, so the four chapters of this book hang together by a continuation and succession of God's loving-kindness. Open this book, as our Saviour opened the book of the prophecy of Isaiah, by chance, and read at your pleasure, from the first of it to the last, you shall never want a text or example of comfort whereby a distressed conscience may be relieved. The mariners are delivered from the fury of the elements; Jonah, both from those and from the belly of a cruel fish; the Ninevites, God knoweth from what, whether from fire and brimstone, or from sinking into the ground, or any such like weapons of wrath, which in his armoury of justice in heaven are stored up and reserved for the day of the wicked; but all are delivered. Notwithstanding which rare examples of mercy, as Christ spake in the Gospel, 'Behold, more than Jonah is here,' so though the prophet did his part before in penning those discourses, yet in handling this last he is more than himself, and though the mercy of God abounded before, yet here it excelleth. Then was mercy practised, I confess, but here it is pleaded, maintained, proved by arguments, apologies, parables, the equity and reasonableness thereof upheld, and means made unto Jonah in some sort, that if God be gracious to Nineveh he will be pleased favourably to interpret it. The distribution of the chapter is into three parts: 1, the affection of Jonah upon the deliverance of Nineveh, whether revealed, and by a prophetic spirit discovered before the term of forty days, or to the expiration of them deferred, I cannot say; 2, the reprehension and rebuke which God useth against him for that affection; both by speech, 'dost thou well to be angry,' and by fact, in confuting him by a real similitude, of a gourd soon sprung up and as easily withered; and as Jonah repeateth his impatience, so God walketh with an even pace by him and repeateth his reproofs; 3, the conclusion or scope which God referred himself unto; not the forbearing of the city, which was already passed, but the justification of his goodness therein; for first he did it of fact, as they say, and then defended the right of it.

1. The affection of Jonah is generally recited in the first verse, and more particularly displayed in the rest, touching his speech, gesture, and carriage of himself in all points.

So it displeased Jonah exceedingly. What displeased him? Turn back your eyes to the epilogue of the former chapter. 'God repented him of the evil; he did it not.' This is it that so much disquieteth Jonah, that 'seemeth so evil, and very evil' (as the Hebrew hath), *Malum videbatur apud Jonam, malum magnum*, in his unmerciful eyes; rather this was evil and very evil in the heart of Jonah. For why is Jonah so exceedingly displeased that God hath spared Nineveh? It had been fault enough in Jonah not to have blessed and embraced the mercy of God towards Nineveh, and to have given testimony unto it. But to go so far from renouncing it, that he condemneth it in his judgment, and so far in condemning it, that he is grieved at the heart, and so far in grieving, that he holdeth no measure and stint therein, but doth exceedingly vex himself; this was a sore offence. Had Jonah received mercy himself, and doth Jonah envy mercy to others? Did he know by experience in his own person what it was to be driven from the land of the living, to be cast into the mouth of destruction, to lose the favour of God, and hath he no sparkle of charity left, no grain of compassion to weigh with himself the destruction of this great city? A vexation, saith Basil, without all reason. Unhappy man, why art thou troubled so, having felt no harm? *Calamitas sine ratione; quid miser angeris, nihil duri passus.* I would rather have thought, if need had been, that Jonah would have stood for Nineveh, being a prophet, and so lately plucked from the fire himself, as Abraham did for Sodom: If there shall be ten righteous men found in Nineveh, destroy it not. For what else is the joy and crown of a prophet, apostle, any messenger of Christ in this service employed, but the winning and saving of souls, converting men unto righteousness, translating them from darkness into light, a blessing from God upon his labours, an increase upon the seed he had sown, which others would spend their days, and consume their bodies, and jeopard their lives to obtain, when Jonah obtained it with ease, and in the compass of a short time? The parable of the lord and the labourers which wrought in the vineyard, thus far accordeth to Jonah, Math. 20: 'Take that which thine is; I do thee no wrong; is it not lawful for me to do with mine own as it pleaseth me? Is thine eye evil because I am good? I will give to this last, as much as to the first;' to this least, as much as to the greatest; to a Gentile, as much as to an Israelite; to Nineveh, as much as to thyself. You see the nature of envy, the honour, prosperity, wealth, and whatsoever is good in another, sometimes life itself, it repineth at; fruitful increase, and full udders in the fields and beasts of any man, it pineth with; it filleth

men to the eyes, and in the eyes it sitteth, and by those windows looketh forth, and wheresoever it seeth a blessing, it is sickness and death unto it, if God curse it not. And it is true that Basil noteth of envy, a Scythian seldom maliceth an Egyptian. *Ægyptio Scythia non invidet.* They spend their despite for the most part within the same country, same kindred, same profession, same benefit; as Jonah envieth Nineveh, for communicating with him in the mercy of the Lord. According to that wisdom which God gave to man to call things by their right names, so is the name of envy, either because it will not see at all that which in the blessings of God is to be seen, or because it prieth too deep into them.* It was the first venom which the devil poured forth against mankind. *Hinc periit primus et perdidit*; by this he first perished himself and destroyed others. What else was the cause that Cain lifted up his hands against his brother Abel, 1 Gen. iv., and robbed himself almost of his only comfort in that new-born world, but that the gift of his brother was accepted to God, his own rejected? Upon this he was very wroth, and his countenance fell down, as not able to endure the sight of his brother, and his anger was not satisfied with blood. Did the brethren of Joseph go home to their old father Jacob, and bring him into an error that a wicked beast had devoured the child, and that Joseph was surely torn in pieces? Gen. xxxviii. A wicked beast had devoured him indeed, and Joseph was torn in pieces by the envy of his brethren. 'Israel loved Joseph more than all his other sons, therefore they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. And Joseph dreamed a dream, and told it to his brethren, therefore they hated him so much the more.' This was the wicked beast that cast him into the pit, where their meaning was to have starved him to death, and to have kept his blood secret, as appeareth by the speech of Judah, and but that Reuben persuaded the contrary, with their own hands they had taken his life from him. Because the women sang in the streets, 1 Sam. xviii. 'Saul hath slain his thousand, David his ten thousand,' therefore was 'Saul exceedingly wroth,' and it is said that 'Saul had an eye to David from that day forward.' It was a venomous, mischievous eye, such as the burning eyes* of witches, or the basilisk, or gorgon, that he cast towards him. The elder brother, Luke xv., when he heard melody and dancing in his father's house, and knew what it meant, and that his father had killed the fat calf to welcome home his lost son, 'he was angry at the matter, and would not go in,' but that his 'father went out and entreated him.' He omitted no argument of exprobration, his service for many years, without breach of any commandment, and not the gift of a kid by way of recompence, he saith not, wastefully to spend, but to 'make merry amongst his friends,' when the other 'that had devoured his goods with

harlots, must be entertained with the fat calf.' Examine the reason why innocency itself was hunted and followed to death, with 'Crucify him, crucify him,' he is not worthy to live, and Barabbas set at liberty, and let Pilate be the judge to pronounce sentence against them; 'he knew,' besides the knowledge of their own consciences, 'that for envy they had delivered him' Math. xxvii. Do we look that envy should favour the honour and welfare, when it favoureth not the life; or the life of man, when the Lord of life himself is vile before it? Poison, they say, is life to a serpent, death to a man; and that which is life to a man, his spittle and natural humidity, is death to a serpent. I have found it thus applied, virtue and felicity, which is life to a good man, is death to the envious; and that which the envious liveth by, is the misery and death of a good man. For envy endeavoureth either that he may not live at all, as all the former examples declare, for even the prodigal son was also dead, and it grieved his brother, that he was brought back to life, Luke xv., or that he may live such a life, *Βίον ἀβρώτον*, as for the discomforts thereof, he may call it happiness to have ended. Therefore, amongst other, the fruits of a reprobate mind, Rom. i.; those two are joined together, *φθόνος, φόβος*, envy, and murder; and likewise amongst the works of the flesh, Galatians the fifth, with the same combination, *φθόνος, φόβος*, as if they were twins growing in one body, and could not be put asunder. It is not namely expressed in the former member of the verse, what perturbation it was wherewith Jonah was so overborne; but by the effects it shewed in him, in seeking so heartily the overthrow of Nineveh, and wishing to die himself, because the Ninevites lived (besides the bidding of open battle to charity, one of whose properties is that 'she envieth not,' 1 Cor. xiii., and setting pity at nought, which hath ever a miserable heart when it seeth the wretched, *miseri cordia cor miserum*), we may reasonably suppose it to have been envy. The nature whereof is this, that God in his justice hath appointed it to be a plague to itself; and amongst many mischiefs, it has furnished it with one only profitable quality, that the owner thereof taketh most hurt.* He biteth and is bitten again, and becometh his own punishment.† And as Ætna consumeth itself, so the malicious man is burnt with the fire of his own heart.‡ And therefore the poet did notably declare her to have a pale face without blood, a lean body without any juice in it, squint eyes, black teeth, an heart full of gall, a tongue tipped with poison; never laughing but when others weep, never sleeping, because she studieth and thinketh on mischief. *It*

* In quâ multa sunt mala, unum tantum utile, quod auctori incommoda.—*Basil.*

† Carpitque et carpitur unâ
Suppliciumque suum est.—*Ovid, Met. ii.*

‡ Ut Ætna seipsam,
Sic se non alios invidus igne coquit.—*Id.*

* Invidia, vel non videt, vel nimis intuetur.—*Cypri.*

† Urentes oculi.—*Pers.*

displeaseth Jonah exceedingly. But the vexation which he took hurt himself more than Nineveh.

And Jonah was angry. We have not ended the afflictions of Jonah. We have another companion to add to envy, which for the most part is coupled with it; for so we read, Gen. iv., 'Cain was exceedingly wroth,' and 1 Sam. xviii., 'Saul was wroth' at the song of the women, and Luke xv., 'The elder brother was angry,' either with the father or the younger son. Anger in a fit place is the gift of God, and there is great cunning in being angry, with advised speech, and in a seasonable time.* But of that hereafter. Meanwhile, the time and cause, and measure of this anger in Jonah, I think, are worthy to be blamed. For with whom is he angry? It seemeth with himself,—'Take away my life from me,'—or rather with God, who, if he had taken him at his word, the sun had gone down upon his anger—I mean his life had ended in a froward and furious passion. If God be angry with us, there may be some remedy, because God is merciful: *Si Deus irascitur nobis, remedium esse potest*, &c. But if we be angry with him, there is no help for it. *Quis populo Romano irasci sapienter potest?* What man of wisdom can be angry with the people of Rome, much less with God? And that you may know how righteous the Lord is in this affection of anger, as before of envy, when we are unruly and lawless therein, Valerius Maximus, comparing anger and hatred together (the one, at the first setting forth, the quicker, the other, in desire of revenge, the more obstinate)† saith, that both those passions are full of consternation and amazement, and never use violence without torment to themselves; for where their purpose is to offer wrong, they rather suffer it, as shall better appear unto us hereafter in the behaviour of Jonah.

I have in part described unto you the nature and enormity of these perturbations from the mouth of natural and worldly wisdom. What judgment belongeth unto them, when they break their bounds, I learn in a better school: 'Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be culpable of judgment,' Mat. v. And they are numbered amongst the works of the flesh, Gal. v., whereof the apostle gave them double warning, *Λέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον*, 'that they which did such things should not inherit the kingdom of God.' Notwithstanding the viciousness hereof hath been both opened and condemned by those who, though they had not the law of God by peculiar assignment, as the Jews had, written in books or in tables of stone, yet 'the effect of that law was written in their hearts, and they were a law to themselves, their thoughts accusing or excus-

ing them' in most of their doings, Rom ii. Precepts of moral conversation they have as soundly delivered, and some as strictly observed, as if Moses had taught and lived among them. The apostle's precept is, Rom. xii., 'Give place to wrath,' and Eph. iv., 'Be angry and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath.' They had the same precepts in Gentility, who saw no less herein by their light of nature, and therefore devised laws to repress anger—that an angry man should not set hand or heart to anything till he had recited the Greek alphabet, for by that time the heat of choler would be allayed, and that he should sing to his passion as nurses to their babes: *μὴ στενύδεις, μὴ βοᾷ*, haste not, cry not, and anon I will content thee. And the practice of Plato was according to these rules; for, his servant offending him, he said he could have killed him, but that he was moved, and therefore desired a friend to punish him in his stead. *Occidissem te nisi iratus essem*. Likewise, reprehensions of all sorts of vices, and commendations of their contrary virtues, they have both wisely conceived, faithfully penned, and earnestly persuaded. And although they were ignorant of the joys of heaven, and hell fire, yet in their Gentile learning they saw reason sufficient that the embracers of these contrary qualities, should be contrariwise recompensed. Therefore I am not of opinion with those men who think that all secular and profane learning should be abandoned from the lips of the preacher, and, whether he teach or exhort, he is of necessity to tie himself to the sentence and phrase of only Scripture. Good is good wheresoever I find it. Upon a withered and fruitless stalk, saith Augustine, a grape sometimes may hang.* Shall I refuse the grape because the stalk is fruitless and withered? There is not any knowledge of learning to be despised, seeing that all science whatsoever is in the nature and kind of good things. Rather, those that despite it we must repute rude and unprofitable altogether; who would be glad that all men were ignorant, that their own ignorance, lying in the common heap, might not be espied. If philosophy should therefore not be set by because some have erred through philosophy, no more should the sun and the moon, because some have made them their gods and committed idolatry with them.† It seemeth by the preface of M. Luther upon the epistle to the Galatians that the Anabaptists condemned the graces and works of God for the indignity of the persons and subjects in whom they were found. Luther retorted upon them, Then belike matrimony, authority, liberty, &c., are not the works of God, because the men who use them are some of them wicked. Wicked men have

* In arundine sterili atque arida vel alligata solet uva pendere.—*De Bapt. cont. Donat.*, lib. vi cap. 3.

† Non ulla despicienda disciplinæ cognitio, cum de genere bonorum scientia sit omnis; quin potius ipsam spernentes et rusticos et planè ignavos existimare debemus, &c.—*Greg. Nazian.*, in *Monod.*

* Ira optimo loco est donum Dei, et magna est ars irasci verbis præmeditatis et tempore opportuno.—*M. Luth.*

† *Val. Max.*, lib. ix. cap. 3.—*Illa procursu celerior, nocendi cupidine hoc pertinacius, uterque consternationis plenus affectus, ac nunquam sine tormento sui violentus, &c.*

the use of the sun, the moon, the earth, the air, the water, and other creatures of God; therefore is not the sun the sun, and do the others lose their goodness because they are so used? The Anabaptists themselves, when as yet they were not rebaptized, had, notwithstanding, bodies and souls. Now, because they were not rebaptized, were not their bodies true bodies, and their souls right souls? Say that their parents also had a time when they were not rebaptized, were they not therefore truly married? If not, it will follow, thereupon, that the parents were adulterers, their children bastards, and not meet to inherit their father's lands.

Likewise, truth is truth wheresoever I find it. Whether we search in philosophy, or in the histories of the Gentiles, or in canonical Scriptures, there is but one truth. If Peter, if the sybils, if the devils, shall say that Christ is the Son of the living God, it is not in one a truth, a lie in the other; but though the persons, motives, and ends be different, the substance of the confession is in all the same. It was true which Menander the poet spake, before the apostle ever wrote it to the church of Corinth, 'Evil words corrupt good manners.' And because it was a truth in Menander, therefore the apostle alleged it, which else he would not. The difference between them is, that as in Lacedæmon sometimes, when in a weighty consultation, an eloquent but an evil man had set down a good decree which they could not amend, they caused it to be pronounced by one of honest name and conversation, and in such simplicity of words as he was able presently to light upon, by that means neither crediting the bad author so much as to take a judgment from his mouth, nor rejecting the good sentence,* so that which was a truth in the lips of Menander is not more true, uttered by an apostle's tongue, but it hath gotten a more approved and sanctified author. And surely, as in the tilling of the ground, the culter and share are the instruments that break the clods and carry the burden of the work, yet the other parts of the plough are not unnecessary to further it; so for the first breaking up of the fallow ground of men's hearts, and killing the weeds and brambles that are therein of Adam's ancient corruption, or for preaching the great mystery of piety, and comfortable speaking to Sion touching the points of salvation, the only word of God, sharper than culter or share or two-edged sword, is only and absolutely sufficient. But a man must daily build upon the former foundation, and not only teach, but explicate by discoursing, illustrate by examples, exemplify by parables and similitudes, by arguments confirm, shame the gainsayers, convince the adversaries, fashion the life to the doctrine, plant judgment and justice instead of unrighteousness, stir up the affections, and shew himself every way 'a workman not to be ashamed, and rightly dividing the word

of truth,' 2 Tim. ii. from whom, if you take his knife, that is, his art and cunning, he shall rather tear it with his teeth, and pull it asunder with his nails, than rightly divide it.

But you appeal to the consciences of believers, and desire to know whether their first conversion to the faith were by reading or hearing of Gentile stories? No. For who ever required that service of profane learning? which, whatsoever the instrument or means be, is principally and almost wholly the work of the Holy Ghost, and wherein is fulfilled upon every convert that cometh to the knowledge of the truth, that which Samuel comforteth Saul with, 1 Sam. x., 'The Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt be turned into another man.' Who else 'taketh the stony heart out of their bodies, and giveth them an heart of flesh?' Ezek. xxxvi. And we know, besides, that the conversions of men to the faith have not been all after one sort: in some by the preaching of Christ crucified, as in those that were 'added to the church' by the sermon of Peter, Acts. ii.; in some by a word from the mouth of Christ, 'Follow me;' in some by visions and voices from heaven, as Paul, Acts. ix., was thrown from his horse and smitten with blindness, and a voice came down from the clouds, saying, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' and Saint Augustine reporteth (Confess. viii. 12), that by a voice from heaven, saying, 'Take up and read, take up and read, *Tolle, lege*, he was directed to that sentence, Rom. xiii., 'Not in chambering and wantonness,' &c. Justin Martyr witnesseth of himself in his Apology to Antoninus,* that when he saw the innocent Christians, after their slanderous and false traducements, carried to their deaths, patient and joyful that they were thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, it occasioned his change of religion. Socrates and Sozomen† write that many of Alexandria, when the great temple of Serapis was repurged and made serviceable for the use of the Christians, finding some mystical letters or cyphers therein, *literæ hieroglyphicæ*, whereby the form of a cross was figured, and signification long before given that the temple should have an end, thought it warning enough to forsake their heathenish superstitions, and to embrace the gospel of Christ Jesus. Many other Egyptians, being terrified by the strange inundation of Nilus‡ higher than the wonted manner thereof was, immediately condemned their ancient idolatry, and allied themselves to the worship of the living God. Clodoveus, the French king, after many persuasions of Crotaldis, his lady, a religious Burgundian, vainly spent upon him, having at length received a great discomfiture and slaughter in a battle against the Almannes, and finding himself forsaken of all earthly aid, cast up his eyes into heaven and vowed to become a Christian, upon condition that God would give him the victory

* Sic bona sententia mansit, turpis author mutatus est.—*Aul. Gell. Noct., Att., lib. xviii. cap. iii.*

* Euseb. iv. 8 † Socra. iv. 15; Sozom. vii. 15.
‡ Sozom. lib. vii. cap. xx.

over his enemies, which he faithfully performed.* Now it holdeth not in reason that because men are converted to the faith by miracles, martyrdoms, visions, inundations, hieroglyphics, and such means, therefore they should always be confirmed by the same, or that those who are converted by the word of faith should no otherwise be confirmed and strengthened than by that only word. For our own parts, we cannot work wonders, we cannot call down lights and visions from heaven; we must use such means as God hath enabled us unto. And therein, tell me also by experience, if, as in former times, the Gentiles were confuted by the writings of the Gentiles (which is either a part or at least a preparative to conversion, for we must first remove the prejudices conceived against the truth), by the philosophy of Plato, Trismegistus, and others, which Julian, a wise but wicked emperor, saw,—behold we are wounded with our own quills,† out of our books they take armour, which in fight they use against us,—and therefore made a law that the children of the Galileans should not read philosophers nor poets; and as the Jews in later years by the Talmud of the Jews (for proof whereof I send you to the *Trueness of Christian Religion*, written both in Latin and French, and put into English by as honourable a translator as the author was), so in the winning and reclaiming of papists at this day, it be not an ordinary way to root up their errors, besides the Scriptures of God, not only by consent of fathers, decisions of councils, but even by principles of philosophy, by reason and outward sense, from the verdict whereof, in many questions amongst them, they are wholly departed. In transubstantiation, by name, do we not shake and convince their inextricable absurdities by evidence of sense, by that which our hands handle, and our eye declareth unto us;‡ by natural dimensions which a natural body is subject unto, by circumscription of place, and collocation in one place at once; and how insensible a thing it is to have accidents without their subject, roundness, whiteness, and the relish of bread without bread, even as the Lord himself proved the truth of his body by a truth of philosophy, when they took him for a spirit, ‘Touch me, handle me, see me,’ Luke xiv.: *Tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res*:§ for nothing can touch or be touched but a true body. Is it enough in this conflict to tell a papist that Christ is ascended into heaven, and there must sit till all things be restored? Doth he not drive thee from thine hold, and put thee to a further replication? So do they also in many other questions, wherein, if we rest upon Scripture alone, we shall send them away unsatisfied, because they admit not this judge without other co-

partners, to sit and give sentence alone in the ending of our controversies. And therefore they must be vanquished, as Basilides and Saturninus were in Eusebius,* *καὶ δι’ ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξων, καὶ δι’ ἀγγράφων ἐλεγχων*, both by written demonstrations, and by unwritten redargutions. Is this now to make the pulpit a philosopher’s school, or rather the philosopher’s school a footstool to the pulpit, and to use it as a servant to divinity, that it may the better proceed in the necessary work? The histories of the heathen (as lightly as we reckon of them), of Moab and Ammon, and all the countries of Canaan in former times, of the Medes and Persians, ancient Romans and Grecians; and at this day, of the Moors, Muscovites, Turks, and Tartarians, their religion, sacrifices, manners, laws, leagues, wars, stratagems, and even the wars of Hannibal and Scipio, wherein the providence of God mightily wrought, and the policy of men carefully bestirred itself; have they nothing in them fit for the use of the temple and for the building of God’s house? Then why do we train up our children in poets, orators, histories, Greek and Latin, old and new, and not presently set them to the Testaments, and everlastingly keep them in the reading and conning of only catechisms, if all that elementary learning (for so I confess with Seneca, *rudimenta sunt, non opera*, they are rudiments and beginnings, not works) must be wholly forgotten and laid aside in the exercising of an higher calling? Or is it a point of wisdom, think we, to season these new vessels, when their taste of life to come is especially to be framed, with such unprofitable liquor, whereof there is no good use to be made in riper years and at sounder discretion? If such were the vanity, and no better fruits of these younger studies, when an elder profession and a more settled judgment hath them in handling, let Licinius be cleared of that infamous speech of his, in terming good letters the poison of a commonwealth, *virus reipublicæ*; and let all our books be heaped together and burned in the market-place, as those books of curious arts, Acts xix., and let their barbarous opinion who cry to pull down these schools and universities, find favour and good speed in the wishings of all men. But I ever retained, and till I am better informed, will endeavour to maintain, a more honourable opinion of learning; and such poor friendship as I am able to lend to the defence of it I will ever be ready to shew, as Jonathan did to David, not only in the field, where no man seeth it, but even to the face of those by whom it is most discredited; because I have ever found by my little and simple experience, that neither the use of grammar in the proprieties of words, nor of logic in distinguishing ambiguities, nor rhetoric in following precepts and rules of speech, nor philosophy in scanning causes and their effects, nor history in calculating times, nor of any of these in many other uses and services, could at any time be missing to the

* An. Do. 426, vid. Joan. Pappum histor. de conver. gentium.

† Propriis pennis configimur.—*Theoloret. Tripart. Histor.* lib. vi. cap. xvii.

‡ Hoc quod oculi renunciant, &c.

§ Lucret.

* Lib. iv. cap. vii. *Histor. Eccles.*

mistress and queen of all these arts: I mean to the handling of divinity, which is the science of sciences. St Austin, writing against Petilian, telleth us that his adversary, sometimes with open mouth and full breath, would accuse him for a logician, and bring logic itself to her trial before the people,* as the mistress of forgery and lying; and because he shewed some rhetoric, would note him by the name of Tertullus the orator, and charge him with the damnable wit of Carneades the academic; but you must know the reason: *Cum ad interrogatum respondere non posset*; when he was not able to answer the question propounded.† No doubt it was some great disgrace to that learned father to be blamed for good arts, and to bear an objection and reproach for too much scholarship. Thus let ignorance ever be able to object to the champions of the true church and propugners of the faith of Christ. And because I am fallen into the testimony of St Austin, let me further acquaint you what he writeth of this very argument in his second book of Christian learning. His judgment is ample and plain, that if the philosophers, so called, especially the Platonics, had spoken any truth consonant to our faith, we should be so far off from fearing it, that we should be-reave them thereof, as unjust owners, *tanquam ab injustis possessoribus*, and possessioners, and apply it to our own use. For as the Egyptians had not only idols and burdens which Israel detested, *non solum idola et onera*, &c., but vessels and ornaments of silver and gold, and store of raiment, which Israel, not by their own authority, but by God's commandment, borrowed, and Egypt ignorantly lent, not knowing how to use them as they ought; so all the learning of the Gentiles, besides their superstitious and abominable figments, hath also liberal arts, serviceable to the truth, and profitable precepts of civility, and somewhat unreprieveable of the worship of the true God, which is, as it were, their silver and gold, not which themselves found out, but took it from the mines of God's heavenly providence, universally infused into the minds of all men living. Likewise the institutions of men, as it were apparel fit for human society, which the life of man cannot want. He also numbereth the Israelites that went out of Egypt, laden with those spoils, *suffarinati*, Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Optatus, Hilary; and besides those who were then living, an innumerable sight of Grecians; and before all these, the most faithful servant of the Lord, Moses, of whom it is written that he was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' Finally, he there concludeth, not prejudicing any other either his equal or superior, that would otherwise understand it, that the policy of the children of Israel, in robbing the Egyptians, did undoubtedly prefigure this our spoiling of the Gentiles. I will not conceal withal his retraction touching this point, in that he had much

ascribed to liberal sciences, which many holy men are much ignorant of, and some that know them, are not holy.* Therefore, in his first book of order, he bringeth himself into an order and measure therein, that the learning of these liberal sciences must be *modesta atque succincta*, modest and short. Otherwise it is *vinum inebrians*, as Bernard calleth it,† wine that maketh a man drunk; *implens non nutriens, inflans non edificans*, rather glutting than nourishing, and puffing him up than edifying him. Therefore Seneca,‡ though he knew not the sovereign knowledge which we do, and that which is life everlasting unto us, concerning the Father of lights, and him whom he hath sent, Christ Jesus, yet in comparison of other more profitable studies and meditations, he ascribeth utility no farther unto these than that they prepare the wit, rather than fasten and seize upon it: *non enim discere debemus ista, sed didicisse*. For we must not ever be learning these, but have learned them. Jerome (or whether it were Valerius), in an epistle to Ruffinus, writeth thus: Dost thou marvel, or art thou displeased, that I send thee to the imitation of Gentiles? a Christian of idolaters? a lamb of whelps? the good of the evil? I would have thee like the witty discoursing bee, which from a nettle gathereth honey. So do thou suck honey from the rock, and oil from the hardest stone. I know the superstition of the Gentiles, but every creature of God hath some precedent of goodness in it. Many things they do perversely, but some things which have died with themselves, have caused fruit to abound in us.§ And in his 102d Epistle to Marcella, he taxeth some, who held gross and palpable rusticity || (ignorance, lack of learning) for only sanctity, and bragged that they were disciples of fishermen, as if they were therefore holy because they knew nothing. And elsewhere he wrote to Romanus, that he should admonish Calphurnius, if he wanted teeth himself, not to be envious against others who are able to eat, not to condemn the eyes of goats, himself being a-want and stark blind.¶ To this purpose he allegeth and applieth the law of the beautiful captive woman taken in war, whereunto, if a man had a mind, he must cause her head to be shaven, her nails paired, and the garments wherein she was taken put off, and then he might marry her, Dent. xxi. What marvel is it then, saith he, if I take the wisdom of the world, for the grace of speech and comeliness of parts that I find therein, and of a captive make it an Israelitish woman, and whatsoever

* Quod multum tribui disciplinis liberalibus, quas multi sancti multum nesciunt; quidam autem qui sciunt eas sancti non sunt.—*Retrac.* i. 3.

† In Cantic. ser. ix.

‡ Lib. i. epist. 81. Si preparent ingenium, non detineant.

§ Volo sis apud argumentosæ similis, &c. Omnis creatura Dei habet aliquod exemplar honesti.

|| Crassam illi rusticitatem solum pro sanctitate habent.

¶ Ne vescientium dentibus edentulus invidet, et oculos caprarum talpa contemnat.—*Epist.* 84.

* Lib. iii. cont. Petil., cap. xvi. Anhelis pulmonibus, tanquam dialecticum criminatur, &c. † Ibid. cap. xxi.

it hath dead, idolatrous, voluptuous, erroneous, or the like, either I cut it away or shave it, and bring forth lawful children to the Lord of hosts? Thus Hosea took him a wife of fornications, Hosea i., Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, who bare him a son, and he called him Jezreel, that is, 'the seed of God.' And towards the end of that epistle, as if he had been exercised with the objections of our times, he would not have him mistake, as if it were not lawful so to do, save only in disputations against the Gentiles; for almost there is no book written by any man, excepting Epicurus and his followers, but is very full of learning. Basilus the Great, in a large treatise to his nephews, of this very argument, counselleth them not to cast the anchors of their shipping, nor to fasten their opinions and affections upon such men, but only to pick out those things that were profitable. To life everlasting he doubted not but they may be sufficiently furnished out of the sacred volumes. Those other writings, which were not altogether discrepant from the books of God, might serve as shadows and glimpses beforehand to prepare the sight, and for trial of wit, as those that practise a while in the fence-school, before they profess their better skill, and as fullers lay some ground colour, before they dye purple. He addeth, that as to trees laden with fruit, the leaves give some ornament and grace, so when the excellentest truth is apparelled and compassed with this outward wisdom of the world, it becometh thereby the more delightful and pleasant. Notwithstanding, he wisheth them not to take their choice at random, and to esteem all alike; but as, in plucking roses, they are careful to avoid the prickles, so they give heed to that only which is good, and eschew the noisome and pestilent. And although he leaveth obscene and wanton poets to the stage, yet he encourageth them to the better sort, upon the judgment of a grave man, and well skilled in the poets, of whom he had heard, that Homer's whole poetry was but a praise of virtue, *Omnis Homeri poesis virtutis laus*. David Chytraeus, a little to break the rank of the fathers, speaketh as highly in the commendation of philosophers and orators,* that all their writings of manners are, as it were, a certain commentary upon the five former commandments of the latter table. The knowledge of the former, he confesseth, was over-obscure unto them, and of the last of all, touching concupiscence, almost extinguished; and he honoured histories no less, the common and universal argument of all which he affirmeth to be that which an heathen spake,

Discite justitiam moniti, et non temere divos.

Ye princes and people of the world, take your warning to do justice and to fear God. For this cause, to return back to the fathers, St Augustine, in one place,† cleareth philosophy and philosophers, and telleth his mother that the divine Scriptures, which she embraced so earnestly, did not condemn philosophers

* Prolegom. in Genes.

† 1 De ord. cap. ult.

simply, but the philosophers of this world, Col. ii. And if any man thought that all philosophy was to be shunned, his meaning was none other therein than to have us love wisdom. In another, he speaketh for eloquence,* and thinketh it no reason, that because some bear arms against their country, others should be debarred of armour to defend it; or that physicians' instruments should be denied to the skilful, because the unlearned have used them to kill with. Eloquence, he saith, is not evil (which for the uttering of his mind he wisheth had fallen unto him to his heart's desire, *quæ utinam mihi pro desiderio provenisset* †), but a sophistical, malignant profession, proposing to itself, not as it meaneth, but either of contention, or for commodity's sake, to speak for all things, and against all things. What were more profitable than the eloquence of Donatus, Parmenian, and others of your sect, if it ran with as free a stream for the peace, unity, truth, and love of Christ, as it floweth against it? for else it is *venenata facundia*, a venomous eloquence, as Cyprian wrote of the eloquence of Novatus, in his epistle to Cornelius. I know there is much amiss both in the matter and in the use of profane learning; but this we are sure of, that if we bring it to the touchstone of Scripture, whatsoever we read in foreign authors, if it be vicious, it is there condemned; if wholesome, we shall there find it, and many things besides, which we have found nowhere else:‡ for it shall never be denied, but that here are the riches and treasures of wisdom; and that the knowledge collected out of the books of the Gentiles, with this of the book of God compared, is no more than the treasure carried out of Egypt, which, to the riches of Jerusalem, especially when Solomon was the king there, was in a manner as nothing; for as the wine that cometh from the vines of the mountains is both finer and pleasanter than that of the valleys, so the heavenly knowledge which descendeth from the highest hills, and from the throne of God, must needs be sweeter to our taste than the sour and unsavoury knowledge of the world, which groweth in the valley of tears. To conclude; what things soever, and in what authors soever, were well spoken, they are ours; I mean the Christians', and we may take our own where we find it.§ Plato is sometimes *alter Moses*, *et Moses Atticus*, another Moses, and Moses at Athens; wheresoever, therefore, he speaketh as Moses did, that is ours. Orpheus and Sybilla have delivered certain introductions or essays of prophetic learning, *progymnasmata*; these are ours.|| What poet, what philosopher, is there that hath not drunk at the well of the prophets? That is ours. Clemens Alexandri-

* Advers. Crescen. lib. i. cap. ii. † Ibid. cap. ii.

‡ Si noxium, ibi damnatur; si utile, ibi invenitur, &c.—Aug. ii. de doct. Chr. 42. August. Ibid. Covasrub. dom. i., advent. serm. vi.

§ Quæcunque, apud omnes rectè dicta sunt, nostra Christianorum sunt.—Justin Mart. orat. et Gentil. ad Sen. Rom.

|| Tert. in Apol.

nus* calleth them thieves, and chargeth them to have stolen their best opinions from holy writers; those are ours also. Many things they speak at unawares, *et tanquam per recantationem*, at a fit, as it were, recanting their errors, many things *ingratis*, compelled and against their wills,† which in them are but guesses and presumptions, in us grounded knowledge; these are ours likewise, *præsumptiones in iis, in nobis summe scientiæ*. It skilleth not in what ground the herb grew, nor what gardener sowed it, or brought it up, so it heal, *non refert quâ terrâ nata, cujus hortulani curâ creverit herba, modò sanet*. And what matter is it though the crown were the king's of Ammon, so it be meet for the king of Jerusalem, to take away, and to set upon his own head? 2 Sam. xii. A countryman of our own,‡ though an obscure author, wrote not obscurely touching this controversy; for in the prologue of his tripartite work, he giveth a reason why he induceth the laws of the heathen. The wisdom of God, saith he, hath brought the stork, and the kite, and the swallow to witness against sinners; wherefore, by his example and assistance, *ejus igitur exemplo et auxilio, &c.*, who hath brought an honeycomb out of the mouth of a lion, and abundance of water from an ass's jaw-bones, and who is able of stones to raise up children to Abraham, I have endeavoured of the laws of Pagans, to make children's bread fit for the information and instruction of a Christian life.

I have long troubled you with the opinions of the Christian fathers, and some later divines, touching these Gentile and external helps; but where shall I seek patrons, if need be, for these fatherless and friendless fathers themselves? For these we also account to be spots in our sermons, and our labours seem the worse, if the names of Augustine, Jerome, and other reverend doctors, do but sound therein. Surely, according to that image of the world, which I have found pictured with the feet upwards, to note that all things are turned upside down, we the punies and proselytes of good learning, control and correct our fathers; and although in many of us there may be very small cause, yet we presume to say with David, not speaking from the humble Spirit of God, but from a strong conceit of our own weakness, and a weaker judgment of the strength of others; 'I am wiser than my teachers; I have more understanding than the ancient ever had,' Ps. cxix. Howsoever we account of them, it is most true, that they have laboured for us, and 'we are entered upon their labours.' The fruits whereof, if we reap without acknowledgment, we are unthankful; or if we pass them over with contempt and disdain, and think it the losing of good hours to peruse their books, we are too fond of our own learning: other men as they list. Let them esteem the light of antiquity no better worth than to be hid under a bushel, and quite

suppressed, that they may set their own upon a candlestick, and cause it to blaze to the view of the whole house: *ego vero illos veneror, et tantis nominibus semper assurgo*;* but, for mine own part, I have them in great reverence, and honour their very names; and I say of their works in general, as Theotimus, a bishop amongst the Scythians, spake of the works of Origen, when Theophilus and Epiphanius urged him to join in the condemnation of them. I will neither discredit him, who has since happily fallen asleep in the Lord, neither dare I attempt so blasphemous a thing as to reprove those writings which our forefathers have not reprov'd.† They carried memorable names in former ages. Cyprian called Tertullian his master. Vincentius Lirinensis saith of him, that his arguments were as the lightnings to beat down heretics. The testimonies that Augustine giveth unto Cyprian are very large, and this amongst the rest, that the mother church reputed him in the number of a very few of most excellent condition.‡ But who can study to spend more honour upon him than he who said, *Loquitur diserta, sed magis fortia quam diserta, neque tam loquitur fortia quam vivit*.§ His speech is eloquent, yet hath more strength in it than eloquence, and his life more strength than his speech. Augustine they termed not unworthily the hammer of heretics, *hereticorum malleus*. Athanasius called Ambrose the eye of the world, *orbis terrarum oculus*. Athanasius himself was surnamed the Great, *magnus Athanasius*, for his invincible courage in defending the church. Nazianzen writeth of Basil, that between him and his followers there is no more comparison than between pillars and their shadows. I omit the rest; but such are our unequal judgments of those whose equals we shall hardly be, that if we were willed to speak what we thought of Basil, we would reckon him but a shadow and counterfeit to ourselves, and great Athanasius as one of the least amongst us; and thrust out the eyes of Ambrose, and term him a crow and a chough, *corrum et corniculam*, as the pie of Mirandula did; and Cyprian should have a letter of his name changed, as sometimes it was, and be but Coprian|| unto us, one that wrote of trifles and vanities. I omit the rest, the classical and principal doctors of the church (next the apostles of Christ, and their next successors), the stars and ornaments of learning, the pillars of religion and Christianity in their time, who put their bodies and souls betwixt Christ and his ad-

* Senec. lib. viii., epist. 65.

† Ut reprobem quæ majores nostri non reprobarunt.—*Socrat. lib. vi. cap. 12.*

‡ Inter raros et paucos excellentissimos gratiæ viros.—*Lib. vi. De bapt. cont. Donatist., cap. 2.*

§ Erasm. præfat. in opera Cypriani.

|| Cyprianus, Coprianus; *Lactant.*—[It ought to be noted that Lactantius does not himself speak thus disparagingly of Cyprian, but complains that he was derided by the learned men of that age, and particularly by one whom he had heard speaking so of him.—*Div. Inst., lib. v. chap. 1.*—ED.]

* 1 et 5 Strom.

† Joan. Langus præfat. in Justin Mart. ad Gent. Justin Mart. adver. Græc.

‡ Joan. de Bromyardo.

versaries ; who spake, and wrote, and lived, and died in defence of his truth ; whose labours were then renowned, and God in his providence hath reserved their books to this day, monuments to us of their infatigable pains, and helps to our studies, if we be not enemies to ourselves. I could be content to say much for them, because I use them much ; for I never could be bold to offer mine own inventions and conceits to the world, when I have found them such in St Augustine, and others, as might not be amended. I would not wish with the learned of any sort, that hath but borne a book, to dispraise learning. She hath enemies enough abroad, though she be justified by her children. It is fitter that wisdom be beaten by fools, than by wise men,* and that Barbary disgrace arts, rather than Athens the mother and nurse of them ; but above all other places, a blow given in the pulpit, leaveth a scar in the face of learning which cannot easily be removed. It prejudiceth the teaching of others, as if they fed the people with acorns and husks instead of bread ; and because they gather the members of truth together, dispersed through orators, philosophers, poets, fathers, scriptures, and make one body of them all, which God is the author of, they are thought in a manner to preach falsehood. Or at least, it is vanity in those that preach, and itching in those that hear, and in neither of both to be allowed. I also condemn it, when it is so. Vain and vain-glorious invention, let it wither at the brain that sent it forth. And let itching ears fret and consume away with the malignity of their humours. Where we find them itching after pleasure, it is good to make them smart with the acrimony of severe reprehension. But where it is otherwise, let not a rash conclusion without proof be admitted against good learning. If Asclepiodorus will draw with a coal or chalk alone, I judge him not ; if others will paint with colours, neither let them be judged. If some will barely teach, and others prove ; if some affect to speak with simplicity, and others with variety illustrate ; if some confer with men of yesterday, others with antiquity ; some bind themselves precisely to the words of God, others not refrain the words of men, using them as ‘the words of God,’ *ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ*. If some stand narrowly upon the terms and sentences of faith, others not depart from ‘the proportion of faith,’ 1 Pet. iv., nor bring in anything dissonant and disagreeing to the uniformity thereof ; both may do well, but the latter, in mine opinion, do far the better. That which concerneth you in this little dissent of judgments, the sheep of his pasture, by whom we are set in his house to give you your portion in due time, is this, that you be not dismayed herat. For we preach not ourselves in such kind of preachings, but Christ Jesus the Lord ; not to commend our gifts, but to edify your consciences. And to this end, I may say, with some alteration of words, as the apostle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. iii., ‘All things are

yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come ;’ so all things are yours in our preaching, whether it be scripture, or nature, or art, all is yours. Yours are philosophers, orators, historiographers, poets, Jews, Gentiles, Grecians, barbarians, fathers, new-writers, men, angels, that you may be saved ; this only is the end whereunto our knowledge and learning of what kind soever is directed.

To return to Jonah discontented, and withal to conclude. You see the fall, nay you see the relapse of a chosen prophet, a sickness recovered, and a recidivation into the same or a worse sickness. Before he had sinned and recanted his sin, and washed his disobedience away with the waters of the sea, but now is returned to the mire again ; mire, indeed, wherein his heart, as a troubled and muddy spring, is so disordered that he discerneth nothing aright, neither in faith to God, nor charity to man, nor love to himself ; accusing the most righteous Lord, envying his innocent brethren, and carried away headlong with a kind of detestation towards his own person ; once angry, and angry again ; not only conceiving, but defending anger ; angry, and with the worm in the earth, angry with the sun in the sky, angry with the wind in the air, angry with the former and governor of all these, who could have ended his passion with the least breath of his angry lips. A dangerous and grievous wound in a saint, if I would thrust my fingers into it, and thoroughly handle it. But I leave it to the order of my text, worthy of another sea, and of another whale, and once more of the belly of hell, even of hell indeed, if God would exactly stand to repay it. *Improbe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit.* He hath no reason to accuse Neptune, that so presently after a late danger, will hazard himself to take shipwreck again. God is admirable in his saints, not only in their risings, but in their fallings also. The best amongst them have fallen. And I love to report their falls ; not that I take any pleasure with ungracious Ham to uncover the nakedness of my fathers, but because that mantle and cloak of charity, which God casteth over their sins to cover their weaknesses with, is the comfortablest reading and learning that the world hath. St Augustine spake wisely of the error of Cyprian : * *Propterea non vidit aliquid, ut aliquid per eum supereminetius videretur.* There was something which he saw not, that he might gain the knowledge of some more excellent thing. That which he lost in faith, he got in charity. So there is somewhat that Jonah doth not, to make way to the doing of some better work. For if he gained nothing else, the mercy of God might by this means be the more commended in the forgiveness of his trespass, and that which he loseth in charity, he getteth in faith ; that is, in the assurance and ratification of the love of God towards him. *Commissum atque conscriptum est*, saith

* Oportet sapientiam ab insipientibus feriri.—*Diogen.*

* Lib. i. de baptis. cont. Donat. cap. xviii.

Augustine, upon the 51st Psalm, of the adultery and murder of David. So is this fault of Jonah both done and written by one, of whom I am sure that his witness is true, because he accuseth himself; and it is written for our learning, that those who yet stand, fall not; and those that are fallen may rise again. Trust not your arms of flesh, trust not your hearts of ashes, trust not your purest and uprightest spirits, whilst they have their dwelling in houses of clay; and there is a law in the members striving against them to get the victory. If you have stood a time, yet trust not your legs, you may slide again; or if you have slipped and recovered, trust not that recovery for fear of backsliding. Trust not the prerogative of your calling; prophets have fallen, patriarchs have fallen, apostles have fallen, stars have fallen, angels have fallen. Trust not your strength, it is infirmity; trust not wisdom, it is folly; trust not the friendship of the world, it is enmity with God; trust not the authority thereof, it is contemptible in his sight; trust not the purity of nature, it is defiled; trust not the righteousness of your works, it is imperfect; trust in the mercy of God, for that only is absolute, and in the merits of his beloved Son, for they are all-sufficient: Isa. xliii., 'It is I, it is even I, which, for mine own sake, put away thine iniquities.' It is not I, nor thou, nor Abraham, nor Moses, nor Peter at Rome, nor Paul at Jerusalem, that can do this cure. Hear thy Physician: 'It is I, even I.' Not with the preparation of thine own nature, nor with the liberty of thine own will; not with the co-operation of thine own justice. Hear him once again, It is I, even I, which 'for mine own sake.' If thou thinkest to hire him, thou lovest him. He standeth not upon thy desert, but upon his own most holy name, his own most righteous promise, and the obedience of his own and most only begotten Son, the Lord Christ Jesus.

AN ADMONITION TO THE READERS.

It may seem strange that I have used so large and impertinent a digression in behalf of good learning. As after a long oration spent in the praise of Hercules, one asked, *Quis vituperavit?* who dispraised Hercules? So you may desire to know who dispraised learning. Let it suffice you to understand, that one of my fellow-labourers in this work of the Lord, whom neither I judge in the freedom of his conscience for speaking what he thought, neither can free from the community of erring with myself and others, because we are all unperfect in knowledge, upon the best day of the seven, in the best place, and before not the meanest assembly, handling the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xvi. 13, 'Watch ye, stand fast in the faith,' took occasion thereupon, to stand for the only word of faith in sermons, with vehement exception against the histories of the Gentiles, orators, poets, and other profane knowledge. Wherein, let it be his commendation that according to the warning of his text, he was diligent in his watch, and being jealous for the truth, suspected those for enemies which were not, and shewed his fidelity to the faith, though he went a little too far, and missed in the just measure of applying it. For mine own part, I would have spared mine answer, especially in public, but that I perceived the speech to be bent to some mark of a few that laboured in that calling, and the ears of the people drank it in with earnest attention, because it was heartily spoken, and some were perplexed, others offended therewith, and learning was wounded, which not to have salved had been a wrong, and the arrow flew from her side, and glanced upon us all without exception in that church, who, in our manner of teaching held no other course.

LECTURE XLI.

And he prayed unto the Lord, and said, I pray thee, O Lord, was not this my saying when I was yet in my country?—JONAH IV. 2.

THE first part of this chapter is spent in declaring the fault of Jonah, his unmerciful affection towards this poor people freed from the wrath of God, to whom he should have wished well if they had been enemies, as now they were friends and reconciled by apparent repentance, and rather than have missed this success which fell out, not only have doubled and trebled his pains, but even have pulled out his eyes, and laid down his life to have saved their lives. Jonah, in lieu hereof, envieth their mercy received, and is angry against God, the dispenser and carver of that mercy, and angry against himself, that he liveth to behold his expectation so contraried. A wound in a prophet, so much the more intolerable that it was but

green after his late recovery. For being newly raised up from falling, he dashed his foot presently against the same stone; rebelling before against the express commandment of God, and now repining, fretting, expostulating, and not much less than rebelling again. One would have thought that the salt sea should have purged and washed away all his cholic distemperatures, and that his danger, so newly endured and eschewed, farther than his hope could see into, should wholly have transformed him into a man of mercy. But you see it is otherwise; for the goodness of God 'displeaseth Jonah exceedingly, and he is angry.' The impatience of Jonah, consisting of envy, implied, and probably conjectured (*it displeased*

Jonah). and of anger openly expressed, we have in general laid down in the first verse, and are particularly to pursue in those that follow. Then were named the afflictions only, now we come to the effects of those afflictions: with what gesture and speech he came before God. Surely the effects are such, that they deserve to be smitten with the censure of the wise man, Prov. xxvii., 'A stone is heavy, and the sand weighty, but yet a fool's heart is heavier than them both.' Balance the justice of God in his righteous dealing with the penitent city of Nineveh, against the anger of Jonah fired and enraged. Doth not Jonah impeach it, as if the Lord had done some injury, for which he were justly to be taunted and brought into question? 'O, I beseech thee, was not this my saying?' &c. Ponder his own offence, which if Saul or some other alien had committed, he should have borne his trespass. Doth he not justify it? 'Therefore I prevented it;' that is, I did not amiss to flee unto Tarshish. The state of this mighty city, to be desolate and overthrown, he regardeth no more than to see a grass in the field mown down: 'for I knew thee to be a merciful God;' that which I feared is fallen upon me, the exhibition of thy grace to Nineveh. Yea, the price of his own life is but vile in his own eyes, so he may wreak his anger and satisfy his discontented mind, by any either lawful or unlawful means: 'Now, therefore, I pray thee, take my life from me,' &c. Neither did he only conceive anger in his mind, but he followeth, feedeth, maintaineth it, that we have just cause to strike him again with another sentence of the same wise man: Eccles. vii., 'Be not thou of an hasty spirit to be angry, for anger resteth in the bosom of fools.' Damascene* maketh three degrees of anger, *bilem*, *iracundiam*, *infensionem*, choler, wrath, and heavy displeasure. The one, he sayeth, hath beginning and motion, but presently ceaseth; the other taketh deeper hold in the memory; the third desisteth not without revenge. Gregory Nyssen, keeping to the same number, calleth the one anger, the second lightness of the brain, the third stark staring madness, *iram*, *maniam*, *furorem*.† Clichtoveus compareth the first to fire in stubble, which is soon kindled, and soon put out; the second, to fire in iron, which hardly taketh and longer abideth; the third, to fire that is hid and never bewrayeth itself, but with the ruin and waste of that matter wherein it hath caught. Some are sharp, *ὀξύγλωσσοι*, saith Aristotle;‡ others are bitter, *πικρόγλωσσοι*; a third kind is implacable, *ἀλόεργοι*. The anger of Jonah may seem to have been in the third place: it cannot be mitigated. He desireth nothing so much as that Nineveh may be overthrown. He complaineth, persisteth, replieth, and by no persuasions can be brought from shewing his displeasure both against God, and against his own life.‡

To come to my purpose, the particulars to be

* Lib. ii. cap. xvi. de fide orthod.

† Comment. in Damas.

‡ 4 Ethic. ii

examined for the better searching out of his fault are 1. That *he prayed unto the Lord*. 2. What he prayed; and therein both the substance of his petition in the 3d verse, *therefore, I beseech thee, take my life from me*; and the causes that moved him so to pray, for that the mercy of God had disappointed him, *I knew that thou art a gracious God, &c.*, together with an exprobatation, that he suspected so much when he was at home.

1. *And he prayed unto the Lord*. That Jonah prayed, or that he prayed unto the Lord, I dislike not. Happy is that man, who, either in the midst of anger or of any other offence, can pray. He ever obtaineth either that which he prayeth for, or that which is better, or that which is sufficient. *Aut hoc quod orat, aut quod melius est, aut quod sufficit*. If Jonah had restinguished and choked the fervour of his wrath with the fervency of the Spirit, he had done beyond exception; but it is well that he remembereth himself any way to be a prophet, and doth not quite forget God, and his whole duty towards him. For anger hath a company of most pestilent daughters;* swelling of the mind, *tumor mentis*, so high and so full, that there is no room for any good motion to dwell by it: contumely towards men, blasphemy towards God, indignation of heart, impatience and clamour of speech, violence of hands, with other savage and monstrous demeanour, as far forth as strength will give it leave. 'Anger is cruel,' saith the proverb, 'and wrath is raging; but who can stand before envy?' Prov. xxvii. I know that the effects of anger have been such as I named before. They were such in Simeon and Levi, whom Jacob their father upon his deathbed, Gen. xlix., when all displeasure should have died with him, detested in his very soul, and instead of blessing, cursed them. They were such in Saul against Jonathan, his own flesh, for excusing the absence of David, and making no more than a just defence of his innocency, 'Wherefore shall he die? what hath he done?' 1 Sam. xx., when he took up a javelin in his hand, and would have nailed him to the wall, if his mark had not shunned him. It appeareth by that which followeth, that if it had been possible for Jonah to have commanded fire from heaven, as the disciples would have done, Luke ix., against a town of Samaria, he would not have spared it. But anger exerciseth the arms of the strong, the tongue of the weak.† Therefore, since he hath not the power over the thunders and lightnings of God, he occupieth but his tongue; but whatsoever may be done by the intemperateness thereof, he dissembleth it not.

It is no great commendation to Jonah that he prayed, because he prayed in choler, with a spirit troubled and disordered, measuring all things, not by the will of God, but by the fancies thereof; because with such distraction of mind, the fountain of his

* Aquin. ii. 2 quæ. 158.

† Ira forti producit lacertos, imbelli linguam.—*Scaliger*.

heart, pouring forth sweet and sour together; the words of his lips directed unto God, but his inward cogitations altogether bestowed in purging himself, wishing revenge, accusing God, and other such like foreign and improper intentions. It might have been said to Jonah, bending himself to prayer in this sort, as the prophet spake to Jerusalem, Jer. iv., 'Wash thy heart from malice: how long shall thy wicked thoughts remain within thee?' Or as it was said to the scribes in the Gospel, Mat. ix., 'Why think ye evil in your hearts?' Our Saviour counselled his disciples, Mat. vi., when they prayed, not to be as hypocrites, standing at the heads of the streets, but to 'enter into their chambers, and shut the doors unto them,' and to pray to their Father in secret, that he might openly reward them. Now to what purpose is it to remove the body from the eyes of men, to close it up in a private chamber within walls and doors, if the soul have a troublesome and unquiet company within—anger, impatience, envy—to disturb her meditations with noise? * For these must also be put forth, as Christ put forth the minstrels and mourners; all the affections of the heart must be repressed; the whole strength and might of the soul kept nearly together, without wandering abroad, that by their forces united in one, the goodness of the Lord may the sooner be obtained. The oracle gave answer to a man desirous to know what art he should use in praying: Thou must give the half moon, the whole sun, and the anger of a dog;† that is, *COR*, thy whole heart, with every affection belonging unto it. In that introduction of prayer, which our Saviour setteth down in the Gospel, though there be sundry branches of requests to God, as the sanctifying of his name, the enlarging of his kingdom, or whatsoever else is meet, either for the body or the soul of man, yet all the rest are passed over with their only first reciting, and the only exposition which he leaveth unto us is upon the fifth petition, wherein we desire pardon of our own debts, as we pardon others, Mat. vi.; for there our Saviour addeth, culling this one from amidst all the rest, and setting his special mark upon it, 'If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you;' if not, look accordingly to be dealt with. His meaning, no doubt, was, that 'when we bring our gift to the altar,' the oblation of our lips and hearts, and come not in charity, whatsoever we make request for, is returned back again, and our whole offering refused, as an unsavoury thing which the Lord hath no pleasure in: 1 Cor. xiii., 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal, and though I had the gift of prophecy, and knew all secrets and knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and had not charity, *ὅδὲν εἰμι*;' before, I was little; I was

but a sound, now 'I am nothing.' What can we less pronounce of the prayer of Jonah;—though one that spake with the tongue of a man, and in comparison of other men, the tongue of an angel, a tongue of the learned, a tongue refined like silver; though one that had the gift of prophecy, and knew as many mysteries of knowledge as was expedient for flesh and blood to be acquainted with; one that had faith enough to save him in the bottom of the seas, the bottom of the mountains, the bottom and belly of a monstrous fish;—but that the want of love was sufficient to have lost the blessing and grace of all his heart's desires?

2. *And said, I pray thee, O Lord, was not this my saying, &c.* Consider now, I beseech you, what he prayed, and therein, how long it is before he cometh to the matter intended, a foolish and unnecessary discourse interposed of his own praise, but his subjection to the will of God not thought upon. For what is the substance of his prayer? that which is inferred, after a long preface, 'Therefore, I pray thee, take away my life from me;' he strengtheneth it by reason: 'for it is better for me to die than to live.' Why better? The causes of this commodiousness and convenience are contained in the prolocution, in those frivolous and vain speeches that are first laid down: 'I beseech thee, was not this my saying,' &c.; as much as to say, I was thrust forth into a charge, which from the first hour I had never liking unto, and wherein I thought and said, and resolved to make myself, from the very beginning, that I should be deceived. Admit all this. Say thou foresawest it, and that the end would be other than thou lookedst for, oughtest thou, therefore to have refused thy message? A necessity was laid upon thee, and thou mightest well assure thyself, that woes would have lighted upon thee, as many as the hairs of thy head, if thou didst it not. Leave the event to God, let him use his floor at his pleasure; whether he gather into the barn, or scatter as the dust of the earth, do thou the office of a prophet. Again, thou sentest me to denounce a judgment, and thou meantest nothing but well unto them; I preached righteousness and severity, and 'thou art a gracious God, and full of pity;' I made their accounts perfect and straight that destruction should fall upon them at the end of forty days, thou takest a pen of thy mercy, and dashest thy former writing, and writest them a longer day, years and generations to come, I know not how many. Upon this he concludeth, 'therefore now, O Lord, take away my life,' &c. But we will weigh the conclusion when we come to it. Meantime we must rip up his former speeches, which were of preparation, making the way to his suit beforehand. Peruse them who will, he shall find find them fuller of affections than words, and such a bundle of errors wrapped together, as one would hardly have imagined in a prophet. Wherein by a blind self-liking and love to his own wit and judgment, he is carried from reason, truth, obedience, and from

* *Molesta intus familia.—Senec.* Turbam intus sustinet.
—*Gregor.*

† *Da mediam lunam, solem simul, et cœnis iram.*

that reverent estimation which he should have had of God; for how often, in so short a space, doth he challenge wisdom to himself! 'I beseech thee, O Lord;' I appeal to thine own conscience, speak but truth, and be not partial in thine own cause; 'was not this my saying?' I am able to allego particulars, I can remember the time and the place, 'when I was yet in my country.' therefore I prevented it. If I had had mine own will, I had stopped this inconvenience, for I was not to learn that thou wast a gracious God; there was no point of foresight wherein I mistook. Thus his saying, his providence, his prevention, his knowledge, these are the things that he standeth too much and too long upon. Thy saying, Jonah, or my saying, or the saying of any mortal man! what are the words of our lips, or the imaginations of our hearts, but naughty, foolish, perverse, from our youth up, if God direct them not? or what thy prevention and forecast, or of all thy companions, prophets, or prophets' children in the world, to know what to-morrow will bring upon you, or the closing up of the present day, unless some wisdom from heaven cast beams into your minds to enlighten them? As Elisha, 2 Kings xiii., directed the hand of Joash, the king of Israel, to shoot, and the arrow of God's deliverance followed upon it, and so often as he smote the ground by the appointment of the prophet, so often, and no longer, he had likelihood of good success; so the Lord must direct our tongues and hearts in all that proceedeth from them; and where his Holy Spirit ceaseth to guide us, there it will be verified that the prophet hath, 'Surely every man is a beast by his own knowledge.' Therefore the advice of Solomon is good: Prov. iii., 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thy wisdom. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths. Be not wise in thine own eyes: and fear the Lord, and depart from evil. So shall health be to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones.' You have heard the counsel of the wise, now join unto it for conclusion the judgment of the most righteous: Isa. v., 'Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.' Wisdom presumed, you see, and drawn from the cistern of our own brain, is, in the reputation of God, as the sins of covetousness, oppression, drunkenness, and such like, and standeth in the crew of those damned and wretched iniquities which God accurseth.

I pray thee. I like the note that Jerome giveth upon this place. He tempereth his complaint because in some sort he accuseth God of injustice, *querelam temperat, quòd injustitiae quodam modo Deum arguat.* For this cause he sweeteneth the accusation with fair and flattering speech. For, to have challenged God in gross and blunt terms had been too apparent; therefore he cometh with a plausible and glozing insinuation unto him: 'I pray thee, O Lord.' For, remembering that fearful name of his, *Jehovah*, wherein

he saw nothing but majesty and dreadfulness, could he do less than entreat him? If he had spoken but to the king of Nineveh, in whose dominions he was, or to Jeroboam the Second, who reigned in his own native country, the very regard of their persons and place would have enforced him so much. It was the counsel that Æsop gave to Solon, enquiring what speech he should use before Cræsus, either very little or very sweet, *aut quàm minima aut quàm dulcissima.* For a prince is pacified with courtesy, and 'a soft answer turneth away wrath,' and 'a gentle tongue breaketh a man of bones' (*osseum*), Prov. xxv. and xv.; that is, of the hardest and toughest disposition that can be. If such, then, be our usage before the princes of the earth, who are but smoke and vanity, much more doth the presence of the most high God require it.

I pray thee, Quaso, Jehorah. The form of speech, I have elsewhere noted, befitteth suitors; 'The poor speaketh with prayers, but the rich speaketh roughly,' *pauper cum obsecrationibus loquitur*, Prov. xviii. For those that are rich are full and sufficient, as they think, in themselves, and therefore they say unto God, in the vain trust of their own abundance, 'Who is the Almighty, that we should serve him? and what profit shall we have if we pray unto him?' Job xxi. The Jews, Isa. lviii., were so filled and blown up with the opinion of their own merits, that they thought perhaps God was little able to stand them in stead, and therefore they come not unto him, *we beseech thee*, but upbraiding, challenging, provoking: 'Wherefore have we fasted, and punished ourselves, and thou regardest it not?' As if God were bound unto them, to hear them for their service sake. Such were the scribes and the pharisees in the Gospel: 'Why eateth your master with publicans and sinners?' and 'This man is a friend to publicans and sinners;' and, 'If this man were a prophet, he would have known who had touched him, for she is a sinner.' Themselves, what were they, in this eyeing and pointing at sinners so much? Angels or men? saints or sinners? One of that school, though he went into the temple to pray, yet he prayed not as if he found want, but rather gave thanks for that which he had received, and gloried in himself before all other men, and especially, with scornful demonstration, before that publican, Luke xviii. Let them swell with their full conceits till they break, and let their eyes stand out with fatness; let them bear the collops of presumption and disdain in their flanks. But the voice of the gospel of Christ, which is the rod of our comfort, 'The poor receive the gospel,' and 'Blessed are the poor in spirit,' is small to the comfort of these stately and stout guests: 'I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners to repentance.' This is the spar of the gate. If ever they think to enter into the supper of the Lamb, their righteousness, falsely supposed, keepeth them out. They 'have purchased a farm' of righteousness, they

think their dwellings safe enough without the house of God, and therefore they desire to be excused; they 'plough with the oxen' of their own imagined righteousness, and 'have married' themselves unto it as unto a wife, and 'therefore they cannot come.' 'To him that is full, honey is unpleasant;' but emptiness and sinfulness lieth at his gates who is rich in mercy, as Lazarus at the gates of the rich man, with all her ulcers and sores laid open, all her infirmities detected, craving, begging, beseeching to be refreshed with the crumbs that fall from his board, even with the smallest pittance of mercy that God is author of. Therefore he saith, *I pray thee, Lord*.

In the prayer of the mariners before, chap. i., I commended their humility, upon occasion of the like term, in that they used the right form of supplication. It shall not be amiss to commend humility unto you, and you unto it, once again; there is so hard getting, harder keeping of it. We have all haughty and pharisaical eye-brows, whether we talk with God or man; and as all vices are against humility, either openly or privately, so especially pride of heart is a sworn and professed enemy unto it in the open field. Yea, all virtues are against humility; for we are proud of giving alms, tithing, fasting, praying, learning, wisdom, knowledge, and love to be seen of men. To say further: humility hath an hand against humility, against her own person; and by an unnatural prodigious birth, bringeth forth pride: for the humble sometimes is as proud of his lowliness as Diogenes of his rags.* Even for that difficulty's sake, we are to desire the teacher and actor of humility, who both delivered it by precept, Mat. xi., and declared it by the example of his whole life, when we send our prayers into heaven, not only to bow the knees of our bodies, but the knees of our hearts, yea, even to humble and bow the very phrase of our words, that we may utter them as if the smallest grasshopper of the earth were to speak, with fear and reverence before that dreadful Majesty: *I beseech thee, Lord*, without upbraiding, challenging, covenanting, for any our highest service that hath been or shall be done. If we well examine ourselves we shall find somewhat without us, *extra nos*, to teach us humility, not only the better virtues of other men, who have more deserved and received less at God's hands, but even their falls in the midst of those virtues; somewhat beneath us, *infra nos*, the obedience of beasts and birds, who in their kinds glorify their Maker, and God hath enabled them with strength and comeliness of nature more than ourselves; somewhat within us, *intra nos*, the conscience of our own unworthiness and deformity of sin wherewith we are spotted; somewhat above us, *supra nos*, the majesty, justice, and vengeance of an angry God; finally, somewhat against us, *contra nos*, enemies of all sorts, outward, inward, carnal, spiritual, many,

* Sæpe etiam homo de ipso vanæ gloriæ contemptu vanus gloriatur.

mighty, deadly, both in heavenly and in earthly places. Boughs of trees, the more they are laden with fruit, the nearer they hang to the earth; the best gold goeth down in the balance, the lighter stayeth above; good corn lieth in the bottom of the heap, the chaff keepeth on high; so the more fruitful, precious, and virtuous the soul is, the more it abaseth and vilifieth itself, that he who 'hath chosen the weak to confound the mighty' may the more exalt it.

Was not this my saying? Jonah began well, if he had continued it; but he stumbleth at the threshold, and in the first entry of his speech starteth back. I should have thought, by the hope which he gave in the greeting and salutation of God in his foremost words—'*I pray thee, Lord*'—that he would have proceeded to an humble recapitulation and recital of his rash, both speeches and actions before past. Pardon, O Lord, mine unadvised words, which I used in mine own country; forgive my purpose of preventing thy will; bury my flying to Tarshish, and all my transgressions, in the bottom of the sea, where thou buriedst me. Thus he should have done. But he, in a different mood, as if he had gotten a victory against God, beginneth gloriously to triumph, little esteeming to set his foot upon the neck of justice itself, so the credit of his doings and sayings may be justified: Lo, Lord, this, this was the cause why I played the fugitive; was not this my word? Had I not reason to do as I did;* to run unto Tarshish? Did I not say thus much before? Was I not wise to presage the event that would fall out? If my counsel had been followed, all these inconveniences of falsifying my message, of bringing thy truth into question, had been avoided.

Was not this my word (verbum)? that is, his thought, the word that his soul spake; for the tongue is but servant and messenger from the soul in this action. When Jesus healed the man sick of the palsy, Mat. ix., willing him to 'be of good comfort,' and adding, moreover, that his 'sins were forgiven him,' 'behold, certain of the scribes,' not thought, but 'said, εἰπον, within themselves, this man blasphemeth. They thought there were no witnesses present to their speech; 'but when Jesus saw their thoughts, ἐνθυμήσεως, he said, Wherefore think ye evil things in your hearts?' That which the Gospel saith, *they said*, Christ calleth *thoughts*; because the tongue is but the instrument; it is the soul that speaketh; and Christ is as near to the speech of the one as the voice of the other. I touch it in a word. The thoughts of our hearts (we think as the scribes did) are close and private to ourselves, but the Lord hath spies and watchmen over them. The birds of the air shall bewray the counsels and conspiracies of thy bedchamber; but the God of heaven beholdeth thy thoughts in the midst of thy bosom. Say not within thyself, I did it

* Ejā domine, illud verò, illud erat cur fierem transfuga. —Luth.

not, I spake it not, I only thought it in my heart, and what more free than thought? Mistake not. Thy thoughts are not only thoughts, they give their sound without, they go for words, and actions too, in the sight of God.

The speech of Jonah, in every part thereof, savour-eth of much presumption. (1.) He demandeth, Was not this my saying? *Annon?* which is the manner of checking and controlling, for the most part. 'Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?' 'Answerest thou the High Priest thus?' 'Knowest thou not that I have power to kill thee, and power to let thee go?' 'Thou sittest to judge according to the law, and smitest thou me contrary to the law?' I spare the rest. My meaning is but to let you understand that it had been a milder manner of speech thus to have delivered it, 'This was my saying,' &c.

(2.) He magnifieth *his word*, as if there were more than wind in it. Was not this *my word*, *verbum meum*? What is the word of Jonah, or of any mortal man? What virtue, what power, what truth, what edge, what authority, what spirit, what life hath it in it? 'By the word of God the heavens were formed,' and they are 'reserved for fire by the power of the same word.' By the word of God is 'man turned to destruction,' and by the power of the same word is it commanded, 'Return, ye sons of Adam.' By the word of God Nineveh is warned, and Nineveh is spared by the power of the same word. But as touching the word of Jonah, unless he observe the rule that Balaam did, Num. xxii., 'The word that God putteth into my mouth, that shall I speak,' it is as weak as water, and as easy to be dispersed as the mist in the air.

(3.) He bringeth in a calendar of the time and place, amplifying his complaint against God by singular circumstances: *When I was in my country, dum in patria meâ*, I told thee this. He saith not in Jewry, but in mine own country, *in terrâ meâ*; as who should say, What needed my travel and pains into Assyria, a country unknown unto me, the going from mine own home where I was best at ease, and the compassing of seas and lands, to lose the fruits of my labours?

(4.) When I *was yet, adhuc*, in Judea; if I had spoken too late, I had spent my speech in vain; but I spake in season, when I was first called, before ever I stirred my foot, when all these troubles and mishaps might have been eschewed.

Therefore, idcirco; as if he had won the field, and evicted it by plain argument and proof. Thus he insolently disputeth, and concludeth against God, as if he reasoned with his neighbour; yet 'God is not as man, that we should answer him,' Job ix. And he doth not only resist, but *pervert, anteverteram*; as if the wisdom and providence of the Most High were inferior to his; and not by staying in Israel, but by going to Tarshish, nay, by flying to Tarshish, *Tharsum fugiendo*, as one that meant to leave the Lord behind him by the swiftness of his pace. If this be

not sin and sins, presumptuous, high-minded, high-speaking sins, I know not what sin is; and those that labour to assoil the prophet from sin in this his disobedience, what do they else but cover a naked body with fig-leaves, which either the heat of the day will wither, or the least blast of wind pull from it? If we wash his fault with snow-water, and purge his hands and his heart never so clean by our charitable defence of him, yet he hath plunged himself in the pit, and his own clothes, his own words, have laid open his imperfections unto us.

The remembrance of his native country, I doubt not, was sweet unto him. It was one of Jacob's conditions in his vow to God when he was sent to Haran, Gen. xx., that 'if God would be with him in the journey which he went, and give him bread to eat, and clothes to put on, so that he came again to his father's house in safety, then should the Lord be his God.' It was also a great probation and trial of Abraham's obedience, Gen. xii., when God sent him word to go from his own country, and from his father's house. And it seemeth unto me by this speech of Jonah, that he had some longing after the land of Israel, and thus spake to himself, Oh that I were as in the months past, when I stood upon mine own ground! 'that corner of the world best pleased me, *ille terrarum mihi præter omnes angulus ridet*; there I was in the midst of my friends and companions, here I am a stranger to strangers, with men of a foreign tongue and foreign conditions. But he remembereth that with pride and ostentation of himself, and to justify a fault, which without grief of heart, and shame of face, and stammering of tongue, he should not have remembered. Were those thy words in thine own country? The more thy sin, and thy shame too. Thou spakest against thy life; if God had not favoured thee, if his mercy had not held the bridle of thy tongue when it was in motion, instead of speaking folly, thou wouldst have proceeded to mere blasphemy. Canst thou remember the time and the place without blushing, without sinning thyself upon thy thigh, and asking forgiveness? Wretched man that I am! what have I done? Thou shouldst rather have cursed the ground in thine heart which thou then stoodest upon, than remembered it with vaunting, and bitterly condemned thy tongue for sending out such words of folly and indiscretion. But so is the manner of us all; we sin as we breathe, sin as we eat and drink, as daily and with as much delight. We commit sin with greediness, we are drunk with sin, and again thirst after it; yet we will justify ourselves, whether God be justified, yea or no; we will double sin, and bind two together, by hiding, excusing, translating sin; if there be any means in the world, any bush in paradise to fly unto, we will shroud ourselves. If we can put it to the woman, or rather by rebound to God, 'the woman,' not of mine own choosing, but 'which thou gavest me,' whereas indeed it was a woman of his own

choosing, even the concupiscence of his heart; or if we can lay it upon the serpent, if we can cover it with lying as Gehazi did, 'Thy servant went no whither,' 2 Kings v.; or colour it with pretence, as Saul did, 'I kept the best for the sacrifice;' if there be good intention, I meant well, or happy event, it succeeded well; or any other thing to be alleged, we will not omit it. Brethren, forsake these ways of dissembling, diminishing, self-liking, and set your desires wholly upon that which our Saviour prayed for, John xii., 'Father, glorify thy name.' His own name he would not say, that had a name above all names; and shall we seek to glorify and set forth ours? Whether we seek the glory of his name or not, the voice that came from heaven at that time shall be fulfilled, 'I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.' God is true; the unfaithfulness of man shall never be able to diminish his truth; his justice shall be justified in heaven and earth, and his name shall be sanctified, even when we study most to blaspheme it. There-

fore let us conclude with that general discharge and manumission that the blessed prophet giveth to the whole honour of mankind, Ps. cxv., 'Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name give the glory;' not we to our own earthly, corrupt, rotten names. And let it not repent us once to have given it away from ourselves, but again, and for evermore: 'Not unto us, not unto us.' And rather than thou shalt lose any part of thy glory, loss of credit and reputation be to all our doings and sayings, loss to our goods and good names, lands and lives, and whatsoever in this world is more dear unto us! This is the way to be justified, to justify God in his words and works, and to condemn ourselves; to cast away our righteousness as stained cloths, to renounce our wisdom as foolishness, our strength as weakness, our knowledge as ignorance, and to ascribe all unto him who is all in all, righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, glory, and peace unto us.

LECTURE XLII.

Therefore I prevented it to flee unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God.—JONAH IV. 2.

IN distributing the matter in hand, I have already acquainted you both that Jonas prayed, and what he prayed. In the latter of these two, 1, the substance of his petition, together with the reason subjoined; 2, the causes impulsive that moved him to make it. In those impulsives we weighed every moment, 1, his smooth insinuation, 'I pray thee, O Lord,' wherein, I doubt not, was hid some secret murmuring and repining, but all the rest bewray a manifest imperfection; 2, his speaking by demand, which is the manner of upbraiders; 3, the advancing of his own word and thought; 4, his fighting against God with circumstances of time and place; 5, his malapert concluding, as if he had overthrown God by plain argument; 6, his endeavour to prevent, as if he had been able to do it; and, lastly, not by going, but by flying, to Tarshish, as if by the swiftness of his feet he could have outrun him who rideth upon the wings of the cherubims. That which angered and discontented Jonah so much was the mercy of God, which Jonah knew; and upon that knowledge concluded with himself, that he was to decline the commandment, howsoever it fared in the mean time, either with his own safety or with the honour and will of him that sent him. But admit that the Lord was a merciful God, and would deal with the Ninevites otherwise than Jonah had preached; what then, was this a just cause to refuse the errand? Surely it seemeth so, for thereupon Jonah inferreth, 'Therefore I prevented,' &c.

There are two reasons brought why Jonah assayed to prevent this business: 1, because he was loath to be

accounted a false prophet, to have his credit impaired, to have his name called into question, as if he had run not being sent, and to be mistrusted in whatsoever he should afterwards speak. The cause, I confess, is vehement and weighty; for the least suspicion of heresy and falsehood, if anything in the world, maketh a man impatient, *suspicio hærescos; impatientem facit*; and he that dissembleth or putteth up one note of heresy without clearing himself, is not a Christian, *unam notam hærescos qui dissimulat, non est Christianus*. 'It is required of a dispenser that he be found faithful,' 2 Cor. iv., and the master of the house, Luke xii., asketh for 'a faithful servant whom he may set over his household.' The law of God is strict against false prophets, Deut. xiii. and xviii. His father and mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not live, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord; yea, his father and mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he thus prophesieth.' Zech. xiii., 'One shall say unto him, What are these wounds in thine hands? Then he shall answer, Thus was I wounded in the house of my friends.' The admonitions of Christ in the Gospel, and his disciples, are frequent against false prophets, false apostles, false Christs, wolves in sheep's clothing, lying spirits, anti-christs, mockers, seducers. How careful was Samuel, towards the end of his life, to approve his innocency both to God and man, through the whole course of his forepassed administration; 1. Sam. xii., first in the integrity of his life, 'Whom have I ever wronged?' afterwards in the sincerity of his office, 'God forbid that I should sin unto the Lord, and cease praying for you;

but I will shew you the good and the right way.' When Jeremiah saw that the 'word of the Lord was in reproach and derision, and that every man mocked him, his familiar friends watching for his halting, and saying, It may be he is deceived, so shall we prevail against him,' Jer. xx., you know what perplexities it drave him unto: first, he would not make mention of the Lord, nor speak any more in his name; afterward, he curseth the day of his birth, and the messenger that carried word of it. It is a memorable apology which Paul maketh in the Acts, chap. xx., for himself and his apostleship unto the clergy of Asia, appealing to their own knowledge, that he had taught both Jews and Grecians openly, and throughout every house, and that he had kept nothing back which was profitable, but shewed them all the counsels of God; he careth not for bonds, afflictions, death itself, 'so he may fulfil his course with joy, and the ministration which he had received of the Lord Jesus.' Consonant hereunto was that which he did in other churches: 2 Cor. ii., 'We are not as many who make merchandise of the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God; in the sight of God speak we in Christ.' Again, 2 Cor. iv., 'We walk not in craftiness, neither handle we the word of God deceitfully, but in the declaration of the truth, we approve ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God,' nay, to every conscience of men; *Πρός πᾶσαν συνείδησιν ἀνθρώπων*, that is, be the conscience good or bad, light or darkness, they shall have no just cause against us. What needeth longer discourse? The Son of God himself, John xviii. confesseth before Pilate, 'For this cause am I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I might bear witness unto the truth;' for when the truth of God is wronged, then the advice of Cyprian taketh place.* We must not hold our peace, lest it begin to savour, not of modesty and shamefacedness, but distrust of our cause, that we keep silence; and whilst we are careless to refute false criminations, we seem to acknowledge the crime. The truth of Christians is incomparably fairer than that Helen of the Greeks, and the martyrs of our church have fought more constantly in her quarrel against Sodom, than ever those nobles and princes for Helen against the Trojans.† There was never prophet, true nor false, in Israel nor Canaan, but took it a great reproach and stain unto them, to be touched with falsehood. Micah, whom neither the court-like persuasions of the eunuch that went for him, nor the consent of four hundred prophets, nor the favour of two kings, nor danger of his own head, could draw from the word of God, standeth firmly in defence of the truth, 1 Kings xxii. Zedekiah the false prophet (in seeming), as earnestly for the truth likewise, yet these as contrary one to the other, as

lyana and the dog. The one saith, 'Go to Ramoth-Gilead and prosper;' the other saith, 'If thou return in safety, the Lord hath not sent me.' The one, to express it in life, and by a visible sign, maketh horns of iron,' and telleth Ahab, 'With these thou shalt push at Aram till thou hast destroyed him;' the other hath also an image and a vision whereby to describe it: 'I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, like sheep that had no shepherd.' Yet both for the truth. Jeremiah and Hananiah, Jer. xxviii., agreeing like fire and water, the one bidding the king to go unto Babylon, the other advising the contrary; the one sending letters to the king and the nobles, the other pulling the yoke from the neck of Jeremiah, and saying 'Thus shall the yoke of Babel be broken;' the one affirming, the other denying, yet both are champions for the truth. The devil, 'a liar, and the father of lies, who abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him, who, when he speaketh a lie speaketh of his own;' that is, his natural and mother tongue is lying, John viii.; yet he 'transformeth himself into an angel of light, therefore it is no great thing,' saith the apostle, 2 Cor. xi., 'though his ministers transform themselves as though they were the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works.' Christ is truth indeed, antichrist truth pretended.* The daily exclamations of the Donatists in Africa against the orthodox and sound believers, was, that they were traitors against the holy books, *sacrorum librorum traditores*, and themselves the propugners of them. Augustine answereth, traitors, not by conviction, but by confiction and false accusation of their enemies, *non convicti sed conficti traditores*.† Dioscorus crieth out, himself an heretic, in the council of Chalcedon, I defend the opinions of the holy fathers; I have their testimonies, not by snatches, or at the second hand, but uttered in their own books; I am cast out with the holy fathers;‡ as if truth itself had been condemned in the condemnation of Dioscorus. So is it at this day. The prophets of Babylon, though they have received the mark of the beast in their foreheads, that all the world may know them to be such, yet, as Cyprian in his Epistle to Jubaianus wrote of the Novatian heretic, that after an apish manner he taketh unto him the authority of the church,§ so these, by the like imitation, take unto them the church, truth, Scriptures, fathers, all antiquity, consent, perpetuity unto the end of the world; and rather than the world shall think that they deal not truly in defence of truth, they spend both conscience, and sometimes life upon it. *O quantum tegmen est falsitatis?*|| O how great a show doth falsehood make?

* Veritas Christus, simulata veritas Antichristus.—*Origen*.

† 2 De bapt. cont. Donat 6.

‡ Ego defendo dogmata S. patrum, &c. Non obiter nec in transcurso.

§ Novatianus simiarum more arripit sibi auctoritatem ecclesiæ.

|| August. li. ii., cap. xvi, de morib. Manich.

* Tacere non oportet ne jam non verecundiæ sed diffidentie incipiat esse quod tacemus, &c.—*Trac. contra Demetr.*

† Incomparabiliter pulchrior est veritas christianorum quam Helena Grecorum.—*Aug. ad Hieron.*

For our own parts, who by the grace of God are that we are, put in charge for the gathering together of God's saints ; if we be harmed in our goods, or good names, or in the carriage of our lives, or in our wives and children, as sometimes the manner is, we account them our private wrongs, and easily may digest them. It hath been 'done in the green,' in all the times that have been ever of old, 'much more in the dry ; they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, much more those of the household.' 'We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus sake,' 1 Cor. iv., and for his sake we will endure it. 'We are fools for Christ's sake, and you are wise ; we are weak, and you are strong ; you are honourable, and we despised.' Be it so, but we will never abide that the honour of Christ Jesus himself shall be wounded through our loins, that the rebukes which fall upon us shall redound to his disgrace ; that his gospel and truth shall be defamed, the doctrine which we preach discredited, our calling reproached, which, though in vessels of earth, yet he hath sanctified and blessed to such a work (I mean the saving of souls), as by the policy of man, and all forcible engines, could never have been compassed. How useful a thing it is, upon every light surmise, not only to charge us for false prophets, but because we are prophets at all to condemn us, and to disdain us for that, wherein we are most to be magnified. I report me to that common phrase of speech, when, if men will shoot forth arrows against us with poisoned heads, even bitter and sharp words, they think it the greatest ignominy to call us priests or ministers ; herein, if the zeal of God's house and his holy ordinance consume us, if the maintenance of his cause and our calling bear us away, and make us forget the spirit of gentleness for a time, let no man blame us ; for is our office dishonoured amongst you ? We tell them, whosoever they be, as David told Michal, who scorned him for dancing before the ark, 2 Sam. vi., 'it was before the Lord, which chose me rather than thy father and all his house, and commanded me to be ruler over the people. And therefore I will play before the Lord, and I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be low in mine own sight.' It is before the Lord that we are priests and ministers, to serve in his house and at his table ; who hath chosen us rather than their fathers and whole stock to serve in this office. And therefore we will yet be more vile and low in our own eyes ; and rather than these names shall die and be out of use, we will wear them upon our garments ; and if you were sparing to yield them unto us, we would desire you, for Christ's sake, and as you tender our credit, not to term us otherwise. The Jews, who thought they mocked Christ when they 'bowed their knees and cried, Hail king of the Jews,' they knew not what they did, they did him an honour and favour against their wills, for he was king of the Jews and of the Gentiles also ; whatsoever their meaning is, who think to nick-

name us by objecting these names (which we will leave to the censuring of the righteous judge in heaven), we embrace them, honour them, and heartily thank God for them, and desire that they may be read and published in the ears of the world, as the most glorious titles of our commission. The angels of God are ministring spirits, and sent forth to minister for the elect's sake, Heb. i. *Ἀγγέλους καὶ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν*, &c., Math. xx. Christ Jesus himself 'came to minister, not to be ministered unto,' *Διακονῆσαι, οὐ διακονηθῆναι*. We will therefore say as the apostle said, 2 Cor. xi., *ministri sunt, plus ego* : are Christ and his angels, and all the apostles of Christ, ministers ? We speak like fools in the deeming of the world, we also will be ministers of the gospel ; and if it were possible, we would be more than ministers. O honourable ministry ! what government, rule, and dominion, is it not superior unto ?* I conclude with the same apostle : 'though I should boast somewhat more of our authority which is given unto us for edification and not for destruction, I should have no shame,' 2 Cor. x. By this discourse it may appear unto you, if this were a motive in the mind of Jonah, as some, both Jews and Christians conceive, how grievous it seemed unto him to be held in jealousy, for deceit in his calling, that any in the world should be able justly to tax him for a false prophet, and one that prophesied lies in the name of God ; notwithstanding, the matter is quickly answered, for whatsoever the event had been, the voice of the Lord was in reason to have been obeyed.

(1.) It was no new thing to be so accounted of ; it was the portion of Moses, and Samuel, and Elias before him, and thenceforth as many as ever spake, unto the days of John Baptist, which came with the spirit of Elias. They have drunk of the same cup ; and not only the servants, but the Son and heir hath been dealt with in the like manner : 'A prophet is not without honour save in his own country.' Jonah might have said to himself, as Elias in another case, 'I am no better than my fathers.' Thus were we born and ordained to 'approve ourselves in all kinds of patience, by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as deceivers, and yet, behold, we are true,' and deceive not, 2 Cor. vi. The world was never more fortunate for prophets than thus to reward them. Flatterers may break the heads of men with their smooth oils, but the wounds that prophets give have never escaped the hardest judgments.

(2.) Why should Jonah fear the opinion of men ? His duty being done, the very conscience of his fact, simply and truly performed, would have been a tower of defence and a castle unto him. 'It is a very small thing for me to be judged of you, or of man's judgment, for I know nothing by myself,' &c. ; *non ait, pro nihilo est, sed pro minimo*. He doth not say, It is

* O præclarum ministerium ! quo non id gloriosius magistratu.—Bern. ad Eugen.

nothing unto me, but 'it is a very small thing; I esteem my name somewhat, but I stand more upon my conscience. 'This is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and purity we have been conversant in the world,' 2 Cor. i. When the princes had given sentence upon Jeremiah, 'This man is worthy to die,' Jer. xxvi., he answered them, 'The Lord sent me to prophesy against this house; therefore amend your ways, that the Lord may repent him of the plague which he hath pronounced against you. As for me, behold, I am in your hands: do with me as you please. But know ye for certainty, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves; for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears.' This is the brazen wall, the soundness of the cause, and the assurance of the conscience, which all the malignant tongues cannot pierce through. Let the world be offended with us in these latest and sin-fullest times, because the tenor of our message is either too sharp, or too sweet, too hot, or too cold, for it can hardly be such as may please this wayward world. Let Satan accuse us before God and man day and night, yet if we can say for ourselves, as the apostle did, Rom. ix., 'We speak the truth in Christ, we lie not, our consciences bearing us witness in the Holy Ghost,' who is not only the witness, but the guide and inspirer of our consciences; it is a greater recompense than if all the kingdoms of the earth were given unto us.

(3.) He could not be ignorant that the truth of God might stand though the event followed not, because many of the judgments of God, as I have elsewhere said, are denounced with condition. In the place of Jeremiah before mentioned, chap. xxvi., when the priests and people so greedily thirsted after his death, 'some of the elders stood up and spake to the assembly in this sort: Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Zion shall be ploughed like a field, &c. Did Hezekiah put him to death? did he not rather fear the Lord, and prayed before the Lord, and the Lord repenteth him of the plague? Thus we might procure great evil against ourselves.' You know the collection those elders make, that the judgment was conditional; and upon their unfeigned repentance, might be otherwise interpreted. Thus much was Jonah not to learn; for why did he know that God was a merciful God, but to shew the effects of mercy? and the Ninevites themselves had an happy presumption thereof, as appeareth by their former speech.

(4.) He was not to stay long in Assyria if he had suspected their suspicions.

(5.) Lastly, there was no such thing to be feared; for by that public act of conversion, which all the orders and states of the city agreed upon, it is manifest that they received the preaching of Jonah as the

oracle of Almighty God: 'they believed God,' and his prophet, as the children of Israel, 1 Sam. xii., 'feared the Lord and Samuel exceedingly.' For what greater argument touching their good and reverent opinion of Jonah could they give than their speedy and hearty repentance, whereby they assured him that they esteemed not his word as a fable, or as a jesting song, but as a man sent from God, and fallen down from heaven, bringing a two-edged sword in his lips, either to kill or to save, so they received him. And surely, I rather think, that they blessed Jonah in their hearts, and that the dust of his feet was welcome and precious unto them, who by his travail and pains had taught them to fly from the anger of God that was now falling.

Others conceive the reason here implied, 'Therefore I prevented,' to be this: He saw that the conversion of the Gentiles was by consequence an introduction of the overthrow and casting out of the Jews, and that it would be fulfilled upon them, which is written in Deuteronomy, chap. xxxii.: 'They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God; they have provoked me to anger with their vanities: and I move them to jealousy with those which are no people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.' That is, if we will interpret it by this present subject, Nineveh shall repent and condemn Israel the more, for not hearkening to the voice of so many prophets. Jerome briefly thus: *dolet quòd pereat Israel, non quòd Gentes serrentur*, It grieveth him, not that the Gentiles are saved, but that Israel perisheth. Our Saviour, we all know, would not 'give the bread of children to dogs;' and he was 'not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;' and he 'wept over Jerusalem,' which he never did over Tyre and Sidon; and the prerogative of the Jews was, either only or principally, that repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto them. I remit you to the 10th of the Acts to see what labour was made to draw Peter to the Gentiles, whom he called common and unclean things; and in the 11th of the same book, they of the circumcision contended with him about it, saying, Thou wentest in unto the uncircumcised, and hast eaten with them. It might be his further grief that he only amongst so many prophets should be singled out to declare the ruin of his people by the uprising of strangers; to bear the envy of the fact, and to be the messenger of the unwelcome news that ever Israel received. For he is the first that must bring Judaism to contempt, and make it manifest to the world, that his countrymen at home are unfruitfully occupied, and troubled about many things, sacrifices, sacraments, washings, cleanings, and the like; when others abroad, observing that one thing is necessary, with less labour and business came to be saved. Luther, comparing the times wherein Jonah and himself lived, openeth the case by familiar explication thus: The Jews accounted themselves, by a constant

opinion and claim, the peculiar people of God; the Romish, themselves the only Catholics; they thought there could be no salvation without observing the law of Moses and the rites of the Jewish synagogue, nor these without observing the ordinances and ceremonies of the Romish Church; they cried, 'Pour out thy wrath upon the nations, and upon the people that have not called upon thy name;' these held them for heretics, not worthy the air they drew, that joined not themselves unto them. Now, lastly, as it was an odious office in these latter days to preach unto any nation or city under heaven, that the foolishness of preaching, and only Christ crucified was able to save souls, without creeping to crosses, kneeling, knocking, kissing, sprinkling, censuring, ringing, fasting, gadding, with such like toys, and the conversion of any part of Christendom with less circumstances could not but be a shame, prejudice, and condemnation unto Rome in some sort, that having greater helps and furtherances to God, went further from him. So the reclaiming of Nineveh by one, when Jewry had many prophets; by the denouncement of one, when Jewry had many prophecies; by a single and short commination, when Jewry had the whole law and testimonies; by a compendious course of repentance, when they fasted, and tithed, and sacrificed, and cried, *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord*, and I know not what; could not less be than a reproach to the people which was so far backward, and an exception to their whole form of religion, wherein they no better profited. It had been no marvel if, when Jonah returned unto Israel, the hand of his own father and mother had been first against him for doing that wrong to his people, as they adjudged their bodies to the fire, and their souls they delivered to Satan, who opened their mouth against the Church of Rome. Whatsoever his reasons were, whether the care of his credit, or whether affection to his countrymen, drew him away to that recusancy, both which are but particular and partial respects, when God commanded otherwise, his fault is in no way excusable by reason, but that God of his grace is ready to give pardon and relaxation to all kind of sin.

Therefore I prevented. Thy ground is unstable, Jonah, thy argument unsound; thou usest but a fallacy to deceive thyself, thou hadst no reason so to do; the will of the Lord of hosts, which is absolute righteousness, a reason beyond all reasons, withstood it. Thou thoughtest to prevent the Lord; thou couldst not. The winds saw thy haste and stayed thee, the sea held thee back, the fish made resistance against thee, the bars of the earth shut thee up; and if these had failed in their mysteries, the wisdom of God would have invented other stays. He could have stopped thee in thy course as he stopped Paul in his journey, by dazzling thine eyes that thou shouldst not have found thy way; or as he stopped Lot's wife in her way, by making thee a pillar of salt or some other rock of

stone, a monument of contradiction to the latest age of the world. He could have dried up thy hands, tied up thy feet; in iron? no, but in the bands of death, never to have stirred again. Let all the wisdom of man beware of the like prevention, lest it prevent itself thereby of all the blessings of God, use of native country, comfort of kinsmen and friends, life of body, happiness of soul, as Jonah might have done, if the mercies of God had not favoured him. When we are ignorant of the will of God, let us lay our hands upon our mouths, and upon our hearts too, till God grant wisdom that we may deserv it; when we are doubtful, let us inquire, deliberate, ask counsel of the law and testimony of God; but when it is clearly revealed, by open and express commandment, let us not then pause upon the matter, and much less resist, and least of all prevent, unless, by making a proof and experiment of our own wit, as Jonah did, we will hazard that loss which the gain of the whole world shall never be able to recompense.

For I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil. Jonah proceedeth to that which was the ground and inducement to his rebellion. For the order of the scripture is this: God is a merciful God for many respects, and one part of office of that mercy is to repent him of the evil; that is, to change his sentence, in the last words of the sentence. This Jonah knew, he saith, and upon that knowledge resolved long since, upon his resolution, laboured to prevent it. We are now come to that which, if Jonah had rightly conceived of, it would never have grieved him to see the bowels of pity opened and enlarged towards his poor brethren. Did Jonah know that God was gracious, merciful, slow to anger, of great goodness, repenting him of the evil? (I will render these variations in as many words more); did Jonah know that God was gracious in affection,* merciful in effect, long-suffering in waiting for the conversion of sinners, of great kindness in striking short of their sins, repenting him of the evil in vouchsafing mercy to sinners, and remitting their misdeeds? Did Jonah know that God was gracious in himself by nature, merciful towards his creatures by communication, long-suffering before he inflicteth vengeance, of great goodness in the number and measure of his stripes, penitent in the stay and intermission thereof; and is it so strange and offensive unto him, that God should spare Nineveh, a thing which his nature and manner was so inured unto? The words, though different in sound, and the power and signification of them not all one, yet in the principle they all agree, and knit their souls together in the commendation of God's mercy. The first, *gracious*, importeth a liberal disposition, frankness of heart, gratuitous, undeserved benevolence, not hired, and much less constrained, but voluntarily

* Benignus affectu, misericors effectu, &c.—*Glossa in Joel. ii.*

and freely bestowed. The second, *merciful*, a commiseration over other men's miseries, motherly bowels, tender compassion towards those that suffer affliction: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' 'We have not a high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities;' 'I would not the death of a sinner.' It goeth to his heart when he is driven and enforced to take punishment. The third, *long-suffering*, bewrayeth a nature hard to conceive, and not willing to retain wrath; and when it seemeth to be angry, not angry indeed, and using rather a fatherly scourge of correction, than a rod of revenge. The fourth, *of great goodness*, declareth that there is no end of his goodness; and although he is somewhat in all things, nay, all in all, yet he is much more in mercy, and more than in other his properties: * for 'his mercy is over all his works,' to the good, evil, friends, enemies; and that when he giveth, he giveth with an open hand, not sparingly, more than our tongues have asked, or our hearts ever thought of. Lastly, *he repenteth him of the evil*; that is, altereth the word that is gone out of his lips, and sheweth how easy he is to be entreated, that the rod may be pulled forth of his hands even when he is smiting us.

Paul, in his voyage towards Rome, speaketh of a certain place which was called 'The Fair Havens,' *Καλὰὶ Λιμὲνες*, Acts xxvii. We are now arrived at the fair havens; they are in number many, and for the harbour and road of a wearied sea-beaten conscience, which hath long been tossed in a sea of wretchedness, more comfortable and safe than ever was the bosom of a mother to her young infant. Happy is the soul that landeth at these havens; and blessed be the God of heaven, which hath given us a card of direction, to lead us thereunto: the witness of his holy word, written and sealed, that can never deceive us. For these are † the words of the ignorant, but he that knew them bare record, and his witness is true; they are the words of a prophet, who spake not by his private motion, but as he was moved by the Holy Ghost; nay, they are not the words of one, but of many prophets, that in the mouths of sufficient witnesses they might be confirmed. Jonah reciteth them in this place; Joel repeateth them in the second of his prophecy; David hath the same thrice in his Psalms, either all, or the most part of them, Ps. lxxxvi., ciii., and cxlv.; Moses in the 14th of Numbers bringeth in their perfect catalogue; nay, they are not the words either of Moses, or David, or the prophets, but of God himself. The fountain and well-head from whence they have all drawn them, as Moses there confesseth, is the proclamation which God made, Exod. xxxiv., when he descended in the cloud, and delivered his name in this manner: 'The Lord, the Lord, strong, merciful, and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant

in goodness, in truth, reserving mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquities, transgression, and sin.' 'Ho, all ye that thirst, come to the waters' of comfort. Here are wells enough to be drawn at: drink at the first fountain, *the Lord is gracious*; and if your appetite be not there quenched, go to the second, *the Lord is merciful*; and if you be yet thirsty, go to the third, *the Lord is slow to anger*; and thence to the fourth and fifth, *bibite, et inebriamini*, drink till yourselves are more than satisfied. Do you not read, 1 Sam. xvii., of five smooth stones which David chose out of a brook to fling at Goliath? Here is the brook (my brethren), the history of this prophet, and these are the five smooth stones, which are now proposed; let them not lie in the brook unhandled and unoccupied, but put them in your scrip as David did, bear them in your minds, lay them up in your hearts, apply them to your consciences, that they may be ready at hand against the face of the Philistine, against the force of Satan, if ever he step forth to desire the Lord of hosts, or any Israelite in his camp. We find but three temptations, Mat. iv., that Satan bent against the Son of God, differing both in the place and in their strength: the first was upon the ground, of turning stones into bread; the second upon the pinnacle of the temple, of casting the body down; the third upon an exceeding high mountain, of committing idolatry. The first concerned his power; the second his life; the third his conscience: and our Saviour refelled him in all these with three several answers. But here we have matter and answer enough for more than three temptations: for if Satan object unto us lower, and upon the ground, as it were, that God is a righteous judge, full of indignation and impatience, and not making the wicked innocent; answer him, that withal he is a gracious God, and cannot deny himself. If he climb higher in temptation, as it were to the pinnacle of the temple, and reply upon thee; but thou art unworthy of that grace, because thou art full of iniquity and unrighteousness; answer him, that withal he is a merciful God, and sheweth greatest pity where there is most need of it. If he assault thee a third time, and think to overthrow thee, as it were, upon the top of a mountain, by telling thee that thou hast long continued in thy sins, that thou broughtest them from the womb, and they have dwelt with thee to thy grey hairs; answer him, that God is as much commended for his long-sufferance. If yet his mouth be not stopped, but he maintain a further plea against thee, that thy sins are as the sins of Manasseh, more than the sands of the sea in number, and their burden such that they are gone over thine head, like mighty waters; answer him, that the goodness of the Lord is as much, and that there is no comprehension of his loving-kindness. If, lastly, he object that judgment hath begun at thine house, and to put thee out of doubt that thou art not in the favour of God, he hath smitten thy body with sore diseases, thy soul with agonies, thy family with

* Major est proprietates bonitatis, quam proprietates ultionis.
—*Hebræorum sapientes*.

† Qu. 'are not'?—Ed.

orbities and privations; tell him for full conclusion, that he can also repent him of the evil, and cease to punish, and leave as many blessings behind him when his pleasure is. It was never the meaning of God that these words should be spoken in the winds, and blown away like empty bladders; they were spoken and written no doubt for the use of sinners. This is the name which God hath proclaimed to the world, and whereby he would be known to men, that if ever we came before him, we might speak our minds in the confidence and trust of that amiable name. Thus Moses understood it, for as soon as the Lord had ended his speech, Moses applied it to the present purpose, for he bowed to the earth, and worshipped God and said, Exod. xxxiv., 'O Lord, I beseech thee, pardon our iniquities and sins, and take us for thine inheritance;' likewise in the 14th of Numbers, 'And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my Lord be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, The Lord is slow to anger,' &c., referring himself to the speech and proclamation which God had used upon the mount. We are the children of our Father which is in heaven; if, therefore, it be an honour unto us to be reputed his sons, let us follow our Father's steps, and bear some part of his heavenly image. Let us not seek to be like unto him in the arm of his strength,

nor in the brain of his wisdom, nor in the finger of his miracles, but in his bowels of pity and tender compassion. Let lions, and bears, and tigers in the forest be cruel towards their companions; let them bite and be bitten, devour and be devoured again; let dogs grin; let unicorns push with their horns; let Scythians and cannibals, because they know not God, not know what belongeth to humanity and gentleness; but let Christians love their brethren even as God hath loved them, and remit one the other their offences, as Christ hath freely forgiven the sins of his church. Let those reprobate-minded, Rom. i., carry to their graves with them, and to the bottom of hell, where all hatred must end, that mark which the Holy Ghost hath scored upon their brows, that they are *ἀσποργοί, ἀσπονδοί, ἀνελεήμονες*, 'without natural affection, not fit for society, void of pity;' but let the example of the most holy Trinity, the God of peace, the Prince of peace, the Spirit of peace, that one God of all consolation, rich in mercies, be ever before our eyes, that as we have received freely, so we may freely return grace, mercy, long-suffering, abundance of kindness, revocation of our wrongs and injuries begun, to all our brethren in the flesh, but especially to Christ's chosen and peculiar members.

LECTURE XLIII.

Therefore now, O Lord, take, I beseech thee, my life, &c.—JONAH IV. 3.

THAT Jonah prayed, and how he prayed, in what sort expostulating with God, justifying his offence, and abusing his knowledge of the mercy of God, to utter the malice and cruelty of his own heart, we have already seen, and considered the reasons which are supposed to have moved him to that undutiful and uncharitable course: either the care of his own credit, which he should not have stood upon to the derogation of the honour of God, when the angels of heaven sing glory unto him; or affection to his country, which persuasion was as weak to have drawn him to obedience, seeing that the Israel of God might have been in Nineveh as well as in Jewry, because there are Jews inwardly and in the spirit, as truly as outwardly and in the letter; and those that hear the word of Christ are more kindly his brethren and sisters, than those that are affined unto him in the flesh. Upon these premises, be they strong or weak, is inferred the conclusion, including his request to God, 'Therefore now, O Lord,' &c. A man so contraried and crossed in mine expectation, how can I ever satisfy my discontented mind, but by ending my life! And he addeth a reason or confirmation drawn from utility, and amplified by comparison, It is not only good for me to die, but 'better to die than to live.'

The force of anger we have in part declared before. It rageth not only against men made of the same mould, but against God. Let the blood of Julian thrown up into the air, and together with his blood, blasphemy against the Son of God, witness it: nor only against those that have sense and understanding, but against unreasonable and unsensible creatures. As Xerxes wrote a defying letter to Athos, a mountain of Thrace:* Mischievous Athos, lifted up to heaven, make thy quarries and veins of stone passable to my travel, or I will cut thee down and cast thee into the midst of the sea! Nor only against those things which are without us, but against ourselves. As in this place, the anger of Jonah beginneth to take fire against the Ninevites, proceedeth as far as it dareth against God, and endeth in itself.

In one word, that which Jonah requested, though spoken by circumlocution, and more words than one, is, that he may die. 'Take away my soul from me,' *aufer animam meam*. For what is life, but, as the philosopher defineth it, the composition and colligation of the soul to the body? *Σύνθεσις καὶ σύνδεσμος ψυχῆς σώματι, τὸ ζῆν.*† In the 2d of Genesis, the Lord 'formed man of the dust of the ground:' there is his matter; and 'breathed in his face the breath of life,

* Plutarc. de cohiben. irac.

† Arist.

and the man was a living soul:’ there is his form and perfection. And what is death on the other side, but the dissociation and severing of these two parts, or the taking of the soul from the body, according to the form of words in this place? God telleth the rich man in the Gospel, who was talking of larger buildings, when the building within him was near pulling down, and thought he had goods enough for his soul to delight in, when he had not soul enough to delight in his goods, ‘Thou fool, this night, τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν, do they require and redemand thy soul;’ that is, this night thou must die. Elias, in the first of Kings and nineteenth, useth the same phrase in the wilderness, ‘It sufficeth, Lord; take away my soul from me.’ Let me not longer live to see the misery that Jezebel hath threatened unto me. As when you take away structure and fashion from an house, temple, or tabernacle, there remaineth none of all these, but a confused and disordered heap of stones, timber, iron, mortar, and the like; so when the soul is taken from the body, either of man or beast, there remaineth but a carcase. Therefore the apostle, 2 Cor. v., calleth death the dissolution, or ‘pulling down of our earthly house,’ Ἀπόθεσιν τοῦ σκηνώματος; Peter, the deposition or laying along of a tabernacle, 2 Pet. i. And our Saviour bade the Jews, John ii., speaking of his bodily death, ‘Destroy this temple, and in three days I will rear it up again.’

There are many phrases throughout the Scripture abroad, whereby the terror of death is lenified and tempered unto us, and the very nature thereof wholly changed. For whereas the nature of death is to kill, and to spoil the being of living things, by these we may gather that, touching the elect, death itself is slain, and deprived of its own being. God telleth Abraham, Gen. xv., that his seed should be a stranger in a land that was not theirs, but himself should ‘go to his fathers in peace.’ What is that? Shall he travel again, as he did, to Canaan, or Egypt? No; but he ‘shall be buried in a good age,’ not prevented by untimely death, nor carried into captivity, but laid in the grave amongst his ancient friends and acquaintance: a thing which a man would desire with much suit if he were held from it. To Moses his servant he altereth the phrase. For, Num. xxvii., he shall be ‘gathered to his people,’ as one that were scattered and strayed from the rest of the flock; and, Deut. xxxi., he must ‘sleep with his fathers,’ and take a comfortable rest with others that have laboured in their times. David, beginning as it were where Moses leaveth, calleth it ‘the rest of the flesh in hope,’ Ps. xvi. Isaiah addeth the place, and noteth where that rest shall be, chap. xxvi.: ‘They shall enter into their chambers, and shut the doors unto them, and hide themselves for a time.’ But in the fifty and seventh of his prophecy, more perfectly, speaking of the deliverance of the righteous, ‘they rest in their beds.’ So, first, they go to their fathers, as men left behind

to the company of strangers; after their going, they are gathered unto them, that as there was but one fold of the living, so there may be but one fold and condition of the dead; after their gathering unto them, they sleep and take their rest, the visions of their heads not making them afraid, nor breaking their quiet, as in their life time, not upon a stone, as Jacob did, nor in the tent of an enemy, as Sisera, but in their chambers and upon their beds, the doors being close about them, and their bones delivered from former disturbances. But all these concern the body alone. The sweetest and joyfullest of them all (I mean to the Lord’s inheritance) is the surrendering of the soul into the Lord’s custody and protection, and the resigning up of the spirit to him that is ‘the Lord of the spirits of all flesh,’ Num. xvi. So was the prayer, or rather bequest, of David, Ps. xxxi., leaving his crown to Solomon, his body to worms and rottenness, or to their ‘lodging in darkness,’ as Job called it: ‘Lord, into thy hands I lay down, or pawn (*depono*), my spirit.’ And Christ, of the seed of David, commended his spirit to none other keeper, nor in other terms, Παραθήσμαι, Luke xxiii. And that you may know how uniform and like itself the Spirit of God is, the blessed apostle keepeth the same style, 2 Tim. i.: ‘These things I suffer, but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have trusted, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep my pledge that I have committed unto him (Παραθήκην) against that day.’ To those that must die, more surely than they live (for Joshua, chap. xxiii., calleth it ‘the way and custom of the whole earth’), can there be a greater comfort than this, that when ‘the dust shall return to the earth as it was,’ and yet in fulness of time to be formed into a new Adam as that first original dust, ‘the spirit returneth to God that gave it,’ Eccles. xii., and that we may as boldly go to our Maker as ever Paul went to Carpus at Troas, to leave his cloak and books and parchment in his hands, so we to commend the richest jewels we have unto his fidelity, and to say with his holy martyr, Acts vii., ‘Lord Jesus, receive our spirits’?

But to cease from further discussion of the phrase, we may a little inquire whether it were lawful for Jonah to wish for death. Many, I grant, oppressed with misery, and not able or willing to bear their cross, do little less than ‘call to mountains and rocks to fall upon them,’ and to end their wretched days. I am sure they complain that ‘light should be given unto those men whom God hath hedged in,’ and they ‘rejoice for gladness when they can find the grave.’ For then, they say, we should have lain and been in quiet; we should have slept then, and been at rest, Job iii.* As if they had been born with any other condition than to walk a pilgrimage of few and evil days; or as if the evil day which the apostle warneth

* Mors miserorum portus.—*Cæsar*. Τῶν λυπηρῶν ἀνάδυσσις.—*Theophrast*.

us of, Eph. vi., were not the whole course of our life, partly through him who is principally evil, Ο πόνηρος, breathing out his malice against us, partly through evil men, 2 Thes. iii., infesting and disturbing our peace; but rather through the evil of sin procuring wrath, and the evil of adversity ensuing thereupon. In consideration of which troubles of life it was that Simonides, being asked, as Jacob was by Pharaoh, how long he had lived, made answer, But a little, though many years, *parum etsi multos annos*. For if we remember how much of our better and vital life goeth away in agues and feebleness, and other the like annoyances, we may seem perhaps old men, and are indeed but children.* It was a worthy answer that Artabanus gave to Xerxes, the mighty emperor of Persia, when viewing his huge army of at least a thousand thousand men, drinking whole rivers dry as they went, and commanding both hills and seas to give way unto them, he wept, because it came to his mind that within the space of an hundred years not one of that goodly company should be found alive. I would that were the worst, saith he. For we endure much more sorrow by retaining life. Neither is there any one of these, nor of all men living besides, so happy upon the earth, that he doth not once and often cast in his mind how much more pleasure there were in dying than in living. As our life is replenished with all kind of misery, so death, by nature, is an enemy to life, which both man and beast fly from. All things desire being. And God never created death amongst his good works. It came partly through the envy of the devil, who lied unto man, saying, 'Ye shall not die,' partly through the transgression of Adam, and partly through the anger of God rendering the right stipend due to sin. Whereupon he threatened it as a punishment, Genesis the second, 'The day wherein thou shalt eat of the forbidden fruit, thou shalt die the death.' Afterwards, when the law had been given, Moses, in the name of God, protesteth unto them, 'by heaven and earth, that he had set before them life and death, and wisheth them to choose life that they might live, they and their seed,' Deut. xxx. Death is called an enemy in open terms: 1 Cor. xv., 'The last enemy, Εσχάτος ἔχθρος, that shall be subdued, is death.' But who loveth an enemy simply and for his own sake? And amongst other blessings betrothed to the elect of God, one is, that 'death shall be no more,' Revelation xxi. And to reason with Augustine,† *Si nulla esset mortis amaritudo, non esset magna martyrum fortitudo*, if there were no bitterness and discontentment in death, the constancy of martyrs were not great. Therefore, when Elijah heard the word of Jezabel, 'The gods do so and much more unto me, if to-morrow by this time I make not thy life as the life of one of those whom thou hast slain,' it is said that 'he arose, and went for his life

to Beersheba,' 1 Kings. xix. How did David plead for his life: Psalm xxx., 'What profit is there in my blood, when I go down into the pit? shall the dust give thanks unto thee, or shall it declare thy truth?' as if he would move the Lord, for his own good and glory's sake, not to cut him off; but afterwards, with respect to himself, 'Stay thine anger a while, that I may recover my strength before I go hence and am no more seen.' And, being assured elsewhere of that request granted him, he sang joyfully to his soul within: Psal. xxxix., 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul: the Lord hath been merciful or beneficial unto thee.' Psal. cxvi. 'Because thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling, and I shall walk before the Lord in the land of the living.' I speak not of the moan that Hezekiah made, Isa. xxxviii., how he turned his face to the wall after the prophet gave him warning of his death, 'and prayed unto the Lord, and wept sore, and like a crane or a swallow, so did he chatter, and mourn like a dove, and lifting his eyes up on high, said, O Lord, it hath oppressed me, comfort me;' and after his life was 'freed from the pit of corruption,' as it were, leapt for joy. The living, the living he shall confess thee, as I do this day. When the beloved and blessed Son of God, he that had power to lay down his life and to take it up again, against that time, 'began to be very sad and grievously vexed, λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, Mat. xxvi.; and in the presence of Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, let not to disclose his passion: 'My soul is wonderfully heavy unto death.' And but that the will of his Father was in the midst of his bowels, and his obedience stronger than death, he would have begged three times more that the cup might have passed from his lips. Likewise, John xii., when Andrew and Philip told him of certain Greeks that were desirous to see him, he, seeing an image of his death before his eyes, witnessed unto them, saying, 'Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour;' and but that another respect called him back, 'therefore I came,' and 'Father, glorify thy name,' he would still have continued in that prayer. *Quis enim vult mori? prorsus nemo, et ita memo, &c.* For who is willing simply to die? Surely no man! And so, undoubtedly, no man, that it was said to blessed Peter, Another shall guide thee and lead thee to the place whither thou wouldst not go, John xxi.* Peter would not unless he were carried. But what, then, was the reason that the apostle desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which, he said, was best of all? Πολλῶ μᾶλλον κρείσσον, Philip. i.; and that the saints which were racked, Heb. xi., 'cared not to be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection;' that Peter and Andrew welcomed their crosses, *Salve crux*, as they were wont their dearest friends, and embraced them in their arms, and saluted them with kisses of

* Infantes sumus et senes videmur.—Mart.

† De verb. Apost., ser. xxxiii., Ὡδῆναι θανάτου, Acts. ii.

* August. de verb. Apost., ser. xxxiii.

peace? that Ignatius called for fire and sword, *veniat ignis*, and the teeth of wild beasts? and other martyrs of Christ went to their deaths with cheerfulness, rejoicing, and singing, and not less than ran to the stake, as if they had run for a garland? We may easily answer, partly from the former authorities, that they might 'be with Christ,' and that they might 'obtain a better resurrection.' But the apostle in excellent terms decideth the question in the second to the Corinthians, chap. v, *Ου θήλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι*, 'We will not be unclothed' and stripped of our lives, we take no pleasure or joy therein; but we 'would be clothed upon.' We have no other means to get that better clothing than by putting off this, or that upon this, 'that mortality may be swallowed up of life, and corruption of incorruption, so that their thoughts subsist not in death, but have a further reach, because they know it to be the highway which must bring them to felicity. And it is no small persuasion unto them when they think that, by the ending of their lives, they make an end of sinning. For, whilst they are in the flesh, they 'see a law in their members striving against the law of their mind, and subjecting them to the law of sin,' Rom. vii. Therefore they cry, as he did, 'Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' In which postulations, notwithstanding, they evermore submit themselves to the straightest and equallest rule of the will of God, desiring no otherwise to have their wishes accomplished than with that safe and wary condition, *Si Dominus volet*, If the Lord be pleased with them, James iv. And as they regard their own good therein, so because the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church,—and that which is fire to their flesh and bones, is water to the gospel, to make it flourish,—and a good confession witnessed (1 Tim. vi.) before the wicked tyrants of the world, doth good service to the truth in this respect; also they are not sparing of themselves, 'that Christ may be magnified in their bodies, whether it be by their life or death,' Philip i. Now Jonah hath more* of all these forenamed ends to allege for himself why he desireth to die, neither the glory of God, nor the good of his brethren, nor profit of his own soul; but in a peevish and froward mood, because his mind is not satisfied, and to avoid some little shame, or to rid himself from the grievances of life, which are not reasons sufficient, he will needs die and follow the stream of his foolish appetite, with some such like affection as Dido at her departure expreseth, *Sic sic jurat ire sub umbras*, Thus I am disposed to die, and not otherwise.

But to leave generalities. Let us look a while into the parts of his wish. 1. It is his great fault, as Joab offered his treachery to Abner under the pretence of a friendly and peaceable parley, and Judas his treason to Christ under the colour of a kiss, so to tender his impatient fits unto the Lord, the searcher of his

* Qu. 'none'?—ED.

heart and reins, under the nature and form of prayer, *tolle quæso*. His anger at another time, and in another action, when he had sequestered his soul from the King of heaven and heavenly things, had been more sufferable. But then to pray when he was thus angry, or then to be angry when he came to pray, and not to slake the heat thereof, but still to heap on outrageous words, as hot as juniper coals, can no way be excused. Yet thus he doth. The fire is kindled in his heart, and the sparkles fly forth of the chimney, as Solomon spake, undutiful speeches towards the majesty of God, and most unnatural against his own life. Surely 'the wrath of man doth not accomplish the righteousness of God,' James i.; it is very far from it.

2. Consider his haste, how headlong he goeth in his rash and unadvised request. For as if the case required some such speed, as the prophet had in charge for the anointing of Jehu, 2 Kings ix., 'Pour the box upon his head, and say, Thus saith the Lord, and then open the door, and flee without tarrying,' no sooner hath he opened his lips or conceived his suit in his mind, but the Lord must presently and without delay effect it. It appeareth in that he urgeth the matter so closely at God's hands. Now, therefore, *nunc ergo*, since I have proved it, and I am not able to bear the burthen of my grief, nor longer endure the tediousness of my life, do it without protraction of time. It was a goodly and sober oration that Judith made to her people of Bethulia, Judith viii., touching their oath to deliver the city to the enemy within five days, unless the Lord sent help: And now, who are you that have tempted God this day, and set yourselves in the place of God among the children of men? Nay, my brethren, provoke not the Lord our God to anger; for if he will not help us within these five days, he hath power to defend us when he will, even every day, or to destroy us before our enemies. Do not you, therefore, bind the counsels of the Lord: for God is not as man, that he may be threatened; neither as the son of man, that he may be called to judgment. Therefore let us wait for salvation of him, and call upon him to help us, and he will hear our voice if it please him. Thus we should teach and exhort ourselves in all our prayers not to set him a time, as the disciples did about the kingdom of Israel, 'When, Lord?' or, as Jonah doeth in this place, 'Now, Lord;' or Then, Lord; but when it pleaseth him. And as the psalm adviseth us, 'Oh tarry the Lord's leisure, hope in the Lord and be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart' when he thinketh good, Ps. xvii. There are many reasons why God deferreth to grant our petitions: (1.) to prove our faith, whether we will seek unlawful means, by gadding to the woman of Endor, or the idol of Ekron, or such like heathenish devices; (2.) to make us thoroughly privy to our own infirmities and disabilities, that we may the more heartily embrace his strength; (3.) to strengthen and con-

firm our devotion towards him, for delay extendeth our desires, *desideria nostra dilutione extenduntur*; (4.) to make his gifts the more welcome and acceptable to us, *desiderata diu dulcius obtinentur*; or, (5.) it is not expedient for us to have them granted too soon; or, lastly, there is some other cause, which God hath reserved to his own knowledge. Now this petition, which Jonah is so forward and hasty in, is contrary to all reason. For 'are not the days of man determined?' Job. xiv.; 'is not the number of his months with the Lord? and hath not the Lord set him bounds which he cannot pass?' Doth not another say, 'My times are in thine hands, O Lord?' Ps. xxi.; why, then, doth Jonah so greedily desire to shorten his race, and to abridge that number of time which his Creator hath set him?

3. We commonly pray that it will please the Lord to give, not to take away; and to bestow something upon us, not to bereave us of any blessing of his. Solomon, 1 Kings iii., beseecheth him for wisdom: 'Give unto thy servant an understanding heart;' and *da mihi intellectum*, 'give me understanding,' was the usual request of his father David, Ps. cxix. We say in our daily prayer, 'give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses;' that is, give us remission of all our sins. That that is said to descend from above, from the Father of lights, is *δότης ἀγαθῆ* and *δωρημα πέλσειον*, giving and gift, James i., not taking away. For God hath a bountiful nature, and as liberal an hand; 'he openeth it at large, and filleth every living thing with his blessing.' He asketh of every creature in the world, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' and of us that have received the first fruits of his Spirit, and to whom he hath given his Son, What is there in the world that you may not receive? But Jonah is earnest with God, against the accustomed manner of prayer, and the course of God's mercies, to take something from him.

4. But what? *Aufer opprobrium*? 'Take from me shame and rebuke, whereof I am afraid,' as David besought? *Vanitatem et verba mendacia longè fac à me*. 'Vanity and lying words put far from me,' Ps. cxix. *Aufer iniquitatem servi tui*, 'Take away the sin of thy servant,' when he had numbered the people? 1 Chron. xxi. Or, as Job prayed, chap. ix., *auferat à me virgam suam*, 'let him take away his rod from me'? Or as Pharaoh requested Moses and Aaron to pray to the Lord for him, Exod. viii., to 'take away the frogs;' and afterwards, when the grasshoppers were sent, to 'take away from him that one death only'? Exod. x. No; *his life*, his darling that lived and lay within his bosom; which, because it is the blessing of God, good in nature, and fit for the exercise of goodness, the strongest man living is loath to depart from, *vir fortis etiam cum moritur dolet*. The other which I spake of were plagues to the land, banes to the conscience, hindrances to salvation, and

therefore it was no marvel if God were humbly entreated to remove them. But Pharaoh in his right wits, nor scarcely Orestes being mad, would ever have desired that his life should be taken from him. Who ever became a suitor to God to take away the life of his ox or ass, because they were given him for labour? much less of his wife, which was made an helper unto him; or his child, a comforter. Or who ever hath entreated him to give him evil for good, a scorpion for a fish, a serpent for an egg, stones for bread? Jonah is found thus senseless, scant worthy of that soul which he setteth so light by. He should have desired God to have 'taken away the stony heart out of the midst of him,' Ezek. xxxvi., and not *scelus de terra*, Ezek. xxiii., or *spiritum immundum de terrâ*, Zech. xiii., 'wickedness out of the land,' or an 'unclean spirit from the earth,' but a wicked and unclean spirit from out his own breast, whereby he was driven to so frantic a passion.

5. He will also prove (which is the reason annexed to the petition) that 'it is better, for him to die than to live,' *præstat mori*; and he proveth it by comparing two opposites, death and life, the horror of one of which he should rather have condemned, than the sweetness and comfort of the other. Thales on a time giving forth, incredibly and strangely enough, that there was no difference between life and death, one presently closed upon him, *Cur ergo non moreris?* Why, then, diest thou not? Because, saith he, there is no difference; albeit it appeareth sufficiently that he shewed a difference by refusing it. But the paradox which Jonah here allegeth addeth much to that of Thales. For, he affirmeth in peremptory terms, having them laid before his eyes to compare together, and to make his choice, *melius mihi mori*, 'death is better than life.' Howbeit, he saith not simply, it is better to die than to live, but better *for me*. One as wise as ever Jonah was, who had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen revelations, in this very question between life and death, gave no other answer or solution unto it but *per hoc verbum nescio*, by this word, 'I know not,' *καὶ τί αἰζήσομαι ὃ γινώσκω*, 'and what to choose I know not,' Philip. i. And he confessed that he was 'straitened or pinched between these two,' whether it were better for him 'to abide in the flesh, or to be with Christ.' No doubt, simply to be with Christ. For that is *πολλὴν μᾶλλον ὑπερβίβω*, not only better, but 'much and very much better;' but to abide in the flesh was *ἀναγκασιότερον δι' ὑμᾶς*, more needful and profitable for the church. For we were not born to ourselves, but for the good of our parents, country, kindred, and friends, said Plato, and much more for the flock of Christ, which he hath purchased with his blood, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, weak or strong, Israelites or Ninevites, to further their faith, and to help them to salvation; for thus we are debtors to all men. The speeches of Cæsar were wont to be, that he had lived

long enough, whether he respected nature or honour. Tully answered him, It may be for honour and nature long enough, but that which is chiefest of all, not for the commonwealth.* Again, I have heard thee say that thou hast lived long enough to thyself; I believe it. But then I would also hear, if thou livedst to thyself alone, or to thyself alone wert born?† We are all placed and pitched in our stations, and have our watches and services appointed to us. Let us not offer to depart thence till it be the pleasure of our God to dismiss us, unless we have learned that undutiful lesson, which the messenger used at the doors of Elisha, 2 Kings vi., 'Behold this evil cometh of the Lord; should I attend on the Lord any longer?'

It is better for me to die than to live. Say not so, for how knowest thou? If thou wilt hearken to counsel, leave it to the wisdom of God to judge what is best for thee,‡ for he will not give that which is most pleasant, but most convenient. *Charior est illis homo quam sibi*: a man is dearer to God than to himself. Socrates in Alcibiades, would not have any man ask aught at God's hands in particular, but in generality, to give him good things, because he knew what was most behoveful for each one, whereas ourselves crave many things, which not to have obtained had been greater ease.§ At length he concludeth, For he that is wont to give good things so easily, is also able to choose the fittest.|| The promises in the Gospel, I grant, are very large: 'Whatsoever you shall ask in my name, that will I do,' John xiv.; and 'Ask, and it shall be given you,' Matt. vii., 'for every one that asketh receiveth.' How cometh it to pass, then, that the sons of Zebedee ask and receive not? 'We would that thou shouldst do for us that that we desire,' Mark x. The reason is given there by our Saviour: *Nescitis quid petatis*, 'You know not what you ask.' This is also the cause that Jonah receiveth not his asking, he knoweth not what he asketh: 'You have not, because you ask not,' James iv., that is one cause. Yea, but 'you ask and have not,' *διότι κακῶς ἀίτετε*, 'because you ask amiss,' both concerning the end, 'to consume it on your lusts;' and touching the manner, because without faith; and for the matter itself, because it is hurtful unto you. And if you observe it, you shall espy a condition conveyed into the promise of Christ, Mat. vii., 'If you, being evil, give good things to your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good things to them that ask him?' *ἀγαθὰ*, good things, not such as may do you hurt. Another evangelist saith for *ἀγαθὰ, πνεύμα*

ἀγνόν, or *ἀγαθόν*, 'the holy or good Spirit,' which is all in all, able and ready to rectify your minds, order your affections, and set you to crave more wholesome and profitable gifts. For if we ask the contrary, (except when the Lord is pleased to lay a curse upon our prayers), though we call never so loud and impatiently in his ears; *Usque quò Domine et non exaudies?* 'O Lord, how long shall I cry unto thee, and thou wilt not hear me?' Hab. i. He answereth, at least by his silence and denial, even as long as a man in a burning ague shall say to his physician, *Usque quò*, How long shall I cry for cold water? I burn, I am vexed, I am tormented, I am almost out of breath; and he answereth again, *Non misereor modo*, I cannot yet pity thee. Such mercy were cruelty, and thine own will and wish is dangerously bent against thee.* This is the cause, to conclude, that Jonah his suit speedeth not. Jonah thinketh it better to die. It is only better in seeming, as a distasteful palate is soonest pleased with the worst meat. God thinketh the contrary. Nay, Jonah thinketh, God knoweth, that he dieth indeed if he die out of charity, and that if he should give his body to the fire, or again to the water, or a thousand deaths more, without love, it could not profit him. Therefore he is not suffered to die when he would, but by another mercy of God, not inferior to that in his former delivery, is reserved to another repentance, and to more peaceable days. Saint Augustine upon the words of the evangelist, Matt. xix., 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments' (where he proveth that there is no true life but that which is blessed, nor blessed but that which is eternal), noteth the manner of men to be in their miseries, to call for death rather than life: *Deus mitte mihi mortem, accelera dies meos*; O Lord, send death unto me, shorten my days. And sometimes sickness cometh indeed, but then there is coursing to and fro, physicians are brought, money and gifts are promised, and death itself perhaps speaketh unto them, *ecce adsum*, Behold, here am I; thou calledest for me, thou desiredst the Lord not long since to send me. Wherefore dost thou fly me now? I have found thee a deceiver, *inveni te falsatorem*, and a lover of this wretched life, notwithstanding thy show to the contrary. It is the use of us all, with the like form of petition, rather of banning and imprecation, to wish for death, yea strange and accursed kinds of death, wherein God sheweth a judgment. Let me sink as I stand, let the earth open unto me, let me never speak a word more! And every cross and vexation of life make it irksome and unsavoury unto us: Would God I were dead! If God should then answer us, *ex ore tuo*, out of your own mouths, I grant your requests, be it unto you according to your words, how miserable and desperate were our case. But as old Chremes, in the comedy, told Clitipho his son, a young man, and without discretion, who, because he could not wring from his

* Voluntas tua contra te petit.—*Hieron. in Hablac.*

* Naturæ fortassis et gloriæ; at, quod maximum est, patriæ certè parum.

† Sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres, &c.

‡ Si consilium vis.

§ Permite ipsis expendere numinibus, &c.—*Juvenal.*

|| Nam pro jucundis aptissima, &c.—*Valer. Max. lib. vii. cap. ii.*

¶ Quia qui tribuere bona ex facili solent, etiam eligere aptissima possunt.

father ten pounds to bestow upon Bacchis, his lover, had none other speech in his mouth but *Elmori cupio*, I desire to die. First know, I pray thee, what it is to live; when thou hast learned that, then, if thy life displease thee, use these words.* So first know, my brethren, you that are so hasty to pronounce the sentence of death against yourselves, what belongeth to the life of a Christian, why it was given you by the Lord of life, to what ends he hath made you living souls, what duties and offices he requireth at your hands;† these things rightly weighed, if you think good, call for death; for by that time, I think, you will learn more wisdom than to do it. It is good for you to see to the whole course and transaction of your lives, they should be prelusions and preparations for a better life to come. Begin not, then, to live when you must give over, which is the folly of most men; or rather, take heed that you give not over life before you have begun it.‡ As one hair shall not fall from your heads without God's providence, so nor the least hair and minute of time from your years without his account taken.

* Prius quæso disce quid sit vivere, tum, &c.

† Quid sumus et quidnam victuri gignimur.—*Pers.*

‡ Quidam incipiunt vivere cum desinendum est; quidam autè desierunt quàm inceperint.

But especially remember your end; look to the falling of the tree, consider how the sun goeth down upon you; now, if ever before, cast your accounts you build for heaven; now, if ever before, bring forth your armies, you fight for a kingdom. Lay not more burden of sin upon your souls at their going forth. Let the last of your way be rest, and the closing up of the day a sweet and quiet sleep unto you. My meaning is, wish not for death before you be very ready for it. Nay, rather desire God to spare you a time, that you may recover, I say not your strength and bodily ability, but his favour and grace, before he pluck you away and you be no more seen. It is not comfort enough unto you to say,

Vixi, et quem dederat cursum natura, peregi,

I have lived indeed, and finished some time upon the earth; unless you can also add, your consciences bearing you witness, and ministering joy to the end of your days, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεστα, the second to Timothy, and 4th chapter: I have finished my race, I have not only brought it to an end, but to a perfection; though I have died soon, yet I have fulfilled much time; my life hath been profitable to my country and to the church of God, and now I depart in his peace.

LECTURE XLIV.

Then said the Lord, Doest thou well to be angry?—JONAH IV. 4.

THE first of those three parts whereinto this chapter was divided, touching the impatience and discontentment of Jonah, we have in part discovered out of the former verses, reserving a remnant thereof to be handled afterwards. The reprehension of God, which was the second, beginneth at these words, and is repeated again in the 9th verse, upon the like occasion given by Jonah. The mercy of God towards his prophet manifesteth itself in this fatherly objurgation many ways. 1. That the potter vouchsafeth and humbleth himself to dispute with his clay. 2. That he is ready to give a reason of all his actions, as a righteous Lord, who doth not enforce anything by his absolute and mere authority, but dealeth reasonably and justly; much more, that the Lord speaketh unto him who spake and fretted against the Lord, and giveth an account unto him why he spared Nineveh, of whom no man wisely durst to have demanded, What dost thou? that he that dwelleth in light unapproachable, and his counsels are so high in the clouds as who can find them out? placeth them notwithstanding, in the eyes of the world, to be examined and sifted by the reason of man; but, most of all, that he ministereth a word in season unto Jonah, and when the stream of his anger was so violent, that it bare him into an hearty desire and longing after death, then that the Lord intercepteth him, and

answereth in his course as Elihu answered Job, chap. xxxii., 'Behold, I have waited upon thy words, and hearkened unto thy speech, whilst thou soughtest out reasons; I will now speak in my turn, and shew thee mine opinion.' 'Dost thou well to be angry?' It is the singular wisdom of God, and without which policy it were hard for any flesh living to be saved; that when we are running on in our sins, and wearying ourselves in the ways of wickedness, amongst other his retentives and stops, he hath the hook of reprehension to thrust into our noses, and pull us back again. Our iniquities would wander without measure, and become rottenness in our bones; our wounds would dwell for ever in our bowels, and fester to the day of judgment, without this medicine. So Wisdom began her lore: Prov. i., 'O ye foolish, how long will ye love foolishness? and the scorner take pleasure in scorning, and the fools hate knowledge?' She giveth us our right names, according to our corrupt natures; for Wisdom is able to judge of fools, and knoweth that without her instruction we are wedded to our follies; therefore she addeth, 'Turn ye at my correction; lo, I will pour out my mind unto you, and make you understand my words.' Clemens Alexandrinus* compareth our Saviour to an expert musician, such as Terpander or Capito never were, for he singeth new

* In Protrepit.

songs, and hath sundry kinds of modes and varieties to work the salvation of man. Sometimes he hath spoken by a burning bush unto him, sometimes by a cloud of water, sometimes by a pillar of fire; that is, he hath been light to those that were obedient, and fire to those that rebelled; and because flesh is more precious than either bushes, or fire, or water, therefore he hath spoken unto him by flesh. It was he that spake in Isaiah, in Elias, and in all the prophets; and at length, though he were equal to the Father in majesty, yet he was found in the shape of a servant, and spake with his own lips. This gracious instrument of almighty God, to shew the changes of his notes, both pitieth and chasteneth, entreateth and threateneth; and by threatening best admonisheth, and by speaking roughly soonest converteth. He that called Adam out of the thicket (which was the first elements of this learning whereof I speak), he that produced the same through all the ages of the world, he sent angels to Sodom, Noah to the old world, Nathan to David, Samuel to Saul, Elias to Ahab, prophets to Judah and Jerusalem, John Baptist to the Scribes and Pharisees; he reproved the elders and princes with many taunting parables, corrected Peter with looking back, retracted Paul with a vision from heaven, advertised the seven churches with epistles sent unto them. Leprosy unto Miriam was a writing and scroll upon her flesh, engraven in her skin, to teach her obedience; dumbness unto Zacharias was not a dumb instructor, it taught him faith against another time; blindness sent upon Paul took away his blindness, and opened the eyes of his mind, making him to see more in the ways of life, than all his learning, gathered at the feet of Gamaliel, could have revealed unto him. Such are the admonitions that God sometimes useth to mollify our hard hearts, lest we should freeze too long in the dregs of our sins, and because we proceed with impunity and freedom, claim them for inheritance. Behold, therefore, as Eliphaz comforted Job, chap. v., 'Blessed is the man whom the Lord correcteth; therefore refuse not the chastising of the Almighty: for he maketh the wound, and bindeth it up; he smiteth, and his hand maketh it whole. He shall deliver thee in six troubles, and in the seventh the evil shall not touch thee.' Nay, he findeth a wound, and bindeth it up; he espieth a blow, and his hands heal it; he letteth thee alone in six iniquities, but in the seventh he will pull thee by the garment, and thou shalt no more offend.

On the other side, wretched is the man whom the Lord correcteth not; whose first messenger and monitioner is the first-born of death; that is, his life is taken from him before he seeth his sins. This were (as Augustine calleth it) *terribilis lenitas, crudelitas parcus*, lenity, full of horror, and sparing cruelty; such precious balms break the head, nay, wound the conscience, when bitter and biting corrosives were

more wholesome for us. This is also one part of our duty, who are to gather the sheep into the sheepfold of Christ: we must not only teach, but reprove, for otherwise (as Origen noteth upon Exodus) we offer red, but not scarlet;* the colour and dye of our preaching goeth not deep enough; our fire giveth light and shining, but kindleth not;† we lead men the right way unto knowledge, but we bring them not to the practice and better part of divinity, to feel a pricking in their consciences, and to be driven to say, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?'

In the reprehension which God here useth, two things come to be handled: the *manner* thereof, which is mild, courteous, and peaceable; and the *matter*, which altogether concerneth his anger.

1. The manner is as kind and familiar, and with as much indulgence as if Eli, or the kindest father in the world, were to deal with his child whom he most favoured; no anger or gall uttered in the reproving of his anger, no unpleasant expostulation, and neither bitterness nor length of speech, but as few and as friendly words as lenity itself might devise. 'Doest thou well to be angry?' I should have looked for burning from his lips, and coals of fire from his nostrils, that one who dwelt at his footstool should dare to assault heaven with his indignation, and cross the doings of his dreadful judge; but that the thoughts of the Lord are peace, and of another disposition than the thoughts of man. Doubtless, if one of his brethren, the prophets of Israel, out of his own tribe and family, had taken the cause in hand, I cannot conceive how he should have used him with so favourable and sparing an increpation, 'Doest thou well to be angry?'

If there be any amongst you that taketh advantage hereat, to say in your hearts, What mean our prophets and preachers to make such bitter invectives, declamations, outeries, against the sins of our age? Their salt is too quick, and we are over-much seasoned with it; our ears are not able to bear their words. We cannot offend in the wearing of a garment, in the use of our money, in eating our bread, and drinking our drink, but the pulpits must presently ring, our ears tingle, and the world wonder at it. God never taught them such roughness of speech; it had been an happier thing for us to have lived and sinned in former times, and then to have been an adulterer, then a drunkard or extortioner, when God spake himself, who knew how to temper his words, and to shape his reprehensions in milder sort. He would have said but thus: Doest thou well to be angry, well to be proud, well to be covetous, well to give thy money upon usury? He would not have threatened and stormed, as the manner of our preachers is. Surely (my brethren) God is the master of his own, both speeches and actions; his wisdom

* Obtulisti coccum, sed non bis tinctum, non duplicatum.

† Ignis noster illuminat, non accendit.

is as the great deep, I cannot find it out. It may be he saw amendment in the heart and reins of Jonah, which we cannot do; or he was able by his power to create his spirit anew, and to change his heart, that it should be rectified in an instant, as well by one word as if he had tired and torn his ears with ten thousand; and he dealt with a prophet, an anointed servant of his, one that was dear in his eyes; or he kept him for another time, when his anger should be past, and his heart more capable of discipline and correction; or he qualified his speech, to school and scourge him the more with actions. Behold, then, and rest satisfied with us; our tongues should be still enough, if we had worms to command to eat up your plants and fruits, or if we could charge the sun in the sky, or the east wind in the air, to beat upon your heads, and to grieve your souls, as God grieved Jonah. He spareth him in words, but he payeth him in fact; and though he vex not his ears, as we do, he vexeth his head by taking away his shelter, the only temporal comfort which he then enjoyed. I would we might see those days wherein our speech might never exceed this compass, 'Do you well to do thus?' It is no pleasure to us, to sharpen our tongues like razors against you, to speak by the pound or talent, mighty and fearful words, if softer might suffice. But if we be briars in your coats and flesh, it is because we dwell with briars; if we be perverse, it is because we dwell in the midst of a perverse generation. An hard knot in the timber cannot be driven out without heavy blows; * sundry diseases require sundry kinds of cures, and as the dispositions of men are varied, so must we vary our teachings. One must be washed with gentle baths, another must have his wounds cut with lancets; † and as the damsel, Mat. ix., was raised up in her father's house, the widow's son of Nain without his mother's gates, Lazarus before a great multitude of all sorts, so some must be handled privately, others openly, a third kind publicly; ‡ some must be held for weak, others accounted publicans unto us; some their infirmities supported, others delivered unto Satan; some chastised with a rod, others warned in the spirit of meekness; some pulled out of the fire, others left to be burned; some saved by fear, others by love; some must be used as our own bowels, others as rotten members, whose cure is despaired, cut off from the body, that they do no more hurt. § In all which reprehensions (except where all hope is past), that singular precept of Gregory taketh place. In the controlling of faults, there must be some anger, rather to attend upon reprehension, than to command it; so that in the execution of this charitable and merciful justice, it bear not a sway by going before, but

* Gravissimus nodus in ligno non potest expelli nisi gravissimo oppressorio.—*Ambros.*

† Ille lavacra mollia, ille ferrum quærit ad vulnera.—*Cassiod.*

‡ Raban. in Mat. ix.

§ Varium poscit remedium diversa qualitas passionum.

rather make a shew by coming after.* And Leo hath the like counsel, that it must be used, *non scientis animo, sed medentis*, not with the mind of a tyrant or persecutor, but of an helper: 'Considering thyself' (saith the apostle, Gal. vi.), 'lest thou also be tempted.' For a man may once, and often in his lifetime, say to him that reproveth another, as Eliphaz did to Job, 'Behold, thou hast taught many, and strengthened the weary hands; thy words have confirmed him that was falling, and thou hast upheld the weak knees: but now, it is come upon thee, and thou art grieved; it toucheth thee, and thou art troubled.'

2. The matter reproveth by God is anger: 'Dost thou well to be angry?' or, as some render it, doth anger help thee? *Numquid benefacit ira tibi?* † or, art thou angry justly, *num putas quod justè irasceris?* and upon reasonable cause; *an factum bene*, i. e. *rationabiliter* ‡ or, as some of the Hebrews expound it, art thou very angry? is not thy wrath vehement? interpreting *bene* by *valde*, *an valde irasceris.* § *Jonathan venit, admodum. Nonne vehementer est ira tibi?* As Moses did, Deut. ix., when he told the children of Israel that he took the sin, the calf which they had made, and ground it 'very well,' *Optimè*, that is, sufficiently, till he had brought it to the smallest dust. So some interpret *well*, in this place, by the quality and goodness of anger, whether it may be justified; others by the quantity and greatness, noting the excess and immoderation thereof. They come both to one; for whether God ask of the quality, he seemeth to imply a secret subjection, it is not well done of thee, thou hast no just cause to be angry; or whether of the quantity, he thinketh that there is as little reason that the sparing of penitent sinners should move such stomach in Jonah. The question is disputed throughout the whole chapter, between God and the prophet, God the opposer, Jonah the defender, whether he do well to be angry; God confuteth him both by word and deed, and Jonah contendeth for it to the death. I will not trouble you with the answering of the question till we come to the ninth verse, where the Lord doth demand again in the same words; and Jonah, though he be silent in this place, yet there dissembleth not his mind, for he answereth, 'I do well to be angry,' and addeth measure sufficient, 'even unto death.' Meanwhile, because this is the time wherein a general forgetting of wrongs, ἀμνηστία, and laying malice asleep, is professed, so far as the world is christened, partly the canons of the church, and partly devotion itself, leading us all to a thankful commemoration of the death and resurrection of Christ, and to the communion of his body and blood, which is a badge of our Christian love and fellowship. The time inviting me thereunto, which St Austin calleth the solemnity of solemnities, and the uncourtousness of these our

* Subesse debet iracundia, non præesse. Non ut dominando præveniat, sed simulando subsequatur.

† Œcolamp.

‡ Lyra.

§ R. Kimchi.

times requiring no less, give me leave, in few words, to convert my speech unto that which the celebration of the feast itself doth easily exhort you unto. The blessed apostle thought not that any more effectual persuasion to charity could be gathered than from the example of the Son of God himself, whose dying and rising again is now solemnized : for so he frameth his exhortation to the Colossians, chap. iii., 'Now therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved,' as you have any part in these graces, election, sanctification, and the love of God, if you have any argument and seal to your own consciences that you are a part of his inheritance (for they are not marked for his chosen which are without these marks), 'put on, ἐδύσασθε, the bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another;' let these be your robes and coverings, wear them as you wear your garments, and let them be as tender and inward unto you as your own principal and most vital parts : 'Even as Christ freely and bountifully forgave, ἐχάρισατο, you, even so do ye.' How that was, I need not recite. The apostle, Rom. v., collecteth sundry arguments to shew how far forth that substantial and saving grace of God hath gratified us : (1.) we were weak, ἀσθενεῖς ; (2.) godless, ἀσεβεῖς ; (3.) sinners, ἁμαρτωλοί ; (4.) enemies, ἐχθροί ; we had neither strength to endeavour, neither piety to procure, nor righteousness to satisfy, nor acquaintance and friendship to deserve in the sight of God ; 'yet,' notwithstanding all these impediments and deficiencies, ἐτι γὰρ Χρίστος, 'Christ died for us.' So the other apostle speaketh, 1 Peter iii., Christ 'suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God : ' the cause most odious, the persons most unequal, the end most absolute. How, then, can I better exhort you, to an imitation of the love of Christ, than as St Paul exhorteth the Philippians, chap. ii. : 'If there be any consolation in Christ,' so we may render it, or 'if there be any advocacy, παράκλησις, in Christ' (as all the consolation and advocacy that we look for must be drawn from that fountain), 'if any comfort of love,' (as who feelth not the use of love, that hath not been nursed up with the tigers of the wilderness ?), 'if any communion of the Spirit,' by whom we are all knit together in the body of Christ, lastly, 'if any bowels of mercy ; surely he meaneth that there is or should be much of all this, much consolation in Christ, much comfort of love, &c. But if there be any remnant and seed left, if all be not spent to satisfy your rancorous malice, 'fulfil my joy,' and your own joy, and the joy of the angels in heaven, and the joy of the bride and bridegroom, to whom it is a good and pleasant thing to see brethren dwelling together in unity, 'minding the same thing,' τὸ αὐτὸ, not the like, but the same, and 'having the same love,' not equal, but the same, and 'having the same souls,' σὺμψυχοι, growing together like twins, concorporate, coanimate, and being of one judgment, τὸ ἐν φρονούντες.

Lastly, he forgetteth not the most exquisite pattern of all loving-kindnesses, 'Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus.' The same mind ? I am out of hope of it ; his love was as strong as death, water could not quench it, yea, water and blood could not put it out. He cried upon his cross for the Jews, when he hung upon the top of a mountain, in the open face of heaven, God, and angels, and men beholding, hearing, wondering at it, 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do,' Luke xxiii. Let not that mind be in you which is in lions and leopards ; and good enough. I have heard of such peaceable times prophesied, that 'swords should be turned into scythes, and spears into mattocks,' but never so warlike and furious wherein the tongues of men should be turned into swords, and their hearts into wounding and slaying instruments ; yet, though this were never prophesied, we have fulfilled it.

To make an end ; the best remedy against injuries is forgetfulness. Marcus Cato, on a time, being smitten in the bath, to him that had done the wrong, and was desirous to make him amends, answered, *non memini me percussum*, I remember not that I was smitten. Shall Cato be wiser and patienter in his generation than we in ours ? If we cannot forget the time wherein we have been smitten, or otherwise injured, at least let us follow the counsel of the psalm, to 'be angry without sinning,' Ps. iv. ; that is, if we do that which is natural and usual, and can hardly be stayed, let us avoid the other, which can never be justified. Or if we sin in our anger (as who in this world is angry and sinneth not ?), let the monition of the Spirit of God in another place, Eph. iv., quickly temper our heat, and let us beware that 'the sun go not down upon it.' It was one part of the epitaph written upon Sylla his tomb, *Nemo me inimicus inferenda injuriâ superavit*, I never had enemy that went beyond me in doing wrong. Let not our lives or deaths be testified unto the world by such monuments. It was an honour fitter for Sylla of Rome, an heathen and a tyrant, who dyed the channels of the streets with blood, than for any Christian. I will, by your patience, enter a little way into the next verse, and send, as it were, a spy to view at least the borders thereof, before I proceed to examine the whole contents.

So Jonah went out of the city, ver. 5. It is thought by some that he offended no less in going forth than when he first refused to come thither ; for he should have continued amongst them, to have given them more warning. The reason why Jonah went out, I cannot rightly set down. Some conjecture, and it is not unlikely, to avoid the company of wicked men ; for so he accounted the Ninevites, and he was afraid to bear a part of their plagues. The rule is good ; for 'can a man take coals in his bosom, and not be burnt ? or handle pitch, and not be defiled ?' or fly with the ostriches and pelicans, and not grow wild ?

or dwell in the tents of wickedness, and not learn to be wicked? Or if Rahab abide still in Jericho, Lot and his kindred in Sodom, Noah and his family in the waste world, Israel in Babylon, shall those execrable places and people be punished by the hand of God, and these not partake the punishment? One place for many, Josh. xxiii., 'If ye cleave unto these nations, and make marriages with them, and go unto them, and they unto you, the Lord will no more cast them out, but they shall be a snare and destruction unto you, and a whip on your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish out of this good land which the Lord your God hath given you.' But his error was in the application of the rule; for if the Ninevites were so penitent as before we heard, the worst man (for aught I know), was within his own bosom.

And sat on the east side of the city. His purpose in choosing this ground cannot certainly be perceived. Arius Montanus giveth this guess, that he thought if any plague were sent from God, it was likely to come from west and south, because Judea in respect of Nineveh was so placed; and therefore, because God was only known in Judea, and seemed to dwell nowhere else, he would surely punish them out of those quarters; for this cause, as if he had decreed with himself, If a scourge came from God, it shall not come near me, he taketh up his lodging in that part of the city which was most safe. Others make this supposition: they say Tigris the river ran on the west side of Nineveh, where, by reason of their haven, there was daily concourse of merchants and passengers to and fro. This frequency Jonah avoided, and betook himself to that part where the walks were most solitary, and his heart might least be troubled. Others think that he shunned the heat of the sun, which in those countries is far more fervent than in ours; and because in the morning it is more remiss than at the height of the day, when it is in the south; or between the height and the declination, when it draweth to the west; therefore he seated himself on the east side of the city, where he might be freest from it. Haply he went unto that side by adventure, *quò pes tulit*, as his mind and feet bare him, and it had been indifferent unto him to have applied his body to any other side; or it may be he was thither brought by the especial commandment and providence of almighty God. As when Elias had prophesied of the drought for three years, he was willed to 'go towards the east,' 1 Kings xvii., where he should find a brook to drink of, and the ravens were appointed to feed him. It is not unlawful for me to add my surmise amongst other men. In the east, because of the sun rising, there seemeth to be greatest comfort; and I nothing doubt but, in this banishment of his, Jonah sought out all the comforts he might. The garden in Eden, which the Lord God planted for man, was planted eastward, Gen. ii. Some say eastward in respect of the place where Moses wrote the story, that is, of the wilderness

where Israel then was; others, with more probability, in the eastern part of Eden, the whole tract whereof was not taken in for the garden, but the choicest and fruitfulest part, which was to the east. It is true in nature, which some applied to policy, and to the state of kingdoms and families, that more worship the sun in his rising than at his going down, *plures orientem solem quàm occidentem adorant*. 'I saw all men living,' saith the preacher, 'joining themselves with the second child which shall stand up in the place of the other.' Our Saviour, who was evermore prophesied to be 'the Light of the Gentiles,' is by none other name figured, Mal. iv., than of the sun rising: 'Unto you that fear my name, shall the Sun of righteousness arise;' and in the song of Zacharias, Luke i., he is called 'the Day-spring from on high.' Many religious actions we rather do towards the east, than any other point of heaven. We bury our dead commonly, as the Athenians did, their faces laid, and as it were looking, eastward. And for the most part, especially in our temples, we pray eastward. So did the idolatrous, Ezek. viii., turning their backs to the temple of the Lord, and their faces to the east. Will you have the reason hereof? Why was Aaron willed, Lev. xvi., to take the blood of the bullock, and to 'sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy-seat eastward?' It was the pleasure of God so to have it. And unless nature direct us to these observations, whereof I have spoken, I know not how we are moved. The rising of our Sun, whose resurrection we now celebrate, the true and only-begotten Son of God, was in the morning. Matthew saith, 'in the dawning of the day,' Mat. xviii.; Mark, 'very early,' Mark xvi., when the sun was risen; not that he had yet appeared in their hemisphere, but his light he sent before him. John saith, 'when there was yet darkness,' John xx.; that is, the body of the sun was not yet come forth. And Thomas Aquinas* thinketh it probable enough, that our resurrection shall be very early in the morning, the sun being in the east, and the moon in the west, because, saith he, in these opposite points they were first created. You may haply marvel what the event of my speech will be. I have seldontimes carried you away from the simplicity of the prophecy which I entreat of, by allegories and enforced collections. Yet I am not ignorant that many men's interpretations in that kind are of many men gladly and plausibly received. I hope it shall be no great offence in me to fit and honour this feast of the resurrection of the Lord of life with one allegory. We are now walking into the west, as the sun in his course doth: 'Behold, we are entering into the way of the whole world,' Josh. xxiii. And as the sun goeth down, and is taken from our sight by the interposition of the earth, so into the body of the earth shall we likewise descend, and be taken from the company of the living. Christ our Saviour, who was both the living, O *Ζῶν*, Rev. i.,

* In Supplem. quæst. 77, artic. 2.

† Easter day.

and life itself, *II ζωή*, John xi.; and had the keys of hell and of death, and whose manner of protestation is *vivo in sacula*, 'I live for ever and ever,' yet touching his human nature, when he sojourned upon the face the earth, had his setting and going down. In this sense we might ask the spouse in the Canticles, 'O thou fairest amongst women, what is thy well-beloved more than other men?' Cant. v. And though she answered, 'My well-beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest of ten thousand,' yet in this condition of mortal and natural descent, he is equal unto his brethren. This passover we must all keep, and therefore let us truss up our loins, and take our staves in our hands, that we may walk forwards towards the west. Instead of other precious ointments, let us anoint our bodies to their burial; and for costly garments, let us lay forth shrouds for our flesh, and napkins to bind about our heads; that is, let us remember our end, and the evening of our lives, and we shall offend the less. The death of the Son of God, if ever any man's, was ratified and assured as far forth as either the justice of his Father or the malice of men might devise. If his body had been quickened with seven souls, and they had all ministered life unto it in their courses; yet such was the anger of God against sin, and the cruelty of man against that just one, that they would all have failed him. And his burial and descension into the lower parts of the ground was as certainly confirmed. For you know what caution the providence of God took therein, to prevent all suspicion of the contrary. For his body being taken down from the cross, was not only embalmed, and 'wrapped in a linen cloth, but 'laid in a new sepulchre,' where never corpse had lain before, lest they might have said, that the body of some other man was risen; and in a sepulchre 'of stone,' because the dust and softer matter of the earth might easily have been digged into; and in a sepulchre of rock or one entire stone, lest, if there had been seams and fissures therein, they might that way have used some cavil against his resurrection; besides a stone at the mouth of that stone, and a seal, and a watch, and as sufficient provision besides as the wisdom of worldly and ill-minded men could think upon. Notwithstanding, as the bruit of his death was universally spread and believed, for the very air rang with this sound, *Magnus Pan mortuus est*, The great and principal shepherd is dead, and the sun in the sky set, or did more, at his setting, and the graves opened and sent forth their dead to receive him; so the news of his resurrection was as plentifully and clearly witnessed by angels, men, women, disciples, adversaries, and by such sensible conversation upon earth, as that not only their eyes, but their fingers and nails were satisfied. Behold, then, once again, 'the Sun of righteousness is risen' unto us, and 'the Day-spring from on high,' or rather from below, 'hath visited us;' for when Zacharias prophesied he was to descend from the highest heavens,

but now he ascended from the heart of the earth. Once again, we have seen 'our bright morning star,' which was obscured and darkened by death, shining in the east with so glorious a countenance of majesty and power as shall never more be defaced. Even so, the days shall come, when, after our vanishing and disparition for a time under the globe of the earth, we shall arise again, and the Lord shall bring us out of darkness into the light of his countenance. Our night, wherein we sleep awhile, shall be changed into a morning, and after obscurity in the pit of forgetfulness, we shall appear and shine as the stars of God in their happiest season. We shall go out of Nineveh as Jonah did, a Gentile and strange city, a place where we are not known, a land where all things are forgotten (for whether we be in the flesh, we are strangers from God, or whether in our graves, we are not with our best acquaintance; both these are a Nineveh to right Israelites), and we shall sit in the east; that is, we shall meet our Saviour in the clouds, and be received up with him into glory, and dwell in everlasting day, where we shall never know the west more, because all parts are beautiful alike; nor fear the decay of our bodies, because corruption hath put on incorruption, and neither feel the horror of darkness, nor miss the comfort of the sun, because the presence of eternal and substantial light enlighteneth all places.

My purpose was not upon so easy an occasion to prove the resurrection, either of Christ (which I have elsewhere assayed to do), or of his members that belong unto him. For as it rejoiced Paul that he was to speak before king Agrippa, who had 'knowledge of all the customs and questions amongst the Jews,' Acts xxvi., so it is the happier for me that I speak to those who are not unskilled in the questions of Christianity, and neither are Sadducees, nor atheists, nor epicures, to deny the faith of these lively mysteries. Only my meaning was, upon the Lord's day, whereon he rose to life, and changed the long continued Sabbath of the Jews, and sanctified a new day of rest unto us, to leave some little comfort amongst you, answerable to the feast which we now celebrate. Surely the angelical spirits above keep these paschal solemnities, this Easter with great joy.* They wonder at the glory of that most victorious lion who hath triumphed over death and hell. It doeth them good, that the shape of a servant is again returned into the shape of God.† They never thought to have seen that star in the east, with so fresh and beautiful a hue, which was so low declined to the west, and past hope of getting up. We also rejoice in the memory, and are most blessed for the benefit and fruit of this day, the Sabbath of the new world, our passover from

* Agunt in cœlestibus hæc paschalia gaudia ipsi angelici spiritus, &c.—*Cyprian*.

† Delectantur in eo quod forma servi reversa sit in formam Dei.—*Id.*

everlasting death to life, our true jubilee, the first day of our week, and chief in our calendar to be accounted of, whereon our Phoenix arose from his ashes, our eagle renewed his bill, the first fruits of sleepers awoke, the first-begotten of the dead was born from the womb of the earth, and made a blessed world, in that it was able to say, The man-child is brought forth; the seed of Abraham, which seemed to have perished under the clods, fructified, not by proportions of thirty, or sixty,

or an hundred, but with infinite measure of glory, both to himself and to all those that live in his root. Him we look for shortly in the clouds of heaven, to raise our bodies of humility out of the dust, and to fashion them like to his own, to perform his promise, to finish faith upon the earth, to perfect our glory, and to draw us up to himself, where he reigneth in the heaven of heavens, our blessed Redeemer and advocate.

LECTURE XLV.

And there made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow.—JONAH IV. 5.

BEFORE, the Lord had begun to reprehend Jonah in words, now he addresseth himself to reprove him also by a sensible sign; and because his ears were uncapable, speaketh unto his eyes, and sheweth him a life-glass, wherein he may see himself and his blemishes. Words are oftentimes received as riddles, and precept upon precept hath not prevailed, when a familiar and actual demonstration hath done good. So Ahijah the prophet rent the new garment of Jeroboam the king in twelve pieces, and bade him reserve ten to himself, in sign that the kingdom was rent out of the hands of Solomon, 1 Kings xi., and ten tribes given to Jeroboam. So Isaiah, by going barefoot, teacheth Egypt and Ethiopia that they shall also go into captivity in the like sort, Isa. xx. Jeremiah, by wearing yokes about his neck, Jer. xxvii., and sending yokes and gyves to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, Judah, giveth them a visible sacrament and representation of their captivity in Babylon. Thus Ezekiel portrayed the siege of Jerusalem upon a brick, Ezek. iv.; thus Agabus taketh the girdle of Paul, Acts xxi., and bindeth himself hands and feet, and saith, 'So shall the man be bound that owneth this girdle.' And thus doth the Lord admonish Jonah by a real apophthegm, a lively subjection to his eyes, what it is that he hath just cause to dislike in him. But before we come to the very point and winding of the matter, wherein we may see the mind of God, there are many antecedents and preparatives beforehand to be viewed. 1, That Jonah goeth out of the city; 2, buildeth him a booth; 3, that God provideth him a gourd; 4, sendeth a worm to consume it; 5, that the sun and the winds beat upon the head of Jonah till he fainted. All this is but the protasis, an only proposition; so far we perceive not whitherto the purpose of God tendeth; then followeth the narration, the anger of Jonah once again, and once again God's increpation, first, touching the type or image, which was the gourd (for the gourd standing and flourishing was an image of Nineveh in her prime and prosperity; the gourd withered, of Nineveh overthrown), then touching the truth represented by that figure, which was the city itself. For the meaning of God was, to lay open

the iniquity of Jonah before his face, in that he was angry for the withering of an herb, and had no pity in his heart upon a mighty and populous city. The order of the words from this present verse to the end of the prophecy is this: in this fifth, Jonah buildeth for himself; in the sixth, God planteth for him; in the seventh, he destroyeth his planting; in the eighth, Jonah is vexed and angry to the death; in the ninth, God reproveth him in the figure; in the tenth and eleventh, in the truth, by that figure exemplified.

Of the antecedents, I have already tasted two members: 1, his going out of the city, to shun their company who did not so well like him; 2, his sitting on the east side of the city, either to be farther from the judgment of God, which was likely to come westward,* because Jerusalem stood that way; or to be out of the trade and thoroughfare of the people, which was likeliest to be at their quay, for the river lay also upon the west side; or to be freer from the heat and parching of the sun, which in the morning, and towards the east, is less fervent; or lastly, I told you to take the comfort and benefit of the sun rising. Now, the third in the number of those antecedents is, that 'he maketh himself a booth.' Wherein I might observe unto you, that a prophet is enforced to labour with his hands for the provision of necessities. And surely, if it were not worth the noting, the apostle would never have said, Acts xx., 'You know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to those that were with me;' *αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν*, *these very hands* that break the bread of the Lord, these hands that baptize, and that are laid upon the heads of God's servants, 'these have ministered unto my necessities.' Likewise the first to the Corinthians, and fourth, 'We labour, working with our own hands,' *Ταῖς ἰδίαις χεῖραις*. And in his epistles to the Thessalonians, twice he maketh mention of his 'labour and travail day and night,' 1 Thes. ii., and 2 Thes. iii. But I rather charge you at this time with these particulars: 1, what Jonah made, *a booth*; 2, for what use, *to sit under the shadow of it*; 3, how long to continue, *till he might see what was done in the city*.

* Qu. 'eastward' or 'from the west'?—ED.

The first and the second shew unto us, the one the nature, the other the use of all buildings.

1. By nature, they are but booths and tabernacles, and such as the apostle reporteth of Sion, that they should 'remain as a cottage in a vineyard, and like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,' Isa. i.; or as Job speaketh in the twenty-seventh of his book, 'like a lodge that the watchman maketh,' no longer to abide than till that service is ended. I would be loath to term them the houses of spiders and moths, as Job doth, but compared with eternity such they are. The patriarchs and people of ancient times dwelt but in tents, easily pitched, and as easily removed; and as many other things in antiquity, so this amongst the rest, was a figure to all the ages of the world to come, that so long as they dwell upon the earth, they have but a temporal and transitory habitation. The earth which we dwell upon is but our place of sojourning, and wherein we are strangers, as God told Abraham, Gen. xvii. In the forty-seventh of the same book, Pharaoh asked Jacob 'how many were the days of the years of his life;' Jacob, to express our condition of travelling and flitting upon the earth to and fro, answered the king, 'The whole time,' not of my life, but 'of my pilgrimage,' or rather pilgrimages (by reason of often removes), 'is an hundred and thirty years. Few and evil have the days of my life been, and I have not attained unto the years of the life of my fathers, in the days of their pilgrimages.' David, 1 Chron. xxix., giveth thanks unto the Lord in behalf of himself and his people, that 'they were able to offer so willingly towards the building of the temple, because all things came of him, and from his own hand or liberality they are given unto him.' For, saith he, 'we are strangers before thee, and sojourners like all our fathers; our days are as the shadows upon the earth, and there is none abiding.' Thus Jacob and his fathers, David, and his princes, and his people, and their fathers, all were pilgrims. Let us see now what use the apostle maketh hereof. He saith of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, and the rest, Heb. xi., that 'all these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them, and received them thankfully; and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth, for they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country,' it may be their own, from whence they were exiled. The apostle answereth, No; for 'if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they had leisure to have returned. But now they desire a better, that is, an heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed of them to be called their God, for he hath prepared for them a city.' Likewise he exhorteth us, Heb. xiii., 'As Jesus, to sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate, so that we should go forth of the camp, bearing his reproach; for here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.' And our Saviour told his dis-

ciples, John xiv., that 'in his Father's house there were many mansions,' or settled dwellings, for here we have but tabernacles. Houses, I confess, we have, as foxes have their holes, and birds their nests, and bees their hives, to be chased and driven from them; but till the promise be fulfilled which is mentioned, Rev. xxi., that 'the tabernacle of God shall be with men;' that is, men shall be with the tabernacle of God, and God dwell with us, and we with him in heavenly Jerusalem; we must trust to that other prophecy, Micah ii., *surgete, et ite*, 'Arise, and depart, for this is not your rest.'

2. The use of buildings is, that we may *sit under the shadow thereof*. The posterity of Noah, Gen. xi., having found out a place in the plain of Shinar, said, 'Go to, let us build us a city and tower, to get us a name.' Was that the end of buildings? Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv., built him a palace 'for the house of his kingdom, and for the honour of his majesty,' to vaunt of the mightiness of his power, and to forget the God of heaven. Was that the end of building? It seemeth by the words of Solomon, Eccles. ii., that he 'made him great works, and built him houses, to prove his heart with joy, and to take pleasure in pleasant things.' Or was that the end of building? Some built wonders of the world, as the walls of Babylon, set up by Semiramis, the house of Cyrus, the tomb of Mausolus; all which buildings, whether they be 'summer parlours,' as Eglon's, Judges iii., or 'winter-chambers,' houses in the city, or Tusculan farms in the country, were they as stately for height as the spires of Egypt, or as the temple of the great Diana of the Ephesians, which as they were wondered at for their buildings, so for their ruin and dissipation; or were they as sumptuous for cost as that palace of king Alcinous, the walls whereof were of brass, the gates of gold, the entries of silver; they are all but vanity; and when we have all done, there is none other use of building than to sit and shadow ourselves, and to defend our bodies from the violence of the weather, and other foreign injuries. It is a sickness that some men have, to spend their time in building, as the epigram* noted Gellius, *Gellius ædificat semper*, Gellius is always building, or repairing, or changing, or doing somewhat to keep his hand in. If a friend come to borrow money of him, Gellius hath no other word in his mouth, but I am in building.

Alas, to what purpose are these large and spacious houses without inhabitants, chimneys without smoke, windows, not for prospect, but for martens to breed and owls to sing in? Such are the tenants, instead of families heretofore kept, and hospitality maintained, now hedgehogs lying under the walls, and weasels dwelling in the parlours. Jeremiah doth notably tax the vanity of a great builder: Jer. xxii., 'He saith, I will build me a wide house, and large chambers; so

* Dum tamen ædificet, quidlibet ille facit.

Unum illud verbum Gellius, ædifico.—*Martial*.

he will make himself great windows, and ceil them with cedar, and paint them with vermilion. But shalt thou reign (saith the prophet), because thou closest thyself in cedar? Did not thy father (and thy grandfather) eat and drink, and prosper when they executed judgment and justice (kept houses, and relieved the poor)? But thine eyes and thy heart are but only for covetousness and oppression,' and for vain-glory, and to command and overlook the country round about, and to leave a name behind thee, even to do this; and according to the ends thou proposest herein, so shall the Lord visit thee.

3. *Till he might see what should be done in the city.* But the proof hereof may seem to have been already passed, and the forty days fully accomplished. Some think * that Jonah went out of the city some three or four days before that term expired, and there waited the event, and that he was not displeased with God till after the time fulfilled; which seemeth not probable unto me, that Jonah so lately and seriously, with so much danger of his life, admonished of his duty neglected before, would now again forsake the Ninevites, and give over his preaching before the accomplishment of those days which God hath numbered unto him. Others are of judgment that the time was fully elapsed, and that Jonah knew well enough that God was minded to spare Nineveh, touching their final and utter overthrow, yet not to pardon them altogether without the irrogation of some lighter punishment upon them. As he dealt with Israel, Exod. xxiii, when they worshipped the molten calf, saying, 'These be thy gods, O Israel,' &c., he threatened to 'consume them;' yet, afterwards, though by the intercession of Moses, 'he changed his mind from the evil which he threatened unto them,' yet he forgave them not wholly, but punished them by the 'slaughter of three thousand men.' Lastly, it is thought by a third company, that Jonah saw by revelation the sparing of Nineveh. In such variety of opinions, I abridge not your liberty to take which best liketh you. But howsoever you take it, Jonah, you see, hath the thirstiest nature after the destruction of Nineveh that might be. If Jonah had been armed with power, for in this respect he wanted not the spirit and wish of Elias, to have commanded fire against the Ninevites, as Elias did against the captains and their bands, 2 Kings i., Nineveh had lain in ashes at the end of forty days; for nothing can please Jonah unless somewhat be done against the people of that place. But his message being ended, why returneth he not towards Israel again? No; he will take an homely and comfortless habitation; he will labour with his hands, and put them to base service; he will lie abroad in the field, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and wet with the dew of the night, and haply not fed in that solitary place but with the waters from the brook, and fruits of the earth of his own provision

* Rabbini putant die 36, vel. 37.

and dressing, only to stay the time, and not to miss that opportunity when God should plague Nineveh, the bruit and report whereof might not content, but he will see with his eyes, *videret*, his desire upon his enemies; for they that hear are able to speak but of hearsay, they that see are out of doubt.* There was some reason that Moses was so sharply bent against an Egyptian offering wrong to one of his countrymen, Phinehas against adulterers, Peter against Malchus, a servant against his master's enemies, Paul against Elymas a sorcerer, other apostles against a village of Samaria for refusing to entertain Christ; but Jonah, upon small reason, a prophet of the Lord, and but lately his orator and headman in a capital danger of his own, you hear how his heart and eyes are fixed in a merciless affection against penitent and reformed men!

Ver. 6. *And the Lord God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah.* It seemeth that the booth was withered, being built out of boughs or reeds, or some other stuff, which the heat of the sun did easily work upon; for when the gourd was afterward smitten, the sun and the wind beat upon the head of Jonah, which argueth that his booth was defaced. Before, you have heard of the building of Jonah, now God buildeth, the one by art, the other by nature; the one a tabernacle of boughs, the other an arbor or bower of a living or growing tree, which the fatness of the earth nourished, having seed and bud in it according to the kind thereof; the one withereth because it is but propped up, having no juice in it; the other spreadeth her roots and strings in the ground, having whereby to increase. I need not say how unprofitable and barren the labour of man is, being left to itself, without the favour of God to supply the imperfections thereof. This very place doth sufficiently justify that of the psalm, 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it,' Ps. cxxvii. The fruits of the body, fruits of the field, fruits of cattle, increase of kine, flocks of sheep, the basket, and the store in the basket, Deut. xxviii., they make a number and show of goodly commodities, but unless you give them their blessing which is there annexed,—*benedictus fructus ventris*, 'blessed shall be the fruit of thy body,' and blessed all the rest,—mourn as Esau did when Jacob prevented him of the blessing, and as the grass upon the house tops which no man taketh in his hand or blesseth in his heart, so do they languish, pine away, and come to nothing. The Lord must 'command his blessings' to be with us in our storehouses, and in all that we set our hand unto, as it is there added, or our labour dieth between our fingers. Zophar, Job xx., speaketh many things of the joy of an hypocrite: 'His excellency mounting unto heaven, and his head reaching up unto the clouds; yet he shall perish (saith Zophar) like the dung: and they that have seen him shall say, Where is he? He shall

* Qui audiunt, audita referunt; qui vident, plané sciunt.

flee away as a dream, and pass away as a vision of the night; there is nothing left of his meat, and no man shall hope for his good; yea, when he shall have filled his belly, God shall send down his fierce wrath, and rain even upon his meat.' You see there is nothing prospereth with him because he is an hypocrite; and when he went to his work, the blessing of the Lord was commanded to stay behind. The blessing of the Lord must be upon the building of our houses, watching of our cities, tilling of our ground, filling of our bellies, training up of our children, or whatsoever pains we bestow in all these falleth into emptiness. This was it that seconded and supplied the labour of Jonah; he built him a booth which withered, but 'God prepared him a gourd,' an house of a better foundation, because it lived by the moisture of the earth, which the other was destitute of.

There is a great question and contention between writers touching the plant that was here provided, what it was by kind, and how to be termed. The wisdom which God gave unto Adam, Gen. ii., was very great in the naming of all those creatures that God brought before him. But concerning the herb or tree here mentioned, the most learned and wise amongst the Hebrews, Grecians, Latins, Spanish, French, Germans, Etrurians, have laboured and beaten their brains to give it a name, but hitherto have not found it; and unless there be some second Adam to speak his mind, or another Solomon, 'who was able to speak of the trees from the cedar to the hyssop,' I think the controversy will never be ended. Notwithstanding, as the best wine is that which is farthest brought, for the more it is shaken in carriage the more it is fined and made fit for use, so there is both pleasure and profit to hear any point of learning sifted and moved to and fro by the diverse judgments of learned men. If I were as skilful in simpling as some are, I would give you my simple opinion. But now I must speak from mine authors. R. Esdras saith that the wise of Spain called it *Cucurbita* or *Cucumber*, which is in English a gourd or cucumber; but withal he addeth, *ratio inire non potest, ut sciatur quid sit*, we cannot find out the means to know what it was. The Latin vulgar translation calleth it *Hedera*, which in our English signifieth ivy. Jerome disproveth that, even against himself, and saith that the Latins have no name for it, for ivy and gourds and cucumbers (he saith) creep upon the ground, and have need of tendrils and props to bear them up; but this tree sustained herself with her own trunk, and had broad leaves like a vine, and the shadow which it cast was very thick. Some called it *Bryonia*, bryony, or wild nep, and the white vine, which groweth in the hedges with red berries, and blistereth his skin that handleth it; some, *Rapum silvestre*, the wild rape root. The Hebrews and the Chaldees name it Kikaion, the Grecians *Kízi* and *Kzóων*, the Arabians *Elkerva*, whereof ye have the oil of kerva in the apothecaries' shops. Sometimes they

call it *Cataputia major*, great spurge, and *Pendactylum*, for the similitude it hath with the five fingers of the hand; whereupon the French, by reason of the joints and knots which are in the leaves thereof, name it *Palme de Christ*, that is to say, Christ's hand. The Etrurians call it *Phaseolum*, faselles, or long pease, a kind of pulse rising so high that it served them for arbors. Lastly, the Germans, for the admirable height of it, call it *wonder boome*, that is, the wonderful tree. Thus every nation, as it could get any tree, which in their imagination came nearest unto it, so they lent it a name. But we may conclude with Æcolampadius, according to that of Esdras before, *Incertum qualis frutex vel arbor*, It is not known what bush or tree it was. At length the Latins, the latest, and in my judgment the skilfullest amongst them, have all agreed to call it *Ricinus*, which in propriety of speech signifieth a tick, a creature noisome to dogs,* and for the likeness of the seed or grain that it beareth, is applied to this tree. Dioscorides calleth it *arborosum fruticem*, a bush, yet a tree, like unto a fig-tree, but less,† with leaves like to a plane, but greater, soft, and blackish, and bearing seed like unto ticks. We may read of it in Pliny,‡ and of the oil that cometh there thence, *ricinium*, together with the variety of names that are given unto it.§ But all with one consent agree that it suddenly springeth to the height of an olive, and diffuseth itself like ivy, and that it hath scattering boughs and broad leaves, like the plane-tree, where-under they were wont to feast, and most commodious to give a shadow. For which cause, R. Kimchi noteth they used to place it before tavern doors. Whether we have lighted upon the name or not, it sufficeth for the history to understand that God provided a tree, wonderfully tall, plentifully stored with boughs and leaves, and such as was most convenient to give comfort unto Jonah. Oh how admirable are the works of God, the least whereof may challenge so many commentaries and expositions to be spent upon it! What shall we then think of all nature, if the whole table and book thereof were set before our eyes to be viewed and considered, when one plant of the ground findeth not learning enough amongst Jews, barbarians, nor Christians to unfold it? 'When we behold the heavens, the works of his fingers, the moon and the stars which he hath ordained,' I say not then as the psalmist doth: 'Lord, what is man, or the son of man, that thou shouldst so visit him?' But what is man, or the son of man, that he should judge or give sentence of them? And we may both begin and end that psalm as the prophet doth, 'O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name

* Animal canibus infestum.

† Similem sicut sed minorem, folia habentem simillima platano sed majora, &c.

‡ Lib. xv., Nat. Hist., cap. vii.

§ Croton, trixis, sesamum silvestre, &c.; platanus generalis.

in all the world,' and in the great buildings and treasures thereof, when one small creature and parcel of thy works breedeth such confusion in the wits of man?

Præsentemque refert quælibet herba Deum.

Much more deeply might the Lord oppose us, as he did his servant Job, with the greater wonders of nature, when we strain at gnats and cannot conceive of little things: Job. xxxviii, 'Hast thou entered into the bottoms of the sea, or walked to seek out the depth? Have the gates of death been opened unto thee, or hast thou seen the gates of the shadow of death? Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth? Tell if thou knowest all this. And where is the way that light dwelleth, and where is the place of darkness?' Anaxagoras being asked why man was made, answered, 'To behold the heavens, and to magnify God in his creatures. Surely, as our Saviour commended the small mites which the widow cast into the treasury, so there is not the least work that God doth, but deserveth the greatest admiration that our hearts can comprehend. And, therefore, the enchanters of Pharaoh, when they were come to try their cunning in lice, the basest and most contemptiblest creatures, they were enforced to cry out, 'This is the finger of God,' Exod. viii.

To conclude; as Christ made the comparison between the lilies and his servants, Mat. vi., 'If God so clothed the grass of the field, which to-day is standing and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more shall he do unto you, O ye of little faith!' so may we say, If God be so glorious in a mean plant of the field, which in a night came up, and in a night perished again, much more are his mightier works highly to be marvelled at.

But in this 6th verse (to bring it into order) there are two parts: 1, the creation of the gourd by the hands of God; 2, the acceptation of Jonah. The former hath four joints and divisions in it: (1.) The gourd was *prepared by the Lord God*, for who else was able to create? Some have gone about to imitate the works of creation, as to make thunders and lightnings, and to fly in the air; but they have paid the price of saying in their foolish hearts, I will be like the Most High. (2.) It was *made to ascend*; (3.) to be a shadow over the head of Jonah; (4.) to deliver him from his grief. The preparing of the gourd had little pleased Jonah, unless it had ascended to some height; nor the ascending on high, unless it had been flexible, and bowed itself over his head; nor the hanging over his head, without such quantity of boughs and leaves as were sufficient to shadow it: all these grow and ascend in my text higher, as the tree itself doth, that we may know how wisely the works of God are done, and they never miss the end whereunto they were addressed. Two of these four members, to wit, the springing and climbing of the gourd, that in a moment of time it was over the head of Jonah, shew

the omnipotent power and providence of the Almighty, who, contrary to the rule of the philosophers, *gigni de nihilo nihil*, that nothing is made of nothing, without some matter pre-existent, causeth a tree to arise without either seed or stock to produce it, and hasteneth the work in such sort that whereas other plants require the changes and seasons of the year to make them sprout and yield their increase, not without the kindness of the ground, dropping of the air, influence of the sun and stars, and other natural concurrences, this by the extraordinary hand of God, presently and immediately came to a full growth. For I like not their opinion who think that the gourd was there before; and therefore Jonah applied himself to that place, and there erected his booth, when the judgments of so many learned, and the letter of the text, is flatly against them. Besides, the word of *preparing*, that is here and elsewhere used (for who but the same Lord God prepared the fish before, or who the worm and the east wind hereafter?), noteth a quick and speedy expedition in the working of God,* when his pleasure is, and that all things in the world, great and small, the winds in the air, the fishes in the water, the plants in the earth, and under the earth worms and creeping things, are subjected to his mighty providence. The latter two declare the goodness of God towards Jonah in his application of the gourd to so acceptable an end. For by that means his body was shadowed and his soul eased. I know there is misery enough in nature, and that 'judgment sometimes beginneth at the house of God,' and they 'drink deeply of the cup' to whom it was not meant, Jer. xlix. And the grief which Jonah here feelth is but a portion of that grief which corruption and mortality had addicted us unto. And the farther we go from God, the nearer we ever approach to misery; for neither land, nor sea, nor city, nor field, nor air, nor earth, nor any worm of the earth, shall favour us, no more than they favoured Jonah. I am not ignorant, on the other side, that all nature is provided for the comfort of God's elect. And nature shall even be changed, and made to run faster than her manner is, to do them good. The Lord shall not only do it, but do it with speed, when we have little reason to look after it: sometimes by rule and sometimes at liberty, sometimes by law and sometimes by privilege and above his law, sometimes by nature and sometimes by miracle; but do it he will, rather than his help shall fail. Who thought of the ram in the bush, when Isaac lay upon the faggots? The good will of him that dwelt in the burning bush sent it. He came not upon his feet, but was brought by special providence. Who dreamed that an east wind should have filled the camp of Israel with quails? It had blown often before, and sometimes hurtful and unprosperous blasts, but never quails. Who looked

* Pullulare facit eo momento.—*R. Kimchi*. Repente aucto frutice.—*Ar. Mont.* Nocte exstitit, ver. 10.

for manna from heaven when they wanted bread in the wilderness? Many a dew and frost had they seen upon the ground, but never with such effect. Who durst presume to think that Jordan would run back, or the Red Sea divide itself, till they saw it fulfilled; or would not have sworn that the lions would have rent Daniel in pieces, and bruised every bone; and the fire of that oven in Babylon have burned those three salamanders to powder, till they saw it otherwise? But these things have been done, we know, and done on the sudden; the Lord hath risen early to do them, that is, hastened his act, and set wheel as it were to his power and goodness, to make them speed. And thus was this gourd provided, to the growing whereof were required a spring and summer at the least, but to such augmentation and largeness the space of many years. These two companions, the

might and mercy of God, between which, as before I said, those four members of my text divide themselves, are his two wings, under the shadow whereof we shall be safe. And as the disciples of Christ were sent into the world 'two and two before his face,' to preach the gospel and to heal diseases, so these two hath the Lord joined together; and they go before his face as far as the earth is bounded, to assist his chosen in all their griefs. And rather than any temptation shall wax too strong for them, and put them in hazard, he will be *Adonai, Adonai*, twice a God as it were, and double his Spirit, strong and strong, merciful and merciful; and as his goodness is infinite, so it shall draw forwards his infinite power to some extraordinary and untimely work, which nature without leisure and tract of time could not have produced.

LECTURE XLVI.

So Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd.—JONAH IV. 6.

IN the building of God, after the building of Jonah withered and defaced, I noted, 1, the provision that the Lord made for him; 2, his own acceptation. The former, with the branches thereto belonging, viz., the creation and propagation of the gourd, wherein the power of God was manifested, together with the shadow, and end of the shadow, wherein his goodness shewed itself, we have already treated of, and are now to consider the acceptance and applause that Jonah gave unto it. It offereth unto us these two things: 1, his affection, *joy*; 2, the measure of that affection, *exceeding great joy*.

1. Many things there were which might provoke the rejoicing of Jonah: (1.) The fanning of the leaves, which was a great comfort to a man that sat in the sun, and was parched with the heat, as a cake in the hearth; for the sun is a marvellous instrument, as the son of Sirach speaketh, Ecclus. xliii., it burneth the mountains three times more than one than keepeth a furnace; it casteth out fiery vapours, and with shining beams blindeth the eyes. And we know that 'burning heat,' *ardor et astus*, is in the number of the plagues threatened, Deut. xxviii. and Rev. xvi., 'The fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and it was given him to torment men with heat of fire. And men boiled in great heat, and blasphemed the name of God for it.' This was the grief wherewith it is said before that Jonah was perplexed, for it is not a mean plague to lie open to the scorching of the sun without shadow and protection; so much the rather, if (as the Rabbins imagine) the skin of Jonah was waxen more tender since his inclosure in the bowels of the fish than before. (2.) The gourd saved him the continual renewing of his booth; for it was likely enough that his natural house, built by the hands of God, should

longer have continued than that artificial tabernacle which himself had erected of such slender stuff. (3.) It is thought that the colour of his arbor being green and fresh, pleased well his eyes. (4.) That the scent of the leaves was not unwelcome to his nostrils. Paulus de Palatio addeth other reasons of his joy: (1.) He thinketh that Jonah was sick through grief of heart, and that it much revived his soul to see the care which God had over him; (2.) he imagineth that Jonah persuaded himself, even for this miracle's sake, that the people of Nineveh would not esteem him as a false prophet; (3.) lastly, he accordeth to St Jerome, and supposeth this tree to have been common in Judea, and therefore it much delighted Jonah to behold a tree of his own country. They add, moreover, the suddenness of the miracle, and that the gourd was so much the more grateful unto Jonah because it came unlooked for. But the most of these before alleged are but sensible pleasures; and there is no question but that which most affecteth him was the presence and favour of God, so miraculously and extraordinarily shewed. For that argument which Gideon asked of God, 'If God be with us, where are his miracles?' Judges vi., to seal up his mercies towards him, the same doth the Lord bring in this place for the confirmation of Jonah.

That Jonah rejoiced for the gourd, I cannot dislike; it argueth that he weighed and esteemed the blessings of God as they deserved. Many, though they fall upon their heads as the dew of heaven upon their ground, yet are more senseless in them; and as they meet the motes in the sunbeams, so they entertain the gifts of God as if they came by chance, scarcely lending a thought to consider them. Others are joyful enough of that which they are possessed of; sometimes inso-

lent and proud, their looks and their gait have majesty and disdain in them against those who are not so plentifully visited; but they little regard the Author of those benefits, who hath sent this ticket or remembrance to every man upon the face of the earth, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' Let Nabal be the person and parable in whom I report (only changing the name) the history of all worldly men, who, having the riches of the earth, take them as inheritance or due debt, and spend them like lords, to fulfil their lusts; meanwhile, not minding either sacrifice to God, or relief to the poor, or any way applying themselves to those ends for which they were enriched. Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv., had riches enough, and mirth enough: 'He made a feast after his shearing like a king, and his heart was merry within him;' the reason was, 'for he was very drunken:' there is the use of his riches. Besides, the opinion of his mightiness and wealth made him as drunk otherwise; for the usage of himself, in the dispensation of his riches, was so base every way, that neither servant, nor wife, nor stranger gave good report of him. The servant uttereth his complaint, 'He is so wicked, that a man cannot speak unto him;' the wife concealeth not hers, 'Let not my Lord regard this wicked man, for as his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him.' David oftentimes fretteth at his churlishness: 'He hath requited me evil for good,' who would not bestow a little portion of his substance to refresh the servants of David, 'that walked at the feet of their lord, though they were a wall unto him by day and by night, and safeguarded all that he had in the wilderness.' But his end was answerable to his deserving, for it is said in the text, 'The Lord smote him within ten days that he died,' and before that death of his body, 'his heart died within him, and he was like a stone.' The best instruction is, as we rejoice in those temporal blessings of God, so to use them that they may be our joy (for to some they are snares and destructions), to receive them with thanksgiving, embrace them in measure, and dispense them with wisdom, to the honour of our bountiful God, relief of afflicted Joseph, and a furtherance unto us to discharge those Christian duties wherunto we are bound.

Besides the acknowledging of the author, the pleasure which Jonah took in the gourd was a sign that he felt the sweetness and use of the benefit, which (if you observe) is a blessing upon a blessing; for as the wise preacher noted, Eccles. v., 'To everyman to whom God hath given riches and treasure, and giveth him power to eat thereof, and to take his part, and to enjoy his labour, this is the gift of God;' the other are his gifts, but this is a double gift. Surely 'he will not much remember the days of his life, because God answereth the joy of his heart;' without which joy and comfort of heart he will remember not only the days, but the hours and minutes of his life; and every

one is more bitter than other unto him. All the meat that he eateth seemeth to be mingled with gall, and his drink spiced with wormwood; his clothes sit so strait upon his body, his body is a prison to his soul, and his soul a burden and clog to itself. Therefore the preacher addeth, chap. vi., 'There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is much amongst men: a man to whom God hath given riches, and treasure, and honour, and he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that it desireth, but God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger shall eat it up: this is vanity, and this is an evil sickness.' Jonah was not sick of this disease; for he both enjoyed the gourd, and perceived those comforts and pleasures for which it was provided.

2. But what meaneth the immoderate and excessive joy that Jonah took therein? for I come now to the measure of his affection. It is true oftentimes which the poet hath,

Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.*

So foolish are we, that while we avoid one fault, we fall into the contrary. Jonah is quickly angry, and quickly pleased, and very angry, and very well pleased. Whatsoever he is, or doth, he putteth full strength unto it, *quicquid agit, valdè agit*. It is a great mastery, saith Seneca, to play a man kindly. Of one whom thou sawest but yesterday, thou mayest ask the next, Who is this? he is so much changed.† Would a man know Jonah to be Jonah, that had seen him before in his exceeding wrath, and now should find him so exceedingly well pleased?

Iram

Colligit et ponit temerè, &c.‡

This were enough for a child, whose limber and inconstant passions are every hour altered; yet Jonah bewrayeth his weakness in the like mutability of manners; sometimes boiling like a sea, or like the river in Isaiah, 'mighty and great,' Isa. viii., with abundance of choler; sometimes as strongly overborne with a contrary affection,§ constant in nothing but in his inconstancy, and never moderating himself with a mild and sober carriage, as those 'waters of Shiloah, that ran softly.' Peter Martyr, writing of the affections of man, sorrow, joy, hope, fear, anger, and the rest, compared them to the winds wherewith a ship is driven: they may be helps to the ship, and they may overthrow it. The passions, I think, wherewith Jonah was driven to and fro, were more vehement than that wind which raised the former tempest; for when he is angry, he is sore grieved; when he is glad, he is over-much afraid; and when he is angry again, he is angry to the death. So he is not only variable in his affection, as

* Horat. in Sat.

† Magnum est hominem agere: de aliquo quem vidisti heri, merito potest dici, hic quis est? tanta mutatio est.

‡ Horat. in ar. Poet.

§ Vitæ disconvenit ordine toto.—Hor. in Epist. Ibid.

Proteus was in his shapes, wrought like wax upon a sudden, but he is also as intemperate in them, not able to contain himself within the lists of any moderation.

That you may know what vessels they are which God doth use in the ministration of his holiest work, in bearing his name before the world, and preaching the gospel of Christ, the richest treasure that ever the earth received; they are earthly vessels, made of clay, and shaped of the self-same mould whereof all mankind is fashioned. Prophets they are, but as Moses spake, 'like unto their brethren,' not only in similitude of flesh, as Christ only was, but in similitude of sinful and infirm flesh; apostles they are, and Christ chose twelve of them, but Judas was a devil incarnate, and Peter was a Satan in his kind, and none were angels; they are also the men of God, yet men; or if they be angels by a more honourable style than their nature can bear, Rev. i.; 'Behold, he hath not found steadfastness in his angels,' Job iv.; or if they be stars, in the same vision, 'behold the stars are not pure in his sight,' Job xxv.; from both which places of Job is inferred by way of comparison, 'much less they that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, and they are consumed before the moth: much less man, that is but rottenness; and the son of man, that is a worm.' He scarcely beareth a tongue in these days, that frameth not this, or such like objections against us: 'They say and do not,' Mat. xxiii.; 'Physician, first heal thyself;' 'You that preach that a man should keep the law, by breaking the law dishonour you God?' What then? If we be not worse in your opinions than the Scribes and Pharisees, do you the part of dutiful auditors; 'all that we shall bid you observe, that observe and do.' So long as we sit in the chair of Moses, and Christ, and his apostles, and teach you no other doctrine and precepts than they have delivered, you need not fear us. If we live well, it is our own, I mean not only our praise, but our crown also: if we teach well, it is yours;* take you the portion which belongeth unto you, and leave the other to ourselves. If we be careless of our own sores, when your wounds are healed and bound up by us; if we, as unprofitable salt, good for nothing but to be thrown to the dunghill, be thrown out indeed, and you seasoned; if we be cast into darkness, and you illuminated by our light; if, when we have preached unto you, ourselves become reprobates; if, when we have shone like lamps and candles in the house, ourselves go out in smoke; if, when we have built you an ark, ourselves be drowned; if, when we have guided you into the land of promise, ourselves die short of it; if, when we have served in the temple of the Lord, as that plate of silver and gold, ourselves be carried captive into Babylon, or some stranger land; if, when we have sowed you fields, we reap them not; and

* Si bene vixerimus, nostrum est. Si bene dixerimus, vestrum, &c.

planted you vineyards, we drink not of the wine; and when we had preached salvation unto you, we taste not of the fruits thereof: be it unto us as we have deserved. Be not you our judges; leave us to stand or fall to our own Lord; only, use you the benefit of our labour and travail as God hath appointed it. Jonah (to apply my speech), when he rebelled, he rebelled without measure, and when he slept he slept without measure; his anger before and afterwards is without measure, and his joy in this place as much without measure. There was never any thing so unlike itself.

Nil fuit unquam

Sic impar sibi.

Behold (as the Gospel spake), 'more than Jonah is here.' I mean, worse than Jonah is amongst us, if you come to examine the lives of ministers. We transgress the commandments of God more than even Jonah did; and we are more sleepy than he was, in the hazard of the ship, that is, in the danger of Christ's church; and our passions of anger, envy, and joy, bear us away with more violence. If any be offended with us for such infirmity and frailty grafted in our flesh, let them ask the reason of the potter, '*Quare fecisti sic?*' Why hast thou done it thus, and not rather appointed that the perfecting of our salvation should have been wrought by stronger instruments?

But I turn to my matter in hand. How exceeding and unmeasurable the joy of Jonah was, appeareth, (1.) by doubling the affection, *letabatur letitiâ*, 'he rejoiced with joy;' (2.) by adding an attribute, *magnâ letitiâ*, 'with great joy,' so it was joy, and joy, and great joy, such as Isaiah describeth in the ninth of his prophecy, 'According to the joy of harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide a spoil;' or as one that 'cometh with a pipe, to go unto the mount of the Lord,' Isa. xxx. The nature of joy, as also of love and liking to any thing, is to dilate and stretch out the heart; for when it taketh pleasure in the object, it openeth itself, as a friend his bosom and arms, to embrace a friend; so this, the chambers and rooms thereof, to welcome that pleasure which is come unto it. So doth Isaiah prophesy unto Jerusalem of the joy that shall be unto her for the coming of the Gentiles: Isa. lx., 'Thine heart shall be astonished and enlarged, because the multitude of the sea shall be converted unto thee,' &c. The apostle useth the same kind of speech to the Corinthians: 2 Cor. vi. 'O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is made large. You are not kept strait in us, but you are kept strait in your own bowels. Now, for a recompence (I speak as to my children), be you also enlarged.' That is, as I have opened all the affections of my soul to receive you, so be you as willing and joyful on the other side to receive me again. And afterwards, 2 Cor. vii. 'Receive us; for I have said that ye are in our hearts to die and to live together: I rejoice greatly in you; I am filled with comfort, and am exceeding joyous in all our tribulation.' Such

is the force of joy, it so possesseth and replenisheth the heart, that while a man liveth, he cannot forsake the thing which he is fond of. I leave it to physicians to examine the cause; but if histories deceive us not, some have died through immoderate joy, as Diagoras of Rhodes, in the arms of his three sons, returning victors from the games of Olympus. The highest degree of joy is that which they call jubilee, described by Gregory thus,* when an unspeakable gladness is conceived in the mind, which neither can be hid, nor by speech uttered; and although it be not expressed by any proprieties, yet it is signified by some kinds of gesture; or when the abundance of the heart is not answered by sufficiency of words,† but he which rejoiceth is neither able to rule his joy, nor to fulfil it. I think the joy of Jonah was a jubilee; he is so ravished and overcome with the pleasure of the gourd, that he knoweth not how to contain himself. Alas, a gourd was not worth thus much, if the rule be true, that the measure of our joy should be according to the news that is brought,‡ and the cheerfulness of the mind no more than is the thing which we rejoice for. If Jonah had received tidings of deliverance from the belly of the fish, or of redemption from eternal death; if a prophet had sung unto him, as he did unto Sion, 'Rejoice and be glad, Jonah, behold thy King cometh;' or angels had brought him word, as they did the shepherds, 'Behold, we bring thee news of great joy that shall be to all people;' what could Jonah more have done? For these, and such like, are the things wherein our greatest joy should be placed, and there can be no intemperancy of rejoicing where these are affected. So witnessed one apostle: Gal. vi., 'God forbid that I should rejoice in anything but in the cross of Christ; and the other agreeth unto him: 1 Pet. i., 'In whom, though you see him not, yet do you believe, and rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorious.' For that is the true and principal joy, which is conceived, not from the creature but from the Creator,§ which, when thou hast received, no man can take from thee; where-with, compare what pleasure soever, it is grief, all sweet is sour unto it, and there is nothing that may delight but seemeth troublesome and offensive. 'There are many that say, Who will shew us any good?' They are answered by the prophet in one word, 'Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us;' open but our eyes that they may behold thy mercies, 'For thou hast given me more joy of heart by the light of thy face' than worldlings have felt 'when their wheat and their wine hath most abounded.' Ps. iv. And therefore 'blessed is the man whose strength is

* Ineffabile gaudium mente concipitur, quod nec abscondi potest, nec sermonibus aperiri, &c.—*Lib. Moral.* xiv.

† Cum cordis lætitia oris efficaciam non expletur, &c.—*Ibid.* xxviii.

‡ Mensura lætitiæ de magnitudine nuntii veniat.—*Cassiod. Epist.*, lib. i.

§ Illud est verum gaudium, quod non de creaturâ sed de Creatore concipitur, &c.—*Bern.*

in thee, whose heart is in thy ways, who, going through the vale of this world, make wells therein,' Ps. lxxxiv.; that is, use such commodities as this valley of tears affordeth them to relieve their present wants, but stay themselves upon the hope and expectation of better things to come. The Scripture doth everywhere call us to higher pleasures; so doth Wisdom. Prov. viii., 'With me are durable riches;' the riches of this world are variable. So doth Isaiah in the 55th of his prophecy: 'Why lay you out your money, and not for bread,' but bestow it upon acorns and bran that cannot feed? So doth the Son of God: Mat. vi., 'Lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven;' and John vi., 'Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life.' So likewise he adviseth the church of Laodicea: Rev. iii., 'I counsel thee to buy gold of me, that thou mayest be made rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that thy filthiness appear not.' As for the mutable and transitory either pleasures or profits of this life, which are ever coming and going, it shall be good for a man so to love them, as that he may find in his heart to leave them when need requireth. *Ames tanquam osurus.* And, as Fabricius told Pyrrhus, who one day tempted him with gold, another day terrified him with an elephant which he had never seen before: Yesterday I was not moved with thy money, nor to-day with thy beast; so, whether we were tempted with the gain, or terrified with the loss of these worldly commodities, we do not trouble ourselves either way, because they were given us but for use, and not everlastingly to enjoy. *Utinur mundo, fruimur Deo.** 'No man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him, for all things come alike to all, and the same condition (I mean in these outward things) is both to the just and the wicked,' Eccles. ix. And, therefore, happy are we if therein we can compose ourselves to that indifferent resolution that David had when he fled from Absalom, his son, touching his coming or not coming back again to Jerusalem to take his former comforts: 'Behold, here am I; let him do to me as it seemeth good in his eyes,' 2 Sam. xv.

But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered, ver. 7. The pleasure of Jonah is quite dashed; he little thought of so speedy an alteration, who seemed to say in his heart not long before, I shall never be grieved; but 'the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away,' and he that hath power over the blessings, hath power also over the plagues, Rev. vi.; and as 'every good gift cometh down from above,' so there is 'not an evil in the city,' nor in the world, 'that the Lord doth not.' And his providence is as mighty in using the service of a worm as of leviathan. I need not trouble you either with the author, whom I have often mentioned before, or with his manner of work-

* August.

ing, for he doth not only create all things, but he ordereth and fitteth them in such sort, that they are ready at all times to work his will. There is nothing sudden, or new, or unprovided unto him, but all his creatures, both great and small, as if they watched their turns, stand forth to give their attendance. The instrument that God useth to afflict Jonah with is very vile and contemptible. He that could have sent a wind to have turned the gourd upside down, or lightning to have blasted it, or an whole army of worms and caterpillars to have devoured it, or withered it with his word, as Christ did the fig-tree—'Never bear leaves henceforth',—prepareth a worm, and but one worm, to execute that business. The Scripture nowhere speaketh of worms, but with a kind of contempt, as of a base and silly creature, as Ps. xxii. 'But I am a worm and no man, the reproach of men, and the scorn of people,' where the latter expoundeth the former; and Isa. xli., 'Fear not, worm Jacob,' though thou art the least amongst the nations, all the people of the earth set themselves against thee. The Hebrews have an opinion, that enchanterers cannot shew their skill in little things, if they be less, they say, than a barley-corn, *in iis quæ sunt minora granohordei*, and therefore the sorcerers of Egypt failed in producing lice. But our God is as cunning and artificial in the smallest creature of the world as in the greatest; the organical body of a little ant, is no less to be wondered at, than the huge body of behemoth. And as Vulcan is commended in the poet, for beating out chains and nets so thin, that the eye could not see them, smaller than the smallest thread, or than the web of the spider,* so the smaller the creature is, the more is the workmanship of God to be admired, both in the shaping and in the using thereof. We all know that God hath scourged the mightiest tyrant in the earth, as much with worms, as if he had sent out whole armies against him. As he plagued Sennacherib with an angel from heaven, the Sodomites with fire and brimstone, Korah and his conspirators with the opening of the earth, so he destroyed Herod with worms, Antiochus with worms, and against many other bloody persecutors of his church used none other executioners. And be it spoken to the daunting of all flesh, to pull down the pride thereof, that the day shall come when 'worms shall cover them,' and they shall 'say to the worms, You are our brethren and sisters,' and to the confusion of all the wicked and damned of the earth, that 'their worm dieth not,' whereby, though an infinite torment be meant, yet the gnawing of a poor worm is made to express it.

The time which God chose for smiting the gourd, was in the rising of the morning, a little before the sun came forth of his chamber, when the shadow of the gourd should most have pleased him; for in the night season, the air was cold enough, and Jonah

passed it with sleep, so that the covering of the boughs was superfluous for that time. *But when the morning arose*, the rightest hour that the cross could have fallen upon Jonah, the worm is sent. They say in Isaiah, chap. v., 'Let the counsel of the Holy One come.' What need they call for it. It shall not only come, but come in a time which God hath appointed fittest for their smart. All the judgments of the Lord are number and measure; he reckoneth the hour, and the minute of the hour, when it is most convenient to inflict them. Sisera shall not die in an army, nor by the hands of a man, nor any bow bent, nor sword drawn against him; the Lord hath reserved him to a tent, and to a tenpenny nail to be driven into his head by the hands of a feeble woman. This was the time, and these the means, which the Lord made choice of to punish him. Sennacherib shall not be slain in the field, nor by the angel of the Lord which smote a great part of his army, but at home, in his own city, and in the temple of his idol, and by the hands of his sons that sprang from his bowels. This is the time, and these the means, that the Lord hath kept him unto, to shew his justice. Therefore the day of vengeance and destruction is evermore called 'the day of the Lord;' not that the rest are not his, but these he hath specially marked out, and allotted to exercise his judgment in. 'There is a time to plant, and a time to root up that that hath been planted.' Babylon is as a threshing-floor, saith the prophet, 'the time of her threshing is come, yet a little while and her harvest is come,' Jer. ii. So Babylon (you see) hath a time for her threshing. Our Saviour, Rev. iii., speaketh of an 'hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.' And in the fourteenth of the same book, the angel flieth in the midst of heaven, 'saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.' And another angel 'cried unto him that sat upon the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap the harvest of the earth, for the time is come to reap it.' God suffered the gourd in the night time, when Jonah had little benefit by it; but 'when the morning arose,' and when his soul most desired the comfort thereof, then it withered. Rich men shall have riches when they have least use of them, but when the evil day cometh, they shall cast them away to the moles of the earth; and epicures shall have their pleasures for a time, but when they shall say unto pleasures, Stand up and help us, they shall fly away from them.

And as he chose the unhappiest time for the plaguing of Jonah, so he made speed to plague him; for how short a time did Jonah enjoy the pleasure of the gourd! God prepared a worm the very *next day* to smite it. Where are those greedy dogs that never have enough of pleasure? who say, 'Come, we will bring wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink, and to-morrow shall be this day, and much more

* Quæ lumina fallere possint.
Non illud opus tenuissima vincunt
Stamina.

abundant, Isa. lvi. What else is this drunkenness of yours in wine and strong drink, and fulfil of pleasures, but the merry madness of one hour, *unius hore hilaris insania*, to be recompensed with sorrow for ever and ever; James iv., 'Go to, you that say To-day, and to-morrow we will do this and that, and yet ye cannot tell what shall be to-morrow; for what is your life?' or what is your pleasure intended? 'It is even a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and afterward vanisheth away.' Prov. xxvii. 1, 'Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth!' *Nescis quid serus vesper ferat*, thou knowest not what a change the next evening may make. Did Elah the king of Israel think, when he was feasting in his steward's house, 1 Kings xvi., that his time had been so short, and that a captain of his own should have slain him? Did the sons and daughters of Job, when they were banqueting in their eldest brother's house, Job. i., dream of the wind that came from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house that it overwhelmed them? Did Babylon, which was called 'tender and delicate, and the lady of kingdoms,' which assumed to herself, 'I am, and there is none else; I shall not sit a widow, nor know the loss of children,' Isaiah xlvii.; she that trusted in her wickedness, and said, None seeth me; did she imagine how near they were that came with contrary news, *advenit finis tuis*, 'Thine end is come'? Jer. li. Dumah calleth to the prophet in scorn, Isa. xxi., 'Watchman, what is in the night? watchman, what is in the night? The watchman answereth, The morning cometh and also the night;' that is, thou hast had a time of light, and delights, thou shalt also have a time of darkness. Thus the Edomites and epicures of our days mock their prophets and watchmen. You speak of a night, ye watchmen, and of a day of judgment; but when cometh that night? or 'where is the promise of his coming?' We tell you again, 'The morning cometh, and also the night.' 'If ye will ask, ask,' to amendment of life, ask not to scoff us and to deceive yourselves; 'inquire, return, and come;' that is, continue not still in your former abominations. The time is very short, it is but *manè* and *vesperè*, which is the measure of one day. 'Yet a very little while, and he that cometh, cometh.' 'Sudden destruction shall come upon the wicked, as fear upon a woman that travaileth with child,' 1 Thes. v. 'How suddenly are they destroyed, perish, and come to a fearful end,' Psa. lxxiii.

The service that God put the worm unto, was to *smite the gourd*; as a messenger sent from heaven, like his angel to Nebuchadnezzar's tree, with this commission, 'Hew down the tree.' The little worm with his teeth, or rather no teeth, but such feeble grinders as nature had armed it with, smiteth the gourd, and giveth it a mortal stroke, as if a workman had come of purpose to lay an axe to the root of it. Consider, I beseech you, the miraculous working of God, as in

the planting of this creature, so in the overthrow of it. It dieth not with age, or continuance of time, as *annosa quercus*, the long lasting oak, or for lack of soil and mould to the root, or because the spouts of the air restrained their dew from it; but a little and base messenger, with weapons of no power, but that it was strengthened by the will and might of God, giveth it a blow, and taketh the vegetation and life from it.

For the effect of all is, that *it withered*. So the author of all is *God*; the readiness of his working, *preparation*, as of one never unstored; the minister, *a worm*; the time, *the morning*; the speed, *the next day*; the work, *smiting the gourd*; the effect, *withering*. Thus is the life of man tempered, as the condition of Jonah was without the walls of Nineveh; like a garment pieced together of old and new cloth, so this of sour and sweet, and there are many and sore reunts in it. Sometimes pleasure assuageth pain, but most commonly pain killeth pleasure. If our days were distinguished, the good with white, the evil with black stones, at the end of our lives we should find more black than white. Take a pattern from Jonah, and see how the blessing and scourges of God kiss one the other, in this his banishment, and rather the scourges exceed. He buildeth a tabernacle, but it falleth; is provided of a gourd, but it withereth. And instead of that little momentary joy which he took therein, cometh a worm, and the sun, and a fervent wind, and fainting in his body, and in his mind most intolerable languishment. Behold this image of alteration in the state of Jonah, especially this of the gourd, and tell me if all the pleasures of our life are not fitly exemplified by it. The pleasure in the days of Noah, their eating, drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, Mat. xxiv., what was it but a gourd? and came there not a worm from God that smote it, a 'flood that took them all away'? The mirth of the Philistines, Judges the sixteenth, when Samson was their laughing-stock, and must be called in to make them pastime, was it more than a gourd, wherewith their hearts were merry for a while and they exceedingly rejoiced? And how quickly came a worm that smote it, when the pillars of the house were shaken, and fell upon the princes and all the people that were therein! The 'peaceable days' of the wicked, Job the one and twentieth, their freedom from the rod of God, their dancing to the tabret and harp, all is but a gourd; 'in an instant of time they go down to hell:' there is the worm that smiteth it; but in the four and twentieth of Job, 'they shall be broken like a tree;' they come nearer to the smiting of the gourd here spoken of; and in the fifteenth before, 'their branches shall not be green, but they shall be cut off before their day. God shall destroy them as the vine her sour grape, and shall cast them off as the olive doth her flower:' there are the right gourds and the worms expressed. The young man hath his gourd to rejoice in, Eccles. xi., the days of his youth, the cheerfulness

of his heart, the lusts of his own eyes; but let him remember the worm of judgment that shall smite that gourd. The rich man hath his gourd, Luke xvi., 'purple and fine linen, and delicious fare every day,' and he rejoiceth immeasurably in this gourd, for he knoweth not what the grief of Lazarus meaneth; but he hath a worm that smiteth his gourd: his pleasure withereth with himself, he dieth, and lieth in the grave, and crieth in hell for one drop of rain to cherish his decayed gourd; but he is answered by Abraham, ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου, Thou hadst thy gourd in thy lifetime; now it is dead, and can never be revived. The goodly tabernacle of king Ahasuerus, Esther i., in the 'garden of his palace, under an hanging of white, green, and blue cloths, fastened with cords of silk and purple, in silver rings and pillars of marble, the beds of gold and silver, upon a pavement of porphyry, and alabaster, and blue colour,' was but a tabernacle like the tabernacle of Jonah. His 'hundred and seven and twenty provinces,' and his 'princes and captains thereof;' his 'throne in the palace of Shushan;' his feasting according to the power of a king, and to shew the glory of his kingdom;' his 'abundance of royal wine, and changes of vessels of gold, and the beauty of Vashti his queen:' all these were but a gourd, and had their worm to consume them. The treasures of Hezekiah, 'his silver, and gold, and spices, and precious ointment, and armoury, and all the store of his house which he and his fathers had laid up,' Isa. xxxix.; the soldiers of David, a million and half of fighting men, 1 Chron. xxi.; Belshazzar his 'thousand princes, wives, and concubines;' Ahasuerus his 'hundred and seven and twenty provinces,' &c.: oh what glorious shadows do they cast over the heads of men, with their hundreds, and thousands, and millions of branches to give comfort unto them! how willingly do they say within themselves, under the covert of these gourds, We will sit and be at rest; but they forget the worm, some messenger from the Lord, either sickness, or bands, or death, to smite these gourds:

Medio de fonte leporum,
Surgit amari aliquid.

From the fullest fountain of worldly joys floweth some bitterness. Adam wanted not a serpent in the garden of God, nor Jonah a worm on the east side of the city, where he rathest* delighted. Harken unto it, ye that are 'bond-slaves to the sundry pleasures' of this world, Δουλεύοντες ἡδοναῖς, Titus iii., you that suffer the good seed of admonition and instruction to be 'choked with these thorns, the pleasures of this life,' Luke viii., for this is one of the thorns there spoken against; you who esteem 'to be called the sons of Pharaoh's daughter,' to be the dearlings of the pleasure of Egypt, and be set upon the knees of the Delilah of this world, and to 'enjoy

* That is, 'especially,' the superlative of *rather*.—Ed.

the rejoicing of sin for a season,' Απόλαυσις ἁμαρτίας πρὸς καιρὸς; or rather as the apostle, in the spirit of prophecy, long since noted you, you that are φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι, 'lovers of pleasure, more than of God,' 2 Tim. iii., or if you love it no more than that it maketh you to forget God, 'in whose presence is the fulness of joy, and at his right hand pleasure for evermore, Ps. xvi.; and who 'giveth us drink out of a whole river of pleasures,' Ps. xxxvi.; condemn these transitory gourds, and reserve yourselves for a better building in heaven, where is neither sun nor wind to beat upon your heads, nor worm to alter your happiness; where your joy shall ever be present, yet can you not be filled, rather you shall be filled, but cannot be satisfied. Or if I say that you cannot be satisfied, then there is hunger; or that you may, then there is loathing. I know not what to say; *Deus habet quod exhibeat*,* God hath somewhat both to reveal and to bestow upon you, which I know not; but *ibi beata vita in fonte*, there is blessedness at the head of the spring, not in cisterns or brooks; that I am sure of. Were you able to drink up the pleasures of the world in as plentiful manner as Cleopatra drank the riches (the value of fifty thousand pound at a draught), yet remember that it is but a draught, and quickly down the throat. The length of the throat (saith Bernard) is but two or three inches at the most; or, if it were as long as a crane's neck, which Philoxenus the epicure wished, that the sweetness of his meats and drinks might the longer abide with him, the matter were not much. But when they are drunk and digested, then what becometh of them, more than of your meats and drinks, to be 'cast out into the draught,' so these to perish with their use, and not without shame and sorrow of heart to be thrown away as unhappy superfluities? Whereas the pleasures of eternity, before the face of God, deserve that commendation which Boaz gave to Ruth (and with his words we may bless it), 'Blessed art thou, my daughter, for thou hast shewed me more goodness in the latter end than at the beginning,' Ruth iii.

To conclude; the blesseddest tree is 'in the midst of the paradise of God,' neither on the east nor on the west side of Nineveh, nor any other city of the world. And the leaves of the tree are not only for shadow, as these of the gourd, but 'to heal the nations with,' Rev. xxii. and it hath both leaves and fruits to satisfy our hunger, and 'twelve manner of fruits every month brought forth,' to satisfy our pleasure; and it groweth by 'a river side, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God,' that it cannot possibly wither. For it let us keep our better appetites; and let us beseech him who hath planted it with his own right hand, that we may live to taste how wholesome and pleasant that tree is.

* August. homil. iii. in Joa.

LECTURE XLVII.

And when the sun did arise, God also prepared a fervent east wind ; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, &c.
—JONAH IV. 8.

THE temporary joy which Jonah entertained for the gourd is as quite forgotten as if it had never been ; and buried under a heap of succeeding griefs, as the fruitful years, Gen. xli., were buried under the years of famine ; for so said Joseph, 'The famine shall be so great, that the years of plenty shall not be thought upon.' It followeth in the line of those afflictions which God stretched out upon the head of Jonah, that 'when the sun did arise, God prepared also a fervent east wind,' &c. For it did not suffice him to have sent a worm which smote the gourd, but he adjoineth new corrosives and calamities to afflict the soul of Jonah. For as his blessings, when he 'watcheth to do us good' (as the prophet speaketh), the foot of the one shall even be treading upon the heel of the other ; so also in his chastisements and corrections, he doth not desist to inflict them till he have left an inward sense in those who are his patients. Thus he dealt in the scourging of Job, though a servant dearly beloved, as appeareth by his complaints : Job vii., 'How long will it be ere thou depart from me ? thou wilt not let me alone while I may swallow my spittle.' Again, chap. x., 'Thou renewest thy witnesses ;' that is, thy plagues, witnesses of thy displeasure against me, *vices et exercitus*, 'changes and armies of sorrow are against me.' Surely God is wiser in handling our sins than any physician in dealing with sicknesses ; therefore he best knoweth both what medicine is fittest, and how long to be applied.

1. *The sun ariseth*, as a giant refreshed with wine to run his race, or rather as an enemy prepared to the battle, the only enemy which Jonah had cause to fear, his fortress and castle of boughs being taken from him. 2. After the sun, *a wind* ; and that fighting under the banner of the sun, and confederate with him, *an east wind* ; and for the quality of it, *a fervent east wind*. 3. The sun is not sent to shine, and to cast forth his beams, but *to beat*. 4. Not any inferior part, but that which was highest and next to heaven, *the head of Jonah*. 5. The effects that follow all these are, (1.) his *fainting* in his body ; (2.) in his soul, *wishing to die* ; (3.) professing it with his tongue, *it is better for me to die than to live*.

1. *And when the sun did arise*. The arising of the sun noteth no more than the opportunity of time which God taketh to punish Jonah. He beginneth with the beginning of the day ; the shadows of the night are gone, the fresh dews of the morning soon dispersed, and the sun at his first discovery hath a charge from God to assault the head of Jonah : no part of the day, and as it seemeth, not the coolness and temperature of the morning, are friendly unto

him. He rather wished in his heart, as Job did, chap. iii., 'Let the day be darkness still ; and let not God regard it from above, nor the light shine upon it. But let darkness and clouds and the shadow of death stain it ;' that is, let there be an everlasting night, rather than the beams of the sun should come forth to do me this violence ; and as the sun did once go back in the days of Hezekiah upon the dial of Ahaz, 2 Kings xx., so it would have rejoiced him if it had gone back again to the north, or stood immoveable in a place, that the earth might have been as a pillar between him and the heat thereof.

2. *God prepared also a fervent east wind*. I should but roll the same stone once again and too often, to speak of the author of this whole business, and his speedy expedition therein, which I have told you before is noted in the word of preparation, whose mighty and overspreading providence is as the soul of the world, as inward and familiar to all the actions there, in great and small, as the spirit to our reins ; and better may a body live without breath, than any counsel or work under heaven proceed without it. But I leave those repetitions. The sun and the wind, we see, rise together, and set themselves against Jonah 'as the two smoking fire brands,' Isa. vii., Rezin and Pekah, against Jerusalem, combining and binding themselves not to give over till they have both done their part in the vexing of the prophet.

3. The wind here mentioned is described by two attributes : the one of the quarter or coast from whence it blew, *an east wind* ; the other of the quality which it had, *a fervent east wind*. The cardinal and principal winds, as appeareth both in many places of the Scripture and in foreign authors,* are but four, breathing from the four quarters or divisions of heaven : as in the 37th of Ezekiel, 'Come from the four winds, O breath ;' and Mat. xxiv., 'God shall gather his elect from the four winds.' Afterwards they added four more, which they call collateral or side winds, subordinate to the principal, and thence proceeded to the number of twelve. In these days we distinguish thirty-two ; between every two cardinal winds seven inferior. We may read, Acts xxvii., that Paul was very skilful of the sea-card used in those days ; for, describing his voyage to Rome, he maketh mention not only of east, and west, and south, but of south-west and by west, and of north-west and by west, as the western wind blew either nearer or further off. But not to trouble you with these things, the wind that is here spoken of some take to be *Eurus*, or *Vulturnus*, which is the south-east and by east, and fol-

* Pliny.

loweth the sun in his winter rising; others to be the principal and high east wind, following the sun when he riseth in the equinoxial, Ἀπηνιῶτης, *subsolannus*. Now, the nature of an east wind in any point thereof is to be hot and dry, and for the most part a clearer of the air, *serenator*; but this of all the rest being so serviceable to the sun, going forth so right with it, and walking in the same path which the sun walketh in, must needs be an hotter wind than if it had crossed or sided the sun in any way.

4. Touching the quality or the effect which it wrought, it is called a *ferrent east wind*. Some turn it *vehement*, not for the sound and noise that it maketh, but for the excessive heat; for no doubt it is distinguished from Cæcias, north-east and by east, which is a more sounding and blustering wind, and not so fit for the purpose of God in this place. Of that ye have mention, Exod. xiv., where it is said that 'the Lord made the sea run back with a strong east wind all the night, and made it dry land.' Some translate it *silent* and quiet, to put a difference betwixt this and the former east wind, albeit others give the reason, because it maketh men silent and deaf with the sound that it hath, *silentes et surdos homines facit obstrependo*; others, because it maketh the rest of the winds silent and quiet when itself bloweth, *silere facit reliquos ventos a conspectu suo*. Howsoever they vary otherwise, they all agree in the heat, for it is a gentle and soft wind, which, when the air is inflamed by the sun, is so far from correcting the extremity thereof, that it rather helpeth it forward, and becometh as a waggon to carry the beams of the sun forth right. It is manifest by many places of Scripture, that it is an eastern wind, which burneth with his heat, not only the fruits but the people of the earth: the seven thin ears of corn, Gen xli., were 'burnt with an east wind;' so are the 'fruits withered,' Ezek. xix.; so is the 'fountain dried up,' Hosea xiii. The vulgar edition doth evermore translate it, *urentem ventum*, by the name of a *burning wind*, and wheresoever it is mentioned in the book of God, the property of it is to exsiccate and dry up. Columella writeth, that at some time of the year, and especially in the dog-days, men are so parched with the east wind, that unless they shade themselves under vines, it burneth them like the reeking of flames of fire*

5. I have now shewed you both the nature and the quarter of this wind, that, albeit it were a wind, yet you may know it was not prepared to refrigerate but to afflict the head of Jonah. When the sun and the wind are up, what do they? The sun, not without the help of the wind, which was in manner of a sling or other instrument to cast the beams of the sun more violently upon them, although created for another end, 'to govern the day, and to separate it from the night, and to give light in the earth,' Gen. i., yet here receiveth a new commandment, and is sent to *beat*, all

* Vento uruntur velut halitu flammeo.

other inferior parts omitted, even *the head of Jonah*, wherein is the government of the whole creature, the seat of the mind, the top of God's workmanship, from whence the senses and nerves take their beginning.* In this assault of the principal part, the danger was no less to the body of Jonah than if an enemy had besieged the capitol of Rome, or the mount Sion and Anthony's Tower in Jerusalem.

6. But we shall the better conceive the vexation of Jonah, if we join the effects which these two enemies drave him into. (1.) It is said *he fainted*. I marvel not, for the force of heat is intolerable when the pleasure of God is to use that rod; so he telleth them, Amos iv., *percussi vos ureline*, 'I have smitten you with blasting or burning, and you returned not.' On the other side, it is numbered amongst the blessings of God which Christ shall bring unto his people: Isa. xlix., 'They shall not be hungry, neither shall they thirst, neither shall the heat smite them, nor the sun,' which is spoken, I grant, by translation; but that from whence it is transferred in the natural sense, must needs be very commodious, because it is applied to the highest mercies. So, likewise, in the 3d of Acts, the state of everlasting life is called 'The times of refreshing or respiration;' and Hag. ii., καίτοι ἀναψύξεω. (2.) He *wished in his heart to die*. My text saith not so in terms, though in effect; but he desired his soul, or he made petition and suit to his soul to die, *expetivit animam suam mori*; that is, to relinquish and give over his body, or he desired death to his soul, *petivit animæ suæ mortem*; as a man forlorn and forsaken, having no friend to make his moan unto, he uttereth his grief to his private spirit, speaking thereunto, *alloquutus est animam suam*, that if it were possible, some remedy might be had. (3.) Though the ear of jealousy, which heareth all things, heard the wishes and desires of his heart, yet he is not content with secret rebellion, unless his tongue also proclaim it, for *he saith, it is better for me to die than to live*. I shewed the madness of Jonah before in this very wish; it was not better for Jonah to die than to live, nor for any other in his case; a millstone about their necks, to have drowned them in the bottom of the sea, had been less unhappiness. When they die, let them pray to the Lord of life to close up their eyes, and to take them to his mercy in peace; let them agree with their adversary in the way, much more be at one with God, that neither their hearts nor tongues murmur at his judgments. Death (I confess) is an advantage to some men; but such as with an obstinate heart, and sinews in their forehead, strive against the Lord their Maker, and go to law with one mightier than themselves, not caring to make an end in time of the controversies between them, their death is a death indeed, and little profit or ease to be found

* In quo reginem totius animalis. Ubi sedes mentis. Totius divini operis quasi culmen.—*Lactant. de opific. Dei.* Caput, quodd hinc capiant initium sensus et nervi.—*Varro.*

in it. The purpose of this verse in hand, was none other than to set forth unto us the afflictions of Jonah, and undoubtedly they are very great. For as Naomi answered her people in the first of Ruth, when they asked, 'Is not this Naomi? Call me not Naomi (that is, beautiful or pleasant), but call me Marah, for the Almighty hath given me much bitterness. I went out full, and the Lord hath caused me to return empty; why, then, call ye me Naomi, seeing the Lord hath humbled me, and the Almighty hath brought me to adversity?' So Jonah might have answered to those that had asked, Is not this Jonah? Call me not Jonah (a dove), but call me a pelican or owl in the desert; I was full of pleasure and amenity, and my heart replenished with exceeding joy, but the Lord hath emptied me. Many things there are in our lives for which we may change our names (as Naomi did), from beauty or pleasure to bitterness. But if we remember withal, that it is the work of the Lord to humble us, and the hand of the Almighty that bringeth us to adversity, that one cogitation will suffice to teach us patience. For to whom do we rather owe the quietness and subjection of our spirits, than unto him, who, as Theodoret somewhere excellently spake, both giveth his benefits unto us, to teach us how easily he can bestow them, and taketh them away, that we may know how little we deserve them. Thus have the children of God evermore begun their consultations in their days of temptation, and as it were beckoned to themselves for silence, *Dominus est*, 'it is the Lord,' take heed of repining at his judgments; it is not mine enemy, for then I would have hid myself; it is not the son of man, for then I would have resisted him; it is not any creature of God, I would then have devised some means to redress my grief; it is the Lord himself, who hath more right to my soul than that he may be contraried; for both he hath been beneficial unto me heretofore, and may again hereafter. Patience was the shield wherewith that notable achiever of the victories of God* repelled all those venomous darts, which, either in the death of his children, or in the loss of his substance, or in the runnings and sores of his body, or in the cursed persuasions of his wife, miserable comforts of his friends, malicious and importunate accusations of Satan, were thrown against him. Oh, what a glorious banner set he up against the enemy of God and man,† when, for every calamity that was cast upon him, there came nothing from his mouth, but 'Thanks be to God.' Satan expected that he should have accursed God; and his wife, another Satan in his bosom, so persuaded him; but the witness is true, which is there given, *non peccavit labiis suis*, 'He offended not with his lips.' I conclude, therefore, with Tertullian, *Totum licet seculum pereat, dum patientiam lucrificium*, I care not

though all the world perish unto me, so I may gain patience.

And God said to Jonah, *Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd?* &c., ver. 9. The gourd prepared by God had a double use: the one natural and open, to cast a shadow over the head of Jonah; the other, typical and secret, to demonstrate the iniquity of his judgment, which use we are now coming unto. In this actual reprehension, which God is framing against him, there were many antecedents (I told you) which made the way thereunto, all which we have already examined. Now we are descended to that end whereunto God disposed them.

The words here spoken by God, *Doest thou well to be angry?* are the same which were used in the former insimulation; and the same provocation of the words, to wit, the anger of Jonah. Who would not have thought but one reprehension might have served one kind of sin? But so is sin to the soul of man, in some part of comparison, as Jacob was unto Esau, Gen. xxvii., of whom Esau complained, 'Was he not rightly called Jacob? For he hath deceived me these two times: first, he took my birthright from me; and lo, now he hath taken my blessing.' And surely sin will supplant us twice, and ten times together, unless God preserve us. Jonah offendeth once more in the same perturbation, and the Lord reproveth him once more in the same form of reprehension. What else shall I say hereof, but as Joseph said to Pharaoh touching his two dreams, the one of the kine, the other of the ears of corn: Gen. xli., 'Both Pharaoh's dreams are one; therefore, the dream is doubled to Pharaoh the second time, because the thing is established by God, and God hasteth to perform it?' So both God's reprehensions are one, and therefore is the reprehension doubled unto Jonah the second time, that Jonah might beware to offend in the like transgression. Nehemiah told the merchants that abode about the walls of the city, 'Why do you stay here all night? *Si iterum feceritis, injiciam in vos manus*; if you will do it again, I shall lay hands upon you,' Neh. xiii. It is marvel that God laid not hands upon Jonah, nor at leastwise corrected him with some sharper castigation, whom he had taken and warned before for the same offence.

To that which heretofore I have said of reprehension, I will add no more than the rule and practice of Bernard, as I find it mentioned in his life. His rule of observation is this:* Where there resoundeth on both sides between the reprovcr and him that is reprovcd, modesty and mildness of speech, it is a sweet conference; where it is held on the one side only, it is profitable; where both parts lay it aside, it is pernicious; but where there is hardness and bitterness from them both, *jurgium est, non correctio, nec disci-*

* Ille operarius victoriarum Dei.—Tertul.

† O quale vexillum tulit, &c.—Tertul.

* Ubi resonat utrimque modestia, dulce est colloquium; ubi vel ex parte alterâ, utile; ubi ex neutrà, perniciosum; ubi hinc inde duritia sonat, jurgium, &c.

plina, sed riva, it is not correction and instruction, but chiding and brawling; and (to adjoin the words of Anselm) *tunc non veritas queritur, sed animositas fatigatur*, then is not the truth sought for, but men exercise and weary their stout hearts. Therefore, the manner of St Bernard, because he would be sure to retain this modesty on the one side, was, to be very urgent upon him that yielded, and as yielding another time to him that resisted.* Albeit Jonah behaved himself very unmodestly and undutifully towards God, yet God is otherwise affected towards Jonah; and rather than the strife between them shall vanish without profit, sheweth more mildness than Jonah had deserved. His kindness appeareth in three things: 1, in reproving and repressing his rage; for which cause David blessed Abigail: 1 Sam. xxv., 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which sent thee this day to meet me, and blessed be thy counsel, and blessed be thou, which hast kept me this day from coming to shed blood.' 2. In reproving him twice for one thing, who, with one angry word of his lips, could so have abated his passion at the first, that there should have been no place for a second; as Abishai spake to David of smiting Saul: 1 Sam. xxvi., 'Let me smite him once to the earth with a spear, and I will not smite him again.' 3. In reproving him so friendly. I am sure, servants with their fellow-servants have dealt otherwise. John Baptist with the Pharisees, Peter with Ananias and Sapphira and with Simon Magus, Paul with Elymas and Ananias the high priest, Stephen with the rulers of the Jews, 'O ye hard necks, and uncircumcised hearts;' yet God the creator of all things, with his sinful creature, or more properly, as David termed himself before Saul, 'with a dead fly,' demeaneth himself with favourable speeches. 'Dost thou well to be angry for a gourd?' The interrogation ariseth by degrees, and accuseth Jonah in many oversights. 1. *Art thou angry, Jonah?* Thou shouldst rather humble thyself, acknowledge thine ignorance and weakness, presume the judgments of thy judge to be righteous; thou shouldst rather bless, and pray, and give thanks (for this is the manner of prophets), and art thou angry? What is anger, but a desire of revenge for contempt or wrong done?† And whom desirest thou to be revenged of? The worm, or the sun, or God that hath sent them? 2. *Art thou not only angry, but art thou very angry?* For if *well, bene*, do note the measure of his anger, the exprobaton is the greater, because passions offend not commonly, but in excesses and extremities; or if the quality, *Doest thou well and justly to be angry?* Wilt thou defend and patronage thy wrath? it is then a greater fault than the former. 3. And art thou *angry for a gourd?* so small a matter. Far be such corruption from the servant of Christ, that

* Cedenti insistere, cedere resistenti.

† Appetitus ultionis propter contemptum.—*Arist. et Aquin.*

his patience, prepared for greater things, should fall away in trifles.* Thou hast lost but a poor gourd, a little plant of the earth; what if thou hadst lost a vineyard full of trees, as Naboth did, of far greater value than a gourd? or thy life, more dear than a vineyard? What if thine one and only sheep, as Uriah did, the wife of thy bosom? or thy life, more precious than thy wife? 'Art thou angry for a gourd?'

Jonah answered, *I do well to be angry unto the death.* Thou hadst done better if thou hadst held thy peace, if (as before) thou hadst passed the demand of God without answer. Was Balaam fit to speak unto an angel of the Lord, being so blinded and overcast with the clouds of wrath, that he saw not so much as the dumb ass under him? Is Jonah fit to speak unto the Lord himself? Rather as Plato said to his servant, I would have killed thee, but that I am angry; so he should have said unto the Lord: I would have answered thee, but that my passions have set me besides myself. He that knoweth not his faults, will never be amended.† There is little hope that the speech of God can do good upon Jonah, who rather becometh a patron of his sin, than a suitor for pardon.

The answer justly followeth the steps of the interrogation, and indeed over-runneeth it. 'Art thou angry?' 'I am angry;' I dissemble not, I blush not to confess it; though I concealed it before at thy first asking, yet now be it known unto thee, I am angry. 'Art thou very angry?' Yea, I put not a counterfeit person upon me; I am on fire with my wrath; I burn like resin or pitch that cannot be quenched. 'Dost thou well to be angry?' I do well to be angry. It doth not repent me, and more than before thou ever hast demanded: 'I do well to be angry unto death.' Thus an evil cause is made much worse by evil handling; and the defence of the fault waxeth more unpardonable than the fault itself.‡ Prov. ix., 'Give admonition to the wise, and he will be the wiser; teach a righteous man, and he will increase in learning; but he that reproveth a scorner, purchaseth unto himself shame'; and he that rebuketh an angry man heapeth more coals of anger upon him. To admonish the forward is to set goads to one that is mad enough already, and to pour oil into the chimney.§ Nothing undertaken with impatience can be done without violence; and whatsoever is violently done, either miscarrieth, or falleth, or flieth headlong away.||

Hitherto I have deferred to handle a question which

* Absit à servo Christi tale inquinamentum, ut patientia, majoribus preparata, in frivolis excidat.—*Tertul.*

† Qui peccare se nescit, corrigi non vult.—*Epicurus.*

‡ Causa patrocínio non bona pejor erit. Quoties instantia facta est deterior causis suis?—*Tertull.*

§ Perversum corripere, est stimulare insanum, et oleum camino adhibere.—*Petr. Raven.*

|| Nihil impatientiâ susceptum, sine impetu transigi novit; quicquid impetu fit, aut offendit, aut corrumpit, aut præceps abiit.—*Tert.*

this whole contention between God and Jonah leadeth me unto, Whether it be lawful to be angry? For answer whereof, we must know that anger is in the number of those affections which God hath engrafted in nature, and given them their seats in man, and fitted them with their instruments, and both ministered their matter from whence they proceed, and provided them humours wherewith they are nourished. They were ordained to be spurs unto us for the prosecution of virtue; and as the body hath his nerves, so hath the soul hers, whereby she is moved either with a slower or speedier carriage.

The Stoic philosophers hold a vacuity of affections, *Απάθεια*, and condemn them all as vicious. Why? Because they drive us to disorder, and exceed their compass. I grant it. But this is not the nature of the affections themselves, but the affection of our corrupt natures. Christ himself was not without affections; he was angry when he cast the merchants out of the temple; pitiful when he saw the people scattered like sheep without a shepherd; sorrowful when he shed tears over Jerusalem; and we know that anger, repentance, mercy, hatred, and the like, are attributed to God in the Scriptures, which, if they were simply and by nature evil, should never have been ascribed unto him.

Touching anger in particular, the philosopher said truly that anger is the whetstone unto fortitude, *ira eos fortitudinis*; and Basil called it a nerve or tendon of the soul, giving it courage and constancy;* and that which is remiss and tender otherwise, hardening it, as it were, with iron and steel, to make it go through with her business. To be angry (saith Jerome) is the part of a man.† And if anger were not (by the suffrage of Chrysostom), neither would teaching avail, nor judgments stand, neither could sins be repressed.‡ Wherefore the counsel of David in the 4th Psalm (and of the apostle to the Ephesians) is, Be angry, but sin not (*Paulus et 70 interpret*). Whereupon the gloss noted, be angry, as touching the first motions (which they accounted not sins, because they were rather propassions and entrances into passion than passions§, rather infirmities than iniquities||), but bring them not to action.¶ As much as to say, I know that the motion of anger is not in your power, but take heed of consenting unto it. Cassiodore expoundeth it thus: The blessed prophet permitted that which is useful and accustomable unto man (which is to be angry), but forbade that which in anger is sinful.** Others are of opinion that he rather counselled that which is

* Nervus animæ quidam, et eam veluti ferro duram efficiens.—*Basil Serm. de Ira*.

† Irasci est hominis.—*Epist. ad Salin*.

‡ Nec doctrinæ proficiunt, nec judicia stant, &c.—*Homil. 11, in Math. Ογγυζεσθαι*.

§ *Προπάθειαι non παθη*.—*Ex. Hieron*.

|| Infirmities non iniquitates.—*Ambro*.

¶ Irascimini primis motibus, et ne ducatis ad actum.*

** Quod est consuetudinis permisit, quod culpæ prohibuit.

natural (allowing it to be good), than permitted that which is usual. Surely to be angry is not sin, but in the circumstance we may offend; either in regard of the object, which is revenge; as if we desire revenge against him who hath not deserved it, or more than he hath deserved, or not holding a lawful course therein, or not observing the right end; that is, if we bend not ourselves to the preservation of justice, and the correction of offences, but to execute our malice, either in regard of the measure, when we are angry overmuch.* For anger is a tyrannical affection,† if it be not stayed with laws; and there is little odds between it and madness. And as hardly are they ordered and pacified, that are thoroughly possessed with a fit thereof, as men possessed with devils.‡ To the measure of affection we may also add the length of time. For anger and a sweet conceit of revenge may so long be kept in the vessels of our heart till it wax eager and sour, and be turned into malice.§ For anger and malice differ but in age, as new and old wine. Chrysostom concludeth upon the words of our Saviour, Mat. v., 'Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause,' &c., *qui cum causâ non irascitur, peccat*. Therefore he that is not angry when there is just cause sinneth; for unreasonable and supine patience soweth vice, nourisheth negligence, and inviteth not only the bad and ill-disposed, but the good, to naughtiness. The justest cause is the cause of God rather than of man, public rather than private, when the gospel of Christ is dishonoured, justice trodden under foot, falsehood extolled, not when our proper injuries are pursued. For as anger in the former place conceived is not anger, but judgment, and a simple or advised motion of the will,¶ in the upper part of the soul, arising by the prescript and rule of reason, not a sudden and troublesome passion of the sensitive and lower part, so, apprehended in the latter place for private and personal grudges, whether unjustly or upon desert, it never findeth toleration in the sight of God. Cain was angry with Abel undeservedly, and sinned; Esau with Jacob upon the receipt of injury, and yet sinned. *Uterque punietur, et injuste irascens, quia injuste; et juste, quia injuriarum memor*.** Both shall be punished, the one for being angry without cause, the other for cause given, because he remembereth wrongs. Wherefore the schoolmen and divines, to keep us within our marks, have distinguished anger into two sorts: the one agreeing with the commandment of God, and lawful, *cum mandato Dei*; the other flatly against his will, *contra mandatum*; †† the former zealous, *ira*

* Respectu 1. appetibilis; 2. modi.—*Aquin. 2, 2 quest. 158, artic. 2*.

† Ira tyrannicus affectus.—*Chrysost*.

‡ Iræ et insanix nihil medium. Irati non magis compeſcuntur quàm dæmoniâci.

§ Servatur ira tam diu in vase et suavitas vindictæ, donec acescat. || In Math. homil. 11, op. imperf., *Eizē*.

¶ Non iracundia sed judicium, simplex motus voluntatis ex præscripto rationis, &c.—*Aquin. ii. 2, quæ 158, art. 8, conclus.*

** Chrysost.

†† Wellerus.

per zelum, officious, grounded upon cause, having both *radicem bonam et finem bonum*, as Bucer requireth, a good root and a good end, such as the anger of Moses was, Exodus the two and thirtieth, for the golden calf that was made; when he avenged the quarrel of God upon a few, and spared the multitude, to shew that he hated the sin, loved their persons; the other vicious, *ira per vitium*,* affectionate, private, *ira privata*, lightly accepted, forgetting injuries done to God, *ira officii*,† and proposing to please itself, as Lamech did: Gen. iv., ‘Truly Lamech shall be avenged seventy times sevenfold;’ and not regarding so much the offence, as desirous that the offender himself may be rooted out. The former of these two a little troubleth the eye of reason, as eye-salve at the first causeth smarting, and hindereth sight, *turbat oculum*, but afterwards the eye is cleared and amended thereby; the other putteth it quite out, *excacat*.‡

By this short discourse, you perceive what kind of anger is not only allowable, but necessary and requisite, in those that are zealously zealous for the Lord of hosts, as Elias was, and cannot abide that his name and honour should take harm; what kind utterly condemned, the original whereof is in the sands, that is, for trifles and gourds; the proceeding restless, till a moat becometh a beam, which difference Augustine noteth between anger and hatred; the mark, the person, not the crime; and the end, not to amend, but to destroy him.

I conclude, therefore, with Saint Basil,§ if you will be angry without sinning, and shew forth the right use of this natural and lawful affection, know that one is allured to sin, another allureth him. *Alius qui instigat, alius qui instigatur*. Convert your anger against the latter of these two, a murderer of the brethren, and the father of lies; malign not the other. *Irascimini ubi est culpa cui irasci debeatis*,|| be angry where there is

* Gre or et Aquin. † Bucer. ‡ Hugo card. in Ps. iv.
§ Serm. de ira. || Ambrose de offic.

a fault that may bear anger. Which cannot be private displeasure, but a fault openly tending to the profanation of God’s fearful name, pollution of his service and sacraments, a public, scandalous, enormous, incorrigible, and unsufferable fault, whereby his Christ is dishonoured, his good Spirit of grace is despited, and the whole congregation or family that is named in heaven and earth wounded, blasphemed. Be angry with those that are angry with God upon every light occasion, for every cross wherewith they are tried, ready to go back and to walk no longer with him; or if their mouths be not filled with laughter and pleasure to their heart’s desire, or their bellies with garlic and onions, and flesh-pots, as in the days of darkness, breaking forth into terms of highest undutifulness, What profit have we by him? Be angry with those that are angry with the prophets for prophesying right things unto them, and freeing their souls. Be angry with Jonah and your prophets if they go out of the city, to sit and shadow themselves under bowers, and preach not; and be angry with the city if it repent not at the preaching of her prophets, rather when they have pronounced the threatenings and judgments of the Most High, take them to be but fables, and like the sayings and doings of the madman, Prov. xxvi., who ‘casteth firebrands, arrows, and mortal things, and then saith, Am I not in sport?’ Be angry with dogs, who return continually to their vomit, though they have been purged ten times. And, finally, to knit up all in one with the words of Ludolphus upon the fourth Psalm, *irascimini vitiiis, diabolo, vanitatibus, mendaciis, vobis ipsis*, &c. Be ye angry with sins, the devil, vanities, lies, yourselves; with hearty repentance for your former misdeeds, and zealous indignation, that ever you have fallen into so base and beastly corruption; *et nolite peccare ulterius*, and take heed that you fall not the second time, as Jonah did, into the same faults.

LECTURE XLVIII.

Then said the Lord, Thou hast had pity on the gourd, &c.—JONAH IV. 10, 11.

WE are at length come to the last part of the chapter, which was the scope whereunto all the sayings and doings of God were referred, comprehended in these two last verses, and containing generally an earnest contention and plea for the justification of his goodness in sparing Nineveh. For what other purpose had God in the whole course of his speeches and actions, by the words of his mouth once and again iterated, and by the sensible image of the gourd objected to the eyes of Jonah, than by irrefragable demonstration, and by the concession of the adversary himself, to clear and deliver his mercy from just reproof? God first drew him by demands, and as it

were by captious, Socratical interrogations, whither he would; and when he had him in snares, then inferreth upon him, which no man could deny that were not too prefract and obstinate, ‘Thou hast had pity on the gourd,’ &c., ‘and shall not I spare Nineveh?’ Thou on a light, temporary plant, which was not thine, wherein there was neither value, nor continuance, nor any propriety belonging unto thee, and shall not I much more spare Nineveh? &c. The argument standeth in comparison from the less to the greater, and both the members thereof compared are so strengthened and set forth, that he must needs shew himself forsaken of common sense that doth not assent

unto it. Jonah hath not now to deal with Chrysippus, who was able to speak probably of anything brought in question, but with the most expert schoolman that ever spake with tongue, with the God of heaven, who bindeth with arguments as with chains of iron, and leaveth no evasion. For unless Jonah would except against the reasoning of God, as those whom Tully scoffeth at, who when they were brought to an inconvenience in disputation, had no other refuge but to crave that those inexplicable arguments might be left out;* and Tully answered them again that then they must go to an officer, for they should never obtain that exception at his hands.† What should he do to rid himself of this strong opposition? Before, you have heard, 1. Of the affliction of Jonah; the sun, and the east wind following the sun the same track, pace by pace, confederate with him, working his woe; fervent east wind beating—upon his back and sides?—no, but upon his head, the most dainty and dangerous place by reason of the senses; his fainting and wishing in his soul to die, and professing in open terms that it was better for him so to than to live. 2. Of the reproof of God in controlling that impatience. 3. Of his obfirmed and heretical maintaining of it, which was his greater offence; for there is no man that falleth not, as there is no pomegranate wherein there is not some kernel amiss;‡ but when a fault is espied and convicted, then to defend it with pertinacy is another fault.§ And the milder punishment is evermore due to modesty, *mitior poena debetur reverentiae*. It is the fact of men to err, but of beasts to persist and persevere in error, *errare humanum, perseverare in errore belluinum*. Then said the Lord, by way of conclusion, inferred upon the answer and grant of Jonah, vouchsafing to reply upon him whose answer before was more worthy of stripes than speech; and by continued remembrances, as by bands of love, pulling his prophet out of the fire, who had burned to ashes in the coals of his indignation if God had not stayed him; even that merciful and patient Lord, who when he beginneth to love loveth to the end; who spake within himself, Though he have often refused my word, and dealt unfaithfully with my commandment, yet once more will I shake the heavens and speak unto him, I will not lose a soul for want of admonition. It is true in men, that he twice sinneth who is over-indulgent and favourable to a sinner, *bis peccat qui peccanti obsequium accommodat*. God is a debtor to no man, yet of his grace and benignity he doth often admonish us.

Then the Lord said. The dignity of the person addeth great authority to the speech. The apostle urgeth the credit of the speaker strongly in his epistle to

* Hoc extremum eorum est; postulant ut excipiantur hæc inexplicabilia.

† Tribunum aliquem, censeo, adeant, &c.—*In Academ.*

‡ Nullum malum punicum in quo non granum aliquod putrescit.

§ Culpam deprehensam pertinaciter tueri culpa altera est.

the Hebrews, chap. ii., 'If the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation? Which at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and afterwards was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God bearing witness thereunto by signs,' &c. Again, chap. xii., 'See that you despise not him that speaketh, for if they escaped not which refused him that spake on earth, shall we escape if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven?' Therefore do the prophets Habakkuk and Zechariah beckon with the hand, as it were, to the whole earth and to all flesh to give ear when the Lord speaketh, 'The Lord is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him,' Hab. ii.; and 'Let all flesh be still before the Lord, for he is raised up out of his holy place,' Zech. ii.

Thou hast had pity, Tu parcis; thou favourest, or desirest that it may be preserved, *conservari cupis*; *tu doles, thou art grieved*; all which constructions are included in the demand that went before, 'Dost thou well to be angry?' For whereas other affections are simple, anger is compounded and mixed of divers: partly of grief for the injury received, partly of commiseration of the thing injured, partly of desire and pleasure to revenge the wrongs. But I stick not in the words. I proceed rather to the argument, which is so mightily and invincibly shaped that Jonah frameth no answer unto it. It must needs be that, as the plate sinketh down in the balance when weight is put into it, so the mind must yield itself captive unto the truth, when things are evidently and perspicuously proved.* Geometricians profess that their art standeth not upon persuasion, but upon co-action and enforcement, their principles and theorems are so firmly grounded.† But let all arts give place, all actions bow, all logic submit itself unto him who is admirable in counsel, excellent in his works, incomparable for his wisdom. The manner of speech which God useth, being not plain and affirmative, 'I will spare Nineveh as thou pitiest the gourd,' but by interrogation and negation, 'Shall not I spare Nineveh?' sheweth what indignity is offered unto him, as if some right of his were kept back. To set some order in my speech, the comparison here formed consisteth of two parts: the antecedent, or that which goeth before, the lesser, inferior, and weaker part, in the 10th verse; and the consequent, or stronger, in the 11th. The persons balanced together, *thou* and *I*, *thou* art moved, and shall not *I* pity? The things weighted one against the other are, for their substance, a *gourd* and *Nineveh*; for their accidents, 1, of the gourd, *Jonah had not laboured for it*, Jonah had not brought it up, it was neither of his making nor of his cherishing, Jonah had not right in it, it was not his work; besides, the

* Necesse est, ut lancem in libra ponderibus impositis deprimi, sic animum perspicuis cedere.—*Tull. in Academ.*

† Geometræ se profitentur non persuadere sed cogere.

continuance was so small that he had no reason to be fond of it, for *it came up in a night and in a night perished*. 2. For Nineveh, it was not a bush or a tree, but a city: and not a little, but a great city; and had not only those of riper years, but infants; and not a few, but *six score thousand infants*; and as they were in age to be pitied, so for their innocency, *because they knew not their right hand from their left*; and not only men, but cattle; and not in a sparing quantity, but much cattle; all which, both in nature and use, are better than the gourd for which thou contendest. These things considered, be thou the judge whether it be not lawful and reasonable for me, in a far greater matter, to take upon me that right, and to put on me that affection which thou challengest unto thyself in a much less. The members of the comparison must be matched together as I go, to give the more light one to the other; for, being severed, we shall not so well perceive the force of them.

Thou and *I*, as different as heaven and earth, light and darkness; thou a man, *I* a God; thou flesh, *I* spirit; thou dust and ashes, *I* the Lord of hosts; thou a creature, *I* thy maker; thou the clay, *I* the potter; thou sitting at my footstool, *I* inhabiting eternity; thou creeping as a worm upon the circle of the earth, *I* spanning heaven and earth in my fist, weighing the mountains and hills in a balance; finally and especially, thou an unmerciful man, cruel, hard-hearted, without natural affection, whose kindness to mine is not so much as a gravel stone to the whole sea sand, nor as a minute of time to the days everlasting, yet thou takest pity, and shall not *I* much more be moved, whom thou hast both preached and known to be a 'merciful, gracious, long-suffering God'? The inequality of the persons is very emphatical and forcible. *Thou* sparest, and shall not *I* spare, who have more wisdom in my purposes, more liberty in my actions, more goodness in my nature, than all the sons of Adam? So doth our Saviour reason, Mat. vii., from this disparity of persons: 'If you which are evil can give to your children good gifts, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?' So did the famous orator reason against Catiline: Did Pub. Scipio, a private man, kill Tib. Gracchus, but lightly weakening the state of the commonweal; and shall we, that are consuls, let Catiline alone, desirous to lay waste the world with slaughterings and firings? So did Juno reason in the poet: Could Pallas burn the navy of the Grecians, but *I*, that am the queen of the gods, the sister and wife of Jupiter, shall *I* be able to do nothing against mine enemies?

Pallasné exurere classem,

Ast ego quæ divûm incedo regina, &c.

So likewise it holdeth strongly on the other side, from the greater to the less; as, Luke xi., 'If *I* through Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?' they are far inferior to me in righteous-

ness and innocency. But in the 18th of Matthew, beyond all exception, 'O thou evil servant, *I* forgave thee all that debt because thou prayedst me;' a lord, my servant, not mine equal, *I* did not respite and give time for, but forgive a greater debt, yea, all that debt upon thine own entreaty, 'Oughtest not thou, then, to have had pity on thy fellow, even as *I* had on thee?'

Secondly, These persons are compared, as the nature of comparisons requireth, in some third thing common to them both. *Thou* sparest, shall not *I* spare? *I* depart not from thine own affection, the law is equal to us both; if we take leave we must also give leave, *petimusque damusque vicissim*, and it is meet that he that craveth pardon for a fault should also yield pardon for the same fault, *æquum est peccatis veniam poscentem*, &c. If thou hadst favoured, and *I* maliced, thou pitied and *I* hated, thy complaint perhaps had carried some colour of justice; but both our dispositions are alike, and thou accusest me of that whereof thyself art not free, thine own deeds and thine own mouth witness against thee. Is it a fault in me to pity? Begin at thine own house, and there correct it first; go thou upright before thou accuse me of going crooked, *tu prius mater rectâ incede*. But this is the fashion of us all, *in foro vix decimus quisque est qui seipsum noverit*, scarcely every tenth man amongst us knoweth himself. And we have need of censurers to make us more careful of our own doings, who are so privy and severe to other men's; as Diogenes sometimes was to the grammarians, whom he much laughed at for taking diligent pains in searching after the faults of Ulysses, and not seeing their own.

Thirdly, Sparing was more agreeable to the nature of God than of Jonah, and therefore he might better contend for it. Never was it more lively expressed than when David made his choice of a third plague, which came immediately from the hands of God, man not working therein: 2 Sam. xxxiv., 'O let me not fall into the hands of man.' He prayeth to be delivered from his own kind, more than from lionesses and she bears. A man may play at the hole of an asp, and handle a cockatrice with more safety, than fall into the danger of his own brother. The finger of God hath signed it, the apostle hath concluded it of us all, Jews and Gentiles: Rom. iii., 'There is none righteous, no not one; their throat is an open sepulchre, they have used their tongues to deceit, the poison of asps is under their lips, their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness, their feet are swift to shed blood, calamity and destruction are in their ways, and the way of peace they have not known.' This is the glass wherein we may all behold our natures. If there were need of proof, *I* would ask the generations, both past and present, and they should make report unto you, that neither the master hath been safe from the servant of his own tabernacle, nor the king from the subject that hath lived by the salt of the palace, nor the father from the son of his own loins, nor the brother from

his brother of the same womb, nor the husband from the wife of his own bosom; and that not only nature hath been dissolved and unknot in private families by treacheries, poisonings, slaughtering, and such like Scythian kindnesses, but policy, and community of life cut asunder, torn, and dismembered by sacking of towns and cities, depopulations, and wastes of whole countries, through the untractable and unpeaceable nature that man is fallen into. But, on the other side, the mercy of God is so infinite, that no affection in nature, no dimension or proportion in the whole creature, hath been fit to express it. The height of heaven above the earth, the distance of the east from the west, the love of fathers towards their sons, of mothers towards the latest fruits of their wombs, of nurses towards their sucking babes, eagles towards their young ones, hens towards their chickens, have been shadows and kennings in some sort, but not sufficient measures to scan it by. It is well observed by Cassiodore upon the 51st Psalm, that the beginning thereof, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord,' is the only voice, *quæ nunquam discutitur, sed tranquille semper auditur*, which is never examined, suspended, delayed, deliberated upon, but evermore heard with peace and tranquillity from God. And in the 136th Psalm, you shall find his mercy, both the mother that bred and the nurse that to this day feedeth, and to the end of the world shall cherish and maintain, all the works of God, 'for his mercy endureth for ever.' It standeth there like a pillar or bounder at the end of every verse; an endless and durable mercy, not only to beautify the psalm, but to note that the whole frame of the world, and every content thereof in particular, touching both creation and government, oweth not only their being, but their preservation and sustenance to God's goodness.

To leave the persons, and to examine the things themselves. What was a gourd? A matter of nothing, and in nature but a vulgar and ordinary plant, for there is a difference in trees, as, Deut. xx., there is a law made that, 'in besieging a city, they shall not destroy the trees thereof by smiting an axe into them.' The reason is, 'For thou mayest eat of them, therefore thou shalt not cut them down. For the tree of the field is man's life. Only those trees which thou knowest are not for meat; those thou shalt destroy and make forts against the city.' Now of this tree there was none other use, either for meat or for aught besides that he knew, save only for shadow. From this difference of things our Saviour argueth, Luke xiv., when he healed the man sick of the dropsy upon the Sabbath-day, 'Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath-day?' For if they tendered the welfare of their beasts, much more might he regard the life of man, which was far more precious. And it is there said, that 'they were not able to answer him again in those things,' they were so plainly evicted.

Touching the accidents of this gourd, if Jonah had

planted and nursed it up, which he did not, he should have regarded it none otherwise than as a gourd; he should not have doated upon it, as Xerxes is reported to have loved a plane-tree in Lydia, and he could hardly be drawn away from it; and Passienus Crispus, twice consul of Rome, a mulberry tree. They seem to have been some notable bowers which they fell so in love with. The nature of man is to love the works of his own hands. The poet describeth it in the fable of Pygmalion, *arte sui miratur*, he is surprised with the liking of his own art. 'Who planteth a vineyard,' saith the apostle, 1 Cor. ix., 'and eateth not of the fruit thereof?' For this is the end why he planted it. It is confessed, Eccles. ii., to be the hand of God that we 'eat and drink, and delight our souls with the profit of our labour.' Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv., boasteth of his great palace, not which his fathers and progenitors had left unto him, but 'himself had built for the honour of his kingdom.' The apostle telleth the Corinthians, 1 Cor. iii., that he had 'laid the foundation amongst them, and that others did but build upon his beginnings; and that, although they had ten thousand masters in Christ, yet had they not many fathers, for in Christ Jesus he had begotten them through the gospel.' Wherefore he requesteth them in equity to be followers of him, because they were his building and children, and he had a right in their consciences which other men could not challenge. Now this was a tree wherein Jonah bestowed no labour, *nec arans, nec serens, nec rigans*, neither in preparing the ground, nor in setting, nor in dressing: it was not his work; whereas the Ninevites were God's creatures. Neither belonged that to his tuition or charge to see it preserved; whereas that people had evermore lived under God's providence.

If the continuance and diuturnity of time had bred any liking in Jonah towards the gourd (because we commonly love those things wherewith we are acquainted), his passion might the better have been tolerated. Nathan doth the rather amplify the fault of David in taking away the poor man's sheep, because he had 'bought it and nourished it up, and it grew up with him and with his children,' 2 Sam. xii. Length of time commendeth many things. It commendeth wine, we say 'the old is better.' It commendeth wisdom: counsel must be handled by the aged, spears by the young; *Consilia senum, hastæ juvenum sunt*. It commendeth truth; *Id verius quod prius*, the first is truest. It commendeth custom: 'Thou shalt not remove the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set,' Prov. xxii. It commendeth friendship: 'Thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake thou not,' Prov. xxvii.; 'Forsake not an old friend, for a new will not be like unto him,' Eccles. ix. It commendeth service in the field. Dost thou despise the soldiers of thy father Philip? saith Clytus to Alexander; and hast thou forgotten that unless this old Atharias, *Nisi hic Atharias senex*

had called back the young men when they refused to fight, we had yet stuck at Halicarnassus?* Lastly, it commendeth our dwelling-places and possessions. Barzillai telleth David, who would fain have drawn him along with him, 2 Sam. xix., 'I am four-score years old; let me return to mine own city, and be buried in the grave of my father and mother.' And Naboth telleth Ahab, 1 Kings. xxi., 'The Lord keep me from giving the inheritance of my father unto thee.' It would somewhat more have commended the gourd if Jonah had long enjoyed the use thereof, which he did not; it was but the child of a night, *filius noctis*, both in rising and falling, suddenly sprung up and suddenly dead again. So there is neither price in it, because it is but a gourd, nor propriety, because he had not laboured for it, nor prescription of long acquaintance, because it was soon dead.

Now, that which is set against the gourd on the other side is by name *Nineveh*, by form a city, by quantity a great city: 'and shall not I spare Nineveh, that great city?' Nineveh, at this time the head of Assyria, the fame and bruit whereof filleth the world, and holdeth the people in awe by reason of her sovereign government? Nineveh, no village or hamlet of the east, but a city that had walls and gates,†—for so is the nature of a city described: 'We have a strong city: salvation shall God set for our walls and bulwarks,' Isa. xxvi.,—and the people whereof are enclosed within orders and laws, as the buildings within fences? Nineveh, no small city in Assyria, as Bethlehem was in Judah, or as the little city of Zoar which Lot fled unto, but a large and spacious city in circuit of ground, but for the number of inhabitants most populous and abundant? Now, the greater the place is, the more matter is ministered for pity to work upon. Jerusalem was more laboured and applied by Christ in the days of his flesh than either Bethany, a country town, or any other city of Judah or Samaria less than Jerusalem. Agesilaus, a renowned Lacedæmonian, was grieved in his heart when he had slain ten thousand of his enemies, and when many of the rest that were left alive had withdrawn themselves within the city of Corinth, his friends advising him to lay siege unto it, he answered that it was not fit for him so to do, for he was a man which would compel offenders to do their duty, but not pull down cities.‡ The ruining and overthrowing of cities are miserable, either spectacles or histories, to those that with any humanity shall consider them. Nero may sing and triumph when Rome is on fire, a bloody horse-leech, feeding upon the spoils of men and towns; but Abraham will pray for Sodom, though the sink of the earth, and not only Jeremiah will lament and write Lamentations, but Christ will mourn for the downfall of Jerusalem. And Titus, whilst he lieth in siege, when he shall

see such slaughter of the Jews, will throw up his hands to heaven, and lay the massacre upon God to clear himself. That Sodom whereof I spake, consider but the rain that fell upon it, brimstone and fire from the Lord in heaven, Gen. xix., itself 'overthrown with her sisters, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the city, and all that grew upon the earth turned into ashes,' and whatsoever came up afterwards from that ground, unwholesome and unprofitable fruit, pestilent vines and bitter clusters,' Deut. xxxi., the whole land mingled with clouds of pitch and heaps of ashes, Ezra i., the people 'suffering the vengeance of eternal fire,' Jude; and, notwithstanding all this, itself made a byword to all ages that came after it, as we read in Isaiah i. and Rom. ix., 'Unless the Lord had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom;' I say, consider but these things, and pity her ruin and desolation though she be Sodom, because she was a city. Though Jericho were Jericho, Joshua vi., a city of the uncircumcised, idolatrous in the worship of God, and hostile towards his people, can it sink into your ears without pitying and bemoaning the fate thereof, to hear that 'her walls fell flat, and all that was therein was utterly destroyed, both man and woman, young and old, ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword, and the city burnt with fire, and all that was in the city,' except some silver and gold that was reserved? Though Jericho be sunk so low that it shall never rise again, to stand long (for it is sealed with a curse to his person that should adventure to re-edify Jericho, and with the blood of his eldest and youngest son), yet say to yourselves when you read that lamentable narration. Alas for Jericho, because it was a city sometimes, girded with walls, fortified with bulwarks, stored with treasure and wealth, peopled with men, and furnished with other such habilities, as the very name of a city presently implieth. But that Jerusalem whereof I also spake, Jerusalem the sanctified city, and the city of the everlasting God, Jerusalem built in unity, Jerusalem the queen and empress of the provinces, so defaced and levelled with the ground that not a stone was left standing upon a stone, neither in their houses, walls, bulwarks, turrets, no, nor in the altars, sanctuary, temple of Jerusalem, the old and young, matrons, virgins, mothers, infants, princes, priests, prophets, Nazarites, all slain, famished, fettered, scattered abroad, utterly consumed; if it come into the mind of any man, either by reading or hearing, without commiseration, I say that his heart is more barbarous and rude than the very fragments and rubble wherein Jerusalem is lodged. Who can express those havocs by speech, or find tears enough to equal their miseries? 'For this cause I weep,' saith the prophet, Lam. iv., 'mine eye, even mine eye, casteth out water,' which it draweth up from the fountain of my overflowing heart; and he calleth to the daughter of Zion to let 'tears run down like a river, day and night, to take no

* Curt. viii.

† Urbs ab *arvo*; vel ab *orbe*.

‡ Se cum esse qui ad officium peccatores cogeret, non qui urbes vastaret.

rest, neither to suffer the apple of her eye to cease, to arise and cry in the night, in the beginning of the watches, to pour out her heart like water before the Lord,' Lam. ii. Æneas Silvius, in his oration (of the spoil of Constantinople) against the Turk, with great compassion relateth the murdering of their children before the faces of their parents, the noble men slaughtered like beasts, the priests torn in pieces, the religious flayed, the holy virgins incestuously defiled, the mothers and their daughters despitely used, and at length he crieth out, *O miseram urbis faciem*, O the miserable face of that city! O unhappy people! O wicked Mahomet! Who is able to report such things without tears? * There was nothing to be seen but full of mourning, murder, bloodshed, dead carcases. At last, converting himself to Greece (his mind even quaking and starting back with sorrow), he thus bewaileth it: O famous and renowned Greece, behold now thy end, now thou art dead! Alas, how many mighty and wealthy cities have heretofore been extinguished! What is become of Thebes, of Athens, of Mysene, of Larissa, of Lacedæmon, of Corinth, of other memorable towns, whose walls if thou seekest for thou canst not find so much as their ruins? No man can shew the ground wherein they are laid along; our men do oftentimes look for Greece in Greece itself; only Constantinople is now remaining of the carcases of so many cities, *sola ex tot cadaveribus civitatum*. Such and so lamentable hath ever been the devastation of cities to men of any affection, and such it seemed to God in this place: 'Shall not I spare Nineveh, that great city?' Jonah could have found in his heart to have seen it in the dust, and corn fields ploughed up where the walls and buildings stood, or rather an heap of nettles and salt-pits in the place thereof; the smoke of the fire waving in the air and hiding away the light of the sun, and the flames spiring up into heaven; the king and his senators, merchants and people, those that walked with staves for age, and those that were nourished at the breasts for weakness, their flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, all wasted and consumed in the same pile, if God would have yielded to the madness of his cruel appetite. But he answereth with more clemency, 'Shall not I spare Nineveh, that great city?' Hitherto were but titles and names; the proof followeth.

Wherein are six thousand persons that cannot discern, &c. It may easily be guessed, *quantus sit numerus alterius ætatis, cum tantus sit parvulorum*,† how great the number of other ages, when there were so many infants. The prophecy was here fulfilled which was given to Israel and Judah, Jer. xxxi., 'Behold the days come that I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man and the seed of beasts.' So was the house of Nineveh sown, 'for her inhabitants were multiplied as the grass-

hoppers, her merchants as the stars of heaven, her princes and captains as the locusts,' Nah. iii. Shall not I spare Nineveh, wherein there is such a multitude?

Or if thou art not moved with a multitude, doth not the age of infants and sucklings touch thy heart? that cannot speak, cannot stand, cannot help themselves, that stick to their mothers as apples to their trees, and if thou pluck them away before their time, they perish? Is this thy welcome of babes into the world? Is this the milk thou wilt feed them with? Is this thy stilling and pacifying of them, to quiet them with death? Is this thy nursing of their tender and un-grown limbs? to wrap them up in flames of fire as in swathe-bands, and to rock them asleep with pitiless destruction? Can thine ears endure that lamentable and confused harmony of so many young musicians singing in their kind, and as nature hath taught them, crying up together unto heaven, and wilt not thou cry for company, and say, O Lord, stay thine hand, and forbear them? Or can thine eyes behold the shrinking of their soft members at every pull of grief, their sprawling upon the ground, their flesh scorched with heat as a scroll of parchment, and not be moved? I stay not upon this point; but the age of young infants hath evermore been pitied. The midwives of Egypt, Exod. i., though strangers, and charged with the king's commandment, yet would not slay the children of the Hebrews. Even the daughter of Pharaoh himself, Exod. ii., finding Moses hid in the bulrushes, had compassion on the babe, for 'it was a goodly child, and wept.' One of the properties of an impudent, barbarous, cruel nation, described Deut. xxviii., is, 'it shall not regard the person of the old, nor have compassion upon the young.' There is a notable place to this purpose, 2 Kings viii., where it is said that Elisha looked upon Hazael, a servant and messenger unto him from Benhadad the king, till he was ashamed, and the man of God wept; and Hazael demanding, 'Why weepeth my lord?' he answered, 'Because I know the evil that thou shalt do unto the children of Israel: for their strong cities shalt thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rend in pieces the women with child.' Then Hazael said, 'What! Is thy servant a dog, that I should do this great thing?' So brutish a part he held it, to do such villany upon the mothers and their infants.

Or if thou regardest not their age, doth not their innocency affect thee? Say that the elder sort have sinned, because they have judgment and election in them; but what have these infants done, who know not their right hand from their left, nor have attained to their years of discretion, nor able to distinguish between straight and crooked, good and evil, but are altogether innocent? It is a circumlocution of their ignorance and simplicity; the like whereof we have, Isa. viii., 'Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father or My mother;' that is, before he can

* Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis? Namque animus meminisse horret, &c.

† Hieron.

speak, or discern the one from the other; which was no more than went before in the 7th of the same prophecy, 'Before the child shall have knowledge to eschew the evil and choose the good.' The son of Sirach, Ecclus. x., speaketh of a fool in the same manner, 'he knoweth not the way into the city;' that is, ordinary and common things which every man knoweth. We shall read that God hath evermore had a special regard to the infant, because of his harmlessness and innocency. He commanded, Deut. xxi., 'that they should be spared in war; and the women, and the cattle;' excepting those of the Ammonites in the same place, and of those cities which were altogether execrable in the sight of God, as of Jericho, Joshua vi., and of Edom and Babylon, Ps. cxxxvii. Their innocency is everywhere proposed as a pattern for the riper ages to imitate. Our Saviour told his disciples, Mat. xviii., having first placed a little child in the midst of them, 'Except ye be converted, and become as this little child, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' And in the 19th of the same evangelist, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, for to such as these are, *Τοιούτων*, belongeth the kingdom of God.' The apostles of Christ framed their exhortations from the same precedents: 'Brethren, be not children in your minds,' *ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιᾶζετε*, 'but in malice be you infants,' 1 Cor. xiv.; and 'as new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby,' 1 Pet. ii.

But if thou hast the children, together with their parents, as we destroy the whelps of wolves even for their kind's sake, and because the fathers have eaten the sour grape, the children's teeth must needs be set on edge, and the infants smart for their offences; shall I not spare Nineveh, wherein there *is much cattle*? What have the dumb beasts deserved, that they should also perish? Solomon, in the 12th of the Proverbs, sheweth what the practice of the just is even in this case: 'A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast, but the mercies of the wicked are cruel.' And his rule agreeth with that practice; Prov. xxvii., 'Be diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and take heed to thy herds.' Jacob, Gen. xxxiii., hath pity upon the children, and 'upon the ewes, and the kine with young which were under his hand,' for he said to his brother Esau, 'If I should over-drive them one day, all the flock would die.' The errand that he sent Joseph in, Gen. xxxvii., was, 'Go see whether it be well with thy brethren, and how the flocks prosper.' David, 1 Sam. xvii., objecteth his life unto a lion, afterwards to a bear, rather than one sheep should miscarry. Howsoever Philip complained, *cujusmodi est vita nostra, cum ad asellorum occasionem videndum est!* how basely is our life conditioned, when we must live to make provision for asses! (to one in his army, who told him that they wanted food for their beasts) yet it is true, that some part of our care and forecast must this way be employed. We also know that the law of God

favourereth them: Deut. xxv., 'Thou shalt not muzzle up the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.' And the Sabbath, though made for man, yet it extended to the resting of the beast. And either nature or profit, or something else, moved the hard-hearted Jews, if their ox or ass were fallen into a pit, even upon the Sabbath day, to pull him out. Moses kept Jethro's sheep, Jacob Laban's; the patriarch his sons were all shepherds; David followed the ewes; Saul sought asses; Amos was taken from the herds; that you may know the care of these unreasonable creatures not to have been small in former time.

The last branch of amplification which God useth against Jonah, was the store of the cattle, the respect whereof did somewhat move him to withdraw his judgment. And surely the abundance of cattle is no mean blessing of God. He promiseth it unto Israel: 'Behold I will multiply upon you man and beast, and they shall increase and bring forth,' Ezek. xxxvi. Abraham and Lot were very rich in cattle, Gen. xiii.; so were Jacob and Esau, Gen. xxxvi.; the land could not bear them both together because of their flocks. So was Uzzah the king; 2 Chron. xxvi., 'He built towers in the wilderness, and digged many cisterns, for he had much cattle both in the valleys and plains.' The substance of Job, in the first of that book, was 'seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses;' and towards the end of his days, all these were doubled unto him.

You see then what reasons the Lord hath used in this second member of the comparison, for the sparing Nineveh. 1, It was populous with all kind of men; 2, there were infants in it; 3, six score thousands; 4, they were innocent; 5, there was cattle; 6, much cattle. I do not find that Jonah ever answered this argument; but yielding the victory to God and his blessed truth, he leaveth a testimony of his silence and submission to the whole world in this writing which he afterward compiled. Such honour did Turnus give to Æneas when he vanquished him,

Vicisti, et victum tendere palmas,
Ausonii videre,

Thou hast overcome me, and the people can bear witness that I acknowledge thy victory. With this most sweet and victorious sentence doth Jonah conclude, or rather break off his prophecy; as if he had said, Great is thy truth, and prevaieth. Thy mercy triumpheth against justice, much more shall it triumph against dust and ashes. Let the corrupt affections of man give place to thy righteous judgments; let both great and small, the infant and dumb beast, sing of thy loving-kindness, 'and let everything that hath breath, say, The Lord be praised.' And let this be the end of my labours for this time, the meditation of that mercy of God, wherein this prophecy is ended, and let the labours of my whole life know none other end. Thus let me end the day and begin the night, end the

night and begin the day again. Whether I read or write, think or speak, or whatsoever else I do, let me do it all with this conclusion ; and when I have run out the race of my sinful days, let me rest at that happy mark, wherein the Lord doth give over his argument, I these pains.

I have at length finished, by the grace of God and your patient audience, my simple expositions upon the prophecy of Jonah, an argument and narration, you see, of only mercy ; the four chapters whereof, as those four beasts in the Revelation, 'full of eyes both before and behind,' Rev. iv ; I mean in every part opening and discovering unto us the invisible God in the sweetest propriety of his nature, that is, in the abundance of his love ; 'cease not day and night,' and for all eternity, to sing, 'Gracious, gracious, gracious, Lord God almighty, which was, which is, and which is to come.' Thy mercy is over all thy works, and thy faithfulness endureth from generation to generation. But the last of the four is the flying eagle to all the rest, as the fourth beast there, having an higher reach and loftier demonstration than the other had. For where the mercy of God was then but exemplified in fact, 1, to the mariners ; 2, to Jonah ; 3, to Nineveh in the three first chapters, here it is pleaded, maintained, propugned, touching the right and reasonableness thereof, with arguments so strong, as that I say not the tongue of man, but not the gates of the nethermost hell, shall ever be able to prevail against it. Whilst there is a difference betwixt day and night, and when the covenant of day and night shall be broken, this indifferency betwixt God and man shall stand in force, *Shalt thou spare, and shall not I spare ?* or rather this difference, *If thou sparest not, yet will I spare.* Though man can be content to see multitudes of his own kind to be murdered like rats or mice, pitying neither infant in age, neither innocent in conditions, nor the harmless beast, yet God, the Creator of all, will cast a merciful eye over all his creatures, and both man and beast, aged and suckling, maugre the malice of Satan and opposition of his own flesh, shall find grace in his eyes. If I have profited any man by putting God's talent to use in this exercise, and been, as my hearty wish was, a sweet-smelling sacrifice and a savour of life unto him, let God have the honour, the Father and 'giver of all good and perfect gifts,' there shall none of his glory cleave to my fingers. I take nothing to myself but weakness and shame, who, though I have broken my Master's bread unto you with mine earthly and unworthy hands, yet was I but the instrument, the blessing and power his alone, who 'giveth both seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth.' That I have been chargeable unto any man, it repenteth me. 'It is more blessed to give than to take ;' and although it standeth with the liberty and leave of the gospel so to do (for 'who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock ? And if we have sown unto you

spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal ?'), yet I will modestly confess it hardly stood with the liberty and freedom of mine own disposition ; and I am able to affirm it from a pure conscience, as Paul did in the twentieth of the Acts, though I received something, *ὅτι ἐπεισμήσα*, yet 'I have not coveted the silver, or gold, or apparel of any man.' I speak not in any sort (my witnesses are in heaven and in mine own bosom) to diminish the credit of your benevolence towards me. The Lord requite it unto you seven fold ! I hate ingratitude as witchcraft ; my mouth were worthy to be muzzled up, if I would not freely and fully profess your kindness, for you were unto me as the house of Stephanas was unto Paul and his company, 'the first-fruits of Achaia,' 1 Cor. xvi. (he meant the first of that region that gave themselves to minister unto the saints), so you, the first-fruits of England that have given me any maintenance by voluntary contribution. I hope your cruse shall the more abound, and your cup be the fuller for it. Yet, let me say with patience, whatsoever hath been done in this behalf, I was rather sought and motioned thereunto, than myself ever sought it. And during the greater time of my continuance therein, if I had not rather desired to satisfy others than mine own heart, feeling more burden in my pains, than sweetness in my recompence, I had long since eased both myself of my labour, and you of your charges. Though some are ignorant, and others will not know, and some are loath to feel it, I have both known and felt what to read a lecture is. For if to read a lecture be not only to read (as the name soundeth), or only to speak by an hour-glass, *declamare ad clepsydram*, and to spend the time ; if more than to talk and confer with some single commentary, and not only to search translations as the brooks, but to examine the original as the well-spring ; and both to peruse and compare the expositions of the learned (for the 'spirits of prophets are subject to prophets ;' and we 'all prophesy one by one' in several ages, that we all may have comfort one by another's labours), and not as drones, to live by the honey which bees have gathered, but ourselves to make honey, and to add to the travail of others, for the building and perfecting of God's church (for as they have found out many things, so they have left many to be sought by us*) ; and to play the parts of thrifty and good husbands in making our patrimony larger, which we have received from our fathers,† together with studious meditation, discreet application to the time, persons, and place, endless succession of pains after pains ; then, I am sure, that to read a lecture is a greater labour than some in opinion will conceive, others demonstrate and make proof of by practice. There be that run away with a lecture, as horses with an empty cart ; I cannot do it. It is but a mote with them to read thrice in a week, and twice

* Nam illi quoque, non inventa, sed quærenda nobis reliquerunt. † Faciamus ampliora quæ accepimus.

in a day sometimes. I will not dissemble my wants. It was a beam to my back to make it my weekly exercise. For if ever my hands were manacled, and my feet bound up before, I say not from taking pleasure, which I little regard, but from following the course of my necessary and gravest studies, then did I purchase that bondage unto myself, when I offered my neck to this yoke. How often have I said within myself,

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,

as Horace commended a country life. How happy is that man in comparison (if to live in ease be any part of happiness), who hath a rural charge! That I leave no man to succeed me, as Moses left Joshua, Elijah Elisha, and such like, though it be my grief, yet I cannot remedy it. It is threatened for a curse in Jeremiah, chap. xlix., 'There shall be none to say, Leave thy fatherless children unto me.' *Mihi non minori curæ est qualis respublica post mortem meam futura sit, quàm qualis hodiè.** My care is as great for your church when I am departed, as whilst I am present. For I hate the improvident and importunate nature of Heliogabalus, who wished to be heir to himself, and to see an ending and dying of all things with his own person. But your benevolence is your own, and I cannot commend it as an inheritance to any other man. Only my comfort is, that which Abraham gave to Isaac when he saw not the sacrifice, Gen. xxii., *Deus providebit*, 'God will provide' for you, if you be not wanting to yourselves. For let me say with your favourable construction, there are many within these walls, that know not their right hands from the left, children in understanding, and much cattle, take them in the sense that Peter and Jude mean them, 2 Pet. ii., beasts without reason, men without humanity, as bad as the horse and the mule, in whom is none understanding. For these, there are not preachers enough, or rather to say the truth, authority hath not edge and vigour enough to 'compel them to come in, that the house of God may be filled.' They walk in the fields, in the streets at their pleasure; they lie at their doors, upon their beds; they sit down to eat and drink and to be drunken, and rise up to play. They may do worse than all this, in chambering, in wantonness, in intolerable filthiness, even upon the best days, and in the best hours of the day, and who saith unto them, What do ye? They have lived apart by themselves a long time, and sung with their own muses, whom I would have besought now, lastly, even in the bowels of Christ, and for conscience towards God, to have redressed this blot to their city. But so they have lived and dwelt, as if Jordan had lain between them and us, that they could not come at us. I mislike not their absence, for they are provided of their own; and as the women said in Isaiah, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own garments,' so may they justly excuse themselves, We

* Tull. de amicitia.

have a peculiar vineyard, and a labourer of our own to see it kept and manured. I say so, but if there were more than this (forgive my Christian jealousy), that some of purpose would not, and others might not come because of offence, God forgive it. I never offended them, unless I committed that fault which the apostle speaketh of, 2 Cor. xii., that 'I was not chargeable or burdensome' unto them. *Χαρίσασθε μοι τὴν ἀδικίαν τάυτην*, he desired them to forgive him that wrong; and if mine be the same trespass, I ask the same pardon. I preached not Christ of envy, I preached not Christ for glory, I preached not Christ for gain, and neither to please nor justly to offend any man. I preached Christ in uprightness and simplicity of heart, and walked with the evenest foot that I could, by all means labouring, if it were possible, to save some; which if I have obtained, though it be my great joy, and a crown unto me, yet I glory in him that hath enabled me thereunto, and cast my crown at his feet by whom I had grace to perform it.

Lastly, It is my comfort, and ever may it be, to see such an happy and friendly aspect, of so many principal planets together in one place.* I hope they shall ever be found in that mutual correspondence wherein I now leave them. For whilst I live, I shall pray for the peace of our Jerusalem; which peace of our Jerusalem, if either prayers to God or petitions to men, if travail of body or contention of mind, if shedding of tears or spending of blood, may purchase to our church or commonwealth, it is not dearly bought. Division had well-nigh broken of late the heart-strings of religion amongst us. Oh, let the head and the heart, with other the sovereign parts, evermore accord, that the inferior members may be the better governed.

Finally, 'my brethren, fare ye well' (it is the apostle's farewell to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xvi.), 'be perfect;' stick not always in the rudiments and first beginnings. 'Be of good comfort;' you know who hath overcome the world. 'Be of one mind, and live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.' And so I leave you to the mercy of God, neither greater nor less, than this prophecy doth record, beseeching the God both of Israel and Nineveh, and all the ends of the earth, that his blessings may be poured down in as abundant measure upon you all, your city and people, aged, infants, and cattle, and whatsoever is within your gates or possession, as my faithful purpose hath been, truly and effectually to preach his mercy, according to the matter of this present history. 'To him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with joy, that is, to God, only wise and our Saviour, be glory, and majesty, and dominion, and power, both now and for ever, Amen.'

* The Lord Archbishop, and Lord Lieutenant, and Lord Warden.

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE FUNERAL OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER,

JOHN, LATE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

NOVEMBER THE 17TH, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1591.*

Trust not in princes, nor in any son of man, for there is no help in him. His breath departeth, and he returneth to his earth; then his thoughts perish.—PSALM CXLVI. 3, 4.

THAT precept of the son of Sirach† (though I never were willing to neglect) I would most gladly have observed at this time: 'Thou that art young, speak if need be, and yet scarcely, when thou art twice asked. For that which Euripides in Hecuba spake of a noble and unnoble man, I hold to be true of an old and young man delivering the same speech; though it be all one in words, it is not so in force and authority.‡ The rule, I am sure, is ever for the most part against the younger. 'No man, when he hath tasted old wine, desireth new, for he saith, the old is better.' Antigonus gave his judgment of Pyrrhus, *magnum futurum si senesceret*, that he would prove to be some great man if he lived to be old. The weary ox treadeth surer, *bos lassus fortius figit pedem*, a proverb which Jerome used against Augustine, being short of his years. *Omnia fert ætas, animum quoque*; age bringeth all things, and with all things wisdom. Surely for mine own part, I never thought it convenient that the gravity of this present business should not be answered

with gravity, both of person and speech; and my witnesses are both in heaven and earth how justly I can excuse myself, as Elihu did, Job xxxii, 'Behold I did wait upon the words of the ancient, and hearkened for their knowledge.' I stayed the time till some elder and riper judgment might have acquitted me from this presumption. For as I wished all honour, bounded within sobriety, to the name of my living master, so this to his memory, being dead, that these last accomplishments of our Christian humanity towards him might have been honoured both with the presence and pains of some honourable person; and that, amongst other his felicities, it might have been one more which Alexander pronounced at the tomb of Achilles, when he put a garland about his statue or pillar, *O te felicem, cui mortuo talis præco contigerit*: O happy Achilles, who, being dead, hast gotten thee such a trumpeter of thy praises as Homer was. Howbeit, under that name and nature wherein it cometh unto me, being imposed, not sought, and rather a burden than either suit or desire of mine, and as an end of my service, which for that virtuous spirit's sake that sometimes dwelt in it, I owe to the dead corpse, I have adventured the charge, that whatsoever my wants otherwise be, no man might say I wanted duty. And as one besides, not unwilling to take this advantage, though of a most unhappy and unwelcome time, to seal up my former affections, and to publish to the world what my loss is.

It was said of old time, and in some case it may be true, *animo dolenti, nihil oportet credere*, that a man should never believe a grieved or troubled mind. I think the contrary: *animo dolenti magis oportet*

* Although this and the following sermon have no material connection with the Exposition of Jonah, and do not properly come within the range of the present series; yet we have determined, after mature deliberation, not to separate them from the connection in which their right reverend author originally placed them. His reasons for appending them to the Lectures on Jonah are given in his *Epistle Dedicatory*. Had they been of great length, we should not have inserted them; but we have thought that a few pages would be well bestowed in giving the author's work as complete as he gave it originally, and in providing that any one who may purchase this volume, and who may desire to possess these two sermons, shall not be under the necessity of searching for a copy of the old edition, in order to procure them.—ED.

† Ecclus. xxxii. ‡ Eadem oratio æqa non æquè valet, *Enon*.

credere, a man should rather believe a mind in the grief thereof. And it is the best excuse for my bold endeavours at this time, that being no stranger either to his death, the eyes of whose body (and under God, of mine own hope) I help to close up, either to that sorrow which his death hath divided amongst us his scattered flock, I am able to say that by my hearing which others but by hearsay, and with a tongue fired at the altar of my heart, quickened and enlived, I mean from the sense of that inward sorrow which I have conceived.

I have laid the foundation of my speech from the words of the psalm, 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in any son of man, for there is no help in him,' &c.

1. Princes are an honourable calling, but they are the sons of men.

2. The sons of men are creatures not far inferior to angels, but there is no help in them.

3. There is no help in them; because not only their puissance and strength, but also the very breath of their nostrils, departeth.

4. When their breath is departed, they are not placed amongst the stars, but return to their earth.

5. Their devices are not canonised and kept for eternity, for their thoughts perish. You see the first and the last, highest and lowest, of all the sons of Adam, they may be made honourable, *princes*, but they are born sinful, *the sons of men*; born weak, *there is no help in them*; born mortal, *their breath departeth*; born corruptible, *they return to their earth*; and lastly, that mortality and corruption is not only in their flesh, but in some part or remnant of their spirits, for *their thoughts perish*. The prophet (if you mark it) climbeth up by degrees to the disabling of the best men amongst us, and in them of all the rest. For if princes deserve not confidence, the argument must needs hold by comparison, much less meaner men. The order of the words is so set, that the members following are evermore either the reason or some confirmation to that that went before. *Trust not in princes*. Why? Because they are *the sons of men*. Why not in the sons of men? Because there is *no help in them*. Why is there no help in them? Because when *their breath goeth forth, they turn again to their earth*. What if their flesh be corrupted? Nay, *their thoughts also come to nothing*.

For, first, this first order and rank which the prophet hath here placed, the princes and gods of the earth, are by birth *men*; secondly, *weak* men, and such in whom *no help is*; thirdly, not only weak, but *dying*, their breath goeth out; fourthly, not only dying, but subject to dissolution, *they turn to the earth*; fifthly, if only their bodies were dissolved, and their intendments or acts might stand, there were less cause to distrust them; but *their thoughts* are as transitory as their bodies.

Chrysostom deriveth it thus: Trust not in princes,

either because they are men, or because helpless, or because mortal, or because corruptible, both in the frames of their bodies and in the cogitations of their hearts; or lastly, *si dicendum est aliquid mirabile*, if a man may speak that which the world may instantly wonder at, trust not in princes even for this very cause, because they are princes, and in least safety themselves.* O happy governors, saith one, if they knew their miseries, more unhappy if they know them not. *Tam ille timere cogitat quam timeri*, it was Cyprian's judgment of one in government, that he hath as great cause to fear as to be feared. The authority or pre-eminence of princes amongst men is great. If the king say Kill, they kill; if Spare, they spare; and, but that it is the ordinance of God, a thing which his own right hand hath planted, not possible to stand; for they may all say, 'It is thou that subduest my people under me,' and their 'promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, Ps. cxliv., nor from the suffrages of the people, nor from the line of their ancient progenitors, nor from the conquest of their swords, but from the Lord of hosts.

God telleth Cyrus, Isaiah the five and fortieth, 'his servant, his anointed, to whom he had opened the doors of the kingdom, and whose hand he held, I have called thee by thy name, and surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.' I find it noted upon that place, that his name was Spaco before, which, by the testimony of Herodotus and Justin, in the language of the Medes, signifieth a dog; but God changed that name, and called him Coresch, or Cyrus, which in the Persian language soundeth a lord. Job, in his own person, chap. xxix., describeth the state of princes and rulers; that 'when he went out of the gate to the seat of judgment, the young men saw him, and hid themselves; the aged arose, and stood up; the princes stayed their talk, and laid their hands upon their mouths; when the ear heard him, it blessed him, and when the eye saw him, it gave witness unto him; after his words they replied not, and his talk dropped upon them, and they waited for him as for the rain; neither did they suffer the light of his countenance to fall to the ground.' This is the reason that men are so willing to seek the face of the ruler, for, being in the highest places, they are able to gratify their followers with highest pleasures. 'They that have power are called benefactors,' Luke xxii. Elijah asked the woman of Shunam, 2 Kings iv., in whose house he had lodged, what he might do for her: 'Is there anything for thee to be spoken for to the king, or to the captain of the host?' as the greatest remuneration that his heart could then think upon. Now, as their port and presence is very glorious upon the earth, so neither is it permanent, and whilst it hath being, it is daily assaulted, both with domestic and foreign dangers. He that created great lights, a greater to rule the day and a less the night, he hath also created great rulers

* *Mihi credite, mori mallem quam imperare.—Otho.*

on the earth, some to be emperors, some kings, some subordinate governors, some in continents, some in islands, some in provinces, &c. And as he shall change the glory of the former, that 'the sun shall be darkened and lose his shining, and the moon shall be turned into blood,' so he shall stain the beauty of the latter, and lay their honour in the dust, and those that have been clothed in purple may hap to embrace the dunghill. He saith in the psalm, 'I have said that ye are gods, and the children of the Most High; but ye shall die like men, and fall like the rest of the princes,' Ps. lxxxii. It is a prerogative that God hath, to 'call things that are not as if they were;' but if they themselves shall take upon them to be gods when they are but men, the Lord will quickly abase them. Sennacherib is in his ruff for a time, Isa. xxxvii., 'Where is the king of Hamah, and the king of Arphad? (kings which he had destroyed) and have the gods of the nations delivered their clients and orators out of my hands?' and 'Hezekiah, let not thy God deceive thee.' Proud challenges! But a man might soon have asked him, Where is the king of Asshur? and hath Nisroch, the god of Assyria, delivered Sennacherib himself out of the hands of God? and Sennacherib, let not thy God deceive thee, nay, take heed that thine own sons deceive thee not; thy bowels, thy flesh and bones shall murder thee where thou art most devout. Herod is content at the first to admit the persuasion of the people, 'The voice of God, not of man,' Acts xii.; but as he received his glory and pride in a theatre, so his shame and downfall in a theatre; the people shouted not so fast in his ears, but another people sent from God gnaweth as fast within his bowels, and maketh him alter the style of his oration: I that but lately was called a god, and thought to be immortal by you, am now going to my death.* But take them in their happiest and fortunatest courses, both kings and kingdoms, as they have their beginnings and their full strength, so they have their climacterical and dangerous years, as he spake of France,† so also their periods and determinations. And these are the lots they must all draw in their courses, as I have found them recited, *regnabo, regno, regnari, sum sine regno*, I shall reign, I do reign, I have reigned, I have now done reigning.

Surely those that are good princes indeed, whose thrones are established with mercy and judgment, they have need, daily and hourly, to be commended unto God; good luck have ye with your honour, we wish you prosperity. 'O Lord, give thy judgments unto the king, and thy righteousness unto the king's son; send them help from thy sanctuary, and strengthen them out of Zion;' for their honour is dearly bought, they drink worm-wood in a cup of gold, they lie in a bed of ivory, trimmed with carpets of Egypt, but over their heads hangeth a naked sword, the point downward, by a small horse-hair, threatening their continual

* Qui modo immortalis vocabar, &c.—*Euseb.* † La Nove.

slaughter.* They might all pronounce, but that they are strengthened with the arm of God, of their honourablest robe and ensign of their majesty, *O nobilem magis quam felicem pannum*,† O rather noble than happy garment, if men did thoroughly know how many disquietments, dangers, and miseries it is replenished with, if it lay upon the ground before their face, they would hardly take it up. That which seemeth high to others is steep and headlong to them.‡ Ishbosheth never wanted a man in his own camp, nor Elah a servant in his own house, nor David a son from his own loins, besides Doegs, and Shimeis, and Ahithophels, wicked counsellors, blasphemous railers, traitorous spies, to do them mischief.

To conclude therefore; our duty to princes is not confidence and faith in them, but faithfulness and obedience towards them. 'Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's;' give him 'tribute, custom, honour, fear;' serve him with your field and vineyards for his maintenance, with your lives and the lives of your sons for his defence; and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar, or the king of Babylon, and of Belshazzar his son, that their days may be as the days of heaven upon the earth.§ This the apostle requireth of us, 1 Tim. ii., 'that prayers and supplications be made for all men, namely, and especially for kings, and all that are in authority,' and that we be subject, one saith, to the creature and constitution of man; another saith, to the ordinance of God, because God hath ordained it by the hand of man, whether it be the king or his officers, higher or lower. One saith for conscience' sake, 1 Peter ii., another for the Lord's sake, Rom. xiii., because conscience is then assured, when it goeth after his direction. This is their right; but that confidence which my text speaketh of, belongeth only to the hope of Israel, and to him is fully reserved.

Will you know a farther reason to exclude both princes, and all others who have their dwellings with mortal flesh, from this assurance of ours? They are the *sons of men*. I except but one; *in uno filio hominis salus*,|| in one, and that only Son of man there was salvation, not because he was merely the Son of man, but the Son of God also. 'Amongst those that were begotten of women, there never arose a greater than John Baptist,' yet he told his disciples that elave unto him, *non sum*, 'I am not he,' and sent them away unto a greater, and pointed at him with his finger, 'Behold the Lamb of God.' When Cornelius fell down at the feet of Peter to worship him, Acts the tenth, Peter took him up, and answered, *Καὶ ἔγωγε ἄνθρωπος*, 'I myself am also a man.' When the priest of Jupiter brought bulls and garlands to sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, it set them in a passion; 'they rent their

* Timeo incustoditos aditus, timeo ipsos custodes.—*Tiberius.* † Stob. ser 47.

‡ Quæ aliis excelsa videntur, ipsis prærupta sunt.—*Senec.*

§ Baruch.

|| Augustine.

clothes, and ran in amongst the people, crying and saying, O men, why do ye these things, for we are also men subject to the like passions that ye be,' *Ἀνθρώποι ὁμοιοπαθεῖς*, Acts xiv. They might have added for further explication's sake, that which is written, Isaiah the second, 'Cease from the man whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to be esteemed?' and in the 51st of the same prophecy, 'Who art thou that thou shouldst fear a mortal man, and the son of man, that shall be made like grass?' and a little before, 'The moth shall devour him like a garment, and the worm devour him like wool, but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation to generation.' A man, of what condition soever he be (saith Lactantius),* *Si sibi credit, hoc est, si homini credit*, if he trust himself, that is, if he trust man, besides his folly in not seeing his error, he is very arrogant and audacious to challenge that unto himself, which the nature of man is not capable of. When the Israelites, Isa. xxxi., waited upon the help of Egypt, trusting in their chariots because they were many, and their horses because they were strong, God gave them none other answer than this: 'The Egyptians are men, and not God; their horses flesh, and not spirit; and therefore when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, the help shall fall, and he that is holpen, and both shall fail together.' The nature of man at the first creation, before that lump was soured with the leaven of sin, was full of glory and grace, as God expostulated with David: 2 Sam. xii., 'I made thee king over Israel, and if that had been too little, I would have done much more;' so man was made king, and put in lordlike dominion and possession, not over cantons and corners of the world, but over the air, the sea, the earth, and every beast and fish, and feathered fowl therein created. All things were made for us, for in a manner we are the end and perfection of all things, *Εσμεν γὰρ πῶς καὶ ἡμεῖς τέλος*. And if this be too little, God hath yet done more for us. For our sakes were the heavens created, and for our sakes were the heavens bowed, and God was made man to pleasure man;† so that 'all is ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' The wise men of the world, who never looked so far into the honours of man as we do, yet evermore advanced that creature above all others: one called him a little world, the world a great man; another a mortal god, God an immortal man; another all things, because he partaketh the nature of plants, of beasts, and of spiritual creatures. Phavorinus marvelled at nothing in the world besides man, at nothing in man besides his mind. Abdala the Saracen, being asked what he most wondered at upon the stage of this world, answered man; and Saint Augustine saith that man is a greater miracle than all the miracles that ever have been wrought amongst men. Whatsoever our prerogatives

are (as they have been greater in times past, *fuimus Troes*, we have been Trojans, and it hath been an happy thing to be born man), we cannot now forego our nature, our generation is known to the world, 'our foundation is in the dust;' we were fashioned beneath in the earth, we were brought together to be flesh in our mothers' wombs in ten months, and when we were born, we received no more than the common air, and fell upon the earth, which is of like nature.* Our father is proved to be an Amorite, neither angel nor God, and our mother an Hittite, and we the unclean children of an unclean seed. Let Alexander persuade himself that he was the son of Jupiter Hammon, till he see his blood; let Sapor the king of Persia write himself king of kings, brother to the sun and moon, partner with the stars;† let the canonists of Rome make a new canon to transfigure their pope into a new nature, writing him neither God nor man,‡ but somewhat between both; let Antiochus think to sail upon the mountains; Sennacherib to dry up the rivers with the plant of his foot; let Edom exalt himself like an eagle, and 'build his nest amongst the stars,' and say in the swelling of his heart, 'Who shall bring me down to the ground?' Obadiah; yet, when they have all done, let them look back to their tribe, and their father's poor house, and the pit from whence they were hewn; let them examine their pedigree and descent, and they shall find that they are but the sons of men, and that the Lord hath laid this judgment upon them, 'Man that is born of a woman hath want of days, and store of miseries.' I end with that excellent admonition of Scaliger§ to Cardan, I would ever have thee remember that thou, and I, and others, are but men; for if thou knowest what man is, thou wilt easily understand thyself to be nothing. For mine own part, I am not wont to say that we are so much as men, but pieces of man, *partes hominis*, of all which put together something may be made, not great, but of each of them sundered, almost less than nothing, *penè minus quàm nihil*.

If you will now learn the reason why you must not trust in the sons of men, 'there is no help in them.' That is not so, for Eve was made an helper to the man, but there is no salvation in them; or salvation there may be, such as it is, for a moment of time, not final, as Joshua was a saviour, unto Israel; and salvation of the body, but not of the soul, whereas the salvation of the Lord is never but salvation; for he is 'the same God, and his years fail not;' and it reacheth to all parts, for 'his arm is not shortened.' Pliny observeth in his Natural History,|| that nature hath given armour and covering to all other living things, shells, crusts, hides, prickles, hairs, feathers, fleeces,

* Wisd. vii.

† Rex regum, frater solis et lunæ, particeps syderum.

‡ Nec Deus est nec homo.

§ Exerc. cxlviii.

|| Lib. vii.

* Lib. iii. cap. iii.

† 2. Physic. Propter hominem homo Deus factus est.

scales; Chrystom addeth, talons, tusks, horns; only man upon his birthday she doth cast forth naked, and upon the naked ground, to weeping and howling.* Chrystom giveth the reason: God hath so disposed of man, that himself might be his only protection.† He confessed in the person of all mankind who saw it experienced in his own, 'Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I shall return thither again.' We hear their beginning and their ending. But say that in the course of his life man shall have girded himself with strength, and decked him with majesty, what is he then more than a vain man? For what did it help the children of Canaan that the sons of Anak, giants of the earth, dwelt amongst them, of whom the children of Israel said, Deut. i., 'We have seen the sons of Anak there.' They were all destroyed by Joshua, 'they and their cities,' Joshua xi., and not one Anakim left in the mountains of Israel and Judah. We read of Og, the king of Bashan, Deut. iii., the only remnant of those giants, that 'his bed was a bed of iron, the length of it nine cubits, the breadth four, after the cubit of a man;' yet how often doth the psalmist sing, 'He hath slain mighty kings, Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan.' What did it profit the Philistines, 1 Sam. xvii., that the monster Goliath was amongst them? or the monster himself, that his stature was so huge, his helmet, his greaves, his corslet, his shield, all of brass, the staff of his spear like a weaver's beam? He was smitten by a child in comparison, who came with a shepherd's staff, and sling in his hand, and a few smooth stones in his scrip; but (that which was the safest munition of all others) 'in the name of the Lord of hosts,' the God of Israel, whom he had railed upon.

These and the like experiments made him so bold afterwards, that he defied all men: Ps. lvi., 'I will not fear what man can do unto me;' 'I will not fear for ten thousands of people that shall beset me round about,' Ps. iii.; 'Though an host were pitched against me, my heart should not be afraid,' Ps. xxvii.; 'All nations compassed me about: but in the name of the Lord will I destroy them. They have compassed me about; I say, they have compassed me about: but in the name of the Lord shall I destroy them. They came about me like bees, and are extinct even as a fire of thorns: for in the name of the Lord shall I destroy them,' Ps. cxviii. The reason is, 'For thou, Lord, hast holpen me; thou art my strength, and my song; thou hast been my deliverance.' 'The Lord is a man of war; his name is Jehovah,' Exod. xv.; 'The eternal God is thy refuge, and under his arms thou art for ever; he shall cast out the enemy before thee, and will say, Destroy them,' Deut. xxvi. The

one was the song of Moses after the drowning of Pharaoh and his host, the other a part of his blessing given to the tribes of Israel not long before his death. It was not the sword of Gideon that overthrew the Midianites, Judges vii., but 'the sword of the Lord and Gideon;' and therefore he chose rather to give that overthrow by few than by many, lest Israel might make their vaunt against him, and say, 'My hand hath saved me.' Afterwards, 'when they said to Gideon, Reign thou over us, both thou and thy son, and thy son's son; for thou hast delivered us out the hand of Midian;' he answered them, 'I will not reign over you, neither shall my child reign over you; but the Lord shall reign over you.' You hear what our strength is; and for other helps, seek them far and near, they are so weak that they are not able to change the colour of one hair to our bodies, nor add one cubit to our stature, nor one minute of time to those days which God hath assigned us. Why, then, do we flatter ourselves that we shall 'multiply our days as the sand'? or what treacle is there at Gilead, what physician there, that can cure the gout in Asa his legs, or lay a right plaster to the boil of Hezekiah, or ease the aching of the head which the Shunamite's child complained of, or heal a fever, a dropsy, an issue of blood, or any one of a thousand diseases more wherewith the body of man is oppugned, if the Lord instruct and assist him not? I read that Socrates never needed physician in his lifetime; that Pompey, a poet, and a nobleman born, was so sound that he never belched; Anthonia the wife of Drusus never spit, *ut perhibent qui de magnis majora loquuntur*, as they say who of great matters use greater words. Their times, belike, were more temperate, and therefore less rheumatic than ours. We desire to have strong bodies, able to do us service in our old age, *sed prohibent grandes patinæ*, but we eat and drink so much that it cannot be. Asclepiades, a physician, indented with fortune that if ever he should happen to fall sick, he would no longer be a physician. *Et quid opus Cratæro, magnos promittere montes?* What need Asclepiades (who with a sudden fall of a ladder prevented sickness, and ended his days), or Craterus, or or any other physician, promise such mountains to himself or others? 'A physician is to be honoured with that honour that is due unto him, but of the Most High cometh healing; his knowledge lifteth up the head, he receiveth gifts of the king, and in the sight of great men he shall be had in admiration, but the Lord hath created the medicines of the earth; the apothecary maketh a confection, and yet he cannot finish his own works.*' Let the physician do his part with an upright and faithful mind in the sight of God who hath created him; let him not lie to his patient and thrall, nor draw him into error, as Abraham did Abimelech, in saying that Sarah was but his sister when she was his wife; he had well-nigh caused him

* Hominem tantum nudum et nudâ humo natali die abjicit ad vagitum.

† Hominem solum sic disposuit ut virtus ipsius sit Deus ipse.

* Ecclus. xxxviii.

to sin by that false suggestion ; so these may deceive their patients, and make them the more careless, by telling them that their disease is further off in degree, when it is incorporate into them, and lieth so near to their body (even like a wife) that it may not be severed, when the sick man and his sickness are *duo in carne uná*, as it were two in one flesh. Some are unskilful in their profession, such as Pliny speaketh of, *experimenta per mortem agunt*, they kill men to gain experience. And Seneca noteth the like, *officiosissimè multos occidunt*, they are very busy to cast many men away. Others are unfaithful, and these in my judgment are more to be eschewed than the former ; evil counsellors, healing the hurts of the people with sweet words, crying, Peace, peace, all is well, when behold, Hannibal is at the gates, death is entered in at the windows and at the doors, and hath taken the fort of the body into her hands. Such are very unlikely to make sound bodies, because they come with unsound hearts ; and of these is the proverb verified, *tituli pharmaca habent, pyxides venena*, all their titles, pretences, and promises are health, health, but their drugs and recipes are poison. I mean not so much to the bodies as the souls of men. Trust not in man, therefore, neither in his strength nor in his skill and fidelity, for there is no help in him.—Why no help ?

His spirit departeth ; not only his strength, his health, his agility, his livelihood, but his breath. I will join the residue of my text all in one ; not only his breath, but his flesh, blood, bones, marrow, sinews, arteries, all must go. There is a resolution of his whole substance ; his last garment, which is his skin, shall be pulled off, *detrahetur novissimum velamentum cutis* ; he hath here no abiding place, nor any state of perpetuity, but returneth, not immediately to heaven, but to the earth ; nor to the earth as a stranger unto him, or an unknown place, but to *his earth, ad terram suam*, as his familiar friend and of old acquaintance. Neither is there only an end of these material parts ; but part of his inward man also perisheth, so far as his carnal and worldly designments went, which he fancied to himself in his lifetime.

Here is the end of all flesh : they sojourn upon the face of the earth, and their spirit also sojourneth within their bodies. It cometh and returneth as a traveller by the way, and stayeth perhaps for an hour, a day, a year, a decade of years, more or less, and then *exit spiritus*, our breath departeth from us. And as God called Abraham, *exi de terra tua*, Go out of thy country wherein thou wert born and bred ; so he calleth to our spirits, Come out of your houses wherein you have long dwelt. There is but one manner of entering into the world, but many ways of going out ; *unus introitus, innumeri exitus* ; we are full of holes, we take water at a thousand breaches ; ‘one dieth young, another in a good age, some in their full strength, when their breasts are full of milk,’ some by the hand of God, some by sickness and in-

firmity, some by violence. The infants of Bethlehem are slain in their cradles, Eglon in his parlour, Saul in the field, Ishbosheth upon his bed, Sennacherib in the temple, Joab at the very altar ; some die by famine, as the children of Jerusalem ; some by fatuity and surfeiting, as the children of Sodom ; some by bears, as the boys that mocked Elisha ; some by lions, as the disobedient prophet ; some by worms, as Herod ; some by dogs, as Euripides ; but Lucian better deserved that death, and he also sustained it ; the sons and daughters of Job, in the midst of their feasting, with the fall of an house ; Korah and his complices, with the opening of the earth : the captains and their fifties, with fire from heaven, the coals whereof were never blown ; Zimri with fire from earth which himself kindled ; *eosdem penates habuit, et regiam, et rogam, et sepulchrum*, as Val. Maximus writeth of Tullus Hostilius, who was smitten with lightning, the same house was both his palace, and pile, and grave to be buried in. I add that which is more admirable : Homer died of grief, because he could not answer a riddle which fishermen proposed unto him ;* Sophocles with joy, because in a prize of learning, after long expectation, he got the victory of his adversary but by one voice. Behold, ye despisers, and wonder at the hand of God, you that are ‘in league with death, and make a truce with the grave ;’ you that say to your souls, ‘Take thine ease,’ and be at rest for many years, and ‘to-morrow shall be as this day, and much better ;’ with whom there is nothing but as in the days of Noah, eat, drink, marry, until the flood cometh. Seeing that both sorrow and joy are both able to kill you, and your life hangeth upon so small a thread, that the least gnat in the air can choke you, as it choked a pope of Rome ; a little hair in your milk strangle you, as it did a councillor in Rome ; a stone of a raisin stop your breath, as it did the breath of Anacreon : put not the evil day far from you, which the ordinance of God hath put so near ; ‘remember your Creator in time, before the days come wherein you shall say we have no pleasure in them ;’ walk not always with your faces to the east, sometimes have an eye to the west, where the sun goeth down ; sit not ever in the prow of the ship, sometimes go to the stern ; ‘stand in your watch-towers,’ as the creature doth, Rom. viii., and wait for the hour of your deliverance ; provide your armies before that dreadful king cometh to fight against you with his greater forces ; order your houses before you die, that is, dispose of your bodies and souls, and all the implements of them both ; let not your eyes be gadding after pleasure, not your ear itching after rumours, nor your minds wandering in the fields, when death is in your houses ; your bodies are not brass, nor your strength the strength of stones, your life none inheritance, your breath no more than as the vapour and smoke of the chimney within your nostrils, or as a stranger within

* Plutar.

your gates, coming and going again, not to return any more till the day of final redemption. It is a wonder that there should be need of any such exhortation after so long experience. If we were as Adam was, who never saw the example of any precedent death,* we might the more justly be excused, for as Christ spake in the Gospel of the virtues done in Chorazin and Bethsaida, 'if the virtues wrought amongst you had been wrought elsewhere,' &c. So if those innumerable deaths which have been shewed amongst us had been shewed in the days of Adam before his fall, he would never have run into that contempt. We know that we must die, and, as Calvus spake against Vatinius, you know that he hath practised ambition, and there is no man but knoweth that you know so much,† so we know the certainty of our death as we know our names and the joints of our fingers, and yet we regard it not. What are all the cities and towns of the earth, so far as the line thereof is stretched, but *humanarum cladum miseranda consepta*,‡ the lamentable pinfolds of the deaths of men? Oh pray that the flight and departure of this spirit which must depart be not upon the Sabbath-day, in the rest and tranquillity of your sins, nor in the winter and frost of your hard hearts, nor in the midnight of your security, when you least look for it. 'Woe worth the man whom the Lord when he cometh shall find sleeping.' I say the untimely fruit is better than that man, and it had been good for that man if he had never been born; the thieves shall break through his house, the dangerous thieves of the soul. Satan and his angels, spiritual wickedness, shall rob, not his coffers but his conscience, of a treasure which he had, but lost with carelessness. The bridegroom shall come by with a noise, but behold, his light is out, his oil spent; that is, both his matter and opportunity of well-doing is gone, and he cannot supply either by borrowing or by buying, though he would give his heart's blood for it. What shall become of him but that he shall knock at the gates of heaven while those gates are standing, and cry upon the Lord, while he hath his being, to no purpose.

The instruction serveth us all; for the prophet was willed to cry, Isa. xl., that those which were farthest off from hearing the sound, and believing the report of the voice, might be made partakers of it. 'All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field.' And to shew how strange it seemed unto him, that any should be ignorant of their mortal condition, and strangers in Jerusalem (as the disciples spake to Christ, Luke xxiv.), or rather in the world, not knowing the things which ordinarily come to pass, from the first creation, till time shall be no more, he continueth his cries: 'Know ye nothing? Have ye not heard it, hath it not been told you

from the beginning, have ye not learned it from the foundations of the earth, that it is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants in comparison of him are but grasshoppers? that he maketh the princes of the earth as nothing, and the judges as vanities? as though they were never planted, never sown, and their stock had taken no root upon the earth? For he doth but blow upon them, and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away like straw.' *Statutum est omnibus semel mori*, Heb. ix., 'It is appointed unto all men once to die,' nay, twice to die (*moriendo morieris*, God threatened Adam, that he should 'die the death'); so the apostle here saith, first death, and 'afterwards judgment,' if we look into it. But the statute touching the former branch shall never be repealed, till destruction be thrown into the lake of fire, and it be fulfilled which the apostle hath revealed unto him, Rev. xxi., '*mors non erit ultra*,' death shall be no more. Let us take heed, therefore, lest, whilst we are careful to do all other things in time, to set our trees, sow our fields, gather our fruits, we lose or lay up in the napkin of security, and bury in the earth of forgetfulness, the most precious talent of time committed unto us, in the ordering and framing of our lives to salvation, as if nothing were viler unto us than ourselves. Let us beware to offer the dregs of our life to him that inspired it, lest we drink the dregs of his anger. If we wish with Balaam, 'that our latter ends may be like the ends of the righteous,' let us not be negligent to fashion our beginnings and middles like theirs. Let us know that, *vita brevis, ars longa*, life is short, and the art of salvation requireth a long time of learning, and the way into heaven is long, and cannot be trodden in a short time. Astronomers say, that the space between heaven and earth, if one should climb unto it by ladders, is nine hundred thousand miles; but the distance whereof I speak, between corruption and incorruption, mortality and immortality, wretchedness and glory, can by no measure be comprehended.

Let the proud by name remember that they must 'turn to the earth,' which now they set their feet upon; rather those tender and dainty women, that never adventure to set the sole of their foot upon the ground, but as if the face of the earth were not provided for the daughters of men, they must be always carried like the fowls of the air between heaven and earth. Let them remember, that the earth shall set her foot upon their heads, and their lips shall kiss the dust of the ground, and the very gravel and slime of the grave shall dwell between their laughty eyelids. 'Why do they kill the prophets and build up tombs,' kill their souls and garnish their bodies? Do they forethink what shall become of them, when after all their labour and cost bestowed in whiting and painting the outward walls, there remaineth nothing but *putidum et putridum cadaver*, a stinking and rotten carcase, when, though now they say to their sisters in the

* Cyprian. de sing. Cleric.

† Factum esse ambitum scitis, et licet vos scire omnes sciunt.

‡ Valer. Max.

flesh, 'Touch me not, I am of purer mould than thou art,' yet the bones of Agamemnon and Thersites shall be mingled together, of Vashti, the most beautiful queen, and the blackest Egyptian bondwoman, shall not be found asunder! I have not leisure to say much unto our proud dust and ashes. But if purple and fine linen were an opprobrious note (for lack of an inward clothing) to the rich man in the Gospel, if that parable were to be written in these days, purple and fine linen were nothing. And what the burdens and carriages of pride in the age of Clemens Alexandrinus were, I know not; but if it were a wonder to him that they kill not themselves under those burdens,* I am sure, if the measure were then full, it is now heaped upon the highest, and shaken together and pressed down again. We are mad to forget nature. Adam hath wisdom to call all the beasts of the field by their proper names, but he forgetteth his own name, that he was called Adam, and that there is an affinity between the earth and him. For he shall return to the earth, his earth. He was not made of that substance whereof the angels and stars; no, not of that matter whereof the air and the water, inferior creatures. The earth was the womb that bred him, and the earth the womb that must receive him again. For let him play the alchymist while he will, and strive to turn earth into silver and gold and pearls, by making show to the world, under his glorious adornations, that he is of some better substance, yet the time is not far off that the earth shall challenge him for her natural child, and say, He is my bowels. Neither can his rich apparel so disguise him in his lifetime, nor cere-cloths, spices, and balms, so preserve him after his death, nor immuring stone or lead hide him so close, but that his original mother will both know him again, and take him into her possession.

Let the covetous also remember this. Nature shall as narrowly examine them at their going out as at their first entering.† They brought nothing with them into this world but skin over their teeth and over the other parts of their body, and it is as certain they shall carry away nothing. They join house to house, field to field, by disjoining the companies and societies of men; they will dwell alone upon the earth, and leave the inheritance of the world to their babes after them. And as they were happy commonwealths heretofore, wherein these speeches *mine and thine* were least heard, so are we fallen into these unhappy and unrighteous days, wherein there is small care taken what communities be overthrown and dispersed, so all may accrue to a few lords. Socrates carried Alcibiades, bragging of his lands, to a map of the world, and bade him demonstrate where his land lay. He could not espy it, for Athens itself was but a small thing. I

* Mihi mirabile fit quòd non enecentur, cum tantum onus bajulent.—2 *Pædag.*

† Excutit redeuntem natura, sicut intrantem.—*Senec.*

will not deal so sparingly with you, ye rich men of this world (for the apostle distinguisheth you to shew that there are both riches and a world to come), I will tell you where your land lieth, and what is truly *mine and thine*, and belonging to every man. So much measure of ground to the length and breadth of your bodies as may serve to bury them in,* or so many handfuls of dust as your bodies go into after their consumption. This is *terra mea, et terra sua, et terra vestra*, my earth, and his earth, and your earth, and more than this we cannot claim. Therefore, as the son of Sirach asked the proud, *Quid superbis, terra et cinis?* so I the covetous, *Quid concupiscis, terra et cinis?* Why dost thou covet, earth and ashes? when, if it were possible for thee to possess as much ground as ever the devil shewed unto the Son of God from that high mountain, yet in the end thou shalt be driven from all this, as the people of Canaan were driven from that land which they thought their everlasting inheritance, and thou must betake thyself to thine own earth, to that little quantity and rod of ground which nature hath proportioned unto thee.

Ecce vix totam Hercules

Implevit urnam,

Behold, great and victorious Hercules, the subduer of the monsters of the world, when he was dead and his body resolved into ashes, scarcely filled an earthen pitcher. Amongst other thy purchases, forget not to buy a field (as Abraham did) to bury thy dead in; a potter's field, such as they had at Jerusalem, bought with the price of blood, wherein thy bones, and the bones of thy sons and nephews, may be bestowed.

Now the thoughts of man are endless. 'Above all things, man hath an unfaithful heart,' saith the prophet, as deep as the sea; 'who can find it out?' I leave to the Searcher of all hearts to examine. The ambitious hath his thoughts as large as hell, such as Pyrrhus had, from Macedon to Greece, from Greece to Italy, &c. The voluptuous his thoughts, 'Let us eat and drink.' 'Better is a living dog than a dead lion.' The malicious his thoughts, 'Who will give me of his flesh to eat?' The covetous his thoughts, 'Soul, take thy rest;' to-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city, and there continue a year, and buy, and sell, and gain,' James iv. Such are the purposes and supposals of men minding earthly things. But 'the Lord knoweth the thoughts of men that they are but vanity,' Ps. xciv. I would they were not gross impiety. And 'they imagine such counsels as they are not able to bring to pass,' Ps. xxi., for their thoughts perish. *Plus proficitur cum in rem præsentem venit,*† there is more good done by one example than by many precepts.

Perhaps I have told you a tale as to men asleep; and now I have done, you ask me what is the matter? This is the matter, if there were none other explica-

* Nonné telluris tres tantum cubiti te expectant?—*Basil.*

† Cyprian.

tion; the present spectacle before your eyes is the example of this precept, the life of this letter, and this precept the sentence or moral of this spectacle; for if you will ask me of the person proposed to your view, what he was, surely he was a prince and a great state of the land; and I may say of him as David said of Abner, *Hodie princeps cecidit in Israel*, this day is there a chief man fallen in England. If you demand further what he was by generation, I answer, one of the sons of men; if what by impotence and imperfection, unable to help either himself or others, there is no salvation in him; if whether he were mortal or no, yea, for his spirit is departed from him; if what becometh of his body, you see we have brought it to the earth, and thither it must return; if what of his mind, his thoughts are also gone; lastly, if you will know the use, and take an advice and counsel out of all these, put not your trust in him, nor in any the like frail and mutable creatures. 'Blessed is the man whose help is in the Lord;' *non ille homo, aut ille homo, non ille angelus, aut ille angelus*,* not this man or that man, not this angel nor that angel, but the God of Jacob, the Lord of hosts, 'which made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is, and keepeth his promise for ever.' He that not long since was a glorious tree amongst us, like the cedar of Libanus, and his boughs were a shadow to these north parts, hath had the message of the Lord by his angel accomplished upon him. 'Hew down the tree,' and there is but a stump left, a remnant of that substance, now to be hid and buried in the earth, till the Day-spring from on high, the light of God's countenance, shall again visit it. Do you doubt of the fall of princes? Handle, and see his body that here lieth; examine his nostrils, if there be any breath in them; his eyes, if they have any sight; his cheeks, if any colour; his veins, if any warm blood; and then believe, as the Samaritans did, not because of my word, but because yourselves are witnesses unto it. And as his body in life hath given you many an instruction, so let his dead and breathless corpse add one more unto you, of common and inevitable mortality.

It hath been the manner of ancient times to commend their dead, rather to testify their good affection, and bemoan their loss, and to hold out the lamp of their virtuous lives to others left alive, than to gratify the deceased. Thus David commended Saul, 2 Sam. i.; and Abner, 2 Sam. iii.; Elisha, Elijah, 2 Kings ii.; the apostles, those saints 'whom the world was not worthy of;' Nazianzen, Basil;† making his followers, in comparison with him for his excellent parts, no more than an echo to the true voice. Thus Bernard lamented Malachi,‡ complaining that his very bowels were pulled from him, and he could not but feel the wound. Our Saviour praised the living, John Baptist, the centurion, Nathanael. Though wisdom itself

could not err in judgment, yet it is safer for us to praise the dead than the living, the complement and period of whose days we have seen expired; *quando nec laudantem adulatio movet, nec laudatum tentat elatio*,* when neither he that praiseth is moved with flattery, nor he that is praised can be tempted or swell with vain glory. *Lauda navigantem cum pervenerit ad portum*, praise a seaman when he is come to the haven, and praise a warrior when he is brought to his triumph, not before. Such are the dead, whom we should favour generally, if there were none other cause, *tantum quia precesserunt*, only because they have led the way unto us; but those who have been honourable in their lifetime, we must follow with our amplest testimonies, not of friendship and affection, but of truth,† and fulfil the blessing of God upon them, what in us lieth, that 'the righteous may be had in everlasting remembrance.' For mine own part, I come not at this time to give titles to any man, either living or dead, contrary to desert, nor to pronounce a sentence with my lips, which mine heart gainsayeth. I know that the nature of praise is not *benigna hominum verba, sed judicia*, the courteous speech of men, but their sound judgments; and the seat or subject thereof is not the praiser (for then the credit of the just must stand to the mercy of flatterers), but he that is praised; as Pindarus answered one, who told him that he deserved thanks for commending him, *Efficio ut vera dicas*, the cause is in me, not in thyself, that thou speakest truth. According, therefore, to these rules, I have thought it my duty to break a box of spikenard amongst you, and to fill the house with some part of that sweet perfume, which his good name and memory hath left behind him.

In few words, this honourable shadow, presented upon this stage of mortality, and now concluding his last act upon the face of the earth, as he was not great by parentage, so it was his greater commendation that he became great by virtues. *Stemmata quid faciunt?* Ancient and noble pedigrees are of little worth, where the line of well-doing continueth not. And it is much more glory to a man to begin the honour of his house, than either to end or not to increase it.‡ What did it profit Ham, that he was the son of Noah? or hurt Abraham, that Terah his father worshipped gods of clay? or disparage Timothy, that he was born in gentility?§ *Ingenuitas non recepit contumeliam*, honesty and virtuousness, how base soever the birth be, is free from disgrace. It was no prejudice to Socrates, that his father wrought in marble, and that his mother was a midwife; to Demosthenes, that his father was a cutler; or Euripides, that his mother sold garden herbs. Tullus

* August.

† Testimonium veritati non amicitiae.—Bern.

‡ Meum genus à me incipit, tuum in te desinit.—Iphicrates.

§ Chrysost. in illud Math.—Patrem habemus Abrahamum.

* Augustine. † In Monod. ‡ Ser. de transitu Malach.

Hostilius spent his infancy in a cottage,* his youth in keeping sheep, his man's estate in governing the kingdom of Rome; but his old age was so beautified with most excellent gifts, that it reached to the top of highest majesty. Moses, though he were hid in a basket of flags, and cast aside amongst bulrushes, yet became a terror to princes. Joseph, the son of Jacob, who kept sheep for wives, was exalted to be the second ruler of Egypt. Saul sought asses, and David followed the ewes great with young, yet the Lord hath lifted them both out of the dust, and set them amongst the kings of the earth. It leaveth an encouragement to those that are left behind.

Summos posse viros et magna exempla duros, &c.†

That most rare men, and able to bequeath to the world great examples, both of virtue and learning, may be born of mean parents. *Potest vir magnus e casa exire.*

For the rest of his life, as Cæsar in three words abridged that service of his, *veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I viewed, I vanquished, so three other words shall sum and comprehend the whole course of it, *academia, aula, ecclesia*, the university, the court, and the church of God. The university tried his learning, the court his manners, the church his wisdom.

Touching the first, as Petrus Chrysologus said, that if, in this present life, there be anywhere a paradise, it is either in a cloister or in the school; so if there be anywhere a probation of learning, it is amongst scholars. For popular judgment is very sufficient, *satis pauci, satis unus, satis nullus*, a few are enough, one enough, none enough, to hear and determine of such matters. Therein how well he proved, let the transplanting of him from college to college, not by chance or suit of friends, but advised choice, and not only his sitting at the feet of Gamaliel to hear, but his sitting in a chair to teach, be arguments unto us.

The manner of a court is rather to take than to make good men;‡ therefore Bernard admonished Eugenius the pope to choose men unto him already approved, not to be approved after they were come.§ I will not censure the court of England;—the Lord prosper both the root and branches of it, and cause the light of his countenance to shine upon the sun and stars of that firmament! But, I am sure, in that court, whilst he lived therein, *non fuit unus e multis*, he was not a common man for his deserts; and yet for his pains, *fuit unus e multis*, he made himself a common man, in keeping as orderly and ordinary a course of preaching, as whosoever was most bound to do that service; and, as he had an office therein, besides, to wait upon, so he discharged it with fidelity, not bearing the bag like a thief, but with such uprightness of conscience, that, in the sight of God and men, he

might justly purge himself; 'Witness against me if you can; whom have I ever defrauded?'

Lastly, The church had a long experience of his government. He was thrice a dean, and, because he was faithful in a little, he was made ruler over much, for he was thrice also bishop: in the managing of which weighty charges malice itself spared him; even that malice which blotted and blemished the names of most of the lights of this land, never accused him. But I call this the least credit of a thousand. One told Menedemus that Alexius praised him* (an evil man); Menedemus answered, But I will never be brought to praise Alexius.

Concerning his last service in these his ecclesiastical prefectures, as Paul told the elders of Ephesus, Acts xx., 'You all know from the first hour that I came into Asia,' &c.; so, from the first hour that he came into this province, you know his behaviour amongst you at all seasons, how he kept nothing back that was profitable, but taught you openly and throughout every church, witnessing both to Jews and Grecians, protestants and papists, repentance towards God and faith towards Jesus Christ.

Shall I yet draw my speech into a narrower compass? As Paul witnesseth of himself, 2 Cor. xii., 'so he both spent and was spent amongst you.' You cannot truly say of him, *Vitarimus Abrahamum*, we have made Abraham rich, he hath not a shoe-thread more than he brought at his first coming.

P. Scipio being called by the senate to give an account of his administration in Africa, made answer thus for himself: 'Whereas I have subdued all Africa to your government, I have brought away nothing therehence that may be called mine, but only a surname.'† What hath this reverend prelate gained and carried away with him by continuing amongst you these many years, save only the name of an archbishop? In the consideration of whose estate, I cannot but remember a speech that Cato used in A. Gellius: 'I have neither house, nor plate, nor any garment of price in mine hands. If I have anything, I use it; if not, I know who I am. The world blameth me for wanting many things; and I them, that they know not how to want.'‡ I need not apply the speech: but will you have the reason of all this? *Nepotianus noster aurum calcans, schedulas consecratur.* Our Nepotian contemned gold, and wholly gave himself to follow his study;§ and I am sure the commendation is that which Bernard gave to Martin in his fourth of consideration, *Nonne alterius seculi res est transire per terram auri sine auro?* Is it not an heavenly disposition, and fit for the other world, to

* Plutar de vitios. verec.

† Nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur præter cognomen retuli.—*Val. Max.*

‡ Si quid est quo utar, utor: si non, ego sum, Vitio vertunt quia multis egeo; et ego illis quia nequeunt egere.—*Lib. xiii. cap. xxii.*

§ Hieron.

* Incunabula Tulli Hostilii agreste tugurium cepit, &c.

† Juvenal.

‡ Bonos recipere magis quam facere consuevit.

§ Viros probatos oportere deligi, non probandos.—*De Consid.*

live in a country where a man may be rich, and not gather riches?

Now, touching the other member of my speech, his travail and pains in his function; he dealt both the gospel of Christ and himself amongst you, whose saying ever was that which he also took from a famous light of this land, one that was *Julium sidus*, a jewel of his age, Where should a preacher die, but in the pulpit? *Oportet imperatorem in acie stantem mori*, a general must die in the field upon his feet; and surely he thoroughly performed it. For when the infirmity of his body was such, that the least moving and stirring thereof by travail drew his blood from him, even then he drew out his breasts, and fed you with the milk of God's most holy word; whereas the dragons of the wilderness are cruel in their best health, and regard not their young ones.

Lastly (which is the last of all, because the end is both trial and perfection, and in this sense, *unus dies par omni*, one day is as much as all the rest, for it is *eterni natalis*, the birthday of eternity; and as the tree falleth, so it lieth; and as we go out of this life, so we shall be restored to that other*), that you may not think he did, as the manner of feasts is, 'at the beginning set forth good wine, and then that which is worse,' or that he kept one hoof back from the full sacrifice, I will shortly repeat unto you what his end was; wherein I must use that protestation before, that Seneca somewhere used, *Nunquam par fuit imitator auctori*, there is no equality betwixt one that imitateth and the author himself; and, a thing done by way of repetition and remembrance, must needs come short of the truth.† Notwithstanding, this I can constantly affirm in general, that all other cares and consultations which the world might have drawn him unto, laid aside, and not so much as named, he only applied himself to make some profession and promulgation of his faith; which he rathest chose to do, as the apostle speaketh, Acts x., 'not to all the people, but *ἡμῖν μάρτυροι*, to us witnesses,' then chaplains in his house, chosen of God, to the same dispensation of the faith, wherein himself had been. His speech was to this effect.

I have sent for you to this end, that before my departure I might give some testimony of that faith wherein I have hitherto lived, and am now to die. 'What I have received of the Lord, that I have ever delivered.' I have read much, written much, often disputed, preached often, yet never could I find in the book of God any ground for popery; neither have I known any point of doctrine received in the church of England, that is not consonant unto the word of God. Wherefore he exhorted me (my colleague being then absent) to continue in that building, wherein I had already laid my foundation; and because I was now his ghostly father (which was the unworthy name

a father bestowed upon me, a child in comparison), required that I would not neglect to repair unto him twice or thrice before his ending. I told him that, having often in his life ministered so good comforts to others, he could not want comfort to himself. He granted it; but because *omnis homo mendax* (wherein we took his meaning to be, that a man might flatter and beguile himself), therefore, he again required my resort unto him. I replied that I thought it the best, and I feared would be the last, service that ever I should do unto him. Howbeit the comforts which I had to give, I could but pour into the outward ears, and that it must be the Spirit of God, which inwardly comforteth the conscience. To this his answer was, 'The Spirit of God doth assure my spirit that I am the child of God.' I yet proceeded. You have seen long peace, and many good days in Israel; I hope also, shall depart in peace, and leave peace behind you; neither know I anything in the world wherewith your conscience should be troubled. He finally concluded, I die in perfect peace of conscience, both with God and man. So he licensed me to depart, not willing (he said) to trouble me any more at that time. Indeed, it was the last trouble that ever in breath he put me unto; for the next entrance I made, was justly to receive his last and deepest gasp. Of whom, what concerneth mine own private estate, I say no more, but as Philip said of Hipparchus, being gone, *Sibi maturè, at mihi citò*, he died in good time for himself, but to me too soon. Thus he that was ever honourable in the whole race of his life, was not without honour at his death. For, as Sophocles commended Philoctetes, at what time he was killed himself, he killed others gloriously, *Ευγενής καὶ θάνατον καὶ κτάνων*. He fought a good fight, both in defence of the faith, and in expugnation of heresies, schisms, seditions, which infest the church. I call that labour of his, because he made none other at that time, his last will and testament. Wherein the particular legacies which he bequeathed were these: 1. To myself (which I hold more precious than the finest gold) fatherly exhortation to go forward in planting the gospel of Christ which I had begun. 2. To the papists, wholesome admonition to relinquish their errors, having no ground in the Scriptures. And let them well advise themselves, that at such a time, when there is no cause to suspect favour and partiality to the religion established, no place left to dissemble with God or man, *Tanti meriti, tanti pectoris, tanti oris, tantæ virtutis episcopus* (as Augustine spake of Cyprian), so worthy, so wise, so well spoken, so virtuous, so learned a bishop, gave such counsel unto them. 3. To all the members of the church of England, unity of soul and heart, to embrace the doctrine authorised. And, lastly, to himself, peace and rest in the assured mercies of God. This peace he hath plentiful fruition of, with the God of peace. For though he seemeth in the eyes of the foolish to be dead, yet is he in peace. And like a true

* Qualis exieris ex hac vitâ, talis redderis illi vitæ.

† Semper citra veritatem et minor est similitudo.

Hebrew, he hath eaten his last passover amongst us, and is passed from death to life, where, with unspeakable joy of heart, he recounteth between himself and his soul, *Sicut audirimus, sic et vidimus*, 'As I have heard, so now have I seen and felt in the city of our God;' and with the blessed angels of heaven, and all the congregation of the first-born, singeth 'the

song of Moses,' a song of victory and thanksgiving, rendering 'all blessing, honour, glory, and power to him that sitteth upon the throne, and the Lamb that was killed,' and that undefiled Spirit which proceedeth from them both, by whom he was sealed up at his death to his everlasting redemption.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN YORK, THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, IN THE YEAR
OF OUR LORD 1595, BEING THE QUEEN'S DAY.

Like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, &c.
—2 KINGS XXIII. 25.

THE remembrance of Josiah is like the perfume that is made by the art of the apothecary; it is sweet as honey in all mouths, and as music at a banquet of wine. He behaved himself uprightly in the reformation of the people, and took away all abominations of iniquity; he directed his heart unto the Lord, and in the time of the ungodly he established religion,* which to have done in a better season, the zeal of the people and favour of the time advantaging him, had been less praise. The land was sown with none other seed save idolatry and iniquity, when he came unto it. For by that which is written of him we may know what he reformed. All idolatrous, both priests and monuments, whether Chemarims or black friars, priests of Baal, of the sun, moon, or planets, though founded and authorised by both ancient and late kings before him, namely, in these records, by Solomon, Ahaz, Manasses, Jeroboam, together with their high places or valleys, their groves, altars, vessels, wheresoever he found them, either in Jerusalem or Judah, in Samaria or Bethel, in the temple or in the courts of the temple, upon the gates or in the king's chambers, not sparing the bones of the priests either living or dead, but raking them out of their graves, besides the impure Sodomites and their houses, soothsayers, and men of familiar spirits, he destroyed, defiled, cut down, burnt to ashes, beat to powder, threw into the brook, and left no sign of them. He followed both a good rule and a good example. His rule is specified, 'according to all the law of Moses;' his example in the chapter before, 'He did uprightly in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father, and bowed neither to the right hand nor to the left.' He was prophesied of three hundred years and upward before his birth,

* Ecclus. xlix.

1 Kings xiii., a rare and singular honour, that both his name should be memorable after his death, as here we find it, and written in the book of God before ever his parts were fashioned. His acts are exactly set down in this and the former chapters, and in the second of Chronicles, and fourth and thirteenth, upon the recital whereof is this speech brought in by way of an epiphoneme or acclamation, advancing Josiah above all other kings, and setting his head amongst the stars of God. The testimony is very ample which is here given unto him, that for the space almost of five hundred years, from the first erection of the kingdom to the captivity of Babylon, under the government of forty kings of Judah and Israel, there was not one found who either gave or took the like example of perfection. In the catalogue of which kings, though there were some, not many, virtuous and religious (David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehu, Joash, Amaziah, Jothan, Hezekiah), yet they have all their stains, and their names are not mentioned without some touch. The wisdom, honour, riches, happiness of Solomon every way were so great, that the queen of Sheba worthily pronounced of him, 'Blessed be the Lord thy God which loved thee,' 1 Kings x. Will you know his blemish? But 'Solomon loved many outlandish women,' and they brought him to the love of many outlandish gods, so he is noted both for his corporeal and spiritual whoredoms. Asa, the son of Abijam, 'did right in the eyes of the Lord as did David his father,' 1 Kings xv. His heart was upright with the Lord all his days; he put down Maachah his mother for idolatry. The bitter herb that marreth all this is, 'But he put not down the high places.' Jehoshaphat did well; 'he walked in all the ways of Asa his father, and declined not therefrom, but did

that which was right in the eyes of the Lord,' 1 Kings xxii., 'nevertheless the high places were not taken away.' Jehu did well; God gave him this testimony: 2 Kings. x., 'Because thou hast diligently executed that which was right in mine eyes, therefore shall thy sons unto the fourth generation sit on the seat of Israel;' but Jehu 'regarded not to walk in the ways of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart.' Amaziah did well: he 'did uprightly in the sight of the Lord,' 2 Kings xiv., 'yet not like David his father.' David himself, so much renowned as the principal pattern of that royal line to be imitated by them, yet hath a scar upon his memory: 'He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and turned from nothing that he commanded him all the days of his life,' 1 Kings. xv., thus far good, 'save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.' Only Josiah is without spot or wrinkle: 'like unto him was there no king.' And as in the number of bad kings, Rehoboam did ill, Jeroboam worse, for 'he sinned and made Israel to sin;' but Omri 'worse than all that went before him,' 1 Kings xv., and yet 'Ahab worse than all before him' in the same place; so, in the number of the good, though Solomon did well, and Jehoshaphat perhaps better, and David best of all, yet Josiah is beyond the whole company which either went before or came after him.

Like unto him there was no king. It had been a great praise to Josiah to have had none better than himself, to have matched the virtues and godliness of his progenitors; but he is better than they all. Though they all were equal in dignity and authority, and had power in their hands and counsel by their sides, yet were they inferior unto him in the care of God's service. To have compared him with Manasses his grandfather, or Amon his father, who went next before him, and whose steps he declined, contrary to the manner of children (for who would have thought when Manasses 'did ill, and worse than the Amorites,' and Amon no better, that Josiah would not have followed them?), or to have matched him with a few, and given him pre-eminence within some limited time, say for an age or two or three, had sufficiently magnified him. But all times examined, chronicles and records sought out, the lives and doings of kings narrowly repeated, Josiah hath the garland from them all, the paragon to all that went before him, and a prejudice to as many as came after him. The reason is, *because he turned.* His father and grandfather went awry; they came like dromedaries in the ways of idolatry, but Josiah pulled back his foot. David turned to his armed men and strength of soldiers, Solomon to the daughters of Pharaoh and Moab, Rehoboam to his young counsellors, Jeroboam to his golden calves, Hezekiah to the treasures of his house (contrary to the word of the Lord, Deut. xvii., 'he shall not provide him many horses, neither shall he take him many wives, neither shall he gather him much silver and gold'). Some had even sold themselves to work wickedness, and had

so turned after the lusts of their own hearts, that they asked, who is the Lord? but Josiah turned to the Lord, the only strength of Israel, as to the cynosure and load-star of his life, as that which is defective and maimed to his end and perfection, as to his chiefest good, as to the soul of his soul, as to his centre and proper place to rest in. They said like harlots, 'We will go after our lovers that gave us bread, and water, and wool, and flax;' Hosea ii.; but Josiah, as a chaste and advised wife, 'I will go and return to my first husband.'

The manner and measure of his turning to the Lord was *with all his heart, and with all his soul, &c.* You seem to tell me of an angel of heaven, not of a man that hath his dwelling with mortal flesh. And that which God spake in derision of the king of Tyre, Ezek. xxviii., is true in Josiah, 'thou art that anointed cherub.' For what fault is there in Josiah; or how is he guilty in the breach of any the least commandment of the law, which requireth no more than is here performed? Lest you may think Josiah immaculate and without spot, which is the only privilege of the Son of God, know that he died for sin, because he consulted not with the mouth of the Lord, he was therefore slain at Megiddo by the king of Egypt. But that which was possible for flesh and blood to do, in an unperfect perfection, and rather in habit than act, endeavour than accomplishment, or compared with his forerunners and followers, and not in his private carriage so much as in his public administration, in governing his people, and reforming religion, all terrors and difficulties in so weighty a cause as the change of religion is (for change itself bringeth a mischief), all reference to his forefathers, enmity of the world, love to his quiet set apart, he 'turneth to the Lord with all his heart,' &c. So doth the law of love require. God is a jealous God, and cannot endure rivals. Headmitteth no division and parting between himself and Baal, himself and Mammon, himself and Melchom, his Christ and Belial, his table and the table of devils, his righteousness and the world's unrighteousness, his light and hellish darkness. I say more, he that forsaketh not, I say not Baal, and Mammon, and Melchom, and Belial, but father, mother, wife, brethren, sisters, lands, life, for his sake, loveth not sufficiently. For as God himself ought to be the cause why we love God, so the measure of our love ought to be without measure.* For he loveth him less than he should who loveth anything with him.† What! not our wives, children, friends, neighbours, yea, and enemies too? Yes, but in a kind of obliquity; our friends, and the necessities of this life in God as his blessings, our enemies for God as his creatures; so that whatsoever we love besides God may be carried in the stream of his love, our love to him going in a right line, and as a direct sunbeam bent to a certain scope,

* Causa diligendi Deum, Deus est, modus, sine modo diligere.—Bern. tract. de dilig. Deo.

† Minus te amat qui tecum aliquid amat.—Aug. in soliloq.

our love to other, either persons or things, coming as broken and reflexed beams from our love to God.

You see the integrity of Josiah in every respect, a perfect anatomy of the whole man, every part he had consenting to honour God; and that which the apostle wished to the Thessalonians, 2 Thes. v., that they might be 'sanctified throughout, and that their whole spirit, soul, and body might be kept blameless unto the coming of Jesus Christ;' their spirit as the reasonable and abstract part, their soul as the sensual, their body as the ministerial and organical, is no way wanting in Josiah. For whatsoever was in the heart of Josiah,—which Lyra upon the sixth of Deuteronomy, and St Augustine in his first book of Christian Learning, expound the will; because as the heart moveth the members of the body, so the will inclineth the parts of the soul. Whatsoever in his soul, understanding, and sense, which, Mat. xxii., is holpen with another word, for there is soul and mind both, *ψυχὴ καὶ διάνοια*; whatsoever in his strength for outward attempt and performance, all the affection of his heart, all the election of his soul, all the administration of his body, the judgment and understanding of the soul, as the lady to the rest, prosecution of his will, execution of his strength, he wholly converteth it to shew his service and obedience to almighty God. Bernard, in a sermon of loving God, and in his 20th upon the Canticles, expoundeth these words of the law thus: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' that is, kindly and affectionately, *dulciter, affectuose*; with all thy soul, that is, wisely and discreetly, *prudenter*; with all thy might, that is, stedfastly and constantly, *fortiter, constanter*, &c. Let the love of thy heart inflame thy zeal towards him, let the knowledge of thy soul guide it, let the constancy of thy might confirm it. Let it be fervent, let it be circumspect, let it be invincible.

Lastly, the rule which he fasteneth his eye upon was 'the law of Moses,' and the 'whole law of Moses;' other rules are crooked and distorted, this only is straight. And as many as mind to please God, must suffer themselves wholly to be directed thereby, not turning either to the right hand or to the left.

This history considered, I pray you what hindereth the commandment and government of the king, both in causes and over persons of the church? For, 1, in the building of the temple, Josiah giveth direction both to Shaphan and Hilkiah what should be done:* 2, the book of the law is presented unto him; he commandeth both the priests and princes to inquire of Huldah the prophetess about it; he weepeth and rendeth his clothes, as the principal person whom that danger and care doth principally concern: 3, he assembleth all the people both in Judah and Jerusalem, the Chronicles add 'Jerusalem, and Benjamin, and all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel,' throughout his whole dominion, both small

* See 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii., and 2 Chron. xxxiv. and xxxv.

and great, elders, priests, prophets, Levites, both laity and clergy: 4, he readeth the law in the house of the Lord: 5, he maketh a covenant himself: 6, taketh a covenant of the people to keep it: 7, he causeth all to stand unto it, 2 Chron. xxxiv., and compelleth all in Israel to serve the Lord: 8, he ordaineth and holdeth a passover, the like whereof was never seen since the days of the Judges, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, and the kings of Judah, and he appointeth the priests to their charges, 2 Chron. xxxv., and changeth the office of the Levites, that they should not bear the ark any more; so the priests stood in their places, also the Levites in their orders, *juxta regis imperium*, 'according to the commandment of the king:' 9, in the purging of idolatry, and removing those swarms of idolatrous priests, with all their abominable service, he commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order to do thus or thus. Meanwhile, the Levite, the priest, the prophet, are not wronged by the king in their callings. The king doth the office of a king in commanding, and they their offices in administering. He readeth the book of the covenant (doubtless in person), and in the house of the Lord, but he standeth not on a pulpit of wood made for preaching, to give the sense of the law, and to cause the people to understand it; for that belongeth to Ezra the priest, and to the Levites, Neh. 8. Again, he causeth a passover to be held, but he neither killeth the passover, nor prepareth the people, nor sprinkleth the blood, nor flayeth the beast, nor offereth burnt-offerings; for all this he leaveth to the sons of Aaron, yet is nothing done but *juxta preceptum regis Josiae*, according to the commandment of king Josiah. Moreover, the book of the Lord was his counsellor and instructor in all this reformation. For so is the will of God, Deuteronomy the seventeenth, that a 'book of the law should be written to lie by the king, to read therein all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all his laws.' And in a matter of scruple he sendeth to Huldah the prophetess to be resolved by her, and she doth the part of a prophetess, though to her king and liege lord, 'Tell the man that sent you unto me, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place,' 2 Kings xxii.

By this it is easy to define, if the spirit of peace be not quite gone from us, a question unnecessary to be moved, dangerous and costly to Christendom (the trial whereof hath not lain in the ends of men's tongues, but in the points of swords, and happy were these western parts of the world, if so much blood already effused, so many emperors, kings, princes defeated, deprived their lives by poison, by treason, and other undutiful means undermined, their state disturbed and overthrown, might yet have purchased an end thereof, but the question still standeth, and threateneth more tragedies to the earth), whether the king may use his authority in ecclesiastical causes and

persons? Who doubted it, that had an ear to hear the doings of Josiah? He is the first in all this business; his art, faculty, profession, authority, immediate and next unto God, held from him *in capite*; not derived from beneath, is architectonical, supreme, queen and commander of all other functions and vocations, not reaching so far as to decree against the decrees of God, to make laws contrary to his law, to erect sacraments or service fighting with his orders, nor to usurp priestly and prophetic offices, nor to stop the mouths of prophets, and to say unto them, 'Prophecy not right things;' but having the book of the law to direct him, himself to direct others by that rule; and as the priests instruct, the prophets admonish him in his place, so himself to appoint and command them in their doings. What should I trouble you? Josiah as their lord, master, and king, ὑπερέχων, 'assembleth, commandeth, causeth, compelleth, buildeth, pulleth down, planteth, rooteth up, killeth, burneth, destroyeth.' What doth Hilkiah in all this but obey? though higher than all the priests, because he was the high priest, yet lower than Josiah. Or what doth Huldah the prophetess, but pronounce the word of the Lord, her person, possessions, family, liberty, life, all that she had, being otherwise at the king's commandment? So let Samuel tell Saul of his faults, Nathan tell David of his, Ahiah Jeroboam, Elijah and Micaiah Ahab, Elisha Jehoram, Jeremiah Zedekiah, John Baptist Herod, Ambrose Theodosius, and all Christian bishops and priests their princes offenders. The state of the question (me seemeth) is very significantly laid down in that speech of Constantine the emperor to his bishops, You are bishops within the church, and I a bishop without the church.* They in the proper and internal offices, of the word, sacraments, ecclesiastical censures, and he for outward authority and presidence; they as 'overseers of the flock of Christ,' he an overseer of overseers; they as pastors and fathers, he as a master and lord to command their service; they rulers and superiors in their kind, ἡγούμενοι, Heb. xiii., but it is rather in the Lord, than that they are lords over God's inheritance, ἡγοισάμενοι, 1 Thes. v.; and their rule is limited to the soul, not to the body, and consisteth in preaching the word, not in bearing the sword; but he the most excellent, having more to do than any man. Lastly, to them is due obedience and submission, Πειθεσθαι, rather offered by their charges than enforced, to the other a subjection, compelling and ordering the people, ὤπειναι, whether they will or no.

I will draw the substance of mine intended speech to these two heads: 1, that the greatest honour and happiness to kings is to uphold religion; 2, that the greatest dishonour and harm to religion is to pull down kings.

The former I need not stand to prove; they are happy realms, in the midst whereof standeth not the

* Vos intra ecclesiam episcopi, ego extra ecclesiam.—*Euseb. de vita Const.* iv.

capitol, but the temple of the Lord. If this lie waste, unfurnished, unregarded, and men be willing to cry, 'The time is not yet come that the house of the Lord should be built or beautified,' the plagues that ensue are without number: 'heaven shall give no dew, earth no fruit, drought shall be upon mountains and valleys; much shall be sown, little brought in, and that little shall be blown upon and brought to nothing,' Haggai i. But where the prophecy is fulfilled, 'kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nurses,' in the nine and fortieth of Isaiah there, as the queen of Sheba blessed both the people of Solomon and the king himself, so happy is the church for drawing her milk and sustenance from such heroical breasts, and happy are those breasts that foster and nurse up the church of Christ. They give milk, and receive milk; they maintain the church, and the church maintaineth them; they bestow favour, honour, patronage, protection, they are favoured, honoured, patronaged, and protected again. I will not stay to allege the fortunate and happy governments of well-disposed kings. The decrees of the king of Persia and Babylon for repairing the temple, worshipping the God of the three children, or the God of Daniel, brought more honour unto them than all their other laws. The piety of Antoninus Pius is very commendable for his gracious decree, that none should accuse a Christian because he was a Christian.* Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, made more reckoning (he said) of those that professed Christianity than full treasures. Jovianus, after Julian, refused to be emperor, albeit elected and sought to the empire, unless he might govern Christians. Great Constantine and Charles the Great had their names of greatness not so much for authority as for godliness. But, on the other side, the books are full of the miserable falls of irreligious princes, their seed, posterity, whole race and lineage, for their sakes overturned and wiped from the earth, as one would wipe a dish and turn it upside down. The name of Antiochus the tyrant stinketh upon the earth as his bowels sometimes stunk;† and as then the worms devoured his loathsome carcase, so his other worm yet liveth, and ceaseth not, crying to all the persecutors under heaven, Take heed. He thought to have made the holy city a burying-place, but when he saw his misery, then he would set it at liberty. The Jews, whom he thought not worthy to be buried, he would make like the citizens of Athens; and the temple which he spoiled before, he would garnish with great gifts. Likewise Galerius, lying sick of a wretched disease, crieth to have the Christians spared, and that temples and oratories should be allowed them, that they might pray for the life of the emperor. The unripe, unseasonable, unnatural deaths of men more unnatural in their lives, the monsters and curses of the earth they trod upon, the bane of the air they drew, the rulers of the Jews and Romans,

* Si quis Christiano quia Christianus, &c. † 2 Mach. 9

high priests, princes, emperors, and their deputies, that murdered the Lord of the vineyard, the son and the servants, in the time of Christ and his apostles, and by the space of three hundred years, the workers of the ten persecutions, no meaner plagues to the Christian faith than those ten plagues were to Egypt, or rather ten times ten persecutions, for they were multiplied like hydras' heads, proclaimed to the princes of succeeding ages not to heave at Jerusalem; it is too heavy a stone, *lapis comminuens*, a stone that, where it falleth, will bruise to pieces; nor to war against the saints, to band themselves against the Lord's anointed, and against his anointed the church, unless they take pleasure to buy it with the same price wherewith others have done before them, to have their flesh stink upon their backs, and rot from their bodies, to be eaten up with lice and worms; to be slain, strangled, or burned, some by their own hands, some of their servants, children, and wives, as is most easy to prove in the race of forty emperors, the Lord getting honour upon them, as he did upon Pharaoh, by some unwonted and infamous destruction. Heliogabalus thought by the policy of his head to have prevented the extraordinary hand of God, providing him ropes of silk, swords of gold, poison in jacinths, a turret plated with gold, and brodered with precious stones, thinking by one of these to have ended his life; notwithstanding, he died that death which the Lord had appointed.

The second thing which I limited myself unto, that it is the greatest dishonour to religion to pull down princes, is as easy to be declared: a thing which neither Moses in the Old, nor Christ in the New Testament, and neither priest high nor low, nor Levite, prophet, evangelist, apostle, Christian bishop, ever hath taught, counselled, and much less practised, I say not against lawful magistrates, but not against heathenish, infidel, idolatrous, tyrannous rulers, though by the manifest and express sentence of God reprobated and cast off. Samuel offered it not to Saul, a castaway; he lived and died a king, after the sentence pronounced against him of an higher excommunication than ever came from Rome. Samuel both honoured and mourned for him, 1 Sam. xv. The captive Jews in Babylon wrote to their brethren at Jerusalem to 'pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar,'* answerable to that advice which Jeremiah giveth the captives in the twenty-ninth of his prophecy, though in words somewhat different, 'Seek the prosperity of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall you have peace.' Daniel never spake to the king of Babylon, but his speech savoured of most perfect obedience: 'My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies,' Dan. iv. His words had none other season to Darius, though having cast him into the

* Baruch i.

lions' den, 'O king, live for ever,' Dan. vi. I never could suspect that, in the commission of Christ given to his disciples, there is one word of encouragement to these lawless attempts. 'Go into the world, preach, baptize, loose, retain, remit, feed, take the keys, receive the Holy Ghost.' What one syllable soundeth that way? unless *to go into the world* be to go and overrun the world, to shake the pillars and foundations thereof with mutinies and seditions, to replenish it with more than Catilinary conspiracies; to make one diocese, or rather one dominion and monarchy, subject to the bishop of Rome, unless preaching may be interpreted proclaiming of war and hostility, sending out bulls, thundering and lightning against Cæsar and other states; unless to baptize be to wash the people of the world in their own blood; unless binding and loosing be meant of fetters and shackles; retaining and remitting, of prisons and wards; unless the feeding of lambs and sheep be fleecing, flaying, murdering the king and the subject, old and young; taking the keys be taking of crowns and sceptres; and receiving the Holy Ghost be receiving that fiery and turbulent spirit which our Saviour liked not. Yea, let them answer that saying (these priests and successors of Romulus, giants of the earth, incendiaries of the Christian world), 'You shall be brought before governors and kings, and scourged in their councils.' If ever our Saviour had meaning, governors and kings shall be brought before you, emperors shall kiss your feet, wait at your gates in frost and cold, resign their crowns into your hands, and take their crowns, I say not at your hands but at your feet, and to your feet submit their necks, and hold your stirrups, or that princes should eat bread under your tables like dogs. I shame almost to report that a scare-crow in an hedge should thus terrify eagles. Where was then the effect of that prayer which David made in the psalm, 'O Lord, give thy judgment unto the king,' when the kings of the earth were so bewitched and enchanted with that cup of fornication? Christ, though the judge of the quick and dead, refused to be a judge in a private inheritance: Luke xii., 'Who made me a judge or divider over you?' These will be judges and disposers of kingdoms, empires, dukedoms, and put Rodolph for Henry, Pepin for Childeric, one for another, at their pleasures. And when they have so done, no man must judge of their actions. Why? Because 'the disciple is not above his master.' Let not a priest give an accusation against a bishop, not a deacon against a priest, not a sub-deacon against a deacon, not an acolyte against a sub-deacon, not an exorcist against an acolyte; but as for the highest prelate, he shall be judged by no man,* because it is written, *non est discipulus*, &c. So did the devil apply the Scriptures. The apostles all concur in one manner of teaching: Rom. xiii., 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.' He meaneth of temporal

* Massonus in vitâ Sylvestri. I.

powers, because they bear the sword, and require tribute; and Chrysostom expoundeth it of all sorts of souls, both secular and religious, 1 Peter ii., 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man; fear God, honour the king;' 1 Tim. ii., 'Let prayer and supplication be made for all men; for kings, and those that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them.' This is the sum of their doctrine. Now either the bishop of Rome hath not a soul to be subject, or he is a power above all powers, and must command others; and so, indeed, he usurpeth, abusing that place of the psalm, *Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus ejus*, 'Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet, all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field.' Where by *oxen* are meant Jews and heretics; by *beasts of the field*, pagans and infidels; by *sheep*, Christians, both kings and subject; by *birds of the air*, angels in heaven; by *fishes in the sea*, souls in purgatory! I do wrong to your sober ears to fill them with such fables; but subjection I am sure they deny, if the whole world should be filled with books, legal and evangelical, to admonish them. Nay, they will take both the law and gospel, and make them speak vanity, blasphemy, mere contradiction, rather than want authorities to uphold their kingdom. Thus when Adrian set his foot in the neck of the emperor, he alleged the words of the psalm, 'Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the basilisk,' &c. The emperor highly sinned that he had not a sting to thrust forth against him, and to tame his pride. John XXII. perverted the words of Christ to this purpose: 'Behold, I have set thee over kingdoms,' &c. Innocentius III. fetcheth a prophecy of his usurped hierarchy from the first creation: 'God created two lights in the firmament of heaven,' so in the firmament of earth two rulers; 'a greater and a lesser light,' that is, the pope and the emperor; 'the one to govern the day, the other the night,' that is, the pope to govern the clergy, the emperor the laity, and for this cause, they say, to shew the difference, the pope hath his unction on the head, the emperor but on his arms! To leave their glosses and devices, let us hearken to their practice. What a strange commandment was that which Gregory VII. sent forth! We command that no man, of what condition soever he be,* either king, or archbishop, bishop, duke, earl, marquis, or knight, be so hardy to resist our legates; if any man do it, we bind him with the bond of a curse, not only in his spirit, but in his body and all his goods. In excommunicating the emperor then being he used this form: Henry the king, son of Henry late emperor, I throw down from all both imperial and royal administration, *imperatoria administratione, regiâque dejicio*, &c.; and I absolve from their oath of obedience all Christians subject to his authority. And being requested to use more mildness in proceeding to excommunicate him, answered for himself, When

* Mandamus ne quisquam audeat.—*Platina in his life.*

Christ committed his church to Peter, and said, Feed my sheep, did he exempt kings, *exceptisne reges*? Afterward he calleth upon Peter and Paul, and saith unto them, Go to now, and so use the matter that all men may understand if yourselves have power to bind and loose in heaven, that we may have also power on earth, both to take away and to give empires, kingdoms, principalities, and whatsoever mortal men may have, *et quicquid habere mortales possunt*. Boniface VIII., whom Benevenutus called the tyrant over priests, *tyrannus sacerdotum*, Petrarch the terror of kings, *regum terror*, named himself the lord not only of France, but of the whole world. Philip, surnamed the Fair, then king of France, advised him not to use that kind of speech to the overthrow of his kingdom. Hence grew all those stirs and tumults between them. It is a notable admonition which Massonus there giveth in the knitting up of his life, I would wish the bishops of the city not to make kings their enemies, who are willing to be their friends; for let them not think that they are sent from God as bridles unto kings, to master them at their pleasure as wild and unbroken horses, *velut equos intractatos*; let them admonish and pray them, and their hearty prayers shall be instead of commanding; but to threaten, terrify, raise up arms, is not becoming bishops, *minari, terrefacere, arma ciere, episcopos non decet*. Platina concludeth him almost to the same effect: Thus dieth Boniface, whose endeavours evermore were rather to bring in terror than religion upon emperors, kings, princes, nations, and peoples.

This Platina was a professed catholic, living within a college at Rome, that you may the less think the author willing to slander them. On a time when Paul the Second went about to pull down that college,* he besought the pope that the matter might first be heard before the masters of the rolls, or other like judges: *Itané, ait? nos ad judices revocat?* What! Is it come to this? saith he. Dost thou call us back unto judges? Dost thou not know that all the laws are placed in the shrine of my breast? Innocentius the Sixth sendeth Carilas, a Spanish cardinal, but withal a cardinal warrior, into Italy, to recover St Peter's patrimony, if prayers were unavailable, by force of arms; for arms are the succours of popes, when prayers will not serve.† Innocentius the Seventh had a meeker spirit, of whom Baptista Fulgosus writeth, that such idle hours as he had, he bestowed in pruning his orchard, and wished that other popes had done the like, who were better pleased with making war; for it is fitter for the bishops of Rome to prune orchards than men, *hortos enim putare, non homines, episcopos Romanos decet*. Julius the Second, who from Julianus turned his name to Julius, that he might somewhat match himself with Julius Cæsar, *ut referret Julium*, was wont to say, It is a

* In vitâ Pauli II.

† Arma sunt pontifici in perfugia, cum precès non serviunt.—*Massonus.*

base thing that the Levites should serve and be in subjection, *indignum Levitas servire*, &c., who rather are meet to govern other men. Erasmus being at Bonony in his time, thus writeth to his friend: At this present, studies are very cold in Italy, wars very hot; Julius, the highest bishop, fighteth, vanquisheth, triumpheth, and playeth the part of Julius indeed, *summus pontifex Julius belligeratur, vincit, triumphat, et planè Julium agit*. Worthy of immortal fame (saith the author of the history), if he had been the emperor, rather than the pope of Rome, *si Cæsar potius quàm pontifex maximus fuisset*.*

To conclude; I will but add what Petrarch, an Italian, and countryman of their own, and one whom Innocentius would fain have had to have been his secretary, writeth of the pope by way of dialogue.

Pope. *Summi pontificatus arcem rego.* I hold the tower, or sway the honour of the highest prelaey.

Petrarch. *Solebant primi ex hoc statu ad martyrium peti.* The first were wont to be taken from this estate to martyrdom, now they think they are called to pleasure; therefore they strive so much for the place.

Pope. I am the pope of Rome.

Petrarch. Thou art called the servant of servants; take heed thou make not thyself the lord of lords; remember thy profession, remember thy debt, remember thy Lord, who justly is angry with none more than with his vicar or deputy.

With many other free and friendly exhortations of the like force. Now, if their spirits be so mighty and untamed, let them exercise them at home, with mutual insidiations, contentions, depositions, murderings, poisonings, and other unpriestly and violent supplantations amongst themselves. And if ever that judgment were true, which Petrarch gave, *brevis est hominum vita, regum brevior, pontificum brevissima*, that the life of men is short, of kings shorter, of popes shortest of all, let it be true still; yea, let all Babylon fall, and let the seat of antichrist be razed to the ground; but God, for his own glory, and for his gospel and church's sake, establish the thrones, strengthen the hands, lengthen the days, preserve the lives, honour the faces, of all religious and virtuous princes!

Because my text standeth wholly in comparison betwixt Josiah and other kings, give me leave, I beseech you, in few words, for the advancement of God's blessed name, whose goodness we are highly bound to acknowledge, a testimony of mine own dutiful heart, and a further animation, to you my brethren and the children of this land, to continue your obedience and faith, to make some little comparison betwixt good King Josiah and gracious Queen Elizabeth. 1. They both interpret their names in rendering and expressing by action the force thereof. *Josiah*, of the *fire of the Lord*, with whose zeal he was inflamed; *Elizabeth*, of his *rest*, both because she reposeth herself in

* Massonus.

his strength, and for that the quiet and tranquillity of this land was by her happy government restored. 2. Josiah was prophesied of long before his birth: 1 Kings xiii., 'O altar, altar, &c. Behold a child shall be born to the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places,' &c.; and undoubtedly they presaged much of the abolishing of altars and priests under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who laboured to prevent her government by such manifold practices. 3. Josiah, at the age of sixteen years, sought the God of his father David: I never read or heard to the contrary, but that the childhood and prime of our sovereign lady, and that glorious blossom, her brother, of blessed memory, were dedicated to true religion. 4. Josiah forsaketh the idolatry of Amon and Manasseh that went next before him, and returneth back to the faith of David: Elizabeth declineth the path which her sister Mary had trodden, the footsteps whereof were yet very fresh, and reneweth the ways of her father and brother almost worn out. 5. Josiah had a good priest, a good prophet, and a good chancellor, a good nobility, faithful workmen: 'The king commanded that no account should be taken of them, for they did their work faithfully.' It had not been possible to have repaired the ruins of defaced religion within this land without the advice and assistance of as faithful a council and as zealous priests, of which, though many were cast out for a time from their native country into Germany and other foreign parts, as a distempered stomach cannot endure to keep wholesome meats in it, yet they were brought home again with honour as banished Jephtha was, and deservedly preferred to the highest dignities of our church. Such nobles and priests as she then had, the Lord for ever bless her with, lest it be said of this kingdom, as sometimes of the court of Maximilian, An hundred have to deal in the affairs of the commonwealth, but scarcely five, or but eight at the most, help them forwards, all the rest are hinderers.* 6. Josiah pulled down altars, priests, groves, high places, houses of Sodomites; Queen Elizabeth left neither college nor cloister, nor any other cage of idolatrous birds, and neither monk nor friar, to feed her people with errors. 7. Josiah found and restored the book of the law hidden in obscurity; Queen Elizabeth delivered from darkness and banishment the testaments of her God, not only hidden and buried in an unknown tongue, but in corners and holes laid up, and forbidden the light of heaven; restoring both the letter of the book to a vulgar language, and her people to freedom of conscience, who might not read before, but privily and by stealth, as men eat stolen bread. Finally, Josiah was directed in all his ways by the book of the law; and no other star guided the heart of our gracious Esther. Josiah caused the book of the law to

* Centum adminstrant negotia reipublicæ, sed vix quinque aut octo promovent, cæteri impediunt.

be openly read; she, the everlasting gospel to be preached throughout all her realms and dominions. Josiah maketh a covenant himself, and taketh a covenant of his people to observe it; she also bindeth her people by statutes and laws to the true worship of God, herself not second to any in rendering her vows. Josiah holdeth a famous passover, the like whereof, from the days of the judges and throughout all the days of the kings, had never been seen; and her Majesty hath purged the sacraments of Christ and reduced them to their right form, which I say not from the time of the Conqueror, but almost since the days of the apostles, they were never happy enough to obtain. And as Josiah turned to the Lord with all his heart, &c.; so whether her beautiful feet have not taken a contrary course to that wherein others had walked before her, and turned like the waters of Jordan when Israel went over it, not only the people of this land, but almost of whole Christendom, swimming away apace in a full flood of popish superstition; and whether to the Lord alone, angels and saints omitted, who in the consciences and opinions of men had set their seats by the seat of almighty God, and said, We will be like unto him in worship; and whether, with all her heart, and with all her soul, and with all her might, &c., whom neither the curses of popes, nor the banding of the princes of the earth, crying, 'A confederacy, a confederacy' against her, nor practices without her realm, nor rebellions within, nor the disloyalty of malcontented subjects, nor treachery within her court and almost within her bosom, did ever affright, at least not shake from her first love, as they have done other princes, and cause to deal unfaithfully with the covenants of God; let all the people of the earth, so far as the fame of her constancy might be blown, bear witness with me.

Now there are also some differences, heaping more honour and favour upon the head of our sovereign lady, than befell Josiah. For albeit Josiah began to reign sooner, yet she hath longer continued; and where Josiah reigned but thirty-one years, she hath accomplished the full number of thirty-seven, within few months of her father's time. And whereas Josiah but in the eighth year of his reign began to seek the God of his father David, in the twelfth to purge Jerusalem, and in the eighteenth to repair the house of the Lord; this chosen handmaid of the Most High, with the first beginning of her kingdom began to set up the kingdom of God, and so incontinently proceeded to a full reformation. Lastly, 2 Chron. xxxv. 22, Josiah was slain in battle for not hearkening to the words of the Lord out of the mouth of Necho the king of Egypt. But long and long may it be before her eyes wax dim in her head, or her natural force be abated. And when she is gathered to her fathers (the burden and woe thereof, if the will of God be, fall upon another age!), let her go to rest with greater tokens of his favour, than ever to have fallen into the hands

of the king of Spain, or any the like enemy, as Josiah fell into the hands of the king of Egypt. But when that day shall come, which God hath decreed, and nature his faithful minister written down in her book justly to observe; then (to go back again to another member of comparison) as Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv., 'was mourned for by all Judah and Jerusalem, and Jeremiah mourned for Josiah: and all singing men and singing women mourned for Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made the same lamentations an ordinance in Israel: and they were also written in their lamentations, and became a common word amongst them;' for whensoever afterwards there was taken up any great lamentation, it was sampled and matched with that 'of Hadadrimmon in the field of Megiddon,' Zech. xii., so look for mourning from all the ends of our land, complaining in the streets of every city, and crying in the chambers of every house, 'Alas for the day of the Lord, it is come, it is come; then shall the kindred of the house of David, and their wives mourn apart by themselves; the kindred of the houses of Nathan and Levi, and their wives apart by themselves.' Then shall all the orders and companies of this realm, from the honourable counsellor to him that draweth water to the camp, from the man of grey hairs to the young child that knoweth but the right hand from the left; plentifully water their cheeks, and give as just an occasion of Chronicles and Proverbs to future times, as the mourning for Josiah. For to fold up all other comparison in one, and to draw them home to my text, not only betwixt her and Josiah, but other her noble progenitors and lords of this island, 'like unto her, was there no king or queen before her.' And those that shall write hereafter in the generations to come, shall be able as justly to supply the other part, 'Neither arose there after her, any that was like unto her.' And I verily persuade myself, that as the Lord was angry with Judah and Jerusalem, and threatened to bring evil upon them, yet deferred to execute that judgment in the days of Josiah, with promise of a peaceable burial, and that his eyes should not see that evil; so he spareth our country for his anointed's sake, and reserveth his just and determinate plagues against us to the days of some of her successors; and when he hath shut up her eyes in peace, then will begin to open our judgments.

I will not put you in fear with the fatal period of kingdoms, which many, both philosophers and divines, more than imagine; conceiving by reason that as in the bodies of men and other living creatures, so in these politic bodies of monarchies, empires, kingdoms and other states, there is a beginning and a strong age, a declination and full point; and by many experiments bearing themselves in hand, that their alterations have commonly fallen out not much over or under five hundred years. From the erecting of the kingdom of Israel under the hand of Saul, to their going

into Babylon, they say, were four hundred and nineteen years. The consuls of Rome continued 462; the monarchy flourished 454; Constantinople was the seat of the Roman emperor 489. La Nove, when he wrote his military and politic discourses, observed the like number of time in their kingdom of France, from the days of Hugh Capetz. The stay of the Saxons in England is esteemed thereabouts. And since the time of the Norman Conquest, the seventy and seven weeks of Daniel, that is, seventy times seven years, are fulfilled, and God hath added thereunto, as the fifteen years of Hezekiah, and as the surplusage of his love, only the happy reign of our liege lady and mistress that now ruleth. But as the apostle spake in his Revelation, 'Here is wisdom; if any man have wisdom enough, let him account the number of kingdoms in this sort;' for it may be the number of God himself, and he hath reserved it to his own knowledge. But in open and simple terms, I will shew you what the periods and stops of kingdoms are. *Propter peccata populi erunt multi principes*, 'For the sins of the people, the prince shall often be changed,' Prov. xxviii., and in likelihood the people itself for the same cause. The Lord hath tied himself no farther to the king's sons and seed after him, than with this reasonable and dutiful condition, 'If they shall keep my testimonies.' And he often threatened his people, if they provoked him with strange gods, to provoke them again with a strange people, and to drive them out of the good land, whither he sent them to dwell, as he had driven out others. All those removes and changes that we read of in the book of God and in other histories, the emptying of the land of Canaan from her natural inhabitants, disposing of one state and setting up another, dividing the tribes, raising kingdom against kingdom, the untimely deaths and deprivations of princes, the disinheriting and displacing of the right line, leading into captivity from country to country, as it were pouring from vessel to vessel, sometimes no kings at all, sometimes many, sometimes wicked, sometimes a babe, sometimes a stranger of a fierce countenance and unknown language, all the commotions and perturbations of kingdoms, invasions of kings one upon the other's dominions, rebellions of subjects, and so much of Christendom at this day buried in the very bowels of Turkism and infidelity; yea, the extirpation of the Jews, and planting of the Gentiles upon their stock, and hereafter the casting out of the Gentiles, and filling of the Jews again, they are all rightly and orderly derived from the former cause. For the sins of the people, the princes, the people themselves, the government, the policy, the religion, the peace, the plenty of the land shall often be changed.

We have long and faithfully preached against your sins, the dissolvers, you see, of kingdoms and commonweals, that if it were possible we might bring them also to their period, and set some numbers and

end of them. Will you not be made clean? when shall it once be? But if our preachings cannot move you, 'he that in times past, at sundry times and in sundry manners, spake unto our fathers,' hath also sundry voices and sundry kinds of preachers to speak unto you. You hear that the change of a prince is one of his preachers. It shall preach more sorrow unto you, more wringing of your hands and rending of your hearts, than ever erst you were acquainted with. Remember the vision that Micaiah saw, 'all Israel scattered like sheep,' because their king was taken from them; and think how woeful a day it will be when this faithful shepherd of ours, which hath fed her Jacob with a true heart, *formosi pecoris custos formosior ipsa*, an happy queen of an happy people (the Lord yet saying both her and us with the healthful power of his right hand), shall be pulled from us. We have hitherto lived in peace equal to that in the days of Augustus, such as our fathers never saw the like; and when we shall tell our children's children to come thereof, they will not believe it. We have sitten at ease under the shadow of our vines, nay, under the shadow of this vine we have shaded and solaced ourselves, and lived by her sweetness. But it may fall out that, as when the emperor Pertinax was dead, they cried with redoubled shouts unto the air till they were able to cry no longer, *usque ad defectum*, while Pertinax lived and governed, we lived in safety and feared no man, *Pertinace imperante securi vivimus, neminem timuimus*;* so we may send our late and helpless complaints into heaven: Oh well were we in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when perfect peace was the walls of our country, and the malice of the enemy prevailed not against us.

The sword of a foreign foe, bands, and captivity is another of his preachers. Will you not feel the warnings of God's wrath till the iron have entered into your souls and drawn blood after it? You know who it is that hangeth over your heads, of whom and other princes I may say as they said in Athens of Demades and Demosthenes their orators: Demosthenes is meet for Athens, justly assized and fitted to the city, Demades over-great, *Demosthenes par Athenis, Demades major*; so when other kings hold themselves contented with their kingdom, he is too great for Spain, and many other kingdoms and dukedoms cannot suffice him, but he yet devoureth in hope all the dominions of Christendom, and drinketh down with unsatiabla thirst, the conceit of a monarch; and for this cause there is a busy spirit gone forth in the mouths of all his prophets, *Unus Deus, unus papa, unus rex Christianismi, magnus rex catholicus, et universalis*: There is but one God, one pope, one king of Christendom, the great and catholic and universal king. He hath once already buckled his harness unto him with joy, and assured presumption of victory. But they that pulled it off (by outstretched arm of one more mighty than himself) more rejoiced. God grant that they be not found

* Aurelius Victor.

in England who have said upon that happy and miraculous event in discomfiting his forces, 'We will trust in our bows, and our swords and spears shall hereafter deliver us.' Their touching of late in Cornwall, the utmost skirt of our land, no doubt, was some little warning from God. But it was no more unto us than if the skirt of our cloak had been cut away, as it was to Saul; we say our skin is not yet razed. The commotion in Ireland, though a quicker and more sensible admonition, is but a dagger held to our side, and till the point thereof stick in our heart, till there be firing of our towns, ransacking of our houses, dashing of our infants against the stones in the streets, we will not regard. Oh cease to incense the jealous God of heaven. Turn not his grace and mercy into wantonness! Let not his strength be an occasion unto you to make you vainly confident, nor his peace licentiously secure, nor the abundance of his goodness abundant and intolerable in transgressing his laws. And if there were no other reason to make you tremble before his face, yet do it for your own politic good (because you are threatened by a deadly enemy, who accounteth himself the cedar, and us but the thistle in Lebanon, 2 Chron. xxv., and whose power is not contemptible, though God hath often cast him down) *Ne veniant Romani et auferant regnum à nobis*, at least that the Romans and Spaniards, for they are brethren in this case, come not upon us by the righteous sufferance of our God, and take away our kingdom. Surely our sins call for a scourge, and they shall receive one. For they even whip and torment the patience of God. 'The arrows of death are prepared against us,' and they shall shine with our gall if with humble repentance we prevent them not. Our pride calleth for humiliation; she is ascended on high, and asketh, 'Who shall fetch me down?' yet I have read of those whose wimples, and caul, and periwigs have been turned into nakedness and baldness, and they have run to and fro, smiting their breasts, and tearing the hair of their heads, suffering it to be blown about their ears with the wind, and not regarding to bind it up so much as with an hair-lace. Our clocks are not well kept, nor our chimneys good (which I have heard to be two signs of a well-ordered commonwealth, *horologium bene ordinatum, camini boni*); that is, our hours are misspent, our callings not followed, and the breathing of the chimneys is choked up, hospitality and relief to the poor almost banished. The poorer have had their plagues already; scarcity of bread within these few years often renewed. Their teeth have been clean and white through want of food, when yours have been furred with excess of meats and drinks. But, rich men and gentlemen, look also for your draught in the cup of the Lord: either some mortal sickness to your bodies to eat up your flesh, as you have eaten others', 'and then whose shall these things be,' which, with so much sweat of your brows, carefulness of heart, rack of

conscience, breach of charity, wrong to human societies, you have laid together? or some barbarous and unmerciful soldier to lay open your hedges, reap your fields, *barbarus has segetes*, rifle your coffers, level your houses with the ground, and empty you and yours out of all your possessions, as you have emptied your poor neighbours.

Your merciless money exactions, you, the infamous usurers of the north of England; you, the Jews and Judases of our land, that would sell Christ for money if he were amongst you; you, the engrossers of grain in this time of dearth, and withal the engrossers of your own woes, on whom the curse of the poor lighteth, ratified in heaven, for not bringing forth your corn; you, that add affliction to affliction, and strengthen the hand of penury amongst us, use the talents of the Lord, not your own pounds, to the honourable advantage of your Master and the durable gain of your souls, lest ye become the usurers of his vengeance, and receive the wages of your unfaithfulness an hundredfold.

The land mourneth because of oaths, and they shall mourn that cause her heaviness. Contempt of God will take away our gods of the earth; atheism and anarchy, confusion of all estates, mingling of head and foot, will go together.

Oh pray for the peace of Jerusalem. Pray for the peace of England. Let prayers and supplications be made for all people, especially for Christian kings, most especially for our sovereign lady and mistress. Let us fear God; and all the enemies of the world, even the kingdom of darkness, shall fear us. Let not our sins reign, and our queen shall long reign over us. Buy the length of her life with your silver and gold, you that are rich in this world, rich in this land, distribute to the poor, scatter for God's sake, and God that seeth from above will be mindful of your good deeds, and prolong her Majesty's days. Humble yourselves in time, you high-minded and high-looking, that her horn may be exalted, and her root flourish amongst us yet many years. Traitors, forbear at length to plot your treasons, which have long bred, never brought forth. The Lord is king, and his handmaid is queen, be the earth never so impatient. Time-serving hypocrites, lay down your dissimulations. How long will you halt between Rome and England? Rebels, forsake and resign your unlawful arms. Say not, as those seditious did, 'What part have we in the son of David?' The son of David shall prevail, and the daughter of King Henry prosper in all her ways, when your heads shall lie low enough, and your swords shall have drunk their fill of your own flesh. Let it suffice you, the untamed brood of our land, to have blotted your memories with none other censure than that which is written in the book of God, 1 Sam. x., that a 'band of soldiers followed Saul, whose hearts the Lord had touched, but they were wicked that cried, How shall he save us?'

And you, my beloved brethren, the true children of England, knit your souls and tongues together, as if you were one man, and say, with a strong, united cry and a perfect heart, that God may regard it from above, 'O Lord, preserve Queen Elizabeth!' And let AMEN, even the faithful witness of heaven, the word and truth of his Father, say Amen unto it. Even so, Lord Jesus, Amen, Amen; hearken to the prayers of

thy servants that go not out from feigned lips; let her ever be as near unto thee as the signet upon thy finger, as dear as the apple of thine eye, as tender as thine own bowels; water her with the dew of heaven as the goodliest plant that ever our country bare, hide her like a chosen shaft in the quiver of thy carefullest providence, and give her a long life, even for ever and ever. Amen.

FINIS.

RAINOLDS ON OBADIAH.

THE
PROPHECY OF OBADIAH
OPENED AND APPLIED.

IN SUNDRY SERMONS.

BY THAT FAMOUS AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE,

JOHN RAINOLDS, D.D.



EDINBURGH: JAMES NICHOL.
LONDON: JAMES NISBET AND CO. DUBLIN: G. HERBERT.

M.DCCC.LXIV.

JOHN RAINOLDS, D.D.



TO have been the originator of that revised translation of the Holy Scriptures which, as our 'English Bible,' stands at the head of the Literature of England in potent and imperishable influence for good—to have been regarded as a 'foeman worthy of his steel' by Bellarmine—to have been missed and mourned by Scaliger, 'unused to weep'—to have united in his honour and ever-recurring praise as scholar, divine, controversialist, and man, the Precisian of ecclesiastical order, and the Puritan in doctrine—to have won the lavish 'testimonies' of Crakanthorpe and Joseph Hall, Harrington and Heylin, Fuller and Strype, Neal and Anthony a-Wood, and more recently of Robinson of Cambridge, Price and Henry Hallam, Marsden and Perry, and the transatlantic Hopkins—to have been the revered tutor of Richard Hooker—to have been selected to write the epitaph of Sir Philip Sidney—and all this without sacrificing his own marked individuality of character or intrepidity of adhesion to unpopular principles—argues a remarkable combination of 'gifts and graces.' All this, and more, belongs to JOHN RAINOLDS, a doer of many noble and 'lovely' deeds (Philip. iv. 8), a scholar of the grand old stamp, a thinker as well, a 'contender for the faith,' of extraordinary resources and self-possession, and author of books which will never lose their value in the estimation of any who are capable of being impressed with 'thoughts that breathe in words that burn.*' Except THOMAS CARTWRIGHT—whose story we have already briefly told†—there is scarcely a contemporary name more worthy of a large and full biography. Our reprint of his little 'Openings,' or Commentaries on Haggai and Obadiah, are only gleanings—for they were posthumous—of a rich harvest. Hence, more than a slight sketch of the leading facts of his life were disproportionate here. This we proceed to give: and for further and minuter details, the reader is referred to the authorities below.‡

John Rainolds, *not* Reynolds—as many earlier and later have misspelled his name, thereby leading to a confounding of him with Dr Edward Reynolds, the Puritan Bishop of Norwich§—was

* We have seen a letter from the late Professor Scholfield, in which he stated very strongly his wish that there might be a collective edition, worthily edited, of the Works of Dr Rainolds; and his deep regret that the failure of the Parker Society series prevented its being undertaken under their auspices. However historically interesting, one cannot help deploring the vast amount of merely ecclesiastical writings reproduced by the 'Parker,' while so much of deeper and enduring Church literature was overpassed.

† Prefixed to his Exposition of Colossians in Vol. I. of the present series of Commentaries.

‡ The List under Cartwright *above* will serve equally for

Rainolds; but besides, see the different accounts of the 'Hampton Court Conference,' and the memoirs of the numerous Bishops and Divines engaged in it, also the books and documents quoted in our present Memoir. We have to offer special thanks to Joshua Wilson, Esq., Nevil Park, Tunbridge Wells, for his interleaved copy of Brook's 'Lives of the Puritans,' with the author's MS. additions. These are considerable under Rainolds, and we have made use of them, after verification.

§ Even Price, Marsden, Keble, and Perry, throughout misspell 'Reynolds.' Reginaldus is the Latinized form.

born in 1549, at Penhoe or Pinhoe, near Exeter, in Devon—the county of Jewell and Hooker, of Drake and Raleigh. This ‘Penhoe,’ or ‘Pynhoe,’ as Anthony a-Wood gives it, with still another, ‘*alias* Pinhawes,’ was the seat of an old Family of the name.* His father was Richard Rainolds, son of another Richard, and brother to Thomas Rainolds, D.D., celebrated in ‘Merton’ College, Oxford,† and he farmed his own family lands. John was the fifth son. It is necessary to notice one of his brothers, viz., William, the second son of his father. An epigram of Dr Alabaster gave currency and substantiveness to an absurd rumour, that the two brothers—William being then a zealous Protestant, and John a bigoted papist—having engaged in conference and disputation on the matters in debate between the Reformers and anti-Reformers, each converted the other to his respective opinions. Certainly William, once a Protestant, became a fierce and violent adherent of the papacy; and certainly John, through life, shared with Whittaker the name of ‘Hammer of the Papists;’ but Robert Parsons—himself a Jesuit as well as papist—furnishes a less romantic, less fantastic, but, on the face of it, more probable account of William’s apostasy. Says Anthony a-Wood, after mentioning the epigram, ‘This is the reason commonly received among Protestants for each other’s conversion, but false; for the dispute was, if you will believe one that then lived, between John and Edmund Rainolds, of C.C. coll., as I have told you elsewhere. So that now there being no pretence left for William’s conversion by disputing with his brother John, you may take this reason following, different from the other, if your charity will permit you to believe a R. Catholic author, as he had received it from the mouth or pen of Will. Rainolds, which is this,—“Mr William Rainolds being first an earnest professor and preacher of the Protestant religion in England, and much engaged among the Puritans in Northamptonshire (as he was wont to tell), he fell in the end to read over Mr Jewell’s book, and did translate some part thereof into Latin; but before he had passed half over, he found such stuff as made him greatly mistake of the whole religion, and so he, leaving his hopes and commodities in England, went over the sea, and the last year of Jubilee, to wit, 1575, he came to Rome, and brought that book with him, and presented the inquisition, of his own free motion and accord, where I guess the book remaineth still, if it be not burned; and himself, after absolution received for his former errors (which he with great humility and zeal required, and myself also, at that time, spake with him in that place), he returned into France and Flanders, and there lived many years, with singular edification for his rare virtue and learning,”’ &c.‡

That Master John should have been deemed capable, so early as his seventeenth year, of ‘disputing’ with, much more of ‘converting,’ a brother so much his senior, and possessed of no little learning and acumen, if it betrays forgetfulness of chronology, also indirectly shews how soon he had won for himself eminence.

We have no information concerning the early years and early education of young Rainolds. His brother William was sent to Winchester; but it does not appear that John was. He became ‘a student in Merton College, Oxford, in 1562, aged 13, or thereabouts.’§ His uncle was Vice-Chancellor of Merton, and a consistent Roman Catholic, having gained the esteem of Mary. He remained a very short time in Merton, being admitted scholar of ‘Corpus Christi’ College—the college of Jewell and Jackson, in which Devonians had certain scholarships—on 29th April 1563, passed as fellow 11th October 1566, and proceeded M.A. in 1572–3, about which

* A. O. i. 614, ii. 12.

† For Thomas Rainolds or Raynolds, see Wood, as before, *Fasti*, i. 62, 103, 133, 149; also A. O. *sub nomine*, *Hist. and Ant. of Un. of Ox.* under ‘Merton’ College.

‡ Wood, A. O. as before, i. pp. 613, 614, and his *History and Antiquities of the Univ. of Oxon.*, for the epigram. lib. ii. p. 139 a, and for the alleged disputation, lib. i. p. 300 b

(filled in by *Bliss*); see too Heylin’s *Laud*, p. 46; Fuller’s *Abel*, p. 479; Beloe’s ‘*Anecdotes*,’ i. p. 195; and Robert Parsons’ ‘*A Relation of a tryal made before the King of France, between the Bishop of Eureux and the Lord Plessis Mornay*,’ 1604, pp. 57, 58.

§ Wood, as before, A. O. ii. 13, 14.

date he was 'Greek reader' in his college. In 1579, he was admitted to 'the reading of the sentences.' In 1585-6, he passed B.D., 'being then in great esteem for his profound learning.'*

We have a glimpse of him in his college-days, in a letter dated August 13. 1576, to the inestimable Reformer Gualter, who, having finished his education at Oxford, had returned to Zurich, and entered on his work as a Minister of the Gospel. The letter is preserved among the priceless treasures of the 'fair city' which has given its name to that 'Correspondence,' by the printing of which, the 'Parker Society' has laid the Church of Christ under a deep debt of gratitude. A few sentences may be acceptable. He says—'I candidly acknowledge myself the more obliged to you, and exceedingly rejoice that, although separated by so great a distance, and wholly occupied by matters both of a public and domestic nature, you nevertheless both retain in your mind and cherish by your kindness, so grateful a remembrance of me. For my part, though I will never allow you to excel me in love wherewith you love one who loves you in return; yet I must necessarily allow you the priority in this respect, that you have preceded me in the manifestation of your regard.' He then proceeds to notice a little poem which Gualter had sent him, and after a tribute to its merits, specially approves his 'affection to the Church of England,' whose 'pious defender,' he goes on, 'Elizabeth, you commend, while you wound that cruel executioner Bonner; scourge her bitter adversaries, the papists; comfort her afflicted members, the Christians; deplore her wretched condition as she is now in languishment; and, lastly, implore Jesus Christ to favour her with divine compassion.' He then warmly and pleasantly congratulates Gualter upon having the charge of a flock, and also upon being united in marriage to a most excellent lady, 'who would be not only a helpmate, but also a guide and mother in godliness,' urging him onwards in the best pursuits.†

But the glory of Rainolds in these earlier days, was that he had for a scholar perhaps the most illustrious of the names of the Church of England—RICHARD HOOKER, who, as also a citizen of Exeter, may have been thereby attracted to choose him. It is strange to find loveable Isaak Walton leaving Rainolds unnamed, though withholding not the praise 'excellent tutor,' and afterwards including him among the men to be boasted of by his College.‡

In 1579 or 1580, tutor and scholar had incurred the displeasure of the vice-president of the college, Dr John Barfoote, the '*peremptory*' dealer with the Puritans—his own words—as appears by two letters from Rainolds to Sir Francis Knollys and Sir Francis Walsingham respectively. The former, as shorter, may here be given:—

'I am sorry, right honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, the which, I cannot move it, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college; who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expel out of our house both me and Mr Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which, by oath, we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester [Horne or Watson], with whom I do not doubt but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said, that the bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we do look for; therefore, I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the bishop, by your letters, to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice; our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus Christi College sake, or rather for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily increase of His manifold gifts, and the blessed grace of His Holy Spirit.

'Your honour's in Christ to command,

JOHN RAINOLDES.||

'London, October 9. 1579 [80?].'

* *Ibid.* p. 13.

† Zurich 'Correspondence,' vol. ii. pp. 279, 280.

‡ Works of Hooker by Keble (ed. 3 vols. 8vo, 1841), vol. i. pp. 14, 16.

§ Strype, Ann III. i. 349.

|| Keble's Hooker, i. pp. 20, 21; cf. footnote 40; Walsingham's, pp. 20, 21.

'I cannot learn,' said Walton of this expulsion, 'the pretended cause; but that they were restored the same month is most certain.'*

Previous to this endurance of wrong, Rainolds, having applied himself with indefatigable ardour to his studies, acquired that massive and compacted learning, that prodigious storehouse of effective reading, that familiarity with the progress of opinion and doctrine, and that dialectic skill and judicial calmness for which his memory is renowned 'unto this day.' Speedily restored to his college, he reapplied himself to his researches and thinking out of the many debated questions of that age, and was thus unconsciously furnishing himself for a debate that must always stand forth as an epoch in the ecclesiastical history of England. The papists had skirmished with him, and found themselves worsted. He was ever ready to 'answer,' and from day to day prosecuted his readings of the Fathers, Greek and Latin, and the entire literature of the Church. By these 'Herculean labours,' as Brook designates them, he 'attained so distinguished a knowledge of the errors and superstitions of popery, that he was considered a complete master of the controversy.†' About this time, John Hart, a famous papist, challenged 'all learned men to try the doctrine of the Church' in 'debate with him.' Rainolds accepted the challenge, having been moved thereto by, in all probability, Sir Francis Knollys. The issue is historical. After successive 'combats,' Hart was 'obliged to quit the field in frankly acknowledged defeat, as appears from his own letter written from the Tower.‡' This 'conference,' subscribed by both parties, was published with this title, 'The Summe of the Conference betweene John Rainolds and John Hart, touching the Head and Faith of the Church' (4to, 1584). It were a pleasant thing to us to cull from this wonderful book words of wisdom, of power, of depth, of beauty, to evidence its erudition, its profound generalisation, its logic, its astonishing breadth as well as subtlety of insight, its simple but also lofty eloquence, its burning fervour, its impetus and *verve*, to illustrate its dramatic skilfulness, its quaintnesses, its good sense, its clever *repartee*, its under-current now of sarcasm and now of humour, its touches of pathos, its occasional felicities of wording in the very sharpest places, like unto the coy pink or opal that lines the rough spiracles of a sea-shell, and above all, and permeating all, its enduring TRUTH; but our little sketch admits not of this.§ In a sentence, it may be stated that Rainolds occupies the precise ground of Thomas Cartwright and William Chillingworth. He held to the supreme and absolute authority of the Bible as 'the one only touchstone in religion.' Bowing to *it*, he insisted that 'believers' were 'a free people, having neither *visible* altars nor *visible* sacrifices to lay thereon.'

The original MANUSCRIPT of this great and noble book, subscribed on the last page by John Hart, is preserved among the archiepiscopal MSS. at Lambeth.|| It were right good service to this age, were a competent editor to revise this manuscript and give it to the world. Those who have the rare original quarto prize it highly; but it is pity that such a book should be permitted to abide among rarities. We are told that when Elizabeth visited Oxford, she 'scolded Dr Rainolds for his preciseness, willing him to follow her laws, and not run before them.'¶ Nevertheless, the 'Conference' with John Hart, when published, so raised his fame that he was immediately taken notice of at Court.

At the time of this controversy, Sir Francis Walsingham, who, with Sir Francis Knollys, was a generous friend of the Puritans, founded a Divinity Lecture at Oxford, avowedly intended to 'overturn popery,' and her Majesty appointed Rainolds to the office of 'Lecturer.' He delivered this lecture thrice a week in full term, had constantly a crowded audience, and leavened the Univer-

* Keble's Hooker, i. p. 21.

† Interleaved 'Lives of the Puritans,' *sub nomine*.

‡ Fuller's Abel, p. 482.

§ We have seen these editions: (1.) 1584, 4to; (2.) 1588, 4to; (3.) 1598, 4to; (4.) 1609, 4to; (5.) in Latin, 1619, 4to.

|| Lambeth MSS. vol. 402; Brook, *as before*.

¶ Harrington's Papers, vol. ii. p. 182.

sity with sound and fearless Protestantism.* He was in high favour with Sir Francis Walsingham, who consulted him on all important occasions, and also with the Earl of Leicester, chancellor of the University, who was no less a friend of the Puritans. With such pillars behind him, as well as from his own brave soul, he 'kept back' nothing. He mated himself against Bellarmine, then 'public reader in the English seminary at Rome;' and, as he there delivered his 'lectures,' they were taken down and regularly transmitted to Dr Rainolds, who immediately commented on, and refuted, them at Oxford. Thus, observes Brook, 'Bellarmine's books of Controversy were answered even before they were printed.'† In allusion to this the following couplet was placed beneath Rainolds's portrait:—

'With learned eloquence, Rainolds hurled thunderbolts,
The Roman Jupiter quaked, as his just reward.'‡

The unsparing fidelity of our Worthy, has earned that censure which is truest praise, the hate and reviling down to modern times of those who regard the Reformation as an evil.§

In 1598, he was made Dean of Lincoln; but being unwilling 'to part with an academical life, he changed that deanery, in the year following, with William Cole, for the presidentship of Corpus Christi College, where, being settled, he had more leisure to follow his studies and have communication with learned men, than at Lincoln.'|| Preferred to the deanery by Elizabeth, he was also offered subsequently by her a bishopric, which, on the same grounds, he declined. As 'President' of his college, he shewed that he was no mere student. 'Through the covetousness or inattention of its governors,' says Brook, 'the college had been greatly impoverished; but by Dr Rainolds's exertions, it was brought into a state of distinguished prosperity. Besides the improvement of its statutes and pecuniary resources, he greatly beautified the buildings, improved the scholars, reformed the whole college system, and directed all its operations to provide able and learned pastors for the church of God.'¶

One beautiful trait is recorded of him at this period, viz., that, notwithstanding the offer of a mitre, and his commanding reputation, he regularly attended Mr Field's catechetical lecture in Magdalen Hall.**

On the death of the learned Dr Humphrey, the University petitioned the Queen that Dr Rainolds might succeed him as public 'Professor of Divinity,' but it would appear that the appointment had been forestalled.††

As formerly Dr Rainolds had been a 'Defender of the Faith' against popery, he was now called upon to defend himself against the extreme High Church opinions of the notorious Bancroft. We may not spare space for this memorable 'Controversy.' Suffice it to give below the authorities on either side, and briefly to state the facts.‡‡ Bancroft, who was chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, and in this instance, as in others, the interpreter of his opinions and sentiments, preached a sermon, on January 12. 1588, in which he mentioned that bishops were a distinct order from priests; and that they possessed a superiority over them by *divine right*, and directly from God. In those times this was 'strange doctrine,' since it had been hitherto maintained that the superiority of bishops over pastors or presbyters was of *human* appointment, and traceable back only to the 4th, or at most the 3d, century.

* This no doubt is the 'regius professorship of divinity' to which Strype in his Life of Whitgift refers, p. 382; and thus Dr Bliss in his footnote to *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 13, *sub nomine*, errs in correcting Strype's imagined error.

† Brook, *as before*. ‡ Granger, vol. i. p. 212.

§ Cf. Lawson's Laud, vol. i. p. 21, and 'Remains' of Froude frequently. || Wood, A. O. *as before*, ii. 13.

¶ Brook, *as before*; and Wood, Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon., *as before*.

** Chalmers, vol. xiv. p. 280.

†† Wood, Hist. and Ant. *as before*, vol. ii. p. 844.

‡‡ Besides the *general* authorities referred to in footnote ‡ page 1, who all necessarily with more or less fullness discuss this question, we would specify Neal and Strype, Marsden, Perry, and Hopkins: Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, Lathbury on *Prayer Book*, and every History of the Church of England.

Bancroft's 'notion' was peculiarly acceptable to the High Churchmen, and as offensive to the more moderate clergy, and to the Puritans, cleric and laic. Sir Francis Knollys became the mouthpiece of the last. He addressed a letter to the Lord Treasurer, in which he reasoned powerfully in favour of the parity of Christian ministers. He afterwards applied to Dr Rainolds, requesting to be favoured with his opinion as to Dr Bancroft's assertion that the denial of the doctrine of the superiority of bishops was heresy. Rainolds replied in a letter dated September 19. 1589. He commences by observing 'how much greater comfort he found in detecting and refuting the errors of papists, than those of his brethren professing the same faith in Christ.' Yet he continues, 'since it had pleased his honour to request him to state his opinion, he considered it to be an incumbent duty to declare the truth without respect of persons.' Then having distinguished the two points in Dr Bancroft's sermon, viz., the superiority of bishops over other ministers by *God's ordinance*, and that those who opposed this superiority were guilty of *heresy*, he sets himself to the confutation of both.*

Besides these two 'controversies' with Hart and Bancroft, Dr Rainolds with like success controverted Hugh Broughton's 'Concent of Scripture,' and in opposition to Gager, wrote his 'Overthrow of Stage-Plays,' a mine of ingenious and clever argumentation, a piece of chain-work alike in its principles and positions, and full of out-of-the-way reading and rich and racy wording.†

The last important event in the life of Rainolds is his attendance at the 'mock conference'—Neal's stinging designation—of 'Hampton Court.' He, with Sparke, Knewstubb, and Chaderton represented the Puritans by designation of James. We cannot enter upon the details of this notable 'Council.' We prefer allowing representatives of all shades of opinion to deliver their 'testimony.' Says Sir John Harrington, a bitter enemy of the Puritans, and therefore not likely to over-state in their favour: 'I was by, and heard much discourse. The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr Reynolds [Rainolds] at Hampton: *but he rather used upbraidings than arguments*, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivellings; moreover, he wished those who would take away the surplice might want linen for their own breech. *The bishops seemed much pleased*, and said his Majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean, but the spirit was rather *foul-mouthed*.'‡ 'The Hampton Court conference,' observes Robert Robinson of Cambridge, 'was a ridiculous farce, a compound of kingcraft and priestcraft. The actors in it forgot nothing but their masks. The puritans would not be gulled by it, but continued to dissent; *and they were right*.'§ Says Hallam, 'In the accounts that we read of this meeting, we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the king, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of the dispute what they might, over abashed and intimidated adversaries.' ||

'Thus decorously,' says Dr Thomas Price, 'could the Solomon of his age, as his clerical sycophants styled him, talk in the presence of grave divines, whom he had convened to discuss matters of the deepest importance to the religious interests of the community. He insulted the puritan advocates by charging them with hypocrisy, and closed the conference by remarking to

* Lausdowne MSS. vol. lx. art. 27; Brook, *as before*.

† The MSS. of the 'Play' controversy are still preserved; Oxford Univer. MSS. vol. 157, art. 18.

‡ Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 181.

§ Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity, Works ii. 221.

|| Const. History, i. 292.

his attendants, "If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will *hurry* them out of this land, or else do worse." *

With reference to the miserable king's saying, Marsden remarks, 'Several modern writers, not acquainted with the force of this expressive Scotticism, have by no means done justice to his Majesty's gracious intentions to his puritan subjects. They have made him say that he would *hurry* them out of the kingdom. Those who have heard a pack of *harriers* in full cry will better appreciate the meaning of the royal threat.' Then he adds, "A threat addressed to the learned Reynolds [Rainolds], a divine of the highest rank; and to the wise and eloquent Chadderton, the first master of Emmanuel College; of whose eloquence it is recorded that when, having preached at unusual length to an audience in Lancashire, he expressed an intention of concluding, the whole congregation arose and with one voice importuned him to proceed; and of whose wisdom it may suffice to say, that Sir Walter Mildmay refused to build his college (he was the noble founder of Emmanuel) unless Chadderton would promise to accept the mastership. Sparkes and Knewstubb were also eminent divines. The infirmities of such men must surely have been shaded with some tints at least of piety and virtue. To such men it was King James addressed his memorable bravado; and this, too, at a conference in which he had invited or rather commanded them to sustain a part.' †

Finally, let us hear the deliberate opinion of Dr Thomas M'Crie: 'On this occasion,' he says with honest indignation, 'even the appearances of impartiality were not observed. Everything was previously settled in private between the king and the bishops. The individuals to plead the cause of reform were not chosen by those in whose name they appeared; and the moderation of their demands was converted into a proof of the unreasonableness of Nonconformity. The modesty with which they spoke served only to draw down the most intemperate and insolent abuse. They were brow-beaten, threatened, taunted, and insulted by persons who were every way their inferiors, except in worldly rank. Though there was no cause to complain of the unfairness of Barlow's account, yet nothing can be more pitiable than the disclosures which it makes of the bigotry and servile adulation of the bishops, and of the intolerable conceit and grotesque ribaldry of the king.' ‡

This is all we can adduce here, and we make no comment of our own. That were not easy to do without entering into details, for which we have no space here. Let the authorities on either side be dispassionately weighed, *not* numbered; and we aver the verdict will be in favour, not against, the puritans. § From first to last he was a Puritan, though, in common with

* History of Protest. Noncon. i. 465, 466.

† Early Puritans, pp. 272, 273.

‡ M'Crie's Melville, ii. pp. 191, 192.

§ Barlow's 'Account of the Hampton Court Conference, which is reprinted in the *Phoenix* (i. 142) is the one Church authority. Barlow was dean of Chester, and one of the appointed disputants in the conference, and was immediately charged by the Nonconformists with having done great injustice to their argument in his *Account*. 'When the Israelites,' says Fuller, referring to this charge, 'go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a *sharp edge* on their own, and a *blunt one* on their enemies' weapons' (Ch. Hist. x. 21). But Dr Price observes, 'It is not necessary to impeach the correctness of Barlow's account in order to a vindication of the puritans. His own report is sufficient evidence against his party. 'If,' says Dr Harris, 'he has not represented their (the

puritans') arguments in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them by shewing that the bishops, their adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and that their mortal foe James had but a low understanding, and was undeserving of the rank he assumed in the republic of learning. This he has done effectually; and therefore, whatever was his intention, the puritans should have applauded his performance, and appealed to it for the proof of the insufficiency of him who set himself up as a decider of their controversy (Life of James, i. 103). For other accounts see Price, as before, i. 463, footnote; and for unpublished matter the Sloane MSS. vol. 4274, art. 91; and the Ashmolean MSS. vol. 8546. Cf. Hopkins' 'The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth,' i. 28-30.

all the puritans of his age and of a later, he loved his Church with that tender and holy love that could not sunder him from her without actual *'harrying.'*

The one result of the 'Hampton Court Conference' over which we can rejoice is Dr Rainolds's suggestion and request that there should be a 'revised translation' of the Holy Scriptures. It needeth not that we tell its lustrous story.

Appointed by the king one of the 'translators' of the 'English Bible,' Dr Rainolds cordially undertook his part; but he did not live to see the completion of the immortal work. While it was being carried on, he was seized with a 'mortal sickness.' Nevertheless, all through it, he afforded his assistance, and the brethren met with him in his lodgings at Oxford once a week to compare and perfect their notes. He was the ruling mind in the undertaking. Very touching is the narrative of the closing days. He spent his time wholly 'in prayer to God, and in hearing persons read, and in conferring with the translators.'* He remained in a lingering state until Ascension-day, when, addressing his friends, he said, 'I hoped to have ascended on the day of our Lord's ascension; but I shall stay with you a little longer, in which time I entreat you to read nothing to me, only such chapters of Scripture as I shall appoint.'† Thus quaintly says Fuller, 'employed in translating the Word of life until his happy spirit was translated to life everlasting.'‡

He died May 21. 1607, being in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His remains were interred with great solemnity, and 'before many witnesses,' in the chapel of his own College. Dr Henry Airay, vice-chancellor, preached his funeral sermon, and the university orator, Wake, delivered a funeral oration in which, with much emotion, he bewailed the condition of the University, then bathed in 'pious tears' for the loss of him 'who had far outshone others in abilities and attainments.'§ The ancient Biographer who tells us this then adds: 'There were no commendable qualities in Luther, Calvin, Beza, or Whitaker which Dr Rainolds did not possess. I will congratulate our country that she brought him forth: our university that she bred him up; and that college, most fruitful in good wits, that nursed Rainolds; whom excellent piety, virtue, and erudition have advanced above Jewel, Wotton, Vives, Hooker, and others. All the university dearly loved him, his manners, and his integrity; and his equal could not be expected to succeed him.'|| He was styled, says Samuel Clarke, 'the light of the University; the glory of Europe; the trumpeter of God's glory; an admirable example of holiness; and so learned a writer against the Romanists that his writings were unanswerable. He was, moreover, so humble that he would never accept of any high preferment; only being much importuned, he took the deanery of Lincoln, of which he soon grew weary and relinquished it to another.'¶ Even Anthony a-Wood, saturnine on the very suspicion of puritanism, waxes cumbrously eloquent and even exaggerative in his praise.** Dr Rainolds, observes Hallam, 'is styled the phoenix of England, and the most learned man of the time in which he lived, and classed among the most distinguished Protestants of the age. The learned Scaliger lamented his death as a public loss to the Protestant churches at home and abroad.'†† 'He was the first,' observes Davies, 'who proved Cyrill of Alexandria's pretended book called "*Thesaurus*" to have been interpolated by some popish friary. He also first discovered the spuriousness of the book *De Vita Prophetarum*, fathered upon Epiphanius; and also one of the first who proved that the papal Decretal was a

* Brook, *as before*. † *Ibid.* ‡ Abel, pp. 487, 488.

§ Wake's 'Oration' was printed with Rainolds's *Orationes*, 12mo, 1614, and at the end of Wake's *Rex Platonicus*.

|| Clement Barksdale, pp. 6-9.

¶ Clarke's 'Marrow,' p. 888.

** Hist., *as before*, ii. 293, iii. 929; Gutch's Wood, p. 400.

†† Hallam's Literature, ii. 119.

forgery. * 'Since your departure from us,' wrote Bishop Hall to Bishop Bedel at Venice, Reynolds [Rainolds] is departed from the world. . . . He alone was a well furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning. The memory, the reading, of that man were near a miracle.' † But as the crown of all, let it never cease to be remembered that to Dr John Rainolds and Puritanism we owe our invaluable English Bible. We trust that this our little memoir will incite some loving son of the Church of England to make a 'labour of love' of writing an adequate 'Life' of this most venerable of the Fathers; while it may be permitted us to indulge the hope that the present reprint of this small expository portion of his numerous writings may form but the herald of a complete edition of them. ‡

The exposition of Obadiah is prefaced by William Hinde, respecting whom we learn from Anthony a-Wood that he was born at Kendal, in Westmoreland, about 1568-9; that he became 'a poor serving child' (such is the phrase) of Airay's College, 'Queen's,' in Michaelmas term 1586, aged seventeen, afterwards tabarder, M.A., and perpetual fellow of the said House; wherein, 'having been always a close and severe student, he was much respected and beloved by the famous Jo. Rainolds, a commoner of the said college during his time; whose doctrines making impressions on the juniors there, our author Hinde became an admirer of him.' 'At length,' continues Wood, 'being full ripe for a removal, he left the society about 1603, being then much in esteem among them for his excellent theological disputations and preachments, and became minister of God's word at Bunbury, in Cheshire, where he was much noted among the puritanical party for his piety, and so much followed by them for his frequent preaching, that he was esteemed the ringleader of the nonconformists in that county during the time that Dr Tho. Morton sat Bishop of Chester, with whom our author had several contests about conformity.' (See Life of Morton by Barwick, 1669, 4to.) Hinde wrote and edited various books. His Life of Bruen is worthy to be placed beside Edwards's David Brainerd. He died in June 1629. Samuel Hinde was his son, and Thomas Hinde, D.D., Dean of Limerick, his grandson. (Athenæ O. ii. 462. 3d ed. by Bliss.)

Edward Leigh, who furnishes the preface to the exposition of Haggai, is doubtless that 'Edward Leigh, Esq., Master of Arts of both Universities,' whose *Critica Sacra* is sufficient to refute the common notion that verbal criticism is a science of modern or German origin.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

KINROSS.

* * Since our Memoir of Airay was printed (prefixed to the reprint of his Exposition of Philippians), access has been obtained to his Will, which is preserved in the archives of Oxford. By the kindness of the Rev. John Griffiths, M.A., keeper, we are enabled to add these additional details, which will be found to confirm our statements. They are fittingly given here, as Rainolds's 'Obadiah' is dedicated to him. He bequeaths £40 towards a yearly payment for encouraging a schoolmaster at Kendal; £40 towards providing a preacher of monthly, or, if possible, weekly sermons, in *Kentmere* Chapel; 40s. to the poor in the town of Kendal; and 40s. to the poor out of the town, but in the parish of Kendal. These legacies go to shew that, as we supposed, *Kentmere*, and not Barton, was the seat of our Airay's family. Further, he leaves £5 to his cousin H. Airay (in whom, however, he says he 'never had comfort'); £5 and

* Davies's Athenæ, iii. p. 63.

† Epist. Dec. i., Ep. 7.

‡ For a list of them cf. Watt, Bib. Brit., and Anthony-a-Wood and Brook.

some books to his cousin Tobie Potter; some books to his cousin Mr Cristopher Potter, whom he made his sole executor. This corrects our application of '*patruelis*,' in the inscription to Robinson instead of Potter. He appoints four supervisors of his Will, describing them as his 'good friends;' one of these is a 'Mr Airay.'

As the present volume is passing through the press, there has come into our possession a thick quarto volume of 'Notes' or 'Heads' of 'Sermons' delivered in Oxford by nearly all the eminent names of the University contemporary with Airay. Among them there are 'Heads' of three sermons by Airay on (1.) Philippians iv. 8, 9; (2.) Philippians i. 3, 4; (3.) Matthew iv. 1, &c. As a singular illustration of the arbitrariness of the orthography of his name, it may be mentioned, that we have successively three spellings in addition to those specified in our Memoir, 'Ayrei,' 'Ayre,' 'Dr Ayreie,' all of 'Queen's,' shewing our Airay was meant. A. B. G.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MY REVEREND AND RIGHT WORTHY FRIEND,

MR D. AIRAY,*

PROVOST OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,

GRACE AND PEACE.

RIGHT Worshipful, whom I reverence and love in the Lord Jesus, the gifts and graces of this humble and holy, religious and judicious, man of God, were so glorious and resplendent in the eyes of all that could discern the beauty, or prize the value of such things, that he needs not my candle to light his sun, nor any pen or style of mine to make new impressions of honour and love in the hearts of them that knew him. Only I say, the Lord had poured the precious spikenard of his Spirit upon his head, filling his mind with spiritual understanding in heavenly things, and the virtue and vigour thereof had soaked down into his heart, giving him both feeling and fruit of that he understood. Jacob's body was never embalmed with so sweet spices, as this man's name and memory is seasoned with the savour of his virtues, and ever shall be honoured with variety of fresh praises. His breast was as a treasure for the repair of the temple and building up of Jerusalem. It was also as an armoury for the ruin of the synagogue of Satan, and razing of Babel even to the ground. And whereas counsel and strength are for the war, even in fighting the Lord's battle, the Lord by his wisdom taught his hands to fight and his fingers to war; and though his flesh were not of brass, yet did the Lord so strengthen his arm, that he was able to bend, to draw, to break, even a bow of steel. He was a chosen shaft of the Lord's quiver; yea, his little quiver was full of chosen shafts and keen arrows to wound the hearts of the king's enemies. In brief, he was a John, and as John was; that is, 'a burning and a shining lamp,' wasting his own oil, lamp, and life, that his light might be continued for the comfort of others that rejoiced in his light. To which purpose, he being dead yet speaketh; his lantern being broke, his light yet shineth; and though his vine be cut down, yet his wine yet smelleth as the wine of Lebanon. I cannot deny but, having some monuments of his learned and painful preaching a long time lying by me, I have

sometimes lighted my candle at his torch, stored myself of his treasure, refreshed my soul with his sweet wine, rejoiced to hear his dead letter speak in the power of his own spirit and voice unto me. But after long waiting, if by any other means rather than mine own they might be published for a more common good, and finding by diligent inquiry, no hope, no help tending herunto, I could no longer offer such hard measure to such as hunger and thirst after good things, as to eat my morsels alone, but to bring forth my provision, of another man's cost indeed, yet not without some labour and care of mine own, to prepare the table and set things in some order before them. Hereunto I was the rather induced and drawn by his own both opinion and practice, and that concerning one of these sermons upon this prophet Obadiah, holding it a withholding of goods from the owner thereof, if, having anything of special use, we keep it back from them that need it; such needers being indeed, and in his account, the true owners of it. When the four lepers had found in the camp of the Aramites meat and drink to refresh them, gold and silver to enrich them, and raiment to clothe them, they took what sufficed for present necessity, and hid the rest as provision against further extremity. Yet remembering at length other men's penury in their plenty, and other men's necessities in their superfluities, 'We do not well,' say they; 'this is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace; if we tarry till daylight, some mischief will come upon us. Now, therefore, come, let us go and tell the king's household;' so reckoning that needers were owners of that which themselves did possess. Methought, when I considered this story, it was marvellous pregnant for my purpose. I have been refreshed and well satisfied myself with these lectures, as with spiritual provision and repast, and a long time I have hid them and kept them from public view. Certainly I do not well. This is a day of good tidings, this a message of glad tidings of the gospel, by a messenger whose very feet were beautiful in the house of God, and yet I hold my

* That is, Mr Doctor Henry Airay, author of the Lectures on the Philippians. See his Memoir by Mr Grosart.—ED.

peace; if I stay any longer, I may rather fear some cross than find any comfort in such stay. What then? I will forbear no longer, but now at length resolve to make others partners in my gain, and partakers of my joy. And therefore, Right Worshipful, my worthy and much respected friend, I am bold even first of all to present these glad tidings unto you, as a bunch of grapes fallen from that vine whose very shadow was a shelter and sweet refreshing unto many, which grew sometimes in that soil, and brought forth his sweet fruit in due season, where now you are the chief husbandman. It will do you good, I know, to commune once again with your nearest and dearest friend. Read him, observe him, you shall acknowledge his spirit and speech, his gracious wisdom, his marvellous learning, his rare and exquisite gift of interpretation, his entire and sound judgment for observation, his faithfulness and conscionableness in serious, discreet, and sound explication. Now, for myself, Right Worshipful, I ever acknowledge such a

debt of duty and love, into which your many and great favours have drawn me, as that, unless thankful acknowledgment may be taken in part of payment, I shall yet run upon the score still. My hope is, though I run in debt of this nature, yet I shall not come in any great danger, seeing your favourable acceptance of this or any other the poorest pledge of my love, may forthwith seal me an acquaintance, and prevent all further grievance in this kind. And so, rejoicing in your welfare, and praising God for your faithful, wise, provident, and religious government in that College, whereof, being once a member, I must ever be mindful, as a child of his nurse, or son of his mother, I commend you to the provident protection and gracious direction of God almighty.

Your Worship's ever assured, in all Christian affection,

W. HINDE.

BUNBURY IN CHESHIRE,
July 19. 1613.

THE PROPHECY OF OBADIAH OPENED AND APPLIED.

SERMON I.

The vision of Obadiah. Thus saith the Lord God against Edom, We have heard a rumour from the Lord, and an ambassador is sent among the heathen. Arise, and let us arise up against her in battle. Behold, I have made thee small among the heathen : thou art utterly despised.—OBADIAH 1, 2.

BEFORE I come to the exposition of the prophet's words, I think it convenient to shew unto you the cause why, leaving the epistle of Peter, which I had in hand, I have taken upon me to handle this prophecy. Saint Peter having testified that the gospel of Christ was the truth of God, preached to men for the salvation of their souls, exhorteth them that, notwithstanding the fury and malice of the wicked, which had set themselves against the same, they would persist in the doctrine and truth, which they had learned ; to embrace the same faithfully, and express the force and fruit thereof effectually in their life and conversation ; and that in the general to fly from evil, and follow that which was good, and in particular towards God and man ; especially subjects to honour their kings ; servants to obey their masters ; wives, husbands ; children, parents. In all which, that their endeavours might not be hindered by enemies, he exhorteth them to patience and constancy ; and, finally, beseecheth the elders and pastors, to 'feed the flock of Christ' committed to their charge, as the principal means to bring them to their duty, and to establish them in grace unto the end. Now, in expounding these things, I come to the duty of subjects, wherein I declared that the princes received the sword and supremacy *over all persons*, and it followed that afterward I should shew that it was also *in all causes*. But because, since that time it pleased God to call me to prove it elsewhere, and to commit the same to writing, it seemeth not so necessary to handle that point in this place. As for the other points, concerning the duties of servants, wives, parents, for that there are very few such come hither, lest I should preach to them that were absent, I thought that part might conveniently be omitted. Wherefore the last point remained, which

was concerning the enemies of the church, whom for that the Lord will most certainly destroy, we must have the greater patience to endure and continue in the stedfastness of our profession. For which cause also he exhorteth pastors diligently to feed and tend upon their flocks. Which matter, being right necessary for us to know, and for that I hope this doctrine would pierce the better into our hearts, if we had the same handled out of some continued place, I choose this prophecy of Obadiah, where this thing is handled orderly and jointly, namely, in the sixteen first verses the destruction of the enemies of the church, and in the five last the salvation thereof by the ministry of the pastors, whom in the last verse he calleth *saviours*, for that God by their ministry worketh the salvation of his people. And this also have I the rather chosen, because I may use Peter as an interpreter of the prophet, whereby comparing them together, the one may give light to the other, that so being built on the doctrine of the 'apostles and prophets' we may grow up into that building, whereof Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone.

The title, *the Vision of Obadiah*.

Whence we gather the commodity and excellency hercof by the *matter* and *author*.

1. The *matter* is termed by the name of *vision*, which is a doctrine revealed from God, so called because God revealed them so evidently, and delivered them for such certainty, as though they had presently seen before their eyes the things which they foretold. And the Lord, not only by visible sights, as he did to Ezekiel, Daniel, &c., at sometimes, but also very often by his word without visible signs, is said to have delivered these visions, for so is he said to have spoken to Abraham in *vision* : 'I am thy great reward ;' 'The

words which Isaiah *saw*, &c., and of this sort is this vision; that is, a doctrine revealed from God, not by sight, but by word only.

2. The *author* is supposed of some to be that Obadiah who was governor of king Ahab's house, who hid the prophets of the Lord, 1 Kings xviii. 3. But by the circumstances, especially by that in the eleventh verse, it seemeth not to be he, seeing mention is made of the taking of Jerusalem, which was eight hundred years after Ahab. But whether it were the same or another of that name, whether he before in the spirit saw, or afterwards spake by experience, it sufficeth us, that he was a minister of the Lord, and *serrant*, as his name importeth, and that these 'prophecies came not by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,' 2 Peter ii. And for our parts, though we know not the earthen vessel, wherein this treasure was inclosed, yet let us bring faithful and humble hearts to the receiving and embracing of the same; for he was but the messenger, the message was the Lord's.

Edom, otherwise called Esau, conceived a deadly hate against Jacob, because he had got from him, first the prerogative of the birthright, and then the blessing, which rancour and hatred descended unto the children and seed also of Esau, so that when the Israelites their brethren would have only passed through their land, they would not shew them such mercy, but gainstood them; and when the king of Babylon had taken Jerusalem, and spoiled it, they set the work forward by what means they could, calling on them, as it is in the Psalm, 'Rase it, rase it, even to the foundations,' Ps. cxxxvii. 7. Wherefore the Lord, comforting his people with promise to execute his judgment on such as had persecuted them, nameth Edom as the chief amongst them. Now where he saith, 'I have made thee small among the heathen,' he speaketh of a thing to come, as though it were already past, to signify the undoubted certainty thereof, and so it is expounded in the 10th verse, 'Shame shall cover thee.' Now, because the means he would use is war, raised against them by nations confederating together, the prophet openeth it, as though it were in doing, God having revealed it to his servant; for here is an ambassador sent from one nation to another, to stir them up against Edom, and mention is here made of a full and perfect destruction.

Here note three things.

1. *The witnesses*, Obadiah and the prophets; *we have heard*, &c.

2. *The means*, heathen raising one another to war.

3. *The event*, an utter destruction of land and country.

One point which we are to mark for our instruction is the ground which the prophet layeth for our faith, whereon the church of God must rest, which is this: *Thus saith the Lord*. Which doctrine is first necessary for such as are teachers in the church, that the

words which they must teach must be words of the Lord, that as Peter commandeth, 'Whoso speaketh, may speak as the words of God,' 1 Peter iv. 11. And then is it needful for the hearers that they beware how they receive anything for the ground of faith, but this word. Nothing for assurance of building but this rock. 'He is like to a wise man that built his house on a rock, who heareth the words of Christ, and keepeth them,' Luke vi. 48, and 'one is our master, even he.' And for the teachers, 'Go and teach those things which I have spoken,' Mat. xxviii. 20. This is Christ his lesson both to hearer and teacher, and his promise we see is tied only to this word, Heb. xii. 28. This is the ground whereon we must build the house that must not be shaken, and this is the food of life, whereby the children of God must be fed. Whatever ground of fathers, decrees, traditions, councils, or aught else, other lay, it is but sand which will not hold our building; only hereto we must stick, this must be our only rock and stay.

In the first book of the Kings, chap. xiii., mention is made of a man of God, who was sent to preach against the idolatry at Bethel, ver. 2. He came thither and did the message, crying out against the altar, according unto the word of the Lord, ver. 2-4. The king first threatened him, and after allured him to come and dine with him, and receive a reward, ver. 7. But the man of God answered the king that, 'Though he would give him half his house he would not,' ver. 8, for that he had received word of the Lord against that. When he was departed from the king, there meeteth him an old prophet; he willeth him to come home and eat bread with him; he denieth, telling him what word he had received of the Lord. The old prophet replieth that he was a prophet also, and that an angel had spoken to him by the word of the Lord and bade him bring him again. The prophet yieldeth, and leaveth the word which he heard the Lord speak, to believe an old prophet. But for this cause, because he obeyed not that commandment which he heard of the Lord, he received this answer, that 'his body should not come into the sepulchre of his fathers.' And 'when he was departed a lion met him and slew him.' This is a good lesson for us, that when we have once learned the will of God, we go not out of our way, we leave not this word, though prophets, ancient prophets, yea, such as tell you angels from heaven have taught them, Gal. i. 8, yet I say that we leave not the word of the Lord to go with them. Now many tell you of these things, fathers, ancient fathers, apparitions of saints, angels; would to God there were not many deceived by them. But we see that this was a prophet of the Lord, ancient in years, godly in religion, for he came not up to worship at Bethel; faithful, for he believed the prophecy sent by God, and had a care to be buried by the prophet; yet, when he said that an angel had spoken to him, he lied, whereby we see that prophets

old, &c., may deceive, for 'each man is a liar;' so that we have none assurance but of them in whom the Holy Ghost spake, and that were guided by him, and they are alone to be our foundation, Eph. ii. 20. Wherefore, whosoever the Lord sendeth to Bethel to preach his truth against sin and heresy, let him not rely on any prophet, but on that word which he hath received of the Lord; lest, not that lion which stood still by the carcase, but that 'lion which goeth roaring about, seeking whom he may prey upon,' 1 Peter v. 8, meet them and rend them in pieces, when there will be none to deliver them, Hos. v. 14; Ps. l. 22. But you that are appointed messengers to foretell, Mal. ii. 7, or rather to tell of reformation already made, husbandmen to sow the seed in the Lord's ground, 1 Cor. iii. 9; ambassadors to do the Lord's messages, 2 Cor. v. 20; stewards to minister food to his household, 1 Cor. iv. 1; captains to fight the Lord's battles, 2 Tim. ii. 3-7. Remember that the word of God is the only seed which you must sow, Mat. xiii. 24; milk which you must give, 1 Pet. ii. 2; meat which you must divide, Luke xii. 42; and sword wherewith you must fight, Heb. iv. 12. Which I speak not as though it were not lawful to use the benefit of that which is taught by fathers or philosophers, for I know that the apostle is said to have sanctified those sayings of the poets in the Acts, chap. xvii. 28, 29, Corinthians, 1 Cor. xv. 33, Titus, Tit. i. 22, but for that, he only allegeth the prophets to them that believed the prophets; and these proofs they used, not as necessary proofs, but probable arguments against them that gave credence thereunto. Even as though in this matter we should allege against the papists, not one of their poets, but their chief prophet and captain Aquinas, teaching that the canonical Scriptures are only of necessity to prove,* &c.; and again, that he who goeth about with other arguments to prove the truth of Christian religion, maketh it ridiculous; and yet is the ground of their divinity in the points wherein they dissent from us; *this saith Augustine, Chrysostom, Damascene, this saith Aristotle, &c.*; but seldom come they with, *this saith the Lord*. Wherefore, by their own mouth, seeing they bring not *rationes congruentes*, they make Christian faith ridiculous. And for us, what have we to do to fill our pulpits with man's words, as though they were the ground of our faith? Gal. i. 10. Loathe we now the heavenly manna, Ps. lxxviii. 24, 25, and desire we to return to the flesh pots of Egypt? Remember we not that the flesh which the Lord let fall among the murmurers' tents came out at their nostrils? Num. xi. 4-6. Remember, I pray you, that if we may allege them, it is that the word of God by them may be enlightened, but in no case shadowed, for we are ministers appointed to publish his word, and not the fancies of men. There is a promise to the preaching of his word, and a blessing to the hearers thereof.

* 1 Part. Quæst 1, artic. viii. et 32, artic.

This have we a commandment to teach. Then this ought to be as fire in our bowels to enflame us to teach, and in others with reverence to hear and attend to it, and unless we know this we have not learned the very principles of religion. But let us, that are brought up in his church, be content to be fed with this food of angels.

The event is, that he should be made small, the fulfilling whereof is mentioned by Malachi, chap. i. 3, 4, 'I have made his mountains waste, and his heritage a wilderness for dragons.' For, though after Malachi, Idumeans dwelt there, yet since is that of the same prophet fulfilled: 'They shall build, but I will destroy.' Now when we see things so long before told of, in their due time fulfilled, this must be a ground and stand for our weak faith concerning things to come, as the last and eternal judgment; that as we have seen the particular judgments fulfilled on Edom, Jerusalem, &c., we assure ourselves, that what hath passed from the mouth of the Lord, shall most certainly come to pass, Gen. xli. 32; Num. xxiii. 19.

Now, as the apostle writeth, 'The things which were written before, were written for our learning,' &c., Rom. xv. 4. For as he saith in another place: 1 Cor. x. 11, the examples of the punishment of the Israelites 'are for our use, on whom the ends of the world are come, that we lust not as some of them lusted, neither commit fornication, neither idolatry, as some of them.' Even so these things will serve us for example; for those are Israelites that are of the faith of Israel, Rom. ix. 6-10, and the Edomites are all the enemies of the church; wherefore, let us assure ourselves, that as certainly as God threatened destruction to Edom, so surely will he pour it on all our enemies. The papists are the Idumeans, elder brethren, as they say, though they disdain to be called our brethren, yet are they our brethren, as Edom was the Israelites', and they have dealt with us, even as the Idumeans dealt with the Israelites, Obad. 10. When that we would have entered into the land of promise, they have withstood us with all their might, and 'having,' as they say, 'the keys of knowledge, would neither enter themselves, nor suffer others that would,' Luke xi. 52. Again, when the church was afflicted by the king of Babylon, they were at hand to set the work forward, and to cry, 'raze it, raze it, even to the foundations,' Ps. cxxxvii. 7. Now let us remember the words of the apostle, 2 Thes. i. 6, that God can recompense, to those that afflict us, sufficient recompense, and if we see it some way recompensed, and some measure of his judgments fulfilled upon them, let us bless his name who revengeth the blood of his servants, Rev. xvi. 6, and assure ourselves that he will not cease from this work of his hands, but, as it is said in Amos, chap. ix. 12, that 'his people should possess the remnant of Edom,' as Peter also speaketh in the Acts; so no doubt are there many among these children of Edom that shall inherit with the Lord's people.

But they also must be destroyed, or rather the errors must be destroyed, that they may be raised; their heresies put to flight, that they may be recalled; and, as the Lord hath promised to consume antichrist, 2 Thes. ii. 8, so shall these heresies be destroyed by 'the breath of his mouth.' But be not afraid though heresies abound, 1 Cor. xi. 19, and though Jordan overflow in the midst of harvest; for at his time Jordan shall retire and keep himself within his bounds, and in good time the Lord will destroy these Idumeans, Rev. vi. 10, 11.

Concerning the witnesses, they are the prophets, who received it from the Lord; wherefore he saith 'we have heard,' not naming himself alone, but others. With this we are to compare a place of Jeremiah, chap. xlix. 14, speaking of the same matter, saying, 'I have heard.' This Jeremiah spake before the destruction of Jerusalem, Obadiah after; both agreeing, not only in the same matter, but even in the very words, which consent, confirming the message, is well worthy the noting. I need not here to stand on that point to shew unto you the consent of the prophets and apostles together, using the very same words, as of Amos and Joel, Amos i. 2, Joel iii. 16; Micah and Isaiah, Micah iv. 1, Isa. ii. 2; Jude and Peter, Jude's Epistle, 2 Peter ii., &c. But I heartily wish that we would all learn to speak one thing, Philip. ii. 2, that there may be in us, as the prophet speaketh, one heart and one way; at least that the prophets would remember that, by these examples of the prophets and messengers of the Lord, they might say, 'We have heard' a message from the Lord; for the time is come that we had need to cast ourselves in a ring and cleave together, that we may be the stronger against our enemies.

As touching the means, it was battle raised of the heathen by mutual consent, sending ambassadors from one to another to stir them thereto. So you see that to overthrow Edom a battle is necessary, and ambassadors must be sent; for when a strong man possesseth the house, there is need of a stronger to cast him out. Christ Jesus is our captain-general, and prince of the army, and all faithful men are his soldiers, Ps. cx. 3. The prophet, speaking of our battle which we are to fight under our captain, saith, 'Thy people shall be ready and willing in the day of battle;' all the servants of God shall be in a readiness, most willingly to fight the Lord's battles. But, alas! where is this readiness? where is this willingness which we are to shew, having to fight daily against, not outward, but inward enemies? Who hath put on that complete harness which the apostle ministereth unto him, therewith to strive against spiritual wickedness, even in high places? Eph. vi. 11, 12.

The ambassadors who are to raise the soldiers to battle, are the servants and ministers of the Lord, 2 Cor. v. 20. Now, 'how can they preach unless they be sent?' Rom. x. 15. They therefore are all

sent that are his ambassadors. The apostle testifieth that there are 'ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech us through them, they pray us in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God,' 2 Cor. v. 25. This was indeed an embassy of peace with him, but consequently of battle with his enemies. For the same covenant hath he made with us that he made with Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, namely, that all his friends should be ours, and all his enemies ours; wherefore we must be at war with Satan and all his angels, 1 Peter v. 8, 9. Here let them who are called to this function remember to do his message, and to raise up his people against his and their enemies, Rev. xii. These ambassadors were sent to the heathen, some to this nation and congregation, some to that, having particular people allotted on whom they should call; others there were sent in general to every nation, as were the apostles, Mat. xxviii. 19; and they, as they most faithfully in their own persons exercised this function, so have they exhorted us to execute the same charge committed to us with the same diligence; and hereto belongeth that exhortation of Peter unto the elders, for the feeding and instructing of God's flock, 1 Peter v. 2.

But how far are we from this care! and how many either preach not, either feed not at all, or feed not such to whom they are sent. Jonah was sent by the Lord to preach at Nineveh, Jonah i. 2, 3, but he prepared himself to go to Tarshish. The ship wherein Jonah sailed was troubled, and he knew it was because of him; wherefore he bade them to cast him into the sea. Tarshish was a famous university in Cilicia, as Strabo* writeth, and for some respects preferred before Athens. Jonah would not go to Nineveh, but would go to Tarshish; you see what I would say, or rather what I would not say. Are there not many that have been sent to Nineveh, but would go to Tarshish? The ship of our commonwealth hath been troubled and tossed with rebellions and conspiracies. I may say truly, that a great cause thereof hath been, for that Jonah sent to Nineveh would needs go to Tarshish. But would to God there had been in them that zeal of Jonah, to have been touched in conscience with the remorse of their sin, and confessed the same, and have desired to have been cast into the sea! Yea, happy were they if they were cast into the bottom of the sea, never to rise up again, rather than that one of those little ones, of whom thousands are perished through them, should have miscarried, Mat. xviii. 6. Wherefore, I beseech you in the name of Christ, and by that duty and love which you owe him, if there be any care in you, any fear of his name, that you would go to Nineveh whither you are sent; and though Tarshish be a famous university, yet seeing God hath sent you thither, that you would arise and go to Nineveh.

As for us that remain in Jewry, let us arise against.

* Strab. Geog. lib. xiv.

her to battle, against Satan and his angels of darkness, against the power of darkness, those principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness, Eph. vi. 11, against our own lusts and concupiscences, against the old man and law of our members; for all these are enemies to God and enemies to us, and against all these must we rise up to battle. As also against all errors and heresies which fight against the truth, 2 Peter ii. 1; against these let us arise, and let us rise up against them to battle. For it is not now a time for us to say with Solomon's sluggard, Prov. vi. 9, 10, 'A little slumber, a little folding of the hands together,' lest 'poverty come upon us as one that travellet by the way, and necessity as an armed man,' Prov. xxiv. 33. There is a great necessity in it, for the Idumeans are even within us; we have no need to fold our hands together, but rather to rise up with that good housewife, Prov. xxxi. 15, who 'ariseth while it is night, and giveth the portion to her household, and the ordinary to her maids.'

In the book of Genesis we read that Abraham heard that his brother was taken by his enemies, whereupon he 'brought forth of them that were born and brought up in his house three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them; and that he and his servants divided themselves by night, and smote them, and brought again

his brother Lot,' Gen. xiv. 12-14. Our brother Lot, nay, many of our brethren, are taken and carried away, but they are not yet so far gone but that, if we make haste, they may be recovered; and if ever it behoved Abraham to arm his household, it is now time. Ye that are in the place of Abraham, arm them that are brought up in your houses, to the bringing back of our brethren. Arm them and yourselves with that spirit of Abraham, with that brotherly love and care over others. I cannot say to every one of you as is said to him in the poet,

*Nate Deâ, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?**

but I say to each of you, *Nate Deo, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?* And so much the rather for that the danger was but near him, but it is within us; wherefore let us use the sword of God's word against these enemies. And 'cursed be the man that withdraweth his sword from blood,' Jer. xlviii. 10. I mean not to slay the person bodily, but I speak of the spiritual sword, and of the spiritual slaughter, to kill their errors, to slay our wicked and ungodly lusts, and mortify the body of sin, Rom. vii. 24, Col. iii. 5, which we bear about with us; which the Lord grant that each of us may do.

* Virg. Æn. iv. v. 160.

SERMON II.

The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, whose habitation is high: that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and make thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord.—OBADIAH, Ver. 3, 4.

THE prophet having shewed in the former verses, that God would bring to pass the destruction of Edom, by nations stirred up against them, sending messengers from one to another, to rise up against her in battle, doth in this place refute a reason, with the which they were prepared to come against this judgment of God. For whereas the land of Edom was mount Seir, a country full of rocks, their cities were strong, situated on hills, or amongst hills, seated upon rocks, and by nature mightily fortified, for which cause they imagined that it was impossible to conquer them, this conceit of theirs, the prophet doth here open and reprove, saying, 'The pride of thy heart,' &c. Wherefore in few words he saith thus much, God will destroy thee, notwithstanding thy great strength, which he hath confirmed by the infallible word of God. Hereunto they opposed the fond and vain imagination of man, for they said, 'Who shall bring me down to the ground?' because 'I dwell in the clefts of the rocks,' and am strong on 'the high mountains.' This conceit is said to proceed from pride of heart; thereby being advertised, that notwithstanding their vain conceit of defended places, as though by reason of them it were impossible

they should be subdued, yet they should find it false, as issuing not from the truth, but from the pride of heart. The truth also hereof, that God would assuredly bring them down, is amplified by comparing their defences to the nest of an eagle, which is wont to be builded aloft in the top of high and craggy mountains, as Aristotle also writeth;* and when he saith, that though their nest were made among the stars, by the *hyperbole*, he signifieth that nothing should hinder, but he will subdue them, the Lord telling Edom, that though he make his nest never so high, yet he will fetch him down, and therefore will also destroy him, though he dwell in the clefts of the rocks.

And although these things were prophesied against Edom, yet were they delivered for instruction to Israel. Wherefore it seemeth that he turneth the person, for having said before in the second person, 'I have made *thee* small,' 'the pride of *thy* heart,' he immediately turneth to the third person, saying, 'Whose habitation is high,' that 'saith in *his* heart,' &c. This thing, then, as it is spoken to the terror of the Idumeans, so it is for the consolation of Israel. Israel

*Aristot. histor. animal. lib. ix. cap. xxxii.

is the church of God, that is, the house of God: 'Whose house are we, if we hold fast unto the end the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope,' Heb. iii. 6. These things then are written for our learning and comfort, that we should be neither puffed up with a vain opinion of any gifts whatsoever, neither yet discouraged with any fear, though the Idumeans 'dwell in the clefts of the rocks, and say in the pride of their heart, Who shall bring us down to the ground? For though they exalt themselves as the eagle, and make their nest among the stars, yet thence will the Lord bring them down.' 'Pride goeth before destruction, and a high mind before a fall,' Prov. xvi. 18. Well may the wicked for a while 'flourish as a green bay-tree,' and draw forth their sword against the godly, but their sword shall enter into their own bowels, and they shall be razed out, that men shall say, Where is he?' Ps. xxxvii. 35; or with the prophet, 'This is Pharaoh,' Ezek. xxxi. 18.

The Jebusites that held the fort of Zion, 2 Sam. v. 6., so trusted in the strength thereof, that the blind and the lame said, 'David shall not come hither;' so sure thought they themselves that, though there were none to defend it but blind and lame, yet were they safe enough; yet behold God brought them down, and that which before was the strongest against David, became the strongest for him.

The king of Babylon, who said he would 'ascend up and set his seat by the stars,' received this word from the Lord, 'How art thou fallen, thou Lucifer, son of the morning!' Isa. xiv. 12. Which place many unskilfully apply to the fall of the prince of darkness; but that name is in no place of Scripture given him, but is here attributed to the king of Babylon, who shone as the morning star in beauty and glory; so that those which before marvelled at his power, did after wonder at his fall.

Tyrus shone as a cherub in the garden of Eden, Ezek. xxviii. 14, 18; but when he had defiled his sanctification by the multitude of his iniquities, it was threatened him by Ezekiel that he should be cast to the ground, that a fire from the midst of him should devour him, and that he should be brought to ashes in the sight of all that beheld him.

It seemed impossible to the Jews, when our Saviour told them thereof, that the glory of Jerusalem should be brought down, John ii. 10, Luke xix. 43, for which cause it was laid against Stephen as an especial matter, that he should say that Christ would destroy that place, Acts vi. 14; yet was not that generation passed, before it was made an heap of stones, the temple razed, and not one stone left standing on another.

And what shall I speak of the latter Babylon, which in like sort persecuted the faithful Christians, as the other did the faithful Jews? How did she lift up herself, and say, 'Who shall bring me down? Who was worshipped as a goddess; and the city called

urbs æterna, as appeareth by writers, grounding themselves withal on that oracle of the poet:

*Imperium sine fine dedi.**

Was it not taken, burnt, and laid waste by the Goths and Vandals?† by which examples of the Jebusites, the kings of Babylon and Tyros, the cities of Jerusalem and Rome, we see this, which is spoken by the prophet of the Idumeans, to be verified in all them that follow the pride of the Idumeans.

And to come nearer home, to the state of them that represent the heart of the Idumeans, and desire to raze Jerusalem even to the ground and foundation, I mean to the state of the papacy, in which is revived the image of the former beast, Rev. xiii. 15, but much more lively resembling, not only the cruelty, but the pride also of Edom; for neither the Jebusites, nor kings of Babylon, or Tyros, nor Jews, come so near as they, being partakers with us of the same sacrament, baptized even as we, no otherwise than as the Idumeans were circumcised as well as the Israelites. But as they (notwithstanding the sign of circumcision) were chief enemies unto Sion, even so the state of the papacy (notwithstanding the sacrament of baptism) are chief enemies to the truth of the gospel of Christ, which proceeded out of Sion.

For these also have their dwelling in the clefts of the rocks, persuading themselves that that is the rock on which the church of God is built; making their brags by reason of their power and league with so mighty potentates, that they cannot be moved; lifting up their nests as an eagle, as the emperor, whose ensign is the eagle, the spread eagle, for that he was emperor of Constantinople and Rome, but spoiled of both, for that the pope hath deprived him of one, even as the Turk hath done of the other. He hath lift up his nest to the stars, and not said in his heart, but proclaimed by written books, and shameless libels cast abroad among us, that by reason of his flourishing estate and great power he cannot be brought low. Wherein they have shewed greater arrogance than ever the Idumeans did in that prophecy:

Imperium sine fine dedi.

Aquinas,‡ to prove the stability of the papacy, allegeth the prophecy of Daniel, 2d chapter, where, having spoken of the four kingdoms, and coming to the last, which should destroy the other and endure for ever, he applieth it to Christ's kingdom, but so, that it belongeth to the papacy, adding, 'If they feed the flock.' Now, for that they hold that it cannot fail in doctrine, they conclude that the estate of the popedom must endure for ever, according to the words of that prophecy. I stand not to shew how true the former part is, that Rome should destroy the other kingdoms; but on that that he saith it shall be eternal; which blasphemy is as great as that which he uttered in the

* Virg. *Æn.* i. v. 283.

† Sigon. *de Occident*, Imp. lib. x. et lib. xiv.

‡ Lib. iii. *de regimine principum*, cap. x.

former chapter, applying to the pope that which is spoken of our Saviour, 'of his fulness we have all received.' But though hereby they may say, as great Babylon, 'I sit as a queen, and shall see no sorrows,' yet the mighty angel 'took a stone like a millstone, and cast it into the sea, and said, With such violence shall the great city Babylon be cast, and shall be found no more,' Rev. xviii. 7, 21.

But the maintainers of them say that this cannot be by reason of the flourishing estate of the papacy in Rome, which hath so mighty friends, and hath been of so long continuance; but let them remember that Nineveh had been a people of many generations, that the Edomites were of greater standing. For it is scarce five hundred years passed, since the usurped authority over kings and princes and the whole church began; but not eight hundred since the bishop of Rome set himself against the emperor; not one thousand years since he first claimed authority over the bishops of Constantinople; which is a less time than Edom flourished; for we read that there reigned eight kings in Edom before there was a king over the children of Israel, Gen. xxxvi. 31, 32, &c.; that is, before the government of Moses. So then they flourished till the days of this prophet, even no less than twelve hundred years, neither were they then straight extinguished, for they lived to see the ruin of the second temple, as we find in Josephus.* Wherefore let us assure ourselves, that though they say, Who shall bring us down? yet in due time this shall be verified to them also, for so shall it be to all, that have said in the pride of their heart, &c.

And that which hath been said of the state of the papacy, extendeth also to the doctrine. For that, in as great arrogancy of spirit, they magnify their works, making their nests among the stars, and claiming everlasting glory as a reward of their deeds; for so the Rhemish notes say,† that eternal joy is a merit, and lest we should not know by these general terms how basely they think of God's mercy, how proudly of their own works, they expound themselves, and say, that it is as a stipend answering in weight and time to the work; than which, what could be said more grossly or profane, that the works of man should answer to eternal joy, equal in time and weight; as though you should say, that ten thousand pounds were equal in time and weight to his works that had laboured one hour. But I come far below in this comparison, for there is some proportion between an hour's work and the greatest sum of money, for they be finite; but between the everlasting, endless, and infinite joy of heaven, and man's works, that is, between finite and infinite, there is no proportion. But how could it be that any men should thus speak, if the spirit of antichrist had not thus puffed them up to utter such blasphemy in the pride of their hearts? But what shall I say, when

the same men, in their notes on Romans viii., grant, that if we look to the time, the joy of heaven is a great deal more? And here, forsooth, flee they to the grace of God; but they must consider that grace serveth them not, that they may claim it by desert; for whatsoever good the servants of God do, it is by grace; yet is it said, Luke xvii. 10, 'When they have done all that is commanded, they have done but their duty,' and that which they owed to the Lord. So that, seeing we do but our duty, there is not owing to us so much as thanks; and doth then God owe us the reward of eternal joy? The man that payeth no more than that he oweth, doth his creditor owe him anything for the payment of it? Unless he count him indebted to him, as he in the poet* said, for that the world is so naught, that a man thinketh himself pleased that receiveth in debts; but seeing we can never pay all, for 'who can say, My heart is clean, I have not sinned?' Prov. xx. 9; and if we have not fulfilled the whole law, done all that is commanded, we have not paid our debt; how then can we come hereby to merit it, or buy it as it were, which yet though we had most absolutely kept, should be ours but by promise?

But how far from this presumption was Job when he said, chap. ix. 3, that 'if God would enter into judgment with him, he were not able to answer, no, not one for a thousand'! How far was David when he said, Ps. cxliii. 2, that 'in his sight no man living was justified'! How far was Paul when he said, Rom. iii. 9, 24, that 'none were righteous;' therefore concluding that 'all, both Jew and Gentile, are justified freely by grace;' for 'to him that worketh, the wages is counted for debt, not of favour; but to Abraham was faith imputed for righteousness.' And where the apostle saith flatly, that there is no man just, and that no flesh is justified, they say that the Virgin Mary and apostles must needs be exempted out of this number; but if it be not so that it is verified of all, then is the apostle's argument to no purpose, neither can the conclusion which he labour-eth to prove be so inferred, which is, that 'by the works of the law no flesh can be justified.' But let us be assured, that whatsoever they say, though they speak never so proudly, yet the time shall come, when this doctrine, by the breath of the Lord, shall be brought to the ground.

Neither do I here enter into the depth of their pride as concerning supererogation. For herein have they set their nests, not *among*, but *above*, the stars, when they say that men may not only merit for themselves, but the abundance thereof is sufficient for other men also. But is not this to build up to Babel, Gen. xi. 4, and is not this pride like that of Pharaoh, who hoped by his own strength to pass over there, where others had passed over by grace and favour? Exod. xiv. 23. Is it not, with Jezebel, to set a colour and

* De bello Jud. lib. vii. c. xxii. al. xxx.

† Upon the 1 Cor. iii.

* Plautus.

paint on our foul faces? 2 Kings ix. 30. But the builders of Babel were confounded, Pharaoh drowned, and Jezebel, after she had painted her face, was cast down from the window, and had her brains dashed out. These men that think it a beggarly thing to receive the kingdom of heaven of alms, shall never have it of debt, for those that say in the pride of their heart, &c.

Lastly, Here we have to mark that the Lord is said to be the author of this vengeance, and yet it was said before that this should be brought to pass by nations stirred up against Edom, and sending messengers from one to another, to provoke them to battle against the Idumeans; whereas in the 2d and 3d verses he saith, *I will*: where we are taught that, although it pleased God to use men as instruments to bring his purposes to effect, yet would he have all the glory to be proper and peculiar to himself; for though the instrument work, yet sith the whole efficacy cometh from him, therefore the whole glory ought to be given to him and not to the instrument.

In the 63d of Isaiah, the prophet demandeth 'who it is that cometh from Edom, and why his garments be red?' Whereby, answering to the question, he sheweth that it is Christ, and that his garments are red, because he 'alone had trodden the wine-press,' and 'of all the nations there was not one with him;' which is meant of treading the Edomites and enemies of his church, and bringing them to confusion. Yet he saith, ver. 3, he trode the press alone; not that he useth not messengers, as is mentioned in this prophet, or other means as seemeth best to him, but for that the force and efficacy alone proceedeth from him; so that for this cause he is said alone to work, 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7. For 'Paul indeed planteth, and Apollos watereth; but neither he that planteth is anything, neither he that watereth is anything, but God, that giveth the increase,' is he that worketh all in all things.

In the 5th of Luke, the apostles laboured all night, and caught nothing; but when at Christ his commandment they had 'let fall their nets for a draught, the net was filled with fish.' The king 'prepareth an host against the day of battle, but the victory is from the Lord,' Prov. xxi. 31. 'No king is saved by the multitude of an host. A horse is counted a vain thing to help a man,' &c. Wherefore that was a profane thing of Nebuchadnezzar, who, when he had taken the Jews as fishes in a net, he sacrificed to his net, and offered incense unto his yarn, Hab. i. 15, 16. Profane was that opinion of the Gentiles, attributing their prosperity to fortune; and that of Varro, who attributed the success of husbandry to water. Whereas they might have learned by that ceremony which the Romans used in their triumph, that the success of things was to be attributed to God. For the laurel crowns which they carried when they ascended into the capitol and sacrificed to Jupiter, they laid down in

the lap of Jupiter, as Pliny* recorded. But let us remember that the four and twenty elders 'cast down their crowns at the feet of the Lamb,' Rev. iv. 10.

Now, as all glory is due unto God, so on the other side we must remember that he calleth ministers to do his work, who must not be slack in the thing whereunto he appointeth them. He would lead the Israelites through the sea, but he would have Moses to lift up his rod, Exod. xiv. 16. Again, he would divide Jordan, but he would have the priests' feet to be dipped in Jordan, and to carry the ark, Josh. ii. 13, 16. He meant to cast down the walls of Jericho, yet would he have them to blow the trumpets and compass the city, Josh. vi. He would build again the temple when the people returned with Zerubbabel, but the angel shewed Zechariah a golden candlestick, a bowl upon it, seven lamps in it, seven pipes to the lamps, and two olive-trees over it; and that angel asked him what those were, who, answering he knew not, the angel telleth him that he should say to Zerubbabel, 'Neither by an army nor by strength, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord,' Zech. iv. 1, 2, 6., &c. Yet followeth it that Zerubbabel should lay the foundation thereof, and the people should cry, 'Grace, grace.' Wherefore the ministry of Moses is necessary that he strike the sea with his rod, necessary that the priests' feet touch the water of Jordan, necessary that they blow the trumpets. But if these things be considered in themselves, without the efficacy of God, they are of no more power to bring this to pass, than the rod was to make a sea stand like a wall, the feet of men to make a river run back, the sound of a trumpet to cast down a strong wall.

Wherefore, whomsoever they be whom God will use, they must be obedient to his appointment, as Moses, the priests, and Zerubbabel were. And I would to God that they who have the place of Moses, &c., would vouchsafe to humble themselves, and stir up themselves to do their duty—to strike the waters with their rod. This rod is the publishing of the word, which the prophet saith he will 'send out the rod of his power,' that he may 'rule even among his enemies,' Ps. cx. 2. The priests must carry the ark, 1 Kings viii. 9. In the ark were the tables of the law, Heb. ix. 4, and 'in the mouth of the ministers ought the law of the Lord to be.' The priests' feet were dipped in the waters of Jordan; the ministers' feet must enter first the water; and 'beautiful are the feet of them that bring good tidings.' The priests blew with the trumpets; the minister must 'set the trumpet to his mouth,' and sound out aloud both the law and the gospel: the law to bring down the high walls, and the gospel to raise and build up.

Is it any marvel if the Idumeans be so courageous, and promise themselves a day wherein they may cry out, 'Raze it, raze it even to the foundations,' if means be not used to beat back their pride? If the

* Lib xvi. 4, and lib. xv. 30.

messengers which should stir up the people to war against them be silent ; if Moses will not strike with his rod ; if the priests strain courtesy who shall first step into the water ; if the trumpet be not in their mouths : I am loath to name them in whom this fault lieth, but sure too common it is amongst us, and that partly through such as have spoiled the churches of the livings, whereby faithful and painful messengers should be maintained. As by impropriations, the first-begotten child of the pope and Satan ; and by the theft of such as somewhere have charge, and go not to it ; by the negligence of others, who are somewhere, and will not instruct the people ; and by the ignorance of many that are dumb dogs and cannot

bark,' so that by reason hereof the people sit in darkness, and those merchants whose wares are the souls of men, enter on the flock to spoil them of that comfort which they should have in Jerusalem. But seeing our words cannot prevail in this matter, let us beseech the Lord to be gracious and favourable to Jerusalem, and that it would please him to move the heart of our sovereign, that she would provide that an army of able men might be provided and maintained, that by them the Idumeans may be discomfited, a way opened for the children of God to pass without danger, the walls may be brought down, and the children inherit the kingdom of promise.

SERMON III.

If thieves had come unto thee, if robbers by night, (how art thou destroyed!) would they not have stolen that which were enough for them? If grape-gatherers had come unto thee, would they not have left some grapes? How are the things of Esau sought out! his secret things are searched.—OBADIAH, Ver. 5, 6.

THE ruin and destruction of the Idumeans is set forth by the Spirit of God in this prophecy for the instruction and comfort of the Israelites, to assure them that God will execute justice and judgment on their enemies in the day of his visitation, when he will save them. In the former verses, 1, 2 (as I have shewed already), the prophet declared the sentence of the Lord against the Idumeans, that they should be destroyed ; the witnesses thereof, himself and other prophets who heard it from the Lord ; the means that he would work by (ver. 3, 4), the warriors 'rising up against them to battle;' the weakness of their helps and holds to the contrary, which, 'though they exalted as the eagle doth his nest among stars, yet thence should they be brought down, saith the Lord.' Now, in these that follow to be handled presently, the greatness and grievousness of their destruction is opened ; to wit, that they shall be spoiled and wasted, even unto the uttermost, inso-much that their things shall be sought out, yea, their hidden things and secret places shall be searched. And this is amplified by two dissimilitudes, the one of thieves, the other of grape-gatherers. Thieves, who rob by night, do steal for need commonly, and so they take no more than may suffice their need, neither stay they lightly to search all things and places, for fear lest they be taken. Grape-gatherers among the Jews were accustomed to leave some grapes behind them. according to the law : Lev. xix. 10, 'Thou shalt not gather the grapes of thy vineyard clean, nor the grapes that fall down ; thou shalt leave them for the poor and for the stranger.' But the warriors sent by God against Edom shall not deal with him as thieves or as grape-gatherers. They shall not be contented with that which is enough, as robbers by night are. They shall not leave somewhat of his things behind

them, as men do grapes in the vineyard. They shall seize on all, on more than enough ; they shall 'seek out the things of Esau,' that is, Edom, Gen. xxv. 30 ; they shall seek them out, and by seeking find them : yea, they shall search and rifle the corners, the dens, the secret places wherein the Idumeans would hide themselves and theirs. By which means there should be such havoc made of them that the prophet uttereth it with admiration, and as if he saw it done, saying first to Edom, 'How art thou destroyed!' and then of him and his, 'How are the things of Esau sought out ; his secret things are searched!' Thus it is foreshewed that the desolation of Edom or Esau, that is, of Esau's offspring, the people of the Idumeans, shall be great and grievous, as being wrought by warriors who shall spare nought, either of fear, as thieves do, or of compassion, as grape-gatherers. 'If thieves had come unto thee, if robbers by night, (how art thou destroyed!) would they not have stolen that which were enough for them? If grape-gatherers had come unto thee, would they not have left some grapes? How are the things of Esau sought out! his secret things are searched!'

St Peter advertising the Jews and the proselytes, Acts ii. 38, that they should 'receive the gift of the Holy Ghost,' if they repented and turned to Christ: 'for to you,' said he, 'is the promise made, and to your children, and to all them that shall belong hereafter, even to as many as the Lord our God shall call.' The same, in like sort, may I say unto you, fathers and brethren, touching this promise of bringing your enemies to utter ruin and destruction. For God said to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, 'I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee;' meaning, that he would make a perfect league with him, and be at peace with his friends, at war with his

enemies. But the league and covenant which God made with Abraham, he made with Abraham and his seed, Gen. xvii. 7. And the seed of Abraham are all faithful Christians, Gal. iii. 9. To us all, therefore, is the promise made, that God will bless our friends, and will curse our enemies. Moreover, his particular curse and plague ensuing it, upon the Idumeans, is a pattern of that which shall fall on such as tread in their steps. For the punishment of the Jews who lusted after evil things, is threatened to the Gentiles, if they lust as the Jews did, 1 Cor. x. 6; and if ye be partakers of the sins of Babylon, ye shall receive of her plagues, Rev. xviii. 4. Now, among the enemies of the faithful Christians, others do more resemble the Philistines, or Ammonites, or Moabites, or Amalekites, or Canaanites, or Assyrians; there are none liker to the Idumeans than are the papists, as it hath been shewed. The Idumeans, born according to the flesh of the seed of Abraham; the papists by offspring come of Christian parents. The Idumeans circumcised as children of the covenant; the papists baptized in the same that we be. The Idumeans served not the God of their fathers according to the law, neither do the papists in spirit and truth after the gospel. The Idumeans persecuted the Israelites to death, and vexed them with all cruelty; the papists have butchered the godly with massacres, and made themselves drunken with the blood of saints. Wherefore the Spirit of the Lord assureth us, that the papists shall be consumed in his wrath, when it shall burn suddenly; and, as they have followed the facts of the Idumeans, so they shall feel their punishments. I speak not herein of all that are papists, as neither did the prophet of all Idumeans. For the remnant of Edom shall inherit with Israel, Amos. ix. 12, and papists with us; as many as shall seek him, whose name is called upon them, Acts xv. 17, 18; which God grant they may do by faith in his mercy, that papists may live, and papistry may die! But I speak of all who stubbornly persist in the popish heresies; in whom shall be fulfilled the apostle's prophecy touching 'the man of sin,' 2 Thes. ii. 8, 'The Lord shall consume them with the breath of his mouth.' And so, that which is written of Edom by the prophet may be said by us to the Romish antichrist: 'If thieves had come unto thee, if robbers by night, (how art thou destroyed!) would they not have stolen that which were enough for them? If grape-gatherers had come unto thee, would they not have left some grapes? How are the things of Antichrist sought out! his secret things are searched!'

Howbeit, as St Paul, though he were assured that all who sailed with him should escape alive, Acts xxvii. 24, yet said that they could not escape, 'except the mariners abode in the ship,' ver. 31, so though it be certain that antichrist and his members shall be consumed, yet cannot that be, except they be set upon by warriors; for God doth work by means ordinarily.

And this is the means that he hath ordained for the achieving of that conquest, as we saw before in the ambassador's message, Obad. 1, 'Arise, and let us rise up against her to battle.' The warriors whose service the Lord doth use thereto, are all his servants in a sort, 'his people most willing in the day of his army,' Psalm ex. 3, but specially preachers and ministers of his word. For his word is the rod of his mouth, Isa. xi. 4, the breath, 2 Thes. ii. 8, the sword, Rev. xix. 15, whereby he doth destroy his enemies; and ministers are soldiers, 'by whose hand' he wieldeth it, Hag. i. 1. For which cause their function is compared to warfare, in that it is written by St Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 7, 'Who goeth to warfare any time at his own cost?' and, 2 Tim. ii. 4, 'No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him, who hath chosen him to be a soldier.' And God saith of them, by the prophet Isaiah, chap. lxii. 6, 'I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which all the day and all the night continually shall not cease.' The watchmen and warriors, therefore, of the Lord, the keepers of his church, the conquerors of his enemies, the spoilers of the Idumeans, the consumers of antichrist, and antichristian imps, are ministers of his word, pastors and teachers, who, to please him by whom they are chosen soldiers, should not be entangled with the affairs of this life; to discharge their duty, should be sent forth and kept on public cost; to preserve their flock, should watch day and night continually over it. The less marvel is it if, in our English churches, antichrist and Edom be not consumed yet; nay, if they attempt to consume us, if by popish policies, by superstitious tokens, by blasphemous writings, by traitorous libels and conspiracies, they undermine our state; if they 'take crafty counsel against the people of God,' Psalm lxxxiii. 3, and say, 'Let us possess his habitations by inheritance,' ver. 12; if they look for a day when they may cry, once again, 'Raze it, raze it to the foundation thereof,' Psalm cxxxvii. 7; in a word, if they range through the land like wolves, and suck the blood of sheep and lambs, sith the shepherds fail, the watchmen are asleep, the warriors do not fight through want somewhere of will, somewhere of ability. Of will, where they entangle themselves with such affairs as draw them from their warfare, and are not content to be 'watchmen in Jerusalem,' but they must have a watchmanship in Cæsarea too; or, if they have one flock alone, yet do not feed it, but take their ease in Zion. Of ability, where there is not sufficient provision for training of men to make them good soldiers, nor maintenance to find them being trained; that, setting all other cares of life apart, they may attend their charge wholly. To them here amongst us, who, through want of will, are backward in this service of the Lord God of hosts, so much hath been spoken, so often, so earnestly, both out of this and other places, that I am half ashamed

again to solicit them with 'precept upon precept, precept upon precept.' Notwithstanding, as I have read, that when we had gotten Calais from the Frenchmen, there was one appointed to put them in remembrance, from time to time, of Calais, in all their solemn meetings for state consultations, till they had regained it, so I am persuaded that, till the amendment of this fault be won, it is most convenient for the Lord's remembrancers in all our church assemblies to wish it to be thought of.

Wherefore, to put you in mind even now also of our spiritual Calais, I beseech you, fathers and brethren (whom it toucheth), now at length to regard the state of the souls, the precious souls of men committed to your charge; whose blood, if they perish for lack of that attendance which you ought to give them, will cry for sharper vengeance, than did the blood of Abel, Gen. iv. 10. Or, if my persuasion cannot prevail with you, yet let his prevail, whose prayer hath prevailed for you; who died himself, that you might live; who said, and all things were created; whose word the winds and seas obey. Consider the function that he hath called you to, the duty laid upon you, the reward if you do it, the punishment if you do it not. 'Who is,' saith he, Luke xii. 42, 'a faithful and wise steward, whom his master maketh ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his master, when he cometh, shall find so doing; verily, I say unto you, he shall make him ruler over all his goods. But if that servant say in his heart, My master doth defer his coming; and begin to smite the servants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken; that servant's master will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and will cut him in pieces, and give him his portion with the unbelievers.' Our Saviour, the Son of God, the King of kings, the Lord of lords, having entertained men and women of all degrees to be his household servants, is careful to feed them with convenient food, that they may serve him in their vocation fruitfully. This food is the doctrine of his holy word, which must be divided in diverse sorts unto his servants, according to their diverse states; some to be fed with milk, some with strong meat; some humbled with the law, some raised with the gospel; each to have his 'portion of meat' most wholesome for him. Nor only must they have it, but have it too 'in due season,' as often as they need it, which is so often, that the Holy Ghost (to shew the continual necessity thereof) doth will it to be given them 'in season and out of season,' 2 Tim. iv. 2. For, as men's bodies should lose their temporal life, unless, as they decay still, so they were repaired with sustenance of meat and drink; in like sort men's souls are fainting still also, to their hazard of life eternal, unless they be refreshed with the food of God's word, Amos viii. 11. Wherefore, that his servants and maidens

be not famished, the master of the household hath made you his stewards to minister meat unto them. If you behave yourselves as wise stewards and faithful,—wise, in discerning what portion of meat they need each, and when; faithful, in giving it to them in due season,—your master shall come, who now is absent, as it were, and gone into a far country, Luke xix. 12; but he shall come again and fill you with blessedness; he shall make you rulers over all his goods, and honour you as highly as Pharaoh did Joseph, Gen. xli. 40; yea, he shall reward you with a 'crown of glory, an incorruptible crown,' 1 Pet. v. 4, and ye shall, 'shine as stars for ever and ever,' Dan. xii. 3. But if ye think his coming to be far off, and so begin to 'smite the servants and the maidens;' nay, I would to God ye did smite them only, so that ye taught them too, for that were a benefit; but if ye famish them, and play the good fellows yourselves with the world, and 'eat and drink, and be drunken,' your 'Master will come in a day when ye look not for him, and in an hour that ye are not ware of, and will cut you in pieces, *δρζο-ομζσι*, and give you your portion with the unbelievers.' By the Roman laws of the twelve Tables,* if a man owed money unto sundry creditors, and after judgment given did not agree with them himself, or others for him, his creditors might (after certain days' respite) cut his body in pieces, and take them each a part thereof. Phavorinus the philosopher reproveth this law as cruel and barbarous.† But Cæcilius the lawyer replied well upon him, that so great a punishment was appointed of purpose, that they might never come unto it. For now we see many (said he) laid up fast, and cast into fetters, because the pain of fetters is contemned by lewd persons. But I never read nor heard, that of old time any were cut to pieces, because they could not set light by that punishment. Mettius Fufetius the prince of the Albans, having promised the Roman king Tullus Hostilius to succour him against his enemies, did treacherously deceive him, by whom he was therefore tied to two carts, his hands to the one, his feet to the other, and so (the horses being driven contrary ways) he was torn in pieces. Livy misliketh this punishment as over sharp,‡ and saith that there was small regard of human laws had in it. But Virgil,§ weighing better the greatness of the fault, alloweth it with grave censure,

At tu dictis Albane manere,

But thou, O Alban prince, thy promise shouldst have kept. Traitors in our days, though they be not torn with horses as Mettius, yet are they rent in pieces as Mettius was, and quartered. The papists complain thereof to foreign nations,|| as of outrageous tyranny, when they are put unto it for traitorous facts against our

* Tit. de re judicata.

† A. Gel. Noct. Attic. lib. xx. cap. i.

‡ Hist. ab Urb. Cond. lib. i.

§ Æneid, lib. viii.

|| Epist. de persecut. Angl.

prince. But it is usual and lawful for the pope (as Leo the Tenth's practice in Guicciardini* doth witness) to quarter men for treason wrought against him. Now, this severe punishment, which hath been thought fit by mortal judges to be laid upon unfaithful debtors, upon treacherous persons, upon rebellious traitors, is the same that Christ, the immortal Judge, denounceth unto you, if ye be disloyal to God, your sovereign Lord, if ye break promise with him and his servants, if ye pay them not the debt which ye owe them, and 'give them their portion of meat in due season.' A very grievous punishment, yet nothing to that which Christ importeth by it. For he doth import (as the words following shew) that ye 'shall have your portion with the unbelievers;' and 'the unbelievers shall have their portion in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death,' Rev. xxi. 8. Of Damocles, a heathen man, it is recorded, that when Dionysius the tyrant entertained him magnificently and princely, although at the first he thought himself happy, respecting the train of men attendant on him, the plate of gold and silver, the gorgeous cloths, the sweet perfumes, the viands most delicate, all furniture rich and royal; yet after, seeing a sword hanging by a thread let down over his head, he could take no joy of his entertainment, nay, he took grief, and desired earnestly to be dismissed from it. How much less joy should you take in your eating, your drinking, your pleasures, with which, as worldly baits, the prince of this world doth pamper your flesh against the day of slaughter, sith there hangeth over your necks an axe of vengeance, not that may perhaps, but that will assuredly, not kill your bodies only, but both bodies and souls, not with temporal death, but with everlasting into hell-fire. 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,' Mat. xxiv. 51. Oh consider this, ye that forget God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none that can deliver you. The warrior that spoileth the Idumeans shall honour him, and he that watcheth over the Israelites, to save them, shall see the salvation of God. And thus much to them who, through want of will, search not the secret things of Esau.

As for the defect which this exploit suffereth through want of ability, because such as should do it are either not trained or not maintained to it in sufficient sort, that is so much hurtfuller to us than the former, by how much the contagion of it spreadeth farther. For soldiers ought to learn and practise feats of war (as expert men† have noted) before they deal in martial affairs with their enemies; and as they should employ themselves to no business but to their service only,‡ so should they be allowed victuals, and other necessities, that they need not to do it.§ Whereupon the Lord appointing priests and Levites

to serve him in this warfare (as Moses termeth it, Num. iv. 23) and ministry, allotted them offerings, first-fruits and tithes of all the land to live by, Num. xviii. 9, with cities to dwell in, and grounds annexed thereunto, Num. xxxv. 2; and beside the convenience of their abode together in Jerusalem and other cities, that they might the better be trained from their infancy to skill of the priestly and Levitical duties, to teach the law of God, and offer incense and sacrifice, Deut. xxxiii. 10, there were also colleges and companies of prophets, 1 Sam. x. 5, and xix. 10, wherein the younger learned under the elder (as children under fathers, 2 Kings ii. 3, and vi. 1) to be men of God, to praise his name, and teach his will. These orders received by the church of Israel should be followed by ours, though not in all particulars, yet in the general equity. For, 1 Cor. viii. 13, as 'they who served about the holy things did eat of the temple, they who waited at the altar were partakers with the altar. So the Lord ordained, too, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel.' And Timothy, 1 Tim. i. 18, who was chosen to serve in this warfare, *στρατιαν*, as a soldier of Christ, 2 Tim. ii. 3, did not only know the Scriptures from his infancy, 2 Tim. iii. 15, but also was brought up to the ministry by St Paul, whose doctrine and behaviour framed him unto it, Acts xvi. 3, 2 Tim. iii. 10. In which consideration our ancestors provided houses, glebe-land, tithes, and other profits for the commodious dwelling and maintenance of pastors, and endowed bishoprics, cathedral and collegiate churches (as we call them), with lands and revenues, that learned godly teachers being placed there, might instruct others by their doctrine and behaviour, as St Paul did Timothy; for the fuller perfecting and finishing of whom to all the Lord's work, they founded universities and colleges therein also.* But I would to God these nurseries of pastors and teachers of the church were husbanded in such sort to the Lord's advantage, that we need not fear his sentence of the vineyard, that 'he will let it out to other husbandmen,' Mat. xxi. 41. Then should not so many raw, untrained soldiers receive the Lord's pay, who do him small service in the day of battle. And yet there were less cause to complain hereof, if they who be trained were procured to serve him. But the impressed money and wages due to them, the livings (I mean) appointed for their maintenance, are so impaired and minished, that being not able therewith to find themselves in soldierlike state, they refuse the calling; or if they undertake it, they are distracted from it with cares how to supply their need. Whereby it cometh to pass that 'the Levites flying each into his land' for lack of their portions, 'the house of God is forsaken,' Neh. xiii. 10. And to fill their rooms

* Hist. Ital. lib. xiii.

† Veget. de re milit. lib. i. cap. i.

‡ Lib. ii. cap. xix.

§ Lib. iii. cap. iii.

* As appeareth by the grounds thereof in St Cyprian, Eusebius, Gregory, the Councils of Toledo, with other councils, fathers, and stories ecclesiastical; and M. Bucer sheweth in his book, entitled, *De reformatione Collegii Canonici*.

others are taken, who will be hired for least; not according to the proverb, Best is best cheap, but to the common practice, Best cheap is best; who, though not to serve the calves of Dan and Bethel, yet are made priests, as those by Jeroboam, 1 Kings xii. 31, 'of pieces of the people, not of the sons of Levi;' who, if they had the grace, should say, 'I am no prophet, I am a husbandman,' Zech. xiii. 5, and return to the trade which their friends have taught them.

Who are not endued with necessary gifts for the prophet's duty, and therefore, howsoever men have called them to it, God hath not called them. For whom God calleth unto any function, them endueth he with gifts to perform it: as Bezaleel, to make his tabernacle, Exod. xxxi. 2; Jeremiah, to do his message, Jer. i. 9; the apostles to preach the gospel, Acts ii. 4. So the flock of Christ is desolate of shepherds, and his camp of soldiers, while such have the places as cannot 'strengthen the weak, help the sick, bind up the broken,' Ezek. xxxiv. 4, nor destroy his enemies with the two-edged sword, Heb. iv. 12, and defend his subjects. A great cause hereof are patrons of benefices. For, whereas the interest of choosing the pastor, belonging of old time to the congregation, is now conveyed to them, because their predecessors did benefit the church some way, and therefore were put in trust as patrons of it, they, a number of them, do deal with the matter as Polymestor did with Polydore, that is, as evil guardians do with their wards, and turn their patronage into pillage. The lust of their hearts hath defiled their hands with the sacrilege of Achan, Josh. vii. 21, to take gold and silver, and Babylonish garments, of the spoils of Jericho consecrated to God, Josh. vi. 19; or, if not with so foul sacrilege as his was, because their predecessors gave some of it perhaps yet with the sacrilege of Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. 2, yea, though themselves had given it. If they think to cover their profane dealing with Achan's conveyance, by hiding the prey, Josh. vii. 22, or to wash their hands with Pilate's pretence, that they are guiltless of it, Mat. xxvii. 24, they gave the advowsons freely to friends or servants, they deceive themselves, for God is not mocked, Gal. vi. 7, and he will find them out in a day when they look not for him, and in an hour that they are not ware of, and bring them to shame with more dreadful punishment than either he did Achan, Josh. vii. 25, or Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. 5. Wherefore I heartily beseech the young gentlemen that be here present, and all that are or shall be patrons hereafter, in a religious reverence and fear of the Lord, to keep themselves pure from this abomination, at least to remember the miserable end of Richard the Usurper, who, being made protector of the king and realm, got the realm himself, and robbed the king of it; that, if they deem their patronage to be merely civil, and the goods of benefices to be as common men's, not

sacred to the Lord, yet being made protectors thereof, and of the pastors, they follow not his fault, whose end they detest. Though, the very truth is (which I wish they weigh too), that the church's goods, allotted to the maintenance of pastors and teachers, are not profane but sacred, and therefore the sin of them who purloin them is sacrilege, not theft, wherein God is spoiled, as himself pronounced, Mal. iii. 8, 'Will a man spoil God, that ye do spoil me? And ye say, Wherein do we spoil thee? In tithes and offerings.'

Howbeit, if church livings were impoverished by none but by patrons, the case were not so evil, because it is against the law. But they are distressed also (beside other pensions and incumbrances) by appropriations, as the lawyers term them, or, as they are named commonly, impropriations; whereof the condition is the more grievous, for that in many parishes there is not a vicar well and sufficiently endowed to do divine service, and instruct the people, and keep hospitality, which yet the law commandeth,* if it were obeyed. 'Josiah, in the eighth year of his reign, began to seek the God of his father David; and in the twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the graven images, and the molten; and in the eighteenth year he sent Shaphan and others to repair the house of the Lord his God,' 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. Reformation of disorders cannot be made all at once, chiefly when the church hath of long time been overgrown with them, as then it had under idolatry, and hath with us under popery. King Henry the Eighth, a prince of noble memory, began to set forth the holy word of God; and his son (another Josiah, had he lived) began to purge England from images, and masses, and massing-altars, and superstitions. I doubt not but our gracious queen and sovereign lady desireth in the steps of her father and her brother, to add this unto them, that workmen be maintained for repairing of the church. But it lieth not in her Highness alone to bring it to effect; the lords and the commons have a stroke in it. Wherefore, seeing now a parliament is summoned to be held shortly, let us desire God in humbleness of spirit to incline their hearts, that, although it be with loss of some part of their own commodities, yet they will follow the zeal of the Israelites for the tabernacle of assembly, Exod. xxxv. 21. And as the religious professors of the truth have shewed that church-livings appropriated to others should in conscience find the pastors of the church, so God grant that they who have the authority may see it with a single eye, and bring it to pass with an upright hand. Martin Bucer, in† his godly requests and advices presented to King Edward, treating of skilful pastors to be ordained throughout the realm, saith that their maintenance ought to be required of them who receive the profits of the parishes, by appro-

* Ann. iv. Henr. iv. cap. xii.

† De regno Chr. lib. ii. cap. vii.

priation or any other way. Bishop* Pilkington (upon Haggai) complaining that the pope robbed parishes to feed his monks, wisheth that the gospel may restore that justly which he took wrongfully away, and gave them yet a right name of impropriations, because they be taken away improperly, and properly belong to the parishes. But what should I mention bishops and divines, of whom there have† many declared the same mind, whenas Master‡ Lambard, a gentleman and lawyer, speaking of a Kentish benefice converted to an appropriation, doth censure it with these words: One, amongst many, of those monstrous births of covetousness, begotten by the man of Rome in the dark night of superstition, and yet suffered to live in this daylight of the gospel, to the great hindrance of learning, the impoverishment of the ministry, and the infamy of our profession. Hard may this seem to such as have the livings; and some peradventure will say of these speeches, 'The land cannot bear them,' Amos vii. 10. But it is harder to suffer the land to stand in those terms, in which God saith to Judah, Mal. iii. 9, 'Ye are cursed with a curse, for that ye spoil me, even the whole nation.' And if heathen men, Philani, Codrus, Curtius, have given their lives to benefit their country with a temporal blessing, and that uncertain too, what should Christians do to draw that blessing on it, which he who cannot lie doth promise? ver. 10, 'Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house; and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open the windows of heaven unto you, and pour you out a blessing without measure; and I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, that he shall not destroy the fruit of your ground, neither shall your vine be barren in the field, saith the Lord of hosts; and all nations shall call you blessed, for ye shall be a pleasant land, saith the Lord of hosts.' Wherefore let us, beloved, of the university, get our country this blessing, as much as lieth in us, by providing that pastors, where we have appropriations, may be maintained with their tithes, that there may be meat in the house of God. I mean not hereby that we should give away that by which our schools and scholars be maintained; for God hath ordained ecclesiastical goods to find, not only priests and Levites, but their offspring, even them who are brought up to be priests and Levites, and them who bring them up; the 'children of the prophets,' and the prophets themselves; that, if there be enough in our appropriations for the pastors' maintenance, beside that which we have for the nursery of pastors, as

* Exposit. of Haggai the prophet, chap. i.

† M. Latimer in his 1st and 6th sermon preached before King Edward. M. Fox in the Acts and Mon., lib. iv. All the bishops of England (300 years since), misliking in the monks that they had gotten benefices to be appropriated to them, as appear by Mal. Westm. in *Florib Hist., an. Dom.* 1261.

‡ The perambulat of Kent in Fensbury.

commonly there is, we may with good conscience receive our own revenue. My meaning is, therefore, that, the rents reserved, we should allow the rest of the livings to pastors, which I speak not so much for those that publicly our university hath, to be let by convocation, whereof the greater part hath shewed well already themselves to be of this mind, as for those that privately belong to our colleges, to be let by the heads thereof and the fellows.

It is of an human and honest affection that we sometimes would pleasure other men therewith, our friends suing for them. But if Job said to Zophar and his partners, Job. xiii. 7, 'Should you speak wickedly for God's defence?' how much less ought we to do unrighteously for the favour of men? And may we not look for the plague that fell on Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 29, if, as he did 'honour his children above God,' so we do our friends? Levi is commended by the Holy Ghost, Deut. xxxiii. 9, for 'saying of his father and of his mother, I look not on him; neither doth he acknowledge his brethren, nor know his children: but they observe the word of God, and keep his covenant.' All Christians are bound herein to be Levites, regarding neither father nor mother, son nor daughter, in respect of God, when his word and covenant cometh into question, Mat. x. 37. Wherefore, sith this is a special point thereof, that 'all the tithes be brought into the storehouse, that in his house there may be meat,' we should observe and keep it, though with the disfavour of friends whatsoever. And as it behoveth us to do it ourselves, so to wish that others enjoy the blessing with us. In which case, the duty that we owe to 'kings, and all in authority,' 1 Tim. ii. 2, doth bind us to pray for the high court of parliament, that by their ordinance the church may be repaired, and 'we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.' When Eliashib the priest (the high priest of the Jews) had 'made for his kinsman Tobias a great chamber,' Neh. xiii. 4, where they aforetime did lay the meat-offering, the incense, and the vessels, and the tithes and offerings, appointed for the Levites and priests, as soon as Nehemiah (the prince of the people) understood thereof, it grieved him sore. Therefore he cast out the household vessels of Tobias out of the chamber, and brought thither again the vessels of the house of God, the meat-offering, and the incense. And perceiving further that the portions of the Levites were not given them, who therefore were fled each into his land, he reproveth the rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken? And assembling them, he set them in their place again. And all the Jews brought the tithes into the storehouse to be divided to them. The pope, in the iniquity of his high usurped priesthood over Christians, endowed his kinsmen the monks with tithes and livings, by which aforetime the pastors were maintained. Whereof it hath ensued, that many a Tobias doth hold them until this day. Oh that it

might grieve, that it might grieve sore, our Nehemiah, the parliament, that they might dispossess Tobias thereof, and again apply them to maintain pastors. The antichristian council assembled at Trent took order for restoring of the goods of benefices,* and setting learned priests in them,† with disannulling of advowsons,‡ and erecting lectures, and maintaining teachers,§ and seminaries of scholars in all cathedral churches,|| to set popery forward, and build up the houses of Idumean idols. ‘The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light,’ Luke xvi. 8; and Baalites more zealous for their superstition than Israelites for the truth, 1 Kings xviii. 19. But thou canst, O Lord, and wilt (unless our sins provoke thy wrath against us), cause the light of thy countenance so to shine upon us, that the Christian court of our English parliament shall be as careful to build up thy house, and advance religion, that the vessels of thy temple which Nebuchadnezzar took away, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, and Belshazzar did drink in, Dan. v. 2., be restored by Cyrus, Ezra i. 7, to whom they are befallen; that Elizabeth thy handmaid ‘command the people to give the portion of the priests and Levites, that they may be strong in the law of the Lord,’ as did thy servant Hezekiah,

* Conc. Trid. Sess. 22, de reform. cap. xi.

† Sess. 24, de reform. cap. xviii.

‡ Cap. xix.

§ Sess. 5, de reform. cap. i.

|| Sess. 23, de reform. cap. xviii.

2 Chron. xxxi. 4; that pastors may be set again in their places, and all the tithes be brought into the storehouse to be divided to them; that none of them want, as Nehemiah provided, and thou commandest by thy prophet. So shall they by whom this noble work is wrought be ‘remembered in it, and the kindness that they shew on the house of God, and the offices thereof, shall not be wiped out,’ Neh. xiii. 14. So shall ‘the windows of heaven be opened’ to us, and ‘a blessing poured on us without measure,’ Mal. iii. 10, a temporal and eternal blessing; for ‘godliness hath promise’ of them both, 1 Tim. iv. 8. So shall the devourer be rebuked for our sakes; and the locusts, Rev. ix. 8 (the Jesuits and seminary priests) shall not destroy our fruit; neither shall our vine (our Christian vine) be barren, Isa. v. 1. So shall we be called ‘blessed by all nations;’ for we shall be ‘a pleasant land,’ a land that shall flow with the word of God, ‘more to be desired than gold, more sweet than honey,’ Ps. xix. 10. Finally, so shall Israel triumph over his enemies, and the things of Esau shall be sought out, his secret things shall be searched; that is, Christ shall reign, and antichrist shall be confounded. Which God grant, for his mercy’s sake in Jesus Christ, through the operation of his Holy Spirit, to whom, three persons and one God, be all praise, and honour, and glory, and power, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON IV.

All thy confederates have driven thee to the borders: the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee, and prevailed against thee; they that eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee: there is no understanding in him.—OBADIAH, VER. 7.

THE prophet hitherto set down first the certainty of the destruction of the Idumeans, and then laid before them the grievousness of the same, cometh now to this point which ensueth, which implieth both the former, shewing that all their confederates and friends, such as were nearest unto them, should join together utterly to destroy them. Which circumstance, as it argueth that they should certainly come to ruin, and that no hope remained, that they should be delivered from it, seeing such as they hoped should help them from it should be prepared to bring them to it, so doth it amplify the bitterness of it. David complaineth grievously that his familiar friend, who went with him into the house of God, Ps. li. 13, xli. 10, whom he trusted, and who did eat of his bread, that such a one should lift up his heel against him. If an enemy had done him that dishonour, he saith he could have borne it. Cæsar contained himself when the rest of the senate struck him with their penknives; but when Brutus smote him, he said, *Et tu quoque, mi fili?** Even

* Xiphilin. ex Dionis Julio. Sueton. in Cesare. Particula 82.

so is the bitterness of this destruction herein declared, that it should be wrought by their friends and confederates: *All thy confederates, &c.* The same thing also in effect is repeated and uttered diverse ways, to lay it deeper in their hearts, and to put them the better in mind thereof. For they that were ‘in league with them’ are called their ‘confederates;’ the ‘men that were at peace with them,’ they that ‘ate their bread;’ and their ruin signified when it is said, have ‘driven thee to the borders,’ have ‘deceived thee,’ ‘prevailed against thee,’ ‘laid a wound under thee.’ All which is set out after the prophet’s manner, when he saith, *have driven, have deceived, &c.* when he meaneth that they *should*; for that it should so surely come to pass as though it were done already. The means is said to be by fraud and guile, when it is said ‘they shall deceive thee,’ &c., whereunto is also added to make up the mischief, that this treacherous dealing should be so crafty, that they should not espy, much less prevent it, when it is said, ‘there is no understanding in him.’ Whereof he also speaketh more at large in the next verse, saying, ‘Shall not I in that

day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise men out of Edom ?'

The point which I would here commend to your consideration is, that the Lord will work the overthrow of Edom by his friends, which is meant in these words, 'Thy confederates have driven thee.' The judgment of the Lord executed by his law upon enticers to idolatry, disobedient to magistrates, unthankful children, &c., is in sundry places of Deuteronomy knit up with this sentence, 'So shall all Israel hear and fear,' Deut. iv. 10, and xiii. 11, and xvii. 13; whereby is declared the end of punishments appointed by God, and executed in justice upon offenders, namely, that the rest might hear and fear, and learn not to offend in like manner, lest they incur the like vengeance. The point, then, that we have to learn, is to understand by the example of the justice of God executed upon the Idumeans, that all their confederates should drive them to the borders, &c.; that if any have such hatred against the servants of God as Edom had against Israel, then that this judgment is denounced against them. For the Lord hath determined that who oppresseth *his friends*, must be deceived and plagued by *their friends*, and such as they reposed greatest confidence in. The Midianites, as it is in the history of the Judges, chap. vi., oppressed Israel very sore, so that, for fear of them, the Israelites made them dens in the mountains and caves. When Israel had sown, they came up and destroyed the fruit of the earth, and left no food for Israel. Against them the Lord sent Gideon, and to overthrow them he used not the hands of the Israelites; but after that Gideon and the company that were with him had blown their trumpets and broken their pitchers, the Lord set every man's sword against his neighbour, chap. vii. Sennacherib the king of Ashur came against Jerusalem, and Hezekiah the king thereof, with a mighty army, 2 Kings xix., thinking to make thrall to him all the people, and Rabshakeh, with most arrogant and presumptuous words defied the Lord, who (he said) could not deliver them. But the Lord first confounded his army, and by an angel destroyed them, so that he was fain with shame to flee home, where he armed his two sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, against him, who, when he worshipped his god in the temple, slew him with the sword.

But the cruelty of Nero against the Christians far exceeded that of the Midianites and Sennacherib, in so much that he sewed them in the skins of wild beasts,* and so cast them to dogs to be devoured, tying them also to stakes, to burn in the night for lights.† But the Lord raised against him his council, his friends, captains, subjects, &c., so that he found not that favour which Sennacherib did, for he could neither have friend nor foe to do so much as kill him.‡

* Sulp. Sejerus, lib. ii., et Tacit. lib. xv. cap. x.

† Sulpit. et Tacit. ubi supra, et Juvenal. Sat. i. ver. 155.

‡ Suet. in Neron., cap. xlvii. Sulpit. lib. ii. Eutrop. lib. viii.

Yea, if men would not conspire against these enemies of God's people, rather than they should lack friends to destroy them, the worms out of their own bowels should devour them, as befell to Herod, Acts xii. 23, and Antiochus.*

Wherefore, whosoever have followed the cruelty of the Edomites against the Israel of God, let them remember for their instruction that they shall be partakers of the same punishment with the Edomites. And let us consider that, if the wicked draw his bow to shoot at the poor and needy, though they whet the sword to slay the innocent, yet their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bow shall be broken, which the prophet threateneth, not without exception, namely, 'If the wicked turn not,' then 'the Lord will whet his sword,' &c., Ps. vii. 12–16. And whereas he travailed to bring forth a lie, his mischief shall light on his own head, and the wrong which he imagined against others shall fall down on his own scalp.

But the godly are at league with the stones of the field, and the beasts of the earth, Job v. 23, Hos. ii. 18; but such as are not at peace with the Lord, a stone shall fall on their head, as on Abimelech's, Judges ix. 13, or lions shall fall on them, as on the Samaritans, 2 Kings xvii. 25. Wherefore, such as are godly, let them yet be more godly, Rev. xxii. 11, and let the wicked remember that all their confederates shall drive them to the borders, &c.

Yet must we take heed that we imagine not that all such against whom their confederates deal are in nature and condition like the Idumeans. For as other chastisements are common to the godly with the wicked, though the effect fall not out alike in them both, so also in this, to be deceived by friends, and principally by those we be at peace with, do often happen unto them. For we read of David, that his familiar friend had laid a snare for him, and such as were near unto him, as Ahithophel, and his own son Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. xvi.

That which befell to David happened also to Jesus Christ, of whom David was a figure, as is plainly declared in the 13th of John, verse 18, where as the very words of David, Ps. xli. 9, are applied to Christ, to teach us the dealing of Judas: 'He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up the heel against me.' Now, we know that it is the chiefest blessing of Christians to be made like to the image of Christ, Rom. viii. 12. No marvel, then, if they have been so dealt withal, and that such as have ate their bread have lift up their heels against them.

The example of the noble admiral of France, traitorously murdered in Paris, now twelve years since, in this case is so pregnant that we need not go further.† With whom there were so many thousands murdered by such as professed themselves their friends; whereby we may perceive that this is no certain sign of Idu-

* Mich. Glycas in fine, part ii., annal.

† Vid. part 4 Comment. de statu Relig. et Reip. in Gallia, sub Carolo 9, anno 1572.

means, but that it is apparent that even in the church of God there is falsehood in fellowship, and in trust treason.

The difference therefore in this point betwixt the wicked and the godly is, 1, in the cause; 2, in the comfort.

1. In respect of the cause, the wicked and ungodly are worthily so served, making their confederacy in worldly respects, but the godly unworthily; so that David justly protesteth, 'If this wickedness be in my hand,' &c.; yea, 'If I have not delivered him, that without any cause was mine enemy,' &c.

2. In respect of comfort. For that the wicked, when they be so entreated of their friends, have no manner of succour or ease which they can betake themselves unto; whereas the godly in this case fly to the Lord, whom they find to be a sure rock and certain defence, when the help of man faileth and is set against them, as David being persecuted by Absalom crieth out, Ps. iii., 'How are my adversaries increased, how many rise up against me? But thou, Lord, art a buckler for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head.' Wherefore, trusting in the assured confidence and invincibleness of the Almighty, he 'feareth not, though ten thousand had set themselves against him.' This, therefore, bringeth a terror to the wicked, when they be forsaken of their friends, and have nothing to trust in but their wickedness; but a notable comfort is it to the godly, when, continuing in their goodness, they have the Lord always to be at their side. So the wicked dare look for no help of the Lord, but the godly are full of 'the consolation of the Holy Spirit.' So that the wicked may say, If our friends be against us, who shall be with us? But the godly may say, 'If God be with us, who shall be against us?' Rom. viii. 31.

Which consideration of the state of the godly, that such as profess themselves their friends have set themselves against them, may teach us how to answer that objection of the papists, who because many have revolted from us to them, yea, of our ministers, would persuade the ignorant that our doctrine is naught. A worthy matter, no doubt, if some, for thirty pieces of silver to be paid in their seminaries, have gone thither that they may betray Christ Jesus. And what say they herein against us, which the Jews might not have said against our Saviour, that one of his disciples, yea, of his chief disciples, was set so against him that he had betrayed him? Another reason they have like unto this, though not in all circumstances, yet in the main ground, which is the dissension amongst us, and such as are of other churches beyond the sea, concerning certain ceremonies wherein we differ from them. But seeing that the Lord knows how to turn it to the profiting of his church, and when it pleaseth him can reveal these things to us, why should any make an argument hereof against the truth of our doctrine, seeing we find that God hath turned the like to his greater glory, as that dissension

of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xv. 39, and Paul and Peter, Gal. ii. 11.

But as I shewed, by comparison of other points, that the papists do most lively represent the Idumeans, so also falleth it out that they should be betrayed by their own confederates and friends, as were the Idumeans: as by Albertus Pighius, in justification by faith only; * by Arius Montanus, in the sufficiency of the Scriptures; by And. Masius, in relics; by Alphonsus de Castro, Espenceus, Cajetanus, &c., and the schoolmen, in the rest of the points of superstition. And Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Ecclampadius, Zanchius, Beza, &c., the most worthy warriors in the Lord's battles, we know were sometimes of their friends, some being friars, other priests and canons, and they who were least† nursed up in popery. So truly is the saying verified of them also, 'Thy confederates have driven thee to the borders,' &c. Whose godly example I wish may move them, if there be any here of their confederates, to deceive them, and help to drive them to their borders; by the example of Saul, who being made a *Paul*, revolted from the Pharisees, and destroyed that which before he had builded.

Josephus reporteth‡ that Cyrus, who caused the Jews to build the temple, and gave them back the vessels thereof, was moved to do it by reading the prophecy of Isaiah, Isa. xlv. 1, who two hundred years before had named him who should do it. I beseech God that these men also reading this prophecy, that the friends of the Idumeans shall destroy them, may be encouraged to do it, that this may prevail so much with them as that did with Cyrus. For though they be your confederates, friends, brethren, parents, children, yet must you not be afraid to wound them spiritually, for 'the wounds of a friend are sweet.' We must destroy not their persons but their errors, and to be cruel herein is piety. And such cruelty as this is commanded by God, 'Cursed be he that withholdeth his hand from this blood,' Jer. xlviii. 10.

When Aaron had enticed the Israelites to idolatry, and provoked them to the offending of God by worshipping the golden calf, Exod. xxxii. 26, Moses proclaimeth, 'Whoso pertaineth to the Lord, let him come to me; and all the sons of Levi gathered themselves.' 'So they went from gate to gate through the host, and slew every man his brother, every man his companion, and every man his neighbour;' and so 'they consecrated their hands unto the Lord,' and drew a blessing upon them. But, alas, how far are we from doing this same in the warfare of Christ, against our friends, kinsfolks, and neighbours! Would to God many of us were not carried away with that foolish pity of Ahab, 1 Kings xx. 31, 32, &c. When Benhadad had come up to fight against Israel, but was discomfited, and was

* Controv. 2, edit. Par. 1549, quem ideo reprehendit Ruardus Tapperus, tom. ii. de Justificat. p. 32.

† Qu. 'at least' ?—ED.

‡ Antiquit. Judai., lib. xi. cap. i.

fain to flee into a secret chamber to save his life, it was told him that the kings of Israel were merciful kings. 'Wherefore he sent to him certain men, who said, Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray thee let me live.' To whom Ahab said, 'Is he yet alive? he is my brother.' Yea, said they, 'thy brother Benhadad,' &c.; and so was he content to make a covenant with him, and Ahab confederated himself with Benhadad. But there was sent a man of God to Ahab, who told him, 'Forasmuch as he had let a man scape out of his hands whom the Lord would have slain, his life should be for his, and his people for his.' There be to this

day too many Ahabs, who can ask whether their brother Benhadad be alive, and willingly spare him, hoping that he will one day remember them with the like courtesy. So long as he is alive, he is their brother Benhadad, yea, their brother Benhadad; but because they let them scape whom the Lord would have to be slain, their life shall be instead of theirs, and their people instead of theirs. Yet, O Lord, spare thy people, and pour out thy wrath on them that know thee not, and on such as have not called upon thy name; yea, O Lord, pour thy wrath upon Benhadad, and let him not escape thine hand, &c.

SERMON V.

Shall not I in that day, saith the Lord, destroy the wise men from out of Edom, and understanding from the mount of Esau. And thy strong men, O Teman, shall be afraid, so that the valiant of the mount of Esau shall be cut off by slaughter.—OBADIAH, Ver. 8, 9.

THERE be two things whereby we purchase to ourselves safety against our enemies, *wisdom* and *strength*; wisdom in foretelling and preventing, strength in repressing and withstanding the attempts devised and practised against us. The Lord having shewed that he would utterly destroy and bring to confusion the Idumeans, for that the matter seemed not very likely, and the message not easy to be credited, seeing they were furnished with wisdom and strength, wherewith they were able to prevent and subdue any mischief; he sheweth how these things shall nothing let his purpose, forasmuch as he would deprive them of their wise men, in the 8th verse, and spoil them of their strong, in the 9th verse. 'Shall not I,' &c. Wisdom and policy bear the greatest sway in state matters; for arms abroad are of little force, unless there be sage counsel at home; and seeing things must by advice be determined before they can well and duly be practised, therefore the prophet, declaring the course which the Lord will take in bringing his purpose about, beginneth at the wisdom, saying, 'Shall not I,' &c., 'and understanding from the mount of Esau,' that is, mount Seir, on which Esau dwelt; and by Seir is meant the land of Idumeans, the part for the whole. Out of this land, saith he, he would destroy the wise men and understanding, and bring to nought the strength and power, and that partly by taking from them wisdom and understanding, as Jeremiah sheweth, chap. xlix. 7, partly by cutting off, by slaughter, the valiant of the mount of Esau. The time also is specified, when it is said, *in that day*, a day, though uncertain to them, to whom it pertained not to 'know the times and seasons which God had hid in his own power,' Acts. i. 7, yet most sure and certain to him, who in his secret counsel had appointed it; which thing is also uttered by interrogation, to make it more effectual by sinking deep into their minds. And so, first, having removed their wise

men, their strong men follow after, of whom he saith, 'and thy strong men;' and to assure them of it, with piercing their hearts by conceiving it, as though it were laid before their eyes, he turneth his speech to them, when he saith, 'thy strong men, O Teman,' which was a part of that country, inhabited by a nation which came of a nephew of Esau of that name.

Some translations* have 'every one of the mount of Esau,' but sith the Hebrew word **אִישׁ** signifieth a valiant man, differing from **אָדָם**, as *vir* doth from *homo*, and *ἀνὴρ* from *ἄνθρωπος*; I take it here to be so understood, that as in the former verse he shewed he would destroy the wise men of Edom, and understanding from the mount of Esau, so in this verse he saith, that the strong men of Teman should be afraid, and the valiant of the mount of Esau should be cut off by slaughter.

Thus are the faithful assured that the Idumeans should be destroyed, notwithstanding all their policy and power, because the Lord had appointed a day wherein he would despoil them of their wise and strong men; which point ought of us diligently to be regarded, not only in respect of the means whereby, but also of the time when, this work was appointed to be wrought.

To begin with the day; we be hereby taught, that as all 'the works of God are justice and wisdom,' so also that he appointeth wisely and justly the times to execute judgment in; for he punisheth not by and by such as offend, but 'is long-suffering and gentle' towards sinners, Rom. ii. 4, giving time of repentance, that they may know the truth, and come to an amendment, out of the snare of the devil, 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26. For which purpose he calleth them, by benefits, exhortations, threatenings, punishments, and examples, as the prophet, Isa. xxviii. 24, &c., setteth out by the

* Tremel. Genev.

similitude of a husbandman : 'Doth the ploughman plough all the day and sow? Doth he break the clods of his ground? When he hath made it plain, doth he not then sow? Fitches shall not be thrashed.' For, having threatened that God would destroy them, he answereth to such scorers as despised the long-suffering of God, shewing that sith the husbandman hath divers times for several works, so that he doth not all at once, but first plougheth, then soweth, reapeth, thresheth, and that fitly, according to the diversity of the grain and corn, which is by the wisdom which God hath given him; in like sort, or rather much more, will the Lord, who is perfect wisdom, appoint his time of calling, exhorting, threatening, &c., and when none of these will serve, of mowing and threshing also.

Great was the wickedness of the old world, Gen. vi. 2, whenas 'the sons of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair,' and following their lust, not their duty, 'took them wives of all that they liked.' God was displeased with their sins, and gave them a long time of repentance, even an hundred and twenty years; at which time, they not repenting, he brought the flood of waters over them. When the Lord had promised to Abraham the land of Canaan, he told him, that first his seed should be a sojourner in a land that was not theirs, even four hundred years, for that 'the sin of the Amorites was not as then full,' Gen. xv. 16, shewing plainly, that he had given them a day of repentance, which being come, if they brought not forth worthy fruit thereof, they should be mowed down. The wickedness of Ahab received such judgment as it deserved, yet even for that shadow of repentance, 1 Kings xxi. 27, 29, the plague was cast off to his posterity. In the days of Josiah, Israel was not plagued, &c., because his heart melted at the hearing of the law of God, 1 Kings xxii. 19. The rest of the threatenings of Isaiah and Jeremiah are of like manner against the Tyrians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Moabites, &c., appointing to some certain express years, as three, others seventy, some short, but not mentioned; a short time, but a time also is threatened by John Baptist, when he said, Mat. iii. 10, 'Even now is the axe laid to the root of the tree.'

That which we are to regard more specially is, that the times of judgment appointed for the Amorites, Ahab, Jews, &c., are not only to be respected for themselves, but to be considered as figures of that great judgment for which there is a time appointed, which is called a *day* in Scripture for an excellency: as the apostle preached to the Athenians, Acts xvii. 31, that God had 'appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man which he hath appointed.' And though he seem slack in coming, yet is he not, for he saith, 'till the number be accomplished.' 'The Lord will come as a thief in the night,' and he shall sit on his throne of majesty,

'before whom the earth and heavens shall fly away, the earth and sea shall yield up their dead, the books shall be opened, and each man shall receive his judgment.' Which point St Peter, 2 Epist. iii. 11, having handled, exhorteth us to consider 'what manner of persons we should then be, in holy conversation and godliness,' who should 'look for and hasten unto the coming of this day of God.'

On which occasion I am also to desire you, that you would diligently consider, if God have appointed a day for temporal and eternal punishments, how patient each one of us ought to be in all afflictions, how wise in all behaviour. *Patient*, that we fret not ourselves, nor be carried away with any evil affection; when we see God not presently execute his judgments, that therefore we should set our hearts to evil, James v. 7, 8. *Wise*, that we stand in the fear of God, and offend not as wicked persons, for whom another day is appointed, the last and worst of all other. Wherefore we have need of patience, &c., as we are exhorted thereunto by the apostles, Heb. xii. 36, that we be not discomforted though we see the wicked prosper, and live in jollity, lest otherwise we fall into the sin of murmuring, as did the Israelites, being ready to fall away from the profession of God because the rod had rest upon them for a while. And having seen so great works wrought by God's hand in Egypt, yet at the Red Sea they feared lest they should have been swallowed up of Pharaoh; but Moses biddeth them 'be still, and see the salvation of the Lord,' Exod. xiv. 13, 14, for that he knew there was a day appointed when Pharaoh should be discomforted, which thing is spoken not only of the Israelites concerning Pharaoh king of Egypt, but also to the comfort of all true Israelites, and to the revenge of all that are like Pharaoh. For though they shoot out their branches for a while, and 'flourish as a green bay tree,' yet so soon as you shall pass by them, they shall be so gone that 'their place shall know them no more.' What greater affliction abode the Jews than under Antiochus? Yet from the time that the abomination was set up, as Daniel sheweth, it was less than four years. The saints of God, indeed, are troubled with impatency, and would gladly see their desire upon the wicked, that God's name might be the more glorified in the salvation of his saints; which is set down in the Revelation, where 'the souls under the altar do cry, How long, Lord, holy and true;' but 'white long robes were given unto them,' and it was said that they should 'rest for a little season,' &c., Rev. vi. 10, 11. Let us not then discourage ourselves with impatency, let us not fret ourselves, lest we be moved to evil, for the saints confess that God was holy and true, true in his promise, who will no doubt take revenge of his enemies, holy in granting repentance to sinners. Let us call to mind the end that fell upon Pharaoh, Antiochus, &c., and other miscreants, and let us wait the Lord's leisure, remembering that to the saints were

given white robes, the sign of grace in this life, and of glory in the life to come.

Moreover, as we hereby do learn patience, that we fret not at the prosperity of the wicked, so are we also to be wise, that we offend not after the manner of the ungodly through hope of escaping the judgment of God, Rom. ii. 2, having before our eyes the day which the prophet here speaketh of, and much more, that whereof this is a sign and figure, remembering that the slower our punishment is in coming, the heavier will it be when it cometh. When Amnon had defiled himself and his sister Tamar, following his filthy lust, 2 Sam. xiii. 14, 15, he straight was so displeased with her that he could not so much as abide her sight, which is the first plague that God layeth on such lust. There followed after another, when he was put to the sword; but the third most heavy and grievous was behind, which was to be 'cast with whoremongers into the lake that burneth.' How little joy had Absalom after he began to rebel against his father! For within few days the senseless creatures practised the like disobedience against him that he did against his father, so that they, which were made to have served his benefit, wrought his destruction, 2 Sam. xviii. 9. The rich man's soul, which was set at ease for many years, as he thought, Luke xii. 19, 20, how suddenly heard he his judgment, that 'in that night it should be taken from him!' The heathen and enemies of Christ promised themselves great good by Julian, hoping that he should live to root out all Christianity, insomuch that Libanius* the sophist, meeting with a Christian schoolmaster, asked of him in disdain what the carpenter's son (for so in contempt they termed our Saviour) was then doing; to whom the schoolmaster made answer, that the carpenter's son was making a coffin for his master Julian. And so it pleased God, that Julian, in his war against the Persian king, was slain and brought to a shameful end.†

Now, these things are written to let us know, that not only such as offend in lust, as Amnon; in disobedience, as Absalom; in covetousness, as the rich man; in impiety, as Julian, shall be punished even as they were; but that it is undoubtedly true which Solomon saith, Eccles. xii., that 'God will bring into judgment, every work with every secret thing, be it good or evil;' wherefore, let us learn his exhortation, to 'fear God, and keep his commandments, which is the whole duty of man.' Which, though I have sufficiently declared by examples of the Scriptures, yet as the apostle used the sentence of the poet Menander, after other sound proofs, so, for the youth that would hear what a poet saith, I will allege the saying of the prince of poets. When Turnus had taken the spoil of Pallas, he received this threatening:—

Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemquo
Oderit.*

which how truly it fell out, is in another place declared, when being stricken to the heart he heard these words:—

Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas

Immolat, et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.†

We are to deal with Pallas (not *Pallas*, *Pallantis*, but *Pallas*, *Pallados*†), that is, with the wisdom of the Highest. We ourselves are his, both body and soul; he hath redeemed us, and made us his own. If, then, we make ourselves thrall to sin and wickedness, we spoil and rob him; and then let us assure ourselves the time will come when we shall wish that we had foregone these spoils, when it shall be said, 'Go, ye cursed, into hell fire.'

Let us learn, then, to remember that day, and out of this place, that God hath appointed a time wherein he will avenge himself of his enemies; and not only that, but which is another point, the means by which it shall be wrought, which is, by taking away their wise men, and bereaving them of strong men, that being thus bereaved of such as might stand them in stead, they may receive the vengeance prepared for them. How God doth deal with nations in these matters, the histories shew, and the prophet Isaiah plainly, when he saith he will 'take away the wise,' 'eloquent,' 'artificer,' Isa. iii. 1–3; meaning, that howsoever they persuaded themselves that by those means and enemies they could not be destroyed, being furnished in such manner against all manner assaults, yet God would do it by taking away whatsoever might any way stand them in stead. It was not to be thought that Babylon, having in it such strength and wisdom, could be so taken, as it was by Cyrus; but we read that when they gave themselves to drunkenness and riot, it came to pass. Wherefore let us not put our confidence in flesh and blood, persuading ourselves that because our nation is mighty in strength of people, our prince wise, our counsellors provident, our munition great, victuals sufficient, &c., that therefore we are sure, and out of all danger; for God can take away our wise and strong men. And though he leave us the men, yet he can take all wisdom and strength from them, and whatsoever we bring home, seem it never so great, yet can the Lord 'blow upon it,' as the prophet speaketh, Haggai i. 9, 'and it shall fall away.'

Here, then, is good comfort for us, if we serve and love the Lord; for from whom will the Lord take understanding? Not from David, but from Absalom; not from Israelites, but from Edomites; not from Hezekiah, but Sennacherib. Or if he take understanding from Israel, David, Hezekiah, yet not from David to destroy him, not from Hezekiah when he calls upon him; and if he failed the Jews, yet the

* Vid. Sezom. lib. vi. cap. ii. Hist. Ecclesiast. et Hist. Tripartit. lib. vi. cap. xlv. et Niceph. lib. x. cap. xxxv.

† Hist. Tripart. lib. vi. cap. xlvii. Niceph. ubi sup.

* Virg. Æn. lib. x.

† Lib. xii. in fine.

† That is, not the son of Evander, spoken of by Virgil, but the goddess of wisdom.—Ed.

true Israelites shall be strengthened from above; though David he troubled, yet shall he not want his wise Cushai and strong Joab, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9; and although the counsel of men fail, and strength be nothing, the Lord will send an angel to slay the Assyrians, Isa. xxxvii. 36; but as for Edom, let his strength be never so great, his wise men never so many, they shall be quite destroyed. Though Absalom have with him Ahithophel, yet God can 'make his counsel foolish;' though Sennacherib his armies be strong, yet may he lose them all, and himself also be murdered by his sons in the temple of his gods. And as the Scripture teacheth us this of Absalom, Sennacherib, Idumeans, so must we think it to be verified against all that deal as they did. Wherein, not to call you to consider the Scribes and Pharisees' dealing against our Saviour and his apostles, I come to the papists. Wherein I commend the consideration hereof to such as peruse the story of the church, how God hath taken wisdom from them, and bereft them of their stout men. Even from the time that Wycliffe in England, John Huss and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, made profession of the gospel, how things amongst them have fallen from evil to worse, even their own complaints do sufficiently shew, namely, by the Councils of Constance and Basil, and of Æneas Sylvius, and by whole countries falling away from them. Luther, against whom they most speak all wicked speeches, how wonderfully was he holpen by the mighty hand of God, whenas they by their dealing set forward that which he preached; which seeing they will reject when it is taught them out of Sleidan,* let them learn of Guicciardini, declaring that Pope

* Sleidan, lib. i. et xxiii.

Leo the Tenth was the cause of that which was done in Germany,* when his bulls and indulgences were sent in such vile and beastly manner, that they were sold in shops, and so that the sellers and merchants played the money they took for them at dice; and all the world knew that the money was not gathered (as they pretended) to make war against the Turks, but indeed to maintain the pomp and lust of the pope's sister, who had made a bishop her deputy for that purpose. Wherefore he saith that the pope went about indeed to suppress that Luther had preached, but he used not fit medicines; and though he excommunicated them that followed him, yet he redressed not the fault he spake against. Whereby it is declared how God 'took away wisdom' (from the Idumeans) from Pope Leo; since which time what success hath followed in England, Scotland, Poland, and other countries, the world seeth, and we perceive how God in part hath fulfilled that which he here threateneth, that their 'wise men should fail, and their strong men perish.' The full accomplishment we yet see not, the time being not yet come; for God hath his degrees. But howsoever the Jesuits make show of wisdom and knowledge, yet God can take both wisdom and knowledge from them; as we see he hath done, both in their doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies especially, wherein their folly most notably appeareth. Let any man read their pontifical, and let him say whether God hath not taken all their wisdom from them. Lord, finish thy work which thou hast begun; take 'wisdom and strength from the mount of Esau, that mount Sion may rejoice,' &c.

* Guicciard. lib. xiii. ad annum 1520; et Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. lib. xxvii.

SERMON VI.

For thy cruelty against thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever. When thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away his substance, and strangers entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them.—OBADIAH, VER. 10, 11.

OUR Saviour, to kindle the minds of his disciples with a desire to go on towards heaven, and not to look back to the enticements of the world, willeth them to 'remember Lot's wife,' Luke xvii. 32, whereby he teacheth us, that in the stories of the Scriptures we are not only to note the event, as, namely, that she was 'turned into a pillar of salt,' but the causes also; as for that she being delivered from Sodom, yet, contrary to God's commandment, looked back again to it,—the which thing the prophet setteth here before us in the destruction of the Idumeans; for having hitherto declared the event which should fall on them, namely, that they should be brought down and destroyed by such means as God had appointed, notwithstanding all their wisdom and strength, he in this place sheweth the cause hereof, which was their

cruelty against their brethren: 'For thy cruelty against thy brother,' Gen. xxv. 25. The nations of the Jews and Idumeans came by descent from Abraham and Isaac, for which cause they are called brethren; and as the proper name of Edom is used to signify his offspring, so are the Jews noted by the name of Jacob, brother of Edom; wherefore, denouncing here utter destruction to the Idumeans for their hard dealing towards the Jews, he saith, 'For thy cruelty against thy brother.'

The cruelty shewed was, that when strangers and aliens, even the Chaldeans, took Jerusalem and spoiled it, 'dividing the prey by lot,' after the manner of soldiers, and 'carrying away' their substance, they 'stood on the other side,' not only not helping them in this their great necessity, but even furthering what

they could their destruction. For when Nebuchadnezzar (as it is recorded in the 2d of the Chronicles, the last chapter ver. 17, 18, 19), carried away the treasure of Jerusalem, burnt the temple, pulled down the walls, made havoc of the people; the Idumeans stood by crying, 'Raze it even to the foundations,' Ps. cxxxviii. 7; neither only exhorted they the Chaldeans to this cruelty, but put their hands also thereunto, and did even as they, which appeareth in the 12th, 13th, and 14th verses, by the rehearsal of the particulars. But at this time it shall be enough to observe in general, the cruelty of the Idumeans against the Jews in these two verses: 'For thy cruelty against thy brother Jacob.'

The Hebrew word used in this place, **סמך**, signifieth any wrong done by force and injury; and so for the agreement of Simeon and Levi in that cruel murder of Shechemites, it is said, Gen. xlix. 5, 7, that the 'instruments of cruelty were in their habitations.' Sometimes also it is used for such wrong as is done by fraud and subtilty, as when false witnesses are called 'witnesses of cruelty,' Ps. xxxv. 11, or cruel witnesses. In this place it is taken for both, for they are accused of cruelty, not only for that they entered into the gate in the day of destruction, 'laid hand on their substance, stood in cross ways to cut off them that should escape,' but also for that they 'helped them not, but looked on their affliction, and rejoiced at it.' Whereby we are taught to withhold both our hands and hearts from all kind of cruelty, whether it be wrought by force or fraud, neither to have * any by deeds, not by affection, and that we are not to suffer any to be harmed, whom we may rescue and deliver; which is a lesson for us to be learned and practised towards all men. For 'God created man in his own image,' Gen. i. 27, standing in perfect righteousness, which although by the sin of Adam it be defaced, yet is this image remaining in some part, and very notable monuments thereof as yet remain even in the most corrupt; whereupon the heathen, by the light of nature, gathered that, because of that conjunction of men in humanity, they were one to love another, and detest all cruelty;† whence those general laws of courtesy arose, to shew the way to him that wandereth, to suffer another to light at our candle, not to debar any of our water stream, to help with our counsel such as needed it. And so we see the Samaritan, Luke x. 30, 33, finding the wounded person (though likely a Jew, who were because of their religion so great enemies, that they would neither eat nor talk, nor have any familiarity one with another), yet moved with natural affection, 'when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, bound up his wounds, poured in oil and wine, put him on his own beast, brought him to an inn, and made provision for him.' Which duty, that it hindeth all by the general law, which is, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' our Saviour

* Qu. 'harm'?—Ed.

† Cic. offic. lib. i. et ii.

sheweth, when hereupon he willett the Scribe, to whom he telleth this history, to 'go his ways, and do likewise,' ver. 37. Wherefore seeing, by the law of nature and reason, and the bond of humanity, we are to love all men, it is manifest that then we are to abhor and refrain from all injuries whatsoever.

But if neither the law of God, reason, nor nature, can move us hereunto, let us consider the punishment which is threatened, and hath lighted on them that have not fulfilled this law; for albeit the punishment which is here laid down, is not threatened to each sort of men that shew cruelty to another whatsoever, yet in the holy Scriptures there are some plagues denounced against every one whatsoever. The cruelty of the old world was chiefly shewed upon the brood of Cain, yet the Lord said to Noah, that 'the earth was filled with cruelty,' Gen. vi. 13, wherefore he would destroy it. The Shechemites were aliens to Israel, yet they unlawfully possessed that which belonged to Jacob and his sons; yet because Simeon and Levi murdered them in so cruel manner, Gen. xxxiv. 25, Jacob 'curseth their wrath, because it was cruel, and their rage, for that it was fierce,' Gen. xlix. 7, wherefore he saith that they should be 'divided in Jacob, and scattered in Israel.' A man would have thought the zeal of Saul had been praiseworthy when he slew the Gibeonites, which were a remnant of the cursed Amorites, but the Lord plagued Israel for it, 2 Sam. xxi. 1, neither ceased the famine, till such time as David delivered up to be hanged of Saul's sons seven, as the Gibeonites demanded, which being done the plague ceased. So greatly doth the Lord detest tyranny and cruelty, though it be shewed to the brood of Cain, towards uncircumised Shechemites, or profane Gibeonites, yea, on such whom he hath in his judgment appointed to destruction, though not by that means.

Whosoever he shall be therefore, with whom thou shalt have to deal, I say not if he be a papist but a Jew, but he be a Turk or atheist, or whatsoever infidel, remember to use him as a man, even because he is a man. Man cannot be god to man; it was an higher title than ought to have been given either of Cicero to Lentulus, or Virgil to Augustus;* but if any man play the part of Lyaon, and become a wolf, then shall not the punishment of Lyaon be removed from him.† The Idumeans, how wicked they were, and how they were threatened, we see here; yet when the king of Moab had taken the king of the Idumeans' son, and burnt him on the wall, in hope to get by that means the victory, the Lord threatened by Amos, chap. ii. 1, 'For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not turn it away; because it burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime: therefore I will send a fire into Moab: I will cut off the judge out of the midst thereof, and will slay all the

* Eclog. i.

† Pausanias in Arcadicis, Ovid Metaph. lib. i.

princes thereof with him;' for 'with what measure we mete, with the same shall it be measured to us again.' The Idumeans were wicked, yet because they burnt the king's son so cruelly, they shall be burnt for it themselves.

As God is the creator of all, so is he also the Saviour of all concerning the blessings of this life. But as he is called the Saviour of all, but chiefly of the elect, 1 Tim. iv. 10, so detesteth he all cruelty that is done to any, but especially that which is shewed towards his people; which is clear by this which is here said, that because of his cruelty towards Jacob, &c. Such are all his chosen servants, as the prophet in the psalm saith, Ps. cxxxv. 4, that 'the Lord hath chosen Jacob for himself, and Israel his chosen treasure.' By the name, then, of Jacob are all the chosen represented, for all believers are of the seed of Abraham, Rom. ix. 4, 7, 8, the children of Jacob, they that are his chosen. Of whom he hath such care, that he 'rebuketh even kings for their sakes.' Abimelech, whenas unaware he would have taken Sarah, whom Abraham said to be his sister, the Lord in a dream forbiddeth him, that unless he withheld himself he was but a dead man, Gen. xx. 30. Pharaoh oppresseth them; the Lord delivereth them, and drowneth him, Exod. xiv. 27. For God remembereth for ever the covenant which he made with Abraham, and the oath which he sware unto Jacob. Yea, though they were 'but a few, and strangers in the land,' Ps. cv. 12, 15, yet he 'suffered no man to do them violence, but reproveth kings, &c. Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.' All Christians are the Lord's anointed, and all are prophets in some sort, though not in special, as was Abraham; and this promise is made to a thousand generations. Wherefore, as the Lord promiseth that he will punish Damascus, Tyrus, &c., for their iniquity and cruelty towards his people, Amos i., ii., so assuredly shall just punishment follow all them that shall behave themselves in such order; yea, the punishment that is threatened Moab is in some respect for Israel's sake, because that cruelty was shewed on the king of Edom's son, when the Idumeans took part with Israel. 'For three transgressions, and for four;' as though he should say, Though they have committed many iniquities, which I have spared, yet because they continue to oppress my people, I will pour out my vengeance on them, so that the fire shall fall upon their walls and consume them, even according to their iniquity against the people of God. And the metaphor of fire here used putteth us in mind of the general promise of God to all his children, namely, that he will be 'a wall of fire about them,' Zech. ii. 5, to shield and defend them, that who approacheth to them shall be consumed. For God taketh it as done to himself whatsoever is practised against his servants; whosoever toucheth them toucheth him. When Sennacherib had bragged against the

Jews, and threatened them in most cruel manner, the Lord, speaking to him by the prophet, saith, not because thou handlest my servant so cruelly, but 'because thou ragest against me, I will put my hook in thy nose, and bring thee home,' Isa. xxxvii. 29: as the Lord did indeed, where his own sons, while he was worshipping his idols, murdered him. I need not speak of Herod, Diocletian, Julian, &c., of whom the ecclesiastical histories* write, which plainly shew, that like sins provoke like plagues. To be cruel therefore against Jacob is an offence which draweth with it great vengeance.

Which as it is great, by whomsoever it be committed, so is it of necessity much more if it be committed by him that is brother to Jacob. Wherefore the prophet saith, 'for thy cruelty to thy brother;' the indignity whereof is amplified in the words following, where, speaking of them that spoiled and ransacked their city, and slew them, he saith, 'and thou also wast as one of them.' For although we be bound to abstain from all inhumanity, yet are we more bound to refrain from it, towards such as are of the same country, city, society, kindred, &c.; and though we be to love all men, yet are we not to love all men alike. For our Saviour himself, though he loved 'all those whom the Father had given him,' yet certain it is that he loved John more entirely than any of the rest, so that he is noted by that title, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' John xxi. 20. So that here by the name of brother, added by our prophet, we may gather the sin of Edom to be the greater, because he dealt thus with him that was his kinsman according to the flesh. For the bonds of nature remain still, notwithstanding religion, which cometh by grace. The heathen, entreating of the duties which men owe one to another, maketh the first degree to contain all men, because they be men;† the next, such as are of one people, language, city, kindred; the nearest of man and wife, children, &c.; which doctrine is a remnant of that light wherewith Adam in his perfect knowledge was endowed. For even so God requireth greater courtesies to be shewed by the Israelites to the Idumeans than to other strangers; and Moses giveth the reason, 'because he is thy brother;' and yet greater of the Jews one to another; greater also of such as are of the same kindred, as St Paul teacheth, 'If any have nephews or kinsmen,' &c, whereby he sheweth that he is first to provide for them; and again, 1 Tim. v. 8, 'If there be any man that provideth not for his own, and, namely, for them of his household, he denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel.' He hath denied the faith, for faith dissolveth not these duties which children owe to their parents, parents to their children, &c. He is 'worse than an infidel,' because amongst them the fathers cast not off their children, the children do their best to help their parents in their

* Sulpit. Severus, lib. ii.

† Cic. lib. i. Offic.

need. Let us learn therefore to be wise in performing the duty we owe to all men, according to the degrees by God prescribed, considering the prophet here sheweth that the Idumeans should have been more courteous and gentle to Jews, because they were brethren.

Sic fratrem Pollux alternâ morte redemit
Itque reditque viam toties.*

God forbid we should shew such deadly hatred as was between Eteocles and Polynices! From this affinity which is of them which come of the same parents, we are to rise to them of one city, nation, &c.; and so to them also of one league and one accord. Hiram and David, though not brethren by the flesh, yet in amity and league, so that Solomon the successor so also calleth him, 1 Kings ix. 13. If I require the same of us towards the French and Scots, and other our confederates, it is no more than the Tyrian prince received at the hands of David and Solomon. Now how much more, if an Englishman do an injury to an Englishman, may he that standeth by say, 'Why strive you together, seeing you be brethren?' I come nearer, to them that are of one corporation, yea, of one society, having, as it were, one father, joined in one fellowship of study and learning, wherein Cicero requireth a likelihood of manners and affection. But the nearest bond of all is religion, whereof they be all brethren, by one Father, of heaven, Mal. ii. 10, born of one mother the church, Gal. iv. 26, fed with one bread of life, preserved by one hope, justified by one faith, sanctified by one Spirit, serving one God, the only Lord of all, &c., 1 Cor. x. 3, 17. For, though the papists speak scornfully of this name, that the faithful call one another *brethren*, they being desirous to defend that peevish and superstitious distinction of such as call themselves *friars* or *brethren*, yet in the Acts of the Apostles we know that the name is common to all Christians, and not proper, as they would have it, to any one sect, no more than the name of Jesuits, which some of them would appropriate to themselves.

Now, as St Paul, Eph. iv. 4, would have us to 'do good to all men, but especially to them that are of the household of faith,' so are we with this bond of religion tied so much the faster, as grace is superior to nature. Wherefore we are to remember the exhortation of the apostle hereupon, 'that no man oppress his brother, for the Lord is a revenger of such things,' 1 Thes. iv. 6. What, then, shall become of them who, neglecting the bonds of nature and grace, deal with their brethren no otherwise than did the Idumeans with the Israelites, carrying away the substance, rejoicing at their harms, standing on the other side? What shall we say of them who deal with their brother Naboth, as Ahab and Jezebel did, 1 Kings xxi. 1; whose hands be full of blood, and their houses stuffed with bribes; which grind the faces of the poor, pull

* Virg. *Æn.* vi. v. 121.

the skin from their flesh, break their bones in pieces, and chop them as meat for the pot, Micah iii. 2, 3; of such as eat and devour up their brethren with usury, which consume them by law and suit, which spoil them by monopolies, by engrossing, by false wares, subtle bargains, by enclosing of commons, enhancing of rents, by robbing the church, in pulling away the maintenance of the ministers, possessing their right by impropriations, by impoverishing colleges, by thrusting labourers and husbandmen out of their house-ground, and placing there a shepherd with his dog, by 'joining house to house,' land to land, living to living,' Isa. v. 8, as though they meant alone to live upon the earth; and shall not the dogs once lick these men's blood, and the fowls of the air feed on their carcases; or shall not hell open her mouth wide, to swallow down their glory, riches, and themselves also? Shall not the Lord say in that last day to all these, 'Depart from me, ye wicked,' to dwell with the devil and his angels. Nay, shall it not be more dreadful for them than this, if anything may be? For he cannot say to these men, 'Depart from me; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I thirsted, and ye gave me no drink,' &c., Mat. xxv. 34, &c.; but rather he may say, Depart from me, for I had meat, and by force you took it from me; I had drink, and you spoiled me of it; I had a house, and you thrust me out of it; I had clothes, and you pulled them from my back; I was in health, and ye drove me into sickness; I was at liberty, and you imprisoned me. Who is wise to consider this while it is time, lest that hour come on him unawares, which shall come on all of them as a snare? Wherefore, let us remember the words of the prophet, 'For thy cruelty towards thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee.'

But the hand of the papists hath been chief in cruelty, and therefore we may be sure shall be chief in the punishment. For their brethren, which only desired redress, and sought after reformation of their disorders, they have not only cast off, but destroyed, and that in most savage manner. Yea, they have done that which hardly hath been found in any barbarians, having taken up bodies when they were dead (yea, rotten), and have burnt them as lime. To speak nothing of their lesser cruelty, as of those great numbers which they have roasted, but to take away all pretence, the first whom they murdered, John Huss, called to their council by safe conduct of the emperor, did they not, contrary to all right and their own faith, burn him, when he had committed himself into their hands? * Insomuch that the emperor Sigismund, could not be satisfied for the breaking of

* Vid. narrat. de exhumatione, Bucerii et Phagii, Tracæi, Wicæsi, an. Dom. 1528. Witness Gulielm. Linwood (who then lived) glos. in Provinc. constit. Angl. tit. de Magist. cap. ii. for Wycliffe died 1385, Walsing. in Hypodigm. Neustr. p. 537.

his promise, till by their decree, which is in the tenth session of that council, they signified that their authority was such that they might disannul what he had appointed. And a silly shift is that of our countryman, who, to solve the matter saith, *Imperator promissit, orbis Christianus, major imperatore, dissolvit*.^{*} What, I pray you, calleth he *orbem Christianum*, but the bishops gathered together thither? And had they authority over their emperor, to cause him break his word and faith, &c.? Even so Saul, 2 Sam. xxi., thought it lawful for him to break the oath which Joshua had made to the Gibeonites, Josh. ix. But themselves do at last begin to be ashamed of this dealing; howbeit it is recorded to their eternal shame and reproach, that they not only have burned men's bones as lime, but that against all equity, their own word and promise; so that they are enforced to defend it with that axiom of theirs, which the very heathen would be ashamed of, *Fides data hæreticis non est serranda*.

'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent to thee, how often would, &c.; therefore is thy habitation left desolate,' Mat. xxiii. 27. If their habitation was left desolate because they slew the prophets, then much more papists', for they have slain both prophets and people. I will not speak of the fires which they have kindled in all places, neither of the Spanish inquisition (which, for the cruelty of it, is even become a proverb). The massacres in France† have no excuse in the world. But they have not here made an end, but from prophets and people, they have set upon princes, as the late attempt upon her Majesty plainly declared. For though God suffered not the light of Israel (as David's people spake of him, 2 Sam. xxi. 17), to be extinguished, yet it was no less cruelty in them, who had fully purposed to have done it; and whereas they have had some pretence for their other dealings, there is none in the world for this. The rebels in the north made protestation, that they meant not to take away

the prince, but certain bald counsellors, as they said, who were about her.^{*} The late libeller (concerning Ireland) saith that the pope hath of old had title unto it, and princes are not wont to lose their titles, though they have no possession; but this commending of the practice of the altar, the suborning of such a subject to dispossess his lawful prince, not only of living, but of life too, what man not besotted can choose but detest? When there was war betwixt Pyrrhus king of Epirus and the Romans, Pyrrhus's physician made promise unto Fabricius that he would privily despatch him,† which Fabricius refused, and sent him back to his master, declaring the matter unto him, and counselling him to look to himself. O Lord, how much worse are the popish Romans than the old Romans! They would not receive a man that offered to do such a mischief, these prick men forward, and seek after with great rewards such as will attempt it; they discovered it to their enemies, and warned them to look to themselves, these hasten the matter by what means they can; they thought it altogether unlawful, and detested it as abominable, these commend it as lawful, and defend it to be meritorious. When Pyrrhus for a recompence sent them back some of their soldiers which they had taken, they would not receive [of] him a reward for that which they thought humanity required, but sent him back as many prisoners of theirs. These labour by all means to keep the matter close, and think it happy for him that can do it; and may we not then say, that undoubtedly Fabricius shall rise at the last day in judgment against them? The blood of Abel crieth for vengeance against all those who thirst after the blood, both of prophets, people, and of prince. Behold, O Lord, thy sanctuary with the eyes of mercy and compassion, infatuate the counsel of Ahithophel, disappoint the practices of the bloodthirsty and cruel men, that we, being safe under the shadow of thy wings against all the cruelty of thy enemies, may see thy judgments upon the cruel Idumeans, and glorify thy name therefor.

^{*} *Campian* rat. iv. Cæsar obsignavit, Christianus orbis resignavit, major Cæsare.

† *Vid. Comment. de Relig. et Repub. in Regno Gall.*

^{*} See Cardinal Alane's Epistles.

† *Cic. de offic. lib. iii. et in Lælio.*

SERMON VII.

But thou shouldst not have beholden the day of thy brother in the day that he was made a stranger; neither shouldst thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of her destruction; thou shouldst not have spoken insolently in the day of affliction. Thou shouldst not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their destruction; neither shouldst even thou have looked on their affliction in the day of their distress, nor have laid hands on their substance in the day, &c.: neither shouldst thou have stood in the cross-ways, to cut off them that should escape; neither shouldst thou have betrayed the remnant in the day of their destruction.—OBADIAH, Ver. 12-14.

THE prophet having generally in the former verses delivered the cause of the destruction of the Idumeans, viz., their cruelty which they shewed to the Israelites their brethren, when Jerusalem was sacked, at what time they shewed themselves as their enemies, he doth now in these words particularly lay

the same out, that the poisoned sore of their barbarousness being declared, the justice of God in cutting them off might be shewed unto them.

Which causes in particularity are delivered by way of admonition, wherein is opened what they should have done; and they concern either,

1. Their affections ; or,
2. Their actions.

1. Their affections, hatred and envy, testified by their gladness and rejoicing at their harms and afflictions.

2. Their actions are either concerning,

(1.) Words, which were proud and spiteful: *Thou shouldst not have spoken insolently ; or,*

(2.) Concerning deeds, spoiling them [1.] of goods ; *entered into the gate ; laid hand on substance : [2.] of life ; stood in the breach to cut off them that escaped ; betrayed the remnant.*

Wherefore in these points consisted the cruelty of Edom, in wishing, speaking, and doing evil against Israel.

Well-willers cannot look on our miseries, or abide to see them, for grief and sorrow. As we read of Hagar the mother of Ishmael, that, when her son was like to die for water, she cast the child under the tree, and went and sat over against him afar off ; for she said, ' I will not see the death of the child,' Gen. xxi. 15, 16. But here the evil will, that the Edomites bore, appeareth, and the harm they wished them, in that they ' rejoiced to look upon the affliction of their brethren.'

Neither could they keep this evil will within them, but they uttered it in their speech, ' speaking proudly' against them, or as it is in the Hebrew, making their mouth great or wide, **תנרל**. Which here being plainly set down, is by others elsewhere more plainly opened, when they cried, Ps. cxxxvii., ' Raze it, raze it, even to the foundations ;' and again, Ezek. xxxv. 10 and xxv. 8, ' Behold the house of Judah is like unto all the heathen.'

Besides, here they stayed not ; but to their evil will and naughty words they added naughty deeds, for they ' entered into the gate, laid hands on their substance ;' and, as though it had been a small thing to rob them, they proceeded further, and took away their lives, by killing some by present death, for whom they waited in the breaches ; others by lingering death, whom they betrayed, that so they might die in torments and captivity. And all these, albeit very grievous in themselves, yet are more increased by the circumstances,

1. Of persons ; and 2, of times.

1. Persons. (1.) *By whom ; a brother ;* wherefore add, ' neither oughtest thou,' to note the indignity. (2.) *Against whom ; a brother ;* not beholding the day of thy brother. (3.) *My people.*

2. The circumstance also of the time increaseth the cruelty ; *in the day he was made a stranger, in the day of affliction.* Whereby is declared what marvellous savage hearts they bore ; for then even enemies are moved to pity. Wherefore, to shew the grievousness in respect hereof, this clause is repeated in each branch.

And when it is also said that they ' stood in the breach and betrayed the remnant,' not sparing such

as had escaped, we see that on all sides their cruelty is amplified.

Wherefore they are justly reprov'd when they are admonished not to have done that which they did. By which reproof of Edom we are admonished to have two things, if we will neither be idle nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, namely,

1. Patience, in that they did ;
2. Brotherly love, in that they should have done.

1. It is a hard and heavy message, that the children of God must suffer so great misery and cruelty, and to bear it also ; a great grief it is, that our enemies should look on our affliction, and rejoice ; greater to enter into our gates and take away our goods, greatest of all to take away our life ; yet is it more than this, to kill us after we have escaped ; especially to suffer all this of our brethren. Yet is there no remedy : the godly in all this must be patient, and suffer all these things ; and that not only of strangers, but also of our brethren.

' The gate that leadeth to life is narrow and strait.' We are to sit down and cast accounts, for we are to build a costly work. We are born as the sons of Jacob under the bondage of Pharaoh, so under the thralldom of Satan, that spiritual Pharaoh. Christ is our Moses, by whom, through baptism, as through the Red Sea, we are led to the land of promise ; but before we come thither we are to pass through the wilderness, where is want of meat and drink, and other necessities, besides wild beasts and noisome serpents, &c. Yet this must we pass through before we can come to Canaan, that is, heaven, which floweth, not as did that with milk and honey, but with such joy and comfort as tongue cannot utter, neither have at any time entered into the heart of man.

Now seeing, unless we pass through the wilderness, we cannot enter into Canaan, we must be content to bear whatsoever affliction is therein ; but if we murmur and rebel, he hath sworn in his wrath that we shall not enter into his rest. So hard a thing is it, nay, so impossible, to enter heaven, but through many tribulations.

' If any man will come after me,' saith our Saviour, ' let him take up his cross daily, and follow me.' The death of the cross was not only most grievous, but most shameful also ; and so much the more, for that such as were to be handled most despitefully were put to carry their cross themselves, for they had favour shewed them who had others to help ; yet were not this worst, if they were to do it but once, or to die but once, but when we are commanded to do it daily, it is a sore matter ; yet must those that will follow Christ be content to do it, to bear all affliction, even most grievous and shameful, even the cross. For Christian men's life is death, and that daily, that they may say with the church, ' For thy sake are we killed daily,' not the whole day only, but every day. Christ Jesus the Son of God, who ' thought it not

robbery to be like unto God,' was content for our sake to endure all miseries, even the death of the cross, with all the indignities that Edom put Judah unto. For they in the day of his affliction stood staring and looking upon him, they rejoiced against him; those goods he had they took and divided amongst them, lastly, they put him to a most villanous death, as himself had before shewed by David, a figure of him: 'I am become a stranger to my brethren, an alien to my mother's children.' 'They stood staring and looking on me, they gave me gall,' &c.; 'all that look on me have me in derision,' &c.; 'dogs have compassed me about, &c.; they part my garments amongst them, and cast lots on my vesture; they pierced my hands and feet,' &c. For albeit that some of these things were performed against our Saviour by the heathen, yet were both Pilate and the soldiers but ministers of the Jews, his brethren, who were they that sought for him, betrayed him, delivered, accused him of treason, and that cried out against him, 'Crucify him,' &c.

This example of Christ, who was thus cruelly entreated and put to death in such pitiful sort by his brethren, is set forth for a pattern to us, to learn by like patience to suffer the like cruelty; because, indeed, that we are prepared and ordained for the like, as Peter declareth, 1 Peter ii. 21, 'Hereunto are ye called; for Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps.' And Paul saith that we are 'hereunto predestinate, to be made like unto the image of the Son of God;' and, 'if we will reign with him, we must also suffer with him.'

The primitive church, which immediately followed Christ, had sufficient proof hereof, as in the stoning of Stephen, Acts vii., the imprisonment of Peter, the often persecutions, even by the professors of the faith, and such as in part had it, of all the church, especially of Paul, who was 'abundant in labours, in stripes above measure, in prison plenteously, in death oft, in perils among his own nation, among false brethren,' 2 Cor. xi. 23. Afterward, how barbarously the true Christians were dealt withal by the Donatists, Circumcellians, &c., who dismembered their bodies, put out their eyes, beheaded and burned them under the emperors Valentinus, &c., the monuments of those days and the ecclesiastical histories do abundantly shew.

And in our time, the papists have in this point dealt so outrageously, that all the other which we have mentioned seemeth nothing to it. A fresh example whereof is that committed by them about this time thirteen years, in Paris, under Charles the 9th, when in that realm there were slain thirty thousand Christians, and that not in war or battle mentioned, as was this of the Idumeans, but under the pretence of friendship, shadowed by the marriage of the king's sister to a Christian prince.* In which most treacherous and

* Vid. Comment. de statu Relig. et Reipub. in Regno Gall. par. ii., &c.

bloody practice were all the points observed that are here noted in the Idumeans.

Looked. For it is recorded that on Bartholomew night the queen mother, with the rest, went out of the palace to see the carcases of such as they had murdered in the city.* And besides, when they caused the body of that worthy admiral to be hanged upon the gibbet, they went out of the city to fill their eyes with that cruel sight.

Rejoiced. They caused, for joy hereof, procession to be made throughout Paris; and when Gregory XIII. heard of it, he caused the like joy to be shewed in his city, the guns to be shot off from his castle of Saint Angelo, and mass to be sung in honour of this noble deed in Saint Lucius' Church, a French saint.† And so, as in that city neither Sylla, Cæsar, nor any other, had ever triumphed over citizens, though overcome with just war, not traitorously murdered by unjust cruelty. Moreover, by parliament it was enacted, that in memory hereof there should be kept each year, on St Bartholomew day, a general procession through Paris.

Opened the mouth. Which appeareth by the words of the king, who, swearing after his manner, said, that heaven with its weather seemed to rejoice at their deeds; words of the murderers of the admiral, &c. And by the words of the president of the parliament of Paris,‡ who signified that all was done by the king's authority (contrary to that which he had, in his letters, signified to other princes), commending the whole deed with that saying of Louis, one of their kings, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, He knows not how to reign that knows not how to feign.§ Besides the thing commended with an *oration*, and the cardinal of Lorraine set up *monuments* of it, which also Genebrard and Surtus, the most impudent bolsecks that ever wrote,|| have in their chronicle commended with this slander, that it was done because of their conspiracy.

Ransacking substance. They not only entered into the gate, but houses of the oppressed, rifling them at their pleasures; yea, so greedy were they of gain, that they slew some that were very papists,¶ to the end that some of their complices, which were next to possess their goods, might by that means be enriched.

Slain. How they slew not only those that fell into their hands, but such as were escaped also, may appear by the sending of letters, after this butchery done at Paris, to Lyons, and other places, that they might, to fill up the measure of the king's iniquity, destroy the remnant.**

We here in England have not yet (God be praised),

* Vid. part 4, sub Carolo 9. lib. x., xi., xii., fol. 39, &c., 42.

† Ubi supra, fol. 56.

‡ Christop. Thuanus, ann. 1572, vid. ubi supra, fol. 43.

§ *Loco supra citato*, this speech commended by Thuanus.

|| Vid. eos anno 1571.

¶ Vid. fol. 41, et passim.

** Fol. 44, 45, &c.

felt this manner of cruelty ; but seeing it is our lot to abide it, we must, for our part, be prepared for it, and arm ourselves with patience against it come, though we be not free presently, for all that they dare do ; for there want not among us false brethren, or such as in their hearts murder us. And, albeit we suffer not so much as Abel did of Cain, yet feel we as much as Isaac did of Ishmael, namely, scoffs and slanders. Such were David's brethren, of whom he saith that they tore him in pieces ; his ' familiar friends with whom he took sweet counsel,' &c., which is so certain to befall likewise unto us, that our Saviour, out of the prophet Micah, chap. vii. 5, 6, saith that ' the son shall rise against the father, &c., and a man's enemies shall be even they of his own household.' But, as it is there by the prophet laid down for a comfort to the godly, vers. 8-10, ' Let not the enemy rejoice, for though I fall, yet shall I rise again, &c., mine eyes shall behold her ; now shall she be trodden down, as the mire in the streets.'

2. The second thing to be of us considered, was in that which they should not have done ; wherein, as hath been said, we are moved to brotherly kindness. Wherein I request you to remember the points of cruelty which have been laid out, and said to have been found in them.

(1.) *Rejoice.* This joy at other's harms ought to be far from us, being a token of hatred and envy, Ezek. xxxv. For if we go to the root, as it is delivered elsewhere, it is evident that it proceedeth from an evil mind ; for whom men hate, him wish they evil unto, and would gladly see it fall on him.* Wherefore it proceedeth from the heart, as even the outward gesture also ; which our Saviour declareth, when he saith, that ' out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, &c., and an evil eye,' meaning the effects of an evil eye and envious. For many there are that see well, and yet have evil eyes ; namely, such as delight at the harm of their brother, and sorrow at his good. Wherefore we must beware of both effects, namely, that we neither behold the prosperity of others with grief, nor their adversity with joy.

And for the former, we must be so much the more diligent in avoiding it, because a good mind is sometimes subject unto it. When a young man told Joshua that Eldad and Medad prophesied in the host, he willed Moses to forbid them, Num. xi. 27. But Moses rebuked him : ' Enviest thou,' saith he, ' for my sake ? yea, would to God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them.'

But as for the latter, which is to rejoice at the adversities of others, it is not so incident to the heart which is sprinkled with any drop of grace ; because that, even naturally, we pity such as be in misery. Howbeit, if there be any such among us, let him remember what the wise man saith : that ' he who

rejoiceth at the harm of another, shall not himself escape unpunished. The sum is this, that we look to our heart, the fountain of these afflictions, and purify it. The heart, as the philosophers say, in natural generation, is first framed, and in spiritual regeneration it is first formed. Wherefore we are first to look that it be pure ; for what the heart conceiveth, that the tongue uttereth, and what the tongue speaketh, the hand practiseth.

(2.) The second thing is, that we speak not against our brethren, neither exhorting the enemies, Ezek. xxv. xxxv., nor scoffing and deriding our brethren, as the Idumeans. To exhort men to do evil, I hope we may learn how dear it will cost us by the example of the Jews, who, exhorting the Romans to slay our Saviour, and being admonished of the great wickedness, answered, ' His blood be upon us and on our children ;' and so it was indeed. But how sore it was upon them the noble* history of Jerusalem's destruction, which followed within the compass of their children's life, doth sufficiently declare, of whom were slain 1,100,000.†

For taunting, as not only doers but abettors are culpable in faults, so these scoffers as well as the doers of evil, and so much the more because they scoff the Lord himself, as when they said, ' The land wherein the Lord is.' How heavy the hand of the Lord was on Rabshakeh for this blasphemy, we have an evident example. I will not go so far in this assembly as to speak of such gross blasphemy, but if there be any among us which are not afraid to abuse the words of Scripture in scoff, as did those wicked Jews which had in their mouth, ' *The burden of the Lord,*' &c., let them consider the punishment threatened against such scorers, and be afraid thereof. A shame it is, if the Council of Trent condemn such wickedness, for us to use it. Wherefore, if any profane cogitations concerning God's word rise in our minds, let us betime quell these imps of Babylon, ' dashing them against the stones,' that they go no further.

(3.) The third thing is, that we take from them, as not their life, so neither their living, whereby their life is maintained ; for although we go not so far as to come to sacking, yet, if we lay hands upon the goods of Judah, whether public or private, we play the part of Edom. I am loath to speak that which I should here touch. Do not they commit this wickedness which take money for that which was provided to maintain the poor, either in the university publicly, or privately in any college ; which sell the poor for shoes, or come not so low as those beggarly judges, but make their own advantage by what means soever ; but they will not say that they lay hands on them, but that they take that which is offered. Alas, poor souls ! do they offer it ? Yea, even as men their purses on Salisbury Plain, they yield their goods to save their lives. This

* *Cic. de Offic.*, lib. ii., Quem quisque odit, periisse expetit.

* Qu. ' notable' ?—ED. † Vid. Hegesip. lib. iv., &c.

was right Verres's answer,* he took nothing but what was offered him; or they will say that themselves receive nothing, but yet, as Mr Latimer† said, their wives shall, or the steward of the kitchen.

Now, if this be blameworthy, being done in private goods, how much more in public; the wise steward, Luke xvi., when he should be put from his office, meaning to provide for a dear year, 'called together all his master's debtors, saying to the first, How much owest thou to my master? and he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said, Take thy writings, set down quickly, and write fifty,' &c. The steward cancelled not the obligations, but made them anew, and so 'made him friends of his master's goods.' I would to God this practice were not too common among us, by public goods to make us private friends in our own suits, &c. 'The Lord commended the wisdom of this unthrifty steward;' he commended his *policy*, not his *honesty*: and, if he were among us and were to speak of stewards, he would commend the policy of our stewards no less than that of the wise steward. The Pharisees gave thirty pence, which were indeed thirty shekels, about, in value, two shillings a piece, which they took out of the public treasury, unto Judas to betray our Saviour. When Judas had returned them, they would not 'put them again into the treasury, because it was the price of blood, but bought therewith a potter's field to bury strangers in.' The Pharisees gave thirty pieces of silver; if it had been thirty pieces of gold, or thrice thirty, it had been fitter for my purpose.

For the sin is, such of them that have given much more out of the public treasury, to compass such things, as when they have them they may betray the souls of Christians. And, whether this practice be rife among us, I leave to their consideration who wisely consider the dealing of the world; but let such men as be faulty herein consider the end of the

* Vid. Cic. Verrin v.

† In his sermon before King Edward.

givers and takers, whereof the one strangled himself, the other were overthrown in the destruction threatened against them, and for the money, what end it had we see; I speak not because it buried strangers, but it served to no purpose but to bury carcases; and so shall this money serve to none other end but to bury, not the carcases but the souls of such in hell fire which stain their hands with it.

(4). The fourth thing is to abstain from murder. I will not propose unto you so high a degree of this sin, but exhort such as to whom it appertaineth, to beware that they murder not the souls whereof they have charge. The surest death, and most pitiful, is the famine of the soul, and the want of the preaching of the word is famine; and reason, in the mouth of the poet, hath taught us that it is a most miserable thing to die with hunger. Wherefore, in this case, it belongeth to masters who have charge and care of servants, pastors of flocks, magistrates of people, to see that they be not negligent in their duty, and that their hand be not deep in this iniquity, and that they be not defiled with the blood of souls, which Christ hath redeemed with his precious blood. Oh that they would at length consider wisely of it! And here should I speak to the magistrate of the city, if he were present, in that matter which hath been often moved unto him, for the provision for such as might minister the word unto them, which, in the apostle's judgment, is necessary. 'No man, at any time, goeth to war on his own charges;' and, if this city can be content to set out soldiers for the prince, will they not be prevailed to furnish soldiers against Satan, the enemy of their souls, against whom they are continually to strive? The example of Cambridge hath been proposed unto them, but if they were not worse than them of Asia, and the barbarians of Macedonia, they would be moved to do somewhat herein. These were content to send relief to the saints at Jerusalem, but they will not succour such as are amongst them, which are not troubled with bodily but spiritual hunger.

SERMON VIII.

For the day of the Lord is near upon all the heathen: as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy reward shall return upon thine head. When you have drunk upon mine holy mountain, all the heathen shall drink continually; yea, they shall drink and swallow up, and they shall be as though they had not been.—
OBADIAH, Ver. 15, 16.

THE thoughts and affections of man's heart are so corrupt and froward, that he is seldom by commandment restrained from evil, unless there be adjoined to the breach of the commandment some punishment. Neither are we always moved therewithal, especially if we know or be persuaded that that which is threatened be far off. For it befalleth very often that the pleasant lust and pleasure of sin for a season overweigheth the fear which we should conceive of the punishment which is yet to come, according to

that of the wise man, Eccles. viii. 11: 'Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the children of men is fully set in them to do evil.' The prophet, weighing this, thought it a small thing to teach us by the wickedness of the Idumeans, that we should fall after the same manner of sin, and therefore putteth us also in mind of the punishment which was to light on the ungodly. Which also he doth the rather, to comfort the godly, for so grievous as the calamities which for the present

time the best are both to see and feel, that unless they 'went into the sanctuary of the Lord,' to 'see the end of these men' whom 'God hath set in slippery places,' it must needs fall out that 'their feet should slip, and their goings slide,' Ps. lxxiii. Wherefore, to raise up the spirit, which striveth against the flesh, and to beat down the flesh, which fighteth against the spirit, the Lord saith by the prophet, 'For the day,' &c.

By the day of the Lord is meant the time of the Lord's judgment: that is, the time which he hath appointed to execute judgment. By the heathen are meant the nations set against the Jews; as were the Philistines, Tyrians, Moabites, Babylonians, &c., and such as were mentioned, Jeremiah xxv., where the matter which is here handled generally is more fully in particular opened. And as Edom is amongst them there counted, so here, having in the former verse opened the threat against all enemies, in the verse following is he namely mentioned. Howbeit, lest the Jews should in the mean season be discouraged and broken, with the manifold miseries which they abode, he sheweth that their enemies should suffer far greater, and this also to their greater comfort is uttered in God's person, 'On my mountain.'

Afflictions, by a metaphor, are here called a drinking of strong drink, as of wine, because that as men, by taking more than enough, become drunk, so that their heads wax giddy, their bodies distempered, &c., and some so disquieted that they die of it; so men, by suffering afflictions, become astonished, their bodies disordered, &c.

The meaning then is this, that though they endured for a while many and sundry miseries, yet should their enemies feel far greater; for it is said of the godly, that they should 'drink on his holy mountain,' but the heathen 'continually,' implying that they should abide this punishment for a time, but the enemies for ever. Again, that they should 'drink,' but the other should 'drink and swallow up, and be as though they had not been.' Which difference is yet more fully declared by Jeremiah, chap. xxv. 2, 15, 'Take a cup, stagger, wax mad, vomit;' yet of the Jews which were carried captive to Babylon, he saith that after seventy years they should be delivered.

We are to note that sundry temporal things in the Old Testament are shadows of things eternal. Noah his ark, which was borne up by the waters, signified the church borne up and saved by that which baptism representeth; the punishment of Sodom figured the eternal fire; the land of Canaan, whereinto Joshua brought the Israelites, was a sign of the kingdom of heaven, whereunto we are brought through the wilderness of this life by Jesus Christ. So this chastisement for the time of his children, and continual drinking of the ungodly, are figures of the short correction which God will lay on his children, and the most dreadful and eternal punishment which shall fall on the head of the ungodly.

For the mountain signifieth the church; the Jews the godly; their drinking, afflictions. The heathen all ungodly; their continual drinking, their eternal punishment; their swallowing, &c., their torments most grievous, which, though we see partly accomplished in this life, yet shall it more be seen in the life to come. For when the godly have a little suffered here, they shall have 'all tears wiped from their eyes,' and the ungodly shall drink and swallow,' &c.; that is, suffer endless and unspeakable torments.

Hereout are there many things to be observed.

1. *Cause* of these punishments, *for*, respecting the sins in the former verses.

2. *Time* when, *near*.

3. *Equity* of the punishment, *as thou hast done to them*.

4. *Freedom* of the godly, *when you have drunk*.

5. *Grievousness* of the punishment, *continually*.

6. By way of the metaphor of drinking, the filthiness of drunkenness.

1. The iniquities which the Idumeans wrought against the Jews were they that provoked this dreadful vengeance. And because the heathen were like unto them, they are to be punished also in the like manner. The sins of the Idumeans consisted, as hath been before declared, in 'rejoicing at the affliction of their brethren, in 'speaking' evil against them, in 'spoiling' them of their goods and substance, and in 'killing' of their bodies. Wherefore, as hath been said, if we offend in the like, if in greater, we must look to receive the like reward.

So that if our hearts be open to all manner of ungodly thoughts, and wicked lusts, our tongues prepared to unrighteous speech, our hands set to rob, whether it be the goods of private or public persons, if we kill not the bodies but the souls of men, let us learn this lesson, and dread this severe punishment. 'For the wrath of God for such things cometh on the children of unbelief.' For *such things*, saith the apostle, not only for the *same*. 'Enoch prophesied of such, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to give judgment against all men, and to rebuke all the ungodly among them of all their wicked deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all of their cruel speakings which wicked sinners have spoken against him,' Jude 14, &c. The Lord will come to judge the wicked for their deeds, for their cruel speaking, and for their thoughts, the fountain and spring thereof. This was prophesied by Enoch before the flood, and then performed. Jude applieth it as spoken against all the wicked. Paul useth this execration, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, 'If any love not the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed, Maranatha.' The Syriac words signify, *the Lord cometh*, and are the first words of that prophecy of Enoch, a denouncing of that severe punishment, which shall come on the head of all sinners, as certainly as the Lord shall come to judgment. Here, that we deceive not ourselves in

judging of this love to Christ, our Saviour hath set down a ready note to discern it by. 'If ye love me, keep my commandments.' I come not to the particular note of pastors, which our Saviour hath laid down to be this, 'If thou love me, feed my sheep;' 'If thou love me, feed,' &c.; so earnest, so tender, so careful a charge noted in this repetition would be deeply considered of them that are in that place, if there be any love in them; if there be not, then I pronounce not this curse against non-residents, but St Paul doth: 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus'—as these do not which feed not the lambs and sheep of Christ—'let them be accursed, Maranatha.' Here also all hypocritical Christians are warned to consider their ways, which content themselves with an outward profession, and think themselves safe while they remain in the visible church. But our Saviour sheweth, that he is the vine, we the branches, his Father the husbandman, so that each branch, though he be in the outward² bark fastened to the vine, yet if he bring not forth fruit, he is cut off, and cast into the fire. It profiteth him nothing to have been in the vine, if he be fruitless. But if these speeches of Enoch, Jude, Paul, and our Saviour do the less touch us, because they be far off, and so we pamper ourselves, esteeming the pleasures of sin for a season greater treasures than the kingdom of heaven; let us consider the next point;—

2. That is, *near*. When Jonah, sent to the Ninevites, cried in their streets, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed,' the people of Nineveh 'believed God, proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them unto the least.' I have not the function of Jonah, but the commission of John Baptist, Mat. iv., to tell you that 'even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire.' How near or far off it is to every one can I not tell; yet I am certain, that seeing the axe is even now laid to the root, that it is not long to any. Wherefore, 'while it is yet called to-day, let us not harden our hearts,' Heb. iii., 'while it is light, let us walk in the light; while it is day, let us work; the night cometh wherein we shall not work,' and before that day come, which shall make an end of all days. For it is assuredly pronounced to be 'near upon all the wicked.'

This is spoken not only of the particular judgment of each man, but also of that day, so called by an excellency the day of judgment, which God hath appointed wherein to judge the world by Christ, as Paul taught the Thessalonians, which before God, with whom 'a thousand years are but as one day,' is no doubt near, though, as men count far and near, I know not whether it be far or near. 'It is not for us to know the times and seasons, which the Father hath placed in his own power.' He speaketh not only of the certain hour, but of the times in general, so that there is condemned the rash presumption of those which

take upon them to deliver the year and season of the Lord's coming to judgment, as that fond prophecy of Eliah, not the prophet, but a rabbin of the Jews, who hath written that the world should endure but six thousand years, which is a Talmudical dream,* worthy that sink of the Jewish filthiness, which yet neither the Jews from whom it came do believe, for then must they believe that their Messiah is come, which they deny, the world having continued five thousand five hundred and thirty years. So much the more blameworthy are some Christian chronicles, which have alleged this dream as a thing of some weight, and that is worse, have fathered it upon Elijah. Wherefore, whether that great day be far or near off, I know not; neither will I deny that it is near, for it may be nearer than any imagine. For it 'shall come as a thief in the night.' And although mockers and scorners do laugh at it, yet shall they once no doubt feel it.

The particular judgment of the wicked, as it was then said to be near, so may we say that of all such it is so now. For though there were no more but the general administration of things on the earth, we are thereby sufficiently taught, that 'man which is born of a woman hath but a short time to live,' &c., which if it may be truly affirmed of all men, then how much more of the wicked, which 'shall not live out half their days.' Who thought that Sennacherib in all his power should have been murdered of his own children in the temple of his own gods? Who would have believed that Belshazzar, in the midst of his banquet, should have received his sentence of destruction, and so suddenly to be slain by the conspiracy of his subjects? The rich man, whose land was very fruitful, even then when he bade his soul take her rest, had her taken from him. There is none of us hath greater charter of his life than Sennacherib, Belshazzar, or the rich man. Sith that each particular man's judgment cannot be far off, and may be very near; for the old *cannot* live long, the young *may* die very quickly; let us remember to abstain from sins, which then shall be revealed to the confusion of those that have committed them. Let us not flatter ourselves with long days, hoping the punishment shall be deferred, lest that befall us which is reported of the young man in the seventh of the Proverbs, whom the harlot with her craft caused to yield, telling him that her husband was not at home, but was gone a far journey: 'So he was enticed with her flattering lips, and followed her straightways, as an ox that goeth to the slaughter, and as one fettered to the instruction of fools; till a dart struck through his liver.'

Christ is a prince, which indeed is gone into a far country, yet he looketh that his talents, which he hath left behind him, be employed till he come. And he is not gone so far, but that he will come on the sudden

* Vid. Aug. Enarrat. in Ps. lxxxix., and lib. xviii. cap. liii. de Civ. Dei.

again, and 'happy is that servant whom, when he cometh, he shall find doing his duty.'

3. The equity which the Lord will use in this judgment is declared, when it is said, 'As thou hast done, it shall be done to thee; thy reward shall return upon thy head.' Reason plainly sheweth that the punishment should be equal to the faults, as the ancient laws of the Romans, which they received from the Grecians, have plainly declared; but more evidently in the laws of the Hebrews, wherein we must needs think that equity appeared most clear, Lev. xxiv. 19, 20. The law commanded 'a tooth for a tooth, &c.; as he hath done, so let it be done to him.' Adonibezek acknowledged this for a just judgment even by the light of nature, when he confessed, when the thumbs of his feet and hands were cut off, that God had rewarded him, for that he had caused seventy kings, having their thumbs cut off, to gather scraps under his table, Judges i. 7. Absalom killed Amnon his brother, and was not he himself slain? Joab slew Abner and Amasa, but he himself was slain whilst he laid hold on the horns of the altar. But what speak I of several men, seeing this equity of God's judgment shineth most clear in empires and kingdoms, 1 Kings ii. 31; the Assyrians, Macedonians, Babylonians, &c., who as they had spoiled many nations, so were they themselves also spoiled; but most notable in Rome, who in a few years was so often sacked and spoiled by the Goths, Vandals, &c. In our days we have seen that abbeys and monkeries, which had made havoc of churches, and their patrimony, how that God hath taken vengeance of them and spoiled them also.

Now, seeing the judgment is one where [the] sin is one, let such take heed as possess the goods of the church by their punishment, lest that these goods so gotten, as a canker, consume the rest. 'Woe to thee,' saith the prophet, 'that spoilest and was not spoiled; when thou ceasest, thou also shalt be spoiled!' 'Look, with what measure we mete, with the same measure shall we be measured to.' His iniquity, his own, and no other, shall return upon his own head.

But here we must beware that we condemn not God's punishment, if the punishment seem greater than the offences, in that they are to be punished continually which have sinned but for a time, for the circumstances besides increase the greatness of the fault. I will stand but on one, which is the person against whom the offence is committed. It is of Babylon: 'Give her double according to her sin,' Rev. xviii. How agreeth this? Double punishment, and yet according to the sin? Forsooth, because an offence against the godly is twofold greater than that of another. Shimei cursed David; it had not been death towards another, but because it was against the Lord's anointed, he was justly slain by Solomon. Now, if the punishment of traitorous words against a temporal prince rightfully deserve a temporal death, do not traitorous words against an eternal King deserve eternal

punishment? Wherefore, seeing they have offended the majesty of him that is infinite, it is reason that their punishment should be in time infinite, that so some way the proportion may be answered.

The foundations of those parts of doctrine and instruction which hitherto have been opened, are yet advanced higher in the 16th verse by these two points:—

1. That the godly are afflicted in this life for a while in measure.

2. That the punishment of the wicked is without measure or end.

But before I enter into the declaration hereof, I will note the harm which proceedeth of excessive drinking, which the prophet setteth here before our eyes, when he calleth afflictions and punishments by the name of drinking; for thereby are we taught that, as men oppressed with grief have their hearts troubled, their bodies distempered, their spirits languishing, their life shortened, &c., so the excess of drinking weakeneth also the body, endangereth the soul, draweth on many diseases, &c. Yea, many go so far that they even quaff up their death with it. As it is reported that Alexander, proposing a reward to him that could drink most,* there were twenty-one presently killed thereby, and he which got the victory died within three days after. And although I have less cause to fear this vice in Christian men, much less in Englishmen, least of all in Oxford, yet the great plenty of wine sellers lately increased causeth me to dread, lest by degrees we come unto it. Wherefore let us consider in this metaphor of drinking and swallowing up, that not only the great afflictions of this present life are signified, but also the dreadful and endless torments of the life to come. Which yet is not so meant, as though the very drinking were condemned. For wine was created of God to cheer the heart of man; not of the evil man alone, but of the good likewise, as God hath 'made his sun to shine not only on the good but on the bad also.' And although in the law, the high priest were forbid to drink wine when he entered into the tabernacle of the congregation, that he might 'put a difference between the holy and the unholy, the clean and the unclean,' &c., Lev. x. 9, yet in the New Testament, where the ceremonies being abolished, the things only remain, hereby sobriety and temperance is commanded us. Wherefore Paul counselled Timothy to refrain from drinking water, and to 'use a little wine for his stomach,' 1 Tim. v. 23; wherefore the moderate use of wine is lawful, but to use it immoderately bringeth drunkenness. Wherefore Paul willeth us 'not to be drunk with wine, wherein is excess,' Eph. v. 18. The word which the apostle there useth is more forcible, expressing the desperate estate of drunkenness, whom safety itself can scarce save. For by it we are not [only] brought to most unseemly deeds, as that of Noah, and wicked as that of Lot, but more

* Vide Plutarch in vita Alex. Mag.

grievous also, if they may be, which the wise man most lively hath expressed: Prov. xxiii. 19, 'To whom is woe? to whom is sorrow? to whom is strife? to whom is murmuring? to whom are wounds without cause? and to whom is the redness of the eyes? Even to them that tarry long at the wine, to them that go and seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, or goeth down pleasantly. In the end thereof it will bite like a serpent, and hurt like a cockatrice. Thine eyes shall look upon strange women, and thine heart shall speak lewd things. And thou shalt be as one that sleepeth in the midst of the sea, and as he that sleepeth in the top of the mast. They have stricken me, shalt thou say, but I was not sick; they have beaten me, but I knew not when I awoke: therefore will I seek it yet still.' How excellently describeth he the evils and inconveniences that proceed from this intemperancy, the woes, sorrows, contentions, wounds, sores, not only of the body, but also of the soul! To what filthiness and grievous offences it prepareth us, how dangerous and perilous, whose biting is like that of a serpent and cockatrice, the senselessness of sin or punishment, with the endurance and continuing with hardness of heart in the like wickedness. Which yet were all the less if they were only temporal, but they are also eternal; the woe is continual, and endless. 'Woe to them,' saith the prophet, Isa. v. 22, 24, 'that are mighty to drink wine, and to them that are strong to pour in strong drink!' The prophet in the words following describeth the woe: 'As the flame of fire consumeth the stubble, and as the chaff is consumed of the flame, so their root shall be as rottenness, and their bud shall rise up as dust.' Let us, therefore, hence learn that our prophet, by the metaphor of drinking representing the endless and unspeakable troubles of the wicked, commendeth unto us sobriety and modesty in the use of God's creatures, lest that we draw upon us plagues spiritual and temporal, corporal and eternal.

Now, leaving the words, let us consider the things themselves. It is said here that the Jews themselves should drink, to signify that all the godly must suffer tribulation; all must drink, but in some measure. Which thing also our Saviour taught his disciples, and that also by this similitude, Mark x. 39, 'Ye shall drink of the cup that I shall drink, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with;' whereby he signifieth that they should be partakers of afflictions with him. The difference betwixt the sufferings of Christ and Christians is this, that his were so infinitely great, that ours compared to his are nothing; and yet so great they are, that, although not for the same cause, yet are we ready to say, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass,' Mat. xxvi. 39. But it is not possible; for as 'it behoved him first to suffer, and then to enter into his glory,' so must we 'through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

What prince more godly than Josiah? what prophet than Jeremiah? yet were they not freed from afflictions. Yea, so was Jeremiah therewithal humbled, that he crieth out for the bitterness thereof: 'Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife, and with whom this whole land contendeth. I have not lent on usury, nor have men lent me, yet every one doth curse me,' Jer. xv. 10. These are blessed times, and like to those of Josiah; yet assure thyself that there is a measure of affliction for thee to abide. Even they that lived under Josiah were to go into captivity for a season. But even in Babylon the Lord promiseth comfort and peace unto them, and after seventy years return to their own land. Now these things were spoken also for us, that we might have comfort and sure hope that there shall be an end of our tribulations.

It is written of Xerxes* that when he beheld from the top of a high mountain his great and mighty host, how he wept in recordation of their mortality, for that of a huge number, within the compass of a few years there should not be one left alive. We may behold in spirit a great army of Christian soldiers throughout all Christendom, whom when you remember, you do, I hope—myself know that I rejoice—to remember that within these few years they shall all be delivered from Babylon, that is, from all adversity and misery of this present life, and be brought to that heavenly Jerusalem where we shall rest in all joy and safety.

It is when you shall have drunk. The godly, then, as we have said, must needs drink, and that more is, they must drink before the heathen. For 'judgment must begin at the house of God,' as Peter teacheth; after that the Lord hath punished his people, then will he visit the proud heart of the king of Babel. When Jerusalem must be destroyed, it must begin at the sanctuary, Ezek. ix. 6. See how the apostles in the Acts are first persecuted and afflicted, whenas yet the bitter potion was not given to the Jews,† namely, the sacking of Jerusalem and destruction of the people; such is the lot of God's servants, not only to be afflicted, but also first and foremost; but hereunto is annexed a great comfort, that they shall drink but for a while, not continually; that they shall not swallow up, but drink. Both which the apostle hath declared: 'Our light affliction, which is but for a moment,' 2 Cor. iv. 17; and in another place, 1 Cor. x. 13, 'There hath no temptation taken you but such as appertaineth to man; and God is faithful, which will not suffer you to [be] tempted above that you be able, but will even give the issue with the temptation, that ye may be able to bear it.'

On the other side, the punishment of the ungodly is continual, as is here declared, for it is said they shall 'drink continually, and swallow up, and be as though they had not been.' 'In the hand of the

* Herodot. lib. viii.

† Vid. Sever. lib. ii. et Glyc. annal. part. iii. Hegesip. lib. v.

Lord,' saith the prophet, Ps. lxxv. 9, 'is a cup, the wine is troubled, and the wicked shall drink the dregs thereof, and snek them out.' The godly must drink of this cup, but they must drink the upper part; the ungodly they must swallow down the dregs and lees of it. These dregs are the torments everlasting, and endless punishments, ordained for Satan and his angels in hell, 'where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' 'On the wicked,' as it is in the psalm, 'will the Lord rain snares and brimstone, storm and tempest; this shall be the portion of their cup,' Ps. xxxi. 6. They shall be 'as though they had not been,' for their temporal punishment; they shall be worse than if they had not been, as was said of Judah.

Here, then, is a lesson for all ungodly persons, papists, infidels, murderers, whoremongers, &c., and all such as receive not the truth, but have pleasure in ungodliness; namely, that unless they return from their wicked ways, they shall have their portion in

this cup, and swallow the dregs of God's heavy wrath and destruction. In the Revelation, chap. xiv. 9-11, it is said, that 'all which receive the mark of the beast shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, yea, of the pure wine, which is poured into the cup of his wrath,' and shall be 'tormented in fire and brimstone before the face of the Lamb,' &c. Wherefore, let us learn this for our instruction and comfort, that we follow not the wicked to sin, for fear of their plagues, but continue in the obedience of the Lord, that we may be sure of that stay and comfort which is here promised to the faithful. Howbeit if there were no more comfort but this, that our enemies should be punished more than we, it were not enough to countervail the heaviness of the cross, which, in the mean while, the godly must bear. The prophet goeth farther, and raiseth us up higher in strong consolation, setting before our eyes the infinite joys which the godly shall enjoy, when, being delivered from all afflictions, they shall triumph over their enemies.

SERMON IX.

But upon mount Sion shall be deliverance, and it shall be holy; and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions. And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them; and there shall be no remnant of the house of Esau: for the Lord hath spoken it.—OBADIAH, Ver. 17, 18.

THE first sense and meaning of these words is, that the Jews, which should be carried captive to Babylon, should return again to their own land, and destroy the Idumeans. By *mount Sion*, the fortress of Jerusalem, the beauty of Jewry, is meant all the land of Judea, and thereby all the people. By these words, then, *But upon mount Sion*, &c., the prophet meant, that the Jews should be delivered out of captivity, cleansed from their sins, become holy and righteous, 'repossess their possessions,' and by adding that 'the house of Jacob should be a fire, &c., and Esau stubble, that they should be kindled and burn, and be consumed till none were left alive,' and that the Jews with the Israelites should destroy the Idumeans, even as the flame and fire consumeth the stubble till none be left, which the prophet sealeth with this infallible mark, 'The Lord hath spoken it.'

As it hath been said before, that the temporal things in the Old Testament are figures unto us of things spiritual, so is there in these words another further meaning than that which I have opened, namely, that the church of God shall at length be delivered from bondage, and cleansed from sin, endued with holiness, and so recover that everlasting inheritance, which they were deprived of, and that they shall adjudge the wicked and ungodly, all their enemies, unto eternal fire, whereby they shall all be consumed. And in this sense is that lively doctrine fully verified, which in the other is not so fully, wherein, as in a

picture slenderly shadowing the lineaments, some part only is obscurely expressed. For although the Jews, after their return, conquered the Edomites,* yet were they not consumed as that none of them remained. For Josephus writeth,† that some lived even at the sacking of Jerusalem, to kindle and set on fire the Jews. Wherefore, the especial meaning of this place is, that the church of God shall be delivered from the captivity wherein it is held, endued with holiness, inherit heaven, whence they were exiled, their inheritance, and consume [their enemies] till none of them be left, because the Lord hath said it.

The church of God, therefore, that is, all the godly, shall be delivered; the enemies from whom, their sins, the chains and bands, from which they shall be loosed, are the pains and torments due unto sin. These cords are loosed, when we believe and embrace the gospel, wherein Christ Jesus is preached unto us, who saveth us from our sins, and from the consequents of our sins; and as they who were carried away captives returned to their possessions, who were content to receive the proclamation of Cyrus, so all such as, upon the proclamation of Christ's gospel, receive and embrace the same, are more sure to be delivered. This deliverance is to return back from Babylon to Jerusalem; that is, from the captivity and slavery of this world, to the kingdom of heaven.

In those which are thus to be delivered, there is

* 1 Mach. v. 3.

† Lib. iv. cap. ult.

required holiness of life. For so also it is said in the Gospel, that we are 'delivered from our sins to serve God in holiness,' &c.; and it shall be well, saith the prophet, but to whom? To the just and holy, not the wicked and profane; to such as are careful to perform their duty towards God and man; to such as sanctify the Lord in their soul and body. There is 'a book of remembrance written before the Lord,' Mal. iii. 16, but it is for them 'that feared him, and thought upon the Lord;' there is life for them that seek immortality and glory, &c. Let us then assure ourselves, that if we mean to attain deliverance, and the fruit thereof, the repossessing of our inheritance, we must be holy and just, ere we be 'delivered from the hands,' &c. For although it may be that some of them were not holy at such time as they were dispossessed, yet needs must they be holy before they can possess them again. 'Such were some of you,' saith Paul, 'but ye are washed.' Let this, then, be especially noted of us, that none can receive the crown but such as fight,' 1 Cor. vi. 9-11. The possessions are the kingdom of heaven, which we possess by inheritance. No Canaanite or polluted person can enter into the Lord's inheritance, into the kingdom of heaven. And as the godly are delivered, so there is another benefit promised them, namely, that for their sakes the wicked shall be consumed; for it is said, 'The house of Jacob shall be fire.' Where first we may note, the emphatical speech, when he saith, 'The house of Jacob shall be a fire,' when he meaneth that it shall be like, the name of the thing, as it is usual, being put for that which is resembled to it.

Which, indeed, were not worthy the noting, but for the fanatical imagination of transubstantiation, which they will needs prove; for that it is said, 'This is my body,' whence they conclude that therefore it is his body indeed. But so might we hence also gather that the house of Jacob was fire indeed, &c. For all mystical speeches be not like to that of our Saviour; yet this is common to them, that the names of the signs are given to the thing signified, and so Christ is called a vine, his Father a husbandman, his disciples branches;* and if the papists had had any occasion to maintain any error on this place of the prophet, as they have upon that of our Saviour, they might hence with greater show have gathered that Edom was transubstantiated into stubble; for that it is in the Hebrew that Edom shall not only be stubble, but into stubble. For their own schoolmen confess that those words of Christ do not prove that the bread becometh Christ his body.

* Vid. August. ep. xxiii. ad Bonifac.

It is said that the godly shall consume them, &c.; which is also meant when it is said that Christ shall receive his chosen to judge the world, which is not only meant of the apostles, but of all the saints. As St Paul saith, 'Know ye not that the saints shall judge the angels,' the wicked angels? God indeed is he who judgeth, but because he worketh it for his chosen's sake, they are said to do it. As it is said, that 'whatsoever is done to one of the little ones, is done to him;' and 'whosoever receiveth the apostles receiveth him,' because this is done for his sake; so that it is attributed to the godly which God doth for their cause. As it is in the commandment, 'Honour thy father, &c., that thy days may be long,' the words are, 'that they may prolong thy days;' that is, thy parents, not as though they could do it, but for that the parents pray to God for the prosperity of their obedient children, which they therefore are said to work, because God for their sake doth it. In the sixteenth of Luke, we are commanded to 'make us friends of the unrighteous mammon,' that when we have need, 'they may receive us into their habitations;' not as if the poor and needy, whom we help, should do it, but for that God for their sakes doth it. Even so is it here said that the people of God should consume their enemies, because God would do it for their sakes, which is gathered by the apostle, Heb. xii. 29, that 'our God is a consuming fire.'

The last point, which is the seal of all, is this: 'The Lord hath spoken it.' This is the only anchor-hold, indeed, in all tempests. For if we would lean on the words of man, let us remember they are liars. Flesh and blood is not sufficient to assure and strengthen us; but only the word of the Lord, who performeth all that he saith, who is 'not as man to lie, nor as mortal man that he should repent. Shall he speak and not perform?' Num. xxiii. 19. For so certainly as he cannot deny himself, so certainly will he perform what he saith. Which his name יהוה that he here useth confirmeth us. As he saith to Moses, I have appeared to them not in my name אל שדי, but in my name *Jehovah*, which is he that maketh his promises to be; and so would he then be called, for that he would then make good the things which he had before promised. In like manner, let us remember that he hath appeared unto us in his name *Almighty*, in the works of his creation and regeneration, but in his good time he will appear to us in his name *Jehovah*, and most certainly perform all his promises.

SERMON X.

And they shall possess the south with the mount of Esau; and the plain with the Philistines: and they shall possess the fields of Ephraim, with the fields of Samaria, with Benjamin and Gilead. And this host carried into captivity of the children of Israel, shall possess that which was the Canaanites' unto Zarephath, and they

of Jerusalem that were carried into captivity shall possess that which is in Sepharad, with the cities of the south. And saviours shall come up to mount Sion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's.—OBADIAH, VER. 19-21.

OF these three verses the two former are diversely translated and expounded, by reason of the diverse significations of the words. And the difficulty seemeth to be such in my eyes that I dare not take on me particularly to avouch the meaning of the prophet in each word, but submitting myself to your judgments, and to any that shall yield reason of any other exposition, I will impart unto you that which in my opinion seemeth most likely. Which is that which agreeth with the circumstances of the text, and general drift of the prophet; which is evident by that which hath been set down already, and that which is afterwards added in the last verse. So that we shall not greatly err, if in this or that particular word we hit not on the particular meaning of the prophet, so long as we keep the general doctrine without error.

It hath been said before that the seed of Jacob should possess their ancient inheritance, and destroy their enemies. These points are here again handled, but so that it is promised they should not only repossess their ancient right, but also much more, by extending the bounds and limits of their possessions every way.

The land of promise is so situated that it hath on the south the land of the Idumeans, called here the mount of Esau; on the west a low plain, which was the country of the Philistines; on the north lay Ephraim and Samaria, and on the east Gilead, &c.; as Joshua, the best geographer, hath taught us, chap. xiii. The meaning is, then, that look how far the borders of their dominions in former times extended, so much should they repossess, yea, that they should stretch out farther on every side and possess much more. Samaria is here mentioned, with certain shires, as it were, on the north, because of the difficulty which seemed to be in winning them, for that the king of Assyria having taken Samaria and led away the people captive, had peopled that city and the country about with many strangers. And for the like cause it may seem that Benjamin is here named, for that, being little and seated among many enemies, they were in greatest danger to be dispossessed, &c., had they not received this promise, that even their borders by the seed of Jacob should be inhabited. Now whereas they were divided into two peoples, Israel and Judah, the Israelites were carried away captives by Shalmanezzer, and Judah by Nebuchadnezzar; wherefore in the words following, the promise is made unto both, laying down the borders of both the kingdoms, &c. This being laid down, followeth the other point, of the destruction of the enemies; 'saviours shall come up to mount Sion to judge the mount of Esau,' where, by the name of *saviour*, the rulers and governors are meant; for to judge is to

rule and execute judgment in right of the oppressed, as it is generally used in the book of *Judges*. And this they shall do by coming up to Sion, the strongest fort in Jewry. Finally 'the kingdom,' it is said, 'shall be the Lord's;' to note the happy state of the faithful, having such a one for the governor, so mighty and therefore able, so merciful and therefore willing, to keep them safe from all evil, and to participate with them all good things.

The performance of all this was in part represented by the bodily restitution of Judah and Benjamin, when by proclamation of Cyrus, Zerubbabel, Joshua, &c., came and built Jerusalem, and continued by Judas Maccabeus who judged the Edomites; and so are these called saviours, where notwithstanding God doth this by them his lieutenants, as he also said to Samuel, 'They have not refused thee, but me.' But this fully performed and perfected in the deliverance of our souls by Christ, who himself preached to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and then by his apostles, sent from mount Sion into all the world, and so were Idumea and Palestina, &c., subjected, when all were joined to make one flock. As also the kingdom is Christ's, 'King of all kings and Lord of all lords,' of whom the angel said that he should reign for ever. And out of controversy the prophet meant not so much the former bodily as the latter spiritual deliverance and restitution, even as the event plainly shewed. For although that the men of Judah returned under Nehemiah, &c., yet the people of Israel were never so restored. So that assuredly we are to think that by corporal benefits spiritual blessings are signified; by the Jews and the Israelites, the spiritual seed of Abraham; by repossession of Canaan, the possession of the graces of the Holy Ghost: a mystery touched before, and to be had in remembrance for the better understanding of Moses and the prophets; for it pleased God by lively figures to foster the expectation which his people had of Christ. Joseph and Samson, the one a Nazarite of his brethren, the other for his brethren, figures of Christ who should come out of Nazareth, as the evangelists shew; sold by his brethren, as Joseph; slain for their salvation, as Samson. Blood on the posts—the angel must not touch those that are marked with Christ's blood. The high priest with all his ornaments, figures of his redemption, as the apostle to the Hebrews sheweth. Serpent exalted—Christ raised on the cross. The sting of the serpent, and dragon in the Revelations, shall not hurt us, looking on him that saveth us from all our sins; for as Moses brought the Israelites to the border of Canaan and sight of it, but none except Joshua could bring them into possession of it, so the law may shew us the blessings and promises of God,

but Christ by his gospel maketh us enjoy them. So David's 'stone refused.' Jonah in the belly of the whale, and his torments—Christ's death and resurrection. And even so these things here handled, are by the apostles expounded of Israel and Judah according to the faith; that place of Isaiah ix., Zebulon and Naphtali, Mat. iv., when the light of the truth shone amongst them; that which is in the last of Amos, James v., Acts. ix., applied not only to Israel according to the flesh, but according to the spirit also; in the place where it was said, 'Ye are my people,' fulfilled in Christians, when they are called the sons of God. As James, Paul, Matthew, expounded those, so we these; namely, that both the Jews and Gentiles chosen to be the people of God shall repossess that which was signified by the land of Canaan, of which we were deprived by our own sins. Which opinion is diligently to be marked against the frantic dreams of Jewish rabbins, who dreaming their men that now live to be they who should be thus set in possession, do not expound that which here is said of such as were led captive, of them that Shalmanezzer and Nebuchadnezzar led away, but of those that Titus in the destruction of Jerusalem made captives.* And because they saw themselves since dispersed through diverse parts of the empire, by Canaan they say is here understood Germany, by Zarephath France, and by Sepharad Spain! And so when it is said they should possess the south side and the plain, they say is meant that they shall not have the hills, which are not for tilling, but the plain and bottoms of the hills.

Against which peevish exposition we need not say much, only we may note that it cannot stand with the circumstances of the text. For when it is said 'this host,' it is evident that he spoke of his own time; that is, of such as presently were here carried into captivity. 2. Zarephath is elsewhere in Scripture, 1 Kings xvii., Gen. x., set down for the border of [Zidon]. As for that which they allege out of a tradition, that with them the names signify these countries, so deserve they to be blinded that believe such dreams; for they say, that when Joshua expelled the Canaanites, many of them fled into Germany; whereas, in the 1st, 2d, 3d of Judges, it is said of such as were not slain, that they remained in this and that tribe. 3. Where here the prophet speaketh of Judah and Jerusalem, as of two distinct parts, it is manifest that Titus only led away them of Jerusalem, for the Israelites, after their captivity by Shalmanezzer, were never restored. 4. Where they add, that Sepharad being a proper name, cometh near to the name wherewith they call Spain, it is plain, that although the Chaldee paraphrast expoundeth it as a proper name, yet it is not the name of Spain, and it might be the name of some place then known that now is not. But the Hebrew word may be taken for a common name, signifying as

much as a bound or limit of dominion; being made of two words which have that signification. But these be like the dreams of their ancestors, of the sitting at the right and left hand in the kingdom, and of the Chiliasts and Mahomet, whose bliss they say shall be to pamper up their bellies, &c. But the prophet meant spiritual blessings,* the joy of the faithful in the service of God and glory of the saints, which was begun by Christ at his first coming, is continued by his servants till his latter coming, which shall be then perfected. John saw sealed not only of the twelve tribes, but of all tongues, Rev. vii.; a point to rejoice in, as 13th Acts, 'The Gentiles were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord,' ver. 48. By this means the true Israelites are admitted to partake of the twelve tribes, and of those trees that grow on both sides the river, Rev. xxii. 2.

The means by which all this shall be accomplished is lastly set down by 'saviours coming up to Sion.' This, in figure, was performed when Zerubbabel with the rest came up from Babylon to build Jerusalem; these, which restored that city and temple, are called saviours, as in truth such as restore us to our ancient inheritance, &c. Properly, indeed, none but God can be called a Saviour, as in Isaiah and Hosea, 'I, even I, and there is no Saviour besides me;' but he is so called as a principal agent, men as ministerial instruments. So the name of *Jesus* proper to our Saviour, because he should save his people; otherwise Paul exhorteth Timothy, 'For so shalt thou save thyself and them that hear thee;' so all the ministers of the gospel, yea, all Christians after a sort, are called saviours: as James v., 'If any err from the truth, and another convert him; let the same know that he shall save a soul from death, and cover a multitude of sins.' Which is understood of every one, that by admonishing another keepeth him or withdraweth him from sin. 'Some save with fear, pulling them out the fire,' Jude; which is the duty of every Christian man; for that is a question worthy of Cain, 'Am I the keeper of my brother?' There should be such a care in us towards our brethren as was in Joseph, who not only dealt with his father for them, but counselled them not to fall out by the way. Would to God we had many Josephs and few Cains, who, when they have murdered their brethren, demand whether they are their keepers. Now, if this be required of all, how much more of ministers, into whose mouth the word of salvation is put? For which cause Timothy is expressly warned to 'continue in exhortation,' &c., for so he should 'save himself and his hearers, 1 Tim. iv. 16; if he do not exhort, &c., and continue therein, he is no saviour, but a destroyer. The condition of his own salvation is this, If thou do thus, thou shalt save thyself, else not. Let them, then, which are in

* Vid. Just. dial. cum Tryphon. Hieron. lib. xviii. in Isa. in pref. Et de Scriptor. Eccles. Sub verbo, *Papias*. Prateol. de hæret. lib. ix.

* Vide Joseph. et Sever., lib. ii.; et Glyc. annal., part iii.; et Hegesip., lib. v.; Cyril. in Isa. lib. i., orat. i. ii. iii. iv.

that place which Timothy was in, consider to what they are called, even to teach and exhort, and that not only all in general, but every particular wicked man. As God giveth in commandment to his prophet, 'If thou tell the wicked man—if not, his blood shall be required at thy hand.' What then shall become of such watchmen, as either cannot or do not warn; of the unlearned, that can only read and not teach; of 'dumb dogs, that cannot bark; non-residents, who teach not at all, and though they preach their quarter sermons, yet are not such as perform the commandment of Paul, to continue? But such shepherds shall have their portion with goats, and not with the sheep; both the blind and the blind guide shall fall into the ditch.

They also who are to be taught are here to learn their duty; for if none can be saved but such as call upon the name of the Lord, and none can call on him that believe not, and none can believe unless they hear, it is evident, that if we will be saved we must hear. 2 Kings iv., the Shunamite telleth her husband that she would go to the man of God; he asketh her what she will do, seeing it was neither the Sabbath nor new moon; whereby we gather that it was the use of this good woman, at such time, to resort to Carmel, where the prophets did then use to instruct the people in faith and religion. There be few women amongst us like this Shunamite. She went certain miles; these will not walk a few paces to hear the same doctrine which she learned. As for the men of this city, neither will they take the pains to come. I would they did provide that the man of God might come to them; or that there were in them that love

to God's ministers which was in this woman, 2 Kings iv. 10, who provided for Elisha a chamber, a bed, &c., 'that when he came that way, he might come in and abide there.' It was said that this matter was in good forwardness, but is hindered; if so be it, I must say as Paul, Gal. ii. 1, 3, 'O ye foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that having begun in the Spirit, you would now be made perfect by the flesh?' Made you such account of your hogs, Mat. viii. 34, that for them you request Christ to 'depart from your coasts'?

We should here speak of the second effect of God's word, whereby it is a 'savour of death in them that perish,' when it is said, 'they shall judge Esau;' but of this hath been spoken heretofore. It remaineth then to say somewhat of this last point, which is of God's kingdom, whereof I need not speak, because we are taught daily in our petition to say, 'Thy kingdom come.' Only consider what a happiness it is to be of that kingdom. If the queen of Sheba thought Solomon's servants happy, that had him to rule them, how much more they which have a greater than Solomon, Christ Jesus, the Lord of lords, and King of kings! Wherefore we are willingly to submit ourselves to his commandments. God forbid any of us should say, 'Why should this man reign over us?' No greater felicity than to be under his gracious, peaceable, and righteous government. For if we feel some taste of comfort in the government of Queen Elizabeth, what and how great shall we enjoy under him? Which the Lord in goodness make us partakers of. Amen.

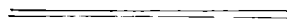
RAINOLDS ON HAGGAI.

THE
PROPHECY OF HAGGAI
INTERPRETED AND APPLIED.

IN SUNDRY SERMONS.

BY THAT FAMOUS AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE,

JOHN RAINOLDS, D.D.



EDINBURGH: JAMES NICHOL.
LONDON: JAMES NISBET AND CO. DUBLIN: G. HERBERT.

M.DCCC.LXIV.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

READER, I shall premise a few words concerning both the author and work. For the author of it, it was Doctor John Rainolds, a man eminent both for learning and piety. No man, methinks (saith one*), is happy on earth to him that hath grace for substance, and learning for ornament. This verse is written about Dr Rainolds his picture: *Incertum est fuerit doctior an melior*. It is doubtful whether he were more learned or pious. When Bellarmine came out first, both the universities chose one in each academy to confute him. Oxford (for I must ever give that the pre-eminence) chose Doctor Rainolds for their champion; Cambridge, Doctor Whitaker for theirs. Whitaker was more nimble, for he went over a great part of Bellarmine's controversies, and so solidly confuted him, that it is credibly related by some Englishmen that travelled into Italy, that Bellarmine himself procured his picture out of England, and placed it in his study, secretly admiring him for his great learning; and when he was asked by another Jesuit, his friend and companion, why he would have the picture of that heretic, he was wont to answer, that although he was an heretic and an adversary, yet he was a learned adversary. Whitaker, that honour of our schools, and angel of our church, learned Whitaker, than whom our age saw nothing more memorable,† what clearness of judgment! what sweetness of style! what gravity of person! what grace of carriage was in that man! Who ever saw him without reverence, or heard him without wonder? Doctor Rainolds (whom a very reverend divine compares to a pen too full of ink) thought at the first, that in two or three years he should have been able to have gone over all Bellarmine's controversies, but he was seven years about the very first of them, *De Libris Apocryphis*, which yet he finished not neither, insomuch that one Mr Walter Travers jested with him, and told him, he was so long in reading the Apocrypha here, that he would read the canonicals in heaven! Yet his conference with Hart, and that work together, do amply discover his great abilities; and he is justly styled by one of

our own writers,* *pontificiorum malleus, et patriæ suæ dulcissimum decus*, the hammer of the papists, and most sweet ornament of his own country. Doctor Rainolds alone was a well furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning: the memory, the reading of this man were near to a miracle.† For this work of his, it was reviewed and perfected by that reverend divine Master William Hinde, sometimes preacher of God's word at Bunbury, in Cheshire, whose intention was to have printed it in his lifetime, he having set forth some other of the same author's works, as that on Obadiah, these sermons immediately following thereupon, to be handled in the Doctor's ordinary course of preaching, as appears in the first page of these sermons. This copy therefore being left with me (by Master Nathaniel Hinde, a minister in Staffordshire, and son to the forementioned Master William Hinde), with a desire also of the publication of it, I thought good to preface thus much in the behalf both of the author and work. It is (I suppose) the best copy that is extant; and though he wholly finished not the second chapter of Haggai, yet because the main subject of that book is the building of the temple, it will not seem unseasonable for these times, wherein reformation should be the aim of all; and in another respect also this work may be suitable to the present season, because this learned and religious author in this book seems to favour the Presbyterian way. Whatever it be, I commend it and thee to God's blessing; and rest,

Thy hearty wellwisher,

EDWARD LEIGH.

* Parkerus in præfat. ad lib. de *Descensu Christi ad Inferos*.

† Dr Hall ubi supra. Rainoldus fuit, doctrinæ et omne genus eruditionis Gazophylacium dixeris. Scriptores opinor omnes, prophanos ecclesiasticos, sacros, concilia, patres, historias evolverat; Linguarum quæcunque theologo, vel adjumento sunt, vel ornamento, callentissimus: Ingenio acer agilisque, judicio gravis et maturus; labore magis quam adamantius, ipse indefatigabilis; sic in omni disciplinarum genere versatus, quasi in singulis operam suam omnem posuisset.—*Crakanth. Defens. Eccles. Anglic. c. lxix.*

* Dr Hall, Decade First, Epist. vii. † Dr Hall, ibid.

AN EXPOSITION UPON HAGGAI.

SERMON I.

In the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, the first day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the hand of the prophet Haggai unto Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, a prince of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, saying, Thus hath the Lord of hosts charged me to say, This people say, The time is not yet come, the time that the Lord's house shall be builded. Then came the word of the Lord by the hand of the prophet Haggai, saying, Is it time for you, sirs, to sit down in your ceiled houses, whiles this house lies waste?—HAGGAI I. 1–4.

YOU have heard, in the conclusion of the prophecy of Obadiah, the promise of deliverance made by God unto the Jews, and in them to all his chosen, that their enemies should be overthrown, and they restored to their ancient inheritance, which should be performed by saviours, which should come up to mount Sion to judge the mount of Esau, and that the kingdom should be the Lord's; which that you might see how it was in shadow performed to the Jews, and in truth to all the chosen of God, I thought good to entreat of this prophecy of Haggai, wherein the same is delivered unto us. In which we are taught, that the temple having been begun to be built long before, and the work intermitted, was with much ado continued by Zerubbabel and Joshua, who were thereunto moved by the ministry of Haggai, prospered by the assistance of the godly, encouraged by God's word and grace of his Spirit, which representeth unto us the frame of the spiritual house, Heb. iii. 6, the church which Christ built by his apostles, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10, which were sent from Sion as was prophesied of them: 'The doctrine shall come from Sion,' Isa. ii. 2, Micah iv. 2. Next, if we consider the circumstances of the times, lets, helps, the persons, people, princes, priests, dealings, it may be an example unto us, and to such as are to deal any way in the building of the church, how to behave themselves therein. Moreover, by the consequence that once more he would 'shake the heavens and the earth, bring the Desire of all nations, and fill that house with glory,' Haggai ii. 6, 7, he comprehendeth the fulfilling of all his promises made to his church in Christ Jesus. Finally, he layeth down the everlasting destruction of the heathen, when he sheweth that he will 'destroy the throne of kingdoms, and the

strength of the kingdom of the heathen,' &c., Haggai ii. 22, and set Zerubbabel (that is, Christ, of whom he was a sign) 'as a signet, for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of hosts,' Haggai ii. 23, whereby was signified the princely estate of the kingdom of the Jews, under the King of kings, and utter ruin of all those that should set themselves against Christ and his church. So the words of the doctrine touched darkly by Obadiah shall be opened more at large in the expounding of this prophet Haggai.

The prophet, first, by commission from God, reprovethe the people for neglecting the building of the temple, convincing them of sloth, which he doth partly by rebuking the care which they took, every man in the building of his own house, and partly by the chastisements which God had for their sins laid upon them. This, that we may understand the better, we are to remember out of the 4th of Ezra, verse 1–5, that whereas by the appointment of Cyrus they had laid the foundation of the temple in his days, the building of the temple was hindered by the people of the land, who discouraged the Jews, troubled them in building, and hired accusers to accuse them to the king of Persia, so that in the days of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes they were stayed for going forward, Artaxerxes decreeing that they should cease. When Artaxerxes was dead, and Darius reigned in his stead, ver. 21–24, they ceased also from the work, pretending that having been often forbid before by Cambyses and Darius Histaspes, and not receiving any licence from the new king, they might either be hindered as before, or accused of treason for breaking the former king's commandment; and, lastly, that it was not yet time to do it. The prophet in the first verse noteth

diligently the time, the year, the month, and day when he received this commission from God. In verse 2 he proposeth their fault, which in verse 4 he reproveth, both which are uttered by mentioning the messenger, with the commandment of God in verse 3; and in verse 1 the two persons by whom chiefly the work was to be set forward, the times are especially noted, to shew what just cause the Lord had to reprove them, having so long neglected his will, and the just cause of punishing them for their neglect.

In the reproof we may note five things: *first*, the time when this commandment was given to the prophet; *secondly*, the author thereof, the Lord; *thirdly*, the persons by whom the thing was to be done; *fourthly*, the fault that was committed by them, they said the time was not yet come; *fifthly*, the reproof itself, 'Is it time for you, Sirs?' Which circumstances, as they are first to be considered of us, so shall we make our best profit by them, if we compare our church with theirs; for as the Jews were long in bondage in Babylon, but at length were brought back by Cyrus, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, Ezra i. 1, ii. 3, so our ancestors were held long under the bondage of the spiritual slavery of Rome, which is spiritual Babylon, Rev. xviii. 2, 21, whence by the means of Henry VIII., as they by Cyrus, they were delivered. The Jews being restored, laid the foundation of the temple, but were not able to go further, by reason of enemies that procured them displeasure with the kings of Persia. God hath dealt more graciously with us, to whom he hath granted gracious princes to set forward this work, yet notwithstanding are not we so forward as they; for whereas they had laid the whole foundation in the days of Cyrus, we in many places have not laid that. For what is the foundation that is first to be laid? The apostle teacheth, even the doctrine of the beginnings of Christ; as the doctrine of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, the doctrine of baptisms, Heb. vi. 1. Now, how far the people are from these things in many places, we may hear of those that speak out of experience; for sundry there are, who, when they hear tell of these things, wonder at them, as the Athenians did at Paul, Acts xvii. 18, 20, and marvel what so strange a doctrine meaneth; which is a lamentable thing, considering how mercifully God hath dealt with the churches elsewhere. And as it is said by the prophet, 'He hath caused it to rain upon one city, and not to rain upon another,' so two or three cities wandered to one city to drink water, but were not satisfied. The word of God, and doctrine of religion, is in Scripture compared unto rain, Isa. lv. 10; the preaching thereof unto the dropping and falling down thereof, Heb. vi. 7, 8; for which cause the prophets are commanded to drop their words, Ezek. xxi. 2. Some cities amongst us have had this rain to drop upon them, others have not; yea, it hath dropped upon one part of a city and not upon another, yet have they had clouds hanging

over them, but clouds without water, Jude, ver. 12; labourers that have seemed to put to their hands, and yet but seemed only; ambassadors without tongues, Isa. l. 4, without the tongue of the learned; builders without hands, hands to lay the foundation; yea, the doctrine of baptism is strange to many that long since have been baptized and hands laid on them, as justly may be feared to no great purpose.

Many there are, again, which have stayed at the foundation, but have not held on to build the walls; they have not been led on to perfection, and instructed in the wisdom of Christ. For we are not always to be sucking of milk, we must at length be acquainted with strong meat; there is the beginning and the perfect knowledge also, Heb. v. 12, 13, 14. Wherein again appeareth the fault of many, who, as though they were only appointed as nurses to feed their children with milk, are able to do no more, whereas they should be stewards, fit to deliver a portion to every one of the family, 1 Cor. iv. 1, not only to lay the foundation, but to raise up the walls also. Howbeit, yet God hath dealt more mercifully with some, that the foundation hath not only been laid, but the walls also built, and they raised even to the roof, but that hath wanted; that is, the doctrine of Christ hath been preached, but there hath wanted assistance of such as, by discipline, should correct the unruly, admonish the faulty, suspend the offenders, excommunicate the stubborn, and absolve the penitent, such as were among the Jews the archisynagogi,* by whom notorious offenders were excluded from the society of the faithful. Such our Saviour spake of, Mat. xviii. 15-18, when he commanded that if our brother had aught against us, we should first admonish him privately; if he would not hearken to us, to take two or three with us, and to tell him his faults; if he would not hear them, to signify it to the church; if he would not obey them, to hold him as a heathen or publican: such as the apostle appointed in every city that small faults might be by them reprov'd, grievous offenders excommunicated, Acts xiv. 23, as the incestuous person was dealt withal by the Corinthians, 1 Cor. v. 6, such as were in the primitive church, as appeareth by the practice thereof.† The necessity and commodity whereof in the church of God, if it appear not by that which divines and protestants have taught, by the use of the Jews, by the commandment of Christ and his apostles, the practice of the primitive church, as Paul willeth the Corinthians to their shame, to set up those which were least esteemed in the church, if there were not one wise man among them to judge betwixt brother and brother, 1 Cor. vi. 4, 5. So will I send them that are not satisfied with that which hath been said for this point, unto a popish lawyer; his words are these:‡

* Sigon. de Rep. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. viii.

† Tertull. in Apolog.

‡ Bodin. method. Hist. cap. vi. p. 220 et p. 378 379 Paris edit., anno 1572.

Illud apud Geneva laudabile, si quid usquam gentium, quodque rempublicam efficit, si non opibus, et imperii magnitudine, certè virtutibus, ac pietate, florentem: Illa scilicet pontificum censura, qua nihil majus, aut divinius cogitari potuit, ad coercendas hominum cupiditates, et ea vitia, quæ legibus humanis ac judiciis emendari nullo modo possunt: hæc tamèn coertio, ad Christi normam dirigitur, tacenter primum et amice, deinde paulo acerbius, tum nisi pareas, sequitur interdictio sacrorum, gravis et efficax. Interdictionem animadversio magistratum: ridiculum est enim, ut ait Seneca, ad legem bonum [non] esse. Ita fit, ut quæ legibus nusquam vindicantur, illic sine vi et tumultu coerceantur ab iis censoribus, qui summam virtutis opinionem de seipsis excitant. Igitur nulla meretricia, nullæ ebrietates, nullæ salutationes, nulli mendici, nulli otiosi in eâ civitate reperiuntur. ‘That thing is commendable amongst those of Geneva (if anywhere), which makes a common-wealth flourish, if not in riches and extent of empire, yet certainly in virtue and piety, viz., the censure of these of chief authority in the church, than which nothing can be thought of greater or more divine, to restrain the irregular appetites of men, and such of their vices, which, by human laws and decrees, could in no manner be reformed. And this coercion hath borrowed its direction from the rule of our Saviour Christ; first, to proceed calmly and in a friendly manner, then more roughly, and last of all, if there be no obedience, a heavy and powerful interdiction of holy ordinances followeth, and the punishment of magistracy that interdiction. For it is a ridiculous thing, saith Seneca, that a good man should not stand for a law, insomuch that it comes to pass, that such things as nowhere are adjudged by law, there without force or tumult they are constrained by those censors, who have raised for themselves a high esteem of their virtues. Therefore no whoring, drunkenness, no lascivious dancing, no beggars nor idle livers, are found in that city.’ This testimony is much, proceeding from a papist, highly commending this divine order, and thereby reproving the want thereof in their church. But is it to be hoped that in other places we should find no dancing, when there are dancing-schools in the chief cities? that there should be no idle persons among us, when there are so many so ill occupied? that there should be no gamesters, while there are divers publicly permitted, not only in houses of the town, but also in halls and colleges of the university? I am loath to move this sink any more, therefore I leave it to the consideration of that which hath been said. How necessary it is to lay the roof upon the building, to preserve the work, and to keep out the snow and rain; that is, all manner of vices that hurt and injure the building, and cannot otherwise than hereby be redressed: as idleness, riotousness, drunkenness, swearing, which for want hereof swarm among us, not only to the discomfort of God’s

servants, but also to the destruction of them that are pestered with them. So then, if we compare our church with that temple of the Jews, we see that in some places the foundation is not yet laid, in some the walls not built; finally, that the roof yet wanteth to the perfecting of the work, which I would the rather wish you to mark, for that through the whole prophecy I will speak nothing but what shall necessarily appertain to some part hereof.

Now let us come to consider the circumstances; and first, the time. It is said, ‘in the second year of Darius, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month.’ Who this Darius was there is some difference in judgments amongst the learned; some think it to be Histaspes, some Artaxerxes, &c. But not to stand upon the refutation of those opinions, or naming of them that were of that mind (who are rather to be commended for their diligence in labouring to find out the truth, than reproved for not meeting with it), I will set down that which seemeth best to agree with the course of the Scripture and verity of the history. It seemeth, therefore, that Darius here mentioned was he that was surnamed *Nothus*, the bastard, as may be gathered by the fourth and seventh chapters of Ezra, In the fourth chapter it is said that Artaxerxes, who forbade the building of the temple, reigned before Darius, Ezra iv. 5, 11, 24; in the seventh it is said, ‘After the death of Darius, in the reign of Artaxerxes, the Jews had leave by him to build the temple,’ Ezra vii. 1. This, then, must be that Darius which came between the two Artaxerxes, of whom the former was surnamed *Longimanus*, father to this Darius, and the other *Mnemon*, who was his son; so that it appeareth by the course of the history written by Ezra, that this Darius was he whom histories call Darius Nothus, Darius the bastard. Now, from the time of Cyrus king of Persia, when the foundation began first to be laid, Ezra iii. 10, unto the reign of this Darius, is accounted of some 100 years; but because it was a custom amongst them, when their kings went to war, to appoint their sons kings in their room, it cometh to pass that the same years may be accounted in the reign of the son which are in the father’s, as Artaxerxes is said to have reigned sixty-two years, whereas he reigned eighteen years before his father died, wherefore, haply, the number of those years was less than that number. But suppose it were eighty or sixty, and, if you will, somewhat above forty, as the Jews seemed to have received by tradition, when they said in the Gospel, ‘Forty-six years was the temple in building.’ It was a long time, no doubt, from the laying of the foundation to the perfecting of the work. Which may be a lesson for the godly and zealous preachers of God’s word not to be discouraged, though all things succeed not according to their desire and hope, and not to faint in their ministry, taking for their example the prophet, who, though the word had ceased a long time, yet was not discouraged, despairing that his ex-

hortation would take no success. Rome (as they say) was not built in one day; no marvel, then, if Jerusalem be not, for it is easier and sooner done to build the tower of Babylon than the tower of Zion, the chapel of the devil than the church of God. Therefore such as desire and wish for building of the church are not in any case to cast away all hope, though things be not done with expedition; for, if we consider the times, there are no more years passed since the laying of the foundation among us than these which were passed from the reign of Cyrus to the time of Darius. Wherefore, as the prophet and other godly persons did, let us also wait the good leisure of our God, continuing each one in his calling to further the work, and pray unto God that he would stir up the spirit of Zerubbabel and Joshua, that is, all such as be put in authority, to perfect this holy work.

This Darius was not, for his civil behaviour, so virtuous a prince as many of his predecessors, but noted to be faulty in sundry things, yet did he suffer the Jews to build the temple; yea, when their enemies accused them, he caused the monuments to be searched, and found out the grant of Cyrus, which he ratified, giving them besides, out of the king's revenue, money towards their expenses, Ezra vi. 1, 8. Yet this Darius, that dealt with them so religiously, did marry his father's sister, through perjury deprived his elder brother of the kingdom, and put him to a most cruel death, as Ctesias, who lived in his days, hath written. This is noted against that naughty Jesuit Allen, who, in his infamous libel against the defence of the execution of justice, would allege it as some stain and discredit to our religion, because the restoring thereof amongst us was wrought by Henry VIII., a wicked man (as he saith); by king Edward, a child; by her Majesty, a woman. I will not speak anything of the persons, what a man, what a child, what a woman; let us suppose they were defiled more than any slanderous person can say, yet that hindereth nothing, but that they might set forward and promote the truth, and God's religion. For even Darius, an incestuous person, perjured, yea, even a murderer of his own brother, set forward the building of the temple; yet it was no discredit to the work, nor to the godly that laboured with all their might therein. No man can be a discredit to the gospel, neither doth the truth of Christ's religion depend upon the person of each one of them by whom it pleaseth God to prosper it. Solomon, the best king, even he that first built the temple of God, did raise up a high place to Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, 1 Kings xi. 7, and unto Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon. Jehu, that was worse than he, pulled down the house of Baal, &c., 2 Kings x. 27. Constantine, that Christian emperor, was not without some blemish for the murder of his son. Wherefore, as the temple in Jerusalem was not to be refused because the Persian kings furthered the building thereof, so no more is our

religion and church to be abandoned, whatsoever they were that furthered the promotion thereof. And as Darius the bastard was no discredit to Haggai's prophecy, so may we note against the Jesuit slanders, that to the truth no discredit can come by them that favoured it; for whatsoever the princes are whom God stirreth up to maintain it, the gospel is to be revered and embraced for itself.

The month also is noted, when it is said, 'In the sixth month,' because that it is the custom of the Scriptures not to give the proper names to the month, whereby they are called, but to note them by their order, as the first, second month, &c. There are some which mislike that this use is not rather observed, than that which we have for the profane use of the months and days of the week; but chiefly they mislike the retaining of the names of feasts, as Christmas, Michaelmas, Candlemas, where the use of the names of mass, derived from that abomination, seemeth to savour of some superstition and profaneness. To which, though haply it might be said that some of those names might seem not so to have been framed, but rather to have come from the old Saxon language, as in the names of Lammas, &c.; yet if we grant that thence they were derived, it followeth not that we may not note or call the days or months otherwise than after the manner that is here used. For as I acknowledge a godly mind in them that desire to speak in more religious sort, and to banish as much as in them lieth the remembrance and names of all idolatry, so of the things I say, as St Paul doth to the Corinthians, 'Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but yet if thou mayest be free, use it rather,' 1 Cor. vii. 21. If we live amongst them that use no other names for these times, we may (seeing otherwise they cannot understand us to whom we speak) use these words and names, and care not for it; but if we be amongst those that have left the use of them, we are to use the other rather.* As for the manner which is mentioned in the Scripture, not only the Jews named their months after their order, as in this place, but sometimes they also used their proper names also, as in Moses, the month of Abib, &c.; and after their return from Babylon, they did not still follow their number and order, but sometime they used the Chaldean language, and the names which they gave their months, as appeareth in the books of Nehemiah, Ezra, Esther, where are mentioned the months of *Nisan*, *Zinan*, *Elul*, *Shepat*, *Tebeth*, *Adar*, *Cisleu*, seven of the Chaldeans' months, the names of some of which came perhaps from the idolatry of the Chaldeans, which may appear by one of them called *Tammuz*, of the solemn feasts of *Tammuz*, which they celebrated, with weeping and lamentation, yearly in the fourth

* Deos nationum nominari lex prohibet non utique ne nomina eorum pronunciemus quæ nobis, ut dicamus, conversatio extorquet, sed hoc precepit ne deos vocemus illos.—*Tertul. de Idolat.* cap. xx. Sigon. de Rep. Hebræ, lib. iii. cap. ii.

month; of which superstition the prophet speaketh, when he mentioneth the women that wept for Tammuz, Ezek. viii. 14. Wherefore, although the prophet calls it here the sixth month, it followeth not that we may not, or they might not, call it by any other name; for in Nehemiah, the same month is called *Elul*, Neh. vi. 15. And this liberty have the children of God used, not only in the names of times, but of places also and persons. Daniel was called by the name of Belteshazzar, Dan. i. 7; iv. 8, 19; and v. 12; which name was imposed upon him by the idolatrous king, and was derived from the name of Bel, the idol which the Chaldeans worshipped; yea, Daniel speaking of himself, giveth himself that very name. St Luke mentioneth *Apollonia*, where through St Paul passed, Acts xvii. 1, which city had its name of Apollo.* Neither did St Paul care to enter into the ship, the badge whereof was Castor and Pollux, Acts xxviii. 11 (which yet were saints of the heathen which they worshipped†), knowing that it was lawful to use that vessel in a civil sort, which was in some sort dedicated to the use of an idol. It is true that by Moses the people of God were commanded not to use the names of the idols of Canaan, or take them in their mouth; and David, inflamed with a zeal of God's honour, protesteth that he would not take their names in his mouth, Ps. xvi. But this was that the names should be used not in any honour of them, but detestation; not to swear by them or any way to reverence them. Howbeit when for necessity we must needs use them to open our minds to them that hear us when we cannot otherwise be understood, no doubt we may use them, as the prophets and holy men of God have done, both in the names of times, places, and persons.‡ The name of *Candlemas* cometh from a double solemnity: the one of burning candles, a superstition derived from the heathen; the other from the mass, the idol of popery. It is no more unlawful for us to use that name, than for the Jews the name of Tammuz.

And hereby also shall we know how to answer another argument of the papists. Look (saith Bristow§)

* Strab. lib. ii. Geogra. in fine et lib. vii.

† Alex. Genial. Dier. lib. ii. cap. xii.; lib. iii. cap. xviii. et xxii.; Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. iii.

‡ Durand. Rat. lib. vii. cap. vii. Diony. Halycar. lib. i. Annal. Rom. Beat. Rhen. in Annot. in lib. v. Tertul. con Marcion.

§ Bristow, Moti. 32, p. 131 b.

on the names of *Shrovetide*, *Candlemas*, *Christmas*, &c., speak they Lutheranism? Which argument, if it be good against us, what is it against the prophets? For the names not only of one day, but of whole months, the names of *Elul*, *Shepat*, &c., look what religion they speak, whether Judaism or Paganism. Or what if the heathenish Romans should so speak to the popish Romans? Look on the names of your * own months, do they not speak our religion? *January* of Janus, the two-faced god; *February* of Februus, which signifieth to purge, for that twelve days of this month the people was exercised in kindling tapers and candles, and offering sacrifices for the rest of the souls departed; *March* of Mars; *May* of Maia, Jupiter's whore; *July* and *August* of Divus Julius and D. Augustus. What speak these names? Christianity or idolatry? And what can the use of the name of *Candlemas* make more against us, than the name of *February* against them, save that it very well fitteth them, agreeing in their ceremonies then used marvellous well with the Gentiles? For as they use candles and tapers, so did the heathen; as they offer for the rest and quietness of the dead, so did the heathen; as they did, indeed, agree with them in many other of their rites, as if you compare the carrying about of their idols, with the papists carrying about their bread or breadden god, on *Corpus Christi* day, &c.

Wherefore, let us rather, when we hear or remember any of these names, consider the goodness of God, and his great mercy towards us, which hath delivered us from the superstition which these names signify; and as the Jews by the name of *Nisan*, *Elul*, &c. which they used, having received them from the Chaldeans, were brought in mind of that slavery and captivity under which they were held, and so occasioned the more to praise the mercy of God in their deliverance, so likewise should we by these names consider that great captivity wherein we were held, much more greater and grievouser than that of Babylon; and thus much we may mark, considering the circumstances of the time.

* Macrobius. Saturn lib. i. cap. xii. Bacon. in Notis ad Martyrol. Rom. Hospin. de Festis Chr. fol. 40 b. Eekius. tom. iii. hom. iii. de purif. Dundand. Rat. lib. vii. cap. vii. Varro de lingu. lat. lib. v. p. 53. Vide Turneb. in eundem. Jacob. de Vorag. ser. lxxxii. de Sanctis. Ducand. Rat. lib. vii. cap. vii. Moresin de Depravatæ Religionis Origin. Hospinian. de Festis Christ. Mens. Jun. fol. 89, 90.

SERMON II. Apr. 19. 1586.

THIS parcel opening an entrance to the exhortation to hold on the building of the temple begun, containeth many special points, which being therein comprised, have been heretofore laid down, and out of the first such necessary lessons delivered as made for our understanding, concerning the time, year, month, and day of this prophecy. The rest of the points con-

venient and fit to be noted concerning this message, as yet remain, and are these:

1. From whom this message cometh: *The Lord of Hosts.*
2. By whom it is sent: *By the hand or ministry of Haggai.*
3. To whom: *To Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel,*

prince of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedeck, the high priest.

4. In what sort, by noting the people's fault, and reproving it: *This people say the time is not yet come that the Lord, &c.*

1. In the first appeareth the singular favour of God, and his goodness towards his children, who by the ministry of his word calleth them to life, and thereby stirreth up their minds to be careful of it, as he dealt with Abraham, whom he called out of Ur of the Chaldeans, Gen. xi. 31, and xii. 1-4, with whom afterwards he made his covenant, Gen. xv. 5-7, and even so hath he dealt with the children of Abraham, according to that promise, 'I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed,' which how he hath performed I need not, by the several examples of the prophets, patriarchs, and apostles, to make manifest unto you; when Eliphaz and Elihu, Job xxxiii. 14, note even among the Gentiles that God speaketh by dreams and visions, revealing to the ear of man, and sealing his correction, that man may revoke his work, and that he may hide the pride of man, which he also used before the severing of the Jews and Gentiles, as in his dealings with our first parents, to whom by his word he opened his will, Gen. ii. 16, 17; so that whosoever is, or hath been, of his church, to him hath he revealed his will by one means or other, Heb. i. 1, of what age, state, or condition soever; for God is, and always hath been, to his people a pastor, Ps. xxiii. 1, master, father, Mal. i. 6, and teacher, Exod. iii. 15, and iv. 12, 15, 22.

2. In the second, we learn of the heavenly ministers, who they are by whom this message is sent. It is sent not to them in elder time, by voice, dream, or sight in trance, but 'by the hand,' that is, the ministry of Haggai; which manifestation, though it may seem less, in that men are the messengers, yet if we consider the matter, we shall find it far greater; for whenas their ancestors, at the giving of the law, heard the Lord speak unto them from mount Sinai, they were so dismayed, that they said unto Moses, Deut. v. 24, 25, 28, 31, Talk thou with us, and let not the Lord talk with us, lest we die. Upon which speech God approved their words, and said, they had spoken well; whereupon he promised them that he would raise up a prophet like unto Moses, into whose mouth he would put his words, Deut. xviii. 15-18. Wherefore, to relieve our weakness, and deliver us from this fear (wherewith we understand how greatly Daniel and John were stricken and astonished, Dan. vii. 28, Rev. i. 17), it pleased God, of his abundant mercy and favour, to raise up of our own flesh, of our brethren and our sons, men like unto ourselves, as more familiar teachers; for he hath ordained and given to his church prophets, 2 Chron. xx. 20, and them either ordinary or extraordinary: ordinary, such as were then before the coming of Christ, the priests and Levites, since pastors and doctors, Eph.

iv. 11; extraordinary, such as then and since have been sent by special authority from God to teach his church, 2 Chron. xv. 3. Of which sort Haggai was, I cannot certainly pronounce, for the Scripture telleth us not of what tribe he was; but we know that God had given him an extraordinary gift to foresee and foretell the coming of Christ. Hence we may learn how much they are bound to God's gracious mercy, who sent unto them his word by so fit a messenger; by nature, a man; by affinity, their brother; in quality, like unto Moses.

3. Which benefit, though it be great, yet behold a greater, where it is declared to whom this message was sent; namely, 'to Zerubbabel, prince of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedeck, the high priest;' where we may see how it pleased God not only to make the prophet Haggai, but the prince and priest also, messengers of this errand which was sent to the people, to the end, that if it should be the less regarded because of the person of the prophet, the authority of the ecclesiastical and civil governor giving it countenance, they might the sooner be moved to hear it more reverently, and obey it more readily. For although it were partly sent to them to stir them up, as the godly are slow enough, yet because the fault is noted especially to be in the people, as their reproof argueth, it seemeth, therefore, that this was sent unto these governors, chiefly for their sakes, that the power of the prince and priest might the rather move them to go forward in that which they had begun. Wherein, as the Lord dealt graciously with them, so hath he and doth he with us; his word hath come by the preachers thereof to our governors of all sorts and states, to the end, that this nation would agree to set forward the building and work of his house, the edifying of his church, the glory of the word, which, that it may be the better furthered by every one in this assembly, as God giveth grace, I am heartily to request such amongst us that are set in place of government, as, namely, our heads, that by the example of Zerubbabel and Joshua, they would vouchsafe to countenance the message of Haggai by their presence here and in such places. For, indeed, the message is not ours, although it be brought out by our hand, but he is in heaven, from whence he filleth all things with his power and majesty, whose word it is. We are sent by the like authority that Haggai was, though not furnished with the same measure of grace. The treasure that he brought and we bring is the same, though the vessel wherein it is carried be less precious. Neither are you, fathers, equal to those governors to whom this message was sent, for Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, was heir-apparent to the crown of Judah; Joshua high priest and chief governor in matters touching God; Zerubbabel, lord president of Jewry under king Darius; Joshua, high priest by his father's stock, descended of Phinehas, both figures of our Saviour Christ; Zerubbabel, of his kingdom, of

whom also he descended according to the flesh, Heb. iv. 8; Joshua, of his priesthood, whose name also he bore,* both very aged and reverend persons, having held this room and place near a hundred years. Now if such as these men disdained not to hear of one so inferior in dignity, in years and experience also, as may be thought, none of you will, I hope; sure I am you should not disdain to hear what God speaketh to you by us, how inferior soever, either in dignity, in years, or experience, though there were nothing else to be considered in us than that we are stewards of his house, 1 Cor. iv. 1. But chiefly, since the gospel and ministry thereof excelleth the ministry of Haggai so much, as the clear sunlight the light of any of the stars, Isa. ix. 2, so that we may, without pride, for our message sake, prefer ourselves before him. For John Baptist our Saviour testifieth to have been greater than any prophet that was born of woman, Mat. xi. 9, yet he saith, ver. 11, 'The least in the kingdom of heaven should be greater than he.'

I wot well that you are better able to teach than they who speak unto you; neither speak I this for I think that you have such great need to learn. As Daniel, albeit furnished with marvellous wisdom and knowledge from God, yet exercised himself and took profit by reading the prophecy of Jeremiah, Dan. ix. 1, 2; so the best may gather some commodity by the labours of those that are inferior to them. But I make this exhortation to them that they would vouchsafe us their presence for example's sake; that they by so doing might seem to say, as the princes did of Jeremiah, 'This man speaketh in the name of the Lord,' Jer. xxvi. 15; and that the commandment of Paul might be the better observed, 'Let no man despise thy youth,' 1 Tim. iv. 12; for so I doubt not but their presence would cause, that they who come would hear and mark more carefully, and that some would come who now refrain. The judgment of rulers and governors prevail much with the multitude, but their private and public example more; in which case the common proverbs, Isa. xxiv. 2, are often true, Such prince, such people; such master, such man; such mother, such daughter.†

But if this be not sufficient to move them, let them consider further, that although Zerubbabel knew how to build the temple, yet was not his heart, nor the heart of Joshua, so zealous, their hands so ready, their minds so prepared as they ought to have been, in consideration whereof they needed to be exhorted, for when they heard this message their hearts were stirred up, Hag. i. 12, 14. Let us not be ashamed to acknowledge the want that is in us, or slack the means that may remedy it. The words of the wise, saith Solomon, Eccles. xii. 11, are like to goads, wherewith

our laziness and sluggishness is pricked forward; and we stand in need of them; for howsoever the spirit be willing, the flesh is weak, Mat. xxvi. 41, which is a thing that toucheth all Christians; so, therefore, desiring God that we may teach faithfully and you hear diligently, I will proceed to the next point, which is the message itself.

4. *Thus hath the Lord of hosts charged me to say, This people say, that the time is not yet come, the time wherein the house of the Lord, &c.* When Adam, after he had broken the commandment of the Lord, heard his voice in the garden, he hid himself, and feared; the cause whereof he says was, for that he was naked. So he said indeed, but falsely; for the cause was not his nakedness, but his wickedness, in that he had eaten of the forbidden fruit. Since which time it hath been a custom amongst the sons of Adam to cover iniquity with hypocrisy, and cloak their offences with excuses. As in this place, the cause why the people did not build the house of the Lord was, that every man was wholly set to the building of his own house, to the regard of his own profit and ease; yet laid they the cause on the time: 'The time is not yet come,' the time to build the house of the Lord. Wherefore, as it pleased God to deal mercifully with Adam, and to the end he might bring him to the acknowledgment of his transgression, demanded of him, 'Hast thou eaten of the fruit?' so likewise here he dealeth with his people, when he saith, 'Is it time for you, sirs, to sit down in your ceiled houses, while this house lieth waste?' Where he sheweth the true causes indeed to be, not the time, as they pretended, but worldliness and idleness, in that they took so great care to build and furnish their own houses, and that not only for commodity, but for pleasure also, for they built their houses and ceiled them also; idleness, in that they sat down to take their rest and ease, for that doth the Hebrew word in this place properly signify. This fault, therefore, was shewed them, to the end they might acknowledge it, and amend it; that indeed their pretence for want of time was but hypocritical, the true cause being worldliness and idleness, that they might confess their offence, repent, and in time amend it. Which fruit also, that you may take hereby, it hath been heretofore shewed you in the general argument of this prophecy, in what points our estate may be compared with theirs: that as it fared with them, so doth it with us; as they were delivered from the bodily captivity by Cyrus, so we have been delivered from the spiritual captivity by King Henry the VIII., another Cyrus; and as they, though having received a grant and commission from Cyrus, &c., yet built not up the material temple in such sort and speed as was given them in commandment, so also we have not been so painful and diligent in building up the spiritual temple and church of God. The foundation of this work was said to be the beginnings of the

* Jesus and Jehoshua, as Ezra iii. 2, or Joshua cometh of one root *יְהוֹשׁוּעַ* as may further appear by Heb. iv. 8.

† Ex ancillarum moribus Dominæ judicantur.—*Hierom. ad Salvinam de virgin. servanda.*

doctrine of Christianity, Heb. vi. 1, 2, the which the apostle calleth the laying of the foundation, 1 Peter i. 12. The raising of the walls is the perfect understanding of those mysteries of Christ, which the angels desire to behold. The roof to be laid upon this building, to keep them that are within the house from the annoyance of rain and weather, of heat and blasts; that is, from sins and offences; is ecclesiastical discipline, which, according to the example of the Jews, Christ commanded, his apostles constituted, the primitive church observed, the reformed have restored, to the singular commodity and good governance of the places where it is received, even in the judgment of a papist.* By reason that a learned pastor joined to a sufficient number of grave and sober elders hath the oversight of the congregation: first, to admonish privately offenders; then, if they amend not, to proceed forward, &c.; so to keep them from such sins as civil laws partly do not, partly cannot punish, and yet are such as shut out the committers from the kingdom of God, into which no unclean, adulterous, or covetous person can enter, Rev. xxi. 27, 1 Cor. vi. 10.

Wherefore, seeing that in many places of this land the foundation is not yet laid, the congregations being not catechised; in others, if there be catechising, yet no preaching, and so the walls not built; in others, no discipline exercised, and therefore the roof not laid upon the building; it is manifest that the temple of the Lord is not built amongst us as it ought, and so that our case and fault is like unto theirs, whom the Lord by the prophet here reproveth, for so his house lieth waste among us; somewhere less, somewhere more, but lie waste it doth; not indeed as the temple, when Daniel prayed, Dan. ix. 17, and said, 'Thy sanctuary lies waste,' but as God saith here that it did, when there was an altar built. But is this fault defended by us, with such excuses as it was maintained by them? Ezra iii. 2, 3. In some part no doubt it is. For although I cannot say of this people in general as the prophet doth of the Jews, for there are many that confess the time to be come to build the Lord's house (God increase the number of them), yet some there be that say the time is not yet come, as hath appeared by the open reproof of that which in this matter I have heretofore spoken unto you. Wherein, first, I would advise you diligently to beware that you stumble not at their offences, neither conceive worse of the church because of the jars that happen in it. Paul and Barnabas disagreed, yet were they of the true church, as these were of whom the prophet speaketh. He with the prince and high priest dissented from the people, the people thought and held that the time was not yet come to build the house of the Lord; but the other were of a contrary judgment, yet were they of the true church; which note also confuteth a foolish motive† of our adversaries con-

cerning discord and universality, for here we see that the greater part held the false opinion, and that the true church dissented from itself. Next, let us remember who they were that said, 'The time is not yet come,' namely, the people, for even so they who say among us the time is not yet come, are of this people, of the people of God indeed, yet of the people only; for they that are in the place of Zerubbabel and Joshua say that it is high time. In the book of ordaining bishops and ministers, there is granted unto the minister authority to preach the word, minister the sacraments, exercise discipline, which more at large appeareth in a learned discourse of Bucer's, whence into that book they have translated that point. The thirty-two commissioners in King Edward's days, appointed to set down orders for the redress of ecclesiastical matters, set down this order, that the minister, with others according to Christ's commandment, Mat. xviii. 15-17, should first deal by brotherly admonition, and so to proceed according to Christ's rule in this case. Master Nowel, whose praise is great in the gospel, hath written more fully and largely in his Latin catechism, that every church well grounded ought to have a sufficient number of elders, who, together with their pastors, should exercise church discipline,* and to avoid all those offences and faults which happen in the congregation. This catechism, by authority from the bishops in their convocations, is authorised, as the only Latin catechism to be read in all schools throughout the realm, and appointed also to be translated into the vulgar tongue, to be read and understood of all; whereby we may perceive that the queen's majesty, her brother of blessed memory, Bishop Cranmer, Master Bucer, Peter Martyr, Master Nowel, the thirty-two commissioners, eight bishops, eight divines, eight common lawyers, eight counselors, with the parliament, have thought it time fit to build the house of the Lord with doctrine and discipline; wherefore it is not Zerubbabel nor Joshua, but this people, that say it is not time to build the Lord's house; though the people of God indeed, yet but of the people, who, if they entered into their own hearts, should find, I doubt not, whatsoever excuse they allege, that it is but a mere pretence like to this which is here reproved; the truth is, there is some other fault in them which they would with this excuse cloak, which I will not now deal with, nor enter into a particular confutation of the pretences they allege. I leave it to your particular considerations, wishing, that as the fault hath been discovered, it might be amended, so it may be by every one of us, so far as it concerneth each particular man's person, 1 Cor. v.

* In ecclesiâ si probè instituta fuerit, certus gubernationis ordo, et modus, disciplinæque ecclesiasticæ ea ratio observabitur, p. 92.

Deligebantur Seniores, i. e. Magistratus ecclesiastici, qui disciplinam ecclesiasticam tenerent, &c., Hi adhibito pastore, &c., p. 155.

* Bodin. Method Hist. cap. vi. † Qu. 'notion'?—Ed.

1, 4, 5; Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17; Acts xiv. 23, and xv. 4, 6, 22, 24; Acts xx. 17, 28; 1 Tim. v. 17; Titus i. 5.

Wherein, first, to you I need not say so much for the laying of the foundation, if the good order already taken for catechising in every house were diligently and carefully looked unto; but albeit the foundation be laid, yet in building the walls, there would be somewhat added. I have heard, and so have others, of strangers of godly zeal and good credit, who coming into our university, have made complaint that on the Sunday, in the afternoon, there hath not been a sermon in all Oxford, which were a special service for the sanctifying of that day. When there were fewer preachers among us than now there are, yet were there more sermons than nowadays there be, so that it might truly be said, the people is increased, but their joy is diminished. Although I nothing doubt but there would now be found voluntarily to perform this work, yet think I it more convenient, and likelier to continue, if the public readers, the heads of the colleges, with the prebends of Christ Church, will take the charge of it, that whereas now they are to preach once, they would vouchsafe to do it twice, which might be done with little increase of their pains, and great profit of the university. This thing I doubt not but it would be established, if it would please God to stir up his spirit that is in the room of the magistrate to propose it in the convocation, by the godly disposition of the doctors in commending it to the house of the proctors to gather the voices, and of the body of the university to agree to it.

But howsoever the foundation and walls are built among us, in other places certainly they are not, for which such as do it not, but indeed ought to do it, are in great fault. I mean the mere non-resident, that stayeth here from his charge without any just or necessary occasion, whereby it cometh to pass that in many places of this land they are so far from laying on the roof, that the foundation is not laid. This offence is so great, that not the people and the prince, but even their own consciences also (if they be not by God's judgment seared), confess that it is time to amend it, which is laid down more plain in the synod but now alleged, wherein the bishops affirm this non-residence to be a thing foul and dishonest in itself, shameful and detestable among the people, pernicious and hurtful to the church of God; I do but English their own words, *facta in se, odiosa in vulgus, perniciosae ecclesiae Dei*. The thirty-two commissioners before mentioned appointed that none having the charge of souls elsewhere should continue in the university; and no marvel, because in the book of ordering of ministers, each one at the time of his ordering solemnly promiseth before God and his elect angels, to give all diligence to teach his people with all care, &c. Which book being established again, such as are ordered, being made by this order, yet abide many of them

among us, breaking this solemn promise and vow to almighty God, and yet are not ashamed to look men in the faces, as though God had not said, perform thy vows, and that he delighteth not in fools, &c., yet we, for all they be such men, honour them, bestow graces on them, give them great commendation of learning and honesty, whereas by this breaking of their vow and promise they declare themselves to be sacrilegious persons. A great fault in us *regentes*, if not also in *non-regentes*, if we have not learned that this is a sufficient cause to deny grace, but grant them to such persons, to the shame and obloquy of the university. And here I am sorry that I cannot touch this fault, but that I must you also (reverend fathers), who, although you be called to the same office and duty that the others be, yet are not in the same measure of sin that they are; howbeit these are strengthened in their offence by your example. Let no man think that when we speak of this fault to have it redressed, that we cast daggers into our fathers' bosoms, but let them consider the cause that moveth us thus to do. In the Persian story, written by Herodotus and Trogus, we read that after the death of Cambyses, the Magi got the crown. Seven of the nobility conspired together to slay the Magi; and as Darius and Gobrias made at one of them, Darius staying to strike, Gobrias asked what he meant that he slew not his enemy. For fear (saith he) lest in the dark I slay thee. To whom Gobrias answered, Stay not for that, but heartily run us both through. Gobrias was content, if it could no otherwise be done, that himself should be slain, so that the sorcerer, the usurper, might die also. Some think you should be content that we strike you, if no otherwise, that these sorcerers may be removed. I call them so justly, for God hath said that disobedience is as the sin of sorcery. This sin of non-residence is a sin of disobedience, and a mother of as many transgressions as ever was Sodom. Be content, therefore, if to the end to slay them we touch your bodies and credit, seeing, it may be, that as the sorcerer was slain and Gobrias escaped, so you may escape though they be slain. Would to God we might see your diligence to cast out these sorcerers, as Saul did out of Israel, and so to cast them out as withal to take heed that you follow not his example, who afterwards went himself to consult with a sorceress, with one that had a familiar spirit, because that God answered him not otherwise. This was a persuasible reason to flesh and blood, God doth not answer me, therefore why may I not ask of a witch? and shall not yours be like if you thus gather, God doth not otherwise provide for me, therefore will I rob churches, &c. But how far from this mind was St Paul, and how far from his are such men! He was content rather to betake himself to a base occupation, 1 Thess. ii. 6, 8, 9, wherein he had been before trained up, than he would burden the churches, which he might nevertheless have done lawfully; and

better were it for you to return again to the teaching of scholars than to provide for yourselves by such means; though I hope you shall not need to do that neither, God having provided that you may live honestly by other means, if you can be content to bear a lower sail, remembering the heathen man's rule, *Ingens rectigal parsimonia*. Abraham, when God called him, forsook a fruitful and plentiful soil, to go he knew not whither. Moses chose rather to suffer affliction with the children of God than to enjoy the delights of Egypt. When David was to fight with Goliath, 1 Sam. xvii., Saul furnished him with his good armour; but when he had them on, he saw they were not fit for him, wherefore he said, I cannot go with these, for I am not accustomed. Wherefore he put them off, and took his staff in his hand, which was fitter for him. Verily, fathers, these livings which you cannot discharge are like the helmet of brass, the brigandine, and sword wherewith David was furnished; if you will fight, you must be content to forego them. Christ saith he is not worthy to be his disciple who forsaketh not all, even his own life, to follow him; will you not be content to forego these things for his sake, who for yours did forego his own blood? No doubt, if we would earnestly regard and reprove these things here, it would move godly patrons to send hither for able and fit men to discharge their room, or God would move her Majesty to procure that better order may be taken in this case, that it may not be lawful for patrons to prefer such beggarly creatures as often they do, the very filth and rascality of the people, Jeroboam-priests.

Concerning the last point, which is the setting up of the roof upon the building, let us remember the commandment of Christ, If our brother trespass against us, tell him his fault between thee and him; and if he hear thee not, do it before two or three; if he vouchsafe not to hear them, to tell it unto the church, whom, if he refuse to hear, to count him as a heathen. Let us consider one another, to provoke to love and to good works, and use all means to recall sinners from their ungodliness; to which purpose let us join one to another in this work. As Paul to the Galatians joineth himself with all the brethren, and to the Thessalonians with Timotheus and Silvanus, as Barnabas joined himself to Silas, &c., so let us join together our strength, and use one another's help to the forwarding of sincerity. In which respect I thought it necessary to speak of this matter at this

time and in this place; for though it may seem that it were fitter to be delivered in other places, yet it is not amiss also here, for there are many here that may come to those places, and therefore it is necessary they should know the truth of this doctrine; there are some here that may stand before the prince, as Nehemiah did before Artaxerxes.

But where it may be said that the universities are not sufficient to send forth so many as may furnish the land, it is true indeed where it lieth on them that are in authority to set forward another thing ordered by the thirty-two commissioners before mentioned, who mention three seminaries which should serve for this purpose, whereof the one is the university, another bishops' houses, wherein they appoint that men should be trained up in learning, that they may be fit for such charges, to which end they required that the bishops keep no idle persons in their houses, but that (besides their necessary servants) all about them should be brought up in learning. For this, say they, is another means whereby the church may be furnished with able ministers, concluding, *sic instituta fuit Augustini domus*, &c. The third they appoint in cathedral churches, where they ordain to retain a scholar and instructor to train up youth in knowledge, whereunto maketh that which Bucer hath in his treatise *de Reformatione Canonici Collegii*, where he sheweth that the first end of the ordaining of such cathedral churches was this, that therein men might be brought up in good learning. Now, if there were a learned ministry settled in each place of this land, that the people might be catechised and instructed, the rest would soon follow; wherefore, such whom it hath pleased God to enable in the building of his church I beseech, or rather charge, as Paul did Timothy, to be careful of that which they are put in trust withal, and with all their diligence to set forward the building of the Lord's house by procuring the establishing of a learned ministry, and whereby the foundation may be laid, its walls built, and the roof laid upon, even as God hath appointed.

The prophet saith not here without cause that the Lord of hosts charged him to speak, even he who is able to revenge the contempt of the commandment, and to reward the keeping of it, which God grant that we may also earnestly consider, and thereby be moved more effectually to the doing of our duty and his commandment.

SERMON III. June 7.

Now therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider your own ways in your hearts. Ye have sown much, and ye bring little in; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but are not filled; you put on clothes, but ye be not warm; he that getteth wages, getteth wages, and putteth it into a broken bag. Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Go up to the mountains, and bring down wood, and build this house; and I will take delight in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord. Ye looked for much, but lo, you got little; and when you brought it home, I did blow upon it. And why? saith the Lord of hosts. Because of my new house that lies waste, and every

man runneth to his own house. Therefore the heaven over you stayed itself from dew, and the earth her fruit. And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the wine, and upon the oil, upon all that the land should bring forth, both upon men, and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands.—HAGGAI I. 5–11.

AS the good Samaritan (of whom our Saviour speaketh, Luke x.), taking compassion on the man that had fallen amongst thieves, bound up his wounds, and poured into them not only sharp vinegar to scour, but also mild oil to supple, even so the prophet, meaning to heal the wounds of his people, who had suffered the temple of the Lord to lie waste, hath first sharply reprov'd them in the former verses, laying open their faults, and here mildly exhorting them to that which they had omitted, that by all means they might be brought to do this which God commandeth them. And, first, he sheweth his warrant and letter of credence for his message, that the thing he commanded them might be esteemed, not by the worthiness of the man *by* whom, but rather of God, *from* whom it was sent. Wherefore he willet them to consider with themselves, that is, deeply and thoroughly to weigh and mark their own ways, that is, their works and behaviour; for if they did so, they should perceive the greatness of their sins and transgressions, at least if they would endeavour the punishments which God had laid upon them, and consider the scarcity in their goods, and want of natural heat and strength in their bodies, in that they sowed much, and brought in little; they ate, but were not satisfied; clothed themselves, but were not warmed, &c.; which punishment God had laid upon them, to the end they might perceive their sin and acknowledge it, which he wisheth them to amend by building the house of the Lord, whereunto he would stir them up the rather, by setting down the promise of grace and favour, by blessing of their labours, and graciously receiving their service. But because the promise of good doth less move than the fear of evil, especially the stubborn and froward sinner, therefore the prophet telleth them again of that rod which God held over them, namely, of the want and scarcity which they suffered; and lest they might imagine, that albeit they suffered these things, yet haply they might come from some other causes, and not from God, he bringeth in the Lord protesting so much, 'I did blow upon it;' or if they would suppose that, albeit it were the hand of God, yet that it might come from some other cause than this, it is also added, 'All this came on them because of his house that was so waste, while every man ran to his own house.' This is the substance of the exhortation whereby he inciteth them to continue the building of the Lord's house, which they had so long neglected; wherefore they were punished of God by scarcity and need in their goods, and by want of strength in their bodies.

The first point to be noted, is that the prophet saith nothing unto the people but what the Lord hath given

him in charge; for which cause he doth so often put them in mind that 'this is the word of the Lord'; for both the exhortation in the fifth and seventh verses have the same annexed, and the reasons adjoined to strengthen them in the eighth and ninth verses, wherein he sheweth himself a wise and faithful steward in dispensing the mysteries of God: faithful, in that he goeth not beyond his charge; wise, in that he fasteneth the thing which he would teach them the more deeply in their minds by sundry repetitions. For such is the frowardness of man's perverse nature, that if we be any way crossed, we believe not, at the least seem not to believe, the message therewithal sent us, but persuade ourselves that the ministers rather speak out of affection. Example whereof we have in Johanan and the rest, &c., who, when Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans, came to the prophet Jeremiah, beseeching him to pray to God for them, to teach them the way in which they should walk, promising very earnestly to do according to all things for which the Lord should send him to them. But when Jeremiah had told them that it was the commandment of the Lord that they should dwell in the land, and not go up into Egypt, &c., then Johanan and all the proud men said unto Jeremiah, 'Thou speakest falsely; the Lord our God hath not sent thee to say, Go not into Egypt, to dwell there; but Baruch provoked thee against us,' &c. A man would have thought that they who made so solemn promise would not have so disobeyed the commandments of God; but Jeremiah so behaved himself in this message, that they were ashamed to lay the blame (which they pretended) on him, but said that he was thereto persuaded by them to cast off the word of the Lord, as it had been a lie devised against them by the malice of man; and that which increased the mischief, they said it was done to the end that the Chaldeans might destroy them, whereas, indeed, it was only for their good. We are, therefore, diligently to beware of these enchanting syrens, flesh and blood, and not to hearken unto them; and howbeit the message delivered us by God's ministers serve not our humour of pleasure and ease, yet to receive the same not as the words of man, but as they are indeed, the words of God; for although we speak not by revelation, as the prophet did, yet we speak by knowledge; and the very same which they saw by extraordinary, do we now by ordinary. The godly ministers are called to the same office that were the priests of the law, as Malachi saith, to be the messengers of the Lord of hosts; and Paul speaketh not only of himself, but of others also, such as Apollos and Sosthenes were, 'Let a man so think of us, as the ministers of Christ,' &c. Whatsoever, therefore, the

man be, so long as he preacheth the truth, let us account thereof as of the doctrine of God himself; and so oft as the word of God is alleged, so oft let us think that this soundeth in our ears, *The Lord of hosts*.

Upon this riseth another point to be likewise observed, that the preachers and dispensers of God's word in all their office behave themselves faithfully, according to the function wherewith they are put in charge; and so Paul, having taught the Corinthians their duties towards God's messengers, straightly addeth the duty of the ministers: 'Now,' saith he, 'it is required of the stewards that they be found faithful;' which faithfulness concerneth not only the matter which they are to handle, but the manner also, that they deliver the truth of God with all reverence, discretion, and soberness; which Peter teacheth also when he saith, 'If any speak, let him speak as the words of God;' wherefore he must say nothing but what he may warrant by this which the prophet speaketh, 'Thus saith the Lord.' But if hereunto the commandment of Christ and his apostles move nothing, let the curse threatened against the breakers of this commandment move us. In the prophecy of Ezekiel, chap. xiii., mention is made of two sorts of them that break this commandment, prophesying out of their own hearts, following their own spirit, when they had seen nothing: the one, of such men as saw lies, saying, *The Lord saith it*, when the Lord hath not sent them. One (saith the prophet) built up a wall, and the other daubed it up with untempered mortar; and because of that, the Lord saith his hand shall be upon them: they shall not be in the assemblies of his people, &c. The other sort were of the prophets that sewed pillows under all arm-holes, &c., soothing up the wicked with promises of all happiness, telling them of peace, peace, as if all things were well, whenas the Lord had threatened heavy plagues against them, for which cause there is a woe threatened them; which judgment is therefore said to be pronounced against them, because they spake and prophesied when the Lord commanded them not; whereby we are put in mind to be careful in behaving ourselves faithfully, as Moses did in all his house, not to soothe up men in their sins, nor to flatter the breakers of his commandments.

In which point I was desirous to satisfy them who have a care how the church may be builded, which causeth me to call to mind a point mistaken by some, wherein I have been thought to have sewn cushions under the elbows, and pillows under the arm-holes of some non-residents, when by occasion heretofore I spake against that sin; whereas I indeed, if my words had been generally of them who multiply living upon living, and have no care to discharge any of them, that I had justified them in comparison of the mere non-residents who stay here having no charge at all or calling in this place, I might have been justly condemned of this fault; but speaking in respect of some

that were present, who have a good care to build the church of God, though they do it not in every place with that diligence and assiduity they ought, and comparing them with others that, having no charge in this place, follow only their pleasure, not doing so much on any of their charges, as these do on all, I trust I shall be cleared from this suspicion; wherefore I would you did consider that when I put a difference in the degrees of this sin, I meant not to deny that all of it was wicked and to be condemned, and that you would also receive the message with such equity as it was delivered.

I should come to the exhortation, but that somewhat is to be first said of the repetition, namely, why so often this is added, *Thus saith the Lord*; no doubt to give this lesson to teachers, not to be grieved to teach the self-same things oftentimes if they be necessary to the hearers, not to think it loathsome to be taught the same matter if it be profitable and expedient for them. If Paul said that it grieved not him to write the same things, and that it was for them to whom he wrote a safe thing, how much less ought it to grieve us! how much more safe is it for you, being a warrant by the example of the prophet in this place, who repeateth the same words in his exhortation in the 5th and 7th verses, and the reason of his exhortation to the same effect; and in the 6th and 9th verses, which, considering the prophets set down their sermons in fewer words than they preached, confirmeth more that which hath been said, for if the Holy Ghost thought it necessary in so brief a rehearsal to set so oft in the same words the exhortation and reason of it, we may well know that it is also needful for us often to keep the self-same things. How oft is this one speech repeated in the prophets, 'Shew the house of Israel their sins!' How often doth St John reiterate that commandment, 'Love one another!' 'This is that old commandment!' &c.; 'This is that new commandment,' &c., 1 John ii. How often doth our Saviour by divers similitudes teach one and the very same thing, Mat. xiii. The seven epistles in the Apocalypse are all shut up with one court* answer, 'Let him that hath ears hear what the Spirit saith,' &c., Rev. ii. and iii.; which point I would they did consider who are grieved that we speak so much of that sin of the negligence of careless pastors; for if skilful chirurgeons, after they have lanced imposthumes, put in new tents day by day, should not we also, whom God hath called to be the physicians and chirurgeons of your souls, Mat. ix., after we have lanced your wounds, daily also put in new tents, that at length they may be healed? The Lord, by Ezekiel, chap. xxii., reproveth such prophets as rose not up in the gaps and stood not in the breaches, where he useth a metaphor drawn from the manner of warriors, who are wont to join their force together, and to make a head against their enemies in such places

Qu. 'curt'?—ED.

as they had made a breach. This fault of the negligent pastor is one of the greatest breaches, whereunto if we run not and stand not up in it, what may our General and Captain think of us? When Cæsar besieged Avaricum in France, his soldiers raised a bulwark against it. The citizens set it on fire, which, when Cæsar's soldiers laboured to quench, one stood in the gate, to whom was brought such matter as might be cast into the fort to continue the flame. He that first was there placed was shot through with a scorpion's bone, and so was slain; in whose place came the second, who, being so served, there followed the third and the fourth; neither was that place left without a man while there remained any hope to do good. There hath been a fire kindled to consume this hold of sin. God forbid it should be quenched; nay, it cannot, indeed, for it is nourished by God's Spirit. The papists themselves, at their Council of Trent, after they had long debated the matter, they were enforced by the clearness of the truth to conclude that the pastor, by the law of God, is bound to be resident on his charge; what the law of man permits, it is for the hardness of men's hearts, whereunto that may be replied, that from the beginning it was not so; wherefore, although we be shot through with speeches as sharp as arrows, yet let us shew ourselves no less valiant than did the citizens of Avaricum, chiefly seeing they fought but for a corruptible city, for the safeguard of the body, and that with uncertain hope; but we fight for an incorruptible crown of glory, for the eternal salvation of the soul, and that under undoubted hope. But we persuade ourselves better things of you, brethren, whom we desire to remember that the wounds of a friend is better than the kisses of an enemy. Of myself I know, and I conceive the like of others, that I only reprove this sin for the salvation of your souls, and of them that are committed to your charge; and why the same is done so often, we have example and warrant of the prophet, using so many iterations of the same thing; and of the good chirurgeons, who cease not to apply their medicines till such time as they have cured the wound.

Now, to proceed, the exhortation is laid down in the 8th verse, 'Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build this house.' The reasons hereof are because the Lord had already corrected them, ver. 6, 9, 10, 11; where, as he threateneth them punishment if they do it not, so on the other side he promiseth that he will take pleasure in them, &c., ver. 8, and bestow his blessing on them if they do his commandment; but for that you have heard sufficiently already in the exhortation, I will come to the reasons. It is first set down for them to consider, that because of the neglect of God's commandment he had chastised them with dearth, famine, scarcity; wherein the first point to be observed is, that the Lord did send these punishments on them, for it is said, 'I blowed on it, I called for a drought.' For as God hath by his power created

all things, so doth he continually by his providence govern and dispose of them. So that it is verified that our Saviour saith, John v. 17, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I also work.' For all things are his work, and come from his power, though it be true that he worketh most by secondary causes, even as it is here said that to cause a famine among this people he called for a drought upon the land and upon the mountains, &c.; for the heavens are appointed to water the earth, Heb. vi., to make it fruitful, 'that it may yield seed to the sower.' But neither can the rain make the earth fruitful, nor can the earth bring forth her fruit, without his blessing and providing; which the prophet by occasion of the mention of God's blessing to his church doth lay open: 'In that day I will hear, saith the Lord: I will hear even the heavens, and they shall hear the earth; and the earth shall hear the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hear Israel,' Hosea ii. 21. By which is signified that all creatures shall labour with common consent for Israel, for such as fear and serve God; that as they wish to have necessities from the earth, so the earth shall look for rain from the heavens, &c. But all this the Lord saith he will hear, that we may learn to lift up our eyes from these second causes to him; for men that regard not this, would go no further than to say, This dearth came from want of rain, &c., as though it were not the Lord that ruleth these things; which Seneca might teach us when he saith, what thou callest nature is God, for God created the heavens, earth, and corn; may say to us as John and Peter said to the people, Acts iii. 12, 'Why look you on us as though by our power and strength we had done this?' 'A sparrow falleth not to the ground without his providence;' 'There is no evil in the city' (*i.e.* no punishment of evil) 'which the Lord hath not wrought,' Amos iii. 6. The want and need in goods, the weakness of the body, the punishments here mentioned, are said to come from him, Deut. iii. 8; for sometimes he withdraweth the things themselves from them, sometimes the power and faculty of them, though they remain. For sometimes he worketh by these means and second causes, sometimes without them; yea, also against them, as he teacheth us when signifying how wonderfully he preserved them in the wilderness, and fed them, he yieldeth this as the reason, that he might teach them, Deut. viii. 4, 'that men liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord;' that is, whatsoever he enforceeth or commandeth to feed us. Yea, by the same power he caused their raiment to endure and not to wax old, and kept their feet that they swelled not. Daniel, appointed to be fed with the king's ordinary, Dan. i., fearing lest thereby he should be defiled therewith, besought his governor that he and his fellows might feed on pulse instead thereof; but the governor feared lest so they should be in worse taking than the rest who fared on finer meats, but through

God's blessing they looked better with their diet than the other with the king's ordinary. Pulse is but a homely meat, and by the physician's judgment but of a bad juice, yet with God's blessing it is better than a prince's fare; contrariwise without this, when the people looked for much, it came to little, and when it was brought home the Lord blowed upon it, and it dispersed and vanished as it had been nothing. They drank, but were not filled; they did eat, but were not satisfied; put on clothes, but were not warmed; because these creatures wanted that secret blessing by which God giveth force to the clothes to warm, bread to nourish, drink to quench the thirst; as when he pleaseth he sometimes taketh away the things themselves, in both to teach us to cast up our eyes from the earth to heaven, from the creature to the Creator; which let us do, and when such things befall us, remember the speech of Job, who when his goods were spoiled, &c., considered not the Sabeans, but looked directly upon the first cause, which ruled and governed the second, and therefore said, 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken,' Job i. 15, 21.

Which that we may so much the more, let us also consider the next point that followeth, which is the benefit that ariseth to the church by these punishments; for as the physician ministereth a bitter potion to his patient, and draweth away his meat, to the end to heal and cure his malady, and as the father chastises his child, whom he would have reclaimed, Heb. xii. 6, so the Lord correcteth this people, that they might leave their sins, which is taught them when the prophet saith, that this was done because each man ran to his own house, and suffered the Lord's house to lie waste; and so also would it fare with us when we neglect God; we would even perish out of the way, if God called us not back by his correction; which Elihu also noteth to be one means whereby God doth recall men from sin: Job xxxiii. 19, 'He also striketh him with sorrow on his bed, and the multitude of his bones with a sore grief,' &c. 'If there be with him a messenger and interpreter, one of a thousand, who can shew his equity,' &c.; and the prophet at large in the psalm openeth the same by sundry examples of such as wander up and down, Ps. cvii., and them that are in prison or tossed on the sea, and that inhabit barren grounds, &c.: noting this of them all, that when they cry to him out of their distress, he heareth them and helpeth, as he did Jonah out of the whale's belly. This should we consider to be the cause of wars and other chastisements, and not refer them (as some are wont) to the eclipse of the sun or moon, or conjunction of some planets, or to the sextile or quadrate aspect of them. No; plagues, wars, sickness, famine, they are not effects of these causes; the eclipse is in us, not in the sun or moon, that causeth these things. It is for that the moon, whereby (in the Apocalypse) are signified all changeable things, is not trod under our feet as it should be, Rev. xii. 1, 2; but is lifted above

us, and doth eclipse the light of God's grace that it cannot shine upon us. Men's unchaste and unnatural conjunctions, their greedy and covetous aspects, their cruelty and extortion, these are the planets whose conjunction and aspects cause wars, plagues, and famine, which I do not speak as though the heavenly bodies did not work at all. I know and confess they have their physical effects (though the division of heavens into the houses and parts, which the astrologians set down, be most fantastical and blockish) but to teach us to cast our eyes from the second causes to the first, and that we would have our eyes fixed on our own sins for which God layeth his chastisement upon us, whereof the Jews had experience, who were then punished by tyrants and oppressors, when they fell from God and renounced his religion; which the prophet sheweth when he saith, that war taught them that which they could not before learn in peace, Judges iii. 2. When Eli's sons, through their wickedness, caused the service of God to be despised, the Lord sent war amongst them, and the ark was taken, &c.; when the Jews would be by no means reclaimed, the Lord telleth them, by the prophet, that he would do unto them, as he had done unto Shiloh for the wickedness of his people, Jer. vii. 14; to the same effect also the same prophet, chap. xxvi. 5, 6, &c., threateneth the like curse to all the cities of Judah, &c.; whereby we may gather that the Lord calleth his servants by war, dearth, &c., at such time as they are, as you would say, provender-pricked.

But, leaving them, let us apply these things to ourselves. Remember the exhortation which the prophet useth to the building of the Lord's house, and you have heard the proportion betwixt their temple and our church. The time admonisheth us, even as it did them, to consider our ways; for we are visited with scarcity even as were they, but behold, whenas by reason hereof we should be humbled under the mighty hand of God, to call our ways to remembrance, and to mend our naughty manners, we are wanton, and give ourselves to sporting and pastime, the which is by the sound of the trumpet signified, not the sound of a trumpet to proclaim a fast, as the Lord commandeth by the prophet, but to proclaim idle and ungodly plays, as though we were resolved to verify that which the prophet saith, 'I called' (saith the Lord) 'to weeping and mourning, and behold eating and drinking,' &c., Isa. xxii. 12-14; which is also so much the worse that these plays have been condemned by statute of our university, yea, worst of all, for that at this time there is an order appointed by authority for extraordinary prayers to be used, whereas we not only take no such order, but rather the quite contrary by this disorder, which is such that the cry thereof is carried from one side of the town to the other, and though that cannot be said of it as of the cry of them that sat them down to eat and drink, and rose up to play;—it is not the sound of them that have the worse, &c.,—yet

not far unlike may it be said ; it is not the cry of warriors, but of wantons ; and here the prophet setteth it down that they sowed much, &c., and layeth down the cause, for that the Lord's house did lie waste. Let us also consider, as the prophet commandeth, our own ways. I will not descend to particular persons, but let every man consider it on his bed, whether there be not some who, having many ecclesiastical livings, and much coming in yearly into their hands thereby, yet may count it so as though it had been put into a bottomless purse ; and whether many that live on pulse be not in as good liking as they that feed on such variety. I leave it to your own consideration. In ancient time, the pastors had good livings allotted them, but they waxed careless, negligent, and slothful in discharging their duties, insomuch that certain hundred of years the fault of non-residency was spoke against and disliked, as Edward III. his epistle to the pope doth testify. What ensued hereupon ? Were not the livings hereupon so abused, taken away by little and little ? And they, who were put in trust to dispose them, did they not make merchandise of them, that so the church was spoiled on each side ? and of them that should feed others it might be said, You feed yourselves. Now, because pastors cannot feed others unless themselves be also nourished, and that there might be a continual supply when any failed, our ancestors provided nurseries for learning, as abbeyes, bishops' houses, cathedral churches, colleges in sundry places of this realm, beside our universities. The abbeyes they fell to idleness, pleasure, pampering of their bodies, &c. ; wherefore God hath done unto them as he did unto Shiloh, their dwellings were wasted, &c. Shiloh was destroyed for the wickedness of the priests, from whom iniquity (as the prophet saith) went forth into all the land, and is it not to be feared lest the same also happen to our bishoprics ? Nay, would to God it were not passed fearing ; for are not bishops impoverished ? Cathedral churches

also, and but very few colleges, except these in our universities, but they have been brought to the same decay that abbeyes have been ; and shall not the like happen to our colleges ? I am sorry to say it, but the Lord hath said it (and not one of his words shall fall to the ground), if we hear not his word to turn from our evil ways, and leave our transgressions, he will do unto us he did to Shiloh, Jer. xxvi. 6. God hath provided a nursery for his church by these means to the establishing of doctrine and discipline amongst us ; but seeing that the means for this end appointed have not been so used, he will no doubt even deal with bishoprics as he hath done with abbeyes, for the word of God is gone out of his mouth, and shall be certainly accomplished. He that is neither prophet nor prophet's child may see this. All men know what forwardness the thing was in in King Edward's days, when so many things went to wreck, not through his fault, but theirs who, in his minority, were put in trust with the matters of the realm, whenas the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham was brought about, which had been so continued, had it not pleased God to send Queen Mary to dissolve that dissolution, as he sent the Philistines to deliver David, else had a bishopric (so necessary for the church) been quite lost, and had come to the same end that Shiloh did. God be praised our prince hath been careful to preserve these, and give us grace to use them to his glory, lest that happen to them which the ungodly wish for, who in their minds have devoured them. The only way to turn away these plagues is for us to do our duty in that vocation whereunto we are called.

The history of Agrippa and his fable, for the belly and other members.* If they shall see these things so well bestowed and necessarily as he proved to them, and will be as well content as the Romans to maintain the senators.

* Livi. lib. i. in oratione Menenii Agrippæ.

SERMON IV. June 11. 1584.

Go up to the mountain, and bring timber, and build this house ; and I will take delight in it, and I will be glorified in it, saith the Lord.—HAGGAI I. 8.

THE prophet Haggai, being sent by special commandment of the Highest to preach to the Jews that were returned from the captivity of Babylon, and to stir them up to the building of the temple, the foundation whereof was laid before, because they were faulty herein, doth first reprove them for that they were so careful to ceil their own houses, but suffer the Lord's house to lie waste ; and next doth advertise them to call to mind the punishments which they suffered, in sowing much, and bringing home little ; in eating, and not having enough ; in drinking, but not being filled ; in clothing themselves, but not being warm ; in earning of wages, and putting it, as it were,

into a bottomless bag, shewing that all this did light upon them for this cause, because they left the house of the Lord waste, and every man ran to his own house. Thirdly, he exhorteth them that they would go up to the mountain, and bring timber and build the house, and so promiseth he will accept thereof, and be glorified, &c. Of the former parts, and, namely, of the reproof and advertisement, I have spoken heretofore ; it followeth that I now speak of the exhortation in this 8th verse, in the which there are two things to be observed : *first*, who it is that exhorteth ; *secondly*, what he exhorteth unto. First, who exhorteth ? The Lord himself, signified in the

last words of the verse, 'saith the Lord;' secondly, to what he exhorteth: that they 'go up to the mountain, and bring timber to build the house.' The which exhortation, that it may be more effectual, he addeth thereunto two reasons to stir them up to that: he exhorteth them, first, that he will accept of it; secondly, that he will be glorified; so that, in the substance, there are three branches commended to us in these words to be considered: first, who exhorteth; secondly, the thing he exhorteth; thirdly, the reasons for which he exhorteth them thereunto.

For the first, it is the Lord; for though the exhortation be delivered by the voice and ministry of the prophet, yet is it indeed the Lord that exhorteth them, even as it is added, 'saith the Lord;' and this, as the rest of the prophets are wont often to mention, and that to raise up the hearts of the people to the dutiful consideration of that which is uttered; for Haggai also mentioneth the same both in the former words, and here again, and likewise afterward, having thought it good to put them still in remembrance thereof, thereby to move them to obey and believe the commandment and promise delivered from the Lord, the which the very name of God which the prophet useth doth therefore recommend more effectually to them, because it layeth before their eyes the majesty of him that speaketh, and the truth of the speech. For whereas in the language which the prophet spake there are divers names attributed to God, some of them betokening his almightiness and all-sufficiency, some his majesty and power, some his authority and judgment, one, יהוה, there is above the rest that most lively expresseth his eternal essence, the constancy also, and the truth of his word, as the which is derived from a word that signifieth *to be*, betokening not only the eternal essence of the Lord of majesty, as John sheweth in his Revelation, where he openeth the meaning of that name, when he saith, Rev. i. 8, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, which was, and which is to come, even the Almighty,' as it were interpreting that which he spake of himself by the prophet. Moses demanded by what name he should call him, if the people of Israel inquired who sent him; 'I am,' saith he, 'THAT I AM,' Exod. iii. 14. For when our Saviour said of himself, 'Before Abraham was I am,' John viii. 58, he meant to shew the eternity and everlastingness of his Godhead, that was from the beginning, or rather, indeed, without any beginning or end, being 'the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever,' Heb. xiii. 8. Neither thereby is the eternity only of his majesty noted, but the truth also and certainty of his word and promise, which in the 6th of Exodus is signified so plainly, that the words could not be interpreted unless the name Jehovah were there retained, 'I appeared unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by the name of Almighty, but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them,' whereby he signifieth that, as afterwards

himself expoundeth it, that unto them he made the promise of giving them the land of Canaan, but that he had not made his promise to be, as a man would say, therefore afterwards he addeth, to tell the children of Israel, I am Jehovah, I will bring you from under the burden of Egypt; I am Jehovah, I will make that to be which I have promised to your fathers, who relied on my promises, as knowing me by my name Almighty, and believing that I would do it, but not by my name Jehovah that I did it indeed, Exod. vi. 6, 7, 8. But after the four hundred and thirty years were accomplished (which was the time prescribed to Abraham), then performed he, Exod. xii. 41, that which before he had promised, Gen. xv. 13, Gal. iii. 17, Acts vii. 6; and this the apostle declareth when he, speaking of the hope of eternal life, saith that 'God, which cannot lie, hath promised before the world began,' Titus i. 2. As if he would say, that if it be his promise, then must it needs be performed; for he is not a man that he should lie, nor as the son of man, that he should promise and not perform, Numb. xxiii. 19. So that by the name of Lord of majesty, which the prophet useth in his language, betokening him that was from everlasting, that is, and is to come, the same for ever, who is most true in his word, most constant in his promises, God which cannot lie. The prophet would stir them up to be careful to receive the message delivered with faith to his promise adjoined to the precept; and obedience to the precept established by the promise; and this is the holy preparation which we also have need of, that the message delivered from God may with faith and obedience be received of us, as of them. This, though I need not to stand upon here, because it hath been oftentimes handled in your hearing, yet because the prophet again and again repeateth it, I cannot pass it over, chiefly seeing that the prophet, though sent immediately, and instructed of God, useth to warrant his message by these words, the case being not alike in us, who, although we be sent of God, yet are we sent by men also; neither have we our commission from his own mouth immediately, but by writing in the scripture; but you that have learned that the whole Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, convince, correct, and instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, even thoroughly absolute, and made perfect unto all good works, 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17; I say you have also learned that the message therein delivered us, is the same message sent before by the prophets and apostles, to whom the Lord himself spake immediately; neither did he only ordain in his church apostles and prophets, but gave also pastors and teachers, for gathering together of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the body of Christ, Eph. iv. 11, 12. Therefore, we also have commission from God to deliver his will unto you, and do his message so long as we can

soundly profess that the corrections, exhortations, &c., which we use, are deduced from the writings of the apostles and prophets, which he hath delivered to his church, and appointed us his servants to cut the word aright, 2 Tim. ii. 15, and thereby to feed your souls. It must be, therefore, our care, that the words we speak be as the words of God, 1 Pet. iv. 11; and you, brethren, should be likewise skilful in the Scriptures, to discern the spirits of them that preach unto you, 1 John iv. 1; but the doctrine we preach being rightly delivered, you are no otherwise to receive than if the Lord himself, by his prophets and apostles, did speak unto you. And this being the substance of that which I thought to note briefly in this first point, namely, that both we which teach are to learn, that what we teach we must deliver unto you as the word of God, and you that hear are to receive and hear it as it is indeed, not the word of man, but of God, 1 Thes. ii. 13. I come to the doctrine comprehended in the second point (with the matter of the exhortation), delivered, first, to the Jews by the prophet; secondly, by consequence to us all.

'Go up,' saith the prophet, *'to the mountain; bring timber, and build this house.'* Where, first, for the better understanding of these words, that is to be observed, that the house of God in Jerusalem was built on a mountain, even on the mountain or hill of Moriah, as it is apparent out of 2 Chron. iii. 1; which place being chose by the Lord himself for the seat of his sanctuary, the Jews, returning out of captivity, came, by direction of Zerubbabel and Joshua, to set the temple on her former seat, that is to say, upon her old foundation, as it is declared in the book of Ezra, chap. ii.; and as they came to set it on the old foundations, so they began, in the 3d chapter, though hindered by divers devices of the adversaries all the days of Cyrus, and unto the second year of Darius. The prophet therefore, now, in the second year of Darius, stirreth them up to go forward with the work begun, and to build up the whole work upon the foundation, exhorting them to go up to the mountain, and bring timber, and build the house; but because the work was painful and laborious, Ezra iv. 5, 6, 23, 24, and the people of the Jews, as all of us are by nature, had rather to play for nothing than work for nothing, therefore the Lord, by the prophet, stirreth them up hereunto, by adjoining his promises, 1, of his grace and favour; 2, with his gracious blessing; 1, I will take delight in it; 2, I will be glorified.

Touching the former, it may seem strange that God promiseth to take delight in the temple; for if he taketh no pleasure in the strength of a horse, neither delight in any man's legs, how much less likely is it that he should take delight in an heap of stones and timber? But we must consider the temple not nakedly in itself, but in such sort as respecteth the use and signification of it. First, the signification, in that it betokened Christ Jesus, of whom it was a

figure and shadow, Heb. x. 1, Col. ii. 17; secondly, the use and end whereunto it was directed, namely, to serve God. For the signification, you know that the apostle, in the epistle to the Hebrews, as also to the Colossians, doth plainly teach that the things under the law were shadows to represent Christ; they were shadows, but he the body; even so the whole temple was a figure and shadow of Christ, and that not of himself only, but of his church also: of him as the head; of it as the body. So the parts thereof shadowed him, as the apostle in the 9th and 10th to the Hebrews teacheth, the veil signifying his flesh, whereby he entered into heaven as into the holy of holies; so the altar of incense, the sacrifices, the blood, which were offered, the table whereon they were offered, &c., all these things appertaining to the Levitical services, were so many mysteries to represent and shadow out unto us the person of Christ, in whom the light and truth of them all shineth. Neither hereby only was the head figured, but the whole body also, for so saith the apostle to the Corinthians, 'You are the temple of the living God,' 1 Cor. iii. 17, 1 Cor. vi. 19. Now the Lord himself saith of our Saviour, Mat. iii. 17, 1 Cor. vi. 16, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;' and we also read in the Ephesians, i. 6, that it hath 'pleased him of his infinite mercy to accept and take delight in us in his Beloved.' Wherefore you see that God might take delight in the temple, in that it signified and shadowed out Christ, in whom only, if we speak absolutely and properly, God is delighted; as also his members whom it hath pleased God to adopt, and so to delight in his beloved Son, whom also he vouchsafeth this grace, that he accepteth not only of their persons, but of their works too: wherein the latter promise is contained (and I will be glorified), which regardeth the end whereunto this house was built, to be a house of prayer, and to offer up praise and thanksgiving for his mercy, Jer. vii. 10, to hear his word read and expounded; and so, because these works of Christians are acceptable through Christ, in this respect also it may be said, that he took great delight in the temple. Not in itself, as pilgrimagers imagine, that God delighteth in places for themselves, or because that holy men have possessed them. For when these actions I spake of were not practised in this place, but the temple was so polluted that it did not represent his dearly beloved Son, God himself shewed (sending his prophets to them) that he took no delight in it, Jer. vii. 4, 11, and namely, by the prophet Ezekiel, to whom the Lord shewed the great abominations that the house of Israel had committed, to cause him to depart from his sanctuary, Ezek. viii. 6, &c., which, having at large in that chapter shewed, in the 11th chapter he declareth how the cherubims lift up their wings, and mounted from the earth, and went forth and stood upon the mountain; and so, by degrees, the Lord forsook them, from the sanctuary to the threshold of the

temple, then to the cherubims which stood at the right hand of the court, verse 3, then to the east gate and entrance of the court, verse 19, to provoke the people of the city to repentance, and openly to shew his departure; finally, flying from the city into the mountain, chap. xi. 13, declaring thereby that he took no delight, no, not in his temple, when his religion was not therein maintained, and it not applied to those uses whereunto it was erected. And where ever hath there been either any person more holy abiding, or any actions more godly practised, than in the temple at Jerusalem, where Christ Jesus himself preached and taught the people? Yet even this place, if ever any, beloved both for the persons and actions, was so detested of him when it ceased to practise these actions, and to present that whereunto it was instituted, that not many years after our Saviour's death, it was, as you know, ruined by the Romans, and made even with the ground; yea, when Julian the apostate, in despite of Christ, went about to raise it up again, it pleased God, by miracles, to shew his dislike thereof, first by an earthquake, and then by flakes of fire issuing out of the earth and plaguing the workmen, which not only Ruffinus* and Sozomen† write of, but also Ammianus Marcellinus,‡ who lived at that time and served Julian, being a great admirer of him, witnessing that out of the earth there issued such flames of fire as consumed the workmen sundry times, and so brought to pass that the work could not be accomplished.

Hereby it is manifest, that God delighted not in the temple of itself, neither yet for the persons that have been conversant therein, and actions performed, when they ceased to be, but because it represented Christ Jesus and his church, in whom, indeed, he delighted; and as it might be used to the service of the people of God therein to worship him with a holy worship, yea, in this respect, he saith he will take such delight in it, that this temple should be more accepted than the former, Hag. ii. 7 (though it were for the building nothing so glorious), because in this Christ Jesus himself should be present in person. And this is the former reason, namely, the favour which he will shew them. Now, out of his favour proceedeth his benefit: and that is it which he addeth, I will be glorified, for we may perceive that this is the meaning of these words, if we match them with those that go before, and those that follow after; for, having before laid down the punishments that were fallen upon them, he adjoineth withal the cause thereof, for that each man ran to his own house, and left the house of the Lord waste. Now, things contrary have contrary consequences; as if he had thus said in effect, As those chastisements which heretofore you suffered came upon you because you did not build the house of the Lord, so, on the other side, if you do build the same, you shall be refreshed by sundry blessings; yet,

* Ruffinus, lib. i. cap. ult.

† Ammi. Mar. lib. xxv.

‡ Sozom. lib. v. cap. ult.

by the way, when he saith, I will be glorified, he putteth them in mind what they ought to do when they have received these benefits, for so by the consequent he betokeneth the antecedent; by the glorifying of him, the holy invocation of his name, whereby he is glorified; and these be the reasons whereby he stirreth up the Jews to go up and bring timber and build the house. But doth the prophet stir up them only, and not us also? Yes, my brethren, even us also. For whom, whatsoever beforetime was written (as the apostle saith to the Romans, chap. xv. 4), for our sakes, I say, was it written, that we, in the assurance of God's favours and blessings (which contain the promises of this life and that which is to come, 1 Tim. iv. 8), should do the same things that here are mentioned. Therefore up to the mountain, bring wood, and build this house; for as you have heard that this house was a figure of Christ and Christians, so let us remember, as they were willed to build that material temple, so we likewise are required to edify the church of Christ, which that you may the better do, consider with me the points noted in the things whereunto they are exhorted, and the reasons, although the time will not suffer me indeed to stand on the reasons; howbeit I must request that in the meanwhile you have an eye unto the reasons that are drawn from the rewards proposed to them that perform the commandment, that so you may be stirred up with a fervent zeal to perform that to which so glorious a reward is promised.

And, first, let us consider who they are that be exhorted. It is before said, Zerubbabel and Joshua, the prince and the priest, as they whose help and endeavour is most necessary to the building of the church, because they were as guides to direct others; yet, as it is manifest in the 13th and 14th verses, the prophet was sent to the remnant of the people, and the promise as well made unto them, and their hearts likewise stirred up that they came and did the work of the house of the Lord. They, therefore, who are to build by God's commandment are Zerubbabel and Joshua, with all the remnant of the people; principally Zerubbabel and Joshua, who are best able for special graces and gifts bestowed on them, or because of the ministry of the word and authority committed unto them; but next all the people likewise, not the prince and high priest only. Now for the princes, how the temple is to be built by them, I shewed you when I spake of the former verse; at which time I shewed, for the general building, that the foundation hereof is, as the apostle to the Hebrews declareth, the doctrine of the beginning of Christ taught and contained in the catechism, Heb. vi. 1, the building of the wall, the laying of the roof, is the perfection of doctrine and increase of godliness, till it be built in all respects perfect, even such a one as pleaseth God himself to pourtray out in Scripture. Therefore touching the general building I then spake, which must be done by them that are in principal place, the queen's highness and the states in parliament,

and declared how it was to be done for the increase of true godliness, by preaching of wholesome doctrine and establishing godly discipline through all churches in the realm, according to the prescription of the Lord revealed in his word. A thing though hardly hoped for in these days, in which so small care is had in universities to make sufficient persons to furnish the ministry, and of patrons abroad to call them that are sufficient; finally, so small will in the people to submit themselves to the yoke of Christ. Yet it is to be prayed for of God's people, according to the example of Daniel, who, when the temple of God lay waste more than ours, did make earnest prayer to God to cause his face to shine on his sanctuary that did lie waste, for the Lord's sake. But leaving this to them that have amongst us the place of Zerubbabel and Joshua, and of whom we are to hope in due time they will have a care that the church of God in all places be perfectly built up in the wisdom and spirit of Joshua, let us remember the next branch, namely, that this commandment reacheth also to all the rest of the people; for that this charge concerneth also all us likewise, St Jude the apostle and brother of James expressly teacheth, ver. 21-23, when he saith, 'But ye, beloved, edify yourselves in your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, and keeping yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life. And have compassion of some, in putting difference: and others save some with fear, pulling them out of the fire; and hate even the garment spotted with the flesh.' For whom are they that Jude giveth this charge? Even they who are called and sanctified of God the Father, and saved by Jesus Christ, even as the title of the epistle sheweth, in which respect it is also called *general*, as written to all faithful Christians. Now, the foundation that we are to build upon is, as the apostle here saith, 'the most holy faith.' For that Jude signifieth when he saith, 'edify' or 'build up yourselves on your most holy faith.' The walls and roof of the house are the exercise of the works of faith, namely, the love of God and man breaking out into fruits of righteousness, so that we 'hate even the garment spotted by flesh.' In which speech there is an allusion to the law of Moses, wherein the clothes and garments that had touched any unclean things were likewise accounted unclean, as if he would thereby teach them that they were to grow on continually from faith to faith, in practice of godliness, with such a fervent zeal that they detest all contagion of sin, and shew themselves perfect, according as the weakness of men will suffer, as their heavenly Father is perfect; but, alas, may I make this exhortation to all that are assembled in this place? I make it to all, but would to God there were not in some even a want of the foundation. For what is the foundation? It is, as Jude saith, 'a most holy faith.' Now, St Paul to the Thessalonians writeth 'that all have not faith,' 2 Thes. iii. 2. Doubtless these words

were true, not only in his days, but in ours, wherein, sure, all men have not faith; and though all had faith, yet have they not this faith which Jude nameth, a *most holy faith*, for many have faith which yet have not a most holy faith, which is the essential difference whereby the faith of hypocrites and wicked men is distinguished from the faith of God's true servants. For there is a belief which is without holiness, whereof St James speaketh when he saith, 'The devils believe and tremble,' James ii. 19.

But as for you, my brethren, who, by the testimony of your consciences, know that Jude speaketh to you who are called and sanctified, remember you that this exhortation is in special sort made to you, namely, that you 'build up yourselves upon your most holy faith, keeping yourselves in the love of God' and man, &c. The exhortation is made to all, God grant that all may embrace it, but it shall be embraced of all to whom St Jude writeth. Let us all, then, that make a profession of this faith, 'join virtue with our faith, with virtue, knowledge; with knowledge, temperance; with temperance, patience; with patience, godliness; with godliness, brotherly kindness; and with brotherly kindness, love,' 2 Pet. i. 4, &c.; in which words, as it were, St Peter doth interpret the other, making faith the foundation as it were of all other virtues, willing the rest to be built upon it, not as though these were distinct, but mentioning so oft the same by divers names, as if he would shew he could not satisfy himself with any words when he was earnest to exhort such as called upon the name of the Lord to depart from iniquity, 2 Tim. ii. 19, and to lay the walls of a holy and godly conversation upon the foundation of an holy and sound faith. The apostle Paul likewise to Titus, chap. ii. 11, delivereth the same thing, though in fewer words, 'The grace of God,' saith he, 'that bringeth salvation unto all men, hath appeared, and teacheth us that we should deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and that we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present evil world;' which words, would God they were so well marked of us, as they are continually rehearsed in our assemblies, *soberly, righteously, godly*, containing the substance of all religion: *soberly*, in respect of our own vessels; *righteously*, in respect of other men; *godly*, in respect of God himself. In the duties touching the which three the whole law and the prophets consist, neither must we only take care to build up ourselves in this sort, but others also, 1 Thes. v. 11. For so St Jude also commandeth, 'And have compassion of some, and others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire.' Though if St Jude taught it not, yet we may learn it out of St Paul, when he willeth us to exhort one another, for every one of us is the temple of God's holy Spirit, and every one of us is exhorted to build up this temple according to the grace which is given him. Not all, indeed, as the ministers, who are specially given for the gather-

ing of the saints together, for the work of the ministry, and for edification of the body of Christ, Eph. iv. 11, 12, but in some sort by example and word, at due times and seasons, according to the measure of grace given to them; and this do the godly in the prophecy of Isaiah, where they are brought in, one exhorting, encouraging, and calling upon another, Isa. ii. 2, 3, 'Come, let us go up to the house of the Lord, and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths.' And David rejoiced when he heard them say, 'Come, let us go up to the house of the Lord; our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem,' Ps. cxxii. 1, 2. But with us there is so little care had hereof, that men take scorn to be advertised of their duty, especially by their inferiors, yea, that they who should advertise others, and be advertised themselves too, are most careless of all men, and some there are so reckless and careless in this respect of going up and bringing timber and building the house of the Lord, that they no whit regard it, as though it no whit appertained to them to build others. But let us learn that it was the voice of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Gen. iv. 9. Reuben, though none of the best sons of Jacob, yet when he saw that Joseph was not in the pit, he rent his clothes, and returning to his brethren, said, 'The child is not yonder; and I, alas, whither shall I go?' Gen. xxxvii. 29, 30. This, then, is the first point that we are to mark, that they who are willed to go up and build are not Zerubbabel and Joshua only, but all the remnant of the people; and all faithful Christians are bound to build up themselves and others, for both we are the body of Christ and others also, both which are noted by the name of the temple, both in the 1 Cor. vi. 19, and 2 Cor. vi. 16. In the former place, he speaking to every one saith, that their bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost; and in the latter, he speaking to the congregation, saith they are the temple of God.

The second point to be noted is, that we are not only commanded to build, but that with industry also and pains, for the prophet said, 'Go up to the mountain, bring wood and timber, and build this house;' wherein, by proposing the particularities of the pains, difficulty, and labours, he telleth them that though indeed it be painful and hard, yet it is the duty which God requireth of them. To go up a hill is not very pleasant, but to go up having carriage and burden must needs be troublesome; now the prophet telleth them that they were not only to go up a hill, but to carry up timber thither also, and it seemeth the prophet would mention the hardest thing, for what was it to bring timber? In Ezra iii. 7, it is declared how they gave money to the carpenters and fellers of wood, and meat and drink, and only unto them of Tyrus and Sidon to bring them cedar wood from Lebanon to the sea to Joppa, so that if we consider the difficulties, first, in felling of the trees at Lebanon, then of bringing them to the sea to Joppa, then the carriage of them to

Jerusalem, and the bringing of them up the mountain, we shall find that it was a matter of no small weight, nor importance; and yet all this was but little in comparison of that which they are lastly commanded, namely, to build the house, especially considering that Solomon, having so many workmen and all things ready prepared for the building, was yet, as we read, some seven years in building it, 1 Kings vi. 37, 38. When, therefore, he saith, 'Go up, bring timber and build the house,' he teacheth us that if we mean to build this temple of the Lord, we must not do as they who take their ease and stretch themselves on their beds, and drink wine in bowls, killing oxen and sheep, and eating the fattest of the herd, anointing themselves with oil, and singing of songs to the instruments of music, Amos vi. 1-6, but we are to take pains to fetch timber and to build. He that will not do this is no workman for the house of the Lord. A hard speech for us (my brethren), who are like them that are troubled with the green sickness, that we cannot well travel on plain ground, much less climb up mountains with burdens on our backs, or, like the Roman gentleman who, when others were busied in military exercises, laid him down and tumbled in the grass saying, *Utinam hoc esset laborare!* Oh would that this were to take pains, imagining so many difficulties and adversaries to come against us if we should set ourselves about it, as though we were the persons described by Solomon: Prov. xxvi. 13, 'The slothful saith, A lion is in the way, a lion in the streets; as the door turneth upon its hinges, so doth the sluggard on his bed. The slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom, and it grieveth him to put it again to his mouth. The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason.' But these are slothful men. St Paul is of another mind, of another spirit, who fought with beasts at Ephesus, 1 Cor. xv. 32, and was not afraid to meet a lion in the streets of Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 17, from whose mouth he also saith that the Lord delivered him, yea, who was contented that he might do this work, to suffer imprisonment, stripes, hunger, nakedness, even death as it were often, as he sheweth in the 2d to the Corinthians xi., furnished indeed with a greater measure of grace than all or any of us are to look for; but, according to the measure which we have received, we must all learn to take pains in our calling and state, to build this house. It is a general rule of the apostle, that 'he who will not labour, let him not eat,' 2 Thes. iii. 10. There are indeed divers and sundry vocations amongst men, but they are all ordained by God to furnish us that we may be better able to travel in this work. So that there are none exempt from labour, no, not gentlemen and princes, for it is not enough for one of them to say, I will not, I need not labour, I can live on my lands; for so could Adam have said in paradise more truly, when God set him in it to manure and till it, that we might learn that not Adam himself

(though all things yielded their increase to him without his labour), yet that he was not by God created to be idle. Now, if that Adam were not then to be idle, when he had need neither to labour for maintenance of himself, nor yet was fit to fall into wickedness through idleness, how much more necessary is it for us to learn that we bestow ourselves in some profitable and lawful labour, on whom this burden, through the sin of Adam, is laid, that we should 'eat our bread in the sweat of our brows' ? Gen. iii. 19. And experience sufficiently teacheth us, there is nothing sooner casteth men headlong into the sink of all ungodliness than the foregoing the honest pains and labours ; which yet I speak not as though all were to take bodily labour, for there is also a labour of the mind, which spendeth the body haply more than the other, neither as if I thought it not lawful to use recreation for the comfort and strengthening of the body and mind, for he that willeth Timothy to drink a little wine for his stomach's sake, 1 Tim. v. 23, by proportion granteth us to use a little recreation also if our bodies stand in need of it ; but this is granted, and must be used in such sort that it may tend to make us more able, each one, in some vocation lawful, to build this house unto the Lord. So then must the minister give attendance to teaching, reading, and exhorting, 1 Tim. iv. 13. I need not speak of all singular vocations, seeing we have a general rule, that every one continue in the vocation whereunto he is called of God, 1 Cor. vii. 30, to serve him with pains and industry carefully and diligently. For we are commanded not only to build, but in such sort as we use all diligence, as also St Peter hath expressed it, 2 Pet. i. 10, considering what our Saviour hath told us, namely, that the way is narrow, and the gate strait, whereby men pass to life, Mat. vii. 13, and therefore that it is necessary that we labour and strive to enter therein, and that the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and that the violent take it by force, Mat. xi. 12 ; and if it be required in all vocations that we should be painful, what is required, then, of the minister, of whom in especial it is exacted that he should build this house ; and then (alas !) what shall we say of them who not only go not up the mountain, but being in the mountain stay not there, but come down into the valley ? or if they stay in the mountain, yet preach not there, not caring to bring up timber and to build, 1 Cor. iii. 9, 1 Tim. iii. 13. Nay, I would there were not many of them that behave themselves so wickedly in their conversation, that they may be rightly joined with them of whom it is written in the Psalms, that they break down all the carved work of God's house with axes and hammers, Ps. lxxiv. 6.

But leaving them to their just judgment, seeing exhortations pierce not their hearts, having been so often called upon, let us (my brethren) remember that this building requireth one point further, even for the general commandment, namely, that this labour and diligence be continual, even till the work

be fully ended, Eph. iv. 11, xii. 13 ; and ended it is not so long as we live here, which the prophet seemeth to insinuate, in that he maketh mention of timber only, and not of stone ; at least when he maketh mention of timber, which we know was to be brought from Lebanon to accomplish the work, and to serve to make the roof ; whereby they are taught that they should not leave till they had brought it to a perfect and absolute work. And so let us think that we are to build up the temple of God, not in part but in whole, understanding that he is accounted but a foolish builder that beginneth to build, and is not able to make an end, Luke xiv. 28-30 ; and he is unworthy of the kingdom of God, who, laying his hand to the plough, looketh back behind him. Let Demas therefore alone, who, having been companion with Paul, left him and followed the present world, 2 Tim. iv. 10 ; but for us who I hope be careful, as we have begun to go forward, let us not like dogs return to our vomit, 2 Pet. ii. 22, but let us set before us the exhortation here made, and remember the words of the apostle, Heb. x. 38, 39, 'If any man withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not they that withdraw ourselves unto perdition ; but follow faith unto the conservation of the soul.' It is to destruction if we withdraw ourselves. Let us, then, go forward, knowing that the prize is promised to none but to him that overcometh ; and him, saith Christ, I will make a pillar in the house of God, as it is in the third chapter of the Revelations ; and in the eleventh chapter and second verse, the coward is commanded to be cast out, but 'he that overcometh and continueth unto the end, he shall be made a pillar in the house of God, and shall not be cast out.' 'Let us not therefore be weary of well-doing : for we shall reap in due time, if we faint not,' Gal. vi. 9 ; let the words the apostle useth be our encouragement against the manifold impediments and lets set by the wicked to hinder us, as here were by adversaries of Judah and Benjamin to stop the building of the temple, Ezra iv. 1. For all this, those that faint not, neither by reason of persons or things that stand up against them, shall be sure to reap in due season ; and these are the special reasons and things therein to be observed ; but besides, there are two or three points to be noted in the several words of the exhortation.

This house was to be put upon a mountain : 'Go up to the mountain ;' and our Saviour in the fifth of Matthew saith of his church, that it is 'a city set on a hill ;' wherefore if it were but only for this reason, that the house we are to build standeth on a hill, and therefore many eyes are cast upon us, because we may be seen afar off. As David prayed the Lord to guide him, because of them that eyed him, Ps. v. 8, so we, because of the wicked and ungodly that look upon us, ought to be more careful to look unto it, that we build carefully, because the house standeth on a mountain. Let us, therefore, remember that those words of our

Saviour are spoken to all: 'A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick. You are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith shall it be seasoned?' Mat. v. 14-16.

The papists on this similitude teach very largely that the church of God is visible, and ought to be so, as though we denied it; but the gross errors which they deliver in urging this place are all of them plainly refuted by St Matthew in the very text. For, first, they imagine that if the church be visible it may be seen to every place, as though a city built on the Alps, because it is a mountain, must needs therefore be seen to Rome, or a city on the Pyrenean mountain of necessity must be seen to Toledo. Nay, to come near to the particular thing we have in hand, Bethany is but two miles from Jerusalem, and yet they who have travelled in those countries say that a man cannot see Jerusalem from that place, albeit that Jerusalem were a city built upon a mountain; yea, upon many mountains, as the prophet saith of it, 'Her foundations are among the holy mountains;' but yet cannot men see it, as I said, from Bethany by reason of mount Olivet, that lieth betwixt Jerusalem and it; or that I may open it to you by a more familiar example, although a man should go to Shotover, yet should he not see Harrow-on-the-Hill (the very name whereof notwithstanding declares that it standeth on a hill). Nay, it may be that all who have travelled from hence to London have not seen it. Perhaps they were blind, perhaps they cast not their eyes that way, perhaps though they did yet were there such mists that by reason of them they could not see it, which indeed our Saviour in the similitude adjoined, expressly teacheth: 'You are,' saith he, 'the light of the world: neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it gives light unto all that are in the house,' Mat. v. 14, 15. The candle gives light indeed, yet not to all, but to all in the house; but not to them that are without the house, the walls of the house keep it from others. Again, they imagine that because it is a city set on a hill, that therefore it must always continue in the same case, and not sometimes decay, and sometimes have nothing remaining of it but only the foundation. Old Salisbury was a city built upon a hill, howbeit now there is not much to be seen of it. Rome itself was built on seven hills, yet on the chiefest of them, Aventinus, Collatinus, Capitolinus, on which it was first founded, there is no building now to be found, as they write that know it, unless it be three or four harlotry houses, or haply some monastery or a few gardens. A city therefore on a hill may sometime be decayed, and this our Saviour signifieth in another similitude: 'Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost its saltness.' Salt may lose his saltness, then, and so a church seated upon a hill may have that happen unto it which is correspondent to that in salt to lose his savour. Finally, they imagine

that all houses built upon a hill must be of one sort; nor of one sort only, but of like condition and state; whereas it may be that some are fallen, some standing, some hidden, some of divers kinds. And this our Saviour also putteth us in mind of; for did they to whom our Saviour speaketh make all one church or city, severed from the Jews that were then of Jerusalem? No; for the papists say that after Christ's ascension they first began to make a several church from the Jews, therefore then they should have considered that there were some of the church who were members of it, disagreeing from them to whom Christ spake; as were in Jerusalem they which frequented the public and ordinary service of God, resorted to the temple and heard the law, who yet in opinion and judgment dissented from Christ and those that believed in him. Now, in comparison of that multitude, the disciples of Christ were but few in that city; and even so in the midst of popery there have been some saints of God scattered among the wicked, as were the apostles among the unbelieving Jews in Jerusalem to whom this appertained. 'You are the light of the world.' And were they hidden? No, sure, they were not hidden, for the papists found them out, and some of them alive paid for it, whom they burned, that their light might shine and be seen, and some they digged out of their graves when they had lain long dead, and that in them it was easily seen that they were as a city set on a hill, that could not be hid. And so we may see it hath gone with the saints of God even here in England since religion was first planted in it, and with the church which at one time hath been in better case than at another, even as it happeneth to cities amongst us, which are not at all times so well built and maintained, and churches also, who at all times are not so well repaired.

But to return to our purpose; seeing we are built on a mountain, and therefore are sure to have so many eyes looking upon us, let us be more wary to look to ourselves; and seeing we are to live in the midst of a froward and crooked generation, let us have care to shine forth like lights in the world, as the apostle exhorteth the Philippians, chap. ii. 3, and hold out the light, as those that were persecuted in the time of the Arians, who yet were light and salt, who were to give light to them in the house, and season them that received their words.

Another thing to be observed is the timber whereof this house was built, which they were commanded to bring, which was cedar, whereby we are to remember that there is commended to us that stuff for the building of the church, which is durable and in all respects most fit for it. For they that write of the nature of the cedar tree, some of them say that it is odoriferous, but all agree that it will not putrefy; insomuch that Pliny seemeth to attribute eternity to it, for that it will continue so long as any wood; but it is most true in the word of God, which, as St Peter saith, lasteth for ever. Therefore the stuff wherewith we are to build

must be proportionable hereunto, even to cedar. So the apostle exhorteth the Ephesians, chap. iv. 29, 'Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouths, but that which is good to edify withal,' &c., where he useth the same similitude of building; and so proportionably our talk, wherewith we should edify and build up others, should be sound and durable, not rotten, as the word properly signifieth which the apostle useth, contrary to the nature and quality of the cedar, which is the timber that this house was to be built with: 'Let no rotten speech proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to edify and build withal.' There are divers other things besides cedars necessary to this building; but by the name of this one of timber, all other whatsoever likewise necessary are understood, and so must we likewise understand in our building.

And here, by occasion, I am to commend one thing to you, for seeing they were to bring timber, it was necessary that it should be first cut down, whereunto are necessary instruments, as also workmen. Now to us, for instruments and tools, are indeed our laws and statutes, whereby our work is to be framed and directed. When the children of the prophets came to Elisha and craved leave of him that, because the place where they dwelt was too little for them, they might go to Jordan, that every one might take thence a beam and make them more room, and he granting them leave and going himself with them; as they were about their work, as one was felling a tree, the axe head fell into the water, whereupon they cried out unto Elisha and said, 'Alas, master, it was but borrowed!' The man of God, therefore, considering not only that the instrument was borrowed, but also how necessary it was for their purpose, cutting down a piece of wood and casting it into the water caused the iron to swim. We have, my brethren, amongst us our laws, as it were instruments wherewith to fell our timber. A great part of them is fallen into the water; indeed, they be in the proctor's book, but there they be as if they were fallen into the water. The children of the prophets have complained unto Elisha, Alas, master, they were but borrowed; and great need have they to know them, for that they are bound in conscience by oath to keep them. To which purpose some have taken pains to restore them, notwithstanding it hath [not] yet pleased God to move them that should see it accomplished, howbeit we may hope to see it when it shall please God to place in that room a man that hath Elisha's spirit. Sure, there is great use of them for the cutting and framing of the cedars wherewith to build, especially if those which be known already

were kept, which I must needs also add, because that of those which are known, many have their edges rebated by dispensations. A lamentable thing that we keep yet so much that which was received from the sink of Rome, which I speak not as though our dispensations were so detestable as his who taketh upon him to dispense against the commandment of the apostle, however it please him; to distinguish of the precepts of the apostle which he commandeth, not God; but in a place and matter where laws and orders are taken to the contrary, it is no way tolerable. Plato and Aristotle, the princes of the philosophers, have affirmed, that it is most pernicious in a commonwealth to break the laws which are once appointed, which we learn even out of them if we read them to make our profit of them, and not only to talk of them. Which neither yet do I speak as though I would have nothing dispensable, but that when it is so ordered that there shall not in such cases be any dispensations absolutely, yet that we should continually come against this decree. For what can be more absurd, than that men of judgment and discretion should make no more account to break God's laws, than children would do to break sticks; but if statutes were only broken by dispensations, the matter were more tolerable, for then should we also have our parts in it; but statutes have been broken without dispensations, whereof the experience is fresh in your memory, the last week as you know, or if you know it not, I tell what I mean, even the plays kept against the express statute; by the tolerance and connivance of the magistrate, the statute hath been broken.

Some there are who be persuaded that thence may be gathered good timber for this building.

Haply, indeed, some bushes and brambles or musk roses, and that is the best, and I would to God it were the worst. For many there are who are brought through such corruptions to lewd persuasions; but doubtless they make evil work for the church of God. They that heard them may say more, but this one of their own prophets hath said of that place,

Ille locus casti damna pudoris habet,

which was spoken of such places as that where these were kept. I need not add as the apostle doth, 'This testimony is true, therefore rebuke them sharply;' yet will I say to them that be heads of houses, parents of families, tutors of scholars, one of their own prophets have said, and the testimony is true, therefore rebuke them sharply. God be blessed; and pardon our sins for his Son's sake. Amen.

SERMON V. December 25. 1585.

Go up to the mountain, and bring timber, and build this house; and I will take delight in it, and I will be glorified in it, saith the Lord—HAGGAI I. 8.

THIS sentence of the prophet Haggai, exhorting the Jews that were returned from Babylon, that they should build the house of the Lord, containeth, as hath been before declared, when I last spake to you of it out of this place, the reason why he exhorteth. 1. He that exhorteth is the Lord; 2. he exhorteth them to build the house of the Lord, to go up to the mountains to bring timber. 1. The reasons: *I will take delight in it, I will be glorified*, for the meaning of all which we understand then that (1.) it was the Lord that, by the ministry of the prophet, made this exhortation; (2.) for the thing whereunto they are exhorted, that it was the building of the temple on the mountain Moriah whereon it stood before. What the reasons were, why he ought to do this. 1. Because he would take delight in it. 2. Because he would be glorified. Of the former two points, namely, the Lord who exhorteth, and the thing whereunto, I spake then as grace was ministered and time served; there now remaineth the last circumstance at this time to be handled, which containeth the reasons why they should go up to the mountain and build. And for the meaning of the reasons; I opened that at that present, touching the former, that God will not delight in it for itself, as in the timber and stones, &c., but because of the signification and use thereof, in that it betokeneth Jesus our Saviour, as is plainly declared in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Neither him only as the head of the church, but his body also together with him, both the catholic church, which is partly on earth and partly received into glory, the church militant, and the church triumphant and visible churches, not only as bodies considered wholly, but also each member of the same in particular, as by the places then alleged, Eph. ii., 1 Cor. vi., was made manifest.

Now, concerning the use of the temple, we know it was called the house of prayer, in regard of the holy exercises and rites prescribed by God which were therein performed, which ceasing to be used in such sort as were by God's commandment appointed, it was according to the threatenings of the prophets (as before), destroyed by the Babylonians, so (after it was renewed) was it made desolate by Antiochus, and in the end of all (as our Saviour foretold), quite overthrown by the Romans. Wherefore it was the regard of the mystery thereby figured; for the veil, as it is shewed by the evangelist, signified Christ, the holy of holies, &c., and the exercises by God prescribed, for which he saith that he would delight therein.

From the delight which he promiseth to take in it, to stir them up yet the rather, he proceedeth and

addeth the latter reason, he will also be glorified; whereby is meant that he will also pour his blessings upon them in such sort that they should have occasion hereby to praise and magnify his mercy. For that this is the meaning of the prophet, it is manifest by the *antithesis* which is here used for setting down how for their negligence they had been afflicted; eating, and not being satisfied; putting on clothes, and not being warmed, &c.; so contrariwise, he promiseth, that doing his commandment, these evils should be removed, and good things bestowed on them, whereby they should have cause to glorify his holy name for his mercy.

In these reasons proposed to them to move them to the building of the temple, let us first consider how the truth was first performed to the Jews. The Lord promiseth his favour and liking of them, and his blessings proceeding from his favour. How this was to be performed, the prophet expoundeth in the second chapter, in the words of the Lord himself, ver. 16–19, where, willing them to consider how they had been afflicted, he bids them to reckon from that day, signifying that from that day forth he would bless them. Neither promiseth he only temporal blessings and corporal, for which they should glorify and praise his name, but eternal and spiritual also, which is likewise shewn in the second chapter, in the words of the Lord, ver. 6–9, 'Yet once again, saith the Lord, and I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory. Silver is mine, and gold is mine. The glory of this house shall be greater than the former; I will give peace in it.'

In which promise, the *Lord of hosts*, so often repeated, he noteth the greatness and power of him that maketh this promise; and this peace and glory signifieth not worldly prosperity or earthly peace, in which respect this temple exceeded not that of Solomon, but hereby is signified another peace, even a peace of peaces, 'the peace of God, which passeth all understanding,' Philip. iv. 7, which the apostle wisheth the faithful, 'grace and peace;' peace betwixt God and us in the covenant of grace, of which I say he saith, 'Unto us a Son is given, the Prince of peace,' Eph. ii., 'he is our peace;' he came and preached the gospel of peace, a covenant betwixt God and man. That this is the meaning is most evident by Heb. xii. 18, 'A kingdom that cannot be moved,' and Luke ii. 13, 14, 'Peace on earth.' In this second temple the Prince of peace was to sit. Here the Jews have on their hearts the veil. Ask them how this was performed; seeing the temple was destroyed, how the glory of the

latter temple was greater than the former. Some of them will say in regard of the building, for that, albeit it were at the first lesser than Solomon's, yet was it after amplified by Herod; others in respect of the continuance, for that as they account this stood ten years longer than the former, which is laid down by the author of their ordinary gloss, but the promise of glory is made to this temple, which in the third of Ezra was nothing in comparison of the former, so that although it be true that afterwards it was enlarged by Herod, as Josephus sheweth, yet the promise is of glory, not greatness only, which stretcheth further. Saul had a greater body, yet was he moved with anger, thinking that a greater glory was given to David in the women's song; and when the Lord saith, 'Silver is mine,' he could (if he had pleased) have made it in that respect more glorious than Solomon's, yet (as the Rabbins confess themselves) in respect of the gold, the latter was nothing to the former, which, as the Scripture sheweth, was all covered with gold: walls, beams, floors, posts, and that with the fine gold of Ophir. Read Josephus, lib. cap. viii., and lib. xv. ult., for the comparison of the two temples; in respect, then, of the glory, by greatness and beauty joined together, especially of the riches of gold and silver, &c., the latter was nothing. As for the continuance, that is nothing; for what if it stood ten years longer, could it therefore be more glorious? Amongst all the kings of Judah, Solomon excelled in glory, yet reigned but forty years, Manasses fifty-five. Did he therefore excel him? for [if] it be said that he was in thralldom part of that time, so may it be said of the dishonouring of this temple by Pompey and Cassius; but Uzziah reigned fifty-two years, as much longer than Solomon as this temple stood longer than the former. Wherefore, if it be repugnant to Scripture to say he excelleth therefore in glory Solomon, so it is for this cause to say that this temple did excel the former.

Nay, they are convinced of madness by the same rabbin, for on the same word, because the Hebrew word wanteth the letter $\aleph$, which in number standeth with them for 5th, he saith it is a note of mystery; for that this latter temple wanted five things which the former had: 1, Urim and Thummim; 2, the ark of the covenant; 3, fire from heaven; 4, the sign of God's glory; 5, presence of the Holy Ghost; and this is proved, alleging a place of Talmud, which is among the Jews as the decretal among the papists, the author thereof would no more err, than can the pope; a Talmudical fancy; for although $\aleph$ were wanting (as it is not in those copies which are received without points); but if it were by their fault that copied out of the book, what reason that there would want five things, because $\aleph$ signifieth five in numbering, which is nothing but a sottish and cabalistine toy; for even this temple wanted more than these five things, as they also confess, even in the same book, for there was not the cup of manna, and therefore not only five,

but eight or nine more were wanting. But, to take that which they grant, seeing these five things were not in the latter temple, which were in the former, unless the things of the latter which were not in the former may match and excel these, it cannot be said that so the glory of the latter should excel the glory of the former. It may be said that Zaccheus, in some one coin or other, had some more money than Herod, as haply a mean goldsmith in London may have in crasadoes, or florins, or ducats, more than the prince; yet if Herod's treasure far pass the wealth of Zaccheus, and the prince's the substance of the goldsmith, were not he absurd that would say the goldsmith were richer than the prince? In like sort, sith the glory of the latter temple was to excel the glory of the former, and howsoever in continuance and bigness it passed the latter, if in other points of greater glory it were behind it, how shall one truly say that this was performed? Wherefore, if those things which they confess be wanting in the latter, nay, if some one of them be more glorious than the continuance wherein they make this excellency, the glory thereof must be placed in some other thing than they fancy. Now, how excellent was the Urim and Thummim, whereof Deut. xxxiii., the mercy-seat, ark, fire from heaven, glory of God visible in the cloud that filled the temple, presence of the Holy Ghost, succession of prophets! Whereof seeing some one,—how much more all!—far exceed the ten years' continuance, it followeth that in this respect the glory of the latter house could not be greater. Therefore, since God promised that it should be greater, and that cannot be but in respect that in this Christ taking flesh should personally teach during the same, make atonement between God and man, working our redemption; which one thing far excelleth all that were in the former temple, he being the truth, and they but shadows. It is most manifest that the Jews were possessed with a spirit of giddiness, as was threatened them; their ears dulled, their eyes darkened against the evident light of God's truth. But for us we are assured that this peace was performed in our Saviour, as all circumstances noted by the prophets agreeing to him, of the time, by Daniel mentioned, chap. ix.; the place, by Micah, chap. iv.; his name, his progeny, his mother, Isa. vii. and ix., Luke x. 4; so that, in respect of us to whom God hath made this known, we may use those words, 'For I tell you, that many prophets, and kings, and righteous men, have desired to see those things which you see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which you hear, and have not heard them.' To whom is this performed, this promise of peace, as the angel said to the shepherds: Luke ii. 9–11, 'For, behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.' And this is the first point, by reason of the celebration of the Lord's nativity, in accomplishing the promise of

God by giving peace above all blessings, sending Christ a Saviour to take flesh upon him.

The next point in these words is, that God taketh delight, and will pour a blessing upon it, on the temple, only in respect of Christ figured, and holy exercises commanded by him, therein practised. How the temple figured Christ, and the exercises there the duties of Christians in particular set down, else we are not to stand on them; but note the blockishness, first of the Jews, then of the papists, for they in their Talmud thought that God took delight in the temple, that now for sorrow he hath destroyed it, he spendeth many hours in bewailing the same. The papists, though the temple be overthrown, yet think that God took such delight in the place where it stood, that they go on pilgrimages, as though yet that prayer of Solomon's were in force for them that pray more in that place than the other, blind men that consider not rudiments of the law, while the Jews, as children, were thereby to be schooled to Christ, [as] our Saviour to the Samaritan so expounded it: John iv. 21, 'Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, wherein ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers of the Father shall worship him in spirit and in truth;' meaning the time had been when the place of true worship appointed was Jerusalem; but the truth being come, all places are now sanctified as Jerusalem, according to that 1 Tim. ii. 8, 'I will, therefore, that men pray everywhere, lifting up pure hands without wrath and doubting.' The Rhemish Jesuits, upon Matthew xvii. ver. 9, say, the mountain is called holy by St Peter, 2 Pet. i. 18, as that place by Moses, Exod. iii. 5, was called holy ground; whereby it is evident, say they, that by such a precious place they are sanctified, and thereupon groweth a religion and devotion in the faithful towards such places, and that there was great pilgrimage in the primitive church to this mountain, and unto all those places which our Saviour had sanctified with his presence and with his miracles, and therefore to the whole land of promise; also upon John xii. 20, the Gentiles say they came to adore, the Gentiles came of devotion pilgrimage to the temple of Jerusalem; and Acts viii. 27, note that the Ethiopian came to Jerusalem to adore, that is, on pilgrimage. Out of all these places they would prove that yet we should go to Jerusalem, by virtue of which conclusion they may also prove that we should also offer bulls and calves, which were prescribed by the law, as was this coming to Jerusalem; for as they were bound to come up to appear before the Lord, so were they also commanded not to come empty. If bound to Jerusalem, because of a special promise made to that place, why not to all the ordinances prescribed by Moses?

Besides, Paul's resort to Jerusalem at the feast was for the opportunity of preaching to them then assembled as on the Sabbath, Acts xiii. 44, and so they

may conclude that we are to keep the Jewish Sabbath, which the Jesuits will deny. Therefore of the example of Paul going up to Jerusalem it can no more be proved that we ought to go thither, than that we should also yet offer, for that we read he did so in the temple, Acts xxi. 16, and it maketh as much for his offering as the other for the going thither. The Rhemists' note on the seventeenth of Matthew is more forcible in show, but as weak in substance. That the mount was called holy, because it was sanctified by that apparition, we grant; but then was it so sanctified that holiness must then needs cleave unto it for ever, and still abide therewith? Peter called it the holy hill; so likewise Matthew, chap. xxvii. 33, calleth Jerusalem 'the holy city,' and chap. xxiv., 'the holy place,' namely, as other things are called holy, because consecrated to holy uses, so the city, because of the holy assemblies to it, because of the church of God it signified, and the temple more especially, because of the glory of God which appeared therein. But those holy actions, when they were omitted, and the contrary practised, howsoever they were holy in respect of the things they prefigured, yet, doubtless, they were profane and unholy, insomuch that Christ said even of the temple, that it was 'made a den of thieves,' and 'the faithful city was become a harlot,' and the pollutions thereof were such, and the profanations so many, that Christ threatened, and it came to pass, that not a stone therein should be left upon a stone. In the eighty-seventh Psalm, the mountains whereon Jerusalem was founded were called holy; but were they accounted so any longer than were the holy exercises by God appointed therein practised? In Ezekiel viii. and ix., their abominations are described, and the punishments of the same in chap. x. and xi., how the Lord for the same left and forsook them, yea, how he departed from the temple first, and then quite from the city; whereby is taught us, that there is no place never so holy which God detesteth not, when his commandments therein are broken, and his majesty profaned. The Jesuits themselves will confess, that churches, although sanctified by the pope, yet that the holiness of them ceaseth if murder be committed in them; whereby they might see that such things might be committed in places otherwise holy, that the places may become so profane, that God will not only not delight in them, but detest and abhor them, as it was manifest by Jerusalem; for else what meant our Saviour by that threat against it? 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that stonest the prophets.' See what Gregory Nazianzen saith in a sermon touching them that run about to such places. Pilgrimages were made to such places, say the Jesuits, not long after Christ's time, but yet they were reprov'd by that father's judgment, because Jerusalem is called the holy city; and is it not also called spiritual Sodom and Gomorrah, because of the wickedness therein committed? And what shall we say of Rome, sith

that it is likewise called spiritually Babylon in the Revelation? But such is the blindness of that man of sin, that albeit it be the place where the saints of Christ in the Revelation are said to be slain, as Christ in Jerusalem, yet commend they it as the place wherein above others God will delight most, as the Jews fancy of Jerusalem. Hereupon Boniface VIII. ordained,* that whosoever would come up to Rome, anno 1300 (at which time he lived), should have most full remission of all sins (Extravag. com. lib. v. de peniten. et remissione, cap. i. et cap. ii. in bulla Clem. VI.). The very circumstances of which places deriving their jubilee from Moses's law, and building it on the merits of Peter and Paul, and binding all the solemnity thereof to their Church of Rome, do sufficiently shew the superstition of it. This same Boniface ordained at the first, that every hundred years they should enjoy the same pardons, which after by another was abridged to fifty, and then to twenty-five, for their year of jubilee.† Now, we know the year of jubilee (as Joseph. de Antiquitat. liber iii. cap. xiv.) was ceremonious; that every fifty years liberty should be proclaimed, to the bond freedom, to their servants lands restored. Now, this was a figure of Christ; as Isaiah, he sent to proclaim spiritual liberty to the captives, the opening of the prison, the acceptable year of the Lord, which in the forty-ninth chapter, and the eighth and ninth verses, he had called the acceptable time and day of salvation; and the apostle, 2 Cor. vi. 2, expoundeth it of the time whensoever the gospel is preached, 'Behold, now is the acceptable day;' and the pope, as though Christ were not yet come, or had not put an end to these things, applied this to his year of jubilee. And Bristow in his motives doth exhort all Catholics to prepare themselves against this most acceptable year of grace, Jeroboam's charge to

* Plat. in Vita Bon. VIII. Oæphinus in Chri. anno 1294.

† The jubilee was reduced by Clem. VI. to fifty years, abridged by Martin V. and Paul brought down unto twenty-five years, which was confirmed by Sextus IV.—Vide Plat. in Clem. VI. et in Nic. V. Oæmp. in Sexto IV. et Extravag. com. lib. 5, cap. 1. Glosse in fine; vide Bullam Clem. VI. ibid. cap. ii. Unigenitus et Bullam Sixti IV. Extra. com. lib. v. cap. iv.

his calves. But all this must be to Rome, whereby you may note the original of all this superstition, which indeed is the covetousness of the pope. For it is not Jerusalem that he careth for, nor the temple of Peter and Paul; these are only fair pretences, the holy place, the holy land, the temples of the apostles, the year of jubilee, the year 1575. But the thing to which all serveth was the commodity which thereby cometh to the pope's coffer. For that law out of Deuteronomy must be kept inviolable, that none appear here empty, which mystery bewrayeth the knavery; for in the year 1000, because the offerings came not to such abundance as was looked and hoped for, the pope sent abroad to such as had had not been there his plenary pardons, offering to them that would buy for money the same grace and favour which they should have been partakers of had they come that year, 1517, which he might well and truly promise; whereby it pleased God to awaken Christians by the ministry of Master Luther to see the sink of that iniquity which appeared manifestly in this abuse, *in titulo de clericis peregrinantibus*, so in effect for the place; he hath brought it from Jerusalem to Rome, for the year of jubilee, by mincing it in parts for his greater advantages. So the end of their pilgrimage is the pope's commodity, St Peter's church is the pope's court, their offering to him purchaseth their pardons. But to whom doth this indulgence good? To all that pay? Nay, they will not say so, but, *vere penitentibus*, they who truly repent shall have forgiveness of all their sins; most true indeed. Therefore, if Christians know that, they would little trust to themselves for his pardon or the year of jubilee; for I can assure them, out of the word of God, that whensoever they repent, though they never see Rome or Jerusalem, yet shall they be forgiven, and their sins done away, though the pope receive not a penny of them, yea, even this day, and in this house, and in this place, freely and without money. I assure all such as unfeignedly repent and turn to God, assurance of the forgiveness and remission of all their sins, though the pope's pardon never come amongst us, nor we once think on this year of jubilee.

SERMON VI. February 8. 1589.

Ye looked for much, and it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. And why? saith the Lord of hosts. Because of mine house that lay waste, and ye ran every man to his own house. Therefore against you the heavens stayed itself from dew, and the earth stayed from fruit. And I have called for drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the wine, and upon the oil, and upon that which the earth bringeth forth, both upon men and upon cattle, and upon all the labours of their hands.—HAGGAI I. 9-11.

THE prophet Haggai having exhorted the Jews to go forward with the temple and sanctuary, and having moved them thereunto by laying before them the gracious promises of God, that he would be favour-

able and take delight therein, doth further stir them up with these words, by calling to their remembrance that great want and scarcity wherewith God did not*

* Qu. 'did'?—ED.

chastise them, who therefore did not prosper the labours of their hands, nor give success to their endeavours, for that every one ran to the building of his own house, and the trimming up thereof. They laboured not to advance the house of the Lord, for as the Lord had threatened in his law that if they would not hearken to his voice to do his will, they should be cursed in the town, and in the field, and in the fruit of their body, and the fruit of the earth; that the heavens over them should be brass, and the earth under them iron; so did they feel by experience that those threats were performed to them from heaven and earth, in themselves and in theirs, and in the field and in the town. Because that they were commanded by the Lord to build this house, they took all opportunity to do it; and to persuade hereunto to leave their slackness and bestir themselves hereabout, he sheweth how God had withdrawn his blessings from those creatures that should have done them good, and had stretched out his hand against them. Haggai therefore doth advertise them, shewing that they were chastised in the town and in the field, forasmuch as they took great pains and got little, and that which they got and brought home he did as with a whirlwind disperse and scatter. And why? Because they left the house of the Lord waste, and every man ran to his own house; therefore against you the heavens, &c.

Whercin to affect them with a more lively feeling of their misery laid upon them, because they suffered the Lord's house to lie waste, the prophet doth more particularly specify the means used by God to work these wants. The things they wanted were the blessings of this life; the hurt themselves and theirs felt, whereby he noteth their sin, and the correspondency of their chastisements which they felt, which appeareth by the word whercin their fault was noted, compared with their punishment, as it is laid down more evidently in the original; for the word which is rendered *waste*, verse 8, doth first signify dry, Lev. xxvi., Ps. xviii., and by consequence waste, because places which are dry and want moisture are likewise waste and desolate. Now, verse 11, it is said he had called for a drought. The word cometh from the same stem in the Hebrew that the other doth, and in the sense of wasteness, doth express more plainly the agreement of the punishment with the manner of their sin, as though he should say, Because you have suffered my house and sanctuary to lie waste, therefore have I also, by calling for a drought, brought also a waste upon you. You have been most careful to provide for yourselves and yours whatsoever was needful, and might by you anyways be purchased; but behold I have wasted and consumed that, I have called for a drought. So the Lord hereby doth declare the performance of that which he threatened, that he would deal overthwartly with them that overthwarted him, and that to the froward he would become froward; howbeit, let not any that have offended flatter them-

selves as these men, because they feel not such chastisement as these did, because they are not plunged,* nay, because they live at such ease and contentation of heart, that, as the prophet speaketh, their eyes start out of their heads, although they be nothing careful to build God's house, nay, be careful to build their own, nay, run to it, and that to build them with blood; for albeit they felt not the experience of this punishment in temporal blessings, yet let them remember the words of the prophet, Ps. lxxiii. 13, 'When I went into the sanctuary of God, then understood I the end of these men; surely thou settest them in slippery places, and castest them into utter desolation.' 1, Slippery places; 2, utter desolation, as it is taught in the history of Job: 'The rejoicing of the wicked is but short; though his excellency mount upon the heavens, and his head reach to the clouds, yet shall he perish for ever like the dung, and they that have seen him shall say, Where is he?' chap. xx. 5, 6. But the children of God are dealt withal as children, although he chasten them, as 'what son is there that he chasteneth not?' yet will he not withdraw his mercy from them, neither here nor hereafter, so that everlasting mercy is surely ascertained; for what is said to Solomon, 2 Sam. vii. 14, 'If he sin, I will chasten him with the rod of men, but my mercy shall not depart from him,' the same is performed to other the children of David, even to all the faithful and elect, Ps. lxxix. 4. And the example of the Corinthians may teach us the end of God's chastisements on his servants; the apostle sheweth for their unreverent receiving of the sacrament, some were sick, and some fallen asleep, that is, taken away; and thereupon, shewing that this appertaineth to all, he saith, 'When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, because we should not be condemned of the world, 1 Cor. xi. 30, 32.

Howbeit, if any of the servants of the Lord who have neglected their duty, have not felt his hand, let them not be high-minded, but fear and be humbled, as who knoweth not what the late evening-tide may bring forth; remember that which is written to put them in remembrance, the judgment of God is just against the ungodly that do such things: 'And what thinkest thou, O man, that judgest them that do such things, and dost the same, that thou shalt escape the just judgment of God; or despisest thou the riches of his bountifulness, and patience, and long-sufferance?' Rom. ii. 2-4; for it is most plain that they shall not enter into the holy tabernacle hereafter who persist not to build Christ's tabernacle here, as the 15th and 24th Psalms plainly shew; wherefore as we tender our own salvation, not only the favour of God and the benefits of this life, let us every one be careful for the building of the church and temple of God, according as God hath committed a charge to every one for the edifying of the same, remembering that commandment

* Qu. 'plagued?'—Ed.

of our Saviour, Mat. vi. 33, 'First seek the kingdom of God, and then all these things shall be given you after;' if first we will seek the kingdom, then these at leisure, to be regarded afterwards, and not to follow the example of them whom the Lord here reproveth, which run to the building of their own house, and were so slow in the Lord's work. We see David so to have been careful thereof, that his purpose was not to take benefit of one night's sleep in his own house which he had built until he had finished the house of God, 2 Sam. vii. 2, which, although he could not accomplish because of the wars wherewith he was troubled against the enemies of the Lord, yet Solomon his son followed the same course, and built first the Lord's house, and, after he had finished that, his own house, for which God accordingly blessed them; though neither of them wanted chastisements, because also sometimes they faulted therein, yet were great blessings bestowed on them both in this life, vouchsafed out of the everlasting favour and blessing of God, as by the monuments of them both is manifest.

By example of whom we are instructed to follow the commandment of God in building his house, in going at leastwise as far as David, in providing those things that were requisite for perfecting thereof; which work was referred to Solomon. Let us be moved with the example of God's mercies on them, to look for the like blessing if we follow them in well doing, remembering that which is written by the prophet, how that afterward he had espoused them to himself in kindness and mercy, and had made a covenant with him by this, that he promiseth that he will 'hear the heavens, and the heavens shall hear the earth, and the earth shall hear Israel,' Hosea. ii. 21; nay, they may assure themselves not only of these blessings, but of such as are inestimably to be preferred before them, whereof mention is made in the Apocalypse, though represented also by such things as manna, the tree of life, to conquerors, to them that go forward in the building of the temple, and of the sanctuary.

This exhortation pertaineth more specially indeed to the principal builders of it. But it doth also belong unto all the people of the land, not to the ministry or spirituality, as they term it, but to all Christians, who must all be spiritual. If they will all be Christians, they must as lively stones be built upon the foundations; they must offer up themselves a living, holy, and acceptable sacrifice, Rom. xii. 1. None is exempted from this labour; all must be kings, Rev. i. 6, to conquer their lusts and affections that rebel against God's commandments; all priests, to offer up spiritual sacrifice, 1 Pet. ii., yea, they are each one to go further, and not only to build themselves but others also, 1 Thes. v. 11., every one one another, remembering that which the apostle exhorteth the Thessalonians, 'Exhort one another, and edify one another.' Therefore all must be builders, Eph. iv.; all our speech must be to edify, Col. iii., powdered

with salt; our actions rules of godliness, that we may be patterns for others to behold; for our Saviour spake to all his disciples, 'Ye are the salt of the earth, and the light of the world,' Mat. v. Not only the bishops and the deacons at Philippi, Phil. i. 1, but also the rest of them were as lights shining forth holding forth for others, Phil. ii. 15, 16. Salt serveth for many uses to season other things, light to light others also; therefore all are to edify, not themselves, but others also. This exhortation made to all we ought to call to remembrance, that so we are for this cause termed salt, light, a princely priesthood, a chosen nation, whom God hath sanctified to shew forth the virtue of him that hath called them, and the care which they are to have one of another. It was Cain's voice, 'Am I the keeper of my brother?' But we are rather to propose unto ourselves the example of Moses. When he was not yet called to be delivered of his brethren, but prepared thereunto, he laboured to reconcile his brethren that were at discord. Yet this exhortation concerneth principally Zerubbabel and Joshua, because they be the chiefest of the Lord's servants, and the graces of God are most eminent in them whose hearts God hath so touched that they pity the dust and the stones, the ruins of Jerusalem, Ps. cii. 14, who, as trees of righteousness moistened by God's Spirit, sanctified by God's grace that was poured upon Christ Jesus, are appointed to build the old waste places, to raise up the former desolations, Isa. lxi. 3, 4, and to repair the cities that were desolate and waste through many desolations; which words of the prophet must teach us, who are called especially to the charge of building, to take delight in the stones thereof, to be careful for the raising up of them, to repair the desolate cities of Judah and Jerusalem. Whereby I am moved to beseech you (fathers) who are enabled with gifts to perform this duty to the whole household, that you would not only raise up others to do this holy work, but that you with more care and diligence would perform the same yourselves; for though you are content to hear the young sort, and sometimes Elihu may speak more wisely than his elders; the youth of Timothy is not to be despised; yet many have more regard of the grey head, and aged Paul is able to speak with great gravity, and therefore is wont to be heard with great reverence and profit. Gideon, when he had taken the kings of Midian, Zeba, and Zalmunna, he spake to Jether his first-born to rise up and slay them; but the boy drew not his sword, because he feared, because he was yet young. Then the kings said unto Gideon, 'Rise thou, and fall upon us, for as the man is, so is his strength;' our carnal lusts and carnal concupiscence, whereby we are led to wickedness, fight against the Spirit of God, and they are the enemies of the Lord; and therefore we are willed of the apostle to 'mortify our members that are on earth, fornication, uncleanness, the inordinate affection, covetousness, which is idolatry.' The wicked

affections are (as the apostle saith) limbs of one body, growing so fast unto us by the depravation of our nature, as our arms or legs do to our bodies; therefore these limbs of our body must be slain. The sword wherewith we must do it is the word of God, as the apostle teacheth.

Why these lusts are for the most part so slowly slain, there are many reasons: partly because Gideon speaketh to his first-born to slay them, not boys, indeed, as he was to whom Gideon spake, but of riper years, yet our sons, though our first-born and flower of our sons, yet but our sons. Zeba and Zalmunna knew well enough, that Jether, though Gideon's first-born, yet he could not make so quick despatch in killing of them, because they were to die by his hand, they were to die a lingering death; wherefore, although your children are loath to say to you, that you yourselves are rather to rise up and perform this duty, as neither Jether did to his father Gideon, give us leave, as Zeba and Zalmunna, to will you to rise up and run upon your lusts and slay them, for as the man is, so is his strength. God forbid you should be justly to be taxed with that reproof which is laid upon the great men and the Tekoites, of whom, when the prophets had shewed the building of the walls of Jerusalem, each sort fortified in their place, but the great with them of the Tekoites put not their necks to the work of the Lord. The phrase here used noteth the kind of labour they should have taken, even to carry stones and mortar, a base work that great men should be labourers in; yet we see the Holy Ghost toucheth them with just reproof of ingratitude, that they submitted not themselves thereunto, considering that it was the work of the Lord to whom they did owe themselves, and all others. The building of Christ's church is a work base and contemptible in the judgment of the world, though before God most excellent and precious. But it is base as we list to account it. If we cannot submit ourselves to the bearing of these burdens, let us remember it is our Lord's work, and let us fear the just reproach which the Tekoites bear for the neglecting of it. In the French story we read, that at a dangerous siege of Rochelle, for the fortifying a bulwark against the enemies, each one so bestirred themselves, that even the gentlewomen and ladies carried stones and rubbish for the raising thereof, which therefore was called the ladies' bulwark, because the great women in the siege of Rochelle were content to submit themselves to bear rubbish. It was the work of the Lord by a consequent; and shall it not be a shame for men, of how great calling soever they be, or count themselves to be, not to submit themselves to the work of the Lord? If they be such as have taken in hand to build many places, let them remember that they are bound to build in all places, even as the Tekoites were, of whom it is noted, that they edified in divers places, which in that building might more be done, because that being many, when they had perfected the work

in one place, they might after go to another. But how many, or any of us, may undertake to build in sundry places, I see not; for if the building be such as requireth continual labour therein, if laying of living stones continually requireth residence of the builders, that they should still be present on their charge, that as new stones are still brought, so they may still be laid on, still more and more to be won to God. Let them remember that this is the Lord's work; and if they be not able to build in many places, let them be content to resign their charges, so that there may be a workman able to furnish the places appointed thereunto.

Cursed be the man that doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be the man that withholdeth his hand from blood, saith the Lord by his prophet. He speaketh of killing the enemies of the Lord. God forbid that a curse should fall upon us, amongst those that have faulted therein; and that it may not fall, the Lord hold still up their hearts to perform that with all care which the Spirit of God teacheth to be their duty, viz., to advance the glory of God in building the temple and sanctuary of God.

For the rest which are not such as the Tekoites, and yet are comprised in the number of them that are said to build the sanctuary and set to fight the Lord's battles, let them remember that they were cursed that withheld their swords from blood. Although they have not the strength of Gideon, yet let them remember that 'the word of God is sharper than any two-edged sword, and pierceth through the dividing of the joints and marrow.' Wherefore, if we build in that measure which God hath given us, God will yield his blessing and put strength unto it; and though we be not able with David to kill our ten thousand, yet let us be content with Saul to slay our thousands; yea, there were of David's worthies that slew but their hundreds. Let us remember the promise made to them that do their duty herein.

And that this sword may the better strike and wound, we must remember that it must be applied to the limbs and members; we must take heed that we content not ourselves to run on the generalities, and to stand upon flourishes, but apply this sword to the special faults of our hearers, for so it is like to pierce the better. There are some also, which, although they use this sword, yet they cover it with such a scabbard, that by reason thereof it is not able to wound in such sort as it should; as either with intermingling of strange language without any necessity, or heaping up of many testimonies, or other things not so fruitful; so that, although they come near with the sword, yet, because of the scabbards, they perform not that duty which they ought to do. Wherefore we may remember that the builders which the apostle speaketh of, the Corinthians, are reprov'd, not only for the matter which they built, as for raising hay and stubble upon the foundation, but also for the form and manner they used. Let these men set before their eyes the examples of the prophets and

apostles in their preaching, yea, of the fathers themselves, whom they like so well, and mark in what sort they apply this sword to the mortifying and slaying of the old man.

A great help hereunto might have been the example, if it had continued, of many, who heretofore out of other places, and lastly out of this, have broken the bread of life amongst us. But what shall I complain of the mass of free-will offerings, when even those that were necessarily appointed, either the morning or the evening offerings, are oftentimes wanting, so that often that which should be offered in the evening is offered in the morning, as at this present. Howbeit, that the free-will offerings so long continued should be intermitted the next year after God had delivered us from the Spaniard, I cannot but lament, when such offerings should rather be increased, to the glory of God, and testimony of our thankfulness for so wonderful a deliverance.

The fault hereof I cannot lay on them that before took pains herein, or on the chief magistrate, for that of them many are otherwise employed. And the magistrate, I think, was ignorant, that it hath been the use for them in that place to solicit others, for this thing was at the beginning of the entrance into his office. But I beseech you that are the Lord's remembrancers, that you would use all means to procure that these free-will offerings may be continued again. When there had been long want of rain in Israel, Elias promised Ahab, at length, that there should be rain; and going to the top of a mountain, sent his servant to look, who at the first saw nothing, and he still sent him down, till at the seventh time, when at length he saw a little cloud arising like a hand at the first, whereof afterwards ensued great rain. It may be you shall not have your desire at the first nor at the second time, yet I beseech you not to omit this thing; for at length, doubt not after seven times you shall see, though it be but a cloud, whereof may ensue great store of rain. A cause of the intermitting hereof may be the dislike which, by some division amongst us, by preaching might be bred, because that all of us are not of one mind; for though all agree that the foundations and walls of the building of the Lord's temple be laid and raised amongst us, yet some think the covering of the same is not so good as it ought to be. Others are of opinion that it is good and sufficient. Some think that there wanteth a fence about it for the keeping out of beasts, as we read Nehemiah required him timber of king Artaxerxes, for building of the inclosure that appertained to the house of the Lord, though we know that in the days of Darius the temple was perfected. Howbeit, whatsoever dissension there be among us about circumstances, yet we are brethren, and God forbid we should come any more to such distempered speeches, as some on both sides have done. If they had had to have dealt with the Samaritan, that had been enough,

yea, haply too much, some of it, seeing it falleth within that which the apostle hath forbidden, as not fit to be amongst saints.

Let us remember that which the apostle writeth to the Philippians: 'In that whereunto we are come, let us proceed by one rule, that we may mind one thing.' Now unto this we are all come, that we acknowledge that there is necessary in the church an able and sufficient ministry, and that in this seminary such might be trained up in learning and godliness here amongst us, that being thoroughly seasoned therewithal, they may be made fit to build up the church of God, not as deceitful workmen, but as wise and faithful builders. One of the wisest amongst the philosophers, giving precepts for the good government of a commonwealth, shewing of what sort governors, assistants, and others should be, saith, that God, in framing men for government, in those which are to be chief, hath mixed gold in those which are fit to assist, silver in husbandmen, and such as are to obey, brass and iron. Now these are of one kindred that beget their like, yet sometimes it falleth out that a golden father begetteth a brazen child, and a brazen father begetteth a golden child, that the son shall not be permitted to take the office of his father, but that he should be set among the husbandmen. And if a brazen father should have a golden son, that the governors should take him from amongst the brass and iron, and place him among the golden children, receiving this as an oracle, that the commonwealth must then go to wreck, when they shall be contented to prefer brass and iron to the place appointed for gold and silver. This is but a fable, I know, and like to that of Jotham's, but the moral of it is agreeable to our purpose. There are amongst us certain dispositions as it were of gold and silver, fit to be placed among ecclesiastical and civil charges of government; some of another temper, not fit for government. Great care is to be had by those that are in place of government, that brass sons are not preferred to places appointed for golden children, that if they be not furnished for such places, they may be applied for that to which they are fit. Therefore you that govern, considering, according to the rule of the holy Scriptures, that all must go to wreck when brass and iron are placed in charge, are to be requested to have care, that when you are to make choice of such as are to be in place of government, that you make choice of such as are of gold, at least of silver, dispositions; but if you meet with such as are of brass and iron, then play the part of Apollonians, and signify to their friends that they are not fit for such places, but that they may be set to that wherewith they may do most good. Especially care would be had of statutes which godly founders have provided for maintenance, of such as being fit for such places, their parents being not able to train them up; a lamentable case that golden purses should be preferred before golden wits. It is pitiful, though we

ought also to be thankful for it, that the parliament hath taken such order therein, which we ourselves would not; yet pitiful it is that a law should be made for the restraint of corruption in those matters. Howbeit, if this law do not restrain them that buy and sell for gold, let them, moreover, take heed lest favour some time compass that corruption which money did before; nay, if your own children and friends be brass, beware you prefer them not, when gold should be preferred; prefer your own you may, but then when they be fit. Moses made not any of his children rulers after him, but Joshua; yet made he his brethren priests and his children, because they were fit for those places; [for] his own they were not. We have laws to shew whom they be that be so qualified that they may be chosen; our founders have such care therein, that they would not so much as have their own kinsmen preferred unless they be so qualified. The candlesticks of the sanctuary were of gold, which were to hold out the lights; some parts of the sanctuary were covered with silver; there was also about the sanctuary use for brass; but for government they only are to be chosen whom God in their creating had intermingled gold with their metal. And as they should have special care hereof in election, so afterwards [that] they are made fit, let that which is degenerate and become copper, for many things shew to be gold which afterwards prove otherwise, so are they not to be taken for gold until that by constancy in going forward they make perfection of the same. They are by their towardness before to be esteemed, but their trial comes after. This might be performed if orders already provided heretofore were performed, and where they want they were supplied, that such exercises were maintained in all colleges and halls, to make these instruments indeed of gold fit for these purposes. I am loath to enter into discourse of our particular fault herein, of the negligence, and somewhat more than negligence, of many, neither of the faction maintained in sundry places, by such as love to fish in troubled waters; only in general.

I would have such to remember as are to be made stones of this spiritual building, chief stones and corner stones, to be trimmed up to serve either in church or commonwealth, that they ought willingly to submit themselves to good orders, whereby they may be fit for the building. The stones must be squared, carved, polished, and graven, which, had they reason and sense, they would not have neglected; how much more willing should you be to submit yourselves hereunto, especially for that so wonderful use. The philosophers said that the stones appointed for altars were happy. Instruction, reproof, correction, may seem unpleasant, but if you have that care which living stones should have, that religious feeling which you ought, you will be content to submit yourselves to such things, without which you cannot be made fit, and be content though you be restrained of such

things as elsewhere haply be held tolerable, and may not be permitted, as your Christmas lords, an use taken from the heathen, as Polidorus Virgil sheweth, which in no place are tolerable; but among the prophets and their children such discords are most of all to be condemned. The very name thereof sheweth the inconvenience of the thing, as also the rest unprofitable and unfruitful delights, as plays, to say no more of them. It is observed that corruption entered first amongst the Jews by those means whereby, through the policy of Antiochus and the enemies, their minds were so much effeminated. In this also we all agree, that as there ought also to be godly and learned ministers, so there should be a sufficient maintenance for them: which in some places being sufficient, they only are to be requested who are in authority to dispose of such livings as patrons, that they have a care that the candlesticks which are to hold out the light may be of gold; but such are a great deal worse which take gold to prefer brazen-nose men. But let them take heed lest they fall into that mischief which the example of Ananias and Sapphira teacheth against them that go about to intervert any part of those livings, which either themselves or their predecessors have applied to the maintenance of the house of God.

It may be there are not many in this place that have to deal in this matter, but some there are that hereafter may, to whom this latter exhortation may appertain, namely, that where there is not a sufficient maintenance appointed for the minister, there themselves would be careful to increase it, following the example of the princes of Judah, who, with willing hearts (as Moses noteth), offered to the Lord, as also 1 Chronicles, last chapter, yea, all the people are said to have been so ready that they were content to have given more than was sufficient, because they offered with an entire and willing heart. But that others also may be more willing to provide for the maintenance of the ministry, by providing that which is wanting, we in this place, so much as lieth in us, are to give example hereof in those things which are in our hand, bestowing that on a fit person which amounteth out of the commodity of such living, without decaying that which is to be applied also to the service of the ministry. You know my meaning is, it were to be wished that you should shew that especial care in bestowing impropriations, which are in your gifts, upon men able to do good in the church, that your example may provoke others to do also the like, at least that the surplusage may thus be bestowed; and if we would in this place begin, it were to be hoped that others would follow. The priests begin to offer, though indeed it be too late for us to begin, for others whom God hath filled with the zeal of his house herein some go before us. Josiah, king of Judah, is said to have commanded the priests to cause the ruins of the temple to be repaired, and it appeareth that the king was more forward than the priests. I mention it to

our shame, that our princes and rulers should, in building and repairing the house of God, be still found more ready than we. Can we not find one man fit on whom such things as we have may be bestowed, and will not there one of our governors be found that will have care to turn that which riseth out of the commodity of these livings to the benefit of him that may serve in that place, to bring men unto God, rather than a Tobiah and Ammonite? Shall we still suffer his majesty's laws to go before us? Shall we be careful of the establishment and foundation of our foundations, which we before should have been careful of, and shall we not be careful to use the benefit thereof so as may be most for God's glory? If we expect also till by law she drive us to this, whereas it is presently in our own power, let us take heed it be not laid to our charge. God grant it be not in that day.

I know it will be said that regard is to be had of such as live upon those livings; and it is true, so far as may be done without prejudice to that great matter, in regard whereof that is but small. When Tobias was placed in a chamber which belonged to the house of God, Nehemiah passed but a little to thrust him out of it, although Tobias was authorised to keep the same by the priest; but he thrust him out, and cast his stuff and garment out of doors after him. If the mind of Jonah were in these rather cast into the sea, when the mariners see they cannot be safe whilst he being in, seeing that God is able to preserve them if they were so cast out as Jonah, and that money which is offered for the compassing of voices (I speak what I know), though I wish no man to say to them, as Peter did to Simon Magus, 'Thy money perish with thee,' I would rather wish they would be persuaded to bestow it on somewhat that they may better hold. As for the gain which is said may arise to the university

by the fine, alas! do we not see how cursed such fines and such money is! How many hundred pounds have in a few years been brought to nothing, as though all had been put into a broken bag! But if we grant it not, it will be feared that our posterity will; yet we herein shall shew the mind of David, who, though he himself could not build the house of God, yet he prepared whatsoever was fit and convenient for the same; and who knoweth but the Lord may send a Solomon to turn it to that end we mean it? It is not sufficient for us to say we wish these things were done, thus and thus ordered as were best; but we must be content to put to our helping hand, and labour to the uttermost to bring it to pass, else we shall do as the man St James speaketh of, that saith to the needy person, Go in peace and warm thee, but gives him not to relieve his poverty.

If these things move us not, let the last reason move us, that among the sacrileges committed by the abbeys and monasteries, which drew down God's wrath upon them, this was one, that they spoiled their churches for their provision of able ministers; and, having commodities in their hands, set only such hedge-priests to be over them, feeding themselves of the rest. Neither doubt I but God will raise up others, if you be loath to move the chancellor and others to be content to suffer us to bestow these livings as we have intended, and for which cause we have withstood and satisfied the request of other honourable personages in this suit; and it may be said, as Mordecai said to Esther, 'If thou neglect it, God will send help from some other place, but then thou and thy father's house shall surely be destroyed.' I would have stood longer upon other things, but I speak to men of understanding.

SERMON VII.

Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Josedech the high priest, with all the remnant of the people, obeyed the voice of the Lord their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet (as the Lord their God had sent him), and the people did fear before the Lord. Then spake Haggai the Lord's messenger in the Lord's message unto the people, saying, I am with you, saith the Lord.—HAGGAI I. 12-13.

WHEN the prophet Haggai had delivered his message from the Lord of hosts unto Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the remnant of the people, the fruit of this message from the Lord is here set down. What effect it wrought in the hearts of the hearers, not only of Zerubbabel and Joshua, but even of the people also! The principal effects that followed upon the prophet's sermon are here noted to be two, one of obedience: 'They all obeyed the voice of the Lord;' another of reverence: 'And the people did fear before the Lord.'

The word of the Lord by the messenger of the Lord had brought some fear and reverence upon them, to

cause them to stoop unto the will of God, and this fear had wrought some desire in their hearts to yield themselves in obedience to do the work of the Lord in the building of the temple also. It is said of Christ, Isa. xi., that 'the fear of the Lord should rest upon him!' and so it may be likewise of all true Christians, that the fear of the Lord is before them; not that fear which John speaks of, 1 John iv. 18, which is a fear that hath painfulness, wherewith the wicked are vexed, dreading punishment, that being a slavish and a servile fear, but such a fear as Abraham had, Gen. xxii., when he would have offered his dear son for a sacrifice to the Lord, fear arising from faith and love, and

drawing us on to obedience; that fear of the Lord, which John saith continueth with love for ever, 'Herein is love perfect, that we should have boldness in the day of judgment.' This fear is a token of grace in the children of God, that they tremble and fear at the word of the Lord; so saith the Lord by the prophet Isaiah, chap. lxvi. ver. 2, 'To this man I looked, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word;' and again, ver. 5, 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word.' Such a fear did the Lord himself approve and commend in the heart of good Josiah: 2 Kings xxii. 19, 'Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the Lord, when thou heardest what I spake against this place and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes and wept before me, I also have heard thee, saith the Lord.' And such a fear, joined with obedience, the Lord requireth in all his servants.

'Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light. Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God,' Isa. l. 10. Thus did Zerubbabel, Joshua, with the remnant of the people; they obeyed the voice of the Lord their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the Lord their God had sent him, and the people did fear before the Lord.

A lesson of no small importance, both to us that preach the word and to you that hear it also.

For us that preach: that we do the work, and preach the word of the Lord, not only faithfully but plainly also, that the people that hear us may be effectually moved to reverence and obedience therewithal.

To you that hear: that you 'receive the message, not as from men but as from God,' as did the Thessalonians, to whom the apostle gives testimony, 1 Thes. ii. 13, with thanksgiving, and that 'without ceasing, for that when they received the word which they heard of him,' and others of God's ministers, 'they received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh in them that believe.' And let us here consider what the apostle saith, 'Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy.'

All preachers of the word after a sort are prophets, not because they foretell things to come, but because they open and reveal the word of the Lord, and apply it also unto God's people: 'For he that prophesieth speaketh from God unto men, to edification, exhortation, and comfort,' and so is he said to edify the church of God, according to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 6, 'He that speaketh a strange language edifieth himself, but he that prophesieth edifieth the church.'

The church is said to be edified by a metaphor, when they that are believers are laid as living stones one upon another, being edified, that is, built as a spiritual house is by God's ministers, who are there-

fore called God's builders, 1 Pet. ii. 5, as the people are God's building, 1 Cor. iii. 9, and so it is said, Acts ix. 31, that 'the church had rest throughout all Judea and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.' To preach or prophesy, therefore, is not to speak strange language, if we will ever have the people edified; but we must prophesy as the prophets and apostles did, in plain evidence of spirit and speech, rather to profit than to please either ourselves or those whom we speak unto; which, if either we would follow the apostle's judgment, or did mind so much the people's profit as he did, we would be much more willing to do so ourselves also. For though he 'could speak as many and more languages than any of them all, yet had he rather (said he) speak five words plainly and profitably to instruct others, than ten thousand in a strange tongue,' 1 Cor. xiv. 19. And it is well worth the observing that which the apostle hath noted already, that when God spake in a strange language, he did it because of the people's infidelity, 1 Cor. xiv. 22; and it was no mercy but a judgment that the Lord would speak with other tongues to that people, Isa. xxviii. 11. 'For all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord.'

The fathers of the Greek church never preached in the learned Hebrew, but in their vulgar tongue, neither any church till papistry came in. The apostles themselves, Acts ii. 4, 8, 'being filled with the Holy Ghost, began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance;' and although the multitude which heard them were of divers languages, yet did they hear what the apostles spake, 'every man in their own tongue wherein they were born.' They spake not in Greek to the Arabians, nor in Latin to the Egyptians, nor in the Parthian tongue to the Phrygians, nor in the Hebrew tongue to the Grecians, but 'the people heard them speaking in their own tongues the wonderful things of God,' ver. 11. What the true language and learning is, which preachers should labour for, and so present unto God's people, we may understand and find by the prophet Isaiah, speaking in the person of Christ, the chief preacher of the gospel, chap. l. 4: 'The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary,' which also we may take from his own blessed mouth in his own person to the same purpose, Mat. xi. 28, when that of the prophet was accomplished, 'Come unto me,' saith he, 'all ye that are weary and laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart: and you shall find rest unto your souls;' and yet more effectually, when that scripture, Isa. lxi. 1, 2, by his own testimony was fulfilled in him and by him: Luke iv. 18, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to pro-

claim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' &c. ; and began to say unto them, 'This day is the Scripture fulfilled in your ears,' and in the opening and applying of which words, he did so wonderfully affect the minds and hearts of his hearers, that as the evangelist saith, 'they all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.' Here then may we see indeed what true learning is, and who hath the tongue of the learned, who he is that is best able to preach the gospel with most power and best fruits ; even he that hath the Spirit of God upon him in some measure, as Christ had above measure, and so delivering the word of grace causeth those that hear it to wonder at the gracious words that proceed out of his mouth. That preaching, then, is most warrantable, which is most profitable, and that most profitable which is most powerful, and that most powerful which best informeth the mind, enlighteneth the judgment, affecteth the soul aright, and warmeth the heart with the comforts and contentments of it. As it fell out with the two disciples going to Emmaus, 'Did not our hearts,' say they, 'burn within us while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?' Which no doubt he did, not in any strange language, to procure the credit of a learned tongue, but in plain evidence of speech and spirit, for the help of their understandings and affections, in their vulgar language well known unto them. Saint Paul exhorteth to prophesy in words of understanding, and not to use a strange language. Learning, doubtless, is fallen to a low ebb, if men cannot understand us, nor will acknowledge any learning in us, except we construe Greek or Hebrew, and stuff our sermons with allegations of divers languages, which may indeed please ourselves and humour others, but tendeth nothing to the profit and edification of them that hear us ; and albeit the Scripture seemeth sometimes to use some words of a strange language, yet must we wisely consider upon what just occasion such words were so uttered, and then so recorded by the penmen of the Holy Ghost. It was not for any vain ostentation, nor purposely for our imitation, but either for the explication of some mystery, or exposition of some prophecy. When Christ raised up the daughter of Jairus, ruler of the synagogue, from the death to life, he said, using these words of the Syrian language, *Talitha-cumi*, to put them in mind of the Scripture, that was now performed, which Isaiah prophesied, Isa. xvi. 1, 'Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land, from the rock of the desert to the mount of the daughter of Zion.' 'When the ears of the deaf were opened,' Mark vii. 34, he said *Ephphatha*, a word of the Syrian tongue, which the evangelist presently expounded, *Be opened* ; that so that might be known to be performed which was spoken by the prophet, Isa. xxxv. 5, 'Then shall the eyes of the blind be enlightened, and the ears of the deaf be opened.' When he was crucified, in his

grievous agony upon the cross, he cried out with a loud voice in these words, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* Mat. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34, the former of which words being Hebrew, and the latter being words of the Syrian language, which Christ uttered, and the evangelist interpreted, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And this was done to shew both the accomplishing of the prophecy of David, Ps. xxii., concerning his person and bitter passion, whence these words were taken, and also the bitter mocking of the Jews, who hearing him call *Eli, Eli*, said, in a scoffing manner, 'He calleth upon Elias, and let him alone ; let us see whether Elias will come to take him down.' And so we find that both Christ and his apostles did divers times in the New Testament use the Syrian word *Abba*, Father, when they called upon God, or spake of the voice of the Spirit of adoption in our hearts, whereby we cry unto God as unto our Father ; a probable argument, as some do conceive, that usually they did both preach and pray, in a known language, even in the vulgar tongue ; all which being duly weighed and considered, we may easily perceive that it is much safer and better both for preachers and hearers, that the word be delivered, not in words and sentences of a strange language, but to the best capacity of the hearers in a known tongue ; for as we must not so preach that we may seem to be learned, so neither may the hearers desire to hear otherwise or other things than such as whereby they may go away better instructed and edified in the faith and fear of God. And then, if thus we speak and thus we hear, and if thus we deliver and thus we receive the Lord's message from the Lord's messengers, as the people of God did in this place, we shall receive the pattern of wholesome words, and be better acquainted with the form of true godliness, we shall speak as the words of God, and receive the word that is brought us, 'not as the word of man, but as indeed it is, the word and oracles of the living God.' Such was the effect and fruit of Peter's sermon, Acts ii., when he spake not only so plainly to their ears and understanding, but also powerfully and piercingly to their very hearts and affections concerning Christ the Son of God, whom with their wicked hands they had crucified ; for upon the hearing thereof they were pricked in their hearts, perplexed in their spirits, they repented of their sins, believed the apostles, were baptized, and received the Holy Ghost, and the same day there were added unto them about three hundred * souls. And albeit the word of God, though powerfully and plainly preached, have not always the same or the like gracious effect and fruit, yet shall it always more or less accomplish the work and will of him that sends it. It shall not only shake and move the weak and slender reed, but cause also the stoutest and strongest cedar to quake and tremble. So did it prevail with Felix, when he heard Paul preaching and 'disputing of

* Qu. 'thousand'?—ED.

righteousness, and temperance, and of the judgment to come;' for the text saith he trembled, and answered, 'Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee.'

It hath been ever, and is yet still, the use and custom of froward and profane people, when either their ministers or their friends did rebuke and reprove them, not so much to be grieved that they had offended, as to be angry and moved that their faults were told them. It was an affliction of an haughty tyrant to cast John Baptist into prison for reproving his incest in retaining and maintaining his brother Philip's wife.

When Alippius, a young man of great hope, and of Austin's acquaintance, was too much transported with an inordinate desire and delight in and after the games and spectacles at Carthage, especially those which they called the *Circences ludi*, Austin much desired and endeavoured, out of the love he bare unto him, by the best means he could to reclaim him, but could not for the time prevail with him. Not long after the same, Alippius hearing Austin, in his rhetoric lecture at Carthage, drawing a similitude from the same plays to make the matter he had in hand more plain and pleasing, with a kind of biting derision of those who were captivated too much with the madness of those sports, Alippius took the whole matter unto himself, and was persuaded, saith Austin, that I had not spoken so much but even for his sake, and that which another would have taken as an occasion to be angry with me, the honest young man made an occasion to be angry with himself, and to love me more fervently. For thou hast said it, O Lord, and set down in thy writings, 'Rebuke the wise man and he will love thee.' Thus was Alippius both healed of his error and reclaimed from his vain sports by the good providence and power of God in the hand of Austin, never thinking of Alippius nor intending his curing or healing, as he himself saith at that time. For after those words, the filthiness of all those sports and delights did so recoil and vanish from his mind and heart, that he never after came amongst them any more. Now, let us well consider, my brethren, that if Alippius profited so well in hearing a rhetoric lecture, both for the informing of his judgment and reformation of his life, and all by the blessing of God, as Austin himself doth acknowledge in that place, why may not, why ought not, we to look for the like good fruit and effect of our desires and labours in hearing of divine lectures and godly sermons, such as may be more able, having a better promise, to convince the judgment, convert a sinner, save a soul, and cover a multitude of sins? And this we shall yet the more effectually find and feel if we reverently and obediently, as it now followeth in this scripture, hearken to the messenger of the Lord in the Lord's message: 'Then spake Haggai, the Lord's messenger in the Lord's message unto the people,

saying, I am with you, saith the Lord.' These words comprehend another sermon of the prophet Haggai, and do signify this much in effect unto us, that after the people were moved a little at the first sermon, to reverence and obey the word of the Lord sent unto them, yet, notwithstanding, they stayed a little, and then the prophet came again unto them, both to take some fear out of their hearts which was upon them, and also to make them a promise of God's gracious presence and assistance in this great business. 'Fear not, I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts.'

By the words of the prophet, it doth evidently appear that in this work of the building of the temple, they much feared the Persian king, lest he should molest or hinder them in the same; therefore the Lord sendeth this word, that they should not fear, for he would be with them to encourage and strengthen them, and cause the work to prosper in their hands; and lest they should think he spake this of himself, and not from the Lord, the prophet addeth thus, 'Then spake Haggai the Lord's messenger in the Lord's message unto the people, saying, I am with you, saith the Lord,' shewing thereby that he came unto them not only as the messenger of the Lord, but that the thing which he brought was the Lord's message also. When David, being troubled in his mind that he should dwell in a house of cedar trees, and the ark of God remain under curtains, he purposed in his thoughts to build a house unto the Lord. Nathan the prophet spake unto him, saying, 'Go, do all that is in thy heart, for the Lord is with thee.' Nathan that spake this was the messenger of the Lord, because he was a holy prophet of the Lord, but that which he spake was his own, and not any message from the Lord; for the same night the word of the Lord came unto Nathan to let David understand that not he, but his son, should proceed out of his loins, should build a house unto the Lord. A good lesson for such as preach or prophesy unto God's people, to hold nothing back from them which the Lord by them hath sent unto them, but to open unto them the whole counsel of God, as St Paul did, that they may say with more comfort, even as he said, 'That which we have received, deliver we unto you,' as the message of the Lord, and the Lord's messenger. Which also justly condemneth such of our prophets and preachers as refusing to stand in the counsel of the Lord, and to deliver his word unto his people, do utter the dreams and deceit of their own hearts, and put upon them the fancies and visions of their own heads, of whom the Lord may justly say now, as he said of some such prophets in Jeremiah's time, 'I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran; I have not spoken unto them, yet they prophesied.' And this may well serve also for a Christian admonition unto all such as are hearers of the Lord's prophets, to look as carefully to the message as to the messenger, to the matter as to the man, and to try the spirits, and proving all things, take hold of that which is good, like

the men of Berea, who are said to be 'more noble than they of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily whether those things which Paul had taught them were so.'

We may here also well and worthily observe how necessary often preaching is to God's people, if ever we will draw them to walk in his fear. 'The spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak,' as our Saviour saith; and when we are at the best, our best duties are full of many wants, and mingled with much imperfection, insomuch that we have need continually to be stirred up, quickened and strengthened unto every good work by the preaching of the word. It is not enough for Paul to plant unless Apollos doth water also; there must be 'precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little,' Isa. xxviii.; neither must the Philippians be weary of hearing the same things often, seeing it is not grievous unto Paul to write them, and for them it is a safe thing. When Moses and the prophets spake of preaching, they called it a dropping: Dent. xxxii. 1, 2, 'My doctrine shall drop as the rain, and my speech shall distil as the dew;' Ezek. xx. 46, 'Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop thy word toward the south, and prophesy against the forest of the south field.' For as the rain by often dropping and falling upon the earth doth soften it and make it fruitful, so doth the word by often preaching make the hearts of men like good ground to bring forth their good fruit in due season. It was the counsel and charge of Paul to Timothy, to 'preach the word in season and out of season,' 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2; not only

ordinarily in a constant course, but extraordinarily also, if any just occasion should so require. And if we well consider the good success which Haggai's often preaching found with this people, it may be an encouragement unto us to take the like course to procure the like blessing. His first sermon was delivered in the first day of the sixth month, and therein their sins discovered and reprov'd, God's judgments opened and applied, for their neglect in building the Lord's house, and themselves exhorted to go up to the mountain to bring timber to undertake the work, and to build the house. Had not this been thus spoken, the work had not been so thought upon, nor taken into due consideration. His second sermon was preached unto them in the four-and-twentieth day of the same month, somewhat about three weeks afterwards; and had not this been added unto the former, the work in all likelihood had been neglected still. This made the prophet to strike once and again, while the iron was hot, lest the sparks which were kindled by the first sermon should have been either quenched or cooled for want of another to second and abet the same. Unto this the Lord himself giveth testimony, when he telleth us, Ezra vi. 14, that the elders of the Jews having now taken the work in hand, 'builded the house of the Lord, and prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and of Zechariah the son of Iddo.' And thus doth the Lord make his own word, by faithful and frequent preaching, either as a hammer to bruise us or a fire to melt us, that so he may accomplish his own work which he requireth at our hands.

SERMON VIII.

And the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, a prince of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Josedech the high priest.—HAGGAI I. 14.

IT hath been heretofore declared in the explication of the former part of this chapter, how the Jews, having begun to lay the foundation of the temple of the Lord, did afterward surcease from proceeding in the Lord's work; wherefore they were, first, sharply reprehended and reprov'd by the prophet of the Lord for their sin, and afterwards he did encourage them to go on forward in the building of the temple.

In these words he sheweth how the Lord unto the words of the prophet did add the inward operation of his Spirit. 1, The Lord did stir up the spirit, &c.; 2, the obedience of the prince and people thereunto, in the words following; and they came and did the work.

The first needeth no exposition, saving that whereas it is said, that the Lord did stir them up, we may conceive their drowsy sluggishness was like unto a sleep, and sleep is nothing but a similitude of death; wherefore the apostle saith, Eph. v. 14, 'Awake, thou

that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.' The same admonition the Jews did receive by God at the time when, by stirring them up, he awoke them out of sleep.

The next point is the circumstance of time: ver. 15, 'In the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius the king;' which doth shew that the part doth not belong to the second chapter, but to the first, for the Scriptures were delivered into chapters a little before our age; but the Scripture itself sheweth this division is more probable, seeing that the second verse of the next chapter should begin with another circumstance of time. So Jerome and others have divided the same,* a matter wherein I would not have spent so many words, but that the Council of Trent, and some of the ancient fathers, have joined the same to the second chapter, according to the translation of the old Latins. Sextus the 5th doth

* Hieron. in Haggai, cap. ii. Vulgat. edit. Haggai, cap. ii.

not join this to the former, but to the latter circumstance in the second chapter.

Paulius de Palatio, one of the popish writers, would have this part, according to the Hebrews, to be joined to the circumstance of time; and Rebeira, also a man of the papists, and of greater judgment, affirmeth that this circumstance of time, in the first verse of the second chapter, appertaineth to the first chapter. So clear and undoubted it is that the circumstance of time, and the course of the Scripture, doth shew that as soon as the Spirit of the Lord did stir them up, they made no delay, but went and built the house of the Lord, so that they did not then defer so many days as before they had done years, but went and did work in the Lord's house. We may also further here observe, that this house is called 'the house of the Lord of hosts,' to shew his power over all creatures, a thing which might stand much for their encouragement; for whenas they had begun to build the house of the Lord, Ezra i. 2, by the permission of Cyrus, then their adversaries procured a commission from Artaxerxes to hinder and molest them in the building of the roof, and afterwards they obtained liberty to re-edify the same in the days of Darius, as appeareth, Ezra iv. 24, so that they might have been discouraged if they had not considered that the hearts of princes are in the hands of God, as the rivers of waters, Prov. xxi. 1. 2. As his power, so his fatherly goodness is shewed in this, in that he is called their God. As he made promise to Abraham to be a God unto him, and to his seed for ever, Gen. xii. 2, 3, xv. 1, 5, and xvii. 7, so now he sheweth himself to be their God, being Abraham's seed. The consideration whereof must needs breed a child-like affection in them to obey so good a Father, for when he might have justly punished them for their daily sins, yet, as a loving Father, he raised them out of the same, which must needs encourage them and make them thankful for it ('and the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel'). The Spirit of God teacheth us that 'whatsoever is written aforetime is written for our instruction,' Rom. xv. 4, so that in this place we may learn divers lessons for our learning. First, where the Lord is said to have stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel with this connection (And the Lord, &c.). The connection sheweth that it dependeth on the words which went before; whence we may observe, that the ordinary means which the Lord useth to stir us up, and to convert us unto himself, is the ministry of the word, so that it pleaseth him to send his messengers, not only to the meaner sort of men, but to kings and princes also for the same purpose: a thing the more to be marked, because there are some, as tradesmen, scholars, and divines, which may haply think themselves not to be charged with these things, or else not to have need thereof, whereby they may seem to be exempted from them; but let such men consider that this is the means whereby they must be stirred up. Lydia, a seller of

purple, Acts xvi. 14, had her heart opened thereby, even at the preaching of Saint Paul. And as for others, although they have never so much learning, yet I hope they neither may nor will prefer themselves before David, a man after God's own heart, Acts xiii. 22, and endued with a principal and singular spirit, who did not arise out of the dead sleep of sin, until the prophet Nathan came unto him to stir him up, 2 Sam. xii. 7, and then he cried, as it is Ps. li., 'Have mercy upon me, O God. Cast me not away from thy presence; nor take thy Holy Spirit from me;' and this the same Spirit of God doth manifest unto us, that which our Saviour Christ said to Nicodemus, John iii. 3, that we must be born anew: 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;' and born again we cannot be, unless we be first begotten by the word. And, though it be true that God begets us by the inward operation of his Holy Spirit, James i. 18, yet he useth the outward means of the ministry to the perfecting and accomplishing of the same, 1 Pet. i. 23; and therefore Paul is said to beget the Corinthians, 1 Cor. iv. 15, and Onesimus, Philem. 10, by the word. So unless we receive the messengers which bring this word unto us, and apply the same unto our hearts, we can have no regeneration of the spirit. God, the creator of all things, might have begotten us without fathers or mothers, or any other means, as he did in Adam and Eve, Gen. i. 27, 28, and he might of stones have raised up children unto Abraham, Mat. iii. 9, but he ordained and used the means of natural generation; and so must we in our new birth, that so we may be begotten, not of mortal seed, but of immortal, by the word of God, which liveth and endureth for ever. Rachel said, 'Give me children, or else I die,' Gen. xxx. 1, unto whom Jacob answered, 'Am I in God's stead, who hath withholden from thee the fruit of thy womb?' So that, as in natural generation, the fruit of the body cometh by the blessing of God, so is it in our spiritual regeneration also. If Rachel had not asked of God, God had not remembered her; and if she had not used the means, she had not been the mother of Joseph and Benjamin; which teacheth us that we must use the means of the ministry, that we may be begotten and born again, James i. 18, 21. As many as will be the children of God, they must receive the word which is brought unto them by the Lord's messengers, 1 Thes. ii. 13, that they be begotten anew by the same, 1 Cor. iv. 15; and being thus begotten and born anew, we must not stay here, but be nursed up further, and brought up with the pure milk of the word, that as new born babes we may grow thereby, 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2; and when we be grown to be of riper age in Christ, then this word will afford us strong meat also, for this is not only the sincere milk of the soul, which as new born babes we must desire, that we may grow thereby, as 1 Pet. ii. 2, but it is also strong meat for strong men, and belongeth also to them of riper age, 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2, which

through long custom have their wits exercised to discern both good and evil; as Heb. v. 14, Let us not therefore 'neglect the means of our so great salvation, for if he which despiseth Moses' law died without mercy, under two or three witnesses, how much more sore punishment shall he be worthy of,' that neglecteth the work of reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, whereby we grow up in Christ Jesus, Heb. ii. 3, x. 28, 29. Remember the word of the Lord, spoken by the prophet, Amos viii. 11, 'Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread nor a thirst for water, but for hearing of the word of the Lord; and they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even unto the east shall they run, and seek the word of the Lord and shall not find it!' And this plague shall not only be upon the ancient and elders of Israel, but he addeth further, that even the fair virgins and young men shall perish for thirst; a most evident proof that as our bodies would quickly perish, unless they should be strengthened with material food and nourishment,* 2 Kings iii. 9, 10, 1 Kings xvii. 22, even so our souls, unless they be fed and nourished with the heavenly food of the word, brought unto us by the ministers and preachers thereof, would quickly die and perish, whereby we are to acknowledge the singular goodness of God, and his great mercy shewed unto us above the Jews in sending us so great plenty of this food; and therefore the more wretched and ungrateful are we, if we condemn so great a grace and mercy when it is offered unto us. It is said, Jer. xxix., that the Lord had sent them prophets, rising up early and instructing them, yet they were not obedient to receive doctrine. The word of rising early should put the ministers in mind of their industry and diligence in their vocation, and delivering the message of the Lord; and if this early rising do seem to be too early to some, let them remember the saying of the wise man in the Proverbs, which may help to awake them, Prov. vi. 9, 'How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep? Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: therefore thy poverty cometh as one that travelleth by the way, and thy necessity as an armed man;' wherefore let every one awaken and strengthen the things that remain, Rev. iii. 2, lest, if we do not watch, he come upon us as a thief in the night, at unawares, 2 Pet. iii. 10, 11, 1 Thes. v. 2. If we say with the church of the Laodiceans, Rev. iii. 17, that we are 'rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing,' then it is to be feared lest indeed we be 'wretched, and miserable, and poor, blind, and naked;' or if we think it enough for us to be present only where the word is preached, though we take it not home to our own hearts, let us consider that the high priests did frequent those places where the messengers of the Lord did deliver their message; but it was not suffi-

* Galen de sanitate, lib. i. cap. ii.

cient unless they did apply the message to themselves which was brought unto them unto that end. Moreover, where it is said, that the Lord did stir up the spirit of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, we are taught that neither the chastisements of the Lord, nor yet the preaching of the word, can bring us out of the sleep of sin, unless it please God to add thereunto the inward operation of the Spirit to awake us; for though affliction do cause us to cry and call unto the Lord, as Isaiah saith, chap. xxvi. 16, 'Lord, in trouble they have visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastisements was upon them,' yet oftentimes afflictions do work no such effect in the hearts of men, else would not the Lord have said, Why do I correct you in vain? Hos. vii. 14, Isa. i. 5. Nay, many times, the very grief of affliction doth estrange men from God, Exod. vi. 9, cause them to blaspheme the name of the Lord, Rev. xvi. 11, 21, and breed hardness of heart in many of the wicked, Jer. v. 3, as is manifest, Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21, when the angel did plague the wicked, 'they boiled in great heat, and then they blasphemed the name of God, which had power over plagues: and they repented not to give him glory;' and if they break not out to these extremities, yet they will continue still in their wickedness, and not turn unto the Lord that he may have mercy upon them, Amos iv. 6, 8-11, so that neither afflictions, nor yet the preaching of the word, can stir us up, unless God do add the secret operation of his Holy Spirit thereunto. A resemblance hereof the Romans do afford us by the fact of Camillus, who, when he had besieged the city of Phalisci with ten years' war, and attempted by the sword and famine to cause them to yield unto him, yet all was in vain, till at length by his clemency and lenity he prevailed with them; for when the schoolmaster of the city, who had the charge of the noblemen's sons, did bring them and betray them to Camillus,* that thereby they might be enforced to yield up themselves, and the city, for the ransoming and redeeming of their children, Camillus, considering that the falsehood and treachery of the schoolmaster could bring him neither comfort nor credit, commanded his officers to strip him naked, and bind his hands behind his back; and to cause the children, his scholars, each of them having a rod in his hand, to whip him back into the city again. At which noble action the citizens were so moved, that they presently delivered up their city unto him, acknowledging Camillus as their saviour, and god, and father, *Camillum servatorem suum deumque et parentem invocantes*. Even so oftentimes the Lord doth plague us with famine and sword, but yet we will not turn unto him, until by his Holy Spirit he gently move our hearts to yield unto him; and then we begin to acknowledge him our Saviour, our Father, our God in Christ Jesus. We indeed are oftentimes overcome with such a dead sleep of security, that affliction doth not awake

* Plu. in vita Cam.

us, nor work our amendment that we might turn unto God; nay, rather the grief of a son, as hath been said, doth many times more withdraw and estrange our hearts from the Lord. It is reported that the men of Canas, after they were overcome by the Carthaginians, alleged that they prospered better so long as they burnt their children unto their idols; but what should I speak of the heathen, seeing the people of God, the Jews, blush not to tell the prophet Jeremiah, that 'whilst they burnt incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink-offerings unto her, they had plenty of victuals, and saw no evil; but since they left off,' say they, 'to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine,' Jer. xlv. 17. The word of God, I confess, is a very forcible means to stir them up, Heb. iv. 12, and to prevail for obedience, but yet of itself insufficient, unless by the power of God's Spirit it be put upon our minds, and written upon our hearts; and therefore our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, dealing with the unbelieving and stiff-necked Jews, said unto them, as was prophesied of them, Isa. vi. 9, 'Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive; for the heart of this people is waxed fat, and their ears are dull of hearing; they have eyes and see not, ears and hear not,' John xii. 40, Acts xx. 26, Rom. xi. 8, and all because, as the prophet speaketh, they are a rebellious house, Ezek. iii. 7, 9. Wherefore, we may say with Elihu, Job. xxxii. 8, 'Surely there is a spirit in man, but the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding;' and this is not true only in the first operation of the Spirit, but in going on forward in the grace begun, and not therein only, but in the perfecting of the same. So that we may well acknowledge that of our Saviour, John vi. 44, that 'no man cometh unto the Father, except the Father draw him;' and the spouse in the Canticles, i. 4, saith wisely, 'Draw me, and I will run after thee;' and the apostle to the Philippians, ii. 13, sheweth, that it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do.' And when the apostle had preached the gospel from Jerusalem, and round about to Illyricum, Rom. xv. 19, he ascribeth nothing unto himself, but all to the power of the Spirit and grace of God which was with him. But some may object that if God do only work in us all good motives and actions, by the secret and inward operation of his Holy Spirit, and that we can do nothing of ourselves, 2 Cor. iii. 5., why, then, doth God punish us for not doing these things, seeing that he himself is the cause why we do them not? To this I answer, that God doth justly punish us for that we have lost that knowledge that was given us in our first creation, and then we had free will to do good ourselves; but now we are ignorant thereof, and therefore are justly punished.

For as Laertius reporteth of Piltacus, who made

laws, whosoever were drunk should be double punished if he committed any offence, according as Aristotle also witnesseth, *Tertio Ethicorum*, cap. v.; first, for his drunkenness; and, secondly, for his fault committed in his drink; so we are justly punished, not only for the fault or sin itself, but because of our original corruption and ignorance, which is incident into us by reason of that general curse which fell upon all mankind at the beginning; but as for us that have better learned Christ, Eph. iv. 20, and can cut off all objections with the word, Rom. ix. 16, we know that 'it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy;' and therefore we may say with the apostle, 'O man, who art thou that pleadest with God? shall the thing formed say unto him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?' It may therefore suffice us to know that our corruption is such, that we, falling into the sleep of sin, cannot of ourselves arise, unless God's Spirit awake us; for although the prophet Zechariah, chap. i. 3, saith, 'Turn unto me, saith the Lord, and I will turn unto you,' yet it may not so be understood as though man had power as in himself to turn unto the Lord, but it must be God that must first convert; and therefore we must say with the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 18, 'Convert thou me, and I shall be converted, for thou art my Lord and my God;' and as it is in the Lamentations, chap. v. 21, 'Turn thou unto us, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old.' So that it appeareth manifestly, that the grace of God must work in our hearts before we can do any thing; it is of his grace both to will and to do, Phil. ii. 13. 'Awake, therefore, thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light,' Eph. v. 14. Let us remember, that although we be exhorted often to renew and repair our building, 1 Thes. v. 11, and to return unto the Lord, Hos. xiv. 3, Jer. iv. 1, yet it must be by grace, and this grace must be wrought in us by the secret operation of the Spirit of God, Zech. xii. 10. But if any man will say that he can awake of himself, let him consider the saying of the Lord by the prophet Zechariah, chap. iv. 6, to Zerubbabel, that the Lord doth preserve his chosen church and chosen people, 'neither by an army nor by strength, but by his Holy Spirit;' and 'he shall bring forth the head-stone thereof with shouting and with crying, Grace, grace, unto it,' ver. 7.

And they came and did the work of the Lord in the house of the Lord of hosts, their God, in the four and twentieth day of the month, in the second year of Darius the king. The next point is, their example of obedience, whereby we are taught that we must work in God's house, that is, in God's church, whose house we are, Heb. iii. 6, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of the hope unto the end; whereby he sheweth that the mystical members of Christ are his church, as also he saith, 2 Cor. vi. 16, 'Ye are the temple of

the living God ; yet all this is but one house. And as the saints of God are but one spouse of Christ in general, so are they but one house also, 1 Pet. ii. 5, the building whereof, although it depend upon the ministry chiefly, 1 Cor. iii. 8, 9, who are by an excellency termed builders, yet all must work and build his house. And this duty belongeth to all, as St Jude speaketh, ver. 20, 'Edify yourselves in your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost ;' for as in the material building of the tabernacle or temple, Exod. xxxv. 4, 6, 7, 9, they did not [all] bring gold, silver, or brass, blue, silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, but those which were less able brought goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins with shittim wood, so, in the spiritual building, all must build, but not all in like manner : the ministers, they must be the chief, they must build with silver, and with gold, and precious stones ; and the inferiors, they must build with goats' hair and rams' skins ; and so all must be workmen in the building. As many as are of Christ they must be Christians ; not Cretians, not idle, slow bellies, Titus i. 12. Even in paradise Adam must work and dress the garden, Gen. ii. 15. Therefore, how more must we, and ought we, to labour in this estate of earthly corruption. Paul must plant and Apollos must water, 1 Cor. iii. 6, and not they only as the chief, but every man in his several estate must labour, every man's faith must work by love, Gal. v. 6. The noble example of these principal persons who did themselves work in this building, may put us in mind that we should not post off this building unto others, but put to our own hands, and be builders ourselves of the Lord's house. Cyrus, as Xenophon reporteth of him,* was so greatly delighted with the works of husbandry, that amidst his royalty, his goodly apparel, his golden chains, his rings, and his precious stones, he would neither eat nor drink until he had been planting, or some other painful action procured sweat. If Cyrus, being a noble prince, thought it no disgrace to his majesty to labour in husbandry, much less ought the ministers of the King of kings, and Lord of lords, either because of this great calling, or at least because of this small ability and weakness, abstain from doing of the Lord's husbandry. Paul must plant, and Apollos must water, that, God giving the increase, his church may be edified, and his name be glorified. Macrobius reporteth that a captain of Augustus, having sustained many dangers,† and suffered many wounds in his defence, in the end being accused wrongfully and much distressed, desired Augustus himself to work his liberty. The captain then, seeing he went not himself, but would have sent one of his servants about it, presently baring his breast and body, shewed the wounds he had received for his sake, and told Augustus very boldly, that he had not sustained these wounds by any vicar, but by his own person for him, and therefore had well deserved that not his servant, but he

himself, should deliver him, *At non ego, Caesar, periclitante te Actiaco bello, vicarium quasivi, sed pro te ipse pugnavi*. Augustus blushed, and being moved thereat, became his advocate himself, *ut qui reveretur non, superbus tantum, sed et ingratus videri*, as one fearing lest he should be thought to be both proud and unthankful.

Our Saviour Christ, as our good captain, hath suffered many things for our sakes, Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2, Isa. liii. 7 ; he hath trodden the wine-press of the wrath of God, and therefore ought we not to send others as our deputies or vicars, but with our own hands, and in our own hands, and in our own persons, to do this work, and to build his holy temple, especially if we have the blush that Augustus had, and bear the like mind toward Christ that he bore toward the captain, even to fear the suspicion of pride or unthankfulness, seeing he hath wrought so great things for us. I confess that weakness and sickness may hinder some, and also old age, which is a kind of sickness—*senectus quidam morbus est*—may hinder and let others from building ; yet such as cannot themselves, they must assist and also encourage others, by all means, to the building of the temple. Plutarch, in the life of Cato the elder, reports, that in the building of Minerva's temple, when one of the old mules could not carry such things as were necessary, he would notwithstanding, according to his former custom, go with the rest empty, whereby the rest were drawn to work and labour more cheerfully. If any of our elders be, by reason of old age and weakness of body, unable themselves to build, yet let them accompany those that are young, and by all good means provoke them to the building of the temple ; but if, being able to do little or nothing themselves, they will not favour nor cherish others, then it is to be feared they be but deceitful workmen, 2 Cor. xi. 13, pretending to build the house of the Lord, when, indeed, they do but build a temple for idols.

The two reasons follow, drawn from the two circumstances : one of person, whose house they were to build, viz. the house of the Lord of hosts, their God ; and the other of the time, without delay : 'In the four and twentieth day of the sixth month,' so soon as the Lord had stirred up their spirits, they began to build the house of the Lord. The former circumstance of the person containeth a double reason to move them to all speedy and due regard of building of the temple ; one saw the power and all-sufficiency of him whose work it is, viz. the Lord of hosts, Zech. i. 3, so called because he is the chief commander, Joel ii. 11, 25, and 'possessor of heaven and earth,' Gen. xiv. 22, and useth all creatures as his armies and soldiers, to execute his will, both for his friends and against his enemies, the due consideration whereof might greatly encourage them against all the power of the Persian kings, and all other their adversaries that should attempt to hinder their work ; and the other, from his goodness and mercy, in that he was by covenant the Lord their God, Gen. xvii. 7 ; and therefore,

* Xenophon in Cyrop. † Macrobius Satur. lib. ii. p. 288.

considering that the building of the temple was the work of God their Father, they might and ought to encourage themselves in going forward with it, being well assured that he would both bless them in their labour, and take it in good part at their hands. In regard whereof it were no less than their bounden duty to bestow, not only their labour, but their lives also in the building of their Father's house, the temple of the Lord their God. The sum and substance of both which reasons, drawn from God's power, that he was able, and, from his mercy, that he was willing to bless and prosper them in their work. I do further commend unto you in the example of the three children mentioned, Daniel iii., who, being in danger of the fiery furnace, resolved to cast and repose themselves upon God's mercy, and so to be constant in their profession, both in doing and suffering his good pleasure, whatsoever should befall them. Our God is able to deliver us: Dan. iii. 17, 18, 'If it be so, say they, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hands, O king; but if not, be it known to thee that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy golden image which thou hast set up.' As also in that example of St Paul, Acts xxi. 13, 'What do you weeping and breaking my heart? for I am ready not only to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus.' If this were so engraven in our hearts, that the Lord of hosts is our God, able and willing to defend us, it would teach us to have a good conscience, and to shew forth a good profession, knowing that in all this the Lord of hosts both can and will be our guide unto death. 'He that regardeth the wind,' as the wise man saith, Eccles. xi. 4, 'shall never sow,' therefore let us, casting from us all things which might press down, Heb. xii. 10, go forth in the strength of the Lord only, and so build in his temple, assuring ourselves with the prophet David, Ps. xviii. 1, 2, that 'the Lord is our strength and stony rock, and defence and Saviour, and our God and our might,

in whom we will trust, our buckler, the horn of our salvation, and our refuge.'

The last reason to move us hereunto, is the shortness of time wherein we are to build. We must apply ourselves to that which is in hand, we must remember that this is our day, and it may be but a day; let us therefore, as children of the day, walk in the light, and work in the day, 1 Thes. v. 4, 5, 7. The night of death may come, we know not how soon, whereof we may be put in mind every night when we lie down to rest, our sleep being an image of death, our beds a resemblance of our graves, our sheets of our winding sheets, the putting off our clothes the putting off our mortality wherewith we are clothed, *somnus mortis imago*, 2 Cor. v. 4, the putting them on and our rising up a figure of our resurrection from our graves and the putting on of immortality, 1 Cor. xv. 53. Let us therefore remember that the Lord may say unto us, as he said to the rich man in the Gospel, Luke xii. 20, 'This night shall they take thy soul from thee,' the consideration whereof might cause us to go forward in the building of our temple. Another reason is effectual, might move us hereunto, the unreasonableness of the weather, whereby the judgment of the Lord do light upon us; therefore, if now we will begin to build this house, then he will be merciful unto us, and we shall see great plenty; and if he will not deliver us from these plagues, yet let us assure ourselves, with the three children, that he is able if he will to take these plagues from us, but if he will not, let us resolve to worship none but him, and confess with Saint Paul, that we are not only ready to suffer these punishments, but even to die at Jerusalem, being always prepared to build his temple, seeing he is the Lord of hosts, and therefore able mightily to defend us; and our God, therefore kind and loving unto us his children that call upon him.

Therefore, to this our God, together with the Son and Holy Ghost, be rendered all praise, power, might, and dominion, both now and for evermore. Amen.

SERMON IX.

In the seventh month, and in the one and twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the prophet Haggai, saying, Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, &c.—HAGGAI II. 1-4.

WHENAS the Jews had oftsoons been exhorted by the word, and after stirred up by the quickening power of the Spirit, to build the temple of the Lord, whose foundation long before was laid, the Lord here, lest they should be hindered in their work, stirs them up with a new message, enjoining them to go forward. Ezra iii., we read that when the foundation of this house was laid in the days of Cyrus, many of the ancient men, which had seen the former temple built by Solomon, wept with a loud

voice, conjecturing by these beginnings (as well they might), that this latter temple would be nothing so beautiful and magnificent as the former was. The cause whereof, some interpreters think, was the decree of Cyrus, Ezra vi., who commanded that the height should be sixty cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits, and that it should be made *ex lapidibus impolitis*, as the vulgar Latin hath it, of rough and unhewed stones; whereas the former, as we may rather gather from 1 Kings v. 17 and vi. 2, and 2 Chron. iii. 3, 5, was in

breadth twenty cubits, in height an hundred and twenty cubits, and in length sixty cubits, after the cubit of the sanctuary, which was as long again as the common cubit, and all made of broad and fair hewed stones. Others, not persuaded that Cyrus herein differed so much from the former, attributed this to their poverty and mean estate that built it, who, coming far short of Solomon in riches and magnificence, were not able to bestow so much on this as he did on the other. And indeed it agreeth with that Chaldee word used in that place, that it was not rough stones, as the vulgar Latin hath it, but fair and great stones, as the Septuagint agree, whereof this house was built. Wherefore, though Ribeira, a papist, upon this place in his commentaries give this decree of Cyrus as a reason thereof, yet in his second book, *de templo et iis quæ ad templum pertinent*, he denieth the same, adding for the credit of their Latin text, that where it is written, *ex impolitis*, it should be *ex politis lapidibus*. Whatsoever was the cause, the thing is clear, that the ancient men had marked that this temple was no way comparable to the magnificence of the former temple. Now, seeing hope deferred maketh the heart faint, as it is in the proverb, to fail in our desire in anything hindereth our resolution to go forward with it. The Jews, whose chief honour was in the glory of their temple, and therefore they would fain have seen it as fair as ever it was before, could not but be thereat dismayed and discouraged; and therefore the Lord here, by his prophet, with this thought laid before them, encourageth them to go forward in the building of the temple, adding, to stir them up hereunto, three most gracious promises: first, of his assistance with his word and Spirit in the building of the temple, ver. 4, 5, 'Be strong, and work, and I am with you;' secondly, of honouring it with Christ's presence in it, ver. 6, 7; thirdly, of enriching it more than the former, settling in it peace and all felicity, ver. 8, 9.

This message he commands his servants to carry: ver. 1, 2, 'In the seventh month, in the one and twentieth day,' &c.

The thought and cogitation that hindered them he lays before them: ver. 3, 'Who might be left,' &c. And then he exhorts them with courage to go forward: ver. 5, 'Yet now be of good courage.'

After which he addeth the promises: ver. 4-9, 'I will be with you;' 'My Spirit shall be with you;' 'I will fill this house with glory,' &c.

Concerning the charge given to the prophet, we must call to mind, that in the first day of the sixth month, he was sent unto them from the Lord to exhort them to build; and after, in the four and twentieth day of the same month, he was sent with a new message to cause them to go forward in building, with one of these promises concerning the Lord's assistance, when they, stirred up with things being considered and compared with that which followeth, that notwithstanding both the former sermons of the prophet and the work-

ing grace of the Spirit, to meet with this temptation hindering them, they were to be stirred up yet with a new message, and to be encouraged with more promises, as they instruct us on the one side that God's grace must be both prevenient to go before, and subsequent to follow after us in all things; first to work in us, and then together with us; first to stir us up and after to help us, forward; so do they on the one side teach us that the good graces of God, even in the best of us, will be quickly extinguished and put out, if so be they be not quickened and repaired in us by hearing the word of life. Whereupon it is that Christ Jesus, when he ascended into heaven, gave gifts unto men, Eph. iv. 7, 8, 9, besides those which were to remain for a time, even which should continue for ever, 'for the repairing of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body,' i.e. the church, whereon was built this temple, a type of those pastors which he hath given. Paul, writing to Timothy, commands that they 'preach the word, and be instant in season and out of season,' which, though they seem, yet it is not disagreeing with that of Christ, Luke xii., where he commendeth the faithful steward which giveth to each servant his portion of meat in due season; for men are so backward to come where this meat is to be received, and so many excuses they make, as trying of oxen, seeing a farm, marrying a wife, that the importunity which may seem to them, and perhaps also some time to the minister, to be unseasonable, is here by the apostle commanded to be practised; so that the ministers are to teach instantly, and, as some think, unseasonably. And common sense will teach us this, if we will consider the parable of our Saviour Christ, whereas he compareth the minister to the steward, the people to the servants, the word to the food; so that, as food sustains the body, so doth this word maintain the soul spiritually, for the word he useth in the Greek, Luke xii. 42, *σπομέτριον*, signifieth a measure of corn, *dimensum*, so many pecks as was wont to be given unto servants for their monthly allowance, which, if they should not receive, having no more to live on, common sense would teach us that they could not but be pined. And what may we look for if we regard not to receive this our allowance when it is to be distributed, but to be pined with that famine threatened: Amos viii., 'Not a famine of bread, nor thirst for water, but of hearing of the word of God, when men shall wander even from sea to sea, and from the north to the east, and shall run to and fro, and shall seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it;' which I would to God they would consider better of, and [not] for small causes absent themselves from ecclesiastical exercises, where the servants of the Lord distribute these portions. Light of nature should (as I think) so much teach them that herein they so much injure themselves as he did his servants, of whom the poet Juvenal speaks—

Servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo.

And this should make them herein more careful. Socrates, lib. iv. cap. x., writes of an unlearned monk, who, living in the wilderness of Egypt, called Pambo, who, coming to one and requesting to be taught, he reading that in the psalm, 'I said that I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in the tongue,' Pambo would hear no more, but requested him to stay there till he had learned that, and so departed from the man, who, meeting him six months after, and asked him why he had not come unto him again. Why? saith Pambo; because I have not as yet learned that lesson perfectly. Socrates might well note that he was an unlearned man, or else he might have known that this was not sufficient, and have gone no further than the 34th Psalm, where it is said, 'If any desire life, let him keep his tongue from evil': but not that only: but 'let him eschew evil, and do good, seek peace, and ensue it.' And admit that nothing else were needful, but the bridling of the tongue were sufficient, yet here we learn that to learn such a lesson thoroughly we must hear more of the word of God. Zerubbabel and Joshua, who had been taught this lesson with more words than was Pambo, yet had need to be taught the same often, viz., in the sixth month more than once, as in the former chapter, and here in the seventh month, as also in the eighth month, as we find in Zechariah; and again, lastly, in the ninth month, as in the words after this text, ver. 10; and if they had stayed so long after the first lesson in the sixth month as Pambo did, they had still lain frozen in their dregs. Far, therefore, be from us such monkish fashion; and though some in regard of their affections commend them, yet let us remember that lesson of the apostle, Heb. x. 15, 'Let us consider one another, to provoke one another to love and to good works, not forsaking the fellowship that we have among ourselves, as the manner of some is,' meaning meeting in ecclesiastical services; and thus much doth this message, with relation to that which went before, commend unto us.

Now, the message itself followeth, verse 3, 'Who is left among you?' and laying before them their conceit and cogitation, which containeth an ingenuous and modest confession of some things wanting which might seem somewhat to touch their credit, the more by us to be observed because commonly we are prone to flatter ourselves, like the church of Laodicea, who said, Revel. iii., 'I am rich, and increase with good, and have need of nothing, and knew not that she was wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.' Seneca saith, *multi ad sapientiam pervenire potuissent, nisi se jam pervenisse putassent*, many might have obtained unto wisdom if they had not thought they had not obtained to it already; from which their ingenuous acknowledgment we may learn to examine what is wanting, and if the Spirit gives us those eyes which they had, we may see, if we look on that sanctuary built by the apostle in the Acts, that that which is built since our return from Babylon wants much of

the former. Acts iv., we read there how the multitude of believers were of one heart and one mind, and had all things common, and what care they had for the poor. With us (God be thanked) the poor are cared for by good statutes, if the godly magistrates would put them in execution. But for that unity of heart which was among them, alas, where is it in one towards another among us? Tertullian writes in the 38th of his Apology, that the heathen in his time gave it for a mark to Christians, *See how they love one another*. Well noted, saith Tertullian, for *they hate one another*; and that *they will die one for another*, well marked, for *they kill one another*. But is it not amongst us now rather as among the heathen? Tertullian noted it to be in his time, as the heathen noted it to be among the Christians. In our factions do we not hate one another rather than love one another? and be we not more ready to kill one another than to die one for another? Again, Acts xiv., we read that the apostles ordained by election elders in every church, Acts xiv. 23. First, pastors such as Paul describes, writing to Titus, Titus i. 9, that they ought so to be qualified that they might exhort with wholesome doctrine, and convince those that gainsay it. Which continuance of a learned ministry is commended by Justin Martyr in his Apology, where he writeth that the faithful in the primitive church used on the Sunday to assemble themselves together, both they that dwelt within and those that dwelt without the town; and after certain parts of Scripture read, the pastor stood up, and taught and expounded some piece of the Scripture to the people. But now, alas! abroad in our land many of our churches are destitute of pastors, and have only readers, wherein, lest we deceive ourselves, though it be a great grace and blessing of God to have the Scriptures read in a vulgar tongue, yet our Saviour Christ Jesus, though the Jews had Moses' law read in their synagogues, Acts xv. 21, and the prophets also, as may be gathered, grieved, Mat. ix. 35, to see the multitude wandering as sheep without a shepherd, thereby implying that the readers were no pastors; for else the Jews, having readers, had not been without pastors, as he grieved that they were, when he considered what was requisite for a minister, namely, to bring back that which was gone astray, to preserve from danger, to heal the sore, to bind up the wounded, and all the other properties which the word requireth of a good pastor; and therefore he sent the apostles by preaching to perform that which by reading they could not. And if that to hear the law and the prophets [had] been enough, then had the Jews known Christ, for Moses wrote of him, John v. 46, 47, and so likewise did the prophets, Acts iii. 24, xiii. 27, and amongst them the prophet Isaiah so plainly, that St Jerome sticks not to call him an evangelist; and yet the nobleman, when he read Isaiah the prophet, could not understand him, but had need of Philip to come and teach

him and preach unto him, Acts viii. 30, 31; and if this instruction did not need, but by reading the ignorant people might understand the meaning of the word, yet those of greatest knowledge may, and often be, so surprised with passions of infirmity, that they had not need * of the help of others, by applying of the word, to heal their diseases. Whether Moses were read in David's time, we cannot certainly affirm; yet certain it is that David, whose whole delight and study was in the law of God, as may appear, Ps. exix., was well skilled therein, so that this knowledge could serve him to conclude that he who had committed murder and adultery, as sure as God liveth, was the child of death; and yet he had need to have Nathan to apply this unto him, and to tell him he was the man. So that we see how needful the pastor is to the people (as Aristotle in his politics, that they were wont to bring in strange physicians into the sick, and yet thought them not fit to heal themselves), lest they be accounted in Christ's judgment as sheep without a shepherd. And of this modest acknowledgment of what was wanting, we have Paul for an example, who, Titus i., gives a reason why he set Titus in Crete, because there were many disobedient whose mouths must be stopped, where the apostle acknowledgeth that his pains had not profited all; but until that were brought to pass, that they were convinced, reprov'd, or converted, there must needs be something acknowledged to be wanting; and so must we ingeniously, until this be brought to pass, something to be wanting.

I may not go further herein, and from the general come to the particular temple of each man's soul, whereof this temple, as Paul to the Corinthians sheweth, was a type, 1 Cor. iii. 16; but I leave it to the godly in particular to consider of. Howbeit I do not doubt but if we examine ourselves upon our beds, the best of us, and those who were long since called and built as temples of the Lord, may soon find some want if we compare the present building with the former. It was said to the church of Ephesus, that she had lost her first love; and would it not appear, if we were well tried, that some of us had lost our first love, our first sincerity, our first sobriety, our first zeal and godly virtues? Acknowledge, therefore, your first buildings not to be comparable to that before, but consider that all this acknowledgment must be to this end, that notwithstanding these defects, which we must modestly acknowledge, we must still go forward and strive to repair our ruins, as followeth in the third place: 'Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord.'

It was a saying amongst the heathen, testified by Tully in an epistle to Marius, that when a man's estate begun any way to be impoverished, there was no cause why he should desire to live any longer,†

* Qu. 'had need'?—ED.

† Vetus est enim, ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.—*Cic ep. fa. lib. vii. ad Marium*, ep. iii.

but that he might make himself away; which saying was so approved amongst the people, that many, when their honours or riches are impaired, or desires frustrate, did not stick to dispatch themselves, as we read of Atheniensis, and Cato Uticensis, and divers others; and Tully himself so far approveth it, that although he laid not violent hands on himself, yet he said he knew not why [when] a man's estate was decayed he should wish to live any longer.* But here we are taught another lesson, that though we find ourselves in particular, or our church in general, any whit impaired, yet we must not despair, but take example by this exhortation to strive to amend what we find amiss: 'Yet now, be of good courage, O Zerubbabel; and be of good courage, O Joshua,' &c.

Thus we see it hath pleased the Lord, in great mercy, to prevent a temptation which might else have been taken up. Wherefore the prophet Isaiah, as Christ expoundeth it, Mat. xii., telleth us, that 'he will not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed;' where, by flax, he understandeth the wick of a candle; and by smoking, burning darkly; signifying, that so long as there is any light in us, he will not put it out, but cherish and maintain it in us. This must we in particular mark, when we consider any defect in ourselves, for to him to whom it is said, 'Thou hast lost thy first love,' to him also it was said, 'Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works.' Whosoever, therefore, feels, or shall feel, any decay in himself or his charge, let him strive to stir up the good graces of God in himself, and in the place where he is set; let him help to strengthen the weak hands. Beloved, let there be no factions among you, except it be a spiritual and Christian faction, for so it comes to pass now-a-days, as it did in Tertullian's time, that the religious consent of the godly in the best causes is maliciously traduced by the name of a faction, so that now we are driven with Tertullian to distinguish betwixt a godly and an ungodly faction;† but rather let us [strive] as much as may be to have peace with all men, Heb. xii. 14, without which no man shall see God; and in this peace and love let us seek to edify one another, 1 Thes. v. 11, and save one another, and so build up the ruins of this temple of the Lord, Jude 20. Especially tutors are to labour herein, for that they may hope that the temple of the Lord may be repaired by them which are now under them; as we read it was by Joash, being well brought up under good Jehoiada; and though perhaps they that be in your charge, some of them, be not of that ability to prefer worthy men to the building of the temple, yet may they be so brought up by you as they be fitted to be preferred by others, and move the hearts of patrons to prefer them that are worthy to the building of this house. But those which especially are to be builders

* Flu. in ejus vita.

† Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxviii. adversus Gentiles.

of this house, I mean the ministers, though as yet they are not called to any particular charge, yet I heartily beseech you in our Saviour Jesus Christ, to consider that your colleges wherein you live are places to furnish and prepare you against you go abroad, and therefore that you labour here to fit yourselves for employment wheresoever God shall call you, remembering in the mean time to relieve them by your preaching which have only reading, as the prophet in the old time did where the priest could not; do not stand idle all the day, though no man have hired you; indeed, the labourer is worthy of his hire, yet the same grace and providence which brought Joseph, by telling of the butler's dream, afterwards to honour in Egypt, may after also by this means bring you to a convenient charge, wherein you may employ your labours. As for those who already are called to a particular charge, let me only commend unto them the exhortation of the Lord by the prophet, Ezek. iii. 17, 'Son of man, I have made thee a watchman over the house of Israel, therefore hear the word of my mouth, and give them warning from me. When I shall say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, and thou givest him not warning, nor speak to admonish the wicked of his wickedness, that he may live; the same wicked man shall die in his wickedness, but his blood will I require at thy hand.' They that are so called to any charge may think themselves spoken to in Ezekiel. The ancient council of Melde, in the 23d chapter, reproving the practice of pastors as damnable who do not by themselves but by others feed their flock, saith that they are bound necessarily hereunto by the prophet. The name of watchman here used is drawn from the time of war, where the watchman was set in a high tower to descry the enemies coming, whereof, if he did not tell the people, but the enemies came and assaulted the people unprepared, his blood is to answer it, but if he give warning he was safe. I am loath to mention that heavy threat of the Lord, His blood that

perisheth will I require at the watchmen's hands; but it were to be wished that we did consider, that if we would reap temporal things we must sow spiritual things, and if any of us cannot perform this by reason of other charges which we must attend, and for looking to the profits and fruits which may arise from them, how much better were it for them to have that cogitation that David had, 1 Chron. xi., who when he had desired to drink of the water of the well of Beth-lehem, and three of his valiant men had broken through the host of the Philistines, and had drawn of the water and brought it to him, would not drink of it, but poured it out for an oblation unto the Lord, and said, Let not my God suffer me to do this; should I drink the blood of these men's lives. And is not this the blood of these men's lives which we drink, when we are clothed and fed with that which they allow us, and yet leave them in that case, that they pine away for want of feeding, and as the prophet saith, they die in this blindness and ignorance for want of teaching. Therefore I beseech you in Jesus Christ, though perhaps you have had a longing desire to drink of this water, yet think better on it, and take David's affection and resolution, and say, Let not my God suffer me to do this, and rather abate of that you spend of your raiment and fare than take such dead pay, and keep back other faithful watchmen which else they might have.

The Lord for his mercy so sanctify our hearts that by the often hearing of his holy word, we may consider and acknowledge our wants and imperfections, and hereby be stirred up to redress what we find amiss in ourselves, to the building of his church, to the comfort of our own souls, to the glory of his blessed name, through the grace of his Holy Spirit in Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, to whom, with the Father and with the same Holy Spirit, be all praise for evermore. Amen, amen.

SERMON X. 1599.

For I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts. According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came forth of Egypt, so my Spirit shall remain among you; fear not.—HAGGAI II. 4, 5.

HOW the Lord, by the ministry of the prophet Haggai, did often and earnestly exhort and stir forward the Jews after their return from the captivity of Babylon to the building up of the temple, hath been hitherto declared unto you; now of the promises or causes of encouragement, whereby it pleased God to hearten them, lest the conceit which they had that this house should not be so famous and so excellent as the former, should discourage them and hinder them from that business, this is the first which I have read unto you, which containeth in it a most gracious promise of his aid and assistance by his Spirit, because that flesh and blood is ready to suggest into the mind of a

man that which is in the proverb, 'It is better to be idle than to be occupied in vain,' and to make folk measure things by the event, so that unless they see present means to effect that which they undertake, they cast off all hope of accomplishing their purpose, and so cease from meddling any further; whereon it was that Moses, Exod. iv. 10, when he should be sent to Pharaoh, excused himself that he was not eloquent, that he had a stammering tongue; but the Lord raised him up from that thought, telling him that he should trust in the grace of the Almighty, saying, 'Who hath given the mouth to man, or who maketh the dumb to speak, &c.? do not I the Lord? Now, there-

fore, go, and I will teach thee what to say.' To the like effect is the message sent to Haggai, because that Zerubbabel, and Joshua, and the rest, which should have been the chief in the work, having laid the foundation of the temple, despaired of finishing it, and so despaired before he began it. The Lord, therefore, stirred them up to go forward by these words which I have now read unto you, a reason very forcible, and motive very pregnant to move them forward. 'I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts,' which words the prophet often useth there, by putting them in mind both of his power that sets them forward, whose will all creatures, as soldiers, are ready to perform, and meaning thereby also that by his favourable assistance he will bless them, and that by his Spirit he will give them grace to accomplish that which they had undertaken.

In the second place, the doubtful understanding of the word *word*, hath caused interpreters diversely to expound it, for by *word* in Scripture is sometimes signified the second person in the Trinity, the Saviour of the world, the essential and eternal Word of God, of which John speaketh, John i. 'In the beginning was the Word,' by whom all things were made, and through whom all things are now preserved; and so here should be three things which the Lord should now promise: 1, His own presence; 2, The presence of his Son; 3, The presence of the Holy Ghost, which sense the Hebrew would bear as may be translated, and then it should be translated thus, 'I am with you by my Word that I covenanted with you,' &c., whereto the argument agreeth, because he was the angel mentioned, Exod. xxiii. 20, that spake unto Moses in mount Sinai, that gave the law unto the Israelites, and promised them his favour if they kept his covenant, as Stephen sheweth, Acts vii. 38. Sometimes it signifieth a promise made unto any, insomuch that David, Ps. cv. ver. 8, mentioning the covenant that the Lord made with Abraham, saith thus, 'He hath always remembered his covenant,' and presently addeth, 'this word of promise made to a thousand generations,' and thus other some do think it to be taken in this place, and this indeed the text will best bear; and so much the more, sith the Lord, on the like occasion, saith, Dent. xxxi. verse 8, that he himself would go before them, and therefore encourageth them not to fear or be discouraged, for himself would be with them, and would not fail them nor forsake them. And this the ordinary construction of the Hebrew doth include, as they know that are skilled that way, especially, I say, if these words be compared with the 8th and 9th verses of the 105th Psalm before mentioned; besides, there is a more pregnant motive to induce me hereunto, even the authority of the apostle himself, who, Heb. xii. 27, declareth that those words which are in the next place set down by Haggai were spoken by Christ himself, 'Yet once more, *I will shake the heavens*;' so by the word in this place cannot be

meant Christ, seeing Christ is said to have spoken this. It followeth that this word was not the essential Word of God, but some external word; not the eternal Word of God, but some word that had a beginning, namely when this promise and covenant was made. When the Lord brought the Israelites out of Egypt, and delivered them by his angel, God the Father by his Son promised his favour and assistance. If we follow this interpretation, the sense will well agree with the former, namely, this word, this promise, was made by Christ, considering that in him all 'promises are yea and amen,' 2 Cor. i. 20; and considering that Christ saith, John xiv. 15, 16, that if we 'love him and keep his commandments, he will pray the Father, and he will give us another comforter, that he may abide with us for ever;' whence the latter place in the text of the Holy Ghost receiveth also light, our Saviour there calling him the Comforter, and promising his abiding with us, not for a season, but for ever.

And this for the meaning of the words, whereby the Lord encouraged Zerubbabel and the rest to go about the building of the temple, assuring them that he will be with them, and that he will be merciful unto them, and prosper them in their endeavours; that he will send them his Spirit to guide and direct them, and to relieve them in all wants. And doth not the Lord here likewise stir up and exhort us to go forward with the building of the spiritual house, not only such as have the place of Zerubbabel, or the office of Joshua, but all the faithful also, that every one in his vocation should do what in him lieth to the building up of the body of Christ? No doubt as we have the like command, so to us likewise is given the like encouragement, according to the rule of the apostle: Rom. xv. 4, 'Whatsoever is written, is written for our learning.' For why, have not we temples to build as well as they? Are not our bodies called temples of the Holy Ghost, Eph. ii. 20-22, 1 Cor. iii., 1 Cor. vi. 19, and therefore not only the church, that is, the church universal, assembly of the faithful, is to do this, but also every man and woman in particular. And albeit the ministers of the word and sacraments, pastors and teachers, are to be principal labourers herein, because they were chiefly given to this end, Eph. iv. 12, yet all the faithful are appointed as under workmen, for as much as the Lord exhorteth them that they exhort and edify one another, 1 Thes. v. 11; and Jude commandeth them to have care to edify one another in their most holy faith, verse 20. The commandment, therefore, that was given to them, is given to us, which is so much the more to be regarded of us, how much more near to God, and more precious the spiritual house that is built on Christ, and is to last for ever, is above the material temple built on earth, which was not to continue, but to be laid waste, insomuch that one stone should not be left one upon another; so that thus you see, that in respect of the like commandment, we also are to

build up our spiritual tabernacle and temple to the Lord, which also we must do in respect of the like promises that they had, which the Lord most graciously hath made unto us, as he did unto them, to the end that we should cast away all fear and distrustfulness; nay, rather we have greater promises made unto us than ever they had to them, at least in measure greater, howsoever in substance they be the same; for what saith Christ? Mat. xxviii. 20, 'Behold, I am with you to the end of the world.' What promise can be more gracious? what more comfortable, which cannot be understood of the disciples and apostles only, because of that circumstance, *till the end of the world*; and though they did belong chiefly to the ministers, who were to observe and teach all that the Lord had commanded them, yet in command they also respect all other, as many as believe in the Lord by their ministry, as Christ well sheweth in his praise,* John xvii. 20, where he addeth the one also, 'that they might be all one, they in him, and he in them, as the Father is in him;' yea, the promise is more graciously given to us than to them, insomuch that, Heb. viii. 8, the words of Jeremiah, that the Lord spake unto the Jews, are cited, 'I will be their God, and they shall be my people, saith,' &c., are appointed unto us, promising us that he will prosper us, he will not leave nor forsake us, that he will bless us not only with heavenly blessings, but also with temporal and with earthly treasures, according to the meaning of the very same promise made to Abraham, Gen. xv. 1, 'I will be thy God,' and renewed to us, Jer. xxxi.; and yet with more kind words, 2 Cor. vi. 18, 'I will be a Father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters.' 2dly, In respect of like or greater promises, we must build up our spiritual temple. 3. We must do it in respect of the like continuance of the Spirit, which we have amongst us as they had, for Christ promiseth us, John xiv. 16, that he 'will pray the Father, and he will give us a Comforter, and he shall abide with us for ever;' which, lest any should think to be spoken in respect of the disciples only, the apostle, 1 Cor. xvi., telleth us that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us also; thereby the metaphor of abiding in us, as it may be explained by that which Cato in Tully saith of the soul, namely, that nature hath given it an abiding place in the body, not a dwelling place, therefore it must go out of the body, as out of an inn, and not out of a dwelling-house; yea, this is so to be understood of all Christians, that the apostle saith, Rom. viii., after he had used the same phrase of the soul dwelling in us, that he that hath not the Spirit of God dwelling in him, is none of God's, avouching that there is no Christian to whom this promise is not made good or verified. It is true, indeed, that the Spirit being God filleth full all places, taking in it that generality; but when we shall talk of this dwelling among the faithful, we take it after a

* Qu. 'prayer'?—Ed.

more particular manner, that he dwelleth in them by his gifts and graces, as the apostle signifieth, Eph. iii. 17, when he saith, that he would pray that Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith, for so Christ dwelleth in us by communicating his Spirit.

The Spirit, I say, shedding in our hearts faith and love, and then Christ cometh and dwelleth in them, which Augustine implieth when he applied those words to the widow that wept for her husband: Why, saith he, dost thou weep for thy husband? thou hast by faith a better husband in thy heart, for thou hast Christ himself for thy husband. A sentence, beloved, most comfortable to the faithful, and which may serve well to assure them of their salvation by Christ; and therefore the papists desiring to impair it, where Cyril useth the same words, they willed them to be put out, lest any of their scholars reading them in Cyril, not so corrected, should conceive that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith. But blessed be God that our students may read it not only in Cyril, but also in God's own truth, and the unlearned may hear it preached by others. Thus, thirdly, in respect of the continuance of the Spirit, we are likewise to build up ourselves as well as others. Lastly, we have the same promises that they had from the same Lord of hosts, Jesus Christ, as he is described Rev. xix. 14, where it is said that the warriors or armies which were in heaven follow him; and if they, so excellent creatures, then much more we who are far inferior. Nay, he more kindly promiseth it to us, promising that he will be with us by his Spirit for ever to guide and comfort us in all our calamities; and therefore it is our duty as well as theirs to set aside all fear, distrustfulness, and with all courage go forward, and with all encouragement to strengthen our weak knees and lift up our feeble hands, that we may be able in some measure to accomplish the work the Lord hath enjoined every one. For we have the like commandment that Zerubabel had, the like promises, yea, the same promises, and the assistance of the same Spirit; and he that promiseth to be with us is the Lord of hosts, most mighty and able to do whatsoever he will; which name, lest haply it should somewhat affright us, let us remember that he is mighty and powerful against his enemies, and towards his sons and servants merciful and full of compassion; yea, he is the bishop and shepherd of our souls, 1 Peter ii. And therefore it ought more to embolden us than discourage us, as it did David, Ps. xxiii., 'My shepherd (saith he) is the living Lord, therefore will I fear no ill;' and indeed he himself shewed it to be true in his own particular, by his godly example in all his life, and first, when there was but a step between him and death, as he had told his friend Jonathan, 1 Sam. xx. He went forward with some circumspection indeed and care, to prevent danger, but yet never a whit discouraged, because he knew that the Almighty was his shepherd, and that he was able to keep and defend him, yea,

that he would defend him, because that he had promised to defend all such as put their trust in him. And why? For the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, and he turneth it whithersoever he will,' and that as easily as a husbandman can turn the streams of water. And so the Lord did the heart of Saul to David, as appeareth by the sequel of that story; and when the Lord did not deliver him by his power, yet he preserved him by his goodness. Elias might have feared Ahab, and Elisha might have been dismayed with the taunts that were cast on him by Jeroboam; but they went boldly forward, shewing indeed that they had no cause to fear or be discouraged, for they knew well enough that the Lord was with them. The memorable example of the three children sheweth the like courage to have been in them, when they said, 'Our God is able to deliver us; and if he do it not, yet know, O king, that we will not worship,' &c.; whereby they shewed that they were fully persuaded that the Lord is present with his servants, either by his power or by his goodness; by his power to deliver them, or by his goodness to comfort and strengthen them. If to endure torments were most for God's glory, yea, the very example of these three sheweth how true that in the Proverbs is, 'When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him,' Prov. xvi., so that not only the fury of kings shall be turned away, but if need be they shall become ever friends; and if the hearts of princes be so subject to the Lord's ordination and government, which seem to have some freedom, how much more are the hearts of inferior creatures. The slothful man saith that a lion is in the street, but the Lord hath lions at command, so that they shall not hurt his saints, Dan. vi. 'He that observeth the winds shall not sow, and he that marketh the clouds shall not reap,' Eccles. xi. 4. So that the lion feareth* the slothful man on the one side, and the wind on the other side keepeth him back, that he cannot go forward; but for the true children of God, who know that both wind and weather, sea and air, are at God's command, they fear neither the heat of summer nor the cold of winter, nor the storm of persecution, but go boldly on in their calling, following the precept of their God, and committing all others things to his providence, for they know that he is with them even in affliction, as David witnesseth: Psa. xxiii., 'Thy rod and thy staff comfort me;' where we are to consider, that the rod and the staff are terms used in respect of the former word shepherd. The word *rod* signifieth a long thing to strike with, but yet used as shepherds use the like about their sheep, to keep them in by threatening them, and a little tipping them. The word *staff* is borrowed from a word that signifieth to lean on, which shepherds use to lean on, and withal to keep their sheep. But in proper, the prophet declareth that the Lord would not chasten him; or if he did, his chastisement should be but such as should comfort him, as he saith elsewhere,

* That is 'frighteneth'?—ED.

Psaln cxix., 'It was good for me that I was punished; and before I was smitten, I went wrong.' Columella, writing* of the use of the latter word for staff, saith, that in some countries, the shepherds use to lean on their staffs, and never sit down, but stand upright to look on their flock, lest that any sheep coming after might be intercepted of wild beasts, of which the country is full. In which sense, if we take the word staff, it sheweth that the Lord is watchful over his, and so regardeth them, that none of his perish. And look what chastisement he giveth them, it shall in the end turn to their salvation; and hence it was that the apostle Paul, when the Lord bade him 'be of good courage, none shall hurt him,' Acts xxi. 31, he boldly and joyfully went about his calling, even then when the Lord was not with him in his power to deliver him, but yet, by his goodness to comfort him, as I said; yea, when he knew that he should be delivered up, he boldly, without fear, went on to build up that body which he was sent for, teaching us, by his example, to remember that, in the epistle to the Romans, cap. viii. 31, 37, 38, 39, 'If God be on our side, who can be against us?' Nothing can separate us from his love which we have in Christ Jesus.

Wherefore, that this might the better be kept and performed, the pastors are to stir up the people to this boldness, remembering that, even in weakness, the Lord will perfect his strength, and bring his will to pass, and that he often useth weak instruments to great purposes; which they should do well to remember that separate themselves from us, because there is not that perfection in us which they dream there should be. In the church of Sardis, there were but a few names left among them; was the minister then to leave them, because it was even then decaying and declining? No; he was to stir them up again to awake and strengthen the things that remain, which is not spoken to the ministers alone, but to all the rest that remain, as appeareth, ver. 1, 4. The like charge Paul gave to Archippus, Col. iv. 17, namely, that he should 'take heed to the ministry, that he should fulfil it,' which certainly ought to stir up all such as have charges, that they employ themselves about their calling, teaching them privately and publicly, as it is, Acts xx., not thinking it enough to read unto their charge once a month, for so they shall never fulfil their ministry. Well may they indeed quite starve their flock, which Columella, writing of shepherds, well sheweth, and when he saith a few sheep well fed will bring more profit to the owner than a great many ill fed, for, besides that they bring small profit, they also perish, and infect others; for leanness breeds scabs, and scabs death; and therefore are ministers to labour and feed the Lord's flock according to their gifts, that the Lord may receive the advantage according to the quantity of the talent. And, therefore, let me beseech them to give themselves to reading and exhortation. If their maintenance be not sufficient that

* Columella, lib. vii. cap. iii.

they should leave their college, let them remember how the Lord fed the Israelites with manna, and how the widow's oil was increased, and how Elijah was fed with ravens, and, not to go to miracles, how the Shunamitess provided for the prophet, how Paul laboured with his own hands, nay, remember that golden mediocrity which Paul speaketh of in Timothy, 'If we have food and raiment, we ought therewith to be content,' 1 Tim. vi. 6. And for such as have charges and yet preach not, but pretend they be not eloquent, &c., let them remember what the Lord said to Moses, pretending the like; will they do better than they can? You know what Julius Florus said to Julius Secundus, a little boy should make a declamation, which he had done, saving he wanted a fit proem which he laboured three days for, and could not hit off any to his liking, and thereby grew very heavy. Julius Florus, his uncle, would needs know the cause. He told him; whereupon he, smiling, said, *Numquid tu melius vis dicere quam potes?* So may we say to them, Will they do better than they can? God regardeth that they can do,

not that which they cannot. When as Socrates had bid many to dinner, his wife told him that there was but a little meat; Why, saith he, if they be honest men it is enough, if not, too much. So may they think, if their hearers be godly, be it a little that they bring, it shall suffice; be they wicked, it will be too much; and therefore fear not to be bold, the Lord will be with you in the preparation and in the delivery. And see others which are hearers, such as take not that profit by the work as they hold,* whose flesh is always rebelling against the spirit, let them endeavour, and the Lord will add a blessing. Endeavour they must, to reform themselves and to inform others; for the more they hear, the more they understand, the more will be looked for at their hands. Let them not use those idle excuses of a lion in the street; let neither the frost in the winter, nor the heat in the summer hinder you from going forward; be faithful unto the death, and you shall have the crown of life, which the Lord grant, for his Son's sake Jesus Christ. Amen.

* Qu. 'should'?—ED.

SERMON XI.

Yet once again (that is but a little) and I will shake the heaven and the earth, and I will move all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts.—HAGGAI II. 6, 7.

OF the three most gracious promises whereby the Lord encouraged Zerubbabel and the residue of the Jews to go forward in the building of the temple, the second (in these words ensuing) doth declare that our Saviour Christ, by his presence and powerful preaching to the salvation of them that should believe, would replenish this house with glory: a blessing which how excellent it is, we are by St Paul, Eph. i. 18 and Col. i. 17, sufficiently taught. And this is both compared to and amplified by the benefit which the people had in their deliverance out of Egypt, mentioned in the former verse, when he saith here, 'Yet once that is small,' for so it is in the original, which is diversely supplied by the learned interpreters. Some thinking here a short time to be meant, put it thus, 'after, or yet a little while,' as if it had been spoken to comfort the godly in the shortness of the time, as Isa. x., Hab. ii., Heb. x.; others, deeming the thing before spoken of to be meant, which sense I take to be more agreeable to the place, read it by a parenthesis, 'yet once (that is a small thing),' viz., to bring them out of Egypt, I will do a greater matter, which kind of phrase we have also Isa. xlix. 6. But howsoever it be taken, the rest of the words wherein these leanes* do extol the benefit of the gospel by Christ brought to all nations, comparing it with the law delivered to the Jews, as the apostle infers it, Heb. xii. 26, 27, where, having stirred them up to receive the gospel, he adds

* Query?—ED.

that as a reason, that 'if they escaped not which refused him that spake on earth, much less should they that refuse him speaking from heaven, whose voice then shook the earth, and hath now also declared, saying, Yet once more will I shake not the earth only, but also the heaven;' to which in this place is added the seas and lands as parts of the earth, for greater amplification, whereby is implied that, as when the Lord gave the law on mount Sinai, he made the earth to shake, Exod. xix., so now would he shake not only the earth, but the heaven also, to authorise the gospel, which corporeally was done, as both Matthew and Luke record. Whenas reconciling the Gentiles by his passion the earth quaked, and when the glad tidings of this reconciliation was sent to the apostles, there came a voice from heaven as a mighty wind, and the earth eftsoons shaken. Although taken figuratively, spiritual things may be thought to be intimated, as some expound it, that the earth and the heaven may rejoice for that whereby a new heaven and a new earth was to be made, as did the angels in heaven as well as the men on earth. Then, ver. 8, there follows the efficacy of the gospel toward them to whom it is sent, wherein are noted two points: *first*, their moving; *secondly*, their drawing.

First, Their moving, *I will move all nations*; which was done partly by himself, when, John xii., many of the Gentiles desired to see him, and partly more fully by his servants the apostles, by whose preaching all

nations were moved, as appears Acts ii. 13, and the ecclesiastical histories report. The *latter* he notes when he saith, 'And the Desire of all nations shall come,' which was performed when the desired persons, *i. e.* the elect, came unto the temple unto Christ, and to the church, verifying that which began in the first-fruits of the Gentiles, Acts xiii., where it is said that when Paul preached Christ unto them, 'as many as were ordained unto life believed;' which exposition I take to be agreeable unto this place, especially because the verb in the Hebrew is of the plural number, *venient desiderium*, which according to the phrase both in the Hebrew and other languages we translate *venient desiderati*; meaning thereby, that the church of God, which is called, Jer. xii., 'the portion of desire,' as Daniel is called 'a man of desires,' Eph. i., the faithful are called the 'adopted in Christ, according to the good pleasure of his will.' Our Saviour Christ, Mat. viii., when he had found in the centurion more faith than in Israel, speaking of his coming, said, that 'many shall come from the east and west,' &c.; and yet of this he speaketh, John vi., where he saith, 'None can come to me except the Father draw him;' and, John xii. 23, shewing the means how the Father will draw all the elect, as Austin and Gregory well expound it. Against this is opposed simply the exposition of Jerome, who reads it in the singular, *veniet desideratus*, which to countenance, Ribeira, a learned man and industrious, if he were not sometimes blinded or bleared with a papist humour, saith that the original was since Jerome's time corrupted, which is a great marvel that he should say, whenas the Greek interpreters, the LXX, long before Jerome, took it in the plural, translating it by *desideria*, the elect, as Jerome himself doth, as also that is strange, the miracles wrought in the establishing of the gospel (on which Jerome and Ambrose ground), he should take the sense to be allegorical, rather of shaking the heavens, whenas so nothing can be meant but the angels, but greater than any circumstance is that of the apostle's, Heb. xii. 28, that they shall come to Christ; for if he had spoken of his own person, as they would have it, likely he would not have spoken in the third person, having before spoken in the first, 'I will shake,' 'I will move;' and so after in that as follows, 'and I will fill this house with glory,' when his glory after his death should be published, which was done when, in the Acts, by the preaching of the apostles his glory was spread far and near, and so he became glorious who in his passion had been infamous; and therefore the apostle, 2 Cor. iii., often repeats that the ministry of the gospel was glorious, because it did publish the glory of him. Now this being done, first at Jerusalem, Luke xxiv., and the apostles abiding in the temple, Acts i., and when they were arrested, Acts iv. 5, therefore he saith here that he will fill it with glory. This, then, is the comfort whereby the Lord seeks in this place to stir them;

repeating oftsoons that the Lord of hosts would do it, that considering not the earth but the heaven also should be moved, so they should in greater alacrity go forward in their duty. Out of which, that we may note something concerning our duty, 1, the first words, *yet once*, so give occasion to note what the apostle saith, Heb. xii. 17, that the things which are shaken, as being made with hands, are removed, that the things which are not now shaken may remain for ever; yet that notes a change but once, that sheweth that we must expect but one change lasting for ever.

Now what the things shaken and made with hands are, appears in the type of the law, the parts of the tabernacle, noting the heaven and earth, which should be shaken, and the ceremonies taken away, when Christ should enter not into the sanctuary made with hands, but into heaven above, as Heb. ix. 24. But those things which are purchased by Christ must continue not shaken; therefore the gospel is called τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, Mark i. 14, an everlasting gospel, not to be altered any more, but to endure for ever. I need not here to take occasion to refute those heretics who think that, as Christ added to the law, so also there remains to be added to the gospel, as Montanus did take upon him, the person of the Holy Ghost. But I rather note another error in some churches not far from us, if not also in some of our own, *viz.*, that popish error which have brought in types and ceremonies which were by Christ abolished, that the thing signified, which cannot be shaken, might remain for ever; as might be shewed at large, in respect of both time, and place, and persons, out of their missals, decretals, pontificals, but I will only note that which this present time brings to pass out of their year of jubilee. We read, Lev. xxv., that God commanded that the fiftieth year should be kept holy unto the Lord, as a year of deliverance from service, release of debt, and restoring of land to the owners; thereby shadowing the time of liberty which Christ was to bring from sin. Now Pope Boniface, 7th chapter in the Extravagants, hath set down that the fiftieth year is a year of pardon and freedom from all sins whatsoever, to them that will come devoutly to visit certain churches in Rome, and to abide there, if they be strangers, for the space of thirteen days; if Italians, thirty; because, saith he, the fiftieth year is the year of remission, and Christ came not to abolish the law but to fulfil it. And yet the prophet, Isa. vi. 1, 2, sheweth plainly that that was a type, the substance whereof was established by Christ, who was anointed (as he saith) to preach deliverance to the captives, and the acceptable year of the Lord; as he expounds it of himself, Luke iv. 18, the accepted year of God's favour, wherein, as at the jubilee, all were set at liberty and restored to their former estate. So when Christ came they should be delivered from bondage, and restored to the liberty of the sons of God; which to be done by Christ to continue, as the apostle witnesseth

where he saith, 'Now is that acceptable time, now is that day of salvation.' Which to restrain to one year in fifty, if I should compare them to beggarly rudiments I should too much honour them, being rather a profane error, which I need not further to make infamous than by opening their covetousness shewed therein, which Polidore Virgil, our own historiographer, chap. xxvi., sets down, writing that the last great jubilee before this, in the year 1500, Pope Alexander VI., in great kindness to the Englishmen, sends them over a Spaniard to shew them the way how to come to heaven by this jubilee, yea, and further also, how they might have the benefit of it and stay at home. But, saith Polidore Virgil, *ejus liberalitas non fuit gratuita*; and lest (saith he) the king should hinder it, he was content to part stakes with him. But as for us, this yet once sheweth that our jubilee is perpetual; every day, yea, every hour is a year of jubilee and deliverance unto us if we seek it. The time, once changed, continues for ever; for therefore (saith the apostle) was it said, Yet once more, that those things which were made with hands being abolished, these might continue for ever.

Another thing hence the prophet here commends unto us, in that it is the Lord that speaks unto us himself from heaven, as here he saith, 'I will shake;' that therefore, with all dutifulness, we are to accept the doctrine of the gospel, for so the apostle concludes all that he had said of keeping faith, retaining hope, maintaining love, receiving the kingdom unshaken, that, not despising him that speaketh, we may have grace to serve him with shamefacedness and fear. And lest the earthliness else should abase the credit thereof, therefore he saith, 'the heavens,' which yet he purposed to do, only by the ministry of his servants, for that which they do he accounteth it as that which he himself doth, having said, Luke x., 'He that heareth you heareth me.' And therefore St Paul saith that Christ speaketh in him, 2 Cor. xiii., 1 Thes. ii. 13. He thanks God for them that they received the word of him, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, 'not as the word of men, but as it was indeed, the word of God.' And doth not our Saviour cite that out of John,* I say they shall be all taught of God? Now God teacheth inwardly by his Spirit, and outwardly by his ministers, as from Christ, and Christ from heaven by them, for so the apostle speaketh, Heb. xii. 5. We must therefore come with these and such like minds to such assemblies, that as Eli bade Samuel say, when the Lord called him, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth,' so when the servant of the Lord speaks the Lord's message unto us, we should hearken as to the Lord. Esteem of them as to the ministers of Christ, lest God say of us, as of the Israelites to Samuel, 'They have not cast away thee, but they have cast away me;' which also may be a lesson for the minister to deliver the Lord's message,

* Qu. 'Isaiah'?—ED.

not his own. John and James are called, Mark iii., 'Boanerges, the sons of thunder,' but, howsoever, certainly they were so called, because by them he used to shake the heavens as in thunder. Now how James thundered may appear, in that he was chosen as the chief preacher first to be put to death, Acts xii. And John, though he lived longer, yet how did he thunder in his Gospel against the heretics that denied Christ's deity, and in his epistle against the great breaker of the bond of love? It were to be wished that our preachers would thunder but as the sons of thunder, to shake the heavens so as to move all people to those things which remain and continue, Psalm xlv.; by the sharp arrows the people shall be subdued unto thee. It is not by bolts, but by sharp arrows; therefore the ministers of God had need to sharpen their arrows by 'taking heed,' as the apostle wisheth, 1 Tim. iv. 15, 'to learning,' to wrap himself as it were therein, for so the word signifies, that 'so he may save himself, and those that hear him.'

For though God's providence do cast somewhat further, that all that hear are not saved, hereby humility and modesty is commended to the ministers, as to know that they are only instruments, and therefore to pray, as Paul requested the Ephesians for himself, 'that a door of utterance might be given him;' and yet, when they have that, all is nothing, but that God it is by whom that is performed which followeth, that the Desire shall come, &c.; yet all must be moved, for that is an effect in all. 'Many are called, but few are chosen;' many moved, few drawn, and none can come to Christ except they be called, Mat. xxi. When Christ came to Jerusalem, many, even the whole city, were moved, and what a tumult was there, and yet not many drawn; and, Acts ii., many were pricked hearing Peter, when at first they jested; and, Acts xvii., when Paul preached at Athens, some mocked, and some, as Damaris, clave unto the Lord. These were of the desired of the nations; and so was Lydia, of whom it was said that it was God that opened her heart to attend unto that which Paul preached. The whole glory therefore is to be ascribed unto the Lord, who, of his special mercy, draws some, and leaves others to their own corruptions: 'For it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy.' He it is that accepteth and approveth, and maketh desired, where by the way is a lesson for us, how we account of them whom God makes his desire and liking; especially, Psalm xv., the prophet requires, as a thing necessary in him that will dwell in God's tabernacle, and rest in his holy mountain, that, in his eyes, 'a vile person be contemned, but that he make much of them that fear the Lord.' And Psalm xvi., 'All my delight is on the saints that dwell on the earth. And Isaiah xlv., where God describeth the state of his church, he saith, 'He will lay her stones with carbuncles, and her foundation with sapphires, and make her windows of emeralds, and her

gates of shining stones, and all her borders of pleasant stones, or stones of delight,' those that he builds up his church withal, that so we may say with the prophet David, 'All my delight is in them.' But, alas, too too many ways are our delights carried, but not that way as they should. Valerius Maximus reports that a gentleman of Capua, coming to Cornelia's house shewed her his jewels, and desired to see hers; but she having none, as was likely, put him off with some other talk, till her sons, the two Gracchi, came in from the school, which then she shewed, saying, Here are my jewels; and indeed these are jewels well brought up. If she took such joy in her children, how may we think God doth; and therefore we may delight and rejoice in his godly children, especially seeing he reckons of them as his chief treasure and choice jewels, Psalm cxxxv. 4, Mal. iii. 17, *I will fill this house with glory*; which commends upon us a double point, first of wisdom, secondly of comfort; first to teach us, and then to strengthen us.

To teach us, first, that the glory here spoken of doth signify that true glory wherewith he will fill this house, for other places are filled with painted glory, the want of which wisdom draweth many to noisome lusts and pleasures for false glory. Again, we must know to this glory is joined infamy, as we see in the apostles, who were counted the scum of the world; yea, how many speak contumeliously of Christ himself, and his followers, who were voted with that ignominious name of Nazarites, Acts xxiv., touching which, when Paul came to Rome, Acts xxviii. 22, the Jews told Paul, that it was 'everywhere spoken against,' which may put us in mind of that which Simon spake of Christ, Luke ii., that Christ was appointed 'as a sign to be gainsayed;' wherefore it is to be meant true glory, which is here accompanied with unjust and true reproach and infamy, which yet the godly may rejoice in. Austin, *Tractat.* 100, in fol. 16, on these words, *the Holy Ghost shall glorify me*, defining glory to be a speech of many, consisting in one's praise, saith he, when we commend or praise either for that things should not be commended; or, secondly, that person that is indeed not to be commended; as, for example, saith he, to bestow money on stage-players, is a fault, and not a virtue: yet, saith Austin, many praise it; for the wicked, saith he, citing out of the 20th Psalm, are praised for the lusts of their own hearts: and so again, saith he, the wicked, when hearing* the face of the righteous, they are praised, and men deceived, this is false glory. But if the righteous, not seeking praise of the world, are praised for their virtues, this is true glory. Now St Austin, meaning that Christ was glorified with true glory, for the glorious works of his function and passion, may teach us to avoid the occasion of their error, which mislike the calling of the ministry, and grief at their reproach. St Paul, considering how this

* Qu. 'bearing'?—Ed.

true glory was joined with ignominy, but false, resolves, 2 Cor. vi. 10, to approve himself 'by honour and dishonour, by good report and ill report,' as we see, Acts xxiv., he was accused as a chief maintainer of the sect of the Nazarites; herein appeared his glory. So Athanasius, as it is in *Theodoret.* i. chap. 13, being falsely accused of murder and adultery, his glory appeared when the man was brought forth with both his arms whole, whose arms he was accused to have cut off; and when the woman had falsely accused him for being naught with her, charging another in his presence, as mistaking him, Athanasius sufficiently cleared him. So Calvin is accused in this place for receiving *venient desiderati*, to apply unto others that which belongs unto Christ, by one in that book called *Calvinus Judaizans*, wherein Stapleton sooths him, as glad to find any fault; but that this and others which he brings are but false reproaches, David Pareus doth sufficiently make clear; but if, Heb. xii., our Saviour himself did so patiently endure the gainsayings of sinful men, how may these be content? And since not only Paul, and Athanasius, and Calvin, but even Christ himself, suffered reproach, this shews that since Christ was glorified with true glory, that a Christian may have true glory, though untrue ignominy and reproach do accompany it.

Which may serve, in the second place, for the increase of our comfort, since it is said, Mat. v., 'Blessed are ye that suffer,' &c., so that we need not to marvel that, Acts the 5th, the apostles so rejoice that they were thought worthy so to suffer for Christ; or that, Philip. i., Paul saith, that it was 'given to them to suffer,' and that he would rejoice in the cross and marks of the Lord Jesus, which we may so much the more do, if they be wicked that wrong us, but if they be godly, yet take comfort in this we may, that the cause is not just. If all were like Datinius, Milo might take comfort, as Tully saith; but it is likely that even Cato, being, as to his praise Pliny notes, forty-four times accused, and every time acquitted, yet was sometimes accused by honest men. But then,

Hic murus alienus esto
Nil conscire sibi,

consider the example of Job, James v., 'what end the Lord made;' he was charged with hypocrisy, but in the end cleared. Yea, put Christ for example; if they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, no marvel that they use the servants sharper; but we, dear brethren, must here follow Christ, who, Heb. xii., 'for the glory that was set before him, endured the cross, despised the shame;' for, Rom. viii., 'If we will reign with him, we must also suffer with him;' we must not think to go to heaven in a horse-litter. Here we shall have true glory, but hereafter more perfect glory.

O Lord, instruct us, that we may embrace the things that remain; and hearken unto that thou commandest,

that we may stir up ourselves so to perform our duty, that here being partakers of true glory, we may here-

after be brought to perfect glory, even by the God of glory, Christ Jesus. Amen.

SERMON XII.

The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this last house shall be greater than the glory of the first, saith the Lord of hosts; and in this house will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.
—HAGGAI II. 8, 9.

GODLINESS is profitable to all things, having the promise of this life, and that to come, saith Paul to Timothy, the truth of which sentence is here illustrated by an example of a duty here commanded, touching the building of the temple; for of the three gracious promises made by the Lord to stir up the Jews thereto, the two lastly handled concern the promise of the life to come, the glad tidings of the gospel; and the last now to be unfolded, comprised in the words read, contains the promise of this present life. *Silver is mine, &c.* We heard before, as may be gathered from the prophet's words, is it not as nothing, &c., that the people were discouraged when they saw the foundation of the temple, how far short it would come of the former, to recomfort them; therefore this is added, that the glory of this latter house should be greater than the glory of the former, and that not only in respect of the spiritual glory mentioned in the former verse, 'And I will fill this house with glory,' but even with temporal and eternal glory also, wherewith, because the other was so beautified, they were cast down and discouraged, as if the latter would be nothing in respect of the former. Therefore the Lord here doth not only promise to fill it with glory, but also that the glory thereof shall be greater than the glory of the former, which for that (in respect of that glory which they meant, it might seem a thing impossible, since they had not the riches of Solomon, which built the former); therefore, first, the Lord mentions that the silver is his, and the gold is his, &c.: 'The silver is mine, and the gold is mine;' as if he had said, Notwithstanding ye are now poor, and see no means how to effect this, yet it is in my power to enrich you, 'The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is,' Ps. xxiv., which he shewed when he fulfilled his promise by raising up Herod, and enriching him to build up this house in glory, as an eye-witness, Josephus by name, *Antiquitat.* l. xv. c. ult., and *de bello Judaico*, lib. vi. cap. v., as it is divided in the Greek, doth testify. The disciples desire our Saviour to behold the goodly buildings of the temple, Mat. xxiv. And Luke xxi. 5, it is said that some did admire the temple, how it was garnished with goodly stones and consecrated things. Now for the stones, Josephus, who at large expounds that in Luke, saith the temple was made all of white stones, some five cubits long and five broad, some of twelve, and some of twenty-five, some of forty-five, in respect

of which, perhaps it might be compared with that other built by Solomon. Now for those consecrated things which Luke calleth *ἀναθήματα*, the same Josephus saith, that all the upper parts of the temple were set about with spoils which Herod had taken from the Arabians and others. Further, he affirmeth that nine of the doors were covered with gold, the upper gate with Corinthian brass, the inward with gold; the posts were covered with gold, the fore-fronts with plates of gold, the roof set with round spires and boules of gold, so that all was either glistening white, or shining with gold. And so also within: the vessels were many of gold, some of those as were before, others made new, especially the golden table, candlestick, and altar of incense; insomuch that besides Luke and Josephus, even extern writers, as Tacitus lib. v., *Historiæ* saith, that it was *immense opulentia templum*. Now whether in these respects it may be said to be more glorious than the former, I pronounce not; but certainly in respect of the spiritual glory mentioned in the former verse, and this temporal added together, it was much more eminent and glorious than the former. Now hereto is added, 'And in this house I will give peace,' meaning thereby that not only war and dissension should cease, as we commonly take the name of peace; but that also all prosperity and temporal blessings should be added, as the word in the Hebrew doth signify perfection and integrity, salubrity and incollumity, as they used it in their salutations, 'Peace be unto you,' wishing them all good, as we may see 2 Sam. xi. 7, where it is said that David asked of Uriah, of the peace of the war, that is, of the prosperousness and of the good success of the war, which Zechariah, chap. viii., makes plain to be meant here, speaking of the same thing two years after; for there he asked them whether before they received the commandment of building the Lord's house, they did not remember there was no peace. Nay, saith God, I did set every one against his brother, but now there is a seed of peace, as translations render it a prosperous seed; noting that by peace is meant prosperity, for which they must wait, as husbandmen do until it grow up, which is plain from the words following, that as other peace cannot (as it is said doth) make the vines to bud, but is God's gift of peace, as after he saith, and you that were once accursed shall be a blessing among all nations. So that by peace there is not meant only

concord and unity, but that as is promised, Deut. xxviii., all prosperity to them that obey the Lord.

And this you see, that the Lord of hosts, the almighty God, signifying unto these people that gold and silver is his, and therefore that he can perform what they cannot, doth promise also that he will make the glory of this latter house greater than the former, and therewithal will bless it with peace and temporal prosperity.

The foundation of which promise being a premonition to take away distrustfulness from them, 'the silver is mine,' doth instruct us in this ground of common faith, that the Lord of heaven, by the right of creation, doth enjoy and possess all earthly blessings, and can as he please dispose them. This Moses and Aaron did not so well remember, when, Num. xx., being commanded to speak to the rock, and promised that the water should flow out, they by distrusting God's power did not sanctify the Lord in their hearts, nor so before the people by believing his promises as they should have done, that therefore he would not let them bring the people into Canaan; God then [is] sanctified by believing this which here is said, that the silver is his, under which are comprehended all other creatures and temporal blessings, as his own and at his disposing, serving for the performance of his will, the benefit of his servants. When Samaria was besieged, and the famine so sore that the mother was to boil her son, and to refresh herself with her own child, as we read, 2 Kings vii., and the prophet coming to the king told him from the Lord, that by tomorrow this time there should be plenty in the gate of Samaria, a prince on whom the king leaned, thinking it a thing impossible, answered the man of God and said, Behold, if God should make windows in the heaven, could this come to pass? The prophet replied that he was sent from God, and confirming that which he said, threatened him punishment for his incredulity, that he should see it with his eyes, but that he should not taste thereof, as also it came to pass. When the angel Gabriel, sent from God, promised Zacharias a son, Luke i., 'How can this be,' saith he, 'since I am old and my wife barren?' Well, saith the angel, I am sent from God and it shall be, but because thou hast not believed, thou shalt be dumb until this thing be done. Which example of Moses, of Aaron, of the prince, and of Zacharias, doth teach us to believe that what the Lord doth promise in his word, it shall undoubtedly be made good by his work in due season. Silver is his, and gold is his, for so saith the Lord of hosts, 'The silver is mine, and the gold is mine,' &c.

A point that may further teach us to remember that, seeing also these earthly blessings are the Lord's, therefore, in getting, using, losing, or wanting them, we should have care so to behave ourselves, as those that know they are not ours, but the Lord's. In *getting*, he giveth it them to whom it pleaseth him, and it

is not, as many foolishly imagine, committed to the prince of the world, to be disposed by him at his pleasure. It is true, indeed, that Satan said so, that all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, are delivered unto him, and to whom he would he gave them; but he said it falsely, and for the most part as false as this we see here worldly men, as if silver and gold and these worldly things were not the blessings which God bestows, seek them by unjust and unlawful means, belike thinking they are none of God's at all. Otherwise, as Jacob said he would serve Laban seven years for his daughter Rachel, so they would also serve God for his blessings. But with many, as the wise man saith, 'stolen waters are sweet, and his bread is pleasant.' The sons of Eli robbed the people that came to sacrifice, and took by force that which was not theirs; and I would to God that not only the sons of Eli, but that also our Elis themselves, for I would be loath to judge any, did they not, I will not say rob, but did they [not] take more than their own from the portion of the Lord's sacrifices, &c. Sure, if any so do, they consider not with David, Psalm lxxv., that preferment comes not neither from the east, nor from the west, but that it is the Lord that doth give it, else they would be of David's mind, I hope, who would not do anything that he should not against Saul, a wicked king, no, not for a kingdom: 1 Sam. xxvi. 11, 'God forbid that I should do this, and sin against God,' &c. They that pray to God as their heavenly Father, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' and yet delight in stolen waters, shew that they do the lusts of another father, John viii. 44. God forbid that I should say they are of another father, but sure herein they serve him, by serving another than the Lord in good duties; they should get that they desire by good means, for 'silver is mine, and gold is mine,' &c.

Secondly, In *using*. We are but stewards to the Lord in using and disposing those blessings which we enjoy, and therefore must remember that we must give an account thereof unto the Lord. Nabal, when David's messengers came to him for some provision to refresh himself and his followers, 1 Sam. xxv., 'Shall I take my bread, and my wine, and my flesh, &c., and give it to strangers?' All was mine, and mine, and mine with him; he did not consider that he had received them from God, to be at his will disposed, not all for himself, but some for others also. It is said, Proverbs iii., 'Withhold not the goods from the owner thereof; neither say to thy neighbour, Go, and come again tomorrow,' &c. The owners are called; them that have need of any good we have, and we are but as stewards to dispose it to them, according to that rule in the epistle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. ix. 6, 'He that soweth bountifully shall also reap bountifully, for the Lord loves a cheerful giver,' and he gives twice that gives quickly.

The Israelites in Hosea, chap. ii. 9, had forgotten that it was the Lord that gave them silver and gold,

flax and oil, which they gave to Baal, and therefore he threatens to take it away ; so, if we bestow those blessings that he gives us amiss, let us know that he yet retains an interest in them to take away. What if his silver and his gold be bestowed upon papists' images, idolatry, &c. ; what if men make their bellies their gods, as Philip. iii., and serve them with their riches like Polyxenus in Euripides, who said he never sacrificed to any god but to his belly, and he thought that wise men would think that it is a man's god to eat and drink ; yet all for this, the right of these blessings, thus abused by wicked men, belongs unto God, and he will, at his pleasure, both take them away from them, and call them to an account for the abuse of them. Alas, if it were not so with us also, we should be more ready to come to these assemblies, whenas we are so ready to fill our own bellies ; but let us know, that we have now but the disposing of these things, and the Lord will require an account of us.

Thirdly, What if we *lose* them ; yet let us comfort ourselves with Job, remembering 'that the Lord gives and the Lord takes away, and therefore blessed be the name of the Lord.'

Fourthly, If we *want* them, yet remember they are the Lord's, who, if he please, can give them ; but say that we want them, and the Lord bestows them upon the wicked that worse deserves them. This is a great temptation, I confess, to the godly, as we may see in David, Psalm lxxiii., and Jeremiah, chap. xii. ; yet, consider he is the Saviour of all, though especially of the godly, and he makes his sun to shine, and his rain to fall, on all sorts, that so, by his longsuffering and goodness, he may call them to repentance, Rom. ii., or at least, as Acts, xiv. 'filling their hearts with food and gladness,' he may not leave himself without witness.

But to come from this point, which is set down to strengthen their faith in the power of God, to the promise itself of greater glory. 'The glory of this house shall be greater than the former ;' which ministers greater comfort to the church, as comprehended with Judah in this promise under the name of Israel, Zech. viii. 13, where by Israel is meant the same as in that speech, Gal. vi., 'As many as walk according to this rule, peace shall be upon them, and upon the Israel of God,' &c. : Israel not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. Even the Gentiles which are joined in the building of this latter house, as the prophet Isaiah speaks, chap. vi. 13, alluding to the temple, 'The glory of Lebanon shall come to thee, the fir-tree, the elm-tree, and the box-tree together,' *i. e.* the Gentiles, 'to beautify the place of my sanctuary ;' and then, shewing he means hereby the church to be gathered out of all nations, he saith, 'The sons of them that hated thee shall bow to thee,' &c. ; and 'I will make thee an eternal glory and joy ;' noting thereby, that before the gospel was preached, the Jews

were hated by all who then, being converted, shall submit themselves to that religion which before they detested, so that there should be a perpetual joy made for all the church. And verse 9, he saith that 'the isles shall come, and the ships of Tarshish,' &c. ; even 'they that grow by merchandise unto greater wealth,' as Isa. xxiii. speaks of Tyrus, that came with their silver and their gold unto the Lord, to beautify therewith his spiritual temple, the church.

This is that, then, which here is promised, that God will provide for the merchandise of his church those things that may be sufficient, as for food and raiment ; for so the apostle, interpreting the promise, limits it in 2 Tim. vi., 'When we have food and raiment, let us therewith be content.' Howbeit, to this is added a greater glory due in this life ; that prerogative 'to be called the sons of God,' John i. 12, and 'fellow-heirs with Christ, Rom. viii. ; and after this life, to enjoy an exceeding weight of glory,' 2 Cor. iv. So that the church shall be blessed, though not with abundance and superfluity of earthly goods (it may be) for it was not for nought that Solomon prayed, Prov. xxx., 'Give me neither poverty nor riches ;' and, Deut. xxiii., we see, that when the people waxed full, they spurned against the Lord ; but always with sufficiency, and with a spiritual glory greater yet in this life, and an immortal weight of glory in the life to come. Therefore, to those that lead a religious, Christian, and a godly life, that endeavour to build up themselves and others in an holy building to the Lord, is this promise made, that this latter house shall be more glorious than the former ; they before Christ, having but a taste in comparison of that whereof we have the full fruition. This is it that Solomon hath, Prov. viii., 'Exalt wisdom, and it will exalt thee ;' and he learned it from his father, who taught that God would 'give both grace and glory,' Ps. lxxxiv. 11, 'and no good thing will I withhold from those that walk uprightly ;' no good thing, nothing that is indeed good for them, with that moderation. 1 Cor. xiv., the apostle saith of himself, and such as he was, that they were a gazing-stock unto angels and men, hungry and thirsty, naked and buffeted ; but, 2 Cor. iv., he addeth that those small afflictions should work in them a far more excellent and eternal weight of glory ; so that God works always that which is most of all for our good. Therefore, in respect of those other greater good things, these lesser are denied. 'Whosoever,' saith Christ, 'shall lose father, and mother, or friends, for my name's sake, he shall, even in this life, receive a hundred fold,' but 'with persecutions, and in the world to come, life eternal.' 'He that hath given us his Son, how should he not give us all things together with him ?' The Lord can deny nothing that is good to them that walk uprightly, Ps. lxxxiv. 11 ; but then we must walk uprightly, and in so doing our glory shall be the greater. For if we build the Lord's house, then we glorify and honour him ; and there it is

written, 'Them that honour me I will honour,' saith the Lord, 1 Sam. ii. 30.

Now the last promise, *And in this house I will give peace*, is made of a seed of peace, &c., not only that dissension shall cease, but that the heavens shall hear the earth to give her dew, and the earth shall hear the corn to give her fruit, &c., and they shall hear Israel, Hosea ii. 21, 22; so travail in the building of the house of the Lord and the service of him as they ought, which may put us in mind that we may fear that we have not laboured so as we ought in the building of the house of the Lord, forasmuch as there be so many breaches and vents* among us; and in the seventh chapter, the prophet tells them that before, when they built not the Lord's house, but every one his own, that the heaven stayed itself from dew, and the earth herself from her fruit, there was no peace; nay, saith Zechariah, viii. 10, 'Before those days there was no hire for man nor beast, neither was there any peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, because of the affliction;' for, saith God, I set every one against his neighbour, and that by the just judgment and vengeance of God, because they travailed not in the building of the house of the Lord. 'From whence are wars and contentions?' saith James, chap. iv. 1, 2; 'are they not hence, even from your own lusts and pleasures that fight in your members?' And are not our contentions to maintain our lusts and our pleasures? Also, I would to God we did consider aright the root of them. It is an old proverb, to fish in troubled waters. Cleon, in Aristophanes, was told that he dealt like them that fished for eels; for as they, when the lake is calm and clear, can take nothing, and therefore do they trouble it and stir up the mud and slime, so, when the city was quiet, he could get nothing, and therefore he fought to make strife in the city. If any such Cleons be amongst us, I would they would remember that they are called, not to be fishers of eels; but to be fishers of men, not of such slimy stuff which, Hab. ii., is called thick clay, but for the souls of men, which are most precious, and which they must seek for. As for the wisdom of such as fish for eels, it 'descendeth not from above,' as St James saith, 'but is earthly, sensual, carnal, and devilish,' such as do not consider that the Lord saith, 'Silver is mine, and gold is mine, and I will give peace in this house.' But if St James cannot serve to persuade, then let them

* Qu. 'rents'?—ED.

yet remember what a heathen man, worthy their remembrance, saith, Varro by name,* whom Austin so commends: *Distractio civium*, saith he, *languescit principum civitatis bonum et incipit agrotare et deflorescere*. Out of all controversy the prophet, having promised peace unto them when the temple and house of the Lord was built, doth shew plainly that we do not build the Lord's house, because we are not at peace. But if, by the example and promise, we hope to have peace, let us look to be fishers of men, and not of eels; then shall we be sure to have prosperous success, and to be enriched, as the Jews were afterward. 'Woe be to him,' saith God to Jehoiakim, Jer. xxii. 13, 'that buildeth his house with unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong.' Did not thy father Josiah eat and drink, and prosper, when he executed judgment and justice? If men could be content with moderation, as Josiah was, and not seek to justify their inordinate lusts and affections, as many do, then might they eat and drink, and prosper, as Josiah did. But when they begin, with Jehoiakim, to follow after their own wicked lusts, then it is not moderate eating and drinking that will serve their turn. They think they must shift for more by other means. The sentence that St James addeth upon his exhortation and reproof of their contentions, James iii. 15, is worthy our remembrance, viz., 'the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace to them that exercise peace,' where in the former place peace is taken for God's love and favour, accompanied with temporal and spiritual blessings, and in the latter for peace and concord. And so, doubtless, God's eternal peace, which passeth all understanding, is sown to them that make peace; yet they must wait, as the husbandman doth, for fruit, and not think to have it straightway; but certainly they may expect it, for the Lord hath promised that as many as sow righteousness shall have the fruit of peace in this life, and in the life to come life everlasting. But I beseech you to remember that which is prophesied to come to pass in the time of the gospel, 'to break our swords into mattocks, and our spears into scythes,' Isa. ii. 4. Let us lay aside the instruments of war, and take unto us the instruments of God's husbandmen and labourers, and so build the house of God that the Lord may dwell among us. Sanctify us, O Lord, that we may remember that the gold is thine.

* Varro, lib. i. de vita populi Rom.

SERMON XIII.

In the fourth day came the word of the Lord saying, Thus saith the Lord, Ask now the priests concerning the law, and say, If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it be holy? And the priests answered and said, No.—HAGGAI II. 11, 12.

AFTER many and great promises of sundry blessings and benefits, whereby the Lord had before encouraged these people of the Jews to go forward in the building of the temple, wherein at this time they

shewed themselves somewhat slack, here again, for the strengthening of their hands, and the cheering of their hearts to stir them up, again, in these words, the prophet reneweth one of the former promises concerning the plenty of temporal blessings of wine and oil, so the comfort of which benefit is annexed and set out by the contrary, to wit, barrenness, blasting, by which for their sins they were chastised in the former year; and lest, being the only people chosen to serve the Lord, they should flatter themselves in the multitude of their sacrifices and religious worshipping of the Lord, and think, therefore, that they were not so plagued for their sins, they are advertised from the Lord, that notwithstanding their daily offerings and services, and not only their other actions were displeasing to him, but even their sacrifices abominable in his sight, so long as they neglected his commandments and left his temple unbuilt.

The several points to be observed are these :

First, That their sins is opened, and they by themselves convinced of it, ver. 12-16.

Secondly, The prophet sheweth that therefore they were plagued with barrenness, from ver. 16-19.

Thirdly, Upon amendment of this fault, and going constantly on in building, plenty is promised, ver. 19-20.

The first point is as much as I shall be able to handle at this time, though I did read all because of the connection and coherence of one part with another.

For the first, therefore, to admit the other whereon this depends.

Their sin, the prophet opens by two mystical resemblances drawn from Moses's law, ver. 13, 14, and declaring thence, ver. 15, that they being themselves unclean, so were all their works and their sacrifices, which, the more effectually to persuade them, the Lord, ver. 12, commandeth Haggai to ask the priests concerning the law, as by the witnesses of them that were therein skilful to convince them, and perhaps to reprove the priest which should before have taught the people according to the law.

Now the law of Moses layeth open these two types: for 1, Lev. vi. 27, concerning the sin-offering, the Lord by Moses pronounceth that it was most holy, and whatsoever should touch the flesh should be holy; and here is the former question made by the prophet, ver. 12, 13, if one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with the skirt do touch the bread, or the pottage, whether the bread or the meat so touched shall be holy, whereunto the priest answered, no. And that rightly; for though it be said there, that whatsoever thing the flesh of the sin-offering toucheth shall be holy, yet doth he not say that whatsoever toucheth that which toucheth the flesh shall be holy. In like manner, the Jews in their sacrifice could not be said to be holy, because they touched that only which touched the thing that was holy, and never touched that thing which was

holy, to wit, the true flesh of sin, as he called, Gal. ii., the body of those shadows, Heb. ix. 9, who was sacrificed on the cross to take away sin, whom and whose garments, as they only who touched by faith were healed, Mark vi. 56, Mat. ix., so, only as many as touched him in the sacrifices of the Jews, spiritually, by a true and lively faith; first, those that spiritually believed in him were saved, and so consequently sanctified; which spiritual touch is required, John iii., Heb. xi. 6. Wherefore, as the Jews, by neglecting the building of the temple, and therein their obedience, shewed their unbelief, wanting that faith which worketh by love, although they touched the outward shadows and ceremonies, yet, since they touched not Christ, the substance and body of them, by a true faith, they remained yet unholy still. Again, Num. ii. 19, it is written, that 'Whosoever toucheth the corpse of a dead man shall be polluted and unclean, and whatsoever the unclean person toucheth, it shall be also unclean.' And hence is the second question moved, whether, if a person so polluted by touching a dead body (as the word in the original sheweth, and is, although not here, yet, Lev. xxii. 4, translated, touch anything unclean by the dead), whether the thing touched should be unclean? To this question, the prophet answers yes, it shall be unclean, and that also agreeable to the law, as before we have heard; wherefore the touching of a dead body doth betoken the committing of sin, which is called a dead work, Heb. ix. 4, as may appear by Christ's blood purging from us the uncleanness of sin, to that cleansing water which purged them from that uncleanness of the dead, Heb. x. It remaineth that the Jews, howsoever by the sacrifices and ceremonies they were outwardly washed from such pollutions, yet being not washed by Christ's blood, they were dead in trespasses and sins, and so polluted with dead works, that all of them were unclean, yea, and their sacrifices defiled; and all they did, which is the main point of reproof, inferred as from those former proofs, by the testimony even of the priests themselves concerned, ver. 15, where the prophet answereth, 'So is this people,' viz., which say it is not time to build the Lord's house; and so is this nation unclean before me, saith the Lord, *i. e.* in my judgment, howsoever they think themselves clean by their sacrifices, and so are not one but all the works of their hands, and that which they effect here, viz., as we may gather their daily burnt-offering, are unclean. Thus were the Jews informed how they did offend against the law of God in not building, as they were commanded, the temple of the Lord; and therefore, for all their sacrifices, they were unclean, and all their works, yea, and their own sacrifices, an abomination unto him; and that by the confession of the high priests, their own teachers; of which instruction given unto them we may make our profit, wherein we may see,

1. The sin of these Jews, viz., the neglect of the

fulfilling of the Lord's commandment, in building as before.

2. The convicting of them hence by the law.

3. By resemblances and types out of Moses's law. And this may serve for opening the meaning of these words. Now, see what here we learn for instruction and our further use: ver. 12, 'Thus saith the Lord, ask the priests,' *de lege*; whence,—

1. We learn in general, that for convicting men of sin, and instructing them in the way of God, the word of God is an infallible rule, and ought to be the square of all our actions: 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: and the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom to the simple,' Ps. xix. Neither doth only David, Ps. cxix., say that 'it teacheth a young man to redress his way,' but even of his own he saith, that 'the word is a lantern unto his feet,' ver. 105. And our Saviour Christ, when he was asked of the scribe how he might have eternal life, sendeth him to the law, saying, How is it written, how readest thou? Mat. xix. And so being to prove to the Sadducees the resurrection, he sendeth them to the Scripture, saying, 'Have ye not read?' Mat. xxii. So the apostle Paul persuaded Timothy, and in him all the ministers, to continue in the things they had heard, which are able to make them wise unto salvation, 2 Tim. iii. 15, and desired Titus to continue in the doctrine taught him, and thereby to convince them that gainsay, Titus i. 9; not by men's doctrine, which are all but vain rudiments, Col. ii., and which they teach, but all in vain, to worship God, Mat. xv.: a doctrine necessary to be noted touching the sufficiency of the word of God against the doctrine of men's traditions, which the Lord, by Isaiah, complaineth of in the Jews that gave themselves to the Talmud, tying themselves to the doctrine of Rabbins, and also digging broken cisterns that would hold no water, and forsaking the fountain of living waters, alleging those canons for directing of men's actions, as now the papists in their giving directions for the training up of their novices. A Jesuit, Ribeira, on these words, *Ask the priests*, saith that it is as much as we say, Now ask the priests in cases of conscience; and the observation is very true; but, then, seeing cases of conscience are decided in God's word, they that be thus asked must be guided by God's Spirit, and be able to answer as the papists* here did, out of the law of the Lord, what God saith, and not out of men's doctrines, what Thomas Aquinas saith.

But remember that they be cases of conscience which God only doth determine and resolve; and herein let them take their own doctor, Thomas Aquinas, who, par. 1, quest. 1, art. 8, upon the words of Titus, saith, that although by way of reason men's authorities may be alleged, as of Aratus by the apostle, yet these are but probable, not demonstrative, and that only the doctrine of the canonical Scrip-

* Qu. 'priests'?—ED.

tures is certain and infallible, and such as whereon our faith may and must alone be grounded, as on the revelation given immediately by God unto the prophets; whereon also Saint Augustine saith, that he had learned to give only to the holy Scriptures that reverence, that they could not err, when all other men might, and in their writings often did.* But as for us, my brethren, we are not to rely upon Thomas Aquinas, or any other man; our heavenly schoolmaster hath taught us better: Isa. viii., 'Should not a people inquire at their God? To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this, it is because they have no light in them.' They have no light in them that have not learned this; and this we learn, in that the prophet did ask the papists† concerning the law.

The next thing to be observed here is, that the prophet being bidden to ask the papists,† the papists† make answer out of the law, where we may observe the duty of the papists,† viz., that they ought to be men who ought to know the law, and thence to be able to resolve the truth in any question being asked out of the law; for so saith God, Mal. ii., that he made his covenant with him of life and death, and hereupon infers that the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and the people should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the angel of the Lord of hosts. We, my brethren, that are called to the ministry of the gospel, succeed the priests in this office, though the name indeed be not given to us in the New Testament, but together with other Christians, as may appear by Isaiah lxvi. 21. There the prophet, alluding to the old name to set down our office, saith, 'In the Lord's name I will take of them,' *i.e.* from all nations, 'priests and Levites unto me some'; and therefore we also must know the law of God, and that, as it was said then, so it is now said of us also, that our lips also should preserve knowledge, that we may teach the people. And this St Paul requireth of Timothy, to give attendance to reading, although he had been brought up in it from his youth; and though old men may think that this was spoken to young men such as Timothy, yet may they know that this also belongs to those who are old persons such as Paul, and that from Augustine, Epist. lxxiii., terti. ad Volsianam,‡ to whom, having written for resolution to Austin (as if he thought he knew all things), Austin, correcting the opinion, saith that so profound and deep were the Scriptures, that he might profit still in them, although from his childhood unto his old age, with most diligent study, he was conversant in them. Not as things necessary unto salvation were to be attained unto by so great difficulty, an exception needful to be inserted for the papists, but that when

* Ad Hieronymum.—Epist. xix.

† Qu. 'priests'?—ED.

‡ Tanta est profunditas, &c.—August., epist. iii. ad Volsianam.

they have attained to Christian faith. Yet such mysteries are there, and so shadows, that, although the ministers be *ingenio acutissimo, animo flagrantissimo*, yet they cannot in all their life, as Eccles. vii., attain to knowledge of them; so that the lesson given to young Timothy is to extend to the old. Also, Paul himself doing what he exhorteth Timothy to do, as the gloss thereon, Cherion notes, and Chrysostom, that Paul did that himself which he exhorteth Timothy to do by Paul's so often writing of the oracles of God in the Old Testament, and by other circumstances. Now, this knowledge is not to be kept under a bushel, but we must teach and instruct the people, and resolve of questions, according as it is said, 'ask the priests;' which thing, before they should have done, since they could not choose but read in Deuteronomy that they should teach Jacob God's judgments and Israel his laws, which the better to perform they are forbidden, Lev. x., to drink wine or strong drink when they enter into the Lord's tabernacle, that they may discern things aright, and teach what was to be observed among other Christian duties, as to instruct, correct, reprove, 2 Tim. iii. Paul also requireth of the ministers, not in the strictness of that law, to drink no wine at all, 1 Tim. v. 23, yet not to be *vinodeditus*, 1 Tim. iii. 3, given to wine, and for the same end, according as Plato in *Cratylus* saith, that temperance is called *σοφροσύνη*—quasi *σοφία φρονήσεως*, whereto Aristotle assents, *Ethic.*, p. 6; which etymology, although some grammarians dislike, yet it is true that temperance preserveth wisdom, and *contra*, as Pliny saith,* lib. xxiii. cap. 1, *Sapientia obumbratur vino*; and therefore of bishops and pastors it is required that they be temperate in diet, that so they may preserve knowledge to instruct others, the want of which makes the prophet, Isa. lvi., denounce woe against the pastors, as blind guides wanting knowledge, which he ascribes partly to their covetousness, and partly to riot and excess. The plagues which such draw on them for letting the people be destroyed for want of knowledge we may see in Hosea iv.: 'Because thou hast refused knowledge, saith the Lord, I will also refuse thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me;' since thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children. To which, if any shall reply that they have no children, and therefore think in this respect that they shall escape the curse, let them remember the curse there denounced; and so, Zech. xi. 17, 'O idle shepherd that leavest thy flock, the sword shall fall upon thy right eye!' &c.

And I would the wise consideration of these things might stir us all up to the diligent study of the law of the Lord, and faithful delivery of the same unto his people, to feed the flock of God that dependeth on us; and that of our Saviour, of the wise and faithful steward, ought to be a lesson for us in this case; and

* Sic quoque in proverbium [proc]essit. Sapientiam vino obumbrari.—Lib. xxiii. cap. i.

this duty required of those priests a direction unto us for the performance of our duty in this behalf.

A third observation.—Hence it is gathered by the papists that the priests were, and so, consequently, the church, that is, as Bellar. iii. *de verbo Dei*, interpreteth, the pope with his council, are sovereign judges of all controversies, and that in their judging of the same they cannot be deceived, which chap. iv. of that book proving, or rather endeavouring to prove, he brings for his purpose amongst others this place, where it is said, ask the priests; and that of Mal. ii. 7, *Sacerdotes custodient scientiam*: 'The priest's lips shall preserve knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth,' as here the prophet is commanded. Whence [had] he concluded only that this the priest's lips ought to do, it had been well, and that which the law would bear. But whereas hereupon they would infer that they cannot err in doing it, so making that a promise what they should do, not only a precept what they ought to do, that very place in Mal. ii. 8 sheweth the contrary, where it is added by way of reproof, 'But ye are gone out of the way, ye have caused many to fall by the law.' So that it is manifest by the whole drift of that place, that the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts, and therefore they that do not so deserve punishment, as followeth, ver 9: 'Therefore 'I have made you contemptible.' But after this interpretation of the Jesuit, every man in his calling, almost as well as the priests, may claim a prerogative of not learning in the performance of this duty. Rom. xiii., of the magistrate, it is said that he is for the praise of them that do well; what, therefore, shall we say? Nero, being a magistrate, never failed therein; or, that all they that did well received a promise* of Nero? Again, the wife is said to be made a help unto her husband. What! may we think that every wife is so, or that Job's wife was so, and did perform this duty to her husband? Again, Mal. i. 6, 'A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master.' What! therefore is there no stubborn child nor disobedient son to his parents? Was that law, Deut. xxi., for no purpose? or are all servants faithful to their masters? and is that false of our Saviour, Luke ix., 'O wicked servant'? These places shew, indeed, that the magistrates should be for the praise of them that do well; that the wife should be a help to her husband; that the child should be obedient to his father; but not all of these are so always. And so the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, as in the future tense this word is often used, or imply a duty, as even Ribeira, a papist, confesseth that even Bellarmine from his own men might have learned not to have abused his reader; and for the thing itself, although the priests here twice answer well, yet other examples shew how foully they erred oftentimes, as to note but two for all in

* Qu. 'praise'?—ED.

Jer. xxvi. Concerning the church, when the prophet threatened that God would make the temple as Shiloh, the priests pronounced that it was a crime worthy of death, when yet the princes confessed that it was according to law, and so delivered Jeremiah out of their hands. And secondly, Mat. xxvi., concerning Christ the head of the church, when Christ said that hereafter ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of God, the high priests rent their clothes and pronounced it to be a blasphemy, when indeed it was not; and perhaps he had not fallen into that error if he had not known our Saviour.

This point therefore we are not to learn by the prophet in this place, but rather because they are false teachers, which come in sheep's clothings; therefore it behoveth us to be careful that we be not led by false guides; for such, as you have heard, may be blind, and, if the blind lead the blind, do not both fall into the ditch together? Therefore, as we are commanded, let us examine the spirits.

Now, as these points may be learned out of the answer of the priests, for skilfulness and faithfulness is required in God's ministers, so is there here left unto all sorts a lesson of wisdom in touching* of sinners out of Haggai, his wise dealing with them; who, because the calamity was general, and the priests in fault as well as the people, by his wise command bringeth the priests to confess against themselves, and so convinceth them also of sin together with them.

So did Nathan deal with David, proposing the parable of the poor man's only sheep, in such wisdom that David gave sentence even against himself; and had it returned into his own bosom with this personal arrest, Thou art the man. So Christ dealt also with the Pharisees by a parable of a vineyard let out to a

* Qu. 'teaching'?—ED.

husbandman, Mat. xxii. And after the same manner did Amphitochius, bishop of Iconium, convince Theodosius the emperor of his sin in bearing too much with an Arian heretic; for when he had entreated the emperor to banish the assembly of the Arians out of the city, as utter enemies to the Son of God, Christ Jesus, and the emperor had denied his request, being loath to deal so hardly with them, Amphitochius was silent for a season, but afterwards most wisely attempted the matter again on this manner: entering on a time into the emperor's palace, and beholding his son Radius (whom he had now made emperor) standing by him, he after his wonted manner saluted the emperor himself, but of purpose did not obeisance unto his son, which the emperor observing, and thinking it to be done by Amphitochius only of forgetfulness, he commanded him to come unto his son, and in token of honour to salute him with a kiss. Amphitochius answered, that it was sufficient that he had done his duty unto him. Whereat the emperor was much moved with great indignation, interpreting the neglect of his son to be the contempt of himself. Then immediately the most wise Amphitochius (as Theodoret* styles him), declaring the whole purpose and drift of that, he said, and cried aloud, O emperor, dost thou so take to heart the neglect of thy son, and art thou so vehemently angry with them that are contumelious against him? Why, then, remember that the almighty God doth hate the blasphemers of his only-begotten Son, and is angry with them, as being unthankful towards him, their Saviour and benefactor. The emperor being convinced by these his words and deeds, did forthwith make a law for the restraint of the Arians, heretics, according to the petition of Amphitochius.

* Theodor. Eccl. Hist., lib. v. cap. v.

SERMON XIV.

If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with the skirt do touch bread or pottage, shall it be holy? And the priest answered and said, No, &c. And Haggai said, So is this people, &c.—HAGGAI II. 13, 14.

TO pass over all coherence of those words that follow with these (noted heretofore), and to remember you only of the drift and meaning of the same; the Jews being now returned from their Babylonish captivity to Jerusalem, although they went not forward with the building of the temple, as the Lord commanded them; yet because they offered sacrifice on the altar of the Lord built long before, they supposed that they were thereby sanctified, so that their disobedience in not building the temple did not defile them. The contrary thereto here they are taught out of the law by two resemblances, Lev. i. 6 and Num. ii. 19; for that first, avouching everything that touched the flesh of the sin-offering to be clean, did not yet imply that the bread and wine that touched the skirt,

which touched the sin-offering, should be likewise clean; and the second, affirming them that touched a dead body to be unclean, and whatsoever they touched also to be unclean, did shew plainly that all that such a party did touch, whether bread or oil, was thereby defiled and unclean, after which points out of the law, avouched by the confession of the priests (for God bade the prophet ask them), the latter part of the second similitude followeth, 'So is this people, and so is this whole nation before me,' &c. The force of the illation or argument, why the Jews were not sanctified by their sacrifices, but count their sacrifices defiled by their disobedience, doth consist in the mysteries represented by those ceremonies; for, first, Christ Jesus our Saviour was signified by the sin-offering, whose flesh was most

holy, here called holy flesh, the touching of which here signifies the spiritual touching of Christ by faith, as the woman, Luke viii., is by our Saviour said only to have touched him, whereas others did more than so. Wherefore, since they that truly do believe in God do love him and keep his commandments, and the Jews did not build the temple as he commanded them, it followeth that although the Jews did touch that which in some sort might be said to touch Christ, viz., the sacrifices and shadows of the law, wherein he was covered as in the skirt of a garment, yet they did not touch Christ himself by a lively faith working by love, therefore they were not by these sacrifices sanctified and made holy; nay, contrarily, all their sacrifices were by them defiled and made unclean, since the touching of a dead body did signify the committing of sinful disobedience, which was deadly. And whatsoever such a person did touch did signify whatsoever he did, which thereby he defiled; so that the Jews, being themselves defiled by their disobedience in not building of the temple, defiled all their works; even their very offerings, seemed they never so holy before men, yet before God they were but polluted and defiled. Now, to pass by the ground of this reproof, the testimony, namely, of the priests out of the law, of which before, verse 12, and to proceed to other notes of instruction;—

1. From the two similitudes in general, from the ptne* of their meaning applied, we may observe, that the sacrifices and ceremonies of the old law were ordained by God, not to signify only those things which the words barely did import unto the Jews, but other mysteries also for the comfort of the godly unto the end of the world. This the apostle, Col. ii. 17, sheweth us, that these were but shadows; i.e. as it were the just draughts of the lineaments, as painters (whence the phrase seemeth to be taken) use first in a darker sort, as with a coal or the like, to shadow forth their portraiture, as Apelles did Ptolemy his servant† (Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. x.), which after they make more perfect. And yet more plainly, Heb. viii. 5, where it is said that Moses made the tabernacle, and all things therein, according to the heavenly pattern which God shewed him in the mount; which pattern, what was it but the mysteries of our redemption by our Saviour Christ, which were shadowed out by the tabernacle? To shew this by examples: Exod. xii., there was a paschal lamb appointed to be killed, and the blood to be sprinkled on the doorposts; 1 Cor. v., the apostle applieth this to Christ, saying, 'For Christ our Saviour is offered.' Exod. xxix. 38, there was appointed in the daily sacrifice two lambs to be offered, one in the morning and the other in the evening; John the Baptist seeing our Saviour Christ, John i., saith, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world!' whereof indeed the other were but shadows. Num. xxi., Moses

is appointed to erect a brazen serpent, that the people who were stung with the fiery serpents might look thereon and be healed; in John iii., our Saviour Christ doth shew that himself was shadowed by that serpent, for 'as Moses lifted up the serpent,' &c. I need not to open other mysteries hid in these touching the faithful, as that 1 Cor. v., that when the paschal was eaten they ate unleavened bread. The apostle there seems to signify that we being by our Saviour redeemed, are to put away all leaven of maliciousness, and to keep a continual feast all our life with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. And so in this place, the touching of the flesh of the sin-offering, which did make holy that which did immediately touch it, though not that which did only touch that as did touch it, did signify, as by the prophet's application we learn, the touching of our Saviour Christ by a lively faith, which did sanctify those that did so touch him, although not those which did only touch the shadows wherein he was lapped; as contrarily the touching of a dead body, which did defile whom it touched, and made him also to defile what he touched, did signify the committing of deadly disobedience, which did defile the Jews, and the very best works they did.

These things, beloved, may serve to stir us up to the meditation of that which the apostle saith, Heb. v. 11, that there are in the Scriptures of God 'many things hard to be uttered;' and we are dull of hearing, and such as had need of milk, and not of strong meats, though we may confess with St Augustine,* Epi. iii. *ad Volusianum*, that even the strongest among us may learn still more, since such a man as he did not stick to say of himself that the Scripture is so profound a depth that one of far better wit and gifts than he, though he should study in it alone and nothing else ever from a child unto his old age, yet still might profit therein, *non quasi*, saith he, *ea quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria*, were not therein plainly delivered. To prevent the objection that the papists make why the people should not read the Scriptures, but after these plain things are learned, there are so many darklier shadowed mysteries (as are these, in interpreting of which many have missed, not only in the depth of the words, but even of the things therein contained), that the learnedest may therein increase his knowledge. And this may serve to be noted from the two similitudes in general.

2. Secondly, It follows that from the first similitude, ver. 13, we observe that by the outward service of God, they are not sanctified that have not religious and believing hearts, which being here by their similitude shadowed forth, is in other places of Scripture plainer set down, according to that which Augustine hath, lib. ii. *De Doct. Christiana*, where he saith that nothing is taught obscurely in one place of the Scripture which

* Tanta est Christianarum profunditas literarum ut in eis quotidie proficere si eas solas ab ineunte ætate, &c.

* Qu. 'aptness'?—ED.

† His name was Planus.

is not in another more plainly expounded;* and for this doctrine, it is plain: as first, by that of Samuel unto Saul, 1 Sam. xv. 22, 'Doth the Lord more delight in burnt-offerings than when the voice of the Lord is obeyed? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice,' &c. Isaiah goeth farther, chap i., bringing in the Lord as accounting all their sacrifices no better than abominable, 'What have I to do with the multitude of your oblations? &c.; incense is an abomination unto me;' but his meaning is the same that Samuel's was, that God did regard more their obedience, the washing of their hands, and cleansing their hearts from sin, their ceasing to do evil, &c., than all those oblations without these. Hosea vi. 6, the place which our Saviour allegeth, Mat. ix. 12, 'I desire mercies, and not sacrifice,' his meaning is, by way of comparison, not sacrifice in respect of mercy (as the latter words added shew), and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings, such knowledge, namely, as 1 John ii. speaketh of, which is joined with love, when he saith, 'Hereby we know that we know him, if we love him, and keep his commandments;' as he indeed will that doth know God as our Saviour. No marvel, therefore, if the Jews, disobeying God in what he commanded touching the building of the temple, though they were very ready and forward in their sacrifice, as we may read, Ezra iii., yet were not hereby sanctified, &c. By their disobedience, they and their sacrifices were defiled, as hereafter we shall, God willing, hear from the second type. First, the outward service of God doth not sanctify any in whom there is not a believing and obedient heart. Our Saviour Christ, by his coming, hath (as before was foretold he should, Dan. ix. 27) abolished those sacrifices of outward services of the law, which, being but shadows, were to cease, the body once come, Col. ii.; which else would signify Christ to be [not] as yet come; we cannot, therefore, now serve God with the same manner of external service as they did; but yet we have some services even under the gospel like in some proportion unto theirs, wherein we are by ecclesiastical assemblies to offer sacrifice unto the Lord. The apostle, Heb. xiii. 15, mentioneth some of them, exhorting them, and in them us, and all Christians, to offer up unto God always by Christ the sacrifice of praise, even the fruit of the lips to confess his name; and Romans xv. 16, concerning sermons the apostle saith he was ordained a minister of the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles (the word in the original is *προσφορά*) might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, according as Isaiah lxvi. 20 was foretold, that by the preaching of the gospel the Gentiles should be sacrificed up unto God; in the former of which sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, as the people are to join with the

minister and say, Amen, so in sacrificing of themselves in the latter by the preaching of the gospel, they are to join also as the apostle doth exhort, Rom. xii. 1. Howbeit, lest we should herein vainly flatter ourselves, and think that our outward service might sanctify us, although the Jews could not do them, we are to understand that howsoever the Jews strove indeed specially by blood, to make God appeased with them, yet had they also, together with their sacrifices, both prayers and sermons for performance of this spiritual duty; *ergo*, Ps. cxxii. 4, it is said in commendation of Jerusalem, where were the sacrifices, that thither the tribes go up, unto the testimony of the Lord, to praise the name of the Lord; and that we may know that they had prayers still together with their sacrifices, Acts iii. 1, we read that Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour, *i.e.* the hour of prayer, which was the hour betwixt the two evenings, when the Jews did offer daily their evening sacrifices; as also we may find many psalms at that time ordained to be sung; yea, and besides their prayers used with their sacrifices (which only were offered in one place, *viz.*, at Jerusalem), they had still everywhere throughout Jewry, in their synagogues, prayers and divine service; and Acts xvi. 13, mention is made of a place by the river side whither the Jews usually resorted unto prayer; and again, verse 16, where Paul saith that the maid met them as they went to prayer. Many think that by *προσευχή* is meant the place where they used prayer, so called, as Philo,* who lived about that time, that sheweth they used to call their synagogues *προσευχᾶς* of the prayers they used to have in them. Now, that together with prayer, they had also preaching and expounding of the word, as it appears by that place alleged, Acts xvi., where it is said, that at Paul's preaching God did open the heart of Lydia to attend to that was spoken;† so also that at Jerusalem it was likewise used, that famous place, Neh. viii. 9, doth shew sufficiently, as also in other places of Jewry, as 2 Kings iv. 23, from that answer which the Shunamite's husband gave unto his wife, when her child being dead, and he not knowing thereof, and marvelling why she saddled the ass, (asked) why she would go to the man of God that day, since it was neither new moon nor Sabbath day. The learned gather that on such feasts (as the new moon and Sabbath days) the people that dwelled far off, even in the countries, did use to assemble unto the cities, where were prophets and Levites, which they called men of God, to be taught and instructed by them, as, Acts xv. 14, it is said that Moses had them which preached him in their synagogues, being read every Sabbath-day, as even in our Saviour's time it appeareth by that which is recorded, Luke v. 17, where it is said that, to hear Christ, among the

* Nihil ferè de illis obscuritatibus eruitur quod non planissimè dictum alibi reperiatur.—*Aug. de doct. Christ.*, lib. ii. cap. vi.

* Phil. Jud. Lega. ad Gaium. Philo Jud. de vita Mosis, lib. iii. p. 933.

† Vid. Bez. in Act. vi. 9 et Act. xvi. 13.

rest there came the Pharisees and teachers of the law, out of every town of Galilee and Judea, and from Jerusalem, insomuch that when the Scriptures were read, if there any likely in the congregation, to preach or make any exhortation, they were requested thereunto, as, Acts xiii. 15, we read how, at Antiochus, after the lecture of the law and the prophets, the ruler of the synagogue sent unto Paul, saying, 'Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on;' which farther appeareth by that it is storied of our Saviour, Luke iv. 17, how, coming into the synagogue at Nazareth, the book of the prophets was delivered unto him, which, having opened, he read, and expounded a portion of 61st of Isaiah unto the people. Therefore, since that to these sacrifices here mentioned the Jews joining both prayer and preaching of the word, and yet were not thereby sanctified without obedient hearts, we may learn also that by our calling on the name of the Lord in prayer, and learning his will by hearing his word, we cannot at all be sanctified without obedient and believing hearts. And doth not the apostle teach us the very same things? Why else doth he exhort, 1 Tim. ii. 8, that men should pray everywhere, lifting up pure hands, and without wrath, and without doubting, if so be that only prayer and lifting up the hands would serve, without the purity of the affections of the heart? And why doth he say to the Hebrews, chap. iv. 2, that the gospel was preached unto them as well as unto the old Jews in Moses his time; but the word that they heard did not profit them, because it was not mixed with faith in those that heard it, if that barely to come to hear the word were all that were required? Or why doth he say concerning the sacraments which are the visible, as the preaching is the audible word of God, 1 Cor. x., that the fathers under the law did all eat of the same spiritual meat and did all drink of the same spiritual drink, and yet with many of them God was not pleased, so that they fell in the wilderness, and addeth that these are examples unto us, but to instruct us that although we have such graces as they, and be partakers of the like sacraments of Christ, yet, if we be disobedient as they were, we must look to taste of the like plagues as they did? So evident is that doctrine, which, from the former similitude in the beginning I observed, that by the outward service of God none are sanctified but those only which have faithful and obedient hearts.

Wherefore, since it becometh us (reverend and beloved) to be careful of holiness, without which none can see God, Heb. xii. 14, we see how we should stir up ourselves, not only to the outward, but even to the inward worship of the Lord; for, Mat. vii. 22, 'Many shall say, Lord, Lord,' so that there shall be prayers, *and have not we in thy name preached, &c.*? They shall use preaching also, and yet Christ shall say unto them, 'I never knew you.' Seeing then the outward ceremony will not serve to sanctify any, or bring them

to salvation, we must be very careful not only to perform this outward service to God of prayer, which, by an excellency, is called *λατρεία*, Rom. ix., as all other, Rom. xii., but also to offer up our souls and bodies, even the best of our inward and spiritual sacrifices and services to God's glory, for we are bought with a price, and I am sorry that I am prevented by the time, so that I must speak briefly, which else I should more largely.

How many of us are there that do not come to the outward service of God so as they ought? I refer it to every man's conscience to consider how they frequent the assemblies for prayer and divine service in their private colleges; but for coming at the beginning of terms, whenas we are by oath and conscience bound thereto, how slackly is that done, if done at all? Alas, how far are we from the zeal that was in the Jews, who, with wearisome journeys, walked on through the wilderness 'till they appeared before God in Zion!' Ps. lxxxiv. How far from that foretold should be in the people of God, Ps. cx. 3, 'Thy people shall come willingly!' &c. How far from that example which the people give us, Neh. viii., who were said to have 'heard the word willingly from morning until night!' So we read, Acts xx., 'Paul being to depart on the morrow, the people that believed assembled themselves together to hear him, so that he continued his preaching until midnight;' but alas, how do we degenerate from these, who cannot endure but for an hour or two to frequent such religious assemblies! It is recorded by Sozomen, l. vi. c. 18, that when Valens, an Arian emperor, had forbidden the Christians to have any assemblies, the godly notwithstanding used to meet together in the fields for the service of the Lord. The emperor hearing thereof, was very wroth with his chief captain Modestus (for so he was called, and so, indeed, he shewed himself), because he suffered them so to do. Modestus, therefore, forewarning them that they should meet so no more, and threatening that if they did they should be punished, they, notwithstanding, the next day, in great multitudes met again, which Modestus understanding, thought good to go out against them with a band, and to scatter them; but, as he went, a certain woman, with her head not thoroughly tired, and with a little child in her hand, overtaking them, brake through among the soldiers, and made haste towards the place where the Christians were assembled. Modestus, causing her to be called to him, demanded of her whither she was going in such haste. She answered that she was going to the place where the Christians were assembled to serve God. Why, said Modestus, dost thou not know that the emperor hath commanded that they all that come hither shall be killed? Yes, I do, replied she; and therefore I go the rather, that I may be martyred among the rest. And why, said he, dost thou lead with thee that little child? That he also (answered she) may be partaker of the reward. I am

loath to say that which the example of this godly woman moveth me unto, but I will only speak in Latin out of the poet, *Vos etenim juvenes animum geritis muliebrem, illaque virgo virum.* But,

Secondly, Put case we were without exception in this behalf; yet let them know, that are most diligent in the outward service of the Lord, that this sanctifieth none in whom there is not a faithful and an obedient heart. The prophet, Isaiah i., speaketh of much prayer, which yet, because it was done without faith, the Lord accounted no better than abomination; and Ezek. xxxiii. 31, tells us of some that would come and stand before the prophet as if they would learn the will of the Lord, and yet are reprov'd. We see that the Scribes and Pharisees, for frequenting sermons, and using long prayers, Mat. xxiii., could not be reprov'd; and yet our blessed Saviour telleth us, that 'except our righteousness exceed the righteousness of them, we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,' Mat. v. But one place, Micah vi. 4-8, may serve to seal up all that I have taught. How doth the Lord expostulate with his people? 'My people, what have I done unto thee, or wherein have I grieved thee? testify against me.' How we may apply all this unto ourselves, consider we what God hath done for us, and how hath he grieved us. Hath he not brought us out of Egypt, yea, from papistry, ten thousand times a viler slavery than that of Egypt? Hath he not by a mighty hand redeemed us, when in Queen Mary's time many suffered banishment, and others lost their

lives; and sent before us Moses, even our gracious Queen Elizabeth, whose memory is for ever blessed; and for our preservation under her, hath raised up unto us many Aarons and Miriams endued with prophets' spirits to instruct us? Can we be forgetful what Balak of Spain devised against us, or what Balaam of Rome answered him, from Shittim, under Moses, whither the Moabites sent their daughters to corrupt the people (a lively representation of the sending forth of the priests and Jesuits to seduce us) unto Gilgal under Joshua, where (by circumcision) the shame of Egypt was taken away from them; as of late one branch thereof hath been from us, by our Joshua, his Majesty's proclamation against the profanation of the Sabbath; and all this that we may know the righteousness of the Lord? With what, then, shall we come before the Lord? Shall we offer ten thousand of prayers, or ten thousand of sermons, &c.? No; 'he hath shewed us what is good, and what he delighteth in,' more than all these, 'that we do justly, and love mercy, and humble ourselves to walk with our God;' that we behave ourselves religiously, as they that are endued with an holy spirit, and are heirs of life, remembering what is said, Isa. lxvi. 2, that God 'regards him that is of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at his word.' Needful it is for us to know the word of God, and to use all means thereto; but if we do no more, we do but draw near to God with our lips, and not with our hearts.

SERMON XV.

Then saith Haggai, If a polluted person touch any of these, shall it be unclean? &c. Then answered Haggai, So is this people, &c.—HAGGAI II. 14, 15, &c.

IF those two types, brought to convince the Jews of error, who thought they were by their sacrifices sanctified, howsoever they continued disobedient, and did not build the temple as they were commanded by the Lord, the former hath already taught us that the outward service of God doth sanctify none, but only him that hath a faithful and obedient heart. And by the latter, now further we are to learn, that whoso hath not a faithful and obedient heart, he is not only not sanctified by any outward service, but on the contrary, both himself and all his actions, yea, even his outward service of God is impure, defiled, and detestable in the sight of God. For the word in the original, which we translate *a polluted person*, doth properly signify such an one as is unclean and polluted by touching of a dead corpse (the phrase being to be supplied from Num. ix. 6, compared with Lev. xxii. 4), the law concerning whom, Num. xix. is, that whatsoever such an one toucheth should be unclean, as here the priests confess. Wherein, after the manner of the mysteries of faith, expressed as by shadows and portraitures in a dark manner, by legal

rites and ceremonies, as heretofore hath been shewed, the touching of a dead man (who came unto the state of mortality by sin, Gen. iii.), doth import the committing of sin, which is called by the apostle a dead work, Heb. vi. 1, ix. 14; and that ceremonial uncleanness which did exclude out of the camp, Num. v. 1, doth imply that moral uncleanness which doth indeed defile the man, Mat. xv. 19, 20; and that none so unclean shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, Rev. xxi. 27; and lastly, in that all by the law was defiled which was touched by hand, arm, or leg of any such polluted person, being all instruments of action, Rom. vi. 13, implieth, that all whatsoever is done by the unfaithful and disobedient, is infected through the corruption of their unbelieving hearts, Titus i. Hence, therefore, it followed that the Jews, committing dead works of impenitency, security, unbelief, and disobedience, by not building the temple according to the Lord's command, and so being defiled, all their works, together with themselves, were unclean, as, ver. 15, the prophet concludeth hereupon, 'So is this people, and so is this nation

before me,' saith the Lord; where the term, *before me*, is significantly added, to note, that although in the sight of men they were accounted holy by reason of their sacrifices, yea, and themselves thought so of themselves (as their predecessors did for another kind of service of fasting, Isa. lviii. 1), yet, in the sight of God, who beholds all their hearts and works afar off, and not only those that were of greatest lustre, but others also whatsoever, their holiness was but hypocrisy, and themselves and all they did abominable; no otherwise than the Pharisees after them, who did wear brass* phylacteries, and used long prayers, &c.; and yet because they were hypocrites, covetous, and ambitious, they had the like judgment denounced by our Saviour: Luke xvi. 15, 'Ye are they that justify yourselves before men; but God knows your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God;' and to the same effect, the Lord concluding this sentence by adding, 'and that which they offer here is unclean,' doth seem to refute, as by name, that wherein the Jews hoped to be sanctified, and which they most esteemed holy both in respect of the thing, viz., their offering on the altar, Exod. xxix. 30, whereof all were holy and some most holy, so that their service of God in this kind was by an excellency called the service of God, witness the apostle to the Hebrews and Romans, and also in regard of the place where they offered them, here in Jerusalem the place chosen of purpose to that end, called therefore 'the holy city' in Matthew, and greatly praised in sundry of the psalms for that respect. Seeing, then, the people and whole nation of the Jews, yea, all their works, even their very sacrifices offered in Jerusalem, were unclean and detestable in the sight of God, because they had not faithful and obedient hearts, but did neglect the building of the temple commanded by the Lord, the lesson hence to be gathered is plain, which in the beginning we mentioned, viz., that whosoever hath not a faithful and an obedient heart, himself and all his works, even his divine service of God, is impure and unclean in the sight of God. This in the carnal sacrifices as in the shadow doth Isaiah teach, chap. lxvi. 3, declaring, that whoso is not of a contrite spirit, as only the faithful are, to tremble at God's word, if he kill a bullock he was as if he slew a man, &c.; for in these words expressly noting all the several sacrifices that the Jews did offer, as greater beasts and lesser, meat-offerings and incense, and comparing them with dogs' flesh and swine's blood, things forbidden by the law, nay, to the murdering of a man or the blessing of an idol, which his soul abhors, he plainly shews how detestable the Lord holds all these, where was wanting a faithful and an obedient heart in them that offer the same. Also concerning spiritual sacrifices of prayers, and of sermons preached or heard, doth the Spirit elsewhere witness as of

* Qu. 'broad'?—ED.

prayers: Prov. xxviii. 9, 'He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abominable;' of sermons preached, Ps. l., 'but unto the wicked' (saith God), 'What hast thou to do to take my words in thy mouth, and hatest to be reformed?' of sermons heard likewise, Ezek. xx., and also Ezek. xxxiii. 31, where first the elders, and then the people, are reprov'd, because they came and sat before the prophet, as if they would learn the will of the Lord, and yet their hearts went after their covetousness, and they did not that they were enjoined. Finally, all the actions of the unfaithful whatsoever are censured by two rules of the apostle. 1. In respect of the things themselves that are done, Rom. xiv. 23, 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin;' and the 2d, in regard to the persons that do them, Heb. xi. 6, 'without faith it is impossible to please God,' &c. So undoubted an axiom proved by the Scripture is this which here our prophet teacheth, that the best works of men are of themselves unclean in God's sight without a faithful heart, &c. Whence may be confuted an error of the papists, who, howsoever the ancient fathers, Jerome, Gregory, Prosper, and especially Austin (proving the point not only by those two places last alleged out of St Paul, but also by that of our Saviour, Mat. vii., 'A corrupt tree cannot but bring forth bad fruit,') do hold that all the works of the unregenerate, done before faith, are sin, and deserve God's wrath; yet the papists, I say, in their authentic Council of Trent, Session vi. Can. 7, Pelagian-like, stick not to pronounce, that if any man shall say that all the works done before institution are to be accounted properly sins, or do deserve the hatred and wrath of God, let him be accursed. A curse heretically and blasphemously uttered by antichristian imps, whose faces are set against heaven, and their tongues walk through the earth, for all works done without faith are unclean in God's sight (as here Haggai teacheth us); but before justification, no works are done with faith, for then we are justified and made the sons of God when we believe, John i.; therefore, whatsoever works are done before justification, are properly unclean, and do defile; but whatsoever is unclean, and doth defile, is properly sin, Mark vii. 10, and 1 Cor. 8. Now God hateth all sin, Zech. viii. 13, he being just in all his ways, Ps. cxlv.; yea, all works done before justification, are properly sin, and deserve God's wrath; nor can they be pure whiles the heart, the root or fountain whence they proceed, is impure and corrupt. Now the heart is only purified by faith, Acts xv. 9, and all unbelievers, even in their minds and consciences, are defiled, Titus i. 15. The papists, therefore, herein curse the prophets, nay, the Lord of life, who here himself spake by the ministry of his prophet. And shameless is that shift which Ribeiro the Jesuit maketh, writing on this place, c. 76, first saying that the prophet doth not speak of all the works of the unregenerate,

but only of their sacrifices; from the which gloss, if the text itself did not refute it, yet where it is plainly adled, *and all whatsoever they do*, yet St Jerome's authority, which in other places he would seem to esteem, should have at least occasioned him to have forborne, and to have rather passed it over in silence, than so to have gainsayed him and the text; for *omnia et cuncta quæ agit*, saith Jerome, *nam de cunctis loquitur, profanantur*. Nay, Jerome, not so content in general only to avouch it, applies it in particular to the works of both Jews, heretics, and Gentiles, and saith that whatsoever they do (not only whatsoever they offer), their vows, their prayers, their charity, and alms-deeds, &c., all are unclean; for although these actions seem in show to be good, and are so indeed in their own nature, yet because they are touched by him that is polluted, they are unclean; but as for us, beloved, who are taught for his sake to bear reproaches, and to endure curses patiently, that we may become conformable unto him, according to that of the prophet, the rebukes of them that rebuked thee are fallen on me (let us, I say), against all Pelagian spirits hold constantly what here the prophet teacheth us, &c., and let the princely prophet David join with Haggai, in interpreting this ceremonial type of Moses, where, Ps. li., having confessed sins actual, and original, ver. 7, he prayeth, 'Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean:' no way to be made clean but by hyssop. Now, what that purging with hyssop meant, we may understand by the ceremony, Num. xix., of the red cow burned without the host, the figure of our Saviour's sacrifice, as the apostle interprets it, Heb. xiii., who, to sanctify us, suffered without the city. And St John plainly setteth down, that which by allusion only was signified in the figure, where, 1 John i. 7, he saith, that 'it is the blood of Christ that cleanseth us from all sins;' but his blood cleanseth none but only such as do believe; for, Rom. iii. 24, 25, 'We are justified freely by grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath made a propitiation through faith in his blood.' Which Peter, 1 Epist. i. 1, calls the sprinkling of Christ's blood, whereby we are sanctified: by allusion to the ceremonies, avouching the same act as plainly, that all men's hearts are cleansed no otherwise than by faith. Therefore, against that cursed and cursing Council of Trent, we now see how Moses, David, Haggai, John, Paul, and Peter do avouch that whatsoever men do, before [by] justification by faith in Christ's blood they be cleansed, all is unclean, and so are the persons that do the same; all are sin, and deserve God's hate. And let this be the first use of this doctrine, for strengthening us in the purity of our faith. A second may serve to put us in mind of our duties for the bettering of our life, for if all our works, without faithful and obedient hearts be so detestable, that God accounts them defiled, and unclean in his sight, you see how careful we should be to avoid such works of sin, since howsoever otherwise

we may seem to do things pleasing unto God, yet they do but defile us, and make us to be shut out of the camp, even excluded out of heaven. And to stir us up hereunto, we have two forcible inducements in that text, 1 Peter 14,* from the type or shadow where sin is compared to a dead body; for if we should consider with ourselves how loathsome the touching is, and, which is more, that we are growing thereby ourselves unto death, we shall be the more moved in this behalf: and the pastors will, I doubt not, but be stirred up by that which our Saviour speaks to the angel of the church of Sardis, Rev. iii. 1 2, 'I know thy works, for thou hast a name that thou livest, but thou art dead; be awaked and strengthen the things that remain that are ready to die, for I have not found thy works *πνευματικά* not full, not perfect'; so he concludes that he was in part dead, and in the rest ready to die, if he did not strengthen that that remained by repentance for that which was decayed; so that, except the pastor's works be full, howsoever he have a name that he liveth, yet he is but dead. Now know you the duties of the ministers or divines: if they will ever fulfil their ministry, to be patterns in word, in conversation, in faith, in spirit, in love, in purity, &c., to attend to reading and to exhortation, to be instant in season, &c. And the apostle, Col. iv. 17, commandeth the Christians to say unto Archippus, 'Take heed to thy ministry, that thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfil it.' The word *πνευματικός* being compared with that other, *πνευματικά*, doth shew that the pastor ought to fulfil every part of his ministry, else his works are not full; and then that may be said to him that was to the angel of Sardis, 'Strengthen the things that are ready to die, for thou hast a name that thou livest, but thou art dead.' Nay, and doth not this duty belong also to every Christian? Hath not every one some talent that he must employ in the Lord's service, and not leave it to rot or rust, lapped up in a napkin? Doth not Paul both say of himself, that 'the grace of God that was in him was not in vain,' and bids the Corinthians beware, 2 Cor. vi. 'that they receive not the grace of God in vain,' but that, 2 Cor. vii., they 'cleanse themselves from all filthiness, both of flesh and spirit,' and grow up into full holiness in the fear of God? And doth he not, Philip. i., and Colos., pray for them and exhort that they may be 'filled with the fruits of righteousness.' These may serve to let us know, that if we serve God by halves, and do not labour to have our works to be full, we are at least half dead, and so without speedy repentance, growing unto death. Now, according as the heathen speaks of virtue, *si oculis cerneretur, quales excitaret amores*, so *per contrarium*, if we could consider and set before our eyes how loathsome a thing it were to touch dead bodies, and by them to grow to death ourselves, it would much affect us to fly from such dead works.

* Qu. 'Heb. ix. 14'?—Ed.

When our Saviour, coming to raise Lazarus, was about to have the stone rolled away from the door of the sepulchre, his own sister loathing and fearing the infection, 'Lord,' saith she, 'he stinketh now, for he hath been already four days dead.' Yet here the dead body was farther off from Martha. What if the dead work be nearer unto us? When King Edward the Second was, by treacherous conspiracy, imprisoned in castle of Berkeley, and intended to be made away, the tormentors, to hasten his end, put him in an upper chamber, and under him, in a lower room, placed dead bodies, the stink whereof did so stifle and torment him, that as he told one out of the window, he had never, in all his life, endured the like torment, as Thomas de la More, one that served him, records in the story of his life;* yet these dead bodies were farther off from King Edward than many dead works are from many of us. Clemens Alexandrinus, in his exhortatory oration *ad gentes*, relates that the barbarians did use to tie unto those live bodies of men that they took captive, other dead bodies, that so both might rot together: a cruelty which Virgil mentions to have been practised by the cruel tyrant Mezentius, † *Æneid. viii. Tormenti genus*, Virgil might well call it, but the word *συσσασθῶσι* doth express it in Clemens, how the one did cause the other to rot together. The apostle, writing to Ephesus, iv. 29, forbids that *πᾶς λόγος σαπῶν* should proceed out of their mouth. We commonly translate it *any corrupt communication*, but the word properly signifieth that which is *rotten*, which, compared with the verb which Clemens useth, may open more of the apostle's meaning than else haply would come into our mind; which the apostle seemeth somewhat to expound, where, Col. iv. 6, exhorting to the contrary, he wisheth that their words may be gracious, and seasoned with salt; salt, you know, being the preservative against rottenness. And so hence we may imagine of all dead works what there the apostle speaketh of one, viz. foolish and filthy talking, that they are rotten; therefore, as Clemens speaks of those dead carcases joined to living bodies, *συσσασθῶσι*, they make them in whom they are to rot and putrefy, so that they ought to be no less loathsome unto us, than those dead bodies were to King Edward, or those by the barbarians tied unto their captives. And much more danger of infection may we fear than that which Martha feared in a dead body four days dead; for what if the work have been four years dead? And the more should we fear these, because, being spiritual, they bring unto us a far greater destruction than the former. Howbeit, if any have not this spiritual sense of feeling, let him consider the two motives following. In that the Lord pronounceth all our actions, touched by the unfaithful and disobedient,

to be unclean in his sight; and not only swearing, lying, slandering, &c., and those that are simply evil in themselves, which should teach us how we ought to have in perfect detestation that which God (seeing our hearts, who must also be himself judge, and revenger of all) pronounceth in his sight to be unclean: a thing the more of us to be considered, because otherwise men, not seeing our faults, but looking on our better actions, may haply account us very holy; nay, many deceive themselves as the Pharisee, Luke xviii., and they that justify themselves, Luke xvi., thinking that they are holy when they are not. Man's knowledge is defective, and often seeth not many things; nay, we ourselves many times see not all, and so in that Rev. iii., to stir up the angel to this consideration it is added, 'For the works are not full before God;' for many are accounted free from fault before men which yet are detestable before God; yea, and, Eph. v. 4, the apostle we see joins with *μωρολογία, εὐταπείλεια*, also as things unseemly, which Latin philosophers account a virtue rather,* and in itself we used as a thing indifferent, yet is censured as a dead work, because it is by men commonly abused. And therefore in the same place, ver. 11, he addeth this exhortation, that they should not be partakers with the unfruitful works of darkness, but even reprove them rather, for it is a shame to speak of those things that are done of them in secret; and how men flatter themselves in their sins, so they may conceal them from men, Gehazi's example, 2 Kings v., may sufficiently instruct us. When once the talents were conveyed into a secret place, then he comes and stands before his master, and all he thought was well. He had been nowhere, but God saw where he had been, and revealed it unto the prophet. And so many, if they can, for scholars' places, &c., which should be given freely, take bribes so cunningly, that neither state of prince or parliament shall take hold of them, they think all well and safe enough; but yet howsoever in man's sight they can cover it, in God's eyes their works are abominable, and he will discover it. Wherefore good for us it is betime to begin to set before our eyes that consideration which David had, Ps. cxxxix., viz., that whithersoever we go, we cannot hide ourselves from his presence. Seneca, Epistle xi., *ad Lucillum*, saith that it would be a great incitement to virtue and restraint from sin if we could always imagine some reverend grave man in our presence; if Cato were too grave, yet Lælius, supposing that a great occasion to sin would be taken away, *cum peccaturis testis adsit*. But in Epistle xxv. he telleth us that he had yet profited more, that had learned so much as to reverence himself. And, indeed, if none else be present with a man, yet his conscience, which is as a thousand witnesses, at present ought sufficiently to move a man herein; and so it was Isocrates his

* Arist. Eth. lib. ii. cap. vii. et lib. iv. cap. viii. *ὅ μὲν μίσος εὐταπείλεις.*

* See Stow's Chron. in Edw. ii.

† Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis.

Componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
Tormenti genus, et sanie, taboque flumentes,
Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat.

counsel, that none should venture to do anything in hope to conclude it whenas himself yet at least should thereof be conscious to himself. But this witness also is far too short from that which is here commended to us by the prophet, that the Lord sees and censureth our actions, for our consciences may for some time wink, and many consciences are scared (as it were) and past feeling. But if one will be afraid to commit evil before a grave person, how should we fear to commit any in secret alone, since we are always in the sight of God, who is the searcher of the heart, much more for this, that others can be but witness only, but God is judge also and avenger, as the Spirit saith to the angel of Sardis, Rev. iii., that if he should not be awake, he would come on him as a thief in the night; the phrase taken from 1 Thess. v. 2; and threatening sudden destruction, as Gehazi leprous, and those that were unclean in the shadow shut out of the city, and those that are unclean in truth not to enter into heaven, Rev. xxi. Therefore, since it is so that God sees and judges all our actions, let us do as David did, who setteth also before his eyes that other consideration, Ps. lxxii. 12, that the Lord recompenseth every man according to his works.

When he had defiled himself with adultery and murder, and was once made sensible of it, he sought to the Lord to be cleansed, and after, still endeavoured to keep himself clean; but if we be not both careful of repentance for the present, and after, still to keep

ourselves clean for the time to come, what may we expect but what is threatened, Prov. xv., that the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord? Now, Eccles. iv. 17 wisheth us to look to our feet, the instruments of motion first,* to have a careful regard to all our carriage, even in these things whereby we are to be instructed (when we enter into the house of God), and to be nearer to hear, that is, to obey (as the same word is used likewise, 1 Sam. xv. 22, to obey is better than sacrifice), than to offer the sacrifice of fools, as otherwise we shall if we only outwardly hear or frequent prayers, &c. The sum of all is comprised in the covenant of God with Abraham, Gen. xvii. 1, Walk before me and be upright; and this (beloved) is the covenant that is made with us who are by faith in Christ the sons of Abraham, that we being redeemed out of the church from all our enemies, should serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life before him, Luke i. 15. Let us, therefore, know that, having our consciences by the blood of Christ purged from dead works to serve the living God, Heb. ix. 14, we must labour to have grace so alway to serve him that we may please him with reverence and fear, Heb. xii.; that we may finally be with those that serve him day and night in his temple, as it is, Rev. xv.

* Isocrat. Orat. ad Demon. ὅσπερ δε τὰ σωματα ἐκ τῶν κινήσεων κρίνεται, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἥθη. Arist. Eth., lib. iv. c. viii.

END OF RAINOLDS ON HAGGAI.

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